

THE
COUNCIL OF TRENT:

COMPRISING AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THAT ASSEMBLY;

AND ILLUSTRATING THE

SPIRIT AND TENDENCY OF POPERY.

LONDON:

THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY

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PREFACE.

THIS volume contains the historical portion of the work entitled, "A Text-Book of Popery; comprising a History of the Council of Trent, held A. D. 1545—1563, and a complete view of the theological system of Popery. By J. M. Cramp. Second Edition. 1839. 8vo." It has been rearranged and abridged by the author. As it was deemed unnecessary, in a work intended for general readers, to crowd the margin with references, it may suffice to state, that the authorities chiefly consulted are the rival histories of Father Paul and Cardinal Pallavicini, and the voluminous collection of documents relative to the Council, published by Le Plat, A. D. 1781—1787, in seven quarto volumes.

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THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

CHAPTER I.

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ON the 2d of June, 1536, Pope Paul III. issued a bull, summoning a general council of the church, to be held at Mantua, in the May following. The chief objects of the council were declared to be “the reformation of manners in the church,” and “the extinction of all heresies,” by whatever means could be devised for that purpose.

The desirableness of such a meeting had long been confessed. For centuries previous to the period just mentioned, the state of religion and morals in Europe was deplorable in the extreme; and in the general depravation of manners which prevailed, the ecclesiastics largely participated, and thereby exposed themselves to the contempt and hatred of the community. The forced celibacy of the priests had produced among them unbridled and shameless licentiousness. They had contrived to obtain

possession of so much wealth, that in Germany more than one-half of the national property was in their hands, while by their fees and exactions, often wrung from the people by vile imposture, they had impoverished every Christian country. They claimed exemption from the jurisdiction of the laity, and could therefore commit crime with comparative impunity, in which they were further indulged by the easy terms on which pardon or dispensation could be procured at Rome. The venality of the pontifical court was so notorious, that the sale of offices was open and public. The detestable traffic in indulgences had given rise to the most scandalous impositions, and legalized every species of avarice and fraud. Finally, the popes had subdued to their will the whole hierarchy, leaving to the bishops little more than the shadow of power, and exalting above them the monastic orders, the sworn and faithful vassals of the papacy; and so far from being examples of virtue and religion, they were generally destitute of both, and too frequently patterns of the most horrible vices.*

With these abuses were connected the most awful corruptions in doctrine and worship. Human merit was substituted for justification by faith. Fastings, penances, idle ceremonies, and the outward observance of the sacraments, were put in the place of sanctification by the influences of the Holy Spirit. The Virgin Mary and the saints had, in great measure, supplanted Jesus Christ, and robbed him of his honours. The Scriptures were carefully withheld from the people, and little studied by the priests, many of whom were, in fact, totally ignorant

* See Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Century xvi. sect. 1. chap. i., and Robertson's Charles v. book ii.

of the word of God. Worship was performed in Latin, which scarcely any understood. Incense perfumed the air ; gold, and jewels, and magnificent pageantry dazzled the eyes ; melodious sounds of music fell upon the ear ; but the mind was unenlightened, and the heart unimpressed. Faith had to do with little else than the “ lying wonders ” by which a system of impudent trickery was upheld ; hope rested on the intercession of saints, the power of priestly absolution, and the efficacy of prayers for the dead ; charity was reserved for those, and those only, who bowed the knee before the “ man of sin.”

The following observations on this subject, by a popular writer of the present age, are eminently appropriate :—

“ Think of the boundless cost for supporting the magnificence, and satiating the rapacity of the hierarchy, from its triple-crowned head, down through all the orders, consecrated under that head to maintain the delusion, and share the spoil. Recollect the immense system of policy, for jurisdiction and intrigue, every agent of which was a consumer. Recollect the pomps and pageants, for which the general resources were to be taxed ; while the general industry was injured by the interruption of useful employment, and the diversion of the people to such dissipation as their condition qualified them to indulge in. Think also of the incalculable cost of ecclesiastical structures, the temples of idolatry, as in truth they may be adjudged to have been.

“ One of the most striking situations for a religious and reflective Protestant is, that of passing some solitary hour under the lofty vault, among the superb arches and columns, of any of the most splendid of

these edifices remaining at this day in our own country. If he has sensibility and taste, the magnificence, the graceful union of so many diverse inventions of art, the whole mighty creation of genius, that so many centuries since quitted the world without leaving even a name, will come with magical impression on his mind, while it is contemplatively darkening into the awe of antiquity. But he will be recalled :—the sculptures, the inscriptions, the sanctuaries enclosed off for the special benefit after death of persons who had very different concerns, during life, from that of the care of their salvation, and various other insignia of the original character of the place, will help to recall him to the thought, that these proud piles were, in fact, raised to celebrate the conquest, and prolong the dominion of the power of darkness over the souls of the people. They were as triumphal arches, erected in memorial of the extermination of that truth which was given to be the life of men.

“As he looks around, and looks upward, on the prodigy of design, and skill, and perseverance, and tributary wealth, he may image to himself the multitudes that, during successive ages, frequented this fane, in the assured belief that the idle ceremonies and impious superstitions which they there performed, or witnessed, were a service acceptable to Heaven, and to be repaid in blessings to the offerers. He may say to himself, Here, on this very floor, under that elevated and decorated vault, in a ‘dim religious light’ like this, but with the darkness of the shadow of death in their souls, they prostrated themselves to their saints, or their ‘queen of heaven ;’ nay, to painted images, and toys of wood or wax, to some ounce or two of bread and wine, to

fragments of old bones and rags of clothing. Hither they came when conscience, in looking either backward or forward, dismayed them, to purchase remission with money or atoning penances, or to acquire the privilege of sinning in a certain manner, or for a certain time, with impunity; and they went out at yonder door, in the perfect confidence that the priest had secured, in the one case the suspension, in the other the satisfaction of the Divine law. Here they solemnly believed, as they were taught, that by donatives to the church they delivered the souls of their departed sinful relatives from their state of punishment; and they went out at that door resolved to bequeath some portion of their possessions, to operate in the same manner for themselves another day, in case of need. Here they were convened to listen in reverence to some representative emissary from the man of sin, with new dictates of blasphemy or iniquity, to be promulgated in the name of the Almighty; or to witness the trickery of some detestable farce, devised to cheat or fright them out of whatever remainder the former impositions might have left to them of sense, conscience, or property. Here, in fine, there was never presented to their understanding, from their childhood to their death, a comprehensive honest declaration of the laws of duty, and the pure doctrines of salvation. To think that they should have mistaken for the house of God, and the very gate of heaven, a place where the power of darkness had so short a way to come from his appropriate dominions, and his agents and purchased slaves so short a way to go thither! If we could imagine a momentary visit from Him who once entered a fabric of sacred denomination with a scourge, because it was made

the resort of a common traffic, with what aspect and voice, with what infliction but the 'rebuke with flames of fire,' would he have entered this mart of iniquity, assuming the name of his sanctuary, where the traffic was in delusions, crimes, and the souls of men! It was even as if, to use the prophet's language, the very 'stone cried out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber answered it,' in denunciation; for a portion of the means of building, in the case of some of these edifices, was obtained as the price of dispensations and pardons.

"In such a hideous light would the earlier history of one of these mighty structures, pretendedly consecrated to Christianity, be presented to the reflecting Protestant; and then would recur the idea of its cost, as relative to what that expenditure might really have done for Christianity and the people. It absorbed in the construction sums sufficient to have supplied even manuscript Bibles, costly as they were, to all the families of a province; and in the revenues appropriated to its ministration of superstition, enough to have provided men to teach all those families to read those Bibles.

"In all this, and in the whole constitution of the grand apostacy, involving innumerable forms of mischief and abomination, to which our object does not require any allusion, how sad a spectacle is held forth of the people 'destroyed for lack of knowledge!' If, as one of their plagues,—an inferior one in itself,—they were plundered, as we have seen, of their worldly goods, it was that the spoil might subserve to a still greater wrong. What was lost to the accommodation of the body, was to be made to contribute to the depravation of the soul. It supplied means for multiplying the powers of the grand

ecclesiastical machinery, and confirming the intellectual despotism of the absolute authorities in religion. Those authorities enforced on the people, on pain of final perdition, an acquiescence in principles and ordinances which, in effect, precluded their direct access to the Almighty and the Saviour of the world, interposing between them and the Divine Majesty a very extensive, complicated, and heathenish mediation, which, in a great measure, substituted itself for the real and exclusive mediation of Christ, obscured by its vast creation of intercepting vanities the glory of the Eternal Being, and thus almost extinguished the true worship. But how calamitous was such a condition! To be thus intercepted from direct intercourse with the Supreme Spirit, and to have the solemn and elevating sentiment of devotion flung downward, on objects and phantoms, which even the most superstitious could not pay homage to without some indistinct sense of degradation!

“It was, again, a disastrous thing to be under a directory of practical life framed for the convenience of a corrupt system,—a rule which enjoined many things wrong, allowed a dispensation from every thing that was right, and abrogated the essential principle and groundwork of true morality. Still again it was an unhappy thing, that the consolations in sorrow, and the view of death, should either be too feeble to animate, or should animate only by deluding. And it was the consummation of evil in the state of the people of those dark ages,—it was, emphatically, to be ‘destroyed,’—that the grand doctrines of redemption should have been essentially vitiated or formally supplanted, so that multitudes of the people were betrayed to rest their final hopes

on a ground unauthorized by the Judge of the world. In this most important matter, the spiritual authorities were subjects themselves of the fatal delusion in which they held the community; and well they deserved to be so, in judicial retribution of their wickedness, in imposing on the people, deliberately and on system, innumerable things which they knew to be false.”*

The progress of error and superstition was not, however, altogether unresisted. An unbroken testimony for evangelical truth was borne by the Waldenses and Albigenses, and other witnesses, scattered in various parts of Europe. The labours of the immortal Wickliff excited much attention during his life, and prepared the way for more successful efforts. His writings were widely diffused on the continent, by John Huss, Jerome of Prague, and their followers; and other reformers arose, in the very bosom of the Romish church, endeavouring, though vainly for a time, to check the tide of corruption. Their aims were powerfully aided by the revival of learning, and the invention of the printing press, by which means a flood of light was poured on the enormities of the papacy, exposing to the astonished gaze of mankind the delusions which had so long bewitched them, and had ruined so many souls. All Europe felt the necessity of reformation, and groaned with impatience under the galling yoke. The Councils of Pisa, (A. D. 1409,) Constance, (A. D. 1414,) and Basle, (A. D. 1431,) boldly asserted their superiority to the pope, and avowed their intention to effect a reform “in the

* Foster's Essay on Popular Ignorance, pp. 54—60, edit. 1820.

head and members." But means were always found by successive pontiffs, to evade the just demands of an indignant people. Corruptions and abuses were defended with such tenacity, and the intrigues of the Romish court were so successfully employed, that remonstrances, memorials, the requests of princes, the decrees of councils, and even the general voice of the church, were unavailing.

In the year 1517, Luther commenced that series of attacks on the papacy, which issued in the great event usually denominated, "The Reformation." At first, indeed, he thought of nothing less. He was a good subject of Leo x., and would have submitted to his decrees, even after his public opposition to Tetzel, had the pontiff promptly interfered to check his progress, or adopted mild and conciliatory measures. His mind was solely engaged with the doctrine and abuse of indulgences, and against them all his efforts were directed. Had the pope yielded to his remonstrances, and either suppressed or modified that nefarious traffic, it is probable that the world would have heard no more of the troublesome monk of Wittemburg. But, by the good providence of God, the "spirit of slumber" fell upon Leo x.; he let Luther alone till it was too late to think of crushing him, and when he did interfere, he employed means which rather tended to further than to stop the dreaded reform.

At length, June 15, 1520, a bull was issued, condemning forty-one propositions, drawn from the writings of Luther, as heretical, scandalous, and false; ordering all his books to be burned; enjoining him and his followers to renounce their errors within a limited time; and threatening, in case of obstinacy, the severest censures and punishments.

But so little effect was produced, and so completely was a large portion of Germany estranged from the Roman see, that Luther ventured to burn the bull, together with the famed decretals of the canon law, in the presence of an immense concourse of people, without the walls of Wittemburg, Dec. 10, 1520; at the same time he appealed to a general council. So bold a measure could not fail to draw upon him the vengeance of Rome: accordingly, another bull was issued, January 3, 1521, denouncing all the penalties of the greater excommunication on Luther and his adherents, and giving them up to the secular power as incorrigible heretics. But the bulls were harmless, because the ruling authorities did not care to interfere in the contest; and Luther continued to pursue his inquiries, and publish the results, with the candour and courage by which he was so eminently distinguished, and with increasing success. "The word of God grew and multiplied."

Adrian VI. Leo's successor, professed himself favourable to reform; instituted inquiry into alleged abuses; and endeavoured, though ineffectually, to introduce some salutary emendations. He instructed Cheregate, his nuncio, who attended a diet of the empire, held in November, 1522, to acknowledge that the general complaints against corruptions and abuses were not wholly without foundation; and to assure them that the pontiff was fully resolved on reform: but that, inasmuch as the evils were many, and of long standing, none ought to be surprised that the progress of reformation was slow. In reply, the diet informed the nuncio, that in their opinion the best remedy for existing evils would be the convocation of a free general council. Their proceedings were afterwards published, and a

long memorial was subjoined, entitled "Centum Gravamina"—The Hundred Grievances. It contained an ample exposition of the grievances suffered from the tyranny and rapaciousness of the priesthood, and the corrupt state of the court of Rome, couched in strong, firm, but respectful language. In the conclusion, the pope was assured, that unless immediate and effective attention was paid to these complaints, they would be compelled, however reluctantly, to take the business of reform into their own hands; for that the people neither would nor could endure such oppressions and abuses any longer.

Adrian was succeeded by Clement VII., a man every way fitted for his office, as the prevailing maxims at Rome required it to be administered. A profound dissembler, a practised politician, subtle, cautious, evasive, he was admirably qualified for that *management* which the popedom needed. He seemed to have an instinctive horror of a council; and the history of his pontificate records little more than repeated attempts, on the part of the German States, to procure one, and his successful opposition to their wishes. Diets of the empire were held nearly every year, and they scarcely ever closed without a strong expression of anxiety for the assembling of a council, which the continued progress of the reformers rendered increasingly necessary. The emperor, too, became very desirous for the adjustment of the religious differences that agitated Germany, but could obtain nothing from the pontiff, except a promise to employ all the machinery of spiritual terror, if he, on his part, would unsheath the sword, and save himself the trouble of convincing heretics by destroying them. During all this time, Luther and his coadjutors were



diffusing their opinions with remarkable success; and evangelical religion daily gained new triumphs, in Sweden, Denmark, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and even in Italy and Spain.*

The emperor continued to set before the pope, the necessity of calling a council, and his holiness signified his willingness to convene the long-desired assembly, on the following conditions;—that the objects for which it should be called should be, to obtain subsidies against the Turks, restore the Lutherans to the faith, suppress heresies, and punish the refractory, but not a word about reformation; that the emperor himself should be present; that it should be holden in Italy, at Bologna, Placentia, or Mantua; that none should have the right of suffrage but those who had enjoyed it by prescription already; and that the Lutherans should both desire it, and engage to obey its decrees.

It was easy to see that the pope was insincere. Nevertheless, to save appearances, he despatched letters to the European princes and states, informing them of his determination, and requesting their assistance, either in person, or by their ambassadors, whenever the council should be summoned. It seems that at Rome it was seriously believed that his holiness was in earnest, and so great was the panic in consequence, that the price of public offices fell in the market to almost nothing. But the wily pontiff had offered such conditions as he well knew the Protestant princes would not accept. In fact, Clement had resolved that a council should not be assembled while he possessed the power to prevent

* See Dr. Mc'Crie's two interesting volumes, containing the History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain and Italy.



it. He succeeded : by pretexts, excuses, and artifices, he deferred the dreaded meeting, and kept all Europe at bay till his death, which took place, Sept. 25, 1534.

Paul III. who succeeded Clement, professed great zeal for the reformation of abuses, and would have it believed that he was extremely desirous of a council. Scarcely ever did the cardinals meet in consistory but the pope harangued them on the necessity of reform, which, he said, must begin with themselves. But his own conduct gave little hope that any efficient measures would be adopted. Only two months after his elevation to the pontificate, he gave cardinals' hats to two lads, one aged 14, the other aged 16, the sons of his own illegitimate children !

The bull for the convocation of the council was issued in June, 1536, and Mantua was the appointed place of meeting. Nuncios were despatched to the European courts with the intelligence. But the Protestant princes refused to submit to any council unless it were free, and held in Germany ; the duke of Mantua declined receiving the assembly in his city ; and in consequence the council was prorogued till November 1, and, afterwards till May 1, 1538, on which day the prelates were summoned to meet at Vicenza. The summons was issued in vain ; for the emperor and the king of France were at war, and travelling was unsafe. The council was therefore prorogued till the following Easter, and afterwards during the good pleasure of the pope, who, it may be supposed, was heartily glad of an opportunity to postpone to an indefinite period a meeting which the pontiffs seemed to hold in utmost dread.

It was probably with a wish to prevent the council entirely that Paul appointed a commission, consisting of four cardinals and five bishops, to examine all abuses, and ascertain where reform was most needed. Their report, which proved a most important document, by some means got abroad, and was immediately printed and widely circulated in Germany, where it greatly aided the Reformation. It presented a deplorable view of the corruptions and vices of the papal court. The commissioners complained, for instance, of the pride and ignorance of the bishops, and proposed that none should receive orders but learned and pious men; and that, therefore, care should be taken to have proper masters to instruct the youth. They condemned translations from one benefice to another, grants of reservation, non-residence, and pluralities. They proposed that some convents should be abolished; that the liberty of the press should be restrained and limited; that no ecclesiastic should enjoy a benefice out of his own country; that no cardinal should have a bishopric; and that the effects and personal estates of ecclesiastics should be given to the poor. They concluded with complaining of the prodigious number of indigent and ragged priests that frequented St. Peter's church; and declared that it was a great scandal to see the prostitutes lodged so magnificently at Rome, and riding through the streets on fine mules, while the cardinals and other ecclesiastics accompanied them in a most courteous and familiar manner.*

During the next three years, the Roman Catholics and Protestants were busily employed in support-

* Mosheim, Cent. 16. Sect. 1.

ing their respective interests. Attempts were made from time to time to reconcile the contending parties, especially at the diets of Haguenau and Ratisbon, (A. D. 1540, 1541;) but the breach was too wide to be healed. The Roman Catholics, with the emperor at their head, saw no remedy but a council. The Protestants only desired to be let alone, and uniformly refused to submit to the decrees of an assembly convened by the pope, managed by his agents, and held in his dominions. But the wishes of the more powerful party prevailed: at the diet of Spire, held early in 1542, it was agreed that the council should be holden in the city of Trent. A bull was issued, summoning the prelates of Christendom to meet in that place on the 1st of November. The continuance of the war prevented their meeting, and the council was suspended during the pleasure of the Roman pontiff.

In the autumn of the year 1544, peace was concluded between the emperor and the king of France. They engaged, among other things, to co-operate in the defence of the Roman Catholic religion, to further, by all the means in their power, the reformation of manners in the church, and to procure the convocation of a general council, which might now be safely convened. The pope did not wait for their interference, but issued a bull in November announcing the place of meeting, the city of Trent, and fixing the time, March 15, 1545.

CHAPTER II.

Selection of the City of Trent very gratifying to the Papal Party—Different Views and Feelings entertained respecting the Council—The first Session—Abstract of the Sermon preached by the Bishop of Bitonto on that occasion—Plans adopted by the Pope to ensure the Management of the Council—Second Session—Various Discussions on the Method of Procedure—Third Session.

TRENT is a city of the Tyrol, on the confines of Germany and Italy, 67 miles from Venice and about 250 from Rome. It is situated in a fertile and pleasant plain, on the banks of the river Adige, and is almost surrounded by the Alps. The selection of this city was regarded by the Romish party with entire satisfaction; for, though not within the papal territories, it was so near that the Italian bishops, by whose efforts the pope expected to preserve his authority and prevent reform, could reach it without much expense or trouble; and the distance from Rome was not so great as to hinder that communication between his holiness and the legates by which he proposed to ensure the management of all the proceedings of the council.

The cause of Protestantism had already triumphed extensively in Europe, and was daily advancing. Among its adherents were numbered the kings of Great Britain, Sweden, and Denmark, a large proportion of the princes and estates of Germany, and many of the most eminent men of the age, both for learning and piety. The progress of religious inquiry, and the course it had taken, were no less

remarkable. Those who had begun with the exposure of corruptions and abuses, ended not till they had explored all the abominations of the papacy, in doctrine, discipline, and worship, and renounced their allegiance to the see of Rome. The whole system was declared to be anti-christian and unscriptural, alike hostile to the welfare of society, the interests of true religion, and the glory of the only Saviour. It may be easily imagined that those who entertained such views could indulge very feeble hopes from the holding of a council. They saw that fatal errors and childish superstitions had been gradually interwoven with the whole economy of life, and that to root them out, would be like plucking out the right eye, and cutting off the right hand. It was hardly to be expected that the sweeping changes which they advocated would be sanctioned by a general council, or that the priesthood would tamely consent to lose the hope of their gains.

On the other hand, the sovereigns and states of Europe looked forward to the council with sanguine expectations. They resolved to exert all their influence to procure a thorough reformation of abuses. Were this effected, they conceived that the Protestants would cheerfully return to the bosom of the church. Their own interest was also concerned in the favourable issue of the assembly ; for ecclesiastical immunities and exactions had shorn them of much of their power, and diffused general discontent and distress among their subjects.

The bishops had similar expectations. Their influence and authority had suffered greatly from the encroachments of the monastic orders, and the frequency of appeals to Rome, which the popes took care to encourage. In the council they in-

tended to assert, and hoped to recover their rights and privileges.

Such was the state of parties. The feelings and designs of the Roman pontiff differed from those of all the rest. He determined to make no concessions, to permit no change, except for the further aggrandizement of the holy see. Protestants, prelates, princes, all were to be duped or disappointed: and they were so.

Three legates were appointed to preside in the council in the name of the pope—the cardinals De Monte, Santa Croce, and Pole. De Monte was chairman or president: he was well versed in the policy of the court of Rome, zealous for the continuance of things as they were, and distinguished by his haughty, overbearing demeanour.

On the arrival of the legates at Trent, March 13, they found but one prelate there, the bishop of Cava, so that it was impossible to open the council on the day appointed. By the end of May, about twenty had assembled. Others arrived during the summer, which was spent in various intrigues and negotiations; for, although the pontiff had convoked the council under auspices so favourable to himself, he could not dissemble his fear of the results,* and laboured hard to persuade the emperor to agree that the place of meeting should be changed for Rome,

* “His holiness cannot digest the council.” “One of the reasons why it is said that the pope dreads the council, is, that there are some cardinals, his enemies, to whom money was offered by him at his election, and these know others who accepted it.” So wrote two good Roman Catholics, the viceroy of Naples and the Imperial ambassador at Trent. See the Rev. Blanco White’s *Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism*. p. 315—318. Second Edition.

or some city within the papal dominions. On the other hand, Charles was anxious that the council should postpone the decision of doctrinal points, and commence with reformation. His holiness was too prudent to make such a concession, which would have defeated his own projects. There was, however, no valid reason for longer delay, and instructions were issued to the legates to open the Council of Trent on the 13th of December.

Much pomp and religious solemnity were exhibited on this occasion. The legates, accompanied by the cardinal of Trent, four archbishops, twenty-four bishops, five generals of monastic orders, the ambassadors of the king of the Romans, and many divines, assembled in the church of the Trinity, and thence went in procession to the cathedral, the choir singing the hymn, *Veni Creator*. When all were seated, the cardinal De Monte performed the mass of the Holy Ghost; at the end of which he announced a bull of indulgences issued by the pope, promising full pardon of sin to all who in the week immediately after the publication of the bull in their respective places of abode, should fast on Wednesday and Friday, receive the sacrament on Sunday, and join in processions and supplications for a blessing on the council. A long discourse followed, delivered by the bishop of Bitonto. After this the cardinal rose and briefly addressed the assembly; the accustomed prayers were offered, and the hymn *Veni Creator* again sung. The papal bull authorizing their meeting was then produced and read; and a decree was unanimously passed, declaring that the sacred and general Council of Trent was then begun, for the praise and glory of the holy and undivided Trinity, the increase and

exaltation of true religion, the extirpation of heresy, the peace and union of the church, the reformation of the clergy and Christian people, and the destruction of the enemies of the Christian name. The cardinal De Monte blessed them, with the sign of the cross: *Te Deum* was sung, and the fathers separated, "greatly rejoicing, embracing each other, and giving God thanks."

A brief abstract of the bishop of Bitonto's discourse may be here inserted, as a specimen of the ridiculous trifling and silly bombast which amused the fathers at Trent: the devout reader will observe with pain the profane applications of Scripture. The bishop divided religion into three parts, doctrine, the sacraments, and charity; and affirmed that in each the most lamentable degeneracy and corruption prevailed; "the gold was become dim, and the finest colour changed;" princes, people, and priests were polluted; all were under the influence of lust and ambition, the mother and the nurse of every evil, the two horse-leeches continually crying, "bring, bring;" and as the natural consequence, heresy, schism, superstition, and infidelity triumphed. Then followed a laboured eulogy of the pope, and of all that he had done, to "gather his children as the bird doth the brood under her wings." The mountains and forests of Trent were apostrophized, and charged to make the echo resound through the earth, that men might know the day of their visitation, and that it might not be said, "the light" of the pope "is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, for their works were evil." To the city itself the speaker applied the glowing descriptions of prophecy—"Thy gates shall be open continually; they shall not be shut

day nor night ; salvation shall possess thy walls, and praise thy gates ; the Gentiles shall walk in thy light, and kings in the brightness of thy rising ; and they shall call thee the city of the Lord, the Sion of the Holy One of Israel." Turning to the fathers, he reminded them of the honour and glory to which they were raised ; the gates of the council were the gates of heaven ; through them the knowledge of the Lord would cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. They were admonished to act worthy of their calling, putting away all fear, favour, and contention, and so demeaning themselves that they might justly say, "It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us ;" at the sound of which words the enemies of the council would be smitten with dismay, and fall to the ground. And he assured them that all who resisted their decrees, and incurred thereby the indignation of the pope, the emperor, and the king of France, and the guilt of rebellion against the Holy Spirit, would find it impossible to escape : neither mountains, lakes, nor floods should save them : swifter than eagles, stronger than lions, the pontiff and the sovereigns would pursue and seize them, and trample them to death. Finally, he addressed the countries and states of Christendom, Greece, Spain, France, and Germany, whom "Satan had desired to have that he might sift them as wheat," and invited them to "come to the marriage, because all things were now ready : " and he concluded by invoking the presence and aid of Jesus Christ through the intercession of Vigilius, the tutelary saint of the valley of Trent.

The pope adopted decisive measures to secure his authority, and prevent all intermeddling with his prerogative. He appointed a committee of

cardinals to superintend the affairs of the council, watch its proceedings, and aid him with their advice. The legates were instructed to begin with the discussion of disputed doctrines, and to treat the reformation of abuses as a matter of secondary moment ; notes were to be taken and transmitted to him, of any observations relative to his court, the reform of which he reserved for himself. To all letters and documents his own name and those of the legates were to be prefixed, that it might appear that he was not only the author, but also " the head and ruler " of the council : and he appointed the secretary and other necessary officers without consulting the fathers. The business of the council was divided into two or three departments, each under the management of a separate " congregation," or, as we should say, committee. A " general congregation " was like a " committee of the whole house " in our parliament. Several congregations were held before the second session. One subject of debate was the title of the council : the French bishops, who were joined by some Italians and Spaniards, contended that to the epithets, " Sacred " and " Holy," should be added, " representing the universal church," which were used by the Councils of Constance and Basle. The legates were aware that the assumption of this title would seem to give the council more power than it was intended it should possess, and they stoutly resisted it, chiefly, as they wrote to the pope, because of the clause which had been subjoined by the above named assemblies, to this effect, " that a general council holds its power immediately from Jesus Christ, and that all Christians of what condition and dignity soever, even the popes themselves, are obliged to obey it." Their

opponents maintained their sentiments with much tenacity and warmth, notwithstanding the interruptions, contradictions, and insults to which they were subjected, and gave such indications of an independent spirit as vexed the legates not a little.

At the second session, held Jan. 7, 1546, a papal bull was read, prohibiting the use of proxies; for had they been allowed, his holiness would have found it difficult to maintain a majority. An exhortation was addressed to the council, written by cardinal Pole, and containing some just and useful sentiments. The subject of the decree was the manner of life to be observed during their residence at Trent. All persons were exhorted to amend their faults, and walk in the fear of God, not fulfilling the lusts of the flesh; to be constant in prayer, and frequent in confession; to go to church often, and receive the eucharist; to keep the commandments of the Lord, as far as they were able; to pray for the peace of Christian princes, and the unity of the church; to fast at least every Friday, and give alms to the poor. Ecclesiastics were reminded of the duty of performing mass every Lord's day, and presenting constant prayers, supplications, and thanksgivings, for their most holy lord, the pope, for the emperor, for kings and all in authority, and for all men. Bishops received a special injunction to observe sobriety and moderation at their tables; to have the Scriptures read at their meals; to instruct and train their domestics in every virtue. Those who were skilled in the Scriptures, were urged to give themselves to constant meditation, in order to discover the best means by which the intention of the council might be rightly directed, and the wished-for effects realized; so that throughout the

whole world men might glorify God with one mouth and one confession of faith. It would have been well if these regulations had been observed.

Several of the bishops had expressed in open session their discontent at the non-insertion of the clause, "representing the universal church." In a debate on this subject, a few days after, the bishop of Feltri observed, that if the clause were admitted, the Protestants would take occasion to say, that since the church is composed of two orders, the clergy and the laity, it could not be fully represented if the latter were excluded. To this the bishop of St. Mark replied, that the laity could not be termed the church, since, according to the canons, they had only to obey the commands laid upon them; that one reason why the council was called was, to decide that laymen ought to receive the faith which the church dictated, without disputing or reasoning; and that consequently the clause should be inserted, to convince them that they were not the church, and had nothing to do but to hear and submit! Subsequently, the legates so far yielded as to allow the insertion of the words "œcumenical and universal," and this was approved by the pope.

An important question next occupied their attention—Whether they should begin with doctrine or discipline. The pope had already determined on the former. On the other side was the emperor, whose views were powerfully advocated by the cardinal of Trent. In an address which made a deep impression on the audience, he contended that the reformation of the ecclesiastics would be the fittest means of reclaiming men from heretical pravity. After considerable discussion, it was agreed to adopt a plan proposed by the bishop of Feltri, which was, that

some subject, both of doctrine and discipline, should be decided in each session. This measure was observed in all the future proceedings of the council, and eventually was allowed by the pope, who at first was violently enraged at a measure which thwarted his pre-determined plan.

His holiness began to fear that the free spirit already shown by some of the fathers would prove very detrimental to his interests. Under his directions, the council was divided into three congregations, one being assigned to each of the legates, at whose residence their meetings were held. The reasons alleged for this division were the despatch of business, and the prevention of disorder; but the true motives, as avowed by Pallavicini, were these: first, that separation would facilitate government, according to the old maxim, "*Divide et impera*"—Divide and govern; secondly, that cabals and intrigues would be checked; thirdly, that the boldness of any independent prelate would only influence the congregation to which he was attached, and would not infect the whole council.* The same business was brought before each meeting, and a general congregation was afterwards convened, when the results of the discussions were embodied in a decree. Every evening the legates assembled by themselves, reported their observations on the opinions and behaviour of the prelates, and matured their plans and negotiations: thus they preserved the mastery.†

The next session was appointed to be held on the 4th of February. The day was fast approaching, but nothing definitive was agreed upon, and the

* Pallav. l. vi. c. 8. s. 5.

† Vargas, p. 52.

legates were at a loss how to act, in the absence of instructions from Rome. In this dilemma, Bertani, bishop of Fano, remarked, that as the ancient councils had usually promulgated a creed, it appeared highly proper that the same should be done again; he therefore proposed that the Nicene creed should be recited in the forthcoming decree, as the received faith of the church. In vain was it objected that it would be very ridiculous to hold a session for the purpose of repeating a creed twelve hundred years old, and which was universally believed; that it would be of no service against the Lutherans, who received it as well as themselves; and that the heretics would take occasion to say, and with good reason, that if that creed contained the faith of the church, they ought not to be compelled to believe any thing else. But the legates were so pleased with the expedient, that they procured its adoption, and at the third session, which was celebrated on the appointed day, the creed was recited.

CHAPTER III.

Discussions on Scripture and Tradition—Fourth Session—
Notice of the Decree on Scripture—Bernard Gilpin's
Conversion to Protestantism—Papal Editions of the
Vulgate—Rules of the Congregation of the Index, re-
specting the translation and interpretation of the Scrip-
tures—Modern Opinions of Roman Catholics on those
Subjects—Disputes on Original Sin—Fifth Session—
Decree on Original Sin.

IMMEDIATELY after the third session, it was agreed that Scripture and tradition should be next taken into consideration. In pursuing their inquiries, and in the debates which followed, the members of the council now began to employ the divines who had repaired to Trent, and whose aid was of material service in all their subsequent labours. These Christian bishops were for the most part poorly skilled in theology, for which the pursuits of ecclesiastical ambition had given them little relish.

Although the apocryphal books were inserted by Jerome in the vulgate Latin edition, it was notorious that he did not regard them as canonical. His catalogue of the books of the Old Testament comprises those now found in our authorized version, and no other. It was probably in deference to his authority that some proposed to publish a twofold list, distinguishing the canonical from the apocryphal, in a manner resembling the method adopted by the Anglican church; but the opinion of the

cardinal Santa Croce at length prevailed, and it was agreed to receive as Divinely inspired all the books commonly found in the Vulgate, notwithstanding the known declaration of Jerome, and the incontrovertible evidence of the ancient catalogues and the Jewish canon.

Respecting traditions there were as many opinions as tongues. Some affirmed that Scripture itself rested on tradition. Vincent Lunel, a Franciscan, thought it would be preferable to treat of the church in the first instance, because Scripture derived its authority from the church. He added that if it were once established that all Christians are bound to obey the church, every thing else would be easy, and that this was the only argument that would refute the heretics. Anthony Marinier judged it best to leave the matter as it was, following the example of the fathers, who ascribed authority to the Scriptures only, not presuming to place tradition on the same footing. Some desired a distinction to be made between traditions of faith and those which related to manners and rites; the first to be universally received, but of the rest only such as the custom of the church had sanctioned. Others would have the reception of all enjoined, without the least distinction.

When the decree was proposed for consideration, and that part was read in which it was enacted that Scripture and tradition should be regarded "with equal piety and veneration," Bertani objected to the expression, and said that though he acknowledged that God was the Author of both, and that every truth must proceed from the source of all truth, yet it by no means followed that whatever was true was Divinely inspired; and that the fact of many tradi-

tions having fallen into disuse seemed to indicate that God himself did not intend that they should be venerated equally with Scripture. The bishop of Chiozza went much further: he even ventured to assert that it was impious to equalize the authority of Scripture and tradition. So bold an exclamation excited strong feeling; "it was heard," says Pallavicini, "with surprise and horror;" and it called forth vehement reprehension. The prelates were loud and angry in their reproaches; and the poor bishop, overcome by the insulting and cruel manner in which he was treated by his brethren, was constrained to acknowledge himself sorry for having offended them, and to promise that he would consent to a decree which was approved by so venerable an assembly!

A committee which had been appointed for the purpose reported on sundry evils which required correction. The variety of versions, the number of errors in the printed copies of the Scriptures, the right of private interpretation, and the freedom of the press, were the topics handled in the report. It was alleged that the existence of so many versions, often varying from one another, tended to involve the meaning of Scripture in uncertainty, and that the only way to remedy this would be to fix upon some one version and declare it to be the authentic and acknowledged authority in all cases of controversy. The difficulty lay in the choice. A canon was mentioned which enjoined the examination of the Old Testament in the Hebrew language, and of the New in the Greek. It would seem, indeed, that on this question no argument was necessary, and that none would fall into the absurdity of preferring a version to the original. Yet so did the divines at

Trent. They said that unless the Vulgate were declared to be Divine and authentic in every part, immense advantage would be yielded to the Lutherans, and innumerable heresies would arise and trouble the church. If any one might examine that version, either by comparing it with other versions or with the originals, every thing would be thrown into confusion: these new grammarians would assume the office of the judge, and pedants instead of divines would be made bishops and cardinals; nor would the inquisitors be able to execute their office without the knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, since the heretics would be sure to turn round and tell them that the translation was incorrect. Some added, that as Divine Providence had given to the Jews a Hebrew, and to the Greeks a Greek original, it was reasonable to suppose that the Latin church enjoyed a similar favour, and that the Spirit of God who had dictated the sacred volume to the heavenly penmen had in the same supernatural manner presided over the translation. Such cogent reasoning could not be resisted; they voted that the Vulgate was undoubtedly Divine! But as the want of a correct and standard impression of that version was universally acknowledged, six persons were appointed to examine and collate copies, and prepare a new edition before the termination of the council.

The right of interpreting Scripture was then debated. Here, too, different and opposite opinions were expressed. Some few were willing to leave the liberty of interpretation unmolested. Others thought that this popular licence ought to be controlled, or there would be no end to disputes. Richard du Mans, a Franciscan, was not ashamed to say, that the scholastic divines had so well explained the

doctrines of Christianity, that it was no longer necessary to take them from the inspired volume ; that though the Scriptures were formerly read in churches for the instruction of the people, they were now only used in the devotional exercises of public worship, and ought to be confined to that use ; and, at any rate, that the study of Scripture should be prohibited to all who were not versed in scholastic divinity ; for the Lutherans had only succeeded with those who had been accustomed to read the Scriptures. The decision of the council, as might have been expected, was not in favour of freedom.

The decree passed at the fourth session was divided into two parts. In the first, injunctions were issued to "receive and reverence, with equal piety and veneration," both the "written books" of Scripture, including the apocrypha,* and the "unwritten traditions," "whether received from Christ himself, or dictated by the Holy Spirit, and preserved in the catholic church by uninterrupted succession." In the second, the vulgate Latin edition

* The following is the order of the books of the Old Testament in the authorized Roman Catholic version :—
 "Genesis—Exodus—Leviticus—Numbers—Deuteronomy—Josue—Judges—Ruth—1 Kings [1 Samuel]—2 Kings [2 Samuel]—3 Kings [1 Kings]—4 Kings [2 Kings]—1 Paralipomenon [Chronicles]—2 Paralipomenon—1 Esdras [Ezra]—2 Esdras [Nehemiah]—*Tobias—Judith—Esther*, with the additional chapters—Job—Psalms—Proverbs—Ecclesiastes—Song of Songs—*The Book of Wisdom—Ecclesiasticus*—Isaias—Jeremias—Lamentations—*Baruch—Ezekiel—Daniel*, including the *Song of the three children, Susanna, and the story of Bel and the Dragon*—Osee [Hosea]—Joel—Amos—Abdias [Obadiah]—Jonas—Micheas [Micah]—Nahum—Habacuc—Sophonias [Zephaniah]—Aggias [Haggai]—Zacharias—Malachias—1 *Machabees*—2 *Machabees*."

was declared to be authentic, and made the authoritative standard: it was further decreed, "that in matters of faith and morals, and whatever relates to the maintenance of Christian doctrine, no one, confiding in his own judgment, shall dare to wrest the sacred Scriptures to his own sense of them, contrary to that which hath been held and still is held by holy mother church, whose right it is to judge of the true meaning and interpretation of sacred writ; or contrary to the unanimous consent of the fathers; even though such interpretations should never be published;" printers were forbidden to publish editions of the Scriptures with notes and expositions, without due ecclesiastical examination and licence; and censures were promulgated against "the audacity of those who apply and pervert words and sentences of holy Scripture to profane uses," such as "superstitions, impious and diabolical incantations, divinations, lots, and infamous libels." Pallavicini says, that a committee which had been appointed to inquire into the abuses of the Scriptures, and suggest suitable remedies, presented a long report, containing an immense catalogue of these alleged corruptions. It was like the Augean stable; nothing short of a flood could cleanse away the filth. The fathers shrunk from the burdensome task, and contented themselves with a decree couched in general terms.

This decree was received by the Protestants with undissembled grief and indignation. They now saw more clearly than ever the futility of the hopes which some had indulged in a general council; for it was evident that the fathers at Trent were determined to alter nothing in the established system of popery, and had only met to confirm, by

the sanction of the pretended universal church, the unscriptural tenets and anti-christian practices of popery.

It is an interesting fact, that the celebrated Bernard Gilpin, who had been hesitating between popery and protestantism, was decided for the latter by the publication of this decree. "While he was distracted with these things, the rule of faith changed by the Council of Trent astonished him. For he observed, that not only the ancient divines, but even the modern ones, Lombard, Scotus, and Aquinas, all confessed that the rule of faith was solely to be drawn from Scripture; whereas he found, according to the Council of Trent, that it might as well be drawn from human traditions. . . . The church of Rome kept the rule of faith entire till it was changed by the Council of Trent. From that time, he thought it a point of duty to forsake her communion; that the true church, thus called out, might follow the word of God."*

The labours of the committee, appointed to prepare a new edition of the Vulgate, soon came to an end, as it was ascertained that the whole proceeding had displeased the pope. After the termination of the council, Pius iv. employed many learned men on the work. His successor, Pius v. continued the undertaking. The book was published by Sixtus v. in 1590. "This active and resolute pontiff not only assembled round him a number of the most learned and acute linguists and critics, but ardently and personally engaged in the examination of the work himself." He read the whole before it was committed to the press, read it over again as it

* Life of Bernard Gilpin, p. 69. Glasgow, 1824.

passed through the press ; and when it was all printed off, re-examined it, and corrected it anew. This edition was accompanied by a bull, enjoining its universal reception, and forbidding the slightest alterations, under pain of the most dreadful anathemas. But it was scarcely published before it was discovered to abound with errors, and was quickly called in. A more correct edition was issued by Clement VIII. in 1592, accompanied by a similar bull. An edition still further improved left the press in 1593. The difference between these editions is very considerable. "Dr. James, in his '*Bellum Papale*,' notices two thousand variations, some of whole verses, and many others clearly and decidedly contradictory to each other. Yet both editions were respectively declared to be authentic by the same plenitude of knowledge and power, and both guarded against the least alteration by the same tremendous excommunication."*

The decree of the fourth session contained no reference to translations of the Scriptures into the vernacular languages. That subject was considered by the "Congregation of the Index," appointed by papal authority after the termination of the council, to prepare an index or list of prohibited books. The following passages are extracted from the "Rules of the Index," issued by that body :—

"Translations of the Old Testament may be allowed, but only to learned and pious men, at the discretion of the bishop ; provided they use them merely as elucidations of the vulgate version, in order to understand the Holy Scriptures, and not as

* See Townley's *Illustrations of Biblical Literature*, vol. ii. p. 487—495.

the sacred text itself. But translations of the New Testament made by authors of the first class of this index are allowed to no one, since little advantage, but much danger, generally arises from reading them. If notes accompany the versions which are allowed to be read, or are joined to the vulgate edition, they may be permitted to be read by the same persons as the versions, after the suspected places have been expunged by the theological faculty of some catholic university, or by the general inquisitor.

“Inasmuch as it is manifest from experience, that if the Holy Bible, translated into the vulgar tongue, be indiscriminately allowed to every one, the temerity of men will cause more evil than good to arise from it, it is, on this point, referred to the judgment of the bishops, or inquisitors, who may, by the advice of the priest or confessor, permit the reading of the Bible translated into the vulgar tongue by catholic authors to those persons whose faith and piety, they apprehend, will be augmented, and not injured by it; and this permission they must have in writing. But if any one shall have the presumption to read or possess it without such written permission, he shall not receive absolution until he have first delivered up such Bible to the ordinary. Booksellers, however, who shall sell, or otherwise dispose of Bibles in the vulgar tongue, to any person not having such permission, shall forfeit the value of the books, to be applied by the bishop to some pious use; and be subjected by the bishop to such other penalties as the bishop shall judge proper, according to the quality of the offence.”

When the Roman Catholic speaks of the Scriptures, he means thereby the vulgate Latin edition,

or the Douay and Rhemish translations, having the apocryphal books intermingled with the rest. This is his Bible, and this, together with tradition, constitutes his rule of faith. "All the doctrines of Christianity," say the writers of the Catechism of the Council of Trent, "are derived from the word of God, which includes Scripture and tradition."* Again: "If we would have the whole rule of Christian faith and practice, we must not be content with those Scriptures which Timothy knew from his infancy, that is, with the Old Testament alone; nor yet with the New Testament, without taking along with it the traditions of the apostles, and the interpretation of the church, to which the apostles delivered both the book and the true meaning of it."†

Further: the unrestrained perusal of the Scriptures, in the vernacular tongue, is regarded by the Romish church as pregnant with danger, and is as much as possible prevented. The sentiments of the "Congregation of the Index" are echoed by Roman Catholics of the nineteenth century. Pius VII., writing to the archbishop of Gnezn in 1816, calls the Bible Society a "most crafty device, by which the very foundations of religion are undermined," a "pestilence," and "defilement of the faith, most imminently dangerous to souls." Leo XII., in 1824, speaking of the same institution, says that it "strolls with effrontery throughout the world, contemning the traditions of the holy fathers, and contrary to the well-known decree of the Council of Trent, labours with all its might, and by every

* Page 7.

† Note on 2 Tim. iii. 16. Roman Catholic authorized version.

means, to translate, or rather to pervert, the Holy Bible into the vulgar languages of every nation ; from which proceeding it is greatly to be feared, that what is ascertained to have happened to some passages, may also occur with regard to others ; to wit, that by a perverse interpretation, the gospel of Christ be turned into a human gospel, or what is still worse, into the gospel of the devil." The Irish Roman Catholic prelates, to whom this was written, publicly avowed their full concurrence with the pope's views, and charged their flocks to surrender to the parish priests all copies of the Scriptures received from Bible Societies, as well as all publications disseminated by the Religious Tract Society.* Dr. Wiseman, the popular lecturer, and one of the editors of the *Dublin Review*, is of opinion, that the inquirer into religion will be "led astray" by adhering solely to Scripture.† And finally, the Roman Catholic bishops, the vicars apostolic, and their coadjutors in Britain, address their flocks in the following terms :—"When the reading and the circulation of the Scriptures are urged and recommended as the entire rule of faith, as the sole means by which men are to be brought to the certain and specific knowledge of the doctrines, precepts, and institutions of Christ ; and when the Scriptures so read and circulated are left to the interpretation and private judgment of each individual : then such reading, circulation, and interpretation, are forbidden by the Catholic church, because the Catholic church knows that the circulation of the Scriptures, and the

* Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XII., pp. 16, 54, 57.

† Lectures on the Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church, vol. i. p. 19.

interpretation of them by each one's private judgment, were not the means ordained by Christ for the communication of the true knowledge of his law to all nations; she knows that Christianity was established in many countries before one book of the New Testament was written; that it was not by means of the Scriptures that the apostles and their successors converted nations, or any one nation, to the unity of the Christian faith; that the unauthorized reading and circulation of the Scriptures, and the interpretation of them by private judgment, are calculated to lead men to contradictory doctrines on the primary articles of Christian belief; to inconsistent forms of worship, which cannot all be constituent parts of the uniform and sublime system of Christianity; to error and fanaticism in religion, and to seditions and the greatest disorders in states and kingdoms!"*

Once more. When the Roman Catholic reads the sacred volume, it is not with him the exercise of an undoubted and inalienable right. He has received permission from his confessor; a great privilege is conceded to him, which he may assuredly expect will be taken away, if he ventures to assert his freedom, and presumes to think for himself. Tradition explains Scripture; the church is the depository of tradition, "the living, speaking judge, to watch over and explain the rule of faith in all matters of controversy;"† and the priest is the representative and interpreter of the church. The law in this case made and provided is contained in the decree. The rule of the Congregation of the

* Declaration, p. 8.

† Milner's End of Controversy, p. 56.

Index has been quoted. The confession is in perfect accordance with the law : " I also admit the sacred Scriptures, according to the sense which the holy mother church has held, and does hold, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures ; nor will I ever take or interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the fathers."*

Peter Dens says, that the injunctions of the Council of Trent, respecting the Scriptures, are faithfully observed in Roman Catholic countries ; but that *where Roman Catholics live among heretics greater indulgence is allowed* :† doubtless in order to induce Protestants to believe, that they are not so hostile to the Scriptures as is commonly supposed !

When the pope received the decrees of the fourth session, perceiving the increasing importance of the council, he augmented the number of the cardinals to whose care its affairs were committed, directing them to watch its proceedings very narrowly ; and he wrote to the legates, strictly enjoining them not to suffer any thing to be decided which had not been first sent to Rome, and there examined and approved.

A subject in which most of the fathers were personally interested came next under discussion. This was the right to preach and deliver lectures on divinity. The bishops claimed the sole prerogative to provide for the wants of the church in these respects, and complained bitterly of the usurpations of the regulars, or monks and friars, especially the mendicant orders, whose overgrown power had been long regarded with ill-suppressed indignation. The

* Pope Pius's Creed.

† Theologia, tom. ii. p 103.

pope was too well convinced of the justice of their pretensions to think of offering an unqualified resistance ; nevertheless, his regard to the religious orders, whose devotedness to the Roman see was of essential importance to his interests, induced him to charge the legates to exert themselves to the utmost, that the bishops might be gratified at as little expense as possible to their rivals.

The debates on this subject were distinguished by great violence and disorder ; but the legates succeeded, at last, in maturing a plan, in which the contending parties severally acquiesced. The regulars were to be prohibited from preaching in churches not belonging to their order, without a bishop's licence ; in their own churches, the licence of their superiors would suffice, which, however, was to be presented to the bishop, whose blessing they were directed to ask, and who was empowered to proceed against them if they preached heresy, or acted in a disorderly manner. But this privilege was clogged with a clause, enacting that the bishops exercised their power "as delegates of the holy see." Thus the pope gave with one hand, what he took away with the other ; and fastened the chains of bondage, while he seemed to bestow freedom. The qualifying clause continued to be used in the subsequent proceedings of the council, whenever the pretensions of the prelates appeared to clash with the prerogatives of the holy father.

Agreeably to the resolution which had been passed, to treat of doctrine and reformation at the same time, the legates proposed for consideration the doctrine of original sin. The contrary opinions maintained on this subject were a severe satire on the boasted unity of faith in the Roman Catholic

church. Some, following Anselm, affirmed that original sin is the privation of original righteousness; others, after Augustine, said that it consists in concupiscence: a large party held the sentiments of Bonaventura and St. Thomas, that there are in our corrupt nature two kinds of rebellion, one of the spirit against God, the other of sense against the spirit; that the latter is concupiscence, and the former unrighteousness, and that both together constitute sin. The conflict of opinion so puzzled the fathers, that they actually published a decree without a definition.

The transmission of original sin from Adam to his posterity was scarcely less perplexing. Some thought that it resembled cases of hereditary deformity or disease. Some were of opinion, that human souls are created immediately by God, and that the corruption of our nature chiefly affects the body, and is transmitted by ordinary generation, the mind being infected thereby, as liquor may be deteriorated by being put into a tainted vessel.

All agreed that eternal death is the punishment of the original transgression. All affirmed that baptism is the remedy, though some would have joined with it the merits of Jesus Christ, and some would have added faith. Infants dying unbaptized were variously disposed of. The Dominicans said, that they would remain in Limbo, a dark and subterraneous place, without fire. The Franciscans thought they would reside on the earth, and enjoy light. Some were of opinion that they would become philosophers, understand natural science, and make great discoveries. Ambrose Catharin added, that they would be visited and comforted by angels

and the spirits of the just. Many other fantasies and frivolities were uttered.

When these debates were ended, and the decree produced for examination, a fresh discussion arose. If Adam's sin was transmitted to all his posterity, the virgin Mary was born in sin. This impugned the dogma of the immaculate conception, which was zealously maintained by the Franciscans, and by the Dominicans as fiercely denied. The legates were divided: De Monte favoured the immaculate conception; Santa Croce opposed it; Pole's opinion is not recorded. A large party sided with the Franciscans; but the fear of a schism induced them generally to agree to a suggestion proposed by the bishop of Astorga, to this effect—that the council declined any interference with the point in dispute, leaving it undecided and free. Such is the unity of the Romish church, upon a point on which hundreds, perhaps thousands, of volumes have been written!

The fifth session was held June 17, 1546. The decrees consisted of five canons on original sin, backed by anathemas against all opposers. After stating that the guilt of original sin cannot be taken away “by any other remedy than the merit of our Lord Jesus Christ, the one Mediator, who hath reconciled us to God by his blood,” the fathers add, that “the merit of Jesus Christ is applied, both to adults and infants, by the sacrament of baptism, rightly administered according to the forms of the church.” Thus is the most precious doctrine of the gospel neutralised by a soul-destroying delusion. It would be well if this were peculiar to popery.

CHAPTER IV.

League between the Emperor and the Pope for the suppression of Protestantism—Debates on Justification—Anxiety of the Legates to suspend or transfer the Council—Episcopal residence discussed—Sixth Session—Abstract of the Decree on Justification—Reflections—Opposing Publications on the subject.

IN the summer of 1546, an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between the emperor and the pope, the avowed object of which was, the chastisement of the German Protestants for their continued rejection of the council. The emperor engaged to declare war immediately, and reduce the heretics by force; and he promised to make no treaty with them, nor grant any concessions in religion, without the consent of the pope, who, on his part, stipulated to send a body of 12,000 soldiers, supported at his own expence for six months, should they be wanted so long, and to furnish a considerable pecuniary subsidy.

The emperor would fain have kept the chief subject of quarrel in the back ground, and wished it to be believed that his sole design was to punish certain rebellious princes, against whom he brought heavy charges: he was very anxious to avoid the odium of a spiritual war. But the pope evidently regarded it as a crusade in defence of the faith. He wrote to the kings of France and Poland, and to other states, requesting their co-operation; sent cardinal Farnese, as his legate, to accompany the allied forces; gave his own troops a consecrated

banner; and in a bull prepared for the occasion, promised ample indulgences and remission of sin to those who should pray for the success of the "holy expedition." The bull was published both at Rome and at Trent; at the latter place in the presence of the whole council.

It had been determined that the subject to be decided in the next session should be the doctrine of justification; and in pursuance of the prescribed order of proceeding, the question of reform proposed for discussion was the residence of bishops, and the best means of removing the obstacles thereto.

With regard to justification itself, the divines were generally agreed, that it means the translation of an individual from the state of an enemy to that of a friend and an adopted child of God, and that it consists in charity, or grace infused into the soul by the Divine Being; thus evidently confounding it with sanctification. Marinier, indeed, maintained that the word is used in a forensic sense, as opposed to "condemnation," and that any other interpretation was contrary to the express language of the apostle Paul; but this opinion found few supporters. The fathers understood the word "justify" to mean "to make righteous," not "to declare righteous:" they founded the acceptance of a sinner in the sight of God, partly, at least, on inherent grace, to which the work of the Lord Jesus Christ was supposed to impart efficacy; and they rejected the word "imputation," which, it was said, the ancients had never used.

Eight general congregations were held on this question, "What is done by the ungodly man himself, when he attains faith, and thence grace?" This

was, in fact, the chief point at issue with the reformers, who zealously contended that all works done before faith, so far from being meritorious, are positively sinful. Julius Contarenus, bishop of Belluno, with whom some few others agreed, ascribed every thing to faith in the merits of the Saviour, and nothing to works, which he regarded as only evidences of faith and righteousness ; and he maintained, that whatever efficacy was attributed to them, detracted from the merit of the Redeemer's blood. But these statements were much disapproved by the majority of the prelates : for the divines agreed that works performed before justification have the merit of *congruity*, that is, that though they are not in themselves meritorious, it is fit and proper that they should be rewarded ; and this notion met with general approbation. But Ambrose Catherin held, that without the special assistance of God no one can perform a truly good work, and that consequently all the actions of the unbeliever are sins. In support of this assertion he quoted Augustine, Ambrose, Anselm, and other fathers, and dwelt much on such passages of Scripture as these, " An evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit ;" " Make the tree good, and the fruit will be good ;" " Unto the unbelieving nothing is pure." He said that it was better to follow the fathers than the scholastic divines, who often contradicted one another ; and that it was safer to build on Scripture, the foundation of true theology, than on the philosophical subtleties which had been too popular in the schools. Jerome Seripand, a Dominican, advanced the notion of two justifications ; the first internal, partly consisting of infused grace and the gift of adoption, conferred by the sacraments, and partly in virtuous actions and a just life ; the

second external, by the imputation of the righteousness and merits of the Saviour. In attaining grace and adoption he affirmed that works had no share; the mercy of God received by faith, being the sole source. Neither did he consider works alone, as sufficient for the justification of him who lives righteously, but represented faith in the righteousness of Jesus Christ as required to supply the deficiency.

With regard to works performed by those who are in a state of grace, there was no difference of opinion. All agreed that they are perfect, and merit eternal life: this is what is called, in Roman Catholic theology, the merit of condignity. It is hardly needful to say, that this doctrine is directly opposed to Scripture.

Great pains were taken to discuss thoroughly the assertion that "man is justified by faith," and to affix some determinate meaning to that expression; but the task was not easy. Some busied themselves in searching for the different senses in which the word "faith" is used in Scripture, which they made to amount to fifteen, but knew not in which it is employed when applied to justification. At length, after much disputing, it was agreed, that faith is the belief of all things which God has revealed, or the church has commanded to be believed. It was distinguished into two sorts: the one, said to exist even in sinners, and which was termed unformed, barren, and dead; the other peculiar to the just, and working by charity, and thence called formed, efficacious, and living faith. Still, as father Paul observes, "they touched not the principal point of the difficulty, which was to ascertain whether a man is justified before he works righteousness, or

whether he is justified by his works of righteousness.”

A decree, embracing as much of the subject as had been then considered, was prepared by the bishop of Bitonto. After some amendments, it was put into the hands of Seripand to be revised. When it was again produced, long and intricate debates ensued, on the certainty of grace, the merit of congruity, the imputation of righteousness, the distinction between grace and charity, free-will, predestination, and other points, on all which there was great diversity of opinion.

The debates being ended, nothing remained but to prepare the decree. This was very difficult ; and to the immense labour employed in rendering the decree unexceptionable, must be ascribed much of the obscurity that so frequently veils its meaning. Seripand's revision was so thoroughly revised again, that he refused to acknowledge his own work. That the council might not only condemn error, but explain and establish truth, it was resolved to divide the decree into two parts, one containing the Catholic doctrine, and the other anathematising those who opposed it. In preparing it, the legate Santa Croce took incredible pains, that he might avoid inserting any thing that was disputed, and at the same time express every sentiment so carefully, that none should have just reason for complaint. From the beginning of September till the end of November he was almost incessantly employed : scarcely a day passed without some addition, suppression, or alteration. When he had finished, copies were given to all the fathers for their examination, and also sent to Rome, when so many observations were made, so many hints of improvement suggested, that the whole

was gone over again before it assumed the form in which it was finally published to the world. We need not say that truth never is elicited by such a process.

During these discussions there had been sundry negotiations and intrigues respecting the suspension or transfer of the council. The legates were very anxious on this subject. They dreaded the opposition of the prelates when the question of reformation came on ; and they considered the submission of the Protestants as hopeless : they were, therefore, desirous either to suspend the council, or to transfer it to some place within the papal dominions. The pope was willing to forward their views : there was a majority of prelates on the same side ; but the repugnance of the emperor baffled all their projects. He was anxious for a postponement of the session, as the publication of the impending decree could not fail to exasperate the Protestants, whose entire subjection he hoped soon to accomplish.

On one occasion, the legates had written, advising that the session should be held, and the council suspended immediately after ; and that the pope should summon the fathers to Rome, and then, by their advice, enact such reforms as he should judge proper, by a papal bull ! At another time, when the legates were blamed that business was not in a more forward state, scarcely any thing having been done respecting reformation, they replied that it was not their fault, for they had written to the pope, and he had not yet informed them how far he was willing that the demands of the prelates should be indulged.

Notwithstanding the emperor's wish for longer delay, a day was fixed for the session. Long and warm discussions intervened respecting episcopal

residence, and the utmost variety of sentiment was expressed. The pope gave strict injunctions not to permit the question of the Divine right of residence to be debated ; since, if it were carried in the affirmative, men would conclude that the exemptions sometimes granted at Rome were null and void. Nevertheless, the subject was immediately introduced by the Spanish bishops, and it was not without some trouble that they were silenced. It was soon ascertained, that it would be impossible to proceed far with the business, and that the near approach of the session would compel them to be satisfied with an imperfect and short decree, which was accordingly prepared.

The sixth session was held January 13, 1547. The decree passed that day contains the final sentiments of the church of Rome on the subject of justification. There are sixteen chapters, and thirty-three canons. The titles of the chapters are :—
“ Of the inability of nature and the law to justify men ; Of the dispensation and mystery of the advent of Christ ; Who are justified by Christ ; A brief description of the justification of the ungodly, and the manner thereof, in a state of grace ; Of the necessity and source of preparation for justification in adult persons ; The mode of preparation ; Of the nature and causes of the justification of the ungodly ; How it is to be understood that the ungodly are justified by faith, and freely ; Against the vain confidence of the heretics ; Of the increase of actual justification ; Of the necessity and possibility of keeping the commandments ; That the rash confidence of predestination is to be avoided ; Of the gift of perseverance ; Of the lapsed, and their recovery ; That grace, although not faith, may be lost

by any mortal sin ; Of the fruit of justification, that is, of the merit of good works, and the reason of that merit."

As the seventh chapter contains the substance of the Romish doctrine on this subject, it is here quoted entire.

"Justification itself follows this disposition or preparation ; and justification is not remission of sin merely, but also sanctification, and the renewal of the inner man by the voluntary reception of grace and Divine gifts, so that he who was unrighteous is made righteous, and the enemy becomes a friend, and an heir according to the hope of eternal life. The causes of justification are these : the *final* cause, the glory of God, and of Christ, and life eternal ; the *efficient* cause, the merciful God, who freely cleanses and sanctifies, sealing and anointing with the Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance ; the *meritorious* cause, his well-beloved and only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, who, through his great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were enemies, merited justification for us by his most holy passion on the cross, and made satisfaction for us to God the Father ; the *instrumental* cause, the sacrament of baptism, which is the sacrament of faith, without which no one can ever obtain justification : lastly, the sole *formal* cause is the righteousness of God ; not that by which he himself is righteous, but that by which he makes us righteous ; with which being endued by him, we are renewed in the spirit of our mind, and are not only accounted righteous, but are properly called righteous, and are so, receiving righteousness in ourselves, each according to his measure, which the Holy Spirit bestows upon each

as he wills, and according to our respective dispositions and co-operation. For although no one can be righteous unless the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ are imparted to him, yet this takes place in the justification of the ungodly, when, for the sake of his most holy passion, the love of God is infused in the hearts of those who are justified, and abides in them. Therefore, when a man is justified, and united to Jesus Christ, he receives, together with remission of sins, the following gifts, bestowed upon him at the same time, namely, faith, hope, and charity. For faith does not perfectly join us to Christ, nor make us living members of his body, unless hope and charity accompany it ; for which reason it is most truly said, ' faith without works is dead ' and void, James ii. 20 ; and ' in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision ; but faith which worketh by charity,' Gal. v. 6. It is this faith that catechumens ask of the church before they receive the sacrament of baptism, according to apostolic tradition ; for they seek that faith which procures eternal life, which faith cannot procure separately from hope and charity. Therefore, they are immediately reminded of the words of Christ, ' If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments,' Matt. xix. 17. Then receiving, in their regeneration, true and Christian righteousness, as the best robe, white and spotless, bestowed on them through Christ Jesus, instead of that which Adam lost by his disobedience, both for himself and us, they are commanded to preserve the same, that they may present it before the tribunal of our Lord Jesus Christ, and possess eternal life."

To this may be added the following extracts from the canons :—

“Whoever shall affirm, that all works done before justification, in whatever way performed, are actually sins, and deserve God’s hatred; or that the more earnestly a man labours to dispose himself for grace, he does but sin the more: let him be accursed.”

“Whoever shall affirm, that the ungodly is justified by faith only, so that it is to be understood that nothing else is to be required to co-operate therewith in order to obtain justification; and that it is on no account necessary that he should prepare and dispose himself by the effect of his own will: let him be accursed.”

“Whoever shall affirm, that men are justified without the righteousness of Christ, by which he has merited for us; or that they are thereby formally just: * let him be accursed.”

“Whoever shall affirm, that men are justified solely by the imputation of the righteousness of Christ, or the remission of sin, to the exclusion of grace and charity, which is shed abroad in their hearts, and inheres in them; or that the grace by which we are justified is only the favour of God: let him be accursed.”

“Whoever shall affirm, that a justified man, how perfect soever, is not bound to keep the commandments of God and the church, but only to believe; as if the gospel were a naked and absolute promise

* It has been already affirmed, that “inherent” righteousness is the formal cause of justification; the redemption of Christ is termed the meritorious cause, not because thereby solely we are accepted before God—this is denied in the next canon, but because it gives efficacy to our righteousness: so that, according to the Roman Catholic scheme, salvation is of works.

of eternal life, without the condition of keeping the commandments : let him be accursed."

"Whoever shall affirm, that justification received is not preserved, and even increased, in the sight of God, by good works ; but that works are only the fruits and evidences of justification received, and not the causes of its increase : let him be accursed."

"Whoever shall affirm, that the righteous ought not to expect and hope for everlasting reward from God for their good works, which are wrought in God, through his mercy and the merits of Jesus Christ, if they persevere to the end in well-doing and observance of the Divine commandments : let him be accursed."

"Whoever shall affirm, that he who has fallen after baptism cannot by the grace of God rise again ; or that if he can, it is possible for him to recover his lost righteousness by faith only, without the sacrament of penance, which the holy Roman and universal church, instructed by Christ the Lord and his apostles, has to this day professed, kept, and taught : let him be accursed."

"Whoever shall affirm, that when the grace of justification is received, the offence of the penitent sinner is so forgiven, and the sentence of eternal punishment reversed, that there remains no temporal punishment to be endured, before his entrance into the kingdom of heaven, either in this world, or in the future state, in purgatory : let him be accursed."

"Whoever shall affirm, that the good works of a justified man are in such sense the gifts of God, that they are not also his worthy merits ; or that he, being justified by his good works, which are wrought by him through the grace of God and the merits of Jesus Christ, of whom he is a living member, does
.. "

not really deserve increase of grace, eternal life, the enjoyment of that eternal life if he dies in a state of grace, and even an increase of glory : let him be accursed."

Especial attention should be given to the decree of the council of Trent, on justification. It is the solemn declaration of the belief of the Romish church in that all-important subject. But by these decisions "faith is made void," the finished work of the Lord Jesus Christ is transformed into a mere stepping stone for human merit ; and men are taught to look to themselves rather than to the Saviour, and to rely on their own doings, to the exclusion, or at least to the depreciation, of his all-glorious righteousness.

That salvation is entirely owing to Divine grace, and that the sinner is justified when he believes the gospel, are truths written as with a sunbeam in the inspired volume. But they are so opposed to the whole system of popery, that none can be surprised at the earnestness with which the prelates and divines at Trent laboured to dilute their meaning, and explain them away. In effecting this, they first confounded justification and sanctification ; and by making the former include the latter, (which they well knew their adversaries would deny,) supposed that they had provided a ready and conclusive answer to those who held that man is justified by faith only. This disingenuous artifice can deceive no one. True Protestants never maintained the absurd position, that we are sanctified by faith only ; but they distinguish between things that differ. Justification is the foundation ; sanctification, the building : in the former the rebel is pardoned and reconciled ; the latter is the obedience of a loyal subject :

—“By grace ye are saved through faith,” explains the one; the other is thus described—“We are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them,” Eph. ii. 8, 10.

Next, the council taught the necessity of “dispositions” and “preparations,” holding that they constitute a fitness for the favour of God: among these “dispositions,” faith is but one out of seven, and faith, according to Roman Catholic doctrine, is believing God and the church. Still further to “darken counsel,” they connected justification with baptism, both in the case of an infant and an adult. Is an individual distressed on account of sin? If he was baptized in infancy, he is told that he was then justified, and that penance is now the path to peace, the “second plank after shipwreck.” If he was not baptized in infancy, as soon as that ordinance is administered he is assured that he is safe. He is not bidden to look to the cross of Christ; nothing is said of the “blood that cleanseth from all sin;” he has been washed in what is miscalled the “laver of regeneration,”—the “instrumental cause” of justification,—and with this he is to be satisfied. Here is no room for the apostolic declaration, “Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ,” Rom. v. 1: it is shut out altogether.

The consummation of impiety is the doctrine of human merit, so explicitly and shamelessly set forth. Our blessed Saviour said, “When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do,” Luke xvii. 10. The glorified spirits in heaven, the confessors and

martyrs of the church, have "washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb; *therefore* are they before the throne of God," Rev. vii. 14, 15. Such is the language of holy writ. In direct opposition to this, the Council of Trent declares, and Roman Catholics believe, that the good works of the justified man, his fasts, his alms, his penance, "really deserve increase of grace, and eternal life."

The decree was in several instances purposely rendered ambiguous, that it might include the differing sentiments of the divines and prelates. Of this ambiguity no other proof is needed, than the publications that were issued shortly after by Catharin and Soto. The latter, in a work "on nature and grace," maintained that man cannot have an entire and absolute certainty of being in a justified state: the former argued in favour of that certainty. These authors dedicated their works to the council: in support of their conflicting notions they appealed to its decree on justification, in preparing which they themselves were concerned, and yet interpreted it differently, each in favour of his own scheme. Cardinal Santa Croce sided with Catharin; De Monte professed to be neutral. Where, then, was the boasted infallibility of the church?

In passing the doctrinal decree the fathers were nearly unanimous. But when their votes were required for the decree of reformation, there was such difference and opposition of sentiment, such confusion and uproar, that the legates dismissed the assembly without passing the decree. After undergoing frequent revision and amendment, it was, at length, suffered to be published, about six weeks after the session. The principal enactment related

to residence. Patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, were directed to reside in their respective sees under the penalties inflicted by the ancient canons ; if they were absent six months, a fourth part of the year's revenue might be confiscated ; if twelve months, one half ; and they were further enjoined to enforce residence on the lower orders of the clergy. But "just and reasonable causes" of absence were excepted ; and indulgences and dispensations remained in full force, so that provision was made for the discharge of the official duties of the incumbent. Ample scope was thus afforded for evasion of the decree.

CHAPTER V.

Debates on the Sacraments, particularly Baptism and Confirmation—Pluralities—Seventh Session—Infectious fever said to prevail at Trent—Eighth Session—The Council transferred to Bologna—Rage of the Emperor on that account—Ninth and Tenth Sessions—Endeavours of the Emperor to procure the return of the Council to Trent—The Council suspended.

It was resolved that the subject of the sacraments should be next considered, and in connexion with it, the question of episcopal residence, chiefly with a view to the reformation of those abuses by which it was hindered.

The fathers were generally agreed respecting the number of the sacraments. It was held that they were neither more nor fewer than seven, namely, baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, and matrimony. In support of this number, nothing better could be adduced than tradition and fanciful analogies. It was argued, for instance, that seven is a perfect number; since there are seven days in the week, seven excellent virtues, seven deadly sins, seven planets, etc. Such cogent reasoning was irresistible!

There was also an entire unanimity in the condemnation of the reformers, for denying that the sacraments confer grace. But they were not united in their expositions of the manner in which this effect is produced. The divines generally maintained that grace is acquired in two ways: it may flow

from the good disposition of the recipient ; or it may be produced by a supposed virtue in the sacrament itself, as baptism bestows grace on infants and idiots, and extreme unction on the unconscious sick and dying. But the Dominicans and Franciscans differed widely in their explanations. Long and angry disputations resulted ; each party charged the other with heresy ; and the legates were compelled to seek the interference of the pope, to curb the violence of the monks, and restrain their ungovernable fury.

Baptism, confirmation, and orders, are supposed by the Romish church to produce a peculiar and indelible effect on the party, called the impression of a character. The divines at Trent were divided on this subject : whether to call it a spiritual power, a habit, a disposition, a relation, or a quality, they could not agree ; nor were they unanimous respecting its seat, some placing it in the essence of the soul, some in the mind, others in the will, and a fourth class in the hands and tongue.

Much was said respecting the intention of the minister from whom a sacrament is received. It was generally thought that the validity of the sacrament depends on that intention being rightly directed, in default of which the ceremony is null, and all its presumed benefits lost. Ambrose Catharin laboured hard to procure some modification of this sentiment. A priest, he observed, might be an infidel or a hypocrite : in such a corrupt age, it was to be feared there were many of that description. These individuals would mean nothing less in the administration of the sacraments than what the church intended, and would commonly administer them with secret derision and contempt. But if the inward intention of the priest were essential, how sad must be the

condition of those who had received the sacraments from an ungodly administrator, and who must be deemed to be in an unchristianised state! He, therefore, thought it should be sufficient if the forms prescribed by the church were duly observed, whatever might be the intention of the priest; but the majority were of a different mind. And it has been truly said, that though the sacraments are by the church of Rome considered essential means of salvation, no one can be sure they have been rightly administered to him.

As it was soon found impracticable to comprise the whole of the sacraments in one decree, it was decided that only baptism and confirmation should be then discussed. There was scarcely any division of sentiment on these topics. When the debates had finished, canons were prepared, backed with anathemas, as in the preceding session, and so dexterously formed, by the use of general and vague expressions, as to include the several varieties of Roman Catholic opinion, and condemn none but decided Protestants.

While the divines were employed in their theological discussions, the canonists were equally busy in preparing the decree of reformation. But it was impossible to meet the views and wishes of all the prelates, especially the Spaniards, who had determined to make a bold stand against the usurpations of the pope, and to put a stop, if possible, to the aggrandizement of the regulars. In addition to their just complaints on this head, the scandalous intrigues and rapacious exactions of the court of Rome gave great and general offence. Almost any thing could be accomplished by money and influence; and the decrees and canons of ancient councils were

unceremoniously set aside, when some needy favourite or busy tool of the papacy was to be enriched.

These evils were attacked with much vigour. The prelates revived the discussion of the Divine right of residence, which, if it were once determined and declared, would destroy most of the alleged abuses. But here they were treading on forbidden ground. They had touched the pope's prerogative; and De Monte told them, with an angry and haughty air, that they must not presume to meddle with this subject; such was the will of the pontiff, and he must be obeyed. Besides, too severe a reformation would not suit the times; they must consider what was possible, as well as what was proper.

It was agreed, that their attention should be principally confined to the abuses arising out of pluralities. The disease was universally acknowledged; every one was ready to prescribe for it, and each thought his own remedy the best. The Spanish prelates, who held the Divine right of residence, maintained the unlawfulness of pluralities in the same sense, and demanded their entire abolition. But the Italian bishops, encouraged by the legate De Monte, who in this instance differed from his colleague, would only consent to a very partial and limited reform.

The legates inserted in the prologue the following clause:—"saving in all things the authority of the apostolic see." This plainly nullified the whole, since it would be worse than useless to issue enactments which the pope might afterwards dispense with by a stroke of his pen. Nevertheless, though vigorously opposed by the reforming party, the clause was suffered to remain. Various attempts were made to procure a more extensive reform than the decree contemplated, but they were entirely

ineffectual. Some were afraid to speak their minds freely ; some were gained by flattery, or cajoled by assurances that the pope himself would remedy all evils ; and the decree was in consequence approved by a large majority.

The seventh session was held March 3. No sermon was delivered, as the bishop of St. Marc, who had been appointed to preach, was detained at his lodgings by a violent cold, and no one was able to ascend the pulpit at a short notice. The doctrinal decree embodied the sentiments already described on the sacraments in general, and on baptism and confirmation in particular ; as will appear by the following extracts from the canons :—

“ Whoever shall affirm, that the sacraments of the new law were not all instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, or that they are more or fewer than seven, namely, baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, and matrimony, or that any of these is not truly and properly a sacrament : let him be accursed.”

“ Whoever shall affirm, that the sacraments of the new law do not contain the grace which they signify ; or that they do not confer that grace on those who place no obstacle in its way ; as if they were only the external signs of grace or righteousness received by faith, and marks of Christian profession, whereby the faithful are distinguished from unbelievers : let him be accursed.”

“ Whoever shall affirm, that grace is not conferred by these sacraments of the new law, by their own power [*ex opere operato*] ; but that faith in the Divine promise is all that is necessary to obtain grace : let him be accursed.”

“ Whoever shall affirm, that when ministers per-

form and confer a sacrament, it is not necessary that they should at least have the intention to do what the church does : let him be accursed."

"Whoever shall affirm, that a minister who is in a state of mortal sin, does not perform or confer a sacrament, although he observes every thing that is essential to the performance and bestowment thereof : let him be accursed."

"Whoever shall affirm, that baptism is indifferent, that is, not necessary to salvation : let him be accursed."

"Whoever shall affirm, that the baptized are free from all the precepts of holy church, either written or delivered by tradition, so that they are not obliged to observe them, unless they will submit to them of their own accord : let him be accursed."

Seven effects of baptism are enumerated by the compilers of the "Catechism." It is said to "remit original sin, and actual guilt, however enormous ;" to remit all the punishment due to sin ; to bestow invaluable privileges, such as justification and adoption ; to produce abundance of virtues ; to unite the soul to Christ ; to seal it with an ineffaceable character ; and to open the portals of heaven.* Here, again, "faith is made void."

The decree of reformation contained sundry regulations on the subject of pluralities, which were good enough in theory : many of them, however, have been little regarded ; and the pope has power to dispense with the whole, at the call of interest or ambition.

The subject fixed for the next session was the eucharist, and the divines had opened their

* Catechism, pp. 177—186.

debates upon it, when the progress of the council was suddenly suspended by an event which happened most opportunely for the pope and his adherents, and enabled them to accomplish an object which they had long had at heart.

It was notorious that the council was extremely unpopular at Rome. The pope feared the diminution of his power: his courtiers were terrified at the thought of losing their ill-gotten emoluments; and the resolution was taken to fight for every inch of ground. Hitherto they had succeeded, though not without difficulty; but the sturdy zeal of the reforming party not a little alarmed them; and the persevering energy which the Spanish bishops displayed, in seeking the recovery of their lost rights, could not be viewed without deep concern. It seemed very desirable, therefore, to transfer the assembly to some place within the papal dominions.

Two days after the session it was reported, that a distemper prevailed in the city of Trent, of which many persons had died; among them were some individuals connected with the council. Great alarm was excited, and some of the prelates left the place, without asking permission of the legates. Baldwin, domestic physician to De Monte, and Jerome Fracastorio, physician to the council, were consulted: they said that the disease was a contagious fever, that the danger would increase as the weather became warmer, and that persons of delicate constitution, studious men, and noblemen and gentlemen, were chiefly in peril.

These circumstances were communicated to the fathers by De Monte, who told them, that he and his colleagues had agreed that it was desirable to transfer the council to some other place not far distant, and

they jointly recommended Bologna, a city belonging to the pope. Cardinal Pacheco opposed the motion. He denied the danger said to exist, and denied it after having made particular inquiry into the alleged facts. It had been ascertained, he said, that in the populous parish of St. Peter but two persons had died in the preceding month, one an infant, and the other a dropsical patient. There were only forty sick in the whole city, and but five of them had the fever. He placed little confidence in the testimony of Baldwin and Fracastorio, whose depositions the Trent physicians had refused to sign. He proposed, therefore, that a committee should be appointed to examine witnesses. The majority of the prelates, however, whether really terrified by the fear of death, or glad to get away from Trent, embraced the views of the legates.

Accordingly, the eighth session was held March 11. Cardinal Pacheco repeated his opposition to the proposed removal; and advised that the session should be prorogued for a short time, that the fathers might enjoy a little rest from their labours, and recover from their distressing fears. There were but few, however, disposed to support this opinion; thirty-eight voted for the translation, fourteen against it; four were neutral. The minority were chiefly Spanish bishops; the majority for the most part Italians. On the next day (it was Sunday) the legates publicly left the city, accompanied by the prelates who had voted for the translation. The rest remained at Trent, waiting the orders of the emperor.

The legates knew very well the pope's repugnance to the council, and his desire for its removal to some other place whenever a suitable occasion might offer.

The appearance of the fever at Trent furnished an opportunity which they were too sagacious not to discern and embrace. A plausible pretext for the translation was thus supplied, but that it was only a pretext must be generally conceded. The witnesses were mostly persons connected with the council, and under the influence of the legates; they were not examined by the opponents of the translation; the physicians of the place were not questioned; the prelates who remained at Trent enjoyed their usual health; the danger, if any, was soon over; and the council met again in the same place at two subsequent periods without any mention being made of the insalubrity of its air, or the prevalence of contagious disorders.* In fact, the fever disappeared when the prevailing party had left for Bologna; and the world soon saw that the whole was a crafty manœuvre to check the spirit of reform, and bring the business of the council more fully, if possible, than before under the dictation and control of the pope.

The news of the translation was received at Rome with undisguised pleasure. But the emperor was excessively enraged. He foresaw that the Germans would not be persuaded to submit to a council held in one of the papal cities; he felt it as a high affront to his dignity, that the removal to Bologna had taken place without consulting him. He denied

* A zealous advocate for the council, in a work published the year after its termination, speaks in the strongest terms of the fine air of Trent, and the salubrity of the place. When contagion prevailed almost throughout Germany, Trent was free: he was there two years, but neither was the heat oppressive, nor the cold severe. In short, from his account, Trent must be a very healthy place.—*Disputationes adversus protestationem*, etc., a Gasparo Cardillo Villalpando, p. 54. Venetiis, 1564.

the validity of the reasons alleged for that measure, and maintained that it had been procured by false evidence. And he scrupled not to say, that the pope was an obstinate old man, and would ruin the church, but that he himself would take care that a council should be held, which would give satisfaction to all parties, and correct whatever needed correction. Meanwhile, he commenced negotiations for the return of the prelates to Trent. The pope, however, received his remonstrances with coldness and indifference.

On the arrival of the legates at Bologna, the divines who had accompanied them commenced discussions on the eucharist and penance, in order to prepare for the approaching session. A letter was sent to the prelates at Trent, inviting them to join their brethren, and resume the business of the council; but the invitation was not accepted.

No ambassadors had arrived at Bologna, and none but Italian bishops were there. It seemed hardly consistent with the dignity of the council to issue any decrees under such circumstances, and accordingly a prorogation to the 2d of June was agreed upon, in compliance with directions transmitted by the pope. This was published at the ninth session, held April 21. After the session the fathers continued their labours. A decree on the eucharist was prepared; considerable progress was made in framing one on penance; extreme unction, orders, the mass, matrimony, purgatory, and indulgences were successively studied, besides various questions of reform.

As the pope and the emperor were still at variance, nothing was done at the tenth session (held June 2), save that another prorogation, till Sept. 15,

was announced, and power was given to enlarge or contract the period at a general congregation. In the meantime, the discussions on doctrine and discipline were to go on as before. On Sept. 14, the session was again prorogued for an indefinite period.

The power of the Protestant princes was broken in the fatal battle of Muhlberg.* Charles had now everything in his own hands. The fallen states of Germany were persuaded or compelled to submit to the council, on condition that it should be removed back to Trent, for which purpose application was made to the pope. But his holiness was inexorable. He pretended that he had not interfered in the translation: the council had voluntarily removed to Bologna, and must voluntarily return to Trent: he said he left it to their unfettered decision. On the other hand, they were sufficiently aware of his inclinations, and refused even to consider the question till the dissenting prelates had joined them. Various plans were suggested, in the hope of effecting conciliation or mutual compromise; but every effort was unsuccessful, and it was evident that a resolution was formed to refuse all the emperor's requests. Perceiving this, he ordered solemn protestation to be made in his name against the translation, and against all the subsequent proceedings of the council. This was done, both at Bologna and Rome, according to the usual forms.†

Almost two years had now elapsed since the translation of the council, and there was less hope than ever of healing the breach which was then made. Fear of the emperor, and concern to pre-

* See Robertson's Charles v. book 9.

† Pallav. ut sup. c. 11. Sarpi, s. 16. Le Plat, iii. p. 684—727.

serve the friendship of his new ally, the king of France, kept the pope in a state of hesitation, and prevented him from taking any decisive step. But the assembly at Bologna had dwindled into utter insignificance; scarcely any were left but the avowed pensionaries of the apostolic see: to dignify it by the appellation of "general council" was too ridiculous to be permitted any longer. The reputation of the Roman Catholic church required the dissolution of that body; and De Monte was informed, (Sept. 17, 1549,) that as the pope intended to have the question of reform discussed at Rome, the labours of the fathers were no longer required. In obedience to this message the few remaining prelates left Bologna.

CHAPTER VI.

Accession of Pope Julius III.—Negotiations with the Emperor for the resumption of the Council—The Bull issued—Objections of the Protestants—Eleventh and Twelfth Sessions—Protestation of the King of France against the Council—Debates on the Eucharist and on Transubstantiation—Opposition to Reform—Thirteenth Session—Abstract of the Decree—Safe conduct issued for the Protestants.

PAUL III. did not long survive the suspension of the council. He died November 10, 1549, and was succeeded by De Monte, the late legate at Trent, who assumed the name of Julius III. The well known character and previous conduct of the new pontiff gave small hope to the friends of religion and reform. His love of luxury and pleasure is attested by all the historians. Proud, passionate, and unyielding, he could not endure to be opposed or thwarted, and counted that man his enemy who resisted his will. Having in a subordinate capacity manifested such a haughty bearing, he could not be expected to lower his tone when raised to so high an exaltation, and regarded as a god upon earth. Nevertheless, the proudest minds must sometimes stoop, and even Julius found it necessary to make some temporary concessions.

Charles v. thought this a favourable opportunity to press the resumption of the council, and sent Mendoza to Rome to carry on the negotiations. On his arrival, the matter was referred to a committee of cardinals, who, after long deliberation, recommended the pope to accede to the emperor's wishes,

and to convoke the council again at Trent, on the following conditions:—1. That the co-operation of the king of France should be obtained; 2. That arrangements should be made to bring the council to a speedy conclusion; 3. That the decrees already passed at Trent should not be disturbed; 4. That the papal authority should be entirely preserved. Pope Julius adopted these suggestions, and gave instructions to his nuncios at the courts of the emperor and the king of France to inform those monarchs of his intention. At the same time he wrote a private letter to Charles, reminding him that for this compliance he expected a suitable return, and that it would be mutually advantageous to consider themselves under reciprocal engagements to preserve each other's authority and rights. The sagacious pontiff had no thought of playing an uncertain game. He had no objection to amuse Christendom with the imposing solemnities of a general council, but he would first be saved harmless. The emperor might enslave Germany, persecute the Protestants, and do any thing else he pleased, so that he left the papal prerogatives untouched, and repressed those busy intermeddlers who were always urging the reformation of manners and discipline. Charles was too ready to further his views.

The bull for the re-opening of the council contained expressions that could not but be obnoxious and offensive, even to many Roman Catholics. The pontiff asserted that he possessed the sole power of convening and directing general councils; commanded, "in the plenitude of apostolic authority," the prelates of Europe to repair forthwith to Trent; promised, unless prevented by his age and infirmities, or the pressure of public affairs, to preside in

person ; and denounced the vengeance of Almighty God, and of the apostles Peter and Paul, on any who should resist or disobey the decree. It was published January 27, 1551.

When presented at the German diet, then sitting at Augsburg, it produced exactly the effects that might have been anticipated. The Protestants declared that such arrogant pretensions precluded the hope of conciliation, and that they could not submit to the council without wounding their consciences and offending God. The Roman Catholics said as there was no probability of reconciling the Protestants, it would be useless to waste their time and money by going to Trent. Charles had much to do to allay the agitation. He promised to repair in person to Trent, or some neighbouring place, to watch over the proceedings of the assembly, and engaged that every thing transacted at the council should be done in a legal and orderly manner, and that its decisions should be according to the doctrine of Scripture and the fathers : but he promised more than he was able to perform.

Cardinal Crescentio was appointed to preside over the council, as the pontifical legate. With him were joined, in the capacity of nuncios, Pighino, archbishop of Siponto, and Lippoman, bishop of Verona. Three ambassadors were sent by the emperor—counts de Montfort and Toledo, and William of Poitiers, severally representing his Imperial, Spanish, and Flemish dominions. The Protestant states also prepared to advocate their cause, both by ambassadors and divines. Melancthon was selected by Maurice of Saxony, and ordered to prepare a confession of faith, to be presented to the assembled fathers in his name. The elector of

Brandenburg employed Brentius for the same purpose.

On May 1, 1551, the eleventh session was held, and the council re-opened with the usual solemnities. During the next four months scarcely any thing was done. The fathers were occupied in settling some questions of precedence, and the discussions that had taken place at Bologna were read in their hearing; but in the absence of the Germans they were unwilling to commence the regular business of the council. In August, the electors of Mentz and Treves, with several prelates, arrived. Still, the number assembled was very small, and it was judged expedient to postpone the publication of a decree. Nevertheless, the session was held at the appointed time, September 1. On this occasion the council was compelled to hear another protestation against itself. James Amyot, abbot of Bellosane, appeared at the session, with a letter from the king of France, in which his most Christian majesty informed the fathers, that being prevented from taking part in their proceedings by the differences existing between himself and the pope, he could not consider them as a general council of the Catholic church, but only as a private assembly, convened for the promotion of party views and private interests; that France would not be bound to observe their decrees; and that he should adopt such measures as were deemed necessary for the welfare of religion in his own dominions, without any regard to their assembly.

The debates on the eucharist, which was the subject then under discussion, were unusually languid; partly because little difference of opinion prevailed among the fathers, and partly because the whole

question had been examined at Bologna so thoroughly, as almost to render any further investigation unnecessary. The divines were directed to bring forward such sentiments as should be supported by the authority of the Scriptures, apostolic traditions, approved councils, papal constitutions and decrees, the writings of the fathers, and the general consent of the Catholic church. Although this method of proceeding was very far from being adapted to elicit truth, the word of God being only considered as one among other authorities, the Italians were much dissatisfied. They were so accustomed to the metaphysical subtleties of the scholastic divinity, and so imperfectly versed in Scripture, that they dreaded the consequences of being compelled to adopt even so partial a reference to its pages, and loudly complained of the regulations.

The chief contest respected the mode of Christ's presence in the sacrament, and the true meaning of the word "transubstantiation." The Dominicans and Franciscans were divided. The former maintained, "that Jesus Christ exists in the sacrament, not as coming thither from a place in which he was before, but because the substance of the bread being changed into his body, he is in the place where the bread was before without coming to it from any other place; and that as the whole substance of the bread is changed into the whole substance of his body, that is to say, the matter and form of the bread into the matter and form of his body, this is the change which is properly called transubstantiation." The Franciscans held, "that the power of God may cause a body to exist truly and substantially in many places, and that when it occupies a new place, it is because it goes thither, not by a succes-

sive motion, as if it left one to go to another, but by an instantaneous change, which causes it to occupy a second place without leaving the first; that, by the ordinance of God, wherever the body of Jesus Christ exists, there remaineth no other substance there; not that this latter substance is destroyed, but the body of Christ has taken its place; and that transubstantiation does not consist in the formation of the body of Jesus Christ out of the substance of the bread, as the Dominicans maintained, but that it is the succession of the first to the second." Error in its varied forms was admitted, but truth was carefully shut out.

It was deemed expedient on this occasion to recur to the plan adopted in the sixth session, and to introduce the canons by explanatory chapters, containing the doctrine of the church as now revised and corrected. In accordance with the determination, a committee was appointed, by whom the decree was prepared. Upon this the imperial ambassadors interposed, and represented to the legate, that if the decree should pass, there would be no hope of obtaining the submission of the Protestants. They therefore urged the suspension of the decree till their arrival, and requested on their behalf a safe conduct in the name of the council. The legate was very angry at this demand, but at last he reluctantly yielded, and wrote to the pope, soliciting direction. After some discussions in the consistory, instructions were sent to suspend that part of the decree which related to communion in both kinds, and to issue a safe-conduct, but in such general terms that no advantage could be taken of it, nor anything inferred prejudicial to the authority of the pope or the council.

Very little was done in furthering ecclesiastical reform, owing to the determined resistance of the legate, who resolutely opposed the prelates in their attacks on the encroachments of the papal court. The result was, that power triumphed over justice, and none but trivial and unsatisfactory reforms were suffered to pass.

When the decrees were prepared and adopted, the legate laid before the council the demands of the imperial ambassadors on behalf of the Protestants, which, he said, appeared to him reasonable, and ought to be complied with. On his recommendation it was agreed to postpone till the following year the decision of the question of communion in both kinds, and the communion of infants; and, in the meantime, to prepare a decree on penance and extreme unction. The presidents of the council were requested to prepare a safe-conduct. This was procured by the legate's management, and enabled him to make use of the form sent him from Rome for that purpose.

The thirteenth session was celebrated October 11, with great pomp. The decree on the eucharist comprised eight explanatory chapters, and eleven canons. It declared, "that immediately after the consecration, the true body of our Lord, and his true blood, together with his soul and Divinity, do exist under the species of the bread and wine; his body under the species of bread, and his blood under the species of wine, by virtue of the words of consecration; his body also under the species of wine, and his blood under the species of bread, and his soul under each species, through that natural connexion and concomitance by which all the parts of Christ our Lord, who has risen from the dead, no

more to die, are closely connected together; and his Divinity, through the wonderful and hypostatical union thereof with his body and soul; that it is most certain that all is contained under either species, and under both; for Christ, whole and entire, exists under the species of bread, and in every particle thereof, and under the species of wine, and in all its parts:"—"that by the consecration of the bread and wine, the whole substance of the bread is converted into the substance of the body of Christ our Lord, and the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood; which conversion is by the holy Catholic church fitly and properly called transubstantiation:"—"that all the faithful in Christ are bound to venerate this most holy sacrament, and to render thereto the worship of *latria*, which is due to the true God:"—"that the custom of annually celebrating this pre-eminent and adorable sacrament with peculiar veneration and solemnity, on an appointed festal day," [Corpus Christi Day, the Thursday after Trinity Sunday] "carrying it reverently and honourably in procession through the streets and public places, was piously and religiously introduced into the church of God:"—and "that no one who is conscious of mortal sin, however contrite he may think himself to be, should venture to receive the holy eucharist without previous sacramental confession."

The questions of communion in both kinds, and the communion of infants, were postponed till the arrival of the Protestants: meanwhile, decrees were to be prepared and passed on the sacraments of penance and extreme unction. Had any desire existed to conciliate the Protestant party, all doctrinal discussions would have been deferred till their

representatives had, at least, been allowed a hearing. But it was already evident, that every possible obstacle would be placed in their way ; and of this, sufficient proof was given in the safe-conduct published in this session. It is true, that full liberty was guaranteed to go to Trent, remain there, and leave the place, and to discuss the disputed subjects with the fathers, or such of them as might be selected for that purpose. But this liberty was granted "as far as the council was concerned," without mention of the civil powers : nothing was said of the right of suffrage ; and if judges favourable to themselves might be appointed, to award punishment for any offences committed by the Protestants during their stay, it was expressly added, "even such as savour of heresy ;" indicating that security for the exercise of their religion was not to be expected.

CHAPTER VII.

Dissatisfaction of the Protestants—Penance and Extreme Unction discussed—Affair of the Bishop of Verdun—Arrival of Protestant Ambassadors—Fourteenth Session—Decrees on Penance and Extreme Unction—Error discovered in the Decree on Penance after the Session—Arrival of more Protestant Ambassadors—A new Safe-conduct demanded—Evasion of the Demand—Reception of the Ambassadors—Detection and Defeat of an Attempt by the Legate to establish Papal despotism—The Fifteenth Session—Ambrose Pelargo's intolerant Discourse—Arrival of Protestant Divines—The Sixteenth Session—The Council again suspended.

As might have been expected, the Protestants were much dissatisfied with the safe-conduct. It was unanimously rejected, and it was agreed to demand another, exactly conformable to that which had been granted to the Bohemians by the council of Basle.

Penance and extreme unction were the subjects fixed for the ensuing session. With a view to expedite business, and decide as much as possible before the arrival of the Protestants, two congregations were held every day, one in the morning, the other in the afternoon. Certain articles, containing the presumed heresies of the reformers, were submitted to the consideration of the divines. But it was impossible to confine them to the prescribed rules of discussion. They were much more apt at citing the school doctors and the canon law than the word of God; and when they did appeal to the testimony of Scripture, the manner in which they used it showed how poorly skilled they were in biblical

theology, and how imperfectly they understood the true method of ascertaining the "mind of the Spirit." For instance, to prove that auricular confession is taught by the inspired writers, they collected all the passages in which the words "confess" and "confession" are found, and unceremoniously converted them into evidence on their side, regardless of the real meaning of the texts so quoted; and they busied themselves in searching the Old Testament for figures, by which it might be supposed that confession was typified, and he was accounted the most skilful who produced the greatest number. By such labours were the decisions of an infallible council framed!

Very little was done in furtherance of ecclesiastical reform. The legate's furious opposition, his haughty and tyrannical demeanour to those who resisted his measures, and the number of purchased votes, left no chance of success. Many prelates would have retired in disgust, but for the solicitations of the imperial ambassadors: despair enfeebled their energies; they began to think that nothing short of a miracle could cleanse away the corruptions and abuses of the church; and some even suspected that the Protestant interpretations of the prophecies respecting antichrist were founded in truth.*

An occurrence that happened a short time before the session will illustrate these statements. The legate proposed that no bishopric should be given in commendam to those who had not attained the age prescribed by the canons. Many objected to this, as it seemed to imply a tacit approbation of commendams, if bestowed on persons of suitable age:

* Vargas, p. 218—237.

the article was ultimately withdrawn. In the course of the debate, the bishop of Verdun said that such a reformation as was evidently intended would be fruitless, unworthy of the council, and ill suited to the exigencies of the times. In the honest warmth of his zeal, he ventured to utter the words "pretended reformation." The legate was much enraged, and grossly insulted the prelate, calling him an ignorant, stupid fellow, and using many other opprobrious epithets. This conduct was repeated some days after, and when the bishop attempted to defend himself, he was silenced. All this took place in the full assembly of the fathers; yet so completely had they the fear of the legate before their eyes, that no one ventured to say a word in defence of his injured brother. Stifled murmurs and low whispers were the only manifestations of concern and anger. "Tell me now," said the archbishop of Cologne to the bishop of Orenza, as they left the place of meeting, "do you think that this is a free council?" "My lord," replied the bishop, "you ask me a very difficult question. I cannot answer it immediately. All that I can say now is, that the council ought to be free." "Speak plainly," rejoined the archbishop, "is there really any liberty in the council?" "I beseech you, my lord," answered the timid prelate, "do not press me any further with the subject now. I will give you a reply at your own house."*

Towards the end of October, John Theodoric Pleningner and John Echlin, ambassadors from the duke of Wirtemberg, arrived at Trent. They were instructed to present the confession of faith prepared by Brentius, and to demand a safe-conduct for the

* Vargas, p. 245, 263.

divines, who were ready to enter the lists with their Roman Catholic opponents as soon as that document should be received. In the following month they were joined by the ambassadors from Strasburg and five other cities; among them was Sleidan, the celebrated historian. As they all engaged to act in concert, and refused the offer of a private audience with the legate, lest it should be construed into a recognition of the pope's authority, their arrival was regarded with no small anxiety and alarm. The pope wrote to his legate to take particular care that the papal authority should not be infringed; to avoid mild measures and temporising expedients; and to propose as many doctrinal questions as possible, partly that the Lutherans might despair of any accommodation without subjection to the council, and partly to furnish employment to the prelates, and prevent them from thinking on reform.* If he found himself compelled to yield to the bishops, in regard to the increase of their authority, he might do so, after having resisted as long as possible; because, should any thing be done prejudicial to the interests of the court of Rome, it would be easy to restore things afterwards to their former state, if the papal authority were preserved uninjured.†

At the fourteenth session, held November 25, the council issued its decrees on penance and extreme unction. The decree on penance contained nine

* Sarpi, lib. iv. s. 28. Vargas bears similar testimony. It was too evident to be unobserved, that the legate purposely protracted the doctrinal discussions, in order to abridge the deliberations on reform. Vargas, p. 203.

† "It is a surprising thing," said Vargas, "that God's affairs go on so badly. No one is on his side, no one dares speak for him. We are all dumb dogs, that cannot bark," p. 247.

explanatory chapters and fifteen canons. It is affirmed that "the Lord specially instituted the sacrament of penance, when, after his resurrection, he breathed on his disciples, saying, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them; and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained,' John xx. 22, 23. By this remarkable action, and by these express words, as the fathers have by universal consent always understood the same, the power of forgiving and retaining sins, in order to reconcile the faithful who have sinned after baptism," was said to be "communicated to the apostles and their lawful successors." The "parts" of penance are said to be contrition, confession, and satisfaction. Respecting confession, the council asserts, "that a full confession of sins was instituted by the Lord as a part of the sacrament of penance, now explained, and that it is necessary, by Divine appointment, for all who sin after baptism: because our Lord Jesus Christ, when he was about to ascend from earth to heaven, left his priests in his place, as presidents and judges, to whom all mortal offences into which the faithful might fall should be submitted, that they might pronounce sentence of remission or retention of sins, by the power of the keys. For it is plain that the priests cannot sustain the office of judge, if the cause be unknown to them, nor inflict equitable punishments, if sins are only confessed in general, and not minutely and individually described. For this reason it follows, that penitents are bound to rehearse in confession all mortal sins, of which, after diligent examination of themselves, they are conscious, even though they be of the most secret kind, and only committed against the two last precepts of the decalogue, which

sometimes do more grievously wound souls, and are more perilous than those which are open and manifest. For venial offences, by which we are not excluded from the grace of God, and into which we so frequently fall, may be concealed without fault, and expiated in many other ways, although, as the pious custom of many demonstrates, they may be mentioned in confession very properly and usefully, and without any presumption. But seeing that all mortal sins, even of thought, make men children of wrath and enemies of God, it is necessary to seek from him pardon of every one of them, with open and humble confession. Therefore, when the faithful in Christ labour to confess every sin that occurs to their memory, without doubt they place all before the Divine mercy, that they may be pardoned. Those who do otherwise, and knowingly conceal any sins, present nothing to the Divine goodness, to be forgiven by the priest; for if the sick man is ashamed to show his wound to the surgeon, that cannot be cured which is unknown. Moreover, it follows that even those circumstances which alter the species of sin are to be explained in confession, since otherwise the penitents cannot fully confess their sins, nor the judges know them; and it becomes impossible to form a right estimate of the heinousness of the offence, or inflict a suitable punishment."

As confession is only to be made to priests, so they only can grant absolution, and "even those priests who are living in mortal sin exercise the function of forgiving sins, as the ministers of Christ, by the power of the Holy Spirit conferred upon them in ordination." Again; though the priest's absolution is the dispensation of a benefit which belongs to another, yet it is not to be considered as

merely a ministry, whether to publish the gospel or to declare the remission of sins, but as of the nature of a judicial act, in which sentence is pronounced by him as a judge."

The sentiments of the council on "satisfaction" are fully expressed in the following canons:—

"Whoever shall affirm, that the entire punishment is always remitted by God, together with the fault, and therefore that penitents need no other satisfaction than faith, whereby they apprehend Christ, who has made satisfaction for them: let him be accursed."

"Whoever shall affirm, that we can by no means make satisfaction to God for our sins, through the merits of Christ, as far as the temporal penalty is concerned, either by punishments inflicted on us by him, and patiently borne, or enjoined by the priest, though not undertaken of our own accord, such as fastings, prayers, alms, or other works of piety; and therefore that the best penance is nothing more than a new life: let him be accursed."

"Whoever shall affirm, that the satisfactions by which penitents redeem themselves from sin through Christ Jesus, are no part of the service of God, but, on the contrary, human traditions, which obscure the doctrine of grace, and the true worship of God, and the benefits of the death of Christ: let him be accursed."

In the decree on extreme unction, comprising three chapters and four canons, the council briefly taught that the "sacred unction of the sick was instituted as a true and proper sacrament of the New Testament by Christ Jesus our Lord; being first intimated by Mark, (ch. vi. 13.) and afterwards recommended and published to the faithful by James

the apostle, brother of our Lord. 'Is any man,' saith he, 'sick among you? Let him bring in the priests of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick man; and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he be in sins, they shall be forgiven him,' James v. 14, 15."

Priests are declared to be the only lawful administrators of this supposed sacrament, and anathemas are fulminated against all who shall affirm that the sacred unction of the sick does not confer grace, nor forgive sin, nor relieve the sick; but that its power has ceased, as if the gift of healing existed only in past ages; or "that the rite and practice of extreme unction observed by the holy Roman church is repugnant to the doctrine of the blessed apostle James, and therefore that it may be altered or despised without sin."

It was remarked, that the legate did all in his power to prevent any publication of the decrees. He even hindered the ambassadors and others from obtaining copies. There was a reason for this, which was not generally known at the time. After the session, certain divines of Louvain and Cologne who were attending the council, discovered several errors, both in the decrees and canons. They immediately informed the archbishop of Cologne, who reported it to the legate. He was excessively chagrined, but found himself compelled to hear the observations of the divines, and refer the matter to a committee. The result was, that the divines established their charge. What was to be done? Should the decrees be corrected, or should they be permitted to go forth to the world as passed at the session? Of two evils, the archbishop rightly ob-

served, it was wise to choose the least. Some additions and corrections being made, the divines were satisfied, and the publication was allowed to take place. Where was the boasted infallibility of the church of Rome on this occasion? The council holds its solemn session "under the presiding influence of the Holy Spirit," and announces its decrees. Theological blunders are detected in those decrees: they are examined, acknowledged to be erroneous, and amended before they are committed to the press. Who, then, were inspired—the fathers of the council, or the divines of Louvain and Cologne? If the former, how was it that their labours required correction? If the latter, who can trust to the decisions of a council?*

But notwithstanding all the pains that were taken, the decree on penance was far from being satisfactory to Roman Catholics. Hitherto, free discussion had been allowed on this subject, and instead of enforcing absolute uniformity of opinion, the church had permitted her sons to differ from each other in their explanations. This freedom was now at an end. Dogmas invented in the middle ages were constituted articles of faith, and dissent from them subjected to anathema. It was useless to murmur. Those who consent to wear the Romish yoke have no right to complain that it galls the neck.

Early in January the Protestant ambassadors already at Trent were joined by Wolfius Coler and Leonard Badehorne, the representatives of Maurice of Saxony. They were instructed to say, that it was indispensably necessary to issue a safe-conduct

* Vargas, p. 79, 80, 243, 257.

exactly conformable to that granted by the council of Basle, to suspend the decision of those matters which were then under discussion, and to re-examine all the former decrees. They were directed to request an early audience, in order to lay these demands before the fathers, as the Protestant divines were about forty miles from Trent, and would repair to the city as soon as they were assured of safety.

The presidents of the council conducted themselves with great haughtiness and violence, and absolutely refused to concede any thing. It was a great insult, they said, that the sectaries should hesitate to trust a council that represented the universal church. If such unreasonable demands were persisted in, they would withdraw, dismiss the assembly, and forbid the fathers to perform any public and official act. So far did Crescentio suffer himself to be influenced by his indignation and fears, that to prevent the council from granting the required safe-conduct, he abstracted the seal, and thus left them without the means of issuing a formal and authoritative decree of any kind.*

It was soon perceived, however, that such conduct was both unwise and unsafe. The emperor directed his ambassadors to interfere and remonstrate; and, after a hard struggle, the legate consented that the Protestants should be received, not in public session, but at a general congregation, to be held in his own house. This point being gained, the ambassadors next pressed the suspension of the forthcoming decree. Count Toledo remarked, that he had often heard preachers say, that the salvation of one soul was so dear to Jesus Christ, that if it were necessary,

* Vargas, p. 401, 403.

he would consent to be crucified afresh in order to redeem it ; how then could they refuse to grant the little delay that was asked, when on that delay the salvation of Germany depended ? The legate started various objections, but they were quickly answered, and he at last agreed to propose the matter to the council, by whom the suspension of the decree was readily conceded. But the affair of the safe-conduct was not so easily settled. The very name of the council of Basle awakened the most unpleasant emotions in the breasts of the fathers ; and the concessions demanded went far beyond their intentions. A new safe-conduct was granted, which was affirmed to be substantially the same as that of Basle ; but, in fact, those parts on which the greatest stress had been laid, were either omitted or altered.* Four things had been granted at Basle to the Bohemians : 1. That they should have a deliberative voice, or right of suffrage ; 2. That every thing should be decided by the authority of Scripture, the practice of Christ and his apostles, and the primitive church, approved councils, and those fathers who regarded the word of God as the sole appeal in matters of faith ; 3. That they should have liberty to exercise their religion in their own houses ; 4. That nothing should be said or done to bring their doctrine into contempt. Of these, the first, third, and fourth were altogether omitted, and the second was so altered as to neutralise its provisions, for the legate had added "apostolic tradition," and "the consent of the catholic church," to the authorities there mentioned.

The general congregation for the reception of the

* Vargas, p. 487—489.

Protestant ambassadors met at Crescentio's house, January 24. The legate addressed the assembly in a short discourse. Prayers followed. Then the secretary read a protestation in the name of the council, purporting that the reception of the Protestant ambassadors was entirely an act of condescension and grace, and that it was not to be considered as a precedent, nor any consequence derived therefrom, prejudicial to the authority and rights of general councils.* The Wirtemberg ambassadors being introduced, they presented their confession of faith, and briefly stated their master's demands. This was in the morning. In the evening the congregation was again assembled, and the Saxon ambassadors were admitted. Badehorne spoke with great freedom and courage. He renewed the demand for a safe-conduct similar to that granted at Basle; and justified the demand by referring to the unrepealed decision of the council of Constance, "that faith is not to be kept with heretics." He strongly urged the propriety of absolving the bishops from their oath of allegiance to the pope, that they might be entirely unshackled and uninfluenced in considering the important question of reform, the necessity for which became every day more apparent. The free spirit and bold manner of the ambassadors produced a powerful impression in their favour. "They have spoken," said the bishop of Orenza, "much at length in full congregation, and said such things respecting reform as we ourselves dare not say. It is true, there were some bad passages in their discourse; but there were so many good ones, that it was right to take care that the people

* Vargas, p. 474—476. Le Plat, iv. p. 217.

should not hear them. We have great hopes of doing something for the service of God, if they would give us liberty!"* There was the evil, the secret cause of all the mischief that was practised at Trent: the most part spoke and voted according to orders; if any acted otherwise, they were insulted and silenced. It need scarcely be added, that the speeches of the ambassadors were delivered in vain, and that the fathers resolved to leave the safe-conduct unaltered, and risk the consequences.

The resolution to suspend the publication of the decrees till the Protestants had been heard, prevented the accomplishment of a project which the legate had secretly formed, in the true spirit of Romish policy. During the progress of the negotiations with the Protestant ambassadors, the subject of the sacrament of orders had been discussed by the divines. A decree was framed, in which the crafty legate had caused to be inserted a direct acknowledgment of the absolute and unqualified supremacy of the pope in all things pertaining to the church, expressed in such strong and unequivocal terms, that if the decree had passed in that state, all hopes of amendment and reform would have been completely quashed, and the chains of spiritual tyranny more firmly riveted than ever.†

By consenting to the decree, the prelates would have yielded to the pontiff the little remnant of power that was left, and confessed themselves his slaves. Yet, strange to say, none of them saw their danger, and the decree was about to receive the final approval of a general congregation, when

* Vargas, p. 472.

† Vargas, p. 345—369. Le Plat, iv. p. 397—405.

Vargas discovered the objectionable passages, and immediately gave the alarm. Crescentio had acknowledged the Divine right of episcopacy; but, at the same time, he had taught that the pope was absolute lord and master of bishops in every thing pertaining to their office, so that, in fact, they were only to be considered as the servants and delegates of the holy see. And he had denied to the laity, of whatever rank, all right of interference in the appointment or election of the clergy, resting the same ultimately in the pope. A long and angry contest ensued. The legate was infuriated by the opposition he encountered. The bishop of Orenza presumed to say that he doubted the truth of the assertions contained in the obnoxious paragraphs. "He who doubts in a matter of faith," said Crescentio, "is a heretic; therefore you are one."* Taunting insults and fierce menaces awaited all who dared oppose him: deep-laid intrigues were employed to procure favourable suffrages; and there was some reason to fear that he would succeed, monstrous as were the claims which he sought to establish. The postponement of the decree was a most opportune event for the Roman Catholic church, as it saved her from the shame of a publicly acknowledged thralldom. But the Protestant will discern in this affair the natural fruits of pure and undisguised popery.

The fifteenth session was held January 25. The postponement of the doctrinal articles was announced. The new safe-conduct was published in the form previously settled, without any regard to the remonstrances and demands of the ambassadors; and it was particularly observable, that in guaran-

* Vargas, p. 494.

teeing perfect liberty, notwithstanding any statutes, decrees, laws, canons, or decisions of councils, and especially of the council of Constance, the infamous enactment of that assembly respecting the preservation of faith with heretics was declared to be superseded "for that time," an expression not obscurely intimating that the church of Rome still tenaciously clings to the sentiment contained in that abominable decree.

It seems that the fathers occupied the interval of leisure they now enjoyed, partly in hearing sermons and attending the devotional solemnities of the church, and partly in intrigue. What sort of discourses were usually delivered before the prelates we have not the means of ascertaining; but it will be confessed that there was little to promote conciliation and charity in the sermon preached by Ambrose Pelargo. His subject was the parable of the tares. The tares he understood to signify the heretics; and he taught, in open contradiction to his text, that they should be rooted up, if it could be done without injury to the wheat. When complaints were made, and the preacher was interrogated respecting his assertions, he boldly vindicated himself. It was his decided opinion, he said, that heretics ought to be exterminated, by fire, by sword, by the halter, or in any other way in which their destruction might be safely accomplished: but he had taken care to employ only general terms, not mentioning the Protestants by name, and he had said nothing in contravention of the safe-conduct recently granted by the council. This impudent excuse was accepted, and the fellow went free.* Doubtless

* Sleidan, p. 392.

the monk's sermon expressed the feelings of a large proportion of the fathers at Trent. But it augured ill for reconciliation or union that such an outrage should be committed with impunity. And small hopes of reform could be indulged, when an office in the gift of the pope was put up for sale by public auction, in the city of Rome; and that, too, while a general council was sitting, avowedly for the purpose of retrieving the lost honour of the church, by the removal of its manifold corruptions and abuses.*

Six Protestant divines arrived at Trent in the month of March; four from Wirtemberg, (Brentius was one of them,) and two from Strasburg. Notwithstanding the acknowledged deficiency of the safe-conduct, they had ventured to the council to explain and defend their confession of faith, should the fathers give them opportunity. Various ineffectual endeavours were made by the Imperial ambassadors to procure a hearing for them, but some excuse for delay was always at hand. It had been already determined that they should not be heard; difficulty after difficulty was placed in their way; and, at length, it was so evident that there existed no sincere desire to effect an amicable adjustment of the differences between them, that the divines resolved to return home. The Protestant ambassadors had already departed, in consequence of the serious aspect

* Vargas, p. 531. Manners and morals were at a low ebb at Trent. The Imperial ambassador confesses having indulged too freely with the bottle; and the Spanish bishops had taken the precaution to secure good cooks: unfortunately, they had forgotten to provide themselves with a physician, and they suffered for their neglect. Ibid. p. 509, 547.

of political affairs, and the rumours of approaching war.*

Charles v. had aimed a deadly blow at the civil and religious liberties of Germany. For many years he had prosecuted his favourite scheme of becoming uncontrolled despot of that country. But the day of retribution was now come. An event for which he was totally unprovided dissipated all his plans, and dashed to the ground the edifice on which he had spent so much time and treasure and blood, just when he expected to lay the last stone, and enjoy the reward of his toils. By detaching Maurice of Saxony from the Protestant cause, he had ensured his former success. But when that same individual, perceiving the imminent danger of his country, took up arms against Charles, and declared himself the avenger of the wrongs of Germany, he who had so often valued himself on his skill in the arts of worldly policy was foiled and overreached in the sight of all the world, and "the wise was taken in his own craftiness."

As almost every day brought fresh intelligence of Maurice's success, and his forces were known to be moving in the direction of Trent, the necessity of suspending the proceedings of the council was generally confessed. At a congregation of cardinals it was unanimously decreed, that the council should be suspended for two years. On the 28th of April, the sixteenth session was held, but with much less pomp than ordinary. No sermon was preached. Instead of the gospel for the day, the following passage from the gospel of John was chanted, "Yet a little while, and ye shall see me,"

* Sleidan, p. 395. Le Plat, iv. p. 542.

etc. The decree was then read, declaring the council to be suspended for two years, with this proviso, that whenever peace should be restored, whether before or after the termination of that period, the suspension should be considered at an end.

Immediately after this session the prelates hastened to leave Trent, fearful lest the German forces, already at Inspruck, should proceed further. Crescentio, though very ill, was removed to Verona, where he died, May 7th, three days after his arrival.

CHAPTER VIII.

Pretended Reform at Rome—Death of Julius III.—Marcellus II.—Paul IV.—His avowed concern for Reform—His views of the Council—Pius IV.—Determination to resume the Council—Measures adopted by the Pope to induce the States of Europe to submit to it.

It was decreed that the council should be suspended for two years. Ten years, however, elapsed before it was re-assembled.

When the pope saw that he was delivered from the council, he affected to think that the best means of preventing the disquietude which the existence of such an assembly always occasioned in the minds of the Roman pontiffs, would be to set about ecclesiastical reform. With this view he appointed a committee of cardinals and prelates, to whom this important affair was entrusted. But the hindrances and objections that arose in the papal court were so great, and the opposition of interested persons so powerful, that this project shared the fate of its predecessors, and was almost entirely unproductive of good.

At the expiration of the term for which the council was suspended, a meeting of the consistory was held, and the propriety of summoning that assembly again was debated. The majority were of opinion that a dormant evil should not be roused; and that since both princes and people seemed to have forgotten the council, the best policy would be

to say nothing about it. To this the pope agreed, and a profound silence was observed on the subject.

Julius III. died March 23, 1555. The choice of the conclave fell on Marcellus Cervinus, the cardinal Santa Croce, one of the former legates at Trent. It soon appeared that his views differed greatly from those of his predecessors, for he signified his intention to re-assemble the council as early as possible, and avowed his conviction that the interests of the church would be best promoted by a vigorous and extensive reform. In furtherance of these designs, a congregation of cardinals was appointed, and the well-known sincerity and uprightness of the pontiff induced the belief, that his would be a pure and energetic administration. But these expectations were disappointed by the early and sudden death of the pope. The excessive fatigue attendant on the burdensome ceremonies of Easter week was more than his feeble frame could bear. An attack of apoplexy was the result, and Marcellus died April 30, having enjoyed the pontificate only twenty-one days.

Cardinal Caraffa was chosen to succeed Marcellus, and assumed the name of Paul IV. He professed great concern for reform, and within a few months after his election had established a numerous congregation, consisting of twenty-four cardinals, forty-five bishops, and other learned men, amounting in the whole to a hundred and fifty persons. He charged them to inquire into the abuses connected with simony; and sent notifications of his proceedings to all the sovereigns of Europe, that they might procure the assistance and advice of the universities in an affair of so great importance. Not indeed,

he said, that he himself needed instruction, for he understood all the commands of Christ ; but in a matter of universal concern, he was desirous that it should be seen that he did not take every thing upon himself. To this he added, that when he had reformed his own court, and thus prevented the application of the proverb, " Physician, heal thyself," he intended to show that simony prevailed also in the courts of princes, which he would take care should be reformed in their turn. Several meetings of the congregation were held, and various opinions expressed : some thought that money might be taken for the use of the church, provided that it was not received as the price of an office, but from some other motive ; others judged it unlawful under any pretence whatever. The pope took the severest view of the subject, and designed to publish a bull, declaring it utterly unlawful to ask or receive a price, a present, or a voluntary alms, for any spiritual favour. But so many difficulties and delays intervened, that his resolution was never carried into effect.

Some of the cardinals having ventured to suggest that these matters should be discussed in a general council, he flew into a violent passion, and said that he needed no council, for he was above them all. It was observed, that though a council added nothing to the authority of the pope, it was useful in devising the means of executing his designs. Whereupon he replied, that if there must be a council, he would have it at Rome, and nowhere else ; and that he would suffer none but bishops to attend it. He had always objected to Trent, because it was situated in the midst of heretics : it was a foolish thing to send some threescore

bishops and forty divines among the mountains, and to suppose that they were better able to reform the world than the vicar of Jesus Christ, aided by all his cardinals, and prelates, and divines, the most learned in Christendom, who were always to be found at Rome in greater numbers than had ever assembled at Trent. He would have another council in the Lateran, and he enjoined the ambassadors at his court to send information of his purpose to their respective masters. How far he was sincere may be justly questioned; for while he avowed this intention in public, he was engaged in intrigues that involved almost all Europe in war, and entirely precluded the possibility of the projected assembly.

Paul iv. died Aug. 18, 1559. The intrigues of opposing parties protracted the election till Christmas day, when cardinal de Medici was chosen, and assumed the name of Pius iv. Agreeably to resolutions which had been passed by the cardinals before proceeding to the election, he immediately declared his intention to convene a general council as quickly as possible.* He also professed great concern for reform, and directed the cardinals to inquire into all alleged abuses, and point out suitable remedies. But these professions speedily evaporated and vanished.

Like his predecessors in the papal chair, Pius iv. cherished mortal hatred against all dissidents from the Romish faith, and was by no means scrupulous in the choice of preventing or exterminating measures. Like them, also, he dreaded a council, unless controlled and directed by himself, and con-

* Le Plat, iv. p. 612.

sequently divested of all freedom. For this reason, hoping to divert the minds of men from that hated subject, by lighting up the flame of general war, he proposed to the French king a crusade against Geneva, the residence of Calvin, and nursery of the reformed faith. When this proposition was rejected, he began to consult in earnest with the cardinals respecting the convocation of a council, or rather the resumption of that which had already met twice at Trent. But he was resolved not to suffer the former decrees of that assembly to be re-examined, or called into question; in order to which, it was decided that it should be considered as a "continuation" of the proceedings at Trent, and that those subjects only should be discussed which were then left unsettled.

On the 24th of November, 1560, he went in solemn procession, attended by the cardinals and all his court, from St. Peter's to the church of Minerva, and celebrated the mass of the Holy Ghost for the success of the undertaking. Five days after, the bull of convocation was issued. That document had been composed with great care, in order to avoid expressions that might be offensive to any of the sovereigns and states whom it concerned; but it was sufficiently clear, that though the word "continuation" was not used, the pope meant it to be understood, and thus, in the very onset, all intention of conciliating the Protestants was publicly disavowed. The king of France died before the bull could reach him, and was succeeded by his brother, Charles ix., then only eleven years old. When it was perceived that the repeated demands for a new council had not been complied with, but that, on the contrary, the former decisions at Trent were evidently

sanctioned and confirmed, negotiations with the pope and the emperor were immediately commenced, in order to the removal of this difficulty, which, as far as the Protestants were concerned, was known to be insuperable. Ultimately, all parties were satisfied or silenced; but the pontiff, as usual, gained his end, and made no concessions.

The pope spared neither pains nor expense in announcing the convocation of the council, and inviting the several states of Europe to assist at its deliberations. He determined, if possible, to have an assembly on a scale suited to the grandeur of the Roman see; and he was equally resolved to procure an obsequious subjection to his own will, and to make use of the council as the instrument of accomplishing his purposes, and forwarding the plans of his ambition. In accordance with these views, he exerted himself to the utmost to obtain the countenance of the ruling powers of Christendom, and secure a numerous attendance of prelates and divines well affected to the interests of the papacy. In addition to his communications with the sovereigns before mentioned, whose co-operation was first and chiefly desirable, he wrote to the kings of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Poland, to all the German states, and even to the czar of Muscovy and the emperor of Abyssinia. He sent the abbot Martinengo to the queen of England, in the vain hope of persuading her to acknowledge the council. But Elizabeth would not permit the papal envoy to land upon the shores of this country, and did not scruple to avow her fears, that the real object of the abbot's mission was very different from his pretended one, and that his chief purpose was to excite her Roman Catholic subjects to rebellion.

Experience had furnished just grounds for this suspicion.

Two nuncios were appointed to visit the numerous princes and states of Germany—Zechariah Delphino and James Commendon. Having waited on the emperor, (January, 1561,) they proceeded to Naumburg, where a meeting of the Protestant states was to be held. There were assembled on that occasion the elector of Saxony, the elector Palatine, the dukes of Naumburg and Wittenburg, the marquis of Baden, and other princes, together with several ambassadors. The nuncios were admitted to a public audience, delivered the pope's letters, and addressed the assembly, strongly urging the reception of the council. But the states refused to do so unless the former decrees were re-examined, and the right of suffrage granted to the Protestant divines; conditions which they had good reason to believe would not be granted at Rome.

On leaving Naumburg, the nuncios separated; Commendon being appointed to Upper, Delphino to Lower Germany. The former visited the elector of Brandenburg, the dukes of Brunswick and Cleves, the archbishop of Cologne, and many other princes and prelates: his success was various, some receiving, some rejecting the council. Then he traversed Belgium, publishing the council everywhere. From Saxony he would have crossed over to Denmark, but the king of that country, a zealous friend of the reformation, refused admittance to any agent of the pope. Commendon spent the whole year in attending to the duties of his mission, and did not return to Rome till March, 1562. Delphino met with little encouragement in Lower Germany. The free cities, Strasburg, Nuremburg, Frankfort,

Augsburg, and others, refused submission to any council called by the pope. Even Roman Catholic prelates were very lukewarm and indifferent. They promised unqualified obedience, it is true; but some pleaded their age, others their bad state of health, and few would engage to leave their dioceses to attend the council. About the same time a nuncio was sent to Switzerland, where nine cantons accepted the papal bull; the remaining five refused. "Thus," observes Pallavicini, "there was much seed sown, but a small harvest; nevertheless," he adds, "this was not the fault of the sower, but of the soil."

While the nuncios were thus engaged, the pope's attention was fully occupied in making the necessary preparations for the opening of the council. Hercules Gonzaga, cardinal of Mantua, Stanislaus Osius, bishop of Varmia, and cardinals Seripand and Simonetta were appointed legates. Full power was given them to preside, direct, and manage, in the name and on the behalf of the pontiff; and authority also to grant indulgences to all who should attend their entry into Trent, and offer prayers for the success of the council. Massarelli was re-appointed secretary.*

The legates Gonzaga and Seripand entered Trent April 16, 1561, but they found only nine prelates there. It would have been manifestly ridiculous to open the council with so small a number, and several circumstances combined to delay that event till nearly twelve months beyond the time first fixed. Towards the latter end of the year, the pope made final arrangements for the re-commencement of

* Pallav. ut sup. c. 11. Le Plat, iv. 697.

proceedings. Determined to prevent, if possible, any ill consequences to the Roman see, he furnished the legates with a bull, giving them power to transfer the council to any other place, should circumstances render such a measure desirable. Another legate was appointed, cardinal Altemps, the pope's nephew; and a congregation of cardinals was established, as on former occasions, to superintend and manage the affairs of the council. Prayer and fasting were again decreed, and ample indulgences promised to those who should observe the decree: the pope himself went in procession, barcheaded and on foot, attended by his court, to celebrate high mass for the success of the undertaking. And having been informed that some of the prelates who had already arrived were disaffected, that is, inclined to oppose his arbitrary measures, he collected together a number of Italian bishops, appointed them salaries of twenty-five crowns a month, and upwards, and sent them immediately to Trent, to support and defend his interests by their votes.

CHAPTER IX.

The Council re-opened—Seventeenth Session—Discussion on the prohibition of Books—Eighteenth Session—Fierce Disputes on Ecclesiastical Residence—Singular Division on the subject—Means used by the Pope to secure a Majority—Nineteenth Session—Arrival of the French Ambassadors—Opposition experienced by the reforming Party—Twentieth Session—Discussions on Communion in one Kind—Endeavours of the Ambassadors to procure the concession of the Cup to the Laity—Twenty-first Session—Decree on Communion in one Kind.

ON Sunday, January 18, the first session under pope Pius IV., or the seventeenth from the commencement, was held. After mass and a sermon, the bull of convocation was read. Four other bulls or briefs were also produced: the first contained the pope's instructions to the legates; in the second and third he gave them authority to grant licences to the prelates and divines to read heretical books, and to receive privately into communion with the Romish church any persons who might abjure their heresies; by the fourth he regulated the order of precedence among the fathers, some childish disputes having already risen among them on that account. The decree was then read by the secretary, setting forth that the council was then assembled to discuss such measures as the legates and presidents should propose, and which might be adapted to alleviate the calamities of the times settle religious controversies,

restrain deceitful tongues, correct depraved manners, and promote the true peace of the church. On the suffrages being collected, the archbishop of Granada and three other Spanish prelates recorded their dissent from the clause in which the legates had artfully secured to themselves the sole right of proposing the subjects of debate, and thus made themselves absolute masters of the assembly. But they constituted a very small minority, for there were present one hundred and six bishops, chiefly Italians, four abbots, and four generals of orders, besides the duke of Mantua and the legates.

A new subject was introduced to the fathers after the session. It was the question of prohibited books. The revival of literature, and the invention of the art of printing, had effected a wonderful change in society; books were multiplied with unexampled rapidity, and were eagerly read. A powerful stimulus was operating on the human mind, and with a force so great, that no subject, sacred or secular, was left untouched; and, in a short time, there were as many writers as formerly there had been readers. This altered state of things was viewed by the Roman pontiffs with deep and melancholy interest. They saw that a mighty engine of attack was brought to bear on the system of iniquity, and that it would work with tremendous effect. The darkness and secrecy in which their nefarious deeds had been perpetrated, would conceal them no longer. The tide of knowledge was setting in with irresistible force; no human power could stop it. What was to be done? One method only seemed feasible. If the press could not be destroyed, it might possibly be controlled. This policy was adopted by the fifth council of Lateran, (A.D. 1515), which

ordained that no books should be printed without being examined and approved by the master of the sacred palace at Rome, the inquisitor, or the bishop of the diocese in which the printer lived. Disobedience exposed the offender to excommunication. But this had no effect on Protestant presses. It was requisite that something should be done to prevent Roman Catholics from reading publications issued by their opponents, and this object could not be accomplished but by printing indexes or catalogues of such works. The most complete that had yet appeared was sent forth by Paul iv. in 1559. A decree accompanied it, to the following effect: that if any one should dare to buy, sell, print, or cause to be bought, sold, or printed, any of the works therein mentioned—or should borrow, give, receive, or possess them, he should incur the awful penalty of excommunication. Then followed a list of sixty-one prohibited printers, all the works printed at whose presses were interdicted, with equal severity.* Still the evil was not exterminated, and new works being published from time to time, no index could be long complete, but must require frequent revision and enlargement.

Several meetings were held before the fathers came to a decision. Although there was no division on the main question, they differed with regard to the means of effecting the object. In the issue, however, all acquiesced in the opinion of the patriarch of Jerusalem, that the best plan would be to place the whole business in the hands of a committee, to be appointed by the legates.

* Mendham's *Literary Policy of the Church of Rome*
p 22—29.

The eighteenth session was held February 26. A papal brief was read, authorizing the council to prepare a catalogue of prohibited books: this expedient was adopted by Pius, lest it should be said that the council was superior to the pope, which the revision of Paul the Fourth's index would seem to imply. A committee was subsequently appointed by the legates, to prepare the catalogue; the result of their labours will appear in the sequel.

At the request of the emperor, the discussion of doctrinal points had been postponed, to give time for the arrival of the Protestants, whom he hoped to persuade to attend the council: that hope, however, proved fallacious, for the experience of past years afforded no encouragement to the friends of scriptural truth and religion, and warned them to place no reliance on any assembly controlled by the pope. In compliance with the imperial wishes, the propriety of issuing a safe-conduct was discussed. Thomas Stella, a Dominican, objected to it altogether. The heretics, he said, were treacherous foxes and venomous vipers, and it would be a most dangerous indulgence to suffer them to come near the council. The archbishop of Granada remarked, that while he acknowledged and lamented the deep depravity of the heretics, he trusted that they would come to the council as to a salutary laver, where the foxes would wash away their treachery, and the vipers their venom; he advised that the safe-conduct to be issued should be an exact copy of that granted to the Germans in the fifteenth session, with an additional clause, extending the privilege to other nations. His advice was followed: the safe-conduct was published March 8, and copies transmitted to the European sovereigns. But the German Protestant.

had already decided the question, and promulgated their reasons for rejecting the council.

The legates had resolved to take the whole question of reform into their own hands. The management of this business was confided to Seripand, who was assisted by a select committee of prelates, privately appointed by himself and his colleagues. Twelve articles were presented to the fathers for discussion. Of these, the first and the last were the most important; that relating to ecclesiastical residence, this to the abuse of indulgences. When the debates commenced, the patriarch of Jerusalem observed, that the question of residence had been discussed before, and that two remedies had been proposed for the evil which was so generally complained of, namely, the infliction of heavy penalties on non-residents, and the removal of impediments to residence. But the archbishop of Granada was of a different opinion. He reminded the fathers, that another and more effectual remedy had been proposed at the former meetings of the council—the declaration of the Divine right of residence. He regarded this as the only true and lasting cure for the disease, and strongly urged its adoption.

A violent and protracted contest followed. The question thus mooted, became the rallying point of the opposing parties. On the affirmative side were the Spanish bishops, some few Italians, and all who sincerely wished for reform. On the negative appeared the larger portion of the prelates of Italy, and the hired creatures of the pope, supported by the influence of the legates. Eleven congregations were held previous to any attempt at decision; during which time the council exhibited scenes of the most disgraceful tumult. When order was

sufficiently restored, the votes were collected. The numbers were, for the declaration of the Divine right, sixty-six; against it, thirty-three; besides thirty-eight who gave their suffrages on the negative side, with this qualifying clause, "unless the pope be first consulted." Thus stated, the numbers appear to be almost equally balanced; but a large majority would have declared themselves on the affirmative side, could they have ascertained that the pope would consent. Their opponents were chiefly Italians. Of this circumstance his holiness was fully aware, and he could not but perceive that the spirit of reform was extensively diffused among the bishops.

The legates despatched a trusty messenger to Rome, who took with him a scheme of reformation, comprised in ninety-five particulars, and containing the substance of the bishops' demands. In the letters which he brought back with him, the pope warmly expressed his indignation at the conduct of the opposition bishops, admonished the legates to suffer nothing to be done that would be detrimental to his prerogatives, or imply his inferiority to the council; and directed them to suppress the question of residence, if possible, or at any rate to defer the final decision to an indefinite period. To neutralize the expected opposition of the French bishops, who were supposed to be extremely zealous for reform, all the prelates then at Rome were collected, and sent to Trent; the poor being bribed by pensions, and the rich by promises. Visconti, bishop of Vintimilli, was commissioned, at the same time, as nuncio extraordinary, and despatched to the council, in order to watch the proceedings of the legates and the conduct of the bishops, and forward accurate reports of

every thing that transpired ; in a word to perform the office of a vigilant and active spy.

At the nineteenth session, held May 14, nothing had been done, as the French ambassadors were shortly expected, and had written to the legates, to request the postponement of any decree till their arrival. They reached Trent a few days after. M. de Lanssac, who had recently been at Rome as ambassador extraordinary to the pope, Arnold du Ferrier, president of the parliament of Paris, and Guy Faur de Pibrac, chief justice of Toulouse, were the chosen representatives of Charles ix. on this important occasion. They were tried men, of commanding talents, and a bold, free spirit, who would not hesitate to declare their sentiments, however obnoxious or unpalatable they might be in any quarter. Their first impressions on reaching the seat of the council, may be gathered from the language used by Lanssac, in a letter written the day after his arrival to De Lisle, the French ambassador at Rome. He expressed his fear that little advantage would be derived from the assembly, unless the pope would suffer the deliberations and votes of the fathers to be entirely free, and no more send the Holy Spirit in a travelling bag from Rome to Trent ! The phrase was homely, but the description was just, and the ambassador's pleasantry exhibited an accurate view of the manner in which the decisions of the council were commonly framed, in accordance to precise directions from Rome.

The arrival of the French ambassadors was hailed with much pleasure by the reforming party, who greatly needed their patronage and assistance. They were subjected to continual reproach, mortification, and insult. They knew and felt that the

council was not free: forty prelates, pensioned by the pope, were already at Trent, and more were expected. If they followed the dictates of their consciences, they were stigmatised as turbulent spirits, and persecuted in every possible way. Angry letters were sent from Rome to terrify them into compliance with the pope's will. They were treated as movers of sedition, and charged with aiming at the subversion of the holy see. The legate Simonetta had a number of bishops under his control, to contradict and browbeat every free speaker, and bear him down by clamour; while, on the other hand, the partisans of the pontiff were caressed and rewarded. But Lanssac and his companions did not scruple to write or speak of the pope and his measures with the most provoking indifference and freedom: his power excited no alarm; even his office was treated with small respect or reverence. It was reported that Lanssac had said to some bishops, whom he had invited to dine with him, that there would come so many prelates from France and Germany, that they should drive away the Romish idol.*

Intrigue still hindered the business of the council, and involved the legates in constant perplexity. The king of Spain urged them to declare the "continuation," and threatened to withdraw his ambassadors if his request were not granted. The emperor and the king of France persevered in their resistance to that measure. A decision of the question of residence was warmly pressed by the reforming bishops, whose numbers and resolute spirit occasioned no little vexation. These circumstances induced them to listen to the urgent

* Le Plat. v. p. 329, 333.

applications made for further postponement. The twentieth session was held June 4, when it was decreed that the next should be celebrated on the 16th of July. This was the fourth session since the re-opening of the assembly, and as yet nothing whatever had been effected: the delay was caused by the collision of opposing interests, and the pope's determined opposition to freedom and reform.

It will be remembered, that when the decree concerning the eucharist was passed, the question of communion in both kinds was left undecided. The legates now brought forward that question. Five articles of inquiry were submitted to the divines. On the first, namely, "Whether all Christians are bound by Divine command to receive the eucharist in both kinds," they unanimously decided in the negative. "The church cannot err," said Alphonso Salmeron, a Jesuit sent to the council by the pope; "but for the last three hundred years, the church has absolutely prohibited the use of the cup to the laity, and the custom of communion in one kind only was known to exist, even long before that period, and must have been derived from apostolic usage: therefore, communion in both kinds is not a Divine command."

But although the divines were entirely agreed in defending the church from the imputation of error, in recently prohibiting the cup, there was great diversity of sentiment among them respecting the policy or propriety of granting it in certain cases. This was the second article of inquiry. The opponents of concession denied the necessity or expediency of any alteration, and declaimed at great length on the evil that would result therefrom. They said that people would lose their reverence for the

holy sacraments ; that the difference between the clergy and laity would be almost destroyed ; that if the petitioners succeeded in this particular, they would soon advance further, and present other demands. To this it was replied, that since human laws admitted of alteration, (and the prohibition of the cup was confessedly a human law,) there would be nothing novel or unseemly in the concession proposed ; that legislators had always found it necessary to consult times and circumstances ; and that, in the present instance, tremendous risk would be incurred by refusing the desired indulgence. Both parties maintained their opinions with much warmth, and there appeared scarcely any hope of entire unanimity.

Little was said on the third article, respecting the conditions on which the cup might be granted, as the previous question was left unsettled. In answering the question, " Whether he who communes in one kind only receives less benefit than he who communes in both kinds," (the fourth article,) some said that more is received in partaking the wine, because the communicant is then in a better state of preparation, having already received the bread ; and some, because the effects of sacraments are proportioned to that which they signify, and the signification is expressed by the sign ; therefore, said they, the more signs the more grace. But the majority held the contrary, and affirmed that there is a perfect equality in both cases. The fifth article, relative to giving the eucharist to children, was soon decided, it being the general opinion that it is by no means necessary, since otherwise baptism would not be sufficient for salvation, which they had already decreed.

Those who advocated the concession of the cup to the laity, were warmly seconded by some of the ambassadors. Baumgartner, the Bavarian envoy, led the way. On his introduction to the council, June 27, he delivered a long speech, which was highly offensive to the legates and their adherents. He said that Bavaria was overrun with heresy of every description ; that the contagion was not confined to the lower orders, but had seized the nobility and middle ranks, so that scarcely a city or town was uninfected. He affirmed, that the evil was greatly aggravated by the shameful conduct of the clergy, great numbers of whom indulged in gluttony, drunkenness, and all kinds of vice, with unblushing effrontery, as if in open contempt of God and man, and lived in flagrant violation of their vows of chastity ; so that out of a hundred priests, not more than three or four could be found who did not openly keep concubines, or had not contracted public or clandestine marriages. He added, that the general discontent was still further increased, by the prohibition of the cup to the laity, on which account many had joined the sectaries, who administered the communion in both kinds ; that the dissatisfaction arising from this course almost approached to sedition ; and that it would be impossible to preserve the peace of the country unless some relief were quickly afforded.

The imperial ambassadors followed. They stated, that ever since the council of Constance the Bohemians had practised communion in both kinds, and had adhered to the custom with such tenacity, that neither arguments nor arms could induce them to relinquish it ; that the fathers ought not to wonder at their firmness, since many learned Catholics

maintained the superior efficacy of communion in both kinds; and in Austria, Moravia, Silesia, and other parts of Germany, large bodies of men, faithful members of the church of Rome, were earnestly desiring the privilege:—further, that the condition of Hungary was extremely perilous, the inhabitants of that country having so zealously espoused the new opinions on this subject, that many priests were compelled by force to administer the cup to the laity. The French ambassadors appeared on the same side, strongly recommending the adoption of lenient and conciliatory measures in those things which depended on the authority of the church, and were therefore confessedly susceptible of alteration.

But the denial of the cup was predetermined at Rome. The legates were aware of this, and endeavoured to persuade the ambassadors to agree to a postponement of the decision on this subject, for which a plausible pretext was found in the manifest differences of opinion existing among the prelates and divines. They succeeded, but not without great difficulty. Having accomplished this, they prepared for the approaching session. A decree, with accompanying canons, was submitted to the fathers for their final approval, as also a decree on reformation: from this latter, however, the subject of residence was excluded, by the pope's express injunction. And yet the council of Trent was free!

The twenty-first session was held on the day appointed, July 16, 1562, when the question of communion in one kind was settled. The decree on that subject (contained in four explanatory chapters, and as many canons) asserted, "that although Christ the Lord did in the last supper institute this

venerable sacrament of the eucharist in the species of bread and wine, and thus delivered it to the apostles, yet it does not thence follow that all the faithful in Christ are bound by Divine statute to receive in both kinds ;” that “in the dispensation of the sacraments the church hath always possessed the power, so that their substance was preserved, of making such appointments and alterations, according to the change of things, times, and places, as it should judge would best promote the benefit of the recipients, and the veneration due to the sacraments themselves ;” and that “the true sacrament, and Christ whole and entire, is received in either kind by itself.”

Assurance often increases in proportion to the weakness of the cause ; and the boldest and most confident tone is sometimes adopted, when there is the greatest deficiency of evidence. This is clearly seen in the discussion of the present subject. Nothing can be plainer or more express than the testimony of Scripture. That testimony is impiously perverted or denied.

The reformation enacted at the twenty-first session was superficial and unimportant. For instance ; the very name and office of the papal collectors, who had for so many years carried on the gainful traffic of indulgences, were declared to be abolished ; and it was enacted that henceforth all spiritual privileges of that kind should be dispensed freely, and that voluntary alms should be substituted for compulsory payment : but the sale of indulgences continues to the present day, notwithstanding the decree.

CHAPTER X.

The Mass—Debate on the concession of the Cup to the Laity resumed—Extraordinary variety of opinion—Twenty-second Session—Decree on the Mass—The question of conceding the Cup to the Laity referred to the Pope.

THE mass was the subject proposed for the next session. The "mass" is the communion service, or consecration and administration of the sacrament. "High mass" is the same service, accompanied by all the ceremonies which custom and authority have annexed to its celebration. In the early ages of the church the congregation was dismissed before the celebration of the Lord's supper, none but the communicants being suffered to remain. "Ita missa est," said the officiating minister, and immediately the congregation withdrew: the term thus employed was used in process of time to designate the solemn service about to be performed; it was called, "missa," the mass.

Thirteen articles were submitted to the divines for examination. Their discussions occupied but little time, as scarcely any difference of opinion existed, and no Protestants were there to object or dispute. The principal point to be proved was that the mass is really a sacrifice; that is, that the Lord's supper is not merely a commemoration of the Saviour's passion, but an actual offering of his body and blood by the hands of the priest. One extract

will suffice to show what kind of argument and evidence was employed in support of this tenet. Melchior Cornelio, a Portuguese divine, reasoned thus :—" When the eucharist is carried to the sick, or is preserved for use, it is a sacrament ; but when it is offered on the altar, it is a sacrifice. Now, the devil is constantly endeavouring to alienate the minds of the heretics from the mass ; therefore, the mass is not an abomination, as Luther affirms, because the devil does not hate abominations, but cherishes them. Further, in Isaiah lxvi. 21, God promises to take priests from among the Gentiles ; but they cannot be priests without a sacrifice, and that sacrifice is the mass. Again, it was prophesied by Malachi that in every place ' a pure offering should be presented ;' this is not to be understood of spiritual sacrifices, that is, prayers, as Jerome interprets it, but of the sacrifice of the mass, since the prayers of the faithful are many, and one offering only is there spoken of. It was said of the Messiah, that he should be a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek ; but Melchisedek offered bread and wine ; therefore Christ, in instituting the eucharist, did the same, and offered himself. And forasmuch as he said to the apostles, ' Do this,' he thereby directed them to do as he himself had done, and therefore, since the eucharist is a propitiatory sacrifice, he thus constituted them priests, and enjoined them and their successors to offer that sacrifice continually, for themselves and for the sins of others."

There was some conversation on the propriety of celebrating mass in the vulgar tongue ; and the custom prevailing in Dalmatia was adduced, where, after the gospel was read in Latin, it was again read in the Dalmatian dialect, for the instruction of the

people. But it was unanimously agreed to prohibit the celebration of mass in any other than the Latin language.

The undecided question of the concession of the cup to the laity was again introduced. A ten days' debate followed. The following brief abstract of some of the speeches delivered on that occasion will furnish the reader with the principal arguments employed on each side.

Cardinal Madrucci inclined to the concession, hoping that it would be the means of retaining many Catholics in the faith. The patriarchs of Jerusalem, Venice, and Aquileia opposed it : the latter warned the council of the dangerous tendency of the indulgence ; he said that if this were conceded, other innovations would be sought, and the desires of the people would resemble the insatiable thirst of the dropsy, which it was hardly possible to quench. The archbishop of Rossano protested against alterations and novelties. He observed, that the custom of communing in one kind only had been introduced as a remedy against the errors of Nestorius, who taught that the body of Christ only was contained in the bread, and his blood only in the wine. By restricting the laity to one kind, the church instructed them that both the body and the blood of the Saviour are contained in the bread ; but the present demand would tend to revive that long-forgotten heresy. Many evils and inconveniences were now prevented : for instance, the blood of the Redeemer was preserved from the indignity it would endure by spilling the wine on the ground, or suffering it to become sour. How could such evils be avoided, if the general use of the cup were granted ? And besides, what vast quantities of wine would be required

for large and populous parishes! Others recommended the concession, under certain restrictions and conditions;* and thought that the desire might be regarded as a weakness, and indulged, as Moses permitted divorce to the Jews. The abbot of Preval spoke with great warmth on the other side, and even ventured to say, that the demand of the cup savoured of heresy and mortal sin, for which he was sharply reprov'd by the cardinal of Mantua, and compelled to ask pardon on his knees.

Foscarari, bishop of Modena, laboured to prove, that though the concession was manifestly evil, it was nevertheless necessary, and required by the state of the times. He supported his argument, as did many more, by the authority of the council of Basle and of Paul III. The bishop of Leira remarked, that some had said that the council should imitate the father, who though he forgave his pro-

* The following conditions were proposed by the cardinal of Mantua:—1. That those to whom the concession should be granted should cordially receive and hold all the doctrines and ceremonies of the Roman church, and all the decrees of the council of Trent, as well those which were yet to be passed, as those which had been already published. 2. That their priests should believe and teach that communion in one kind is not only not foreign to the Divine command, but laudable and binding, unless the church otherwise determine; and that such as maintained the contrary sentiment should not enjoy the proposed privilege, but be treated as heretics. 3 and 4. That they should render due obedience and reverence to the pope, and to their archbishops and bishops. 5. That the privilege should only be bestowed on such as confessed to the priest, according to the custom of the church. 6. That great care should be taken to prevent sacrilege and profanation. *Le Plat*, v. 455. Certainly this was not the way to gain the heretics, or conciliate the discontented.

digal son, waited till he came to repentance : but he thought they should rather resemble the shepherd described in the gospel, who traversed mountains and deserts in search of the wandering sheep, and when he had found it, bore it joyfully on his shoulders to the fold.

Drascovitch briefly alleged the arguments that had been adduced for the concession, and replied to his opponents, exposing with much energy and point the false reasonings, needless alarms, and frivolous objections that had been urged in the course of the debate. He implored the assembly to have compassion on the churches of Germany, and to show some regard to the solicitations of a powerful monarch, (the emperor,) whose ardent desire for the restoration of peace and union had impelled him to press this request, and who felt so keenly on the subject, that he never spoke of it without tears. In conclusion, he repeated what he had said before, that if the cup were now refused, it had been better that the council had never been held, for that multitudes who had been kept in obedience to the pope by the hope of obtaining this privilege, would rend themselves from his authority when they saw that their hope was lost.

On the evening of the tenth day (September 9) a division took place. It exhibited an extraordinary variety of opinion, proving that the fathers felt themselves placed in a very difficult situation. One hundred and sixty-six votes were thus divided : twenty-nine approved of the concession ; thirty-one were on the same side, but wished the execution of the proposed decree to be committed to the discretion and will of the pope ; thirty-eight opposed it altogether ; twenty-four referred the whole matter

absolutely to the pope; nineteen inclined to the concession, as far as the Bohemians and Hungarians were concerned, but denied it to all others; fourteen desired the further postponement of the subject; and eleven were undecided, or neutral. From this chaos of sentiments it was obviously impossible to frame a decree.*

At length, however, by dint of artful management and active intrigue, the legates persuaded a majority of the fathers to agree that it should be entirely referred to the pope, a crafty expedient, adopted to neutralise the opposition of the reforming bishops, and procure a tacit acknowledgment of the inferiority of the council to the infallible head of the church. This was proposed by the cardinal of Mantua at a congregation held on the morning of the day before the session. It was the easiest way to get rid of a troublesome difficulty: the fathers disregarded the censure they would deservedly incur for leaving unsettled one of the most important questions which they were convened to decide, and on a division ninety-eight voted in the affirmative, and thirty-eight only in the negative.

The twenty-second session was held September 17, 1562. In the decree on the mass, passed on that occasion, and containing nine explanatory chapters, and the same number of canons, the council taught that the Saviour, when about to offer himself once for all to God the Father by his death, on the altar of the cross, that there he might accomplish eternal redemption, knowing that his priesthood was not to be abolished by death, in the last supper, on the night in which he was betrayed, declared himself to be

* Pallav. and Sarpi, ut sup.

constituted a Priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek, offered his body and blood to God the Father under the species of bread and wine, and by these symbols delivered the same to be received by his apostles, whom he then appointed priests of the New Testament, and commanded them and their successors in the priesthood to offer the same, saying, "Do this for a commemoration of me," Luke xxii. 19.

It is further asserted, that since "the same Christ who once offered himself by his blood on the altar of the cross, is contained in this Divine sacrifice which is celebrated in the mass, and offered without blood, the holy council teaches that this sacrifice is really propitiatory, and made by Christ himself; so that if we approach God contrite and penitent, with a true heart and sincere faith, with fear and reverence, we "obtain mercy, and find grace in seasonable aid," Heb. iv. 16. For assuredly God is appeased by this oblation, bestows grace and the gift of repentance, and forgives all crimes and sins, how great soever: for the sacrifice which is now offered by the ministry of the priests is one and the same as that which Christ then offered on the cross, only the mode of offering is different. And the fruits of that bloody oblation are plentifully enjoyed by means of this unbloody one; so untrue is it that the latter derogates from the glory of the former. Wherefore it is properly offered, according to apostolic tradition, not only for the sins, punishments, satisfactions, and other necessities of living believers, but also for the dead in Christ, who are not yet thoroughly purified."

And whereas masses are frequently celebrated "in honour and memory of the saints," the council

affirms that "sacrifice is not offered to them, but to God only, who has crowned them with glory!"

The following prayer will further explain the meaning of the council:—

"Receive, O holy Trinity, this oblation which we make to thee in memory of the passion, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in honour of the blessed Mary, ever a virgin, of blessed John Baptist, the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and of all the saints; that it may be available to their honour and our salvation; and may they vouchsafe to intercede for us in heaven, whose memory we celebrate on earth. Through the same Christ our Lord. Amen."*

The "oblation," be it remembered, is Christ himself, and the prayer is that the Redeemer's sacrifice may avail to procure pardon, through the intercession of Peter and Paul! Christ himself offered in honour of a saint! Is not this setting the servant above the Lord? Is it less than blasphemy?

By the ceremonies used in the celebration of the mass, the lights, incense, genuflexions, ablutions, crossings, etc., it is said, that "the majesty of this great sacrifice is set forth, and by these visible signs of religion and piety the minds of the faithful are excited to the contemplation of the deep truths which are therein contained;" but the celebration of the service in the vernacular tongue is not "deemed expedient."

A separate decree was published, declaring that the question of conceding the cup to the laity was referred absolutely to the Roman pontiff, who in

* Ordinary of the Mass.

his wisdom would decide that point, and do what should be most useful to the Christian commonwealth at large, and salutary to those who petitioned for the privilege. It was very well known that this was the readiest method of evading, and ultimately suppressing, the requests of the petitioners for that boon.*

* Pallav. l. xviii. c. 9. Sarpi. l. vi. s. 58.

CHAPTER XI.

The termination of the Council resolved on at Rome—The Sacrament of Orders, and the Divine right of Episcopacy discussed—Arrival of the Cardinal of Lorraine and the French Prelates—Fear of the Papal party on the occasion—Bold speech of the French Ambassador—Intrigues against Reform—Violent disputes—Frequent prorogations of the Session—Twenty-third Session—Decree on the Sacrament of Orders—Discussions on Matrimony—Extravagant measures proposed by the Legates—Twenty-fourth Session—Decree on Matrimony.

THE pope had resolved to bring the council to a speedy termination, and thus deliver himself from the vexations and alarms which agitated him during its continuance. To accomplish his purpose he spared no promises, well knowing that it would be very easy to put insuperable difficulties in the way of their performance. The legates were well acquainted with the pontiff's real views and wishes, and took care not to thwart him. The business of reformation was committed to Simonetta, who, with the assistance of Boncompagno, Paleotti, and others, undertook to prepare such a decree as might, at the same time, please the pope and satisfy the oft-repeated demands of the states of Europe. This arrangement was secretly made, and the self-appointed committee pursued its labours unknown to the council till the time came for the production of the decree. Thus the fathers were saved the trouble of investigation; the wounds of corruption were gently

opened; and speedily closed again; all they had to do was to receive and apply such remedies as were brought ready prepared to their hands.

The sacraments of orders and of matrimony, were appointed for decision at the next session. Two or three extracts from the speeches delivered in the course of the discussions on the subject of orders will summarily state the prevailing sentiments.

Alphonso Salmeron, the Jesuit, affirmed that Christ instituted the sacrament of orders when he appointed his apostles to the priesthood. The power then bestowed chiefly related to the consecration of his real body. Another power, that of jurisdiction over his mystical body, the church, was imparted, when he breathed on them, and said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost," etc., John xx. 22; this power was connected with the impression of a character, in which respect the sacrament of orders resembles those of baptism and confirmation. Further, when the Saviour led the apostles out and blessed them, Luke xxiv. 50, he constituted them bishops, sending them to preach the gospel.

Peter Soto spoke of the hierarchy. He maintained that in the government of the church, which is vested in the priesthood, there is a regular gradation, as in the angelic host, and that bishops, priests, and other ministers, are the rulers of the spiritual community, ordinary Christians being entirely excluded. In opposition to the Protestants, he asserted that so far from the office of priests being confined to preaching the gospel, that duty rather belongs to bishops, according to the saying of the apostle, "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel."

The debates that arose on the last article, relating to the superiority of bishops to priests, excited a dispute that more than ever distracted and divided the council. When this subject was discussed in 1552, the question proposed was, "Whether bishops are superior to presbyters by Divine right." The legates had resolved to avoid, if possible, the revival of the controversy, chiefly on account of its connexion with the dispute respecting residence, which they intended should be quietly referred to the pope. With these views they erased from the article the words "*jure Divino*," "*by Divine right*," hoping that the subject would not be introduced. But they were mistaken. The Spaniards resolutely refused to be silent. A furious contest was the result, which, though the issue was favourable to the papal interests, necessarily prolonged the council much beyond the time which had been fixed for its continuance.

The debate continued several days. Each party put forth its full strength ; and the importance of the question was universally felt and acknowledged. Should the Divine right be declared, it was perceived that the consequences would be eminently disastrous to the power and pretensions of the papacy. The bishops would immediately assert their entire independence of the pope, a fruitful source of revenue and influence would be entirely destroyed, and the court of Rome would sink into comparative insignificance. These considerations greatly alarmed the legates, and induced them to employ all the force or intrigue to procure the rejection of the disputed clause. The Jesuit Lainez was employed to refute the advocates of the Divine right. He maintained that Jesus Christ is sole ruler of his church ; that

when he left the world he constituted Peter and his successors as his vicars ; that, in consequence, the pope is absolute lord and master, supreme and infallible ; that bishops derive from him their power and jurisdiction, and that, in fact, there is no power whatever in the church but from him, so that even general councils have no authority, are not infallible, do not enjoy the influence of the Holy Spirit, unless they are summoned and controlled by papal authority. At length a division took place, in which one hundred and eighty-one votes were given. Fifty-four prelates voted for the Divine right, and the number would have been greater had not many been restrained by the fear of incurring the displeasure of their patrons, the legates, or the pope. But although the majority sided with the legates, they knew how it was obtained, and felt that it would be unsafe to treat their opponents with disrespect, since among them were found a large proportion of the most learned and influential prelates then at Trent. It was at least good policy to seek conciliation and agreement. With this object an addition was made to the committee, who took immense pains to frame the decree in such a manner as might meet the views of both parties. Various modes of expression were proposed, altered, modified, and rejected. Much time was wasted in these contentions, and no prospect of union appeared.

At the request of the French ambassadors the session was postponed, on account of the expected arrival of the cardinal of Lorraine. He entered Trent November 13, accompanied by fourteen bishops, three abbots, and twenty-two divines, chiefly doctors of the Sorbonne. This was an event in which all parties felt deep interest. The reforming members

of the council looked forward to it with much pleasure. They had heard that the cardinal proposed to lay an unsparing hand on the abuses of the papacy, and to avow himself the warm and uncompromising advocate of reform. Some affirmed that he wished to procure a decree for the performance of Divine worship in the vernacular tongue, and that in his own diocese of Rheims, baptism was already so celebrated. Others said that he would plead for communion in both kinds, and the marriage of the clergy; and that he intended to propose that bishoprics should be bestowed only on those who were able to preach, and that unpreaching prelates should be compelled to expend one-third of their revenues in the support of a preacher. Whether these reports were well founded or not, the pope deemed that there was sufficient ground for concern and fear. Orders were issued that every prelate then at Rome should repair to Trent forthwith. None were exempted: titulars, coadjutors, those who had resigned their benefices, and retained only the episcopal order, without jurisdiction—the aged and infirm, and even such as held official situations in the papal court, were compelled to go. Thus the pontiff hoped to counterbalance the influence of the French, and bear down opposition by numbers.

For some time after his arrival at Trent the cardinal of Lorraine spoke and acted as a thorough friend of reform. His house was the resort of the opposition party, with whom he held frequent meetings; and great hopes were entertained of the favourable issue of his endeavours. When he was publicly received by the council he drew an affecting picture of the state of France, and powerfully urged the necessity of prompt and energetic measures.

He was followed by the ambassador Du Ferrier, who addressed the fathers in a strain of bold remonstrance and eloquent fervour. Their demands, he said, were contained in the sacred Scriptures, the canons of general councils, and the ancient constitutions and decrees of venerable pontiffs and fathers. To these standards must the church again be brought. Nothing less would suffice. "Unless this is done, holy fathers," said the ambassador, "in vain will you inquire whether France is in a state of peace. We can only answer you as Jehu answered Joram, when he said, 'Is there peace, Jehu?' 'What peace,' he replied, 'so long as the fornications,' . . . 2 Kings ix. 22, you know the rest. But unless this is done, in vain will you seek for advice or help from this or that quarter; in vain will you rely on the fidelity or zeal of the sovereigns of Europe: a deceitful tranquillity may be produced, quickly to be disturbed, while, in the meantime, souls will perish, whose blood will be required at your hands." Such sentiments and language were heard with great satisfaction by the enemies of corruption.

The French ambassadors were instructed to require a revision of the church service, in order to the abolition of all superstitious and useless ceremonies, the concession of the cup to the laity, the administration of the sacraments, the singing of "psalms and other spiritual songs," the reading and interpretation of Scripture, and public prayers, in the vernacular tongue, the reformation of the licentious lives of the clergy, and, generally, of all abuses that had crept into the court of Rome or the church at large. They demanded that priests should be entirely occupied with the duties of their office, and not be suffered to intermeddle with secular

affairs ; that the bishops should provide a sufficient number of preachers in every diocese, so that sermons might be delivered on all Sundays and feast-days ; that no ecclesiastic should possess more than one benefice ; that commendams and similar abuses should be utterly abolished ; that the prevailing superstitions in regard to images, indulgences, pilgrimages, and relics, should be corrected ; that public penance should be revived ; and that diocesan synods should be held every year, provincial synods once in three years, and general councils every ten years. When to these are added the demands of the emperor and the Spanish prelates, who zealously co-operated with the French in promoting reform, it will be seen that the pope and his ministers had sufficient grounds for anxiety and alarm. Nevertheless, his holiness determined to preserve things as they were, or at any rate to concede as little as possible : but the strength of the opposition made it necessary to adopt very cautious measures, and to trust to dexterous management rather than open resistance.

Stormy debates, intrigues and counter-intrigues, and attempts to conciliate or overawe, made up the history of the council from the autumn of 1562 to the summer of 1563. During all this time the fathers were very busily engaged in discussion ;* but

* The cardinal of Lorraine says, that they were engaged full five hours every day. *Le Plat*, v. p. 598. Theological discussions were not their sole employ. Twice they assembled to render thanksgivings to God for the defeat of the Huguenots by the king of France, and once to celebrate mass for the Roman Catholics who were slain in battle. A virulent harangue against the Protestants was delivered at the first of those meetings, in which the victory was compared to

it was too evident that their object was less to elicit truth, than to get the mastery over each other. It was a fierce struggle between the liberal and servile parties, the friends of reform and the foes of innovation. On the part of the pontiff and his agents, no stone was left unturned to secure the interests of Rome, and avert all change. Messengers were continually passing between his holiness and the legates, to convey information, advice, and direction. Hired spies noted with unceasing vigilance every aspect of affairs, and faithfully reported the conduct of the prelates. Art, bribery, intimidation, were by turns employed; fair discussion and honourable dealing were unknown. A minute narrative would but excite disgust, and weary the patience of the reader.

The discussions on residence and the Divine right of bishops were frequently renewed, and carried on with great violence and asperity. Those who held the institution of bishops to be of Divine right, treated their opponents as slaves, who had ignobly sold themselves to do the will of the pope; while they themselves were regarded as malcontents or rebels, for opposing the just rights of Christ's vicar on earth. Various formulas were prepared, in the hope of uniting the two parties without compromise of principle on either side; but the attempt was wholly unsuccessful; and, at last, the council terminated without any authoritative declaration on a point of so great importance. The question of

the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt, and the successes of Jephthah, Gideon, Barak, and the Maccabees; and the Roman Catholic soldiers were described as having "consecrated their hands in the blood of the impious." There were great rejoicings at Rome also on account of these events. Le Plat, i. p. 573—586.

residence was disposed of in a similar way, the decree on that subject consisting of vague generalities, and provisions easily to be evaded. Reform shared its useful fate. Much was asked, little given. The pope contrived to pacify the emperor and the king of France; and the prelates, worn out by opposition, reproach and ill-usage, were forced to yield to superior power.* Even the cardinal of Lorraine saw, or affected to see, the necessity of retracing his steps; his pompous pretensions evaporated and vanished;

* The treatment of the bishop of Guadix was most disgraceful. "The bishop of Guadix," says a Spanish prelate who was present, "said that the bishops had their sole authority *de jure Divino*; and that even without the confirmation of the pope they would be true bishops, since there is no proof that either Chrysostom, or Basil, or Gregory of Nice, received such confirmation, or indeed any thing at the hands of the Roman pontiff.

"When he began to utter this sentence, cardinal Simonetta desired him to have care to his words, for what he said was scandalous, especially in such times.

"Upon this there was a stir among the prelates, and they began to make a great noise, and the patriarch of Venice, rising out of his place, called the bishop a schismatic, and declared that he must recant."

So wrote the bishop of Salamanca; others have stated the matter still more strongly; even Pallavicini confesses that the prelates not only made a great clamour, but that some exclaimed, "Curse him—burn him—he is a heretic!" Pal. l. xix. c. 5. Sarpi, l. vii. s. 36. Le Plat, v. 577. *Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism*, p. 335.

On one occasion the bishop of Verdun had inveighed severely against the court of Rome. "How the cock crows!" (*ninium gallus cantavit*—the reader will observe the allusion—"gallus" is the Latin word for "cock," and for "Frenchman," or native of *Gaul*;) said a prelate who sat near him. Upon which the bishop of Lavaur immediately rejoined, "Would that at the crowing of the cock Peter would repent and weep bitterly!"

and he tamely acquiesced in such reformation as the Roman pontiff chose to grant, though, for the sake of consistency, he recorded his protest against it, and declared that he only accepted it because he found it impossible to procure more liberal concessions.

The dissensions of the fathers were so violent, that the session had been prorogued no fewer than ten times. During the interval (ten months) two of the legates, the cardinal of Mantua and cardinal Seripand, had died; and two others had been appointed in their places, the cardinals Navagier and Moron. But no change proved beneficial to the interests of truth and liberty. The legates ruled the council, the pope directed the legates. Divines, bishops, ambassadors, and sovereigns, were expected to submit and obey. Remonstrance was unheeded, and opposition fruitless.

At length, July 15, 1563, the twenty-third session was held. The Christian ministry was declared to be a "priesthood, instituted by our Lord and Saviour," with power to "consecrate, offer, and minister his body and blood, and also to remit and retain sins." It was also decreed that the following orders have been in use "from the beginning of the church"—deacons, sub-deacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, and porters; that "by holy ordination, bestowed by words and external signs, grace is conferred;" that "orders constitute one of the seven sacraments of holy church" and that bishops are superior to presbyters, possessing the power of confirmation, ordination, and other prerogatives, peculiar to themselves.

The reforming decree passed in the twenty-third session contained eighteen chapters. Its principal enactment related to the residence of the clergy.

Personal residence is enjoined on ecclesiastics of every grade: but it is observable that several legitimate causes of absence are allowed, namely, "Christian charity, urgent necessity, due obedience, and the advantage of the church or state;" and of these, the pope was constituted supreme judge. The exceptions might be made to extend to any length of time, and the Divine right, which had been the fruitful source of so much contention, was kept entirely out of sight.

Lengthened discussions on matrimony had taken place before the twenty-third session. These debates were remarkably dry and jejune, and indeed chiefly related to customs or circumstances peculiar to those times. The marriage of priests may be excepted; but even on this subject there was scarcely any difference of opinion. All agreed in extolling the virtues of celibacy; and the most part denounced as heretics such as maintained the lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy; while some few were willing to admit that there were cases in which the pope might dispense with the vow of chastity.

Two measures proposed by the legates, but ultimately withdrawn or considerably modified, deserve to be mentioned, as illustrative of the spirit and designs of the papacy. The first was as follows:—when the sacrament of orders was under discussion, a canon was presented to the fathers, enjoining princes and civil rulers in general, to require of all persons whom they should invest with any public office, dignity, magistracy, or place of trust, that they should subscribe a creed comprising the distinctive tenets of the Roman Catholic religion, and concluding with a solemn promise to reject all novel doctrines, avoid all schism, detest every heresy, and

promptly and faithfully assist the church against all heretics whatsoever.

The other measure was a proposal for the reformation of the civil powers. Assailed on all sides by urgent demands for reform, the legates were compelled to put on the appearance of concession. They prepared a decree, touching as lightly as possible the evils and abuses which had excited such general indignation. The closing articles of the decree were levelled at the sovereigns and states of Europe. It was pretended that the church also had just cause for remonstrance and complaint, and that the reformation would not be complete, unless the encroachments of the secular on the ecclesiastical power were abolished. The legates had even the assurance to demand that the clergy should enjoy an absolute immunity from the civil jurisdiction, in all causes whatsoever; that spiritual causes, and those of a mixed nature, should be tried before ecclesiastical judges, to the entire exclusion of laymen, and that these judges should receive their appointments from their spiritual superiors, and not from any secular authority; that the church should be entirely free from all taxes, imposts, subsidies, etc. under whatsoever name or pretence they might be levied; and finally, that all the ancient canons, and all papal constitutions, enacting clerical immunity, should be revived in their full force, and any breach or infringement be visited with excommunication, without trial or notice.

This proposal was made to intimidate the wavering, and extinguish the attempts of the more zealous friends of reform. And the success was complete. The French ambassadors, whose bold and unflinching attacks on the corruptions of the Roman court

had given so great offence, protested against the decree in the name of their sovereign, and withdrew to Venice. They returned no more to Trent. Those who remained had no inclination to continue a struggle, in which the chances of victory were so few : their acceptance of such reformation as was offered them, was the price of the withdrawment of the obnoxious articles.

The twenty-fourth session was held November 11, 1563. The doctrinal decree related to matrimony. It was comprised in twelve canons, without any explanatory chapters, and was in substance as follows :—that marriage is a sacrament ; that polygamy is unlawful ; that the church has power to constitute any impediments to matrimony, and to dispense with the observance of the enactments of the book of Leviticus, relating to the degrees of consanguinity or affinity ; that the marriage bond is not dissolved by adultery ; that persons in holy orders may not on any account contract marriage ; and that it is “ better and more conducive to happiness to remain in virginity or celibacy than to be married.”

CHAPTER XII.

Termination of the Council hastened by the Pope's illness—Twenty-fifth Session—Decrees on Purgatory—Indulgences—Fasts and Feasts, the Invocation of Saints, and the Veneration of Images, Relics, etc.—Abstract of the reforming Decrees, particularly that relating to the state of the Monasteries—Acclamations of the Fathers at the close of the Council—The Index of prohibited Books—The Bull of Confirmation—The Catechism—Reception of the Council.

ALL parties were now in haste to finish the council as soon as possible. The prelates and divines were weary of the protracted debates; and those who had advocated reform were so little satisfied with the results of their endeavours, that they were anxious to be released from unproductive toil. The legates participated in the general wish, and urged the divines to expedite the remaining discussions with all practicable speed. This was done in obedience to express orders received from Rome.

Purgatory, the invocation of saints, the use of images, and indulgences, remained to be discussed. Committees were immediately formed to prepare the decrees, and the labour was cheerfully undertaken, in the prospect of early repose.

While they were thus engaged, in the night of the 1st of December, news arrived that the pope was alarmingly ill, and that his life was considered to be in danger. The fathers were hastily convened, and a resolution passed to celebrate the closing session

of the council as soon as the necessary documents could be prepared, instead of waiting for the 9th instant, the day originally appointed. Accordingly, on December 3, 1563, and the following day, (for there was too much business to be despatched at one sitting,) the twenty-fifth and last session was held. Purgatory, the invocation of saints, and the use of images were the subjects of the first day's discussion. On the second day, indulgences, the choice of meats and drinks, and the observance of feasts and fasts were noticed. Long decrees on reformation, comprising the ultimate concessions of the pontiff, were passed on each day.

Respecting purgatory, the council decreed, "that there is a purgatory, and that the souls detained there are assisted by the suffrages of the faithful, but especially by the acceptable sacrifice of the mass;" and all bishops were enjoined to endeavour that this "wholesome doctrine of purgatory, delivered by venerable fathers and holy councils, should be believed and held by Christ's faithful, and every where taught and preached."

The power of granting indulgences was declared to have been "bestowed by Christ upon his church," and therefore to be retained. All *wicked* gains accruing from them were to be wholly abolished. *Other* abuses, proceeding from superstition, ignorance, irreverence, or any other cause whatever, were "referred to the supreme pontiff, by whose authority and prudence such enactments would be made as should be expedient for the universal church; so that the gift of holy indulgences might be dispensed to the faithful in a pious, holy, and incorrupt manner."

Strict injunctions were given for the observance

of "all the institutions of the holy Roman church, the mother and mistress of all churches, and of the decrees of this and other œcumenical councils; and that they use all diligence to promote obedience to all their commands, and especially those which relate to the mortification of the flesh, as the choice of meats and fasts; as also those which tend to the increase of piety, as the devout and religious celebration of feast-days."

The decree concerning the invocation, veneration, and relics of the saints, and also concerning sacred images, asserted, "that the saints, who reign together with Christ, offer their prayers to God for men:—that it is a good and useful thing suppliantly to invoke them, and to flee to their prayers, help, and assistance, because of the benefits bestowed by God through his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our only Redeemer and Saviour; and that those are men of impious sentiments who deny that the saints, who enjoy eternal happiness in heaven, are to be invoked:—that the holy bodies of the holy martyrs and others living with Christ, whose bodies were living members of Christ and temples of the Holy Spirit, and will be by him raised to eternal life and glorified, are to be venerated by the faithful, since by them God bestows many benefits upon men:"—"that the images of Christ, of the virgin, mother of God, and of other saints, are to be had and retained, especially in churches, and due honour and veneration rendered to them:—"*—and "that by the

* Reference was especially made to the second council of Nice, held A.D. 787. The controversy respecting image-worship was finally settled at this council. It was decreed that the images of Christ and the saints are to be venerated and adored, though not with "true latria," or the

records of the mysteries of our redemption, expressed in pictures or other similitudes, men are instructed and confirmed in those articles of faith which are especially to be remembered and cherished ; and that great advantages are derived from all sacred images, not only because the people are thus reminded of the benefits and gifts which are bestowed upon them by Christ, but also because the Divine miracles performed by the saints, and their salutary examples, are thus placed before the eyes of the faithful, that they may give thanks to God for them, order their lives and manners in imitation of the saints, and be excited to adore and love God, and cultivate piety." The fathers add, as if smitten with some sudden qualms of conscience : " Let all superstition in the invocation of saints, the veneration of relics, and the sacred use of images, be taken away ; let all base gain be abolished ; and lastly, let all indecency be avoided, so that images be neither painted nor adorned in a lascivious manner, nor the commemoration of the saints or visits to relics be abused by men to gluttony and drunkenness." And it was decreed that it should not be lawful for any one to fix or cause to be fixed a new image in any place or church, unless the same be approved by the bishop : nor should any new miracles be admitted, or any new relics be received, but with his recognition and approbation.

In the reforming decrees passed in the two last

worship exclusively due to God ; and the fathers thundered out their anathemas against all who should oppose the decree, or call image-worship idolatry, or refuse to honour images, or even hold fellowship with such as maintained the contrary opinion. *Magdeburg Centuriat. Cent. viii. c. 9.*

sessions of the council it was enjoined that in the election of bishops great care should be taken to select persons of suitable age, qualifications, and character; and that after due examination and inquiry, report thereon should be made to the pope, that he might choose none but fit and proper persons for those important stations. His holiness reserved to himself the judgment of all important criminal causes affecting bishops, especially heresy. Confessionals were ordered to be established in cathedral churches, and public penance inflicted for very scandalous offences; the latter provision, however, was nullified by permission given to the bishop to commute public for private penance, if he saw sufficient grounds for so doing. The former decrees respecting pluralities were renewed. Cardinals and prelates were admonished not to exceed the bounds of moderation in their manner of living, furniture, dress, etc. Solemn injunctions were issued to all ecclesiastics, of every rank, and to all members of universities, to receive and hold whatever the council had decreed, to promise and profess due obedience to the Roman pontiff, and to anathematise publicly all heresies. The children of priests were forbidden the enjoyment of any ecclesiastical place or office in the church in which their fathers officiated—an enactment which unwittingly betrayed the inefficiency of the laws of continence.

The state of the monasteries occupied much of the attention of the fathers. In fact, whenever a general council was assembled, the irregularities or usurpations of the monastic orders commonly engrossed a large share of the proceedings. Canon after canon was issued, and still the interposition of ecclesiastical authority was constantly required. An

abstract of the decree passed at Trent will place before the reader the then existing condition of that portion of the Roman Catholic church. It was enacted, that care should be taken to procure strict observance of the rules of the respective professions; that no regular should be allowed to possess any private property, but should surrender every thing to his superior; that all monasteries, even those of the mendicants, should be permitted to hold estates, and other wealth; that nunneries should be kept carefully closed, and egress be absolutely forbidden to the nuns, under any pretence whatsoever, without episcopal licence, on pain of excommunication—magistrates being enjoined under the same penalty to aid the bishops, if necessary, by employing force, and the latter being urged to their duty by the fear of the judgment of God, and the eternal curse; that monastics should confess and receive the eucharist at least once a month; that if any public scandal should arise out of their conduct, they should be judged and punished by the superior, or in case of his failure, by the bishop; that no renunciation of property or pecuniary engagement should be valid unless made within two months of taking the vows of religious profession; that immediately after the novitiate, the novices should either be dismissed or take the vow; and that if they were dismissed, nothing should be received from them but a reasonable payment for their board, lodging, and clothing, during the novitiate;* that no females should take

* This was to prevent the practice of enticing young persons into convents, as novices, in order to wheedle them out of their property, and afterwards sending them back into the world, on some shallow pretence, stripped of their all.

the veil without previous examination by the bishop ; that whoever compelled females to enter convents against their will, from avaricious or other motives, or, on the other hand, hindered such as were desirous of the monastic life, should be excommunicated ; that if any monk or nun pretended that they had taken the vows under the influence of force or fear, or before the age appointed by law, they should not be heard, except within five years of their profession—if they laid aside the habit of their own accord, they should not be permitted to make the complaint, but be compelled to return to the monastery, and be punished as apostates, being, in the meantime, deprived of all the privileges of their order.* Finally, with regard to the general reformation of the corruptions and abuses which existed in convents, the council lamented the great difficulty of applying any effectual remedy, but hoped that the supreme pontiff would piously and prudently provide for the exigencies of the case, as far as the times would bear.

* “ Repentance—disinclination, however often they may happen, are concealed or avowed in vain. A woman who should persist in returning to the world, would be welcomed, not only with its dread laugh, but its severest reprehension. Her family would consider themselves dishonoured, and, in all probability, would refuse to receive her. Her friends and acquaintance would refuse to associate with her. No man would ever look upon her for his wife. She would be an object for the finger of scorn to point at. Under such circumstances, she must take the vows or die.” *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, iii. 179. Some affecting instances of the cruel tyranny of the Romish church in such cases are detailed in Blanco White’s “*Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism*,” p. 138—144, 280—288.

Instead of the projected reform of the secular powers, which had made so much noise, a brief but comprehensive chapter was inserted, renewing all former canons and decrees of general councils, in favour of the immunities of the ecclesiastics, and against those who should violate the same, and exhorting all sovereigns to ensure due reverence to the clergy on the part of their subjects, to prevent any infringement of their privileges, and to patronise and support the church to the utmost of their power. Lastly, it was declared that all the decrees passed respecting the reformation of manners and ecclesiastical discipline, were to be so understood and interpreted, as to preserve always, and in all things, the authority of the apostolic see. Thus, in open defiance of all Christendom, securing the continuance of whatever enormity or abuse the pontiff for the time being might think fit to support and defend ! And indeed, the whole reformation (as it was called) decreed by the council, was so framed and constituted as to be altogether useless, inoperative, and vain. The greatest evils were left untouched ; the papal power, the great source of tyranny and corruption, was not meddled with ; but, on the contrary, the pope assumed the sole right to expound, administer, or dispense with the decrees of the council, and obtained, by its last decree, an apparently legal sanction for his usurpations.

The “acclamations of the fathers” closed the proceedings of the council. The cardinal of Lorraine made himself conspicuous on that occasion. After having called on the assembly to declare their best wishes and prayers for the pope, the emperor and other European monarchs, (including the souls of those who had died since the opening of the council,)

the legates, the cardinals, the ambassadors, and the bishops, he thus proceeded:—

Cardinal. “The most holy and œcumenical council of Trent—may we ever confess its faith, ever observe its decrees.

Fathers. “Ever may we confess, ever observe them.

C. “Thus we all believe: we are all of the same mind; with hearty assent we all subscribe. This is the faith of blessed Peter and the apostles; this is the faith of the fathers; this is the faith of the orthodox.

F. “Thus we believe; thus we think; thus we subscribe.

C. “Abiding by these decrees, may we be found worthy of the mercy of the chief and great high Priest, Jesus Christ our God, by the intercession of our holy Lady, the Mother of God, ever a virgin, and all the saints.

F. “Be it so, be it so: Amen, amen.

C. “Accursed be all heretics!

F. “Accursed, accursed!”

As the committee appointed to prepare an Index of prohibited books, had not finished their task, that business, together with a projected catechism, and a revised edition of the Breviary and Missal was referred to the pope. The Index was published in March, 1564. It was alphabetically arranged, each portion being divided into three classes, comprising 1. Authors, all whose works were absolutely prohibited: 2. Particular books forbidden, the other productions of the same writers being allowed: 3. Anonymous publications. Ten “rules” were prefixed, containing sundry enactments relative to the publication and use of books. Those which respect

the Scriptures have been already noticed. The following also deserve transcription :—

“ Books of controversy betwixt the catholics and heretics of the present time, written in the vulgar tongue, are not to be indiscriminately allowed, but are to be subject to the same regulations as Bibles in the vulgar tongue. As to those works in the vulgar tongue, which treat of morality, contemplation, confession, and similar subjects, and which contain nothing contrary to sound doctrine, there is no reason why they should be prohibited; the same may be said also of sermons in the vulgar tongue, designed for the people. And if in any kingdom or province, any books have been hitherto prohibited, as containing things not proper to be read, without selection, by all sorts of persons, they may be allowed by the bishop and inquisitor, after having corrected them, if written by catholic authors.”

“ In the printing of books or other writings, the rules shall be observed which were ordained in the tenth session of the council of Lateran, under Leo x. Therefore, if any book is to be printed in the city of Rome it shall first be examined by the pope's vicar and the master of the sacred palace, or other persons chosen by our most holy father for that purpose. In other places, the examination of any book or manuscript intended to be printed, shall be referred to the bishop, or some skilful person whom he shall nominate, and the inquisitor of heretical pravity of the city or diocese in which the impression is executed, who shall gratuitously and without delay affix their approbation to the work, in their own handwriting, subject, nevertheless, to the pains and censures contained in the said decree; this law and condition being added,

that an authentic copy of the book to be printed, signed by the author himself, shall remain in the hands of the examiner : and it is the judgment of the fathers of the present deputation, that those persons who publish works in manuscript, before they have been examined and approved, should be subject to the same penalties as those who print them ; and that those who read or possess them should be considered as the authors, if the real authors of such writings do not avow themselves. The approbation given in writing shall be placed at the head of the books, whether printed or in manuscript, that they may appear to be duly authorized ; and this examination and approbation, etc. shall be granted gratuitously.

“ Moreover, in every city and diocese, the houses or places where the art of printing is exercised, and also the shops of booksellers, shall be frequently visited by persons deputed for that purpose by the bishop or his vicar, conjointly with the inquisitor of heretical pravity, so that nothing that is prohibited may be printed, kept, or sold. Booksellers of every description shall keep in their shops a catalogue of the books which they have on sale, signed by the said deputies ; nor shall they keep, or sell, nor in any way dispose of any other books, without permission from the deputies, under pain of forfeiting the books, and being liable to such other penalties as shall be judged proper by the bishop or inquisitor, who shall also punish the buyers, readers, or printers of such works. If any person import foreign books into any city, they shall be obliged to announce them to the deputies ; or if this kind of merchandize be exposed to sale in any public place, the public officers of the place shall signify to the said deputies, that

such books have been brought ; and no one shall presume to give to read, or lend, or sell, any book which he or any other person has brought into the city, until he has shown it to the deputies, and obtained their permission, unless it be a work well known to be universally allowed.

“ Heirs and testamentary executors shall make no use of the books of the deceased, nor in any way transfer them to others, until they have presented a catalogue of them to the deputies, and obtained their licence, under pain of the confiscation of the books, or the infliction of such other punishment as the bishop or inquisitor shall deem proper, according to the contumacy or quality of the delinquent.

“ With regard to those books which the fathers of the present deputation shall examine, or correct, or deliver to be corrected, or permit to be reprinted on certain conditions, booksellers and others shall be bound to observe whatever is ordained respecting them. The bishops and general inquisitors shall, nevertheless, be at liberty, according to the power they possess, to prohibit such books as may seem to be permitted by these rules, if they deem it necessary for the good of the kingdom, or province, or diocese. And let the secretary of these fathers, according to the command of our holy father, transmit to the notary of the general inquisitor, the names of the books that have been corrected, as well as of the persons to whom the fathers have granted the power of examination.

“ Finally, it is enjoined on all the faithful, that no one presume to keep or read any books contrary to these rules, or prohibited by this Index. But if any one keep or read any books composed by heretics, or the writings of any author suspected of heresy,

or false doctrine, he shall instantly incur the sentence of excommunication ; and those who read or keep works interdicted on another account, besides the mortal sin committed, shall be severely punished at the will of the bishops."

A permanent committee, styled the " Congregation of the Index," is specially charged with the execution of these tyrannical and iniquitous laws. Under its care the Index has been increased from year to year, by the addition of such new works as were deemed unfit for Roman Catholic readers. It now forms a considerable volume. A few of the names found in it may be mentioned. No Roman Catholic is suffered to read the writings of Wickliff, Luther, Calvin, Bucer, Zuinglius, Melancthon, Bullinger, Œcolampadius, Beza, Tyndal, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Knox, Coverdale, Bishop Hooper, John Fox the Martyrologist, John Huss, Jerome of Prague, Addison, Algernon Sydney, Lord Bacon, Boerhaave, Bayle, Bochart, Brucker, George Buchanan, Buxtorf, Camden, Casaubon, Castalio, Cave, Claude, Le Clerc, the Critici Sacri, Erasmus (his Colloquies, and several other works), Glassius, Grotius, Sir Matthew Hale, Father Paul, Kepler, Lavater, Locke, Milton, Mosheim, Robertson (History of Charles v.), Roscoe (Life of Leo x.), Saurin, Scaliger, Scapula, Schmidt, Selden, Sleidan, Jeremy Taylor, Vossius, Walton (the Polygott), Young (the Night Thoughts.) Of these authors, the works of some may not be possessed or read, according to the above rules, under any circumstances, without incurring the guilt of mortal sin, and the punishment of excommunication ; the perusal of others is permitted, by licence, after examination, or expurgation, to a favoured few, " learned and pious men." In

Burnet's History of the Reformation the form of one of these licences may be seen, given by Tonstall to Sir Thomas More. Nor are we speaking of a defunct statute. The authority of the Index is acknowledged and felt in the nineteenth century ; and in Roman Catholic countries the censorship of the press, and the tyrannical vigilance of the priests, perpetuate the dominion of ignorance, enslave and fetter the human mind, and inflict untold miseries, religious and political, on a suffering people. Even works of Fenelon, Fleury, and Dupin, all celebrated Romanists, are prohibited.

On January 26th, 1564, Pius iv. published the bull of confirmation, commanding all the faithful to receive and inviolably observe the decrees of the council ; enjoining archbishops, bishops, etc. to procure that observance from those under them, and in order thereto, to call in the assistance of the secular arm, if necessary ; and exhorting and beseeching the emperor, and the respective sovereigns and states of Europe. " by the tender mercies of the Lord Jesus Christ," to support the church in so pious an endeavour, and to show their zeal for the Divine honour, and their concern for the salvation of souls, by preventing their subjects from holding and avowing any sentiments opposed to those which had been promulgated at Trent. At the same time, private interpretations of the decrees were expressly prohibited, and the publication of any commentaries, glosses, annotations, remarks, etc. without papal authority, was sternly forbidden. If any doubt or difficulty existed, recourse was to be had to the " place which the Lord had chosen," the apostolic see. A congregation of cardinals was appointed, to regulate and announce the legitimate meaning of

the decrees. It still continues, and meets usually twice in every month.

The "Catechism of the Council of Trent" appeared in 1566, by command of pope Pius v. Although termed a "Catechism," it is not written in the usual form of question and answer, but is, in fact, a manual of religious instruction, chiefly, though not wholly, intended for the use of the priests. It is a work of considerable labour and research, and is written in a terse and elegant style. Of the four parts into which it is divided, the first, third and fourth contain expositions of the Apostles' Creed, the Decalogue, and the Lord's Prayer; the second, is a treatise on the sacraments. The doctrines laid down in the decrees of the council, are here elaborately discussed and defended; much additional information is supplied; and great skill is employed in endeavouring to make the obnoxious sentiments of the Roman Catholic church appear to be consistent with reason and scripture, but none of them are in reality brought nearer to the truth thereby.

The canons and decrees of the council were printed at Rome, and widely circulated throughout Europe. Their reception was various. In what concerns faith, or morals, the decrees of the council have been received, without any restriction, by every Roman Catholic kingdom: all its decrees have been received by the empire, Portugal, the Venetians, and the duke of Savoy, without an express limitation. They have been received by the Spaniards, Neapolitans, and Sicilians, with a caution as to such points of discipline as might be derogatory to their respective sovereignties. But the council was never published in France. The doctrinal decrees, however, are received in that

country, as well as by all Roman Catholics in every part of the world.

Pope Pius IV sent the acts of the council to Mary, queen of Scots, with a letter, dated the 13th of June, 1564, urging her to have the decrees of the council published in her dominions, but nothing appears to have been done in consequence of it.*

* Butler's Historical Memoirs, i. p. 486. Although the decrees and canons have been published, the acts of the council have never been permitted to see the light. It is true that Pallavicini professes to derive his history from them; but for his fidelity we have only his own voucher. Buonaparte removed the original copy of the acts from the Vatican, where they were first deposited, to Paris, and placed them in the "Hotel de Soubize." Probably they were restored on the return of the Bourbon family. Butler, *ut sup.* p. 487—491.

CHAPTER XIII.

Reflections on the character of the Council—Pope Pius's Creed—Popery shown to be unscriptural—Self-righteous—Superstitious and Idolatrous—Intolerant—and Anti-christian.

THE decrees of the council of Trent were signed by four legates, two cardinals, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, one hundred and sixty-four bishops, seven abbots, seven generals of orders, and nineteen proxies for **absentees**. There had been present, during the extended sittings of the council, thirty-three archbishops, and two hundred and thirty-eight bishops. Of these prelates, thirty-three were from Spain, twenty-four from France, three from Portugal, two from Germany, six from Hungary, two from Poland, and *about one hundred and eighty from the Italian states!* As there were nearly eight hundred Roman Catholic sees, the number of signatures did not amount to one-fourth of the papal prelacy. Yet this handful of bishops, most of whom were absolutely dependent on the pope, and many of them bribed for this special service, had the audacity to call themselves the representatives of the universal church, and to enact the farce of a general council. Their mean, cringing servility, their opposition to evangelical doctrine, their intolerant spirit, and their utter recklessness of principle, sufficiently show their true character ; and yet these very men profanely dared

to assert, that they acted under the influence of the Holy Spirit, and that the decisions manufactured for them at Rome, and carried by dint of the most scandalous intrigue, were inspired from heaven! From such corrupt sources flowed the decrees which raised tradition to an equality with Scripture; condemned the doctrine of justification by faith only; asserted the meritoriousness of good works and the saving efficacy of the sacraments; denounced curses against all who should refuse to receive the absurdities of transubstantiation; mutilated the Lord's ordinance of the supper; legalised the idolatry of the mass; riveted the chain of auricular confession; confirmed the follies of saint-worship, purgatorial fire, relics, and similar trumpery; left unredressed the manifold grievances connected with indulgences and other forms of priestly exaction; and, instead of lessening the pressure of the papal yoke, laid burdens "grievous to be borne" on the shoulders of an enslaved people. But we wonder not at these results. When God gives up men to "strong delusion," they "believe a lie, and have pleasure in unrighteousness."

"Hear the just law—the judgment of the skies!
He that hates truth shall be the dupe of lies;
And he that will be cheated to the last,
Delusions strong as hell shall bind him fast."

COWPER.

"The council of Trent," Mosheim observes, "was assembled, as was pretended, to correct, illustrate, and fix with perspicuity, the doctrine of the church, to restore the vigour of its discipline, and to reform the lives of its ministers. But, in the opinion of those who examine things with impartiality, this assembly, instead of reforming ancient

abuses, rather gave rise to new enormities; and many transactions of this council have excited the just complaints of the wisest men in both communions. They complain that many of the opinions of the scholastic doctors on intricate points (that had formerly been left undecided, and had been wisely permitted as subjects of free debate) were, by this council, absurdly adopted as articles of faith, and recommended as such, nay, imposed, with violence, upon the consciences of the people, under pain of excommunication. They complain of the ambiguity that reigns in the decrees and declarations of that council, by which the disputes and dissensions that had formerly rent the church, instead of being removed by clear definitions and wise and charitable decisions, were rendered, on the contrary, more perplexed and intricate, and were, in reality, propagated and multiplied, instead of being suppressed or diminished. Nor were these the only reasons of complaint; for it must have been afflicting to those that had the cause of true religion and Christian liberty at heart, to see all things decided, in that assembly, according to the despotic will of the Roman pontiff, without any regard to the dictates of truth, or the authority of Scripture, its genuine and authentic source; and to see the assembled fathers reduced to silence by the Roman legates, and deprived, by these insolent representatives of the papacy, of that influence and credit that might have rendered them capable of healing the wounds of the church. It was, moreover, a grievance justly to be complained of, that the few wise and pious regulations that were made in that council, were never supported by the authority of the church, but were suffered to degenerate into

a mere lifeless form, or shadow of law, which was treated with indifference, and transgressed with impunity. To sum up all in one word, the most candid and impartial observers of things consider the council of Trent as an assembly that was more attentive to what might maintain the despotic authority of the pontiff, than solicitous about entering into the measures that were necessary to promote the good of the church.”*

This witness is true. When the divines of Louvain and Cologne discovered errors in the published decrees of the council, and procured a revision of them before they were sent forth to the world, Vargas wrote thus: “I think that God has permitted this accident, to cover them with shame and confusion. Surely, after this, they will open their eyes, as the psalmist says, ‘Fill their faces with shame, and they shall seek thy name, O Lord,’ *Psa. lxxxiii. 16.* God grant that they may understand it. But I dare not hope for even this. I have always said, that God must work a miracle in order to accomplish it.”† But God will not work miracles at man’s bidding. The prevention of mischief is not always agreeable to his will. It is sometimes proper and necessary to permit the progress of evil for a time, that its true character may be revealed, and the eyes of men opened to see its abominations. The enormities practised at Trent have unveiled the papacy.

In December, 1564, pope Pius iv. issued a brief summary of the doctrinal decisions of the council, in the form of a creed, usually called, after

* *Eccles. Hist.* cent. xvi. sect. iii. part 1. chap. 1. § 22.

† *Lettres et Memoires*, p. 257.

himself, "Pope Pius's Creed." "It was immediately received throughout the universal church; and since that time, has ever been considered, in every part of the world, as an accurate and explicit summary of the Roman Catholic faith. Non-catholics, on their admission into the Catholic church, publicly repeat and testify their assent to it, without restriction or qualification."* It is expressed in the following terms:—

"I, N. believe and profess, with a firm faith, all and every one of the things which are contained in the symbol of faith, which is used in the holy Roman church, namely:—

"I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God; born of the Father before all worlds; God of God; Light of Light; true God of true God; begotten, not made; consubstantial to the Father, by whom all things were made; who, for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the virgin Mary, and was made man; was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, suffered and was buried, and rose again the third day, according to the Scriptures, and ascended into heaven; sits at the right hand of the Father, and will come again with glory to judge the living and the dead, of whose kingdom there will be no end: and in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Life-giver, who proceeds from the Father and the Son, who together with the Father and the Son is adored and glorified, who spoke by the prophets: and one holy catholic and apostolic

* Butler's Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 5.

church. I confess one baptism for the remission of sins; and I expect the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come. Amen.

“ I most firmly admit and embrace apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other constitutions and observances of the same church.

“ I also admit the Sacred Scriptures, according to the sense which the holy mother church has held, and does hold, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures; nor will I ever take or interpret them otherwise, than according to the unanimous consent of the fathers.

“ I profess also, that there are truly and properly seven sacraments of the new law, instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, and for the salvation of mankind, though all are not necessary for every one; namely, baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, extreme unction, order, and matrimony, and that they confer grace; and of these, baptism, confirmation, and order, cannot be reiterated without sacrilege.

“ I also receive and admit the ceremonies of the Catholic church, received and approved in the solemn administration of all the above-said sacraments.

“ I receive and embrace all and every one of the things which have been defined and declared in the holy council of Trent, concerning original sin and justification.

“ I profess likewise, that in the mass is offered to God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead; and that in the most holy sacrifice of the eucharist there is truly, really, and substantially the body and blood, together with the soul and Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is made a conversion of the whole substance of

the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood, which conversion the Catholic church calls transubstantiation.

“I confess also, that under either kind alone, whole and entire, Christ and a true sacrament is received.

“I constantly hold that there is a purgatory, and that the souls detained therein are helped by the suffrages of the faithful.

“Likewise, that the saints reigning together with Christ, are to be honoured and invoked, that they offer prayers to God for us, and that their relics are to be venerated.

“I most firmly assert, that the images of Christ, and of the mother of God, ever virgin, and also of the other saints, are to be had and retained; and that due honour and veneration are to be given them.

“I also affirm, that the power of indulgences was left by Christ in the church, and that the use of them is most wholesome to Christian people.

“I acknowledge the holy catholic and apostolical Roman church, the mother and mistress of all churches; and I promise and swear true obedience to the Roman bishop, the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, and vicar of Jesus Christ.

“I also profess and undoubtedly receive all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons, and general councils, and particularly by the holy council of Trent; and likewise I also condemn, reject, and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies whatsoever, condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the church.

“This true catholic faith, out of which none can be saved, which I now freely profess, and truly hold, I, N. promise, vow, and swear most constantly to

hold and profess the same whole and entire, with God's assistance, to the end of my life; and to procure, as far as lies in my power, that the same shall be held, taught, and preached by all who are under me, or are entrusted to my care, by virtue of my office. So help me God, and these holy gospels of God."

Such is the picture of popery, as drawn by its adherents. It will not be difficult to show that it is unscriptural, self-righteous, superstitious and idolatrous, intolerant, and anti-christian.

1. *Popery is an unscriptural system.* This is not wholly denied, in some respects, even by Roman Catholics themselves. They are fully aware that no scriptural authority can be pleaded for many opinions and practices which are peculiar to their system, and therefore take shelter in tradition, and the supposed power of the church to legislate in matters in religion. Here the true Protestant is at issue with them. He maintains the absolute sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures, and that they are the only authorised rule of faith. He holds the Christian code to be complete, comprising full statements of all that we are bound to believe, with ample directions how "to walk, and to please God." And he perceives clearly, that if we step over the threshold of Scripture, we expose ourselves to innumerable perils. We must either have "the Bible, and the Bible only," or admit the principle from which are derived the monstrous abominations of the papacy.

Transubstantiation, auricular confession, purgatory, prayers to the saints, and indulgences, are the main pillars of popery. Every day brings one or other of them under the notice of the devout Roman

Catholic, guiding his devotions, directing his conscience, and regulating his hopes and fears. But if he searches for them in the inspired volume, he searches in vain. Or if he ventures to maintain their scriptural origin, it is evident that he did not first derive them from the holy book, but having received them from some other source, labours to enlist the Divine penmen in his cause, by explaining their language in accordance with his views, and that too often in defiance of the rules of biblical criticism, and the acknowledged principles of sober and honest interpretation. The leading truths of Christianity lie upon the surface of Scripture, and the "wayfaring man" may find them without difficulty. But who that was not previously schooled in the mysteries of Romanism would ever discover them either in the Old or the New Testament ?

If direct scriptural authority cannot be adduced, the papist resorts to tradition, or adduces high antiquity. But this will not do. We know very well that many corruptions and abuses may be traced to an early date ; but it matters not whether the invention, be it what it may, be assigned to the second or the twelfth century. It is enough for us that it is not in the word of God. There we take our stand, and from that high ground we will not be persuaded to come down. Give us "the Bible, and the Bible only."

2. *Popery is a self-righteous system.* No mere creature can acquire merit in the sight of God, and therefore no sinful creature can atone for past transgressions, however pure may be his future life. To these statements our unbiassed reason cannot but agree. Humbled before God, confessing his wretchedness and ruined state, acknowledging the equity

of the condemning sentence, the sinner is directed to the "Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." He opens that sacred volume, which to the majority of Roman Catholics is a sealed and forbidden book, and thus reads:—"All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God; being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus." "Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth." "For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him." He believes God, and is at peace: embracing these heavenly truths, he experiences "joy unspeakable and full of glory." And gratitude for redeeming goodness becomes the mainspring of piety, the root and source of all holy living, the motive to cheerful and unwearied activity in the ways of God. Very different are the inventions of popery. There Christ is not "all and in all;" the sinner is not directed to the Saviour. Pardon is almost a matter of bargain and sale. Instead of "returning to the Lord," the penitent kneels before the priest: for "repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ," are substituted confession and absolution at the tribunal of penance; and the obedience of gratitude is exchanged for austerities, mortifications, or painful performances, vainly imagined to be meritorious. The "glad tidings of great joy" are not permitted to salute the ears of the devotee of Rome; he knows not "the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free," but wears the insufferable yoke of priestly bondage. Whenever conscience is oppressed or alarmed, new penances are prescribed, at the will of his spiritual master; nor does even the prospect of heaven itself

afford unmingled relief, since he is taught that before he can arrive at those blessed abodes, he must endure the bitter pains of purgatory, from which he laboriously strives to procure some remission by voluntary sufferings or acts of devotion to the church. Meanwhile, pride is nourished by the dogma of human merit; and he whose heart was never broken by the sense of sin, and whose life exhibits no traces of genuine holiness, is puffed with the conceit of superior excellence, and supposes that his ave-marias, his pater-nosters, his fasts and his alms, are daily increasing the stock of his worthiness, and lessening the claims against him in the court of heaven.

3. *Popery is a superstitious and idolatrous system.* In proof of this assertion, it is only necessary to refer to the ordinary devotions and daily practice of Roman Catholics. God is not the exclusive object of their worship; his providence is not their sole trust; nor do they confess their sins to him only, but divide that solemn act between the Deity, the virgin, and the saints. It is not denied that many of the prayers and devotional exercises prepared for their use seem to savour of piety; but their good effect is neutralised by the perpetual reference to angelic guardians and saintly intercessors. The obedient son of the church is constantly reminded of his obligations to these invisible friends. Every day is devoted to the memory of some one of their number. Their shrines and altars are honoured by his frequent visits. He supposes them to preside over his affairs, and to administer perpetual guidance and protection; hence he is not only instructed to implore their intercession on his behalf, but also to offer prayers to them,

invoking their assistance. In short, God is practically excluded; the intercession of the Saviour is forgotten; the saints are all in all.*

Popery is, in fact, scarcely better than modified paganism. For Venus, Jupiter, Mercury, and the gods and goddesses of ancient history, are substituted the virgin Mary and the saints; instead of the household deities formerly worshipped, the Roman Catholic is taught to venerate his guardian angel, and the saint whose name he bears; and if the Roman of olden time acknowledged some presiding deity in every department of nature's works, and allotted to his imaginary gods their respective powers and functions, dividing among them the virtues and vices of the human character, and even the diseases incident to the human frame, similar arrangements are witnessed in the pseudo-christianity of the "mother and mistress of all churches:" she, too, has her "gods many, and lords many." They have sup-

* "It is happy for the people that they have another source of hope, under the various diseases incident to the human frame, besides the skill of their physicians; a source of hope that never fails them at any season of distress. Thus, for instance, St. Anthony the abbot secures his votaries from fire, and St. Anthony of Padua delivers them from water; St. Barbara is the refuge of the timid in times of thunder and of war: St. Blass cures disorders of the throat; St. Lucia heals all diseases of the eyes: St. Nicholas is the patron of young women who desire to be married; St. Ramon is their powerful protector during pregnancy, and St. Lazaro assists them when in labour: St. Polonia preserves the teeth; St. Domingo cures the fever; and St. Roque is the saint invoked under apprehensions of the plague. And thus in all diseases, under every pressure of affliction, some saint is accessible by prayer, whose peculiar province it is to relieve the object of distress."—Townsend's Travels in Spain, vol. iii. p. 215.

planted the true God as really as did the mythology of the heathen : and of the papist it may be affirmed, as well as of the pagan, that he “ worships and serves the creature more than the Creator.”*

Creature-worship reaches its utmost height in the virgin Mary. The devout Roman Catholic pays her the most extravagant honour and veneration. The language adopted in addressing the “ Queen of heaven,” cannot be acquitted of the charge of blasphemy, since prayers are offered directly to her, as if to a Divine being, and blessings are supplicated, as from one who is able to bestow them. In all devotions she has a share. The ave-maria accompanies the pater-noster. “ Evening, and morning, and at noon,” said the psalmist, “ will I pray, and cry aloud :” the pious Roman Catholic transfers these services to the virgin. In tender childhood he is taught to cherish for her the profoundest reverence and the highest affection : throughout life she is the object of his daily regard, and in the hour of death he is taught to place reliance on her mercy. To the ignorant devotee she is more than Christ, than God ; he believes that she can command her Son, that to her intercession nothing can be denied, and that to her power all things are possible.†

* Rom. i. 25. Every student of this controversy should be familiar with Middleton’s “ Letter from Rome, showing an exact conformity between Popery and Paganism.”

† “ She is most powerful with God, to obtain from him all that she shall ask of him. She is all goodness in regard to us, by applying to God for us. Being mother of God, he cannot refuse her request ; being our mother, she cannot deny her intercession when we have recourse to her. Our miseries move her ; our necessities urge her ; the prayers we offer her for our salvation bring us all that we desire ; and St. Bernard is not afraid to say, That never

4. *Popery is an intolerant system.* Man is not responsible to his fellow man for his religious opinions or practices; but all are responsible to God, and "vengeance" is his alone. In direct opposition to these statements, stands the intolerance of popery. The Roman Catholic is bound to believe that all who refuse to hold the doctrines advanced by the council of Trent, and summarily comprised in pope Pius's creed, are out of the reach of salvation, and must certainly be damned to all eternity.* Out of this church, it is positively asserted, there is no salvation. Members of the Greek communion—Protestants of every class and denomination—our Leightons, and Hebers, and Martyns—our Owens, and Baxters, and Howes—our Miltons and Lockes—our Whitefields and Wesleys—our Bunyans and Howards—are all included in the same condemning sentence. No matter what were their excellences; their piety might be seraphic, their benevolence godlike, their path like the "shining light," that illuminates and gladdens all nature: they have committed the unpardonable sin of refusing to pay homage to the man of the triple crown, and therefore the Roman Catholic is bound to believe that they are lost for ever. The very children are taught this lesson.† The first lisplings of the infant—the

any person invoked that mother of mercies in his necessities, who has not been sensible of the effects of her assistance." Catholic School-book, p. 158.

* "Q. What is mortal sin? A. It is a wilful transgression in matter of weight against any known commandment of God or the church, or of some lawful superior. Q. Whither go such as die in mortal sin? A. To hell for all eternity."—Abstract of the Douay Catechism, p. 71.

† Douay Catechism, before quoted. The Roman Catholic child is taught that he is "made a member of Jesus

conclusions of the learned—the declarations of the noble—the priests' instructions—the pontiff's decrees—re-echo the sound, "Out of the Roman Catholic church there is no salvation!"

Nor is this all. The intolerance exists in practice as well as in theory. It is an undoubted maxim of that persecuting church, that those whom she shall choose to call heretics may and ought to be compelled by the secular power to renounce their opinions, or punished for their contumacy, even unto death. Such is the decree of the fourth council of Lateran,* practically illustrated in the crusades against the Albigenses, and the horrible persecutions endured by the reformers in the sixteenth century. And such is the present doctrine of the Romish church, although the power to enforce it is in good measure wanting.

5. *Papery is an antichristian system.* Christianity is peculiarly the religion of Christ. He is the "Alpha and Omega, the first and the last"—the centre of attraction—the source of life—the sole Head and Governor. In the Christian commonwealth he is the supreme and only Ruler, and his statute book is the New Testament. Other king the church, as such, may not have; other laws, in

Christ and his church, called to Christianity and the catholic religion, out of which all those who obstinately remain cannot be saved."—Catholic School-book, p. 122, 190.

* "The third canon of this council anathematized and excommunicated all heretics; ordered them to be delivered over to the secular power; directed sovereigns and states to exterminate them, and threatened excommunication if they refused; and granted the same indulgence to those Catholics who undertook to extirpate heretics by force of arms as to those who joined the crusades to the holy land."—Dupin, xi. p. 97.

things spiritual, she must not acknowledge ; she is " complete in Him, which is the head of all principality and power," Col. ii. 10. " One is your Master, even Christ ; and all ye are brethren," Matt. xxiii. 8. But popery is the religion of priestcraft. From beginning to end it is nothing but priest, priest, priest. The aggrandizement of the sacerdotal order is the main design of all its ceremonies and services ; the priests are literally and truly " lords over God's heritage." Thus, the honour of the Redeemer is taken from him, his authority vilely usurped, and his laws trampled under foot. That indescribable being called " the church" has contrived to merge all power, Divine and human, in her own monstrous tyranny. Sitting in the chair of blasphemy, the pope styles himself the " vicar of Jesus Christ," but in reality exercises sovereign control over the consciences and souls of men, and " opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped," 2 Thess. ii. 4. While the name of Christianity is retained, its power and influence are gone ; and under the guise of friendship a deadly thrust is aimed at its very existence. The skeleton is not more unlike the living man than popery is unlike Christianity.

When a system so absurd and mischievous is held forth as the only genuine representation of the religion of the New Testament, and the means of comparing the one with the other are studiously withheld, it cannot be wondered at that reflecting minds should take refuge in infidelity. To them it must appear far wiser and better not to believe at all, than to suffer such a degradation of reason and common sense as popery requires of them. " If

this be Christianity," they argue, "if these silly superstitions, these ridiculous legends, this idol-worship and priestcraft, this hostility to knowledge and freedom, this desolating principle of persecution, belong to a system which arrogates to itself a heavenly origin, we will indignantly reject its claims, and rather wander in the uncertainties of scepticism, than submit ourselves to a yoke which a child might spurn to wear. Such a system carries with it its own refutation, and only deserves to be consigned to everlasting contempt." Thousands and tens of thousands have reasoned thus: and in such countries as France, Italy, and Spain, particularly the latter, infidelity, concealed or avowed, is diffused to an astonishing extent, and numbers among its adherents a large proportion of the clergy themselves. They have confounded Christianity with popery, and the tyrannical policy of their church prevents them from rectifying the mistake. By demanding implicit faith, without examination or inquiry, and vigilantly guarding all the avenues to Divine truth, it has driven them into unbelief, as their sole resource. They must either cease to think, or cease to believe; who can be surprised that they choose the latter alternative?

Is the reader a member of that church whose doctrines have been described in these pages? Suffer the entreaties of a friend. Break the fetters of your thralldom. Dare to think for yourself. Fear not priest, prelate, or pope; their anathemas cannot harm you. God gives you his blessed word; let no man take it out of your hands, or interfere with the inalienable right of conscience. Holy Scripture is "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God

may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works," 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17. Dread not to read and examine that sacred volume, but thankfully receive the gift of Heaven. Thence learn Christianity. Determine to receive nothing as religion, which does not bear on its front the attestation of Divine authority; and for every such attestation require indubitable proof from the word of God. Compare your system with the New Testament; reject whatever you do not find in that holy book; and be not deceived by a church which tells you that she has power to interpret, invent, and ordain, but gives you no better evidence than her own assertion, and forbids doubt or scrutiny. Above all, pray for Divine instruction and grace. Inquiry into religious truth is the most important of all inquiries. Opposing systems cannot both be right; neither ought it to be regarded as a matter of indifference whether we serve God according to his revealed will, or not. Be open to conviction; search with impartiality; seek wisdom from above. "Every one of us shall give account of himself to God," Rom. xiv. 12.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL COUNCILS.

OF one thousand five hundred and eighty-three synods, or councils, noticed by ecclesiastical historians, beginning with the synod of Pergamos, A.D. 152, and ending with the council of Trent, the following may be considered the most important. Nineteen have been considered as entitled to the appellation of "General Councils :"—

A.D.

- 197. Rome. Respecting the celebration of Easter.
- 251. Rome. Against Novatian.
- 255. Carthage. The rebaptizing of heretics ordered.
- 256. Rome. The decision at Carthage opposed.
- 264. Antioch. Against Paul of Samosata.
- 313. Rome. Against the Donatists.
- 324. NICE. The first general council. Arianism condemned, and the Nicene creed framed. There were many other councils and counter-councils in this century, on the same subject, and varying decisions were pronounced, as either party obtained the majority.
- 381. CONSTANTINOPLE. The second general council. The distinct personality and Deity of the Holy Spirit declared, in opposition to the Macedonians.

A.D.

431. **EPHESUS.** The third general council. The Nestorians and Pelagians condemned.
451. **CHALCEDON.** The fourth general council. Eutychianism condemned.
501. **Rome.** To determine whether Symmachus or Laurentius, who were both chosen to the bishopric of Rome, should be acknowledged. Symmachus succeeded, it is said, through the influence of Theodoric, king of the Goths, and an Arian.
553. **CONSTANTINOPLE.** The fifth general council. Some errors of Origen condemned.
680. **CONSTANTINOPLE.** The sixth general council. The Monothelites condemned.
691. **Constantinople.** Called "in Trullo," from the name of the palace where it was held, and "Quinisextum," because considered supplementary to the fifth and sixth general councils.
754. **Constantinople.** Against the worship of images.
769. **Rome.** A decree passed that images should be honoured, and the council of Constantinople anathematized.
787. **NICE.** The seventh general council. Image-worship established.
794. **Frankfort.** Under the auspices of the emperor Charlemagne. Image-worship condemned.
842. **Constantinople.** Image-worship authorized.
869. **CONSTANTINOPLE.** The eighth general council. Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, deposed. The preceding general councils confirmed.
896. **Rome.** Pope Stephen vi. procured the body

A.D.

- of pope Formosus to be disinterred and mutilated, and those to be deposed who had been ordained by him.
898. Rome. Under pope Theodore. The proceedings of the last council annulled.
963. Rome. Pope John XII. deposed, and Leo VIII. appointed.
964. Rome. Leo VIII. deposed, and John XII. restored.
964. Rome. Leo VIII. restored, and Benedict V. deposed.
1046. Sutri. Gregory VI. deposed, and Clement II. elected.
1076. Henry IV., emperor of Germany, excommunicated, and his subjects absolved from their allegiance.
1079. Utrecht. The partisans of Henry IV. excommunicate pope Gregory VII.
1080. Rome. Henry IV. excommunicated again.
1085. Rome. The excommunication of Henry IV. declared null.
1123. ROME. In the Lateran palace. The ninth general council. On investitures. Plenary indulgence granted to all who should join the crusade to the Holy Land.
1139. ROME. The tenth general council, and second of Lateran. On discipline.
1179. ROME. The eleventh general council, and third of Lateran. The Waldenses anathematized.
1215. ROME. The twelfth general council, and fourth of Lateran. Its third canon denounces all heretics, and decrees their excommunication.

A.D.

1229. Toulouse. Heresy denounced, and the Scriptures prohibited.
1245. LYONS. The thirteenth general council. The emperor Frederic deposed.
1274. LYONS. The fourteenth general council. The Greek and Roman churches re-united.
1302. Rome. The bull called "Unam Sanctam" issued, declaring that the temporal power is inferior to the spiritual, and that the pope possesses the right of appointing and deposing sovereigns.
1311. VIENNE. The fifteenth general council. The order of Knights Templars abolished.
1409. PISA. The sixteenth general council. The rival popes, Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII., deposed, and Alexander V. elected.
1412. Rome. Against the writings of Wickliff.
1414. CONSTANCE. The seventeenth general council. For reformation. Pope John XXIII. deposed. Martin V. chosen. John Huss and Jerome of Prague burnt.
1431. BASLE. The eighteenth general council. On reform, and the union of the Greek and Latin churches.
1438. Ferrara. A rival council to that at Basle, in consequence of a disagreement respecting the transference to Ferrara.
1439. Florence. On the same subjects as that of Basle.
1511. Pisa. For reform. Considered by some a general council.
1512. Rome. The fifth of Lateran. Considered, also, by some a general council. Against the council of Pisa.
1545. TRENT. The last general council.

The foregoing list is taken from "The Chronology of History," by Sir Harris Nicolas, who refers to "L'Art de Verifier les Dates" as his authority. It is well known, however, that great diversity of opinion prevails among the Romanists respecting the general councils. "Three jarring and numerous factions have, on the subject of œcumenical councils, divided and agitated the Romish communion. One party reckons the general councils at eighteen, which met at Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Lateran, Lyons, Vienna, Florence, and Trent. A second faction counts the same number, but adopts different councils. These reject the councils of Lyons, Florence, Lateran, and Trent; and adopt, in their stead, those of Pisa, Constance, Basle, and the second of Pisa. A third division omit the whole or a part of the councils which intervened between the eighth and sixteenth of these general conventions. The whole of these are omitted by Clement, Abrahamus, and Pole; and a part by Sixtus, Carranza, Silvius, and the council of Constance."*

* Edgar's Variations of Popery, p. 125. A second edition of this very valuable work was published in 1838.

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No. II.

THE PRESENT STATE AND PROSPECTS OF POPERY.

Popery is making rapid advances, both at home and abroad.

Twelve peers of the realm, and seven Scotch or Irish peers, are Roman Catholics. They are among the most ancient, wealthy, and influential noblemen in the kingdom. Upwards of twenty baronets, and very many of the rich and powerful landed gentry of England, profess the same faith.

In the House of Commons, the Roman Catholics are in number forty, six of whom are English members.

Several members of the peerage have married Roman Catholics, and many persons in high life have recently embraced their profession.

In 1792, there were not, in the whole of Great Britain, thirty Roman Catholic chapels; there are now 513, of which 440 are in England, six in Wales, and sixty-seven in Scotland; and there are 610 priests, of whom 531 are in England, five in Wales, and seventy-four in Scotland. They are governed by seventeen vicars apostolic, nine of whom are bishops. "English ecclesiastical affairs have lately occupied considerable attention at Rome; and the result of these deliberations, we understand, has been, a recommendation to increase the number of bishops [in England] from four to eight, and to divide England into as many districts. . . All

persons seem to concur in the necessity of an increase of bishops.”*

In 1792, there was not one Roman Catholic college; there are now ten, besides seventeen convents, sixty seminaries of education, and many chapel schools.

The Roman Catholic population of Great Britain is now very little short of two millions.

It is supposed that there are, in Ireland, nearly seven millions of Roman Catholics. In Ireland, there is also a college, partly supported by public money, for the free education of priests; and of these there are scarcely less than 2,500, with four archbishops, twenty-three bishops, and eight colleges. Besides Maynooth, there are several monasteries, and many convents, nunneries, societies, and private seminaries.

In Scotland, also, popery has been of late rapidly advancing, particularly in the west. In Glasgow alone, there are now 30,000 Roman Catholics.

In the colonies, the Roman Catholics have bishops at the following places:—Quebec; Montreal; Hudson’s Bay; Kingston, Upper Canada; Newfoundland; St. John’s, New Brunswick; Nova Scotia; Trinidad; Ceylon; Jamaica; Demerara; Mauritius; Madras; Calcutta; Australasia; Cape of Good Hope. In all these places they have extensive establishments. In Ceylon, they boast of having 100,000 persons attached to their church. In India, they pretend to 600,000; and though that number is questionable, still it is not denied that their converts constitute no inconsiderable portion of the southern population. In Trinidad,

* Catholic Magazine, May, 1839.

nearly the whole people are Roman Catholics. From New South Wales, Bishop Broughton wrote to the Christian Knowledge Society, in January, 1836, to the following effect:—"Protestantism is much endangered in this colony; the efforts of Rome in this country are almost incredible. It is traversed by the agents of Rome." In Canada, popery is the established religion of one province, and is liberally assisted in the other. In the Cape of Good Hope, much has been already done in Graham's Town, and elsewhere, particularly in the new parts of the colony. In Newfoundland, the Roman Catholics form a majority of the House of Assembly, and have gained otherwise very considerable influence.

Equal activity is displayed in the South Seas. Dr. Lang, the principal of the Church of Scotland College in New South Wales, writing home in October, 1836, thus expresses himself:—"The moral influence of the Christian church of New South Wales will extend eventually to the neighbouring islands of New Zealand, containing a native population of half a million of souls, and comprising an extent of territory almost equal to that of the British islands; to the western islands of the Pacific, numberless, and teeming with inhabitants; to the Indian Archipelago, that great nursery of nations; to China itself. That the Romish Propaganda" [an institution at Rome, so called from its title, *De propaganda fide*, "for the propagation of the faith"] "has already directed her vulture eye to this vast field of moral influence, and strewn it, in imagination, with the carcasses of the slain, is unquestionable. Spanish monks and friars have, within these last few years, been sent from the re-

cently-formed republics of the South American continent to the eastern islands of the Pacific. Other groups, still more distant from the American continent, have recently been surveyed, and taken possession of by Romish missionaries direct from France; and the Roman Catholic bishop of New South Wales is already taking his measures for co-operating with these missionaries from the westward, by transforming the sons of Irish convicts in New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, into missionary priests, and dispersing them over the length and breadth of the vast Pacific." A weekly newspaper has been established in Sydney, entitled "The Australasian Reporter, and Roman Catholic Guardian of New South Wales." The Roman Catholic bishop writes thus, in a communication dated October 14, 1838:—"The parts beyond the limits are nearly as thickly inhabited as the other parts of the colony, and in every part the larger proportion is Catholic. In all the country districts, I am convinced that more than one half the population is Catholic. In Sydney, Liverpool, and Paramatta, the Protestants predominate, though Catholics are found in large numbers in each of these places."* Five French missionaries embarked, at London, for New Zealand, in June last.

In the United States, although it is not forty years since the first Roman Catholic see was created, there is now a Roman Catholic population of 600,000 souls, under the government of the pope, an archbishop of Baltimore, fourteen bishops, and 422 priests. The number of churches or stations is 547; colleges, fifteen; ecclesiastical seminaries,

* Catholic Magazine, July, 1839.

eleven ; clerical students, 148 ; female religious institutions, twenty-seven ; female academies, thirty-eight ; charitable institutions, thirty-nine ; and seven Roman Catholic newspapers.

In China, beyond the borders of which Protestants have failed to penetrate, the Jesuits have laboured with a courage worthy of a better cause, and with great success.

There is no corner of the globe which they have not entered ; there is no danger they have not braved ; there is no artifice they have scorned ; and, of course, no scruple has been allowed to deter men who hold that "the end sanctifies the means." The difficulties they encounter are not equal to those with which Protestants contend. It is not very difficult to make a papist of a pagan.

We find in Europe symptoms that popery is once more at war with the Bible, and struggling for ancient ascendancy. The following extract is from a fulmination of the bishop of Bruges, dated, Lent, 1838 :—
"We are desirous that all our diocesans should be apprized anew, that it is severely prohibited to every one, who is not provided with special permission, to read and hold forbidden books, to purchase a Bible, or a commentary on the Bible, or any other books whatever, of the emissaries of the Bible Society, or to receive them gratis, or to retain such copies as they have in their possession."

"The rapid extension of the Roman Catholic religion" in Holland is reported in language of triumph. The Catholics "are making the most of their present condition by the erection of ecclesiastical seminaries and churches. A very fine seminary is now being erected between Bois-le-Duc and Tilbourg. Within the last five years, twelve

new Roman Catholic parishes have been erected in Holland; and without including the churches which have been merely blessed, the Right Rev. Dr. Wykerslooth, the vicar apostolic, has, since his consecration in 1833, already consecrated pontifically twenty-five new churches, recently built. During the year 1838, three new churches, to the erection of which the government had contributed, were consecrated.”*

“Religion is making rapid strides among the upper classes in France.”† So writes the editor of the “Catholic Magazine,” meaning by “religion,” popery. It is certain, however, that strenuous efforts are made in that country for the revival of the antichristian system, and that the distribution of the Scriptures is violently opposed by the priesthood, who have even encouraged the populace, in some places, to tear in pieces the book of God, and maltreat the colporteurs, or hawkers, as we should call them, who are employed by the French and Foreign Bible Society in circulating it. On a recent visit to Paris, by the Hon. and Rev. G. Spencer, brother of Earl Spencer, once a Protestant clergyman, but now a popish priest, arrangements were made, under the auspices of the archbishop of Paris, to devote Thursday in every week to solemn prayer for the re-conversion of England to the Roman faith. The reverend gentleman has since stated, that “ere long all the nations of Europe will be joined in one great society of prayer for the conversion of this kingdom.”‡ But it should seem, that in France the task soon became irksome; for

* Catholic Magazine, July.

† Ibid. August

‡ Ibid. February.

the prayers began on the 25th of January, and ended on the 5th of March.*

In the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, the archbishop of Cologne has preferred the authority of the pope to that of the king, and in direct contravention of the law, has forbidden Roman Catholics to marry Protestants. In the Rhenish provinces, the Roman Catholic population amounts to 1,678,745 souls. In the whole Prussian dominions, inclusive of those provinces, the number is not less than 6,000,000. In Nassau, they form nearly three-fifths of the population; and in both Baden and Bavaria they are more than double the number of all the various Protestant sects. There are upwards of 20,000 Roman Catholics in Hanover; and in Austria they constitute the mass of the community. Such, also, is the case in France, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Poland, Ireland, South America, Lower Canada, etc. In Tyrol, hundreds have been banished from their native land, and expelled even beyond the extreme borders of the whole Austrian empire, for daring to worship the God of their fathers as those champions of truth dared to do in ancient times.

Thus, in every part of the world, popery is pursuing its triumphant course, trampling on the consciences of mankind, rendering whole districts desolate of the word of life, and thwarting, with systematic zeal, the labours of the ministers of the gospel.

An association has been recently formed, entitled, "The Catholic Institute of Great Britain," under the presidency of the Earl of Shrewsbury. The

* Catholic Magazine, May.

design of the association will be sufficiently explained by the following extracts from its rules :—

“That the objects of the institute shall be confined to the exposure of the falsehood of the calumnious charges made against the Catholic religion, to the defence of the real tenets of Catholicity, to the circulation of all useful knowledge upon the above-mentioned subjects, and to the protection of the poorer classes of Catholics in the enjoyment of their religious principles and practices.

“That the funds of the institute shall be applied by the committee in providing a suitable place of meeting, and in recompensing the secretary and other officers, as they may consider necessary for the purpose of conducting the affairs and keeping the accounts of the institute; and that a further portion of the funds shall be applied in printing and circulating such publications as, having the previous sanction of a clergyman, duly authorised by the vicar apostolic of the London district, may be deemed useful to obviate calumny, to explain Catholic tenets, defend the purity and truth of Catholic doctrines, and circulate useful information on these subjects. That the committee shall also undertake the examination of all cases of religious oppression, or of deprivation of rights of conscience of the poorer and less protected classes of Catholics, under any circumstances. That the committee shall be authorized to appoint sub-committees, of not less than five members, out of their own body, for any purposes of the institute; and also to organize local committees, and to solicit and avail themselves of the co-operation of individuals in different parts of Great Britain and the colonies.”

Several tracts have been already published by the

institute, at a very cheap rate, and calculated, by their plausible assertions, and apparently ingenuous, but sophistical arguments, to pervert the minds of the ignorant, the inconsiderate, and the misinformed.

It cannot be too deeply regretted, that a school of semi-popish divinity has sprung up in the Protestant university of Oxford, propagating, in the "Tracts for the Times," and other publications, sentiments utterly at variance with those of the venerable reformers of the sixteenth century. These Oxford divines, it is asserted, "are daily acquiring new disciples, and command a force amounting, if we are not misinformed, to about seven hundred of the clergy, with no inconsiderable portion of the best informed among the laity."* This is appalling enough, if true, and demands the serious consideration of all sound Protestants. Let them, also, ponder well the following sentences, expressing the feelings and hopes with which the movement is contemplated by Roman Catholics:—"Most sincerely and unaffectedly do we tender our congratulations to our brethren of Oxford, that their eyes have been opened to the evils of private judgment, and the consequent necessity of curbing its multiform extravagance."—"It has been given them to see the dangers of the ever-shifting sands of the desert in which they were lately dwelling, and to strike their tents, and flee the perils of the wilderness. They have already advanced a great way on their return towards that church, within whose walls the wildest imagination is struck with awe, and sobered down to a holy calm, in the enjoyment of which

* Catholic Magazine, March.

it gladly folds its wearied wings.”—“They have found the clue, which, if they have perseverance to follow it, will lead them safely through the labyrinth of error into the clear day of truth.”—“Some of the brightest ornaments of their church have advocated a re-union with the church of all times and all lands; and the accomplishment of the design, if we have read aright the ‘signs of the times,’ is fast ripening. Her maternal arms are ever open to receive back repentant children; and as when the prodigal son returned to his father’s house, the fatted calf was killed, and a great feast of joy made, even so will the whole of Christendom rejoice greatly when so bright a body of learned and pious men, as the authors of the ‘Tracts for the Times,’ shall have made the one step necessary to place them again within that sanctuary, where alone they can be safe from the moving sands, beneath which they dread being overwhelmed. The consideration of this step will soon inevitably come on; and it is with the utmost confidence that we predict the accession to our ranks of the entire mass.”*

In a discourse, delivered last year, (1838,) by Dr. Wiseman, before the “Catholic Academy” of Rome, “On the present state of Protestantism in England,” he assured his audience, that the most enlightened men of Great Britain have renounced their prejudices against Roman Catholicism, and acquired a decided leaning to Romish doctrines: in proof of this assertion, he referred to the Oxford tracts.

We have no fears of the ultimate result, because “that wicked one” is doomed to be destroyed by

* Catholic Magazine, March.

the Lord himself, "with the spirit of his mouth, and with the brightness of his coming," 2 Thess. ii. 8. But there will be a sharp previous conflict. Let all who love the truth prepare for the struggle, by providing themselves with such weapons as shall be "mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds," 2 Cor. x. 4.

THE END.

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