

AN
ESSAY
ON
THE SPIRIT AND INFLUENCE
OF
THE REFORMATION.

A
WORK WHICH OBTAINED THE PRIZE ON THE FOLLOWING QUESTION,
PROPOSED BY THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE :

"WHAT HAS BEEN THE INFLUENCE OF THE REFORMATION BY LUTHER
ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION OF THE DIFFERENT STATES OF EUROPE, AND ON
THE PROGRESS OF KNOWLEDGE?"

BY C. VILLERS,
SOME TIME PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY
OF GOTTINGEN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY,

BY

SAMUEL MILLER, D. D.

PROFESSOR IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, AT PRINCETON, N. J.

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INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.

THE Reformation from Popery is a theme which can never grow old. To the scholar, the statesman, and the moralist, as well as to the Christian, it presents an aspect of the most intense interest. The situation in which that great event found Christendom, it is impossible, even at this distance of time, to contemplate without astonishment and horror. Literature was discouraged, as hostile to religion. Free inquiry was utterly interdicted, as dangerous to the plans and interests of a tyrannical priesthood. The rights of private judgment were not only denied, but the exercise of them prohibited. The Holy Scriptures were locked up from the common people. All the avenues to liberal knowledge were, as far as possible, closed. Claims of authority over all rulers and subjects were advanced, which made the haughtiest kings and emperors to tremble. A large part of the wealth of Europe was in the hands of profligate ecclesiastics;—yet such was the blind devotion of the people, and also of the princes and nobles, that, although they saw the gross abuse of this wealth, they were ready to furnish increasing means of splendour and sensual gratification. Indulgences to commit every kind of iniquity were as publicly sold for money as any other species of merchandise. The lives of the clergy, as well as the body of the people, were not only dissolute, but abominable; a scandal to religion and an outrage on common decency. The clergy professed celibacy, but generally indulged in the grossest and most unbridled lewdness;—a lewdness which did not even attempt to save appearances. Of this the evidences were as loathsome as they were enormous. One example will serve at once to illustrate and confirm the meaning

here intended. It is stated by grave historians that, at the celebrated Council of Constance, there came to that city to attend its sessions, besides many hundreds of *cooks, musicians, barbers*, and other ministers to appetite and luxury, at least *fifteen hundred common prostitutes*, for the open accommodation of the members of the Council! Nor was this the only sin for which they were distinguished. Their gluttony; their drunkenness; their avarice, rapacity and ambition; their incessant struggles for power; and their system of wicked extortion, and imposition on the easy credulity of the people—altogether presented a scene which beggars description!

Against this monstrous system of corruption and oppression no one was allowed to whisper a syllable. Every avenue by which truth might enter was closed and carefully guarded. If any one began to hint the least dissatisfaction with any doctrine or practice of the Church, and to propose reformation, in any form, he was immediately stigmatized as a “heretic;” and, if he did not consult his safety by flight, was immured in prison, or committed to the flames, and his property transferred to the coffers of his persecutors.

In this deplorable state of things, Christian doctrine, in anything like its simple and Scriptural character, was nearly banished from the Church. Christianity, instead of being found as its Master left it, a pure, vital, holy, and sanctifying system, was perverted into a disgusting round of outward observances, superstitions, and idolatry. Instead of the only living and true God, the great body of those who called themselves Christians, worshipped images, the workmanship of men’s hands. Instead of a divine enthroned Saviour, they adored the bread and wine in the eucharist. Instead of the Sacred Oracles as a rule of faith and practice, the commandments of men were set up. Instead of the Bible, the bulls of Popes, and the collections of Canon Law were substituted. Instead of the authority of Christ, and his inspired apostles, the miserable legends, the vain traditions, and the despotic will of wretched pontiffs, who are represented, by the gravest historians; as monsters, or rather “devils” than men, decided

everything. The sacred volume was little read, and less understood. The character of Christ was much talked of, but totally misrepresented. The "blood of Christ," and the "merits of Christ," were phrases in every one's mouth; but nothing more than solemn mockery was made of either. While the terms "mercy" and "grace" were loudly chanted, the most unblushing system of self-righteousness was everywhere not only held, but avowed and gloried in; and the blessed Saviour, though holy, harmless, and undefiled, openly made "the minister of sin." In short, the most gloomy superstition, the most unrelenting spiritual tyranny, and the most revolting moral profligacy formed the essential character of that system which the Reformers were happily made instrumental in removing from a large portion of Christendom.

The editors of the "Christian Observer," well known as members and warm friends of the established Church of England, when speaking on this subject, make the following just and weighty remarks:

"Another principle, strong enough to be called a passion in the whole band of Reformers, was that of proclaiming to mankind the doctrine of *justification by faith in the merits of Jesus Christ*.

"Some modern writers are fond of representing the Reformation as a mere effort on the part of the Reformers to shake off the burden of papal ceremonies. But it ought rather to be contemplated as the *re-assertion of this grand principle*, the establishment of which was sure to level to the ground all the gingerbread fabric of ceremonies which the Church of Rome had substituted in its place. The image of Dagon must fall when the Ark of God is introduced. It was not the mere desire to abolish ceremonies that influenced the Reformers; for a ceremonial religion is better than none. But it was to substitute the Saviour for real or fancied saints; it was to elevate *Him* to the throne which they had so long usurped. It was to teach men to "glory," not in themselves, or in canonized men or bones, but in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, that they lived and died. The Reformation is ever

to be considered as the triumph of principle over force; and of the particular principle of justification by grace, through faith in a crucified Redeemer, over every device which priestcraft, or pride, or superstition, had conceived for propitiating an offended God. We are convinced that a vast majority of the errors in religion may be traced to that unremitting and indefatigable desire of the natural mind *to do without Christ*. In this respect, Popery is to be considered, not as the mere chance-religion of a country or an age;—as a church accidentally founded and cemented by the labours or arts of a few cardinals and pontiffs. It is to be considered as the real anti-christ, the religion of human nature; as the great confederation of mankind to get rid of Christ: as an organized effort to substitute a sort of gilded machinery for that grand pillar of salvation, pardon by the free grace of God, and through the atoning blood of his Son. It was to such a confederation, then, deeply intrenched and guarded by its rich temporalities, and invested by its mere age with a factitious sanctity, that Zuingle and his brethren opposed themselves. Carried by the grace of God, and the force of this their master-principle, through every obstacle, they triumphed, in defiance of the strength of their enemies, and even of their own deficiencies, and built up that Church which is the mother of us all.”*

In another volume of the same valuable work, the following just and strong views are exhibited.

“Popery may be termed, in few words, *a system of paganized Christianity*. Every religious institution of paganism had a tendency to chain down the understandings of its votaries to visible and corporeal objects; to distract their attention between a vast variety of such objects; and thus to keep their minds from aspiring to just conceptions of the Creator, and their hearts from rendering to him the fear, love, and homage which are his due. This was the general effect produced upon mankind by all the *lying vanities* of the gentile world—their demi-gods, their deified heroes, their local and

* Vol. XI. p. 169.

household divinities, their temples, auguries, and oracles. After the establishment of Christianity throughout the Roman empire, much of the leaven of heathenism still prevailed. Its spirit was gradually transfused into all the doctrines, institutions, and ceremonies of our holy religion; and being powerfully aided by the general corruption of human nature, and by the ignorance and barbarism of those dark ages which followed the irruption of the Northern conquerors, it succeeded eventually in building up that fabric of superstition and unscriptural theology which was, at length, formally consecrated by the Council of Trent."*

It was against this enormous system of antichristian darkness, profligacy, and tyranny that the Reformers felt themselves called upon to wage war. And, accordingly, the benefit which they were enabled, by the grace of God, to confer upon their generation, and, indeed, on the Church and the world in all succeeding ages, was by no means of a confined or narrow character. Literature, science, civil liberty, and good morals were all essentially promoted by that great moral miracle which we denominate the Reformation, no less than the disenthralment and the reign of the gospel. While it electrified and convulsed, it, at the same time, enlightened and purified a large portion of Europe.

I have called this event a moral miracle. And, truly, when we consider, on the one hand, the strong and deep-rooted prejudices which were almost universally prevalent, when the Reformers went forth to their work; the wealth, power, and interest which were leagued against them; the deep and almost invincible authority which the force of habit, and of inveterate usurpation had imparted to the corrupt opinions and practices of the times; and the consequent formidable danger attending any attempt to shake that authority, and to demolish the unhallowed fabric which it had built up; and when we reflect, on the other hand, upon the seemingly acci-

* Vol. XXIII. p. 135.

dental causes from which the Reformation originated; and the apparently inconsiderable means by which it was carried on, contrasted with its irresistible progress, and its mighty results,—results in which the Church and the world yet rejoice,—we cannot but see abundant reason for wonder, gratitude and praise. That thick darkness which had been so long brooding over the nations was in a great degree dissipated. The human mind, which had been for ages, as tame and passive as if it had been formed to believe whatever it was ordered to believe, and to bear whatever an unprincipled and tyrannical priesthood thought proper to lay upon it; was unexpectedly roused, became conscious of its dignity and rights, and disdainful of the yoke of mere authority. The fetters with which men had been bound for ages were, extensively, broken. The rights of private judgment began to be understood and asserted. The religious freedom which now began to dawn upon the nations gave a new impulse to literature and science; and, on the other hand, the lights and the emancipation of literature imparted a favourable influence to the study and the reign of a sound theology. In short, we may say, that human society, in all its relations and interests, was benefited by the event of which we speak to an extent which it is not easy to estimate, and which is daily unfolding itself more and more.

The attentive observer of human affairs, however, will perceive, that rich as were the services of the Reformers, and great as are, undoubtedly, the obligations we owe them—the all-wise and almighty King of Zion had been preparing the way for their ministry, and its results, for a considerable time before they appeared. A variety of circumstances contributed to this happy effect. The impolitic and ferocious violence of some of the Popes in the fifteenth, and beginning of the sixteenth centuries; the openly profligate lives of some others of these high functionaries, the abominable licentiousness which generally characterized their court and capital;—the shockingly corrupt manners of the clergy everywhere; the gross ignorance, and shameless effrontery of the several

orders of Mendicants; the seventy years "Babylonish captivity," as it was called, at Avignon;—the grand Western Schism, of forty years continuance, which followed it, in which two and sometimes three Popes appeared, abusing and excommunicating each other,—loading each other with the most revolting insults, and reproaching each other, and not unjustly, with the most degrading vices—the grievous papal exactions of every kind, and especially the profligate system of **INDULGENCES**, that monstrous abuse of the most monstrous of all usurped powers; the intolerance and cruelty of the Inquisition; and the grievous wounds inflicted on the cause of truth and decorum by the ferocious wars carried on by some of the monastic orders, more especially by the Dominicans and Franciscans, among themselves. Surely, all these, which the writer of the important work before us strongly depicts, are quite sufficient to account for the hatred and contempt which appeared to be lurking in the breasts of so many at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The friends of the papacy, at the opening of the century, thought that all was not only *tranquil*, but *safe*. But it was only the portentous calm which precedes the heaving earthquake. The only wonder is that the explosion had not occurred years before; that the superstitious reverence of the people had not much sooner given place to a settled abhorrence and indignation, prompting them to rise as one man and throw off their chains.

At length, however, the time, even the "set time to favour Zion" had come. The Papal fabric, built up and cemented by the superstitions and the prejudices of ages, was destined, with respect to a large portion of Europe, to be prostrated in the dust. Instruments were raised up for the accomplishment of the work; and means apparently insufficient were made to prevail, with a power, and to an extent, which those whose instrumentality was employed, were by no means prepared to anticipate.

Every Christian owes it to himself, to his Master, and to the Church of God to study this great Revolution, in its rise,

progress, instruments, establishment, and immeasurable effects. We are too apt to forget the toil, the dangers, and the privations which our fathers of the Reformation underwent, in securing those privileges in which we still rejoice. Few portions of history can be better adapted to instruct in truth, to animate in duty, and to excite Christians to be "followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises."

I do not forget that many who glory in the name of "Protestant," appear to have but little sympathy with those noble-minded Christian heroes who braved all the terrors of martyrdom for the sake of delivering the Church from the thralldom of error and superstition under which she had so long groaned. Some of these appear to imagine that, although the corruptions of the Papacy, as they were *then* exhibited, were such as fully to justify the Reformers in all that they said and did for their removal, yet that the character of the Romish Church has *essentially altered* since that time, and is now a system, if not *entirely harmless*, at least little adapted to inspire apprehension in the mind of an enlightened and liberal Christian.

This view of the subject I believe to be entirely erroneous. The system of Romanism is, in its nature, spirit, and purposes, precisely what it was when Luther, Meianthon, Calvin, and Cranmer, went forth in the name of the Lord, and lifted up their banner against her. She has not abated "one jot or tittle" of either her tyrannical claims, or her pestiferous corruptions. Indeed, considering the essential *nature of her claims*, they cannot be either mitigated or altered without being totally abandoned. That this has never been done, we have evidence of the most conclusive kind on every side.

The following remarks on this subject, in a work lately published, by the REV. JOHN SCOTT, a pious divine of the Church of England, and a son of the venerable DR. THOMAS SCOTT, author of a well known Commentary on the Bible, are worthy of the attention of those Protestants who imagine

that all desire to examine and refute the claims of Romanists at the present day, are unnecessary if not improper.

“Does either piety or charity require us to keep any measures with that system, which, laying hold of God’s best gift to the human race, the religion of Jesus Christ, converted it through successive centuries, into the very reverse of all for which it was designed; making it the instrument of darkness instead of light; of impurity instead of holiness; of tyranny, both spiritual and civil, instead of freedom; and even of renewed idolatry, instead of the pure and spiritual worship, which was to have subverted superstition, and banished all false religion from among men. Surely, in consistence with the most perfect good-will even to its votaries, we may desire to see such a system consumed by the spirit of the Lord’s mouth, and destroyed by the brightness of his coming.” Yes, whatever indulgence we may be desirous of extending to the professors of the Roman Catholic religion, (and let them have every indulgence, every privilege that they can enjoy consistently with the common safety,) yet let us never forget what popery *was*, and *is* essentially in itself, and what it will ever show itself to be in proportion as it is enabled to act freely, and to display its true character. It is one of the fashionable and threatening errors of the present day, that, in their zeal to show themselves liberal, and candid, and indulgent toward Roman Catholics, men are apt to soften down, and lose sight of the enormities, doctrinal and practical, of the papal system. Persecution, it is true, is a crime to which our fallen nature is prone, and into which all parties have, in different degrees, fallen; but let us not on that ground, with affected philosophy, but with real indolence and indiscrimination, and in defiance of all historic verity, pretend that popery stands, in this respect, on the same footing with other religious systems. **NO: PERSECUTION IS INHERENT IN THE VERY PRINCIPLES AND CONSTITUTION OF THE ROMISH CHURCH:**—She has been in this, as in so many other respects, “the mother of abominations to the earth.” If other professedly Christian bodies long retained the persecuting spirit, it was

mainly because they found it so difficult wholly to eradicate the seeds of instruction which they had received from her hand; and while they have undoubtedly been occasionally stained with the blood of those who dissented from them, SHE HAS BEEN EVEN STEEPED IN IT—in the strong language of Scripture prophecy, DRUNK WITH THE BLOOD OF THE SAINTS AND THE MARTYRS OF JESUS. And the testimony which has fallen in my way, from the pen of her sanctioned and remunerated advocate, *Pallavicini*, to her unaltered and unalterable principles, however she may, from policy, suffer her unaccredited members for a time to deviate from them, or even to deny them—is so striking, that I cannot but here transcribe it. “The whole of our faith,” he says, “rests upon one indivisible article, viz: THE INFALLIBLE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH. *The moment, therefore, we give up any part whatever, the whole falls; for what admits not of being divided, must evidently stand entire, or full entire.*”*

The truth is, as long as the Romish Church continues to maintain the universal supremacy and infallibility of the Pope; as long as she openly teaches the antichristian doctrine of merits, and sanctions the unhallowed traffic in indulgences; as long as she represents heaven as a part of the domain, so to speak, of St. Peter, to be parcelled out, and made over to men for money, just as the avarice or the caprice of the Pope and his emissaries may dictate; as long as she maintains transubstantiation, auricular confession, penance, the celibacy of the clergy, the worship of images, prayers to the saints, and for the dead; especially as long as she locks up the Scriptures from the common people, and obliges them to take both the contents and the meaning of the word of God, as she herself chooses to deal it out to them; as long as she “binds heavy burdens and grievous to be borne, and lays them on men’s shoulders, while she herself refuses to touch them with one of her fingers”—she cannot cease to be ANTI-

* Scott’s History of the Church of Christ, I. 228, 229.

CHRIST—BABYLON THE GREAT—THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.”

If we wish to know what the papacy really is, let us contemplate the system in those countries where it is armed with power, and where its spirit is acted out. Let us go to *Spain*, to *Portugal*, and to a few other portions of Europe, where the reins are, without restraint, entirely in popish hands. There we shall find the reign of *superstition* wonderful, nay incredible, to those who have not seen it; the *moral profligacy* not only of the people, but of the clergy also, perfectly scandalous; and the *spiritual tyranny* over the consciences, and indeed over all the rights and privileges of men clothed with a gloom and a terror of which we, in this land of liberty, cannot even conceive. Such, however, difficult as many Protestants find to believe it, is the native spirit of Romanism; and such, undoubtedly, would be the spirit acted out in our own country, if the character of our government, and the state of society admitted of such enormous abuse. Those who, for a moment, doubt this, must be as blind to the facts daily attested by the voice of travellers, as they are to all the instructions of authentic, unquestionable history.

Yet there are those serious Protestants who cannot be persuaded that there is anything dangerous in the character of Romanism! That it is an erroneous system, they acknowledge; but imagine that its errors are of a very harmless nature! And hence they disapprove of all preaching and writing against that system. They can hear Romish priests preach in favour of their highest and most offensive claims, without one feeling of revolt. But if a Protestant divine undertake to defend his religion against the denunciations of the Romanists, and to expose the antichristian and profligate errors of “the man of sin,” he must expect to be censured by many as a “persecutor!” Let such read with seriousness and care the following work; and if they are not convinced of their mistake, we may consider their case as hopeless!

It will be perceived that this work was a *Prize Essay*, to

which this award was adjudged by the National Institute of France. The author was CHARLES FRANCIS DOMINIC DE VILLERS, a native of France. He was born at Belchen, in Lorraine, in the year 1764. He became a lieutenant of artillery at the age of eighteen; but in the revolution he joined the prince of Condé at Triers, in consequence of which, on the failure of the royal cause, he was obliged to seek an asylum in Germany. After repeated removals, he settled at Lubec, where he wrote several valuable and popular works, particularly this "Essay on the Influence of the Reformation by Luther." He was afterwards professor of philosophy in the University of Gottingen; but was deprived of the office on the restoration of peace. He obtained, however, a pension from the Hanoverian government, and was made a knight of the polar star by the king of Sweden. He died in 1815.

As Mons. Villers was not an ecclesiastic; as the National Institute, when the prize was adjudged to his Essay, was very far from being under any ecclesiastical thralldom; and as the award was made in the midst of a predominant Roman Catholic population, we cannot imagine that there was any temptation to indulge in gratuitous bitterness respecting the subject of it, or to venture on any misstatement of facts. It has generally received, from competent judges, high commendation, and will well reward an attentive perusal. In regard to the opinions expressed by the writer in the various parts of his work, I cannot be supposed to vouch for them all. But it strikes me as an important work, ably executed, the general tendency of which is highly salutary.

Princeton, June 24th, 1833.

VILLERS' ESSAY.

PART I.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

SECT. I.

On the State of the Question.

IF, during any of the centuries which preceded the sixteenth, and while no opposition had been raised against the supremacy of the Roman pontiffs, a learned assembly had been desirous of calculating the results of a schism, of a contrary opinion to that of Rome, the question would doubtless have been framed thus: "What are the evils and the scandal with which the church has been afflicted, on account of such an impious and pernicious doctrine?" At this time, when several respectable nations have separated from the Romish church; when the intimate connection by which all Europe is united has convinced Christians of that persuasion, that others are as virtuous, as well regulated, as enlightened as themselves, the question must necessarily assume another form. An assembly of philosophers, in the bosom of France, restored to the Catholic worship, proposes to ascertain the influence of Luther's reformation on the state of European society, on the progress of knowledge. This change in language implies a great one in opinion; and, in this point of view, the question may be said to answer itself.

As the institute have not added any explanatory outline to the question, the following considerations, the intention of which is to determine the object and the latitude of the answer, will not appear misplaced.

By a superficial observer, it may be thought that a religious revolution should only exercise its influence on matters connected with religion; on the worship and the disci-

line of the church : but long before Luther's reformation, the church and the state were so assimilated in every political body in Europe ; their rights and their constitutions were so blended, that one of them could not be convulsed without the other experiencing the shock. The church, which had universally formed a state within a state, had carried its usurpations over the latter so far, that it threatened to swallow it up. All Europe was for a length of time in danger of yielding to the dominion of an absolute theocracy. The emperors of the new empire of the west, who saved it from that destiny, afterwards menaced it with the project of an universal monarchy. The kings of France, England, Sweden, and Denmark, the princes and free cities of Germany and Italy offered only a partial and alternate opposition to the pretensions of either of the competitors. A new impulse ; a new and powerful tie, which united the oppressed against both the oppressors at the same time ; an event which awakened every passion ; the love of liberty ; a religious and political fanaticism, which augmented the power of princes in a ten-fold degree, by exalting the people, which, in short, offered to the leaders both independence and the rich prey of the spoils of the clergy ; such an event, I say, must, in such a period, have produced an universal agitation in Europe. The systems of the modern states were shook by it to their foundations. During the long and grievous struggle which followed, everything acquired a different form, and a different establishment. A new political order arose from the ferment and general confusion : the different elements of which it was composed, long agitated by contending forces, yielding, at length, to the laws of gravitation of the moral world, took the places in it assigned to them by their respective weights, but which, in most instances, were not those they had formerly occupied. A new series of ideas also arose from this conflict of opinions ; men dared to think, to reason, to examine those things which, before, required only a blind submission. Thus a simple attack on ecclesiastical discipline produced a considerable change in the political situation of the states of Europe, and in the morals of its inhabitants. The institute was therefore inspired with the true spirit of history in encouraging the solution of the problem which it has so ably proposed. It is honourable to a writer to be called upon to treat of religion and politics, the two cardinal points of human life, before such an assembly. One of the first fruits of true liberty is the power of discussing these important objects without restraint, and the country

where this privilege is exercised must incontrovertibly be free.

In inquiring what *has been* the influence of the reformation of Luther, the institute shows clearly that it does not consider this influence as existing, at this time, in an active manner. In fact, near three centuries have elapsed since the first explosion. The agitation occasioned by it became gradually calmed; the power which originally gave the impulse, and which produced so many new events, has ceased to act as a moving force, as a productive principle. The greater part of the institutions which it created, and of those which it modified, have been preserved; some are extinct; but those which remain are now guided by the universal course of events, and the reformation is no longer the immediate cause which directs their progress. It has nearly accomplished everything of which it is capable; its influence is now perceived only mediately, without convulsions, and by the course of the institutions originating from it. The time is therefore arrived when the advantages or disadvantages which have resulted to the human race from it, may be inquired into, enumerated, and discussed. It will doubtless be conformable to the views of the institute to confine myself to an exact specification of all the proximate consequences of the reformation, and to be satisfied with a slight notice of the remote ones. To engage in the details of these last, it would be necessary to draw the immense picture of the history of Europe subsequent to that period, since there is scarcely any great event, in which some result of the reformation, such as the present constitution of the Germanic body, for example, or the republic of the United Provinces, has not, in its turn, exercised a greater or less degree of influence. We should never get freed from this labyrinth of *mediate* consequences; for, in this point of view, the influence of every political or religious commotion extends to infinity. To this day, we are more or less affected by what passed in India, Arabia, Greece, and Italy, in very remote times: we still live very perceptibly under the influence of the irruption of the northern tribes, of the crusades, and of other political movements which have become the principles of action to the people. The line of deviation, often crooked, sometimes retrograde, in the improvement of nations, is produced by the complicated action of many different forces: to mark its escapes, its aberrations, by putting a just value on the powers which have contributed to it, is the province of the philosophy of history. The author of the present essay will esteem

himself fortunate, if his judges are of opinion that he has performed this task, with respect to that period of modern history in which the reformation was the predominant power.

Nevertheless, it is not possible to engage in an inquiry into the effects of the reformation, without being, in some degree, obliged to give way to this reflection; "Is not the great event which I consider as a cause, in itself so much a simple result of other causes, which have preceded it, that the true origin of all that has followed it must be referred to them, and not to it, which has only been an intermedium?" Without doubt such is the situation of the mind in these researches. While it looks forward, its point of departure seems to be the fixed base from whence all the successive steps proceed. If its looks are turned back, the first point appears to it only the necessary consequence of those which have preceded it, and as a passage to arrive at those which follow. To the mental eye, every cause, in ascending, becomes a simple effect; each effect becomes, in its turn, a cause, in descending. The inclination which we feel to attribute everything which follows an event to the event itself, as though it was the cause of it, is the clew which guides us in the arrangement of historical facts; it is the law of cohesion by which the present is united to the past. To proceed in this manner from the effect to the cause, until we reach a first cause, subsisting by itself, and which cannot be the effect of any other cause, is a necessary consequence of our knowledge, which seeks an absolute principle to build its speculations on. It is on this slippery path that metaphysics is lost. A man who, without knowing the nature of the course of a river, should arrive on its banks, seeing it here gliding through an extensive plain, there confined within narrow valleys, in another place foaming beneath the precipice of a cataract; this man would take the first turning where it might be concealed by a projection, for the origin of the river; ascending higher, a new turn, the cataract, will occasion the same illusion; at length, he reaches its source, he takes the mountain from which it issues for the first cause of the river; but he will soon think that the sides of the mountain would be exhausted by so continual a torrent; he will see clouds collected, the rains, without which the dried mountain could not supply a spring. Then the clouds become the first cause; but it was the winds which brought these here, by passing over vast seas; but it was the sun who attracted the clouds from the sea; but whence arises this power of the sun? Behold him then soon entangled in the researches of speculative physics, by seeking a cause, an ab-

solute foundation, from which he may, finally deduce the explanation of so many phenomena.

Thus, the historian who inquires what was the cause which led to the reduction of the authority of the popes, to the terrible thirty years' war, to the humiliation of the house of Austria, the establishment of a powerful opposition in the heart of the empire, the foundation of Holland as a free state, and so of other occurrences, will, at first, see the origin of all these events in the reformation, and will attribute them absolutely to its influence. But urging his inquiries farther, he discovers that this reformation itself is evidently only a necessary result of other circumstances, which precede it, an event of the sixteenth century, with which the fifteenth, to use the expression of *Leibnitz*, was pregnant; at most, the cataract of the river. How many are there who are still of opinion they have found the first cause of the French revolution in the *deficit*, in the convocation of the states-general, in the *tiers-etat*, in the curates! Others, who carry their views a little farther, attribute it to the parliament *Maupeou*, the extinction of the Jesuits, &c. They are all right in that limited point of view which they have taken. Those, however, who contemplate the progress of human nature during a succession of ages, see this enormous mass of individual cases roll on, each of which, animated by its interest, its passions, and its peculiar spirit, seems desirous to counteract the progress of all the others; but notwithstanding their infinite diversity, all these motives have common features tending towards certain ends, which, finally, are the same; these features, these tendencies common to all, form a collection of powers, or rather a single power, which is that of the human race, that of a universal spirit, which, concealed through ages, guides and governs them. Under the dominion of providence, (that sun of the moral world, to use again the expression of a philosopher,) this spirit of humanity, by its continual action, prepares and disposes events. This great revolution which surprises us, is only a product, a result, a striking manifestation. Is it therefore to it, is it not rather to the influence of the causes, which have themselves preceded and led to it, that the events which have followed it should be attributed?

In the case in question, therefore, it is requisite for the historian to attend to what had passed before the great event which he examines; to ascertain the influence of the causes, by which the event itself was brought about, and in what degree these same causes have influenced the series of subsequent events. It is also requisite for him to consider what

would have happened through the slow and progressive course of humanity, which is sometimes called the natural course of things, if the great event, if the convulsion in question, had not supervened. Finally, he must determine what particular modifications in its results have been occasioned by the proper and individual character of this event; the character of the age and of the nation in which it occurred, and that of the men who had the principal share in it.

SECT. II.

On the Essence of Reformations in General.

As the mind rises through the series of events, and passes from each effect to its cause, to attain, at length, to a first cause, which serves it as a principle, and where it forms the first link of its chain; in the same manner it descends from causes to effects, eager to arrive at a last result, an absolute effect, which is satisfactory of itself, and is not required to become a cause or to act the part of a simple medium leading still further. This effect which must terminate everything, the last link of the chain, and final result of all which has preceded it, is the object sought by the mind, the place of repose at which it finally consents to stop. All its speculations on human events are divided into this double inquiry of *principle* and *object*: from what do they arise, and to what do they tend? It is within these two points that the action of the mind is restrained, and it chooses them more or less proximate, or more or less remote, according to its capacity, or to its existing wishes. But when it has not attained, on the one hand, to a cause which it feels warranted in taking for a primitive one, and, on the other, to an object which it considers as final, the mind of man remains in suspense, it vacillates within a compulsory equilibrium, and experiences the inquietude of an unaccomplished purpose. It is true, it may be possible for it to give up that space which it has determined not to investigate, and to assign a boundary within which the entire exercise of its power shall be restrained; but even this resignation is not in the power of every mind, nor is it, perhaps, in the primitive nature of any.

Let us therefore allow him who reflects on the history of the human race to ask, to what tends this succession of tumultuous events, of commotions, of transmutations in things

and in opinions? Let him dare to give free vent to his thoughts in the investigation of the final end of so many progressive revolutions. He can only find it in that sublime idea of a state of things, in which the destination of humanity, in the aggregate, being perfectly accomplished, all its physical and moral powers having attained the highest degree of developement, men would be as good, as enlightened, as happy as the original dispositions of their nature would admit of. Not that he will be able to show that this golden age of morality, this *chiliasm* of philosophy, can ever be realized, such as a beneficent dream represents it to us. But in the efforts of men, in those of nations, we cannot misconceive that tendency to improvement, to an order of things more just, more humane, in which the rights of all shall be better secured, and these rights be more equally distributed. Let us acknowledge that absolute perfection will never be the lot of mortals; but let us, at the same time, avow that this perfection forms the ideal object of their wishes, that it is the desire of their reason. It is not asserted that they will reach it, but it is unquestionable that they aspire to it. Perhaps the geometrical phenomenon of the assymptote is repeated in the moral world, and that, continually approaching to a point of meeting on the curve, we shall never touch it. Nevertheless the hope of the approximation alone is sufficient to inflame exalted minds, and is an object worthy of them. Alas! what would be the fate of the generations which succeed each other, what the despair of him who meditates upon them, if the laws of a creation, incessantly active, were not discoverable through the chaos of human affairs; if, in the darkest commotions which threaten to engulf all things, the light of providence did not permit the distant view of a happier futurity? It is certainly true that in the unbridled tempests, the whirlwinds raised by the passions on the ocean of time, the direct road to this object cannot always be strictly followed; and to deviate, to pause, become too frequently necessary. The observer, sometimes deceived, may suppose the progress retrograde, while, at the same time, it is not so; for all are not provided with a compass sufficiently correct to point out the path it ought to follow. But he who asserts that it is retrograde, by so doing admits the existence of the object; for to retrograde is only to remove farther from it. And admitting that this backsliding takes place for a time, can it, from thence, result that afterwards the approximation shall not be made with greater celerity? Is not that a contracted sight which cannot penetrate beyond the point at

which it is checked? To judge of all the road, it must be contemplated entire. That part of it which humanity must pass through after us, is unknown to us; but we may form an opinion of it by what has been already done. Until our time mankind have advanced on it, and it is to be expected that our successors will also advance; Greece and Italy, savage at the first, were far behind Greece and Italy in the refined period of their improvement. But however eminent this amelioration may, in many respects, have been, it was individual to each of these nations, exclusive to all others; it belonged to the citizen of Rome, to the citizen of Athens, but it did not belong to man. All the rest of the globe was barbarous and enslaved, slaves in fact to a few thousand individuals. Could the developement of civilization be always restrained to a few cities, to so contracted a corner of the earth? Could the millions of human beings, who vegetated in the nations from the Oby to the Elbe remain eternally strangers to it, and serve only as a supply to the armies and the galley-slaves of the privileged people? Doubtless no. There must be a dispersion of knowledge among them; there must be a mixture, which would convey the spirit of Latium and Achaia into Cimbria. The means of accomplishing this was, either that the small body, in possession of knowledge, must overcome these innumerable tribes, and penetrate to the extremity of continents almost inaccessible; or, otherwise, that the multitude of these rude nations should conquer the small people and become blended with them in the very focus of knowledge. After the employment of the first alternative, the Romans having penetrated as far as their strength, and a bravery worthy of eternal admiration, permitted them, the second, and more natural method, was brought into action by the mysterious arbiter of human destiny. The people of the north overran the south of Europe, and brought their ignorance into it. Chaos seemed restored; knowledge twinkled faintly and with difficulty here and there in the midst of profound night, which lasted for a time proportionate to the foreign mass which had newly appeared: it required ten centuries of fermentation to assimilate such a quantity of heterogeneous elements with the superior ones which had been blended among them. At length knowledge burst forth again on all sides. During three centuries since its re-appearance, it has spread and made an unheard of progress. The civilization of Athens and of Rome have been rediscovered, not only through all Europe, but at Philadelphia and Calcutta. Rome and Athens which our arts and our knowledge would

astonish, would also admire the humanity of the European, whose boast is that he is a man, and who no longer suffers slavery to taint his soil. This then has resulted from the horrible irruption of the barbarians in the fourth century, and thus at length time has justified Providence, the power of which, for one, or even for several generations, appears sometimes to have wholly ceased to act. I have selected this example because the apparent degradation of humanity, during the long interval of the barbarism of the middle ages, is, generally the favourite theme brought forward by the opponents of perfectability in support of their opinion.

And if we enter into the detail of the gradual civilization of these barbarians, who are the progenitors of the most polished nations of the present day, what will first engage the attention? Power, the only right: each individual; each master of a castle, at war with all his neighbourhood; and these wars, which may be said to have been fought man to man, deluging the land with blood, carrying desolation into every corner of it, taking place without any law but the ferocity of the conqueror. What a dismal picture is that of the Gauls, for example, in this anarchial state! By degrees, the valour, or the fortune of some of the chiefs brought extensive provinces under their dominion, in which they introduced order and discipline, and the inhabitants were relieved from the horrors of a universal and unceasing warfare: finally, these provinces themselves became united under a single government; millions of men, formerly separated into a multiplicity of hordes, which massacred each other indiscriminately, were from thenceforward compatriots, brothers, subject to the same laws, restrained by the same discipline. Where murder and unchecked pillage held their sway, safety, harmony, and order are now seen; Gaul has become one homogeneous whole, over all the extent of which reigns that perpetual peace which is felt, but not acknowledged. Will our civil wars be brought forward? These, at least, have been the effect of accidents, of crisis against nature; they can no longer be said to be the permanent and constitutional state of the whole of a country. The curative power of the entire body speedily brings a remedy, and experience has proved that they become more and more easy to extinguish. We may therefore conclude, in despite of that gloomy disposition which occasions so many to be ardent admirers of the past, merely that they may more freely depreciate the present, that our time is far superior to that of the Goths and Vandals; and although humanity has risen through all the

distance which separates them, the consoling prospective, that our posterity will reach a better and happier state, is not denied to us.

I solicit the indulgence of my judges for this, almost involuntary, effusion of my soul. I know the language of speculation may be hazarded before sages, whose intention is to add the consolatory views of philosophy to the study of history. But is it possible to avoid directing the attention towards an amelioration of human affairs, while meditating on the consequences of those sanguinary revolutions, of which the reformation effected by Luther, offers so memorable an example? At each of these great convulsions of nations, should we not accuse the divine providence of tyrannical absurdity, if the result of so many evils was only to precipitate mankind into a worse state than that from which they had been freed? But no; after these deplorable crises, in which so many individuals have been sacrificed, it is not uncommon to see a better order of things arise, to see the whole species advance, with more freedom, towards the great object pointed out by reason, and attain to a new developement of its improvement, at each new explosion of its powers.

From these premises we may consider the gradual improvement of the human race as consisting in an uninterrupted succession of reformations; some of them silent and slow, the lingering results of ages, of the individual persuasion of powers, and of opinion, which, in the end, supersedes errors; others, striking and powerful, the sudden results of a burst of light which strikes all eyes, of the lassitude of long oppression of an excessive necessity of restoring an equilibrium in some part of the political or religious system. The latter are the periods, the military stones to the human race in their progress through time. History numbers them with care, investigates their results, and determines by them the divisions of her work.

Men of meek minds, warmed by a mild philanthropy without enthusiasm, who are more affected by a horror of present evils than they are flattered with a hope of future good; those moderate minds which are terrified at a violent procedure and the fury of revolts; these, I say, adhering to the ameliorations, the reforms which time brings round without agitation, desire, and with justice, that good should never be manifested but under a beneficent form. Wherever they perceive the burst of passions, arms provoked by arms, thunder answering thunder, they sigh, they are grieved, they protest equally against both parties. Frequently they declare against

that which has first broken the repose so dear to them ; although, very often, this is in reality innocent, in reality driven to extremity by oppression. May we not rank in this class a great number of the adversaries of our last revolution, so many worthy and upright men who have been crushed in the shock of parties ? In this manner, the aversion of some distinguished men of the sixteenth century, not to the doctrine, but to the events of the reformation, may be explained. *Erasmus* called it the *Lutheran tragedy* ; and it was, in fact, because the drama marked its issue as tragic, that this wise and circumspect man, whose favourite motto was *otium cum dignitate*, refused to act a part in it.* But to desire that good should only be effected by good, is to make humanity a romance ; it is to convert history into an idyl, and the universe into an Arcadia. Unfortunately it does not happen thus. Nature, among the multiplicity of benefits which it bestows on the earth, afflicts it with hurricanes, inundations, subterraneous fires, the types of the dreadful scourges which are sometimes found in society, and which are often occasioned by the faults of our predecessors, sometimes by our own. It is necessary, therefore, for the man who would enjoy his own period to submit to them, and to consider them as the accomplishment of the profound laws which guide the great whole ; laws which we can never misinterpret, except when we presume to judge of their operation too partially, and in too contracted a point of view.

The amelioration of his institutions, whether political or religious, which man unceasingly aspires to, consists in bringing and keeping them as near as he possibly can to the peculiar spirit which constitutes their essence. The exterior forms with which they are clothed are seldom so agreeable to the spirit as to admit of its entire action and accomplishment. It too frequently happens that the clogged wheels of the machine suspend and render the impulse of the main-spring irregular. It is the nature of man himself, who is a

* It is known besides that *Erasmus* was not of a disposition to sacrifice his interest to his opinions. He aspired to a cardinal's hat, and although he might not succeed, his anxiety for it gives a clew to his conduct towards the reformers. The Catholic clergy still retained more dignities and more riches than the protestant clergy ; with the people of the stamp of *Erasmus*, this reason was sufficient to induce them to declare in favour of the first.

compound of soul and body closely united, which subjects all human institutions to this discordant duplicity. Contained in, and, as it were, shackled by the corporeal organs given to him for its manifestation, his understanding cannot give freedom to the exercise of its ideas, nor produce them as ethereal as it conceived them. To act and be perceptible, externally, thought must be allied with a body, to which it gives its form, and which is communicated in its stead. Hence, for example, arise the extreme importance of language, the faculty of thinking and the truth of this position, that without language we should be unable to combine our ideas. Thus, for the use of man, every institution requires to be provided with a body, a physical and sensible form. The spirit of all religions is, without doubt, originally the same, as well as that of all governments. The one consists in acknowledging, as laws imposed by God himself, the moral laws and rules of duty engraved on the hearts of all men; the other, in securing his natural rights to every member of society. But what would that religion be, what that government, which depended only on this simple idea, which should only be a pure spirit? It would not be an organized machine, capable of acting in the human world; it would not be a human institution. To become so, it must have an external form, organs, a visible and material consistence.

Nevertheless, the unalterable eternal spirit, which forms the soul of these institutions, remains always what it was, always similar to itself. But this is not the case with the body, the external form. This, subject to the influence of the physical world, of human passions, variable, perishable, is modified by accident and by events. In proportion as its configuration becomes changed, as its organs become cramped, thickened, overcharged, the oppressed and shackled spirit loses its primitive action and direction; sometimes stifled under a monstrous aggregate, it entirely ceases to manifest itself; the phantom no longer has life or pliancy; it possesses only the rigidity and heaviness of death. Thus the pure and sublime spirit of Christianity, to which no form less pure and less simple than itself is fitting,* was successively

* Fenelon, in his *Lettre sur l'existence de Dieu et sur le culte digne de lui* (in the second volume of *Œuvres Philosophiques*) repeats several times, that the Christian religion is only the love of God. At page 16, he quotes Tertulian, who, with the same idea says, that the soul is naturally Christian; and at page 28,

smothered, during a long series of ages, until the sixteenth century, by a continual load of foreign elements, which had vitiated its action, and, gradually, produced a misshapen body, from whence issued all the ills which the errors and the passions were capable of generating. Thus history, the depository of woful experience, shows us almost always, that the political constitutions, established to maintain natural justice among the people, degenerate in the end, and finish by being clogged with a mass, inimical to liberty and to the public welfare. This opinion, almost always confirmed by the event, is therefore very generally received by those who reflect on the fate of nations, "that a government, democratic in its principle, is successively, and in a shorter or longer period, converted into an oligarchy, or monarchy, and finishes by degenerating into despotism."

Hence, at certain epochas, springs the desire generally felt by all upright and disinterested minds, of a reform in the great human establishments. The external form is in general too revolting to the spirit. What must be the issue when, no longer harmonizing with it, it constrains, oppresses, paralyzes it? It must, in the end, burst forth, it must free itself from a body which no longer supplies it with organs calculated to second its developement. Mankind, who all, in a greater or less degree, possess a correct idea, a type of this spirit, are enraged against the haughty and pernicious colossus; they crush it in their indignation, and compel it to give back the holy flame which it concealed; light and vacillating, they are unable to seize it; they must enclose it in a vessel formed by their hands, they must unite it to a new sensible form. Thus after having destroyed the old edifice of the Roman communion, the confession of Augsburg, and other similar codes were requisite for the Christians separated from it; after the destruction of the French monarchy, it was necessary to fix the spirit of government, and that of the natural rights of man, in the positive forms of a new constitution.

But in forming a judgment of these reformations, how necessary is it to attend to the general spirit of the time and of

St. Augustine, according to whom, there can be no other worship but love, *nec colitur ille nisi amando*. "This," according to Fenelon, "is the reign of God within us; it is the worship in spirit and in truth; it is the sole end for which God has made us." It is obvious that the Holy See would find this mode of being a Christian not very agreeable.

the country in which they have been effected? From this double circumstance, as well as from the individual character of their author, and of his principal co-operators, from the design and the local object of these persons, &c. they receive their modifications, their peculiar colouring. *Moses*, leaving Egypt at the head of a troop of mutinous, superstitious, sensual slaves, whom he had to reduce to submission, to make soldiers capable of every enterprise, and animated against every nation which might occupy the territory on which he purposed to establish them; in such circumstances, *Moses* directed the reform of his people so as to conduce to the accomplishment of his designs. *Mahomet*, reforming a free and proud nation, sensual to excess, but capable of exaltation, and of virtue, succeeded in investing himself with a great character, and reduced the exterior form of the pure deism he preached to very simple terms. Both of them blended the religious constitution, which should be suitable to all men, with the political constitution, which can only be calculated for one nation; they confounded the church and the state, and, by that, rendered their religion purely local. With respect to *Jesus*, in conformity to his celestial origin, he separated the cares of the state from those of the church, whose empire he proclaimed was not of this world. In the midst of the Jewish nation, which had received from *Moses*, during their forty years' residence in the desert, a legislation suitable to the wants of their first establishment, in Palestine, but which had reached the highest pitch of the necessity for reform, *Jesus* undertook that of all mankind, inasmuch as he rejected the forms which were only calculated for a local spirit, and called them to the universal spirit of religion, which is the same to all men. Thus the work of his reformation, from the truly divine spirit which is the soul of it, and the simplicity of the forms in which it is clothed, would be adopted by every upright man, whose single heart was unsophisticated by the restraint of local forms. The divine reform effected by *Jesus* is therefore essentially, and in opposition to the other two, cosmopolite, or *catholic*, according to the true etymology of that term. Perhaps the form given to it by him was too simple, and when the religious society founded in his name spread over the whole earth, it might be necessary to add to this form. Hence also the power which the legislator might on this point, have transmitted to the future church. But the right of applying a suitable form was not that of vitiating it, of overloading it, of rendering it opposite to the spirit itself, of which it should have only been the organ. The spirit of

Christ was no longer perceptible in the constitution of the western Christian church, in the fifteenth century. The subordination of the church to the state, in human and terrestrial matters; the difference of the two, in that relating to the earth and in that relating to heaven, that primitive distinction, had been violently effaced; the extraneous spirit of some fanciful institutions had crept into the incoherent phantom of modern Christianity; all was blended and falsified; a reformation was required, a restoration of the primitive spirit, a simplification of the external form. This reformation was effected in the sixteenth century, in a part of the west; and it was called by the name of *Luther*, who was the courageous and principal promoter of it.

It may also be observed that the exterior form of religious institutions, being the part which more immediately affects the senses of man, and, consequently, engages his passions, and, on the contrary, that the spirit which animates these institutions, corresponding strictly with his understanding, it results, first, that the more a society is composed of ignorant, sensual men devoted to matter, the more does it require of external practices, of precepts purely ceremonial, in its worship; and the passionate attachment for such a worship, arising from the senses, may be carried to an excess, at which it sets all attempts, even of the most convincing nature, at nought; and, secondly, that the more a society of men is enlightened, the more the intellectual faculties are cultivated in it, preferably to the sensual ones, the more the spirit of its other institutions has remained pure, the less superfluity will it admit in the constitution of its worship, and the more will it be disposed to a reformation in this respect.

The passionate attachment for what is simply the body and form of religion, the attachment which produces a misapprehension of the spirit, and transfers to the accessories, the dogmas, the exterior of a worship, that veneration which belongs only to the divinity, this deviation, so common among ignorant and sensual men, is the origin of *superstition*. Pernicious, fatal disposition, which, fixing the focus of enthusiasm in the centre of the senses, and the passions, leads to the greatest excesses, and the most horrible cruelties.

The contrary inclination, that by which man, following the impulse of his spiritual nature, is disposed to reject all form and body in religion, to be devoted only to its spirit; this exclusion of an outward and visible worship, is the road which leads to *mysticism*. It is frequently the portion of thoughtful and solitary men, who, not feeling a necessity to influence

other men, think they can dispense with the senses, and keep to the pure spirit of religion. This attachment to the spirit, divested of everything local and accidental, must produce sentiments nearly similar, in all who indulge in it. Hence the singular conformity observed between the opinions of our mystical Christians, *Quesnel* and *Fenelon*, and of some Spaniards and Germans, with those of the Bramins of India. Mysticism, the common lot of mild and contemplative minds, may very readily produce an intellectual fanaticism, but it is attended with no danger to society, provided the mysticism is sincere, and not brought into action by hypocrites. Our revolution, during its short existence, had its superstitions, its mystics, and its hypocrites. The dryness of this digression, which must now be brought to a conclusion, can only be excused by the necessity which the author felt to throw every light on the point of view, in which, as it appeared to him, it was requisite to consider the influence of a revolution which began with the domains of religion, and to bring it thus forward as the first lineaments of his work.

SECT. III.

On that of Luther in particular.

Two objects are principally dear to the heart of man, and it is not uncommon to see him sacrifice all his other interests, even life itself, to them. The one is the preservation of his social rights, the other, the independence of his religious opinions; liberty in his civil actions, and liberty in the operations of his conscience. To both of them he affixes a value equal to that of his existence. The idea of recovering them, when lost, carries him to the highest pitch of enthusiasm; that of losing them, throws him, while he possesses them, into a despair, which fits him for any undertaking. Both these dispositions lurked silently in almost every part of Europe, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. One nation, which had lost its civil and religious liberty, began to feel the weight and indignity of its chains; another which still enjoyed a portion of independence, shuddered at seeing it on the point of being taken away. Every state in this part of the world, and more particularly the confederation of states which formed the empire of Germany, had long been tormented with the opposite opinions arising from the obstinate contest be-

tween the emperors, successors to the *Cæsars*, and the Popes, successors to *St. Peter*, a contest, of which the prize would have been an unlimited monarchy over all the ancient territory of the Roman empire. Both competitors asserted, or claimed equal rights to Rome, and it was clear in their eyes, as well as in those of all Europe, that the master of Rome, would be equally so of the empire, so difficult is it to eradicate vulgar prejudices! This magical name of Rome still charmed for ages after its real glory had vanished, and its power is not wholly extinct even in our days. One of the most unfortunate habits among men is, that of being mechanically persuaded, that what has endured for a long time must endure for ever; that an existence of one day establishes a right for that which follows; that history can only be a periodical repetition of the same events, and that every age must resemble other ages.* Rome had long been the capital of the world, and therefore it followed, that it must always remain so. At first no one thought of denying this consequence, or of leaving the mastery of Rome to itself. They fought for a long time to know who should keep possession of the sovereign city, and to which of the two rivals they should submit; they disputed with vehemence for a choice of tyrants.

The pretended right of filiation, which the princes who had succeeded *Charlemagne* thought they had over Rome and over the empire, is well known. They called themselves *Cæsars*, because the ancient *Cæsars* had been emperors in Rome, and Rome was mistress of the better part of Europe; the prince, therefore, who was called *Cæsar*, ought incontestably to reign over Rome and over Europe, in his quality of emperor. This was long thought an undeniable argument.

The right of the Popes was not quite so clear, but it was not the less revered. Since Rome was the natural mistress of all the universe, and the prince who had resided so long at Rome was the head of the empire, it was evident that the Bishop of Rome must also be the head of the church. By degrees, through the medium of machinations, of measures skilfully commenced and obstinately followed, this primacy of the Roman pontiff was established, though not without difficulties and troubles. When Rome was afterwards with-

* Past examples, were they even true, prove nothing for futurity. This assertion is more certain, "whatever is possible may happen." FREDERICK II. *Histoire de mon tems*, Œuvr. Posth. Tom. ii. p: 70.

out an emperor, the dignity of the pontiff naturally increased; from the second rank which he had till then held, he found himself in the first. And when the Frank and Roman princes adopted the singular ambition of being crowned emperors in the city of the *Cæsars*, the Popes did the honours of the empire, and, in crowning its new heads, appeared to bestow them. From the time the Pope acquired the privilege of crowning the emperor, infatuated Europe would acknowledge no other but him who had received the crown from the hands of the Pope. Hence the flatteries, the submissions, the concessions of the princes claiming the empire, to obtain the good will of the pontiff. Disposing of the principal crown, he concluded that the others were also in his gift. Sovereign of an innumerable clergy, rich, active, and dispersed through every nation; reigning by this means over all consciences, it was easy for him to establish the opinion that he was charged with the power of God on earth, the vicar of Jesus Christ, the ruler of kings.* If a prince attempted to withdraw from this authority, received from heaven, the pontiff anathematized him, expelled him out of the communion of the faithful, and his deluded subjects avoided him like a pestilence. In general he went and solicited the pardon of the irritated vice-god, appeased him by the most abject submissions, and by the acknowledgment of all the rights which the arrogant pontiff demanded: after which, the repentant sovereign was re-established in his charges and his honours; and at each similar

* This is not only the language of the bulls issued from Rome at this and subsequent periods, but is also that of the most popular and most disseminated writings of that time, which proves that the prejudice was pretty generally established. In the preface to the *Miroir de Souabe*, a work of the latter part of the thirteenth century, we read, "Since the time that God took upon himself to be Prince of Peace, he sent the two swords which he had in heaven for the protection of Christianity, to the earth, and gave them both to St. Peter, the one for temporal, the other for spiritual justice; that of temporal justice, the Pope entrusts to the Emperor, for the service of the church, and according to the will of the Pope, &c." The remainder is the exact words of Boniface VIII. in his famous bull *Unam Sanctam*, issued in 1302, and which finishes thus; *Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.* Such a declaration may be allowed to pass without a commentary.

attempt, the power of the Popes, sanctioned and increased, became still more strengthened.

God forbid that I should be suspected of the vile design of insulting the clergy, and the head of the Roman church in this work. Now, when ages of humiliation, of despoliation, of persecution itself, have expiated ages of pride, covetousness, and intolerance, it would be barbarous to charge the successors with the crimes of their predecessors. The present members of the priesthood are not those of former days. How grateful would it also be, to be able to believe that the ancient spirits, which, after a period of vain-glory, brought so many days of disgrace on the church, was wholly extinguished in its ministers! Let us, however, hope that the greater number of them participate in the knowledge of their cotemporaries, that the harshness of modern orthodoxy has given place to a spirit, milder and more conformable to the ancient spirit of the gospel. Neither the latter pontiffs, who have manifested virtues truly apostolical in the Holy See, nor a multiplicity of modest and learned priests, are involved in the severe judgments which the vices and misconduct of the pontiffs and priests of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries merit. Who will impute the crimes of *Nero* to *Marcus Aurelius*, the enormities of *Alexander VI.* to *Pius VII.*? But this observation made, the historian, whose task is to paint events as they happened, must be allowed to explain the causes of the indignation and revolt of nations in a period already far from ours; he must be allowed, I say, to cast off dissimulation, and to think and speak with the cotemporaries of the facts which he details, to expose the disgrace, of those who have merited disgrace, and to justify the fury of the oppressed, by an undisguised recital of the oppression.

The consideration of the essence of the revolution effected by Luther, in Europe, involves three principal points, which satisfactorily determine its nature and subsequent influence. By not attending to all the three, we should probably misconceive the real essence of this great event, and should not discover, in its aggregate, the general action and spirit of mankind in the sixteenth century, a spirit, every power of which was developed on this occasion.

The *first* of these three points is the political state of the European nations, their internal position, their situation with respect to each other, and with respect to the head of the empire and the head of the church.

The *second* is the religious state of these nations, their

greater or less obedience to the decrees of the pontifical throne, and the disposition of princes in this respect.

The *third*, which is intimately connected with the two first, and more immediately with the second, is the state of the sciences and of letters in Europe, which, having become barbarous in the fifth century, had been plunged in darkness and chaos during the succeeding period, but which, for about three centuries, had been progressively, though slowly, improving in knowledge.

It is only by a thorough investigation of these three points of view that we can arrive at a satisfactory knowledge of the general spirit and position of the European states in the sixteenth century, and, by it, to an exact acquaintance with all the consequences of the reformation. But how will it be possible, here, to enter into the immense detail, the researches, and the developements which this triple picture would require? The author must confine himself to a slight indication of the principal objects, and to showing what an historian might do.

Sketch of the Political, Religious, and Literary State of Europe at the commencement of the Sixteenth Century.

I. POLITICS.

A MULTITUDE of governments had been formed in Europe, out of the wreck of the Roman western empire, at the head of which were, for the most part, the leaders of the northern tribes which had overturned the empire. Alternately weak and powerful, these states, which were long without consistence, changed their masters and their form, according to the chance of events; they were raised, aggrandized, fell and were extinguished; and through all these vicissitudes, few ideas of a union, of an agreement among the weak to oppose the more powerful, could be perceived; there was not as yet any trace of that grand and fruitful thought of a balance of power. Nevertheless the feudal aristocracy had gradually lost its strength; the crusades and the other wars which had impoverished the nobility; commerce and industry, which had enriched the trading class; the knowledge which had been disseminated in it, and which had awakened it to a sentiment of the prerogatives of man, and of his natural rights, at length, led to the establishment of a civil existence for the third state, and to its influence on governments. The inha-

bitants of some of the cities, which were constituted free, even dared to assume the sovereignty in them, which would not fail to produce some effect on opinion, at that time so much enveloped in darkness, and so much the offspring of prejudice.

Italy, divided into a great number of feeble states, some monarchical, others republican, distracted internally by the jealousy and hatred of these petty states to each other, and by the insubordination of the individual barons and lords who aspired to independence, was still the unhappy theatre of the invasions of its powerful neighbours, the French, the Germans, and the Spaniards, who all aimed at obtaining a firm footing in it, some at Naples, others at Milan, Mantua, &c. This beautiful country was a prey to desolations, which succeeded each other without intermission. Its weak sovereigns, now taking part with a powerful conqueror, now jealous of his progress, and conspiring to expel him from their country, in general, only saved themselves by perfidy, fraud, and a crafty policy, which has ever since been one of the most prominent traits in the Italian character. This country, long the richest in Europe, and the centre of all its commerce, was on the point of seeing the source of its opulence dry up, on account of the new outlets which had been opened to commerce on the ocean, by the Spanish and Portuguese vessels.

The *Turks* had just possessed themselves of the seat of the eastern empire, and carried their victorious arms westward, into Calabria, Hungary, and to the very gates of Vienna.

Poland, freed during the course of the fifteenth century from the convulsions of an anarchial aristocracy, exhausting all its strength within itself, was almost nothing without. In the northern part of it, the Knights of the Teutonic Order, under pretence of converting the infidels, had formed themselves into a government, which was the first origin of the kingdom of Prussia.

Russia can scarcely be said to have had an existence, to the west of Europe, where it has since acquired so much ascendancy.

Sweden and *Denmark* were also nearly nullities to the states situated to the south of them. The kings of Denmark, after many wars and vicissitudes of fortune, had subjected to their dominion, Sweden, impatient, and constantly disposed to throw off this foreign yoke. A hero, sprung from its bosom, accomplished this undertaking. *Gustavus Vasa* became the legitimate sovereign of the country he had delivered.

The *North of Germany*, which might have been called Saxon Germany, since the ancient Saxon race were its governors, was divided into states, most of which were of small extent and not rich. They were united to the south of the empire only by the bond, at that time so loose and so ill-defined, of the Germanic confederation. However, the emperor being incessantly harassed by the Ottomans, had the most powerful motives for keeping on friendly terms with these Saxon princes, who were able to afford him some assistance. This part of the empire had seen a formidable league of commercial cities, united by a common interest, formed in its bosom. The Teutonic Hanse was raised to oppose the pillaging of the feudal plunderers, who, from their castles, or rather from their retreats, infested the roads in their neighbourhood, and despoiled the merchants travelling from fair to fair. The cities of Lombardy, and those on the Rhine, had formed similar confederations, and these associations of free men, whose activity was so beneficial, were of the small number of establishments, really humane, in these early days, which modern nations may be proud of.

Bohemia had more particularly shown the example of a republican spirit to Europe, though it was only applicable to the liberty of conscience. The partisans of the Bohemian martyr, *John Huss*, had maintained their religious creed by prodigies of valour and perseverance. The Austrian princes had not been able to make them renounce it. An agreement had been entered into between the prince and his subjects, on the article of worship. This example seemed to invite the remainder of the Christian world to free itself in the same manner. It was not because the brave Bohemians made use of the chalice in their communion service that they were commendable and worthy of imitation, but rather because, in this respect, they did that which their consciences directed them, and had by their courage obtained it as a right.

The *South of Germany* was nearly subjected to the same partition as the north; but the strongest half of this country made part of the states of the colossal house of Austria, which, invested with an almost hereditary claim to the imperial dignity, enriched with all the states of Burgundy under *Maximilian*, with the crowns of Spain under his successor *Charles the Fifth*, and with a portion of Italy, no longer disguised its plan of universal monarchy. This power was predominant at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and threatened to swallow up all the others.

Nevertheless, its noble rival, *France*, which contributed so

powerfully to save Europe from this disgrace, France had at length repulsed from her territories the English, who had so long contended for a part of it. The permanent and hired army, which the kings were obliged on this occasion to keep on foot, was of singular utility to them in uniting to the crown the provinces which had their peculiar lords, in despoiling these great and small vassals, and enriching the state at their expense. *Louis XI.* had nearly completed this increase of the royal power. *Charles VIII.* and *Louis XII.* had tried their arms in Italy against the imperialists. Notwithstanding their reverses, they had at least shown them that they might become formidable. After them, *Francis I.* found himself at the head of a powerful force, without doubt the first in Europe after that of Austria.

Between these two powers, and at the expense of the first, a republic of simple energetic mountaineers were formed, who were the first to teach modern Europe to believe what is related of the courage of the Spartans at Thermopyla, and of their virtues in Laconia. The *Swiss* had resumed the right, which every man will seize whenever he is able, that of living independent and being masters of themselves. They supported themselves against the jealousy of Austria, by relying on the protection of the Kings of France.

England, which had so long neglected the station to which nature had called it, that of a maritime power; which had so long wasted its most valuable means on the conquest and defence of a few provinces in the west of France, had, at length, had the good fortune, as it may be called, to see its armies driven from the continent, and forced to return to their island. This apparent loss became a real advantage to the nation, which, in the end, directed its activity to the establishment of its liberty and of its fleets. England was not, in the sixteenth century, what it has become since; but it was, at that time, in the rank of the chief powers of Europe, and *Henry VIII.* a violent and unsteady prince, who commenced by writing against *Luther* like an angry theologian, and finished by copying him, would have played a much more important part in Europe than he did, if, less occupied with his passions, his amours, and his cruelties, he had made a wise use of his power in foreign countries.

Spain had long consumed its strength, on its own soil, in contending with the Moors, who, for ages, had occupied the best and finest parts of it. At length these conquerors were expelled. Ferdinand of Arragon, who had acquired the glory of accomplishing this deliverance of Spain, married Isabella,

and, thus, joined Castile and Arragon. These united states fell to Charles the Fifth, and, under him, Spain was only a province of the vast Austrian monarchy.

At the same time, the political system, and the new species of warfare which was now introduced, became more and more favourable to the great powers. The invention of artillery rendered castles and simple walls useless, and required the erection of fortresses which were too costly for the small princes and states. Their standing armies also gave the great sovereigns a decided advantage over those who were unable to support the expense of them. The princes of the empire had more reason than ever to dread that Charles V. would serve them as Louis XI. had treated the lords of France. But notwithstanding this danger, they weakened themselves still more by dividing their states among their heirs, and by assigning portions of them to all their sons, as though the people and the provinces were their property; this right had not then been called in question.

The Europeans, who, till this time, had been confined within the limits of the old world, had just launched beyond it; the road to India and to America had been discovered. While enterprising navigators were, in this manner, subduing an ocean which had been thought unconquerable, every mind seemed also desirous of being liberated from the narrow circle of ideas within which they had been confined for ages. The human race advanced perceptibly towards the point of maturity of a new epoch. A change in the order of things, an approaching commotion seemed at hand; a rumbling was heard in the bowels of the volcano; ardent vapours burst forth, and streamed through the obscurity. Such was the menacing fermentation which appeared in the political state of nations from the commencement of the sixteenth century.

II. RELIGION.

Religious superstition, which had tormented all these nations in a greater or less degree, began to moderate in some of them; and enlightened men were met with in every country who opposed it with effect. The doctrine of the Vadois and that of the Albigenses, in France, were not forgotten. Wickliffe had raised his voice in England, and had been heard. The Hussites, and their success in Bohemia, have been mentioned above.

Every prince bore the insolence and ambition of the Ro-

man Pontiff with a greater or less degree of impatience. Some of them dared to oppose it openly, and the university of Paris had, more than once, been made the organ of sovereign power to answer the menaces of Rome. They had the courage to appeal to a future council, which they, without ambiguity, deemed superior to the Pope. Other princes, whether from conviction or policy, still bent the knee to Rome, and appeared to make a common cause with the head of the church. Charles V. for example, could not avoid remaining attached to the holy see, whose support in Italy, a country over which he wished to reign, it was his interest to procure. His subjects in Spain, where the Inquisition had been lately introduced, and where the long terror inspired by the Moors had kept the people in the most superstitious catholicism, would instantly have revolted against him had he appeared a less zealous Catholic than themselves.

The countries which possessed a republican constitution, and which maintained in themselves a greater inclination for liberty, were also those least timid towards Rome. It is known with what noble firmness the senate of Venice constantly opposed a bulwark to its usurpations. There are some cantons, essentially republican, of Holland, Holstein, and of all Lower Germany, which have never been really papists, and which the reformation found ready reformed.

Besides, the eyes of men began to open. The impolitic violence of some Popes; the scandalous life of others; the shameless licentiousness of their court, and their capital; the corrupt manners of the clergy; the ignorance and effrontery of several orders of mendicants, the faithful satellites of the holy see; the seventy years captivity at Avignon; the schism of forty other years which followed it, in which two and sometimes three Popes appeared, each having a party, abusing and excommunicating each other, loading each other with the most revolting insults, and reproaching each other with the lowest vices; unexpected disclosures which covered both rivals with ignominy at the same time; the exactions of every description, but particularly the indulgences, a monstrous abuse of the most monstrous of powers; the intolerance and cruelties of the Inquisition; all these will surely account for the hatred and contempt which everywhere lurked secretly against the Romish hierarchy. What then must be the fate of a power built solely on opinion, the moment that opinion is withdrawn from it? To doubt its rights, was to take them away; to probe its foundations, was to sap them; to examine, was to destroy.

The Popes, however, who were perhaps most sensible of the deep wounds inflicted on their kingdom, suffered no outward signs of it to appear, but affected that security which imposes on the mind. They yielded sometimes, and gave way when necessity compelled them; but they changed their tone as little as possible, always hoping that a better time would come, a time of bigotry and obscurity, in which they could display, in all its magnificence, their obstinate system of Lamaism. The irritable Paul III. as daring as Hildebrand, cited the king of England to appear before him, and, on the refusal of the no less irritable Henry VIII. he declared him deposed from his crown,* him and his descendants to perpetuity. Pius IV. treated the Queen of Naples in the same manner; Pius V. pronounced the same sentence on the proud Elizabeth, of England; and on each of these occasions, the vicar of J. C. displayed, with assurance, his incontestible rights over all crowns and over the whole globe. He disposed of America as it was discovered, and even before it was discovered; † and he had his legion of writers, of theo-

* “Nos...Henricum privationis regni incurrisse pœnam declaramus...Ejus et complicum, etc. Filii pœnarum participes sint. Omnes et singulos Henrici regis, et aliorum prædictorum filios natos et nascituros, aliosque descendentes...(nemine excepto, nullaque minoris ætatis, aut sexus vel ignorantie, vel alterius cuiusvis causæ habita ratione) dignitatibus, dominiis, civitatibus, castris, privatos, et ad illa ac alia in posterum obtinenda inhabiles esse decernimus et inhabilitamus, Decernimus quod Henricus rex et complices et sequaces, nec non præsati descendentes, ex tunc infames existant, ad testimonium non admittantur, testamenta facere non possint, etc.” (Bullar. Magn.) This may truly be called pontifical rage! He is not contented with pursuing and declaring them infamous to the fourth generation, he stretches to eternity, and strikes the last descendants of the great grandchildren.

† Nos motu proprio...de nostra liberalitate...omnes insulas et terras firmas inventus et inveniendas, detectas et detegendas versus occidentem et meridiem, fabricando et construendo unam lineam a polo arctico, scilicet septentrione, ad polum antarcticum, scilicet meridiem, sive sint versus Indiam, aut versus aliam quamcunque partem, quæ linea distet a qualibet insularum quæ vulgariter nuncupantur De los Azores y cabo vierde, centum leucis versus occidentem et meridiem; ita quod omnes insulæ et terræ firmæ repertæ et repertiendæ a prefata linea versus occidentem et meridiem, quæ per alium regem aut principem christianum non fuerint actualiter possessæ auctoritate omnipotentis

logians and civilians who demonstrated with intrepidity, all the sanctity and the proofs of these rights. The grateful church has placed the names of several of them in the calendar.*

This gloomy system, which brought civil society under the iron dominion of an exclusive church, without the pale of which there was no salvation,† must have gradually alienated the most sensible men from it. Complaints and murmurs arose on every hand; thousands of voices united in demanding a reformation of the church, *in its head and its members, its faith and its manners*; these were the consecrated terms. Three councils in succession, at Pisa, Constance, and Basle, had unveiled the wounds of this decayed body, and had probed their depth. The falling off and discontent had be-

Dei, et vicariatus J. C. qua fungimur in terris, cum omnibus illarum dominiis, civitatibus, castris, locis, et villis, jurisque et jurisdictionibus, ac pertinentiis universis, vobis, hæredibusque vestris, in perpetuum, tenore præsentium donamus, vosque et hæredes illarum dominos facimus et deputamus." (Bullar. Magn. T. 1. p. 454.) Singular public right of Europe at that time, which was founded on such instruments! It may be observed that the apostolic chancery, which in other respects does not plume itself on its great accuracy in geography, does not acknowledge any legitimate sovereigns on the earth but Christian princes. All the others may be dispossessed, without even the necessity of giving them notice of it.

* St. Thomas, St. Anthony, St. Bonaventure, St. Ramond, &c. For the same reason, others were invested with the purple of the cardinals; Turrecremata, Reginald Pole, Albert Piglius, Sylvestre Prieiras, Navarrus; Bellarmin, &c.

† The quality of Roman Catholic had wholly superseded that of man, and even of Christian. He who was not a Roman Catholic, was not a man, he was less than a man; and, were he a sovereign, it was a good action to deprive him of life. This was the ordinary language of the casuists of Rome, on this subject: I quote, at random, the words of one of them; "Ostendimus jam satis aperte justum esse, ut hæreticus occidatur; quo autem genere mortis sit occidendus, parem ad rem facit. Nam quocunque modo occidatur, semper consulitur ecclesiæ." Alphonsus a Castro. (De justa Hæreticorum Pœna, Lib. II. cap. 12.) This Castro wrote at a time when the commencement of the reformation might have taught gentlemen of his profession to have been a little more circumspect. Volumes might be filled with similar passages, and the perusal of them brings to mind the horrible joy expressed by Gregory XIII. at the news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

come more than ever perceptible at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and it was in this state of things that the young and voluptuous *Medicis* ascended the pontifical throne. An admirer of the fine arts, from which he sought only fame and gratification, a crafty but presuming politician, prepossessed with contempt for the German rudeness of manners; under which he was unable to discover that strength and manliness of character, all the energy of which he had to encounter, *Leo X.* was not qualified to enter the lists with *Luther*; and the arrogant weakness of the one, opened numberless advantages to the intrepid firmness of the other.

III. KNOWLEDGE.

THE ignorance which the barbarians of the north had brought with them, seconded by the wars and continual devastations, which, subsequent to their appearance desolated Europe, had nearly effaced every trace of improvement. The small portion of instruction which was languidly propagated during several centuries of the middle age, was only found among the ecclesiastics, and principally in cloisters. It was in these sanctuaries, which were frequently respected by the ferocious combatants, who respected nothing else, that a few manuscript books were copied and preserved, the annals at the time were written, a mixture of theology, most frequently extravagant, but sometimes astonishing by its subtlety and its happy elucidations, of logic, and of metaphysics, almost wholly disfigured and misunderstood, was taught. It will be obvious that scholastic divinity, which has had so many periods and such various fates, is alluded to; a desert uninhabitable by common sense, but here and there presenting fertile spots, on which the hand of beneficent nature may be recognized, and the mind dwells with enchantment.

If churchmen preserved the slight tradition of knowledge in this manner, it must also be confessed that, in their hands, it sometimes became dangerous, and was converted to pernicious uses by its depositaries. The domination of Rome, erected upon a scaffolding of false historical proofs, required the aid of these faithful auxiliaries, who, on the one side, were to employ their half-knowledge in fascinating every eye, and, on the other, to prevent these eyes from discovering the true light, or being illuminated by the torch of criticism. The local usurpations of the clergy, being, in many places, founded on similar titles, stood in need of similar means of support. It therefore followed, that the small portion of knowledge

which was permitted, must have been mingled with errors, and that nations must have been kept in profound ignorance, the foster-parent of superstition. Study was rendered as inaccessible as possible to the laity: that of the ancient languages was treated as a monstrosity and an idolatry. The reading of the holy writings, that sacred patrimony of all Christians, was particularly and severely interdicted: to read the Bible, without permission of the superiors, was a crime; to translate it into the vulgar tongue was a temerity deserving of extreme punishment. The popes had very good reasons for preventing the words of Jesus Christ from reaching the people, and for interrupting the direct communication between the gospel and the Christian. When objects of such importance as public belief and public worship are kept in mystery by compulsion, the darkness must be universal and impene- trable. The numerous legions of mendicant monks not being sufficient for this purpose, the horrible inquisition was devised, to extinguish every spark of knowledge which might appear through the gloom of night, in blood and in tears.

But the efforts of man cannot prevail eternally against the course of nature. The dawn must infallibly appear; the day must follow, and, with its rays, illuminate the phantom of darkness, which had become, at once, the ridicule and the admiration of mankind. The university of Paris already had offsets and rivals worthy of it, in Germany and in England. That of Wittemberg where Luther and Melancthon first came into notice as professors, had been lately founded. Princes, carried away by the general spirit, by an emulation of glory, by the ravishing splendour of so many new lights, promoted this regeneration by such establishments. It became impos- sible to impose silence on so many schools, which sought celebrity by striving to excel each other. The ancient lan- guages, history, criticism, were publicly taught in them, not- withstanding the clamours of the partizans of ignorance. In them science was liberated from its leading-strings, and broke, by degrees, its antiquated paction with error. A commerce with distant countries, the knowledge of a new world, had disposed men to receive new ideas. The art of printing, an incalculable advantage to the human race, and the highest which the mind ever received from industry, lately invented in Germany, on the banks of the Rhine, multiplied knowledge to infinity, and took away all means of hiding it, from thence- forward, under a bushel. At the other extremity of Germany, on the banks of the Vistula, *Copernicus* had been examining the heavenly bodies, and unveiling their true courses, which

the pontifical bulls have not been since capable of altering. On investigating the history of the early years of the sixteenth century, it is impossible to avoid considering this period as one of the most decisive for the improvement and amelioration of our species.

During this first conflict between light and darkness, both parties became more inflexible, more fixed in their opinions, and prepared for the encounter. At the head of the party friendly to knowledge, the public opinion had placed the spirited *Erasmus* of Rotterdam. His keen satires against the dissoluteness of the clergy, and against monastic stupidity, had produced a lively sensation. He contributed powerfully to the birth of a taste for erudition and criticism. *Reuchlin*, a philologist and very learned writer, who had taught in almost every part of Europe, was, at that period, settled in his native country, Germany, and excited an enthusiastic eagerness for the study of languages, particularly Greek and Hebrew, for reading the sacred works in the original, and for the illustration of the Bible. The theologian-inquisitors of Cologne, and among others the fiery *Dominican*, *Hochstraten*, who had solicited and obtained an imperial edict, commanding the burning and exterminating of every Hebrew book, entered into a dispute with *Reuchlin*, and endeavoured to demonstrate that the study of Greek, as well as of Hebrew, was pernicious to the faith.* Perhaps, according to their mode of judging, they were right, and every species of study was dangerous to the inquisition, and to the power which employed such auxiliaries. However that may be, this dispute made

* Even the faculty of theology of Paris, about this time maintained before the Parliament, "that religion was undone, if the study of Greek and Hebrew was permitted." The mendicant monks held a very different language; on this subject one of the private soldiers of the army of *Hochstraten* gives the following explanation. It is *Conrad de Heresbach*, a very serious and very respectable writer of this period, who employs the true terms of a monk; "a new language has been invented, which is called Greek; guard carefully against it, it is the mother of every species of heresy. I observe in the hands of a great many people, a book written in this language, which they call the New Testament; it is a book full of thorns and serpents. With respect to Hebrew, it is certain, my dear brethren, that all who learn it are instantly converted to Judaism." Here is a specimen of the spirit of papacy during this century. Would it have been right or proper to have suffered it to proceed thus unobstructed?

a prodigious noise, and terminated by covering the abettors of ignorance with shame. The Hebraists triumphed, *Ulrich de Hutten*, a young gentleman of Franconia, warm and of great talents, a warrior, poet, scholar, and also theologian, on this occasion wrote the celebrated Letters from obscure Men (*Epistolæ virorum obscurorum*), a satire replete with spirit and point, which brought indelible disgrace on the opposite party. *Reuchlin*, and some others, were suspected of having contributed to them.

Such were nearly the principal features in the picture of Europe, in respect of politics, religion, and intellectual improvement, at the time of the reformation.

The Reformation.

CATHOLICISM was not a religion which had been given, completely formed, and at once, to a new people, where it might have acquired a uniform aspect. Christianity introduced at different times, into nations which differed greatly, had received a local modification from each, arising from the peculiar disposition of the nation. Thus the Roman language, introduced into the several countries of the empire, here met with the language of the Goths and Lombards; there, with that of the Celtæ and Teutonic: in other places, with the Gallic, Saxon, or Cantabrian; and thus gradually became Italian, French, English, or Spanish. Christianity itself, during its successive transmutation into Roman catholicism, changed in its essence by the innovations of the court of Rome, and of the monks and theologians, did not everywhere undergo uniform variations. With a fundamental similitude in the principal dogmas, it acquired a different physiognomy in different places. Thus, even in our own times, the catholicism of Madrid does not entirely agree with that of Paris; nor is that of Rome similar to that of Vienna. In some places it had acquired a greater tendency to superstition, a form more overloaded, more material, more calculated to stifle the spirit; in others, on the contrary, it was less clogged with material bonds, and had preserved more of a disposition to mysticism; the spirit had remained more free, and more perceptible. These varieties on the character of the religion proceeded from those in the characters of the nations; some were more sensual, more dissipated, more exterior, if the term may be admitted; others, on the contrary, more reflecting, more serious, more retired. *Italy* on the one hand, and *Saxony*, on the other, will furnish us with an instance of this diversity;

and it is natural to select these two countries, since one was the seat of Catholicism, and the other became that of the reformation.

Italy had long been the residence of the chiefs of the Roman empire. The luxury and the corruption of the Asiatics had penetrated into the city of the Cæsars, and into the rest of the country. The riches of the whole world abounded and circulated there. The effeminacy of the latter time of the empire fixed the Italian character. Subdued afterwards by a number of conquerors, who succeeded each other without intermission, this fine country was, for ten centuries, the theatre of continual wars between foreigners, who came there to contend for it. The Italian, never master of his own territory, always oppressed and subjugated, naturally became deceitful, cunning, dissimulating, selfish. Commerce constantly enriched him; but he hastened to consume, in enjoyment, the wealth which he foresaw might soon be snatched from him by violence. A taste for luxury, pomp, and voluptuousness, with that of the fine arts, became his consolation. The magnificence of the ancient ruins which surrounded him, influenced that which he gave to all his works, to all his religious edifices. Worship became the business of the senses, and religion a mythology; splendid ceremonies superseded simple prayers; saints and images became the intercessors with an almost forgotten God, and the immediate objects of devotion. No doubt the populace, and uninformed men, would adhere very strongly to this system of superstition, which captivated their senses, and lulled all their vices; but what wonder if he, who began to think and examine, should at once and entirely reject this system, where he could discover only the work of man, and that he should remain without a spark of religion? It was a necessary consequence that the Italian must be a papist or an atheist; he must either adore our Lady of Loretto, or not adore at all; hence there never was so many atheists as in the country and neighbourhood of the sovereign pontiffs.*

* We may add to these the reasons given by Machiavel, an eye-witness, for the Italian impiety and corruption; and it will not be denied that he had sufficient penetration to see very clearly from what the evil arose. He expresses himself thus: "The greatest prognostic of the approaching ruin of Christianity is, to see that the nearer people are to Rome, which is the capital of Christianity, the less devotion they have. The scandalous examples, and the crimes of the court of Rome, have

The most violent bigotry, or the incredulous libertinism of *Arétin*, is the inevitable lot of those who no longer give credit to all their religion, or no longer discern its spirit. An old proverb says: "When the water of the bath is thrown out of the window, the child is thrown with it." A religious reformation was impossible in this country. Those who were good Catholics would not have permitted the removal of a single relic; those who were not, were nothing; they acquiesced in the external forms, but had neither moral nor religious interest in them, nor had they any desire for an amelioration, which they neither thought of or believed in.*

What a different appearance was offered by Saxony! Its people had never been softened either by luxury and opulence, or by too mild a climate. There resided an indigenous nation, energetic, open, who, from the ninth century to our era, had never been subjugated. On the banks of the Elbe they stopped the flight of the Roman eagle, which was unable to penetrate into their provinces. In later times this nation had given conquerors to Europe; the Angles, the Normans, the Burgundians, the Franks, swarms broke off from Saxony, had subdued Great Britain, Gaul, and other provinces of the west. Those who continued on their own territory, attached to their ancient and simple national worship, had allowed the remainder of Europe to embrace Christianity, without being tempted to imitate it, and to quit a creed, with which was interwoven the memory of the illustrious actions

occasioned Italy to lose entirely every principle of piety, and every sentiment of religion. The rest of us Italians have therefore this first obligation to the church and the priests, for having become impious and profligate." Disc. sur la prem. Decade de Tite-Live, lib. i. chap. 12.

* The Italians proved clearly by the event, that they were wholly incapacitated for a reformation. Some years before Luther, the ardent Savonarole preached nearly in the same manner at Florence, as the Saxon reformer preached afterwards, against the indulgences, the misconduct of the papal court, &c. The infamous Alexander VI. reigned at that period; far from declaring for Savonarole, as the people of Wittemberg declared for Luther, those of Florence fell upon the unfortunate, but too honest man for his time and his country, dragged him to the pile which was kindled by the executioners of the inquisition, and saw him burnt, uttering exclamations of joy, and crying, Long live Pope Borgia!

of their forefathers. When, after a desperate resistance of three and thirty years, Charlemagne succeeded in compelling them to receive Christianity, they adopted it with sincerity and simplicity; but it may be supposed that it never would become to them what it had become to the Italians. Here it attracted the eye less, and affected the heart more; there it was more of *worship*; here it was more of *religion*. Serious men, of manners generally pure, naturally practised a purer and more spiritual Christianity. They always bore the yoke with which the court of Rome had burthened them with secret impatience, and they threw it off on the first opportunity which offered; but, in rejecting this parasitical covering, which was grafted on the gospel, the gospel itself remained to them; they had not stifled its spirit; papism was not the total of religion to them; it was still of importance to them to have a religion; an interest in religious concern was alive and active in them; they were capable of a reformation.

The intellectual improvements of the two people differed in the same proportion. The fine arts, everything conducive to the enjoyments of taste, everything flattering to the sensibility, physical or moral, had become the objects of Italian activity. The calm, equal, persevering activity of the Saxons, was directed to the abstract sciences, to philosophy, to historical researches. When the reformation burst forth, there was not a single theologian of Italy capable of encountering those of Saxony; some of them had the presumption to attempt it, a presumption always the associate of ignorance; they were defeated, and covered with confusion. In revenge, Italy boasted loudly of her poets and her painters; she had not produced a *Luther*, but Saxony had not produced an *Ariosto*.

To the peculiar dispositions which have been indicated, Saxony also joined the indignation and discontent, which was common to it with the rest of Europe. To support the expenses of a luxurious court, *Leo X.* had lately imposed upon *Christianity* the heavy burthen of a new indulgence. The pretext was the edification of the superb basilick of St. Peter; but a proof that this motive was not, at least, the only one is, that *Leo* had lately made a present to a greatly beloved sister of the sums which were to arise from the levy on Lower Saxony, as far as the Baltic Sea. This circumstance was known to every body; and the Dominican *Tetzel* had the audacity to come into the neighbourhood of Wittemberg to open his traffic in indulgences, to advertise his venal mis-

sion, and to trust to sermons, so extravagant and so gross, as scarcely to be credited at the present day.

Martin Luther, a doctor, priest, and Augustine monk, was, at that time, professor of philosophy and theology in the new university of Wittenberg, where an excellent and rigid spirit of assiduity, of love of the sciences, of true religion, and of liberty of thought prevailed. *Luther's* parents were poor; his talents alone had raised him to the situation he filled. He was among the first who applied with ardour to the study of the new knowledge, which was cultivated by the most eminent geniuses of this century. The first rays of the rising sun had no sooner struck the high places, and most elevated summits, than Luther discovered, before the multitude, the new day which began to break. He devoted all his intellectual powers to the success of reviving letters, watched their progress, and rejoiced at the victory obtained by the partisans of the ancient languages over the inquisitors of Cologne; he had also acquired celebrity by some good productions of this description. Supported by an indefatigable zeal, by a wonderful memory, he had acquired the most perfect acquaintance with the holy writings, the fathers, and other ecclesiastical antiquities. One of his principal objects was to overturn the scholastic divinity, by banishing Aristotle from the domains of theology, and by demonstrating from this singular compound of the logic of pagan philosophy with the doctrine of Christianity, how much the first had been misunderstood and both had been corrupted. In every encounter he overwhelmed the scholastics with his arguments and his wit, and covered their science with confusion and ridicule. His individual character, which has had such influence on that of the reformation, was energy and uprightness. Ardent and calm, high spirited and humble at the same time; irritable and warm in his language, when provoked by injurious treatment; mild, and inimical to every species of violence in action; jovial, open, of ready wit, and even a pleasant companion at the table of the great; studious, sober, and a stoic in himself; courageous and disinterested, he exposed himself with tranquillity to every risk, in support of what he believed to be the truth. Commanded to appear before the diet of Worms, he presented himself there, notwithstanding the terrible and very recent example of *John Huss*, with dignity, simplicity, and firmness. Far from setting Rome at defiance in the outset, he wrote submissively to the Pope, and exhibited no other appearance of superiority but that of his immense knowledge over *Cajetan* and the other theologians,

deputed by Rome to convert him. Harassed afterwards with insults and outrages, he replied to them with animation; excommunicated by the Pope, he publicly threw the bull of anathema into the fire. *Luther* knew all the intrinsic weakness and abuses of the pontifical court. He had been sent to Rome on the business of his order, some years before, and there everything which struck his eye filled his heart with indignation. It is very probable that from that time, he secretly conceived, if not the design, at least the wish, for the deliverance of his country; and, like his ancient countryman *Arminius*, who had served in the Roman legions in Italy, before he repelled the same legions from Germany, it was in Rome that he learned to despise that Rome, which, at a distance, appeared so formidable. From such characteristics we cannot misconstrue one of those superior beings, who, though participating in some of the defects of their age, are made to govern it, and carry it with them on the road to perfection. I may also add that, after having refused the offers of the court of Rome; after having been so many years the founder and almost patriarch of a new church; after having been the friend, the adviser, the spiritual father of so many princes, who, through the reformation, had been enriched with all the possessions of the clergy, of which he might have obtained a rich share, *Luther* lived and died in a state bordering on poverty, and left to his wife and children only the esteem due to his name.

Such a man must have been filled with indignation at the approach of the shameless *Tetzel*. In the sermons, which he usually preached, *Luther* exposed the abuse of a traffic in indulgences, and the danger of believing that heaven, and the remission of all crimes, could be bought with money, while a sincere repentance, and an amended life were the only means of appeasing the Divine Justice. The Dominican answered these sermons with fury; *Luther* replied; advanced another step; called in question the authority of the Pope, and gave the signal of revolt. Thus began the reformation.* It found a multitude of minds prepared to

* The acrimony with which the fury of parties throws calumny upon men of eminence is well known. *Luther* experienced this more than any other. For example, it was attempted to attribute the cause of his zeal to the discontent of the Augustines, who, as it was said, were envious, because the Dominicans were entrusted by the Pope with the preaching of

receive it, and also some enlightened and eloquent men disposed to become its apostles. The learned and moderate Melancthon, and the hasty Carlstadt, both at Wittemberg; in Switzerland, Zwingle; in France, Calvin soon appeared, and communicated their particular opinions to the work of reform. The great majority of the German nation, (which must not be confounded with the preponderance of certain governments, such as Austria, &c. ;) that of the Swiss nation; a very great number of individuals in France, Poland, and Hungary; Denmark, Sweden and England separated in a few years from the Roman church, and refused all obedience as well as tribute to its head.

However, notwithstanding the general dispositions already mentioned; notwithstanding the universally acknowledged want of a reform in the church; notwithstanding the eloquence and the strength of *Luther*, this memorable revolution would, doubtless, never have been consolidated, it never would have acquired a political consistence, if another interest besides that of religion and truth had not lent it support, and made it an interest of state. The princes of the north of the empire, to whom resistance to ambitious Austria was next to impossible with their ordinary means, saw, in the new enthusiasm of their people, an unhopèd-for opportunity of obtaining extraordinary succours, and of opposing the whole mass to the imperial arms. An intimate union between each prince and his people, as well as an alliance between the whole of these provinces, and these people, which before

indulgences. There is nothing surprising in this fable, the invention of Cochläus, being given by Maimbourg; but it is inconceivable how Voltaire and Hume should have repeated it as a certain fact. This commission had long become so odious, and so disreputable, that no man, and Luther least of all, could have envied the Dominicans, who, besides, were almost exclusively in possession of these indulgences, as well as of the inquisition. Doctor Maclaine has added a note to his English translation of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. chap. 2, in which he shows beyond dispute, the folly of this imputation. It may not be useless to insert it here, where it has been thought necessary to open the true sources of the reformation, that a more correct judgment may be formed of its nature and its influence. To remove every doubt on Maclaine's authority, as well as on the falsity of the allegation, and to give an example of a good historical criticism, this note shall be inserted at length at the end of this volume.

would have been a chimerical enterprise, became a necessary consequence of the common interest which spoke to all hearts. Besides the temptation of the treasures of the clergy, which each prince added to his own revenue, the allurements of independence, the gratification of an inveterate hatred against the court of Rome, all contributed to force the acquiescence of the chiefs, and to hurry them down the same torrent with their people. Whatever might have been their motives, it cannot be denied that the league of *Smalcald* was the first effective union of free princes and states against their oppressors, in modern Europe; that it laid the foundation of a better conduct, and of liberty of conscience. Some of the reasons which were capable of diverting *Charles V.* from embracing the reformation have been already mentioned. It was enough for him to see it adopted by those princes of whom he was the natural adversary. *Francis I.* might have declared for it and introduced it into France. His conduct was guided, partly by his own religious opinions, partly by his politics and his projects on Italy. But finding a formidable party arising in the empire against his Austrian rival, he seconded it efficaciously, and with all his power.

This is not the place to enter into the detail of the events which have accompanied, followed, and consolidated this memorable revolution. Besides, the Institute has demanded its results and not its progress. It will therefore be sufficient to observe, that this important affair almost wholly occupied all the powers of Europe, from the year 1520 to the middle of the following century. Amidst various successes, triumphs, and defeats, alliances and desertions, the Protestant states succeeded in giving a constitutional existence to their confession, and in dividing the empire with Catholicism. While *Luther* lived, he supported the character of a minister of peace, and employed all his influence to maintain it. The civil war of the peasants of Suabia and Franconia troubled the early days of the reformation. Sects of fanatics were formed in different places, but principally in the circle of Burgundy, and in Westphalia. The short reign of the Anabaptists of Munster, and of their king, *John of Leyden*, offered a spectacle of horrid disorders. The Protestants witnessed the excesses of these false brethren with sorrow. *Luther* and *Melancthon* wrote against them, and demonstrated that these enormities were, at the same time, contrary to Christianity and to the true spirit of the reformation. After an almost uninterrupted peace under the four emperors who succeeded *Charles V.*, during all the remainder of the sixteenth, and first years of the seven-

teenth century, the war which kindled fiercely under *Ferdinand II.* on the subject of the religious capitulations of Bohemia, was soon converted into a furious struggle between the two parties. The object was no less than the utter extirpation of Protestantism, the annihilation of the Germanic constitution and liberty, and the absolute dominion of Austria over the empire, which would have given the means of extending it still further. This horrible conflagration, which for thirty successive years, ravaged Europe, from the confines of Poland, to the mouth of the Scheldt, and from the banks of the Po to the Baltic, depopulated whole provinces, annihilated agriculture, commerce, and industry in them, cost the lives of many millions of men, and retarded the study of the sciences in Germany, which, at first had made such rapid progress, for nearly a century. This fatal war had lasted twelve years, and notwithstanding the prodigies of constancy and valour of the confederate princes, they were on the point of sinking before their powerful adversaries, when a hero, the successor of Vasa, the immortal *Gustavus Adolphus*, left his kingdom, at the head of an invincible army, and, at the expense of his own life, which he lost victorious at Lutzen, saved the liberty of Germany, perhaps of all Europe, and the creed which he possessed in common with the princes of the *Evangelical body*, which was the name given to those who had separated from Rome. Denmark, which had previously been willing to engage in this quarrel, was soon constrained to abandon it. The assistance of Sweden was more effectual. It is doubtful whether the military annals of any nation offer a period more worthy of admiration than the eighteen campaigns of the Swedish army in Germany. France also joined her victorious arms to those of Sweden, in support of the Protestant party; it was in the course of this war that the names of *Guébriant*, of *Puysègur*, of *Turenne*, and *Condè*, were rendered illustrious, and it was through it that the monarchs of France began to acquire a marked preponderance in the affairs of the empire.

France itself, however, had not been wholly free from the internal troubles and commotions which revolutions of such magnitude bring with them. After an obstinate civil war between the reformed party and the Catholic party, the reigning dynasty was renewed in the person of a reformed prince, who became, however, a Catholic on ascending the throne.

Spain, after the abdication of *Charles V.* had its own kings, to whom the Low Countries were obedient. But the spirit of the reformation had introduced its ally, the spirit of liberty,

among them. The United Provinces threw off the yoke of *Philip II.* with courage; and founded in their morasses, a confederation, very nearly resembling that which had been formed on the mountains of Helvetia. The Hollanders became what a free people near the sea will become, what nature had interdicted to the Swiss; they became rich and powerful, and took rank among the principal states of Europe.

England, amidst troubles, also occasioned by religious innovations, resumed its true destination, that of maritime power.

At length the reformation produced the two most celebrated assemblies which the history of modern times affords. The one on the affairs of religion, the *Council of Trent*, in which so much intrigue, eloquence and knowledge were displayed, and of which, the decrees, more or less modified, have become the principal basis of the canon law to the states of the Roman communion. The other, political, the *Congress of Munster* and *Osnaburgh*, which put an end to the dreadful thirty years war by the treaty of Westphalia, the master-piece of human prudence and sagacity, which, for the first time, brought the European nations into a connected system of political bodies. It was during the continuance of this long congress that the art of negotiation was brought to perfection, that the necessity for a balance of powers, of a weight and a counterpoise, by which the strong might be restrained, and the weak protected and upheld, was recognized.

After this too rapid view of the principal events which immediately followed the reformation, we may hazard a few conjectures on what, most probably, would have happened in Europe, if this had not supervened. In fact a little more prudence and reserve on the part of the court of Rome, or a little less inflexibility in our reformer, or more indifference on the part of the princes, and, perhaps, this great explosion might have been strangled in its birth. It required a *Luther* to effect it, but a multitude of favourable circumstances were also required, that his efforts might not be vain. How many voices had been raised before, without being heard, without reaching the ears of those they were intended to move!

SECT. IV.

Conjectures on what might have happened in Europe, if the Reformation had not taken place. Would the Spirit of the Hierarchy have changed?

IF, in the sixteenth century, and during those which followed it, the torrent of events had pursued the same course as it had previously taken, nothing could have saved Europe from an approaching subjugation, from the yoke of an universal monarchy. This danger, although imminent, was not, however, very perceptible to the multitude. The people had not made common cause with the princes, against it; the princes had not made common cause with each other: intrigue and interest had too easily divided them. But by what means could the men, who in those days had almost forgotten they were men, be moved and directed to one common object? the clergy possessed riches which they sought to retain; the third estate, still little better than bondmen, had their traders and merchants, who sought to enrich themselves. Between these two classes there was another, jealous of both, robbing them sword in hand, whenever it had the power, and against which, these two were obliged to be guarded. Besides, the gentleman was proud of being unable to read, and the clerk was but little better instructed. How distant were they from any notion of a police, or a regular society, from the rights common to all men, and from equality with each other! How much more distant were these ideas from the minds of the peasantry! These were so ignorant and so occupied with popes and clergy, with emperors and nobility, with saints, miracles, and feudal duties, that sound reason, or a consideration of their rights, could find no access to them. Excessive oppression produced, here and there, and at different times, occasional revolts, which, for want of concert, were of no advantage. Each time some thousands were massacred, and the chains of those who escaped the butchery were riveted faster. In general, they were ignorant that it was possible to exist in any other way than in performing the corvee* for their lords, and being plundered by the soldiery. Nothing but religion remained, in

* A day's work due from the vassal to his lord, to be done in person, or by his team or plough. T.

which there was a common and an active interest of all the classes.

The popes and the emperors, in the long and obstinate struggle for their claims, had, happily, counterbalanced each other during the first centuries, and the efforts of one party had frequently neutralized those of the contrary party. If the Pope was not as powerful, the House of Austria met with more obstacles to the subjugation of Europe; while at the same time, but for the resistance of the Emperor, the Pope would have succeeded, with great facility, in constituting himself, without a power of altering it, the great Lama of the West. Thus one evil was long a remedy for the other; but this struggle could not continue for ever, and one of the two must, in the end, prevail. One Pope had already conceived the idea of placing the imperial crown on his own head, and an Emperor that of placing the tiara on his. At the accession of *Charles V.*, the power lodged in his hands was so preponderant, that he might easily have triumphed over all his adversaries, and carried the favourite project of his predecessors, of bringing the whole western Roman empire under his dominion, into execution. If, by their unity, and by that alone, weak states have been seen resisting powerful coalitions, what might not have been achieved by so formidable a force, vested in one hand, and with such a leader as *Charles V.* against Europe divided, and without concert. The policy of this Emperor is so well known that there can be no doubt but he would, in furtherance of this great design, have compromised with the head of the church, and, the more effectually to subdue the other nations, by his means, would have allowed him the second place in the empire, with an unlimited power over consciences. The holy inquisition was become the tool of both despots, and had, for some centuries, maintained superstition, political slavery, and slavery of thought, over the whole of Europe. The reformation alone would check this torrent; it, at once, extinguished the ambition of the two projectors, who had aimed at giving chains to Europe. Arrogant Austria is for ever sunk and repressed. The Roman pontiff has lost a part of his dominion, and has retained only a precarious power in what is left. Finally, powerful governments have arisen; rivals in everything which can contribute to the glory or welfare of nations, they, for the most part, second the action of the new spirit which animates the people, and strive to efface, by degrees, all traces of the barbarism of the middle age.

It is said by some that "the successive progress of know-

ledge would insensibly have led to the same results, and have avoided all the evils which arose from so terrible a commotion, and such long wars." But they must not have considered that in the system of an infallible church, all the decisions of which are dictated by the Holy Spirit, a reformation, such as was necessary, becomes impossible, and that it is even contradictory to the spirit of Roman Catholicism. It is also doubtful whether the wished-for change would have happened so soon, or have been so complete. It is certain that, at the time of the reformation, the heads of the Catholic religion, who, at first, saw only fame and gratification, or a disposition to elegance of manners, in the renovation of letters, and, with these views, had encouraged them, began to perceive their danger, from too great a portion of knowledge being infused into men's minds; and, that a very striking reaction was manifested on their part. This reaction was not soon checked in the states belonging to the house of Austria in Germany, in Spain, in Italy, and in Belgium, where all the means of the inquisition, and of censure, were put in action to shackle the flight of thought, and to repel the progress of knowledge. Let the political, religious, and literary state of the greater part of these countries, during the following centuries, be compared with the state of Protestant Germany, Holland, and England, in the same points of view, and let a judgment be formed, free from prejudice, of what would have been the consequence, if the same conduct had become universal and despotic in Europe.*

* Let the same comparison be made at the present time; in all those countries which were long under the Austrian lash, we shall find bigotry and superstition, instead of religion and morality; ignorance and prejudice, instead of sound and solid instruction; gross sensuality, instead of all the noble qualities which distinguish a man, when he has received a more elevated and more liberal education. Whoever has observed Austria, Spain, and Belgium narrowly, will feel the truth of this remark. There is no doubt but the universal spirit of our time has penetrated here and there, and given rise to some exceptions. Lombardy in particular, situated between France, Germany, Venice and Genoa, and which submitted with reluctance to the Austrian yoke, could not be entirely brutalized. A remarkable testimony, which exposes the barbarism still existing at the close of the eighteenth century, in Catholic Germany, is the narrative of his adventures, lately published by M. Schad, Pro-

As to what might have been expected, in the end, from the popes and the clergy, if they had been allowed to act spontaneously, in all their power and credit, a judgment may be formed from the moral and physical state of most of the domains, subject, immediately, to ecclesiastical princes.* It must be acknowledged that the spirit of papism is exclusive and intolerant; now the spirit of an institution cannot cease to act, unless the institution cease also. A very decisive observation is that the virtuous and humane *Innocent XI.* during a pontificate of twelve years, was scarcely able to execute any of his meritorious designs. The popes, more prudent since the reformation, weakened, almost nonentities, have yielded, unwillingly, in different contests; but it was the power, not the will that was wanting. Many attempts have been made to unite the reformed church with that of Rome; the latter has rendered all these endeavours abortive by refusing to relax in any of her claims. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the Emperor *Leopold I.* took much pains on this subject, and plenipotentiaries were named on both sides. The negotiations also extended into France, between *Leibnitz* on the part of the Protestants, and *Pelisson* and *Bossuet* for the Catholics. The latter displayed all his eloquence, but, at the same time, all the inflexibility of his own mind, and that of his church: according to him, there could not be any question of accommodation, but only of submission. When we reflect on the haughty and violent language then held by so enlightened a man as *Bossuet* was, it is not possible to prevent a belief, that if, perchance the Romish clergy should regain their power and wealth, they would become as fanatic and persecuting as heretofore.† The in-

fessor of Philosophy, of the university, of Jena, who was formerly a Benedictine in the convent of Banz, from whence, happily for himself, and for that philosophy which he cultivates with success, he escaped. Nevertheless, these monks of Banz passed for the luminaries of Catholic Germany. The excess of their superstition would scarcely obtain credit, were it not related by an eye-witness, who was long the victim of it.

* It is grateful to me to be able to instance a striking exception. All Europe will join me in naming the illustrious Elector Archchancellor of Dalberg, whom history will record among the best of princes; who is proudly claimed by the sciences; and who fills a station in the literary world, analogous to that which his high dignity secures him in the political.

† Every year in the service of Holy Thursday, the Pope

trigues of the Catholic party to bring back the princes of the reformed party to the Roman communion, would be deserving of being known; such, for example, as those they put in practice with the Elector of Saxony, and with Queen *Christiana*, of Sweden. The evil disposition towards those sovereigns who remain separated from Rome is very visible; and, to this day,* the Holy See has not formally acknowledged

still excommunicates and curses all the heretics, and particularly the Lutherans, in these terms: "Nosigitur, vetustum et solemnem hunc morem sequentes, excommunicamus et anathematizamus ex parte Dei omnipotentis, Patres et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, ac nostrâ, omnes hereticos, nec non damnatum, impiam et abominabilem Martini Lutheri hærasin sequentes, ac omnes fautores et receptatores, librosque ipsius Martini aut quorumvis aliorum legentes, et generaliter quoslibet defensores." (Buller Magn. Luxemb. 1741, T. I. p. 718.) Who would have thought, after even the most zealous Catholics had blamed the impolitic revocation of the edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV. that a prince should still be found in Europe capable of resolving on a proceeding so inhuman and so fatal to his states. The Archbishop of Salzbourg, Baron of Firmain, in the year 1732, afflicted his country with a similar desolation. After unheard-of persecutions exercised on those who were not Catholics, he at length ordered them to quit their country, to the number of 30,000, without daring to carry anything away, or to take their families with them. Such an emigration exhausted this small territory. The unhappy fugitives were received by the Protestant states of Europe, who provided for their subsistence: a great part of them went to people and clear districts in North America, where the descendents of these Salzbourgian emigrants are still to be met with.

* The reigning Pope has just declared, in a brief addressed to Prince Ruspoli, that he ought to be considered as the supreme head of all the orders of knighthood: in this he has been guided by the example of his predecessors. In the thirteenth century, when the Teutonic Knights had conquered Ducal Prussia, and established themselves in it as sovereigns, Innocent IV. declared by a bull, dated 1243, that this conquest belonged, of right to his see. His words are as follows; "Terram Prussicæ . . . in jus et proprietatem B. Petre suscipimus, et eam sub speciali apostolicæ sedis protectione ac defensione perpetuis temporibus permanere sancimus . . ." (Acta Borussica. T. I. p. 423). A sovereignty so well acquired, will not be willingly abandoned. When the Electors of Brandenburg took the title of Kings of Prussia, and all the powers of Europe, with the exception of

the King of Prussia. Long after the reformation, *Clement VIII.* prepared the form of an oath to be taken by the

Spain, acknowledged them in that quality, Pope Clement XI. exclaimed loudly, and wrote to every prince to rouse him against the unheard-of temerity of the Marquis of Brandenburg. In the brief of the 16th April, 1701, addressed to the King of France, are the following passages. "Etsi nobis persuasum sit, majest. tuam nullo modo probare consilium, deterimo in christianâ republicâ exemplo, a Friderico marchione Brandenburgensi susceptum, dum regium nomen publice usurpare præsumpsit . . . factum hujus modi apostolicarum sanctionum dispositioni contrarium, et hujus sanctæ sedis auctoritati injuriosum, . . . ex quo scilicet sacra regalis dignitas ab homine acatholico non sine ecclesia contemptu assumitur, et quidem marchio se regem dicere non dubitat ejus partis Prussiæ, quæ ad militarem teutonorum ordinem antiquo jure pertinet; nos rem silentio præterrire non possumus, ne muneri nostro deesse videamur . . . expetimus, ne videlicet regio honores illi tribuas, qui illorum numero nimis incaute se junxit, quos increpat simul et reprobatur sermo ille divinus: ipsi regnaverunt et non ex me, principes existerunt et non cognovi . . ." And in the Oraciones consistor. Clementis XI. it is seen that this Pope, giving an account of this event, and of his bull to the college of cardinals, relates, "that the Margrave Frederick has arrogated to himself the title of king in a manner at once impious and unheard-of among Christians; it being well known that, according to the pontifical laws, an heretic prince should rather lose his ancient dignities, than acquire a new one." Is not this the language and the principles of Hildebrand, the same pretensions, the same abuse of passages of the Bible, singularly applied to modern times? It might, perhaps, be supposed that the Holy See had afterwards retracted this protestation, and acknowledged a monarch who treats his Catholic subjects with an exemplary equality of rights. Nothing less. When, in 1782, Pius VI. took a journey to Germany, a Prussian minister used some endeavours with him to obtain a formal recognition of the crown of Prussia, Pius, who, at that time, did not wish to embroil himself with a German prince, answered politely, and promised that, on his return to Rome, he would assemble a congregation of cardinals, without whom he could not come to any determination, to deliberate on the subject. This congregation has never been called, and the Pope has forgotten his promise. The pontifical calendar, printed at Rome, with the approbation and privilege of the Holy Father, has continued, as before, to make no mention either of the kingdom or the duchy of Prussia, nor even of the electorate of Brandenburg. In the genealogical

bishops and archbishops, in which are laid down all the principles of despotism and intolerance of Rome.* Without pre-

table of this house, (1783) the great Frederick is thus described: Charles Frederick, (Marchese,) Marquis; a title so trifling at Rome as to be ridiculous. Prince Henry of Prussia is described as brother to the Marquis. Neither is there any mention of an electorate of Hanover in this calendar. In general, everything determined on by the odious treaty of Westphalia, is of no value at Rome. The thundering bull of Innocent X. against this instrument of peace to the Christian people is well known; and his successors have, from time to time, renewed these anathemas. In this respect, the pontifical court lives outlawed in the midst of Europe, and is separated from the political communion. In 1782, on occasion of some differences relating to the Prussian part of the diocese of Cologne, the King of Prussia relied on an article of this celebrated treaty; the Pope replied, in unqualified terms, that the treaty of Westphalia was of no value to him, and could not bind him in any manner, not having been acknowledged by his see; "Non può valutarsi a quest' oggetto la separazione che si suppone satta in virtù dell' art. V. della Pace Westphalica; giacche è noto, che la S. Sede non ha mai riconosciuta questa Pace contro di cui Innocenzo X. si protestò, non solo in voce . . . ma anche con due sue costituzioni . . . così permetera che il S. Padre non convenga in una ragione la quale s' opporebbe a tutto ciò." This letter is well known in Berlin. The same calendar of state, quoted above, under the head of the population of Rome, enumerates also the foreigners, and amongst the rest, states "Heretics, Turks, and other Infidels about 100!"—These are recent facts; and a thousand others might be brought forward. I ask every impartial judge if they are of a nature to inspire a very great confidence in the voluntary amendment of the system of the pontifical court and of the spirit of papism?

* "Fidelis et obediens ero domino nostro papæ, ejusque successoribus. Consilium quod mihi tradituri sunt nemini pandam, Patrum Romanum et regalia S. Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum contra omnem hominem. Jura, honores, privilegia et auctoritatem S. Rom. ecclesiæ, domini nostri papæ et successorum, conservare, defendere, augere, promovere curabo. Quæ si talia a quibuscumque tractari vel procurari novero, quantum citius potero, significabo. Hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles eidem domino nostro, pro posse persequar." (Pontificale Romanum, Clem. VIII. Pontif. max. Jussu editum. Antwerp, 1627, p. 59.) A word more on the famous bull, *In Cæna Domini*, which contains the whole elixir of ultramontane orthodoxy, and in which are deposited the principles which make, and always

judice, what could be expected from such regulations? What would absolute popes have done, when supported by bigoted and jealous emperors, who would have been united in spirit and interest with Rome.

There is not anything, therefore more vague, more uncertain, more destitute of real foundation, than the assurance, gratuitously given by the antagonists of the reformation, that the renovation of knowledge would, insensibly, have corrected all the abuses in the church and in policy. We most assuredly see few traces of this pretended amelioration in the government of the ultramontane states, or of those who have remained most immediately subjected to the yoke of papism. What has, for several centuries, kept our neighbours, the Ottomans, with whom also we have so much commercial intercourse, in a barbarism similar to that of the Christian nations during the middle age? It is religious superstition; it is their muftis, their faquirs, their dervises, who have kept among them a dislike to true knowledge, and to philosophy. We occidentals had plenty of such opponents, and even worse than the orientals; we had an inquisition, which they have not, the terrible reign of which we should, perhaps have seen perpetuated to our days, but for the reformation. Charming road to a better state of things! In the sixteenth century, some of the European states, and a great number of indivi-

will make, the secret basis of the conduct of the Holy See. This bull, written in 1610 by Paul V. and promulgated in 1627, by Urban VIII. is a complete collection of the anathemas issued centuries ago against those who are refractory to the orders of the vicar of J. C. It excommunicates heretics, schismatics, pirates, and corsairs; all who dare to appeal to a future council against the bulls and briefs of the Pope, princes who establish new taxes without the permission of the Pope; those who make treaties of alliance with Turks or Heretics; those who complain to the secular judges against the wrongs and injuries received from the court of Rome, etc. etc. These revolting terms were long the law in the Roman dominion, and even in some provinces of France, such as Roussilon and Cerdagne, until, at length, the courageous M. de Cappot, advocate-general to the superior council of Roussilon, in the month of March, 1763, took measures against this abuse of the ecclesiastical power, and put a stop to the annual publication of the bull. See the work entitled *Jurisprudence du grand-conseil examinae dans les maximes du royaume, Avignon, 1775.*

duals, thought it right to take another. The Catholic princes, agents of Rome, endeavoured to deprive them of that liberty. They waged a war of extermination against the Protestants who could take up arms: they burnt and massacred, with incredible fury, those who could not. They then exclaimed: "See, of how many evils are those refractory wretches the cause! What a flame have they kindled in Europe! They are guilty of all their blood which we have shed, of all the scaffolds which we have prepared for them!" Strange recriminations, which many people have given, and still do give credit to; so easy is it to dose in the career of an established order of things which has endured for centuries! And since the order established in the sixteenth century was supported by a double power, by the secular arm, and by religious fanaticism, which would neglect nothing to maintain it, it is very evident that time would not have produced a salutary change, without a commotion, at least equal to that which took place.

Is not this mode of considering what might have happened and what has not happened, in some respects a description of the influence which the reformation has had on the state of things in Europe? But let us examine more in detail, what its positive results have been.

PART II.

INFLUENCE OF THE REFORMATION.

FIRST HEAD.

*On the Political Situation of the States of Europe.**Mens Agitat Molem.*

The active power of thought is superior to the inert power of a mass.

BEFORE the reformation, Europe was, in general, subject to two powers, the spiritual and the temporal. On the one hand, the head of the church extended his authority and his pretensions over every state indiscriminately; on the other, a great number of bishops and prelates had become temporal sovereigns of the flocks, which, at first, were entrusted to their spiritual guidance, and there was not any country in which the clergy, high and low, secular and regular, did not possess considerable wealth and privileges, and enjoy great authority. The church constituted a powerful body which pressed hard upon the political bodies, and, in a greater or less degree, influenced their existence. Hence every remarkable alteration in the church occasioned a change in the political order; now a revolution which had commenced in the domain of religion, must have exerted its first influence on the church. It is therefore natural to treat first of this, as well with regard to itself and its head, as to its relations, and those of its members, with the different governments; next we shall examine what influence the reformation, considered in a political point of view, has exercised on the states of Europe, both Protestant and Catholic; finally, we shall take an historical view of the system of equilibrium introduced into Europe since that epocha, of its variations, and of the powers which have alternately acted the principal parts in it, until the period at which the influence of the reformation on it ceased.

SECT. I.

Of the Church in itself, and in its Political Relations.

The popes lose half the empire, more than half Switzerland, all Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and England, the rich tributes which flowed from these countries to Rome cease entirely. The credit of the sovereign pontiff with all these Christian powers is annihilated. Still if it had only been a new irruption of barbarians, an earthquake, an inundation, or, in short, any physical cause which had ravished these delightful possessions from the Holy See! But it was an active force, a dangerous epidemy, which produced such evils to it. It was nations and princes, who of their own free will, through conviction, had dared, to withdraw themselves in this manner from the pontifical authority. The example was to be dreaded, both at the time present, and for the time to come. It was easy to foresee that sooner or later this example would be universally followed. The church which had seceded from Rome, subsisted with decency and honour; religion, the gospel, morals were respected in it; the rights which had been arrogated by Rome were allowed their just value in it; good writings on this subject were everywhere disseminated; they were even read in the Catholic countries, and produced an effect on them; and even on the steps of the pontifical throne, more than one ironical sneer contemned the Tiara. It was this which rendered the wound deep and incurable, and which the popes would not suffer themselves, at first, to believe, in all its extent. Even after this terrible blow, the pride of *Hildebrand* and the vices of *Borgia* were seen, for an instant, in the Christian world. But at length, time and hard experience have convinced them of their real situation; they are resigned, at least in appearance, to the station of humility and of submission which has ever since been their lot among the powers of the earth. The Catholic sovereigns, on their part, have from that time considered the pope as a political spring, to bring into action for the accomplishment of their designs, and as a means for converting the credulity of their subjects to their own benefit: hence the conduct held to him; but the apparent respect has since then been only idle etiquette. It is too well known that the Vatican is but an extinguished volcano. The spontaneous acts of Rome have had no effect, while a simple courier, secretly expedited from Paris, Vienna, or Lisbon, to this ancient capital of the world, procured, sometimes a bull for the extinc-

tion of a religious order, sometimes a reform, sometimes a regulation, so many proofs of submission given by the weak successor of so many arrogant pontiffs, who only purchases his precarious existence at the price of every complaisance which is required of him.

So considerable a portion of the riches and credit of Rome having disappeared, the excessive luxury, the flatterers, the parasites also disappeared by degrees. This gave birth to a reform of manners, to a change of life, which was become quite indispensable to the Roman clergy. Those of the Protestant Church were, in general, poor, learned, and exemplary. So many eyes opened upon the contrast of the two bodies, created an imperious necessity for lessening it, and even for removing it wholly. Besides the Popes and all the members of the Roman clergy, living in their time, and participating in their lights, would, themselves, have blushed at a conduct similar to that of many of their predecessors. Those particularly who have filled the functions of pastors in times nearer to our own, have generally lived in the exercise of the most eminent virtues. The head and the clergy of the Romish church have, in a great measure, become what they always ought to have been. It is very true that this church has commenced a reform; but it is also true that this reform is only an immediate consequence, and perhaps, a compulsory one, of that effected by *Luther*, who, in this view of it, must also be considered as the reformer of the Catholic clergy.

What has been just said of the weakness and humiliation of the Roman clergy, must not, as has been already observed, be understood of the time immediately subsequent to the reformation. Since the political troubles which arose in Europe, in consequence of it, had all a religious character, and originated in religious disputes, it is natural that the ecclesiastics should act an important part in them, and that princes should consider them as necessary agents in these affairs, and employ their counsels and their ministry.

In fact, during this period, we find a number of churchmen holding the principal situations, and becoming of weight in the state. The famous Council of Trent, which occupied and agitated every court, from 1545 to 1563, also rendered ecclesiastics indispensable in the cabinets of their sovereigns. On the other hand, the high opinion at that time entertained of the refined politics of the Roman court, was a prejudice very favourable to priests of every description. The political importance which was acquired by some members of the clergy,

could not but affect the whole body in a degree, and doubtless the church is indebted to it for the consolidation and maintenance of many of the rights which it would have lost from that time. Many of the violent measures entered into by sovereigns, and of which the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries offers numerous examples, also arose, without doubt, from the inquisitorial zeal of such counsellors. Nevertheless some of these priest-ministers conducted themselves more as servants of the state, than as servants of the altar, and the minister sometimes got the better of the priest. At length, this last period of sacerdotal importance vanished. It was annihilated in an instant, after the treaty of Westphalia, where religion ceased to be the main-spring of politics, and the action of governments was directed by other principles; such, for example, as a financial and commercial spirit, the influence of which still continues, and may continue for a length of time.

To the same motives may be attributed the rapid elevation and immense credit of the new order of Jesuits, who, born by the side of Protestantism, and, at the same time, were destined from their birth to combat and counterbalance it. These new soldiers of the church, constituted in a much more formidable manner than the army of mendicants, raised in the barbarous ages, and inventors of a system of tactics much more suitable to the spirit of the new one, did everything for the enfeebled church which could be hoped for from human powers, directed by the most profound prudence, zeal, perseverance, genius, and a combination of talents. They got possession of courts, of nations, of confessionals, of pulpits, of the education of youth, of missions, and of the deserts of the two worlds. Nothing appeared to them impossible in extending the dominion of the Holy See to places where it did not exist, or in consolidating it where it was still maintained. In pursuit of this object they dreaded neither persecutions nor calumnies. Represented as ambitious, fomenters of troubles, corrupt men, and even, as regicides, by their adversaries, they opposed the stoical severity of their lives, their services, and their studious austerity, to these accusations. This is not the place to enter into the detail of the movements produced in the politics of Europe by this celebrated society, the influence of which arose only from the reaction of Catholicism against the reform. It is sufficient to observe, that if the latter could have sunk, and experienced a counter-revolution, the Jesuits would doubtless have effected the great work. So far from this, that the enemy, whom they

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selves they could crush, gave them the mortal
blow of modern times declared against the spiri-
t of Rome, and, formed by the reformation into an
effective power, has reduced those audacious defenders of
papism to a nonentity. To consummate, and, at the same
time, to bear testimony to the humiliation of his party, it was
necessary that the pope himself should be compelled to dis-
card them. A victim to the general spirit of humanity, which
in its progressive advancement decrees the ruin of every in-
stitution inimical to it, *Ganganelli* signing with humid eye
the bull for the extinction of the Jesuits, was only the pre-
cursor of the unfortunate *Louis XVI*, who, in less than
twenty years after, was forced to send away his army, his
nobility, his guards. Whoever reflects on history cannot
withhold admiration from a society which has constantly
shown such courage, concert, perseverance, and address in
its plans: while acknowledging the ill it may have done, he
will be unable to avoid doing justice to all of great or useful
which it has produced. Its radical vice, and the principle
of its destruction, lay in the institution itself. Destined to
support the edifice of the hierarchy, which imperceptibly
mouldered away, on every side, the hand of time, and opinion
which guides it, must necessarily overturn this last rampart,
attached to a vast ruin which nothing could uphold.*

The aspect of the clergy in the countries which have adopt-
ed the reform, is totally different, its members do not wish
to be other than what they can, and ought to be, the ministers
of the word of God, the guardians of the public morals.
Freed from all obedience foreign to the country from which
they receive their stipend, become husbands, fathers, citizens;
they have no longer any interest but that of the state in which

* Some individuals, animated by a blind zeal, still make
weak and vain efforts to revive the order of Jesuits. They will
not succeed. A moral impossibility opposes them. Their order
was a natural product of the time in which it arose; to the pre-
sent time, it can only be a foreign and parasitical plant, which
must wither for want of nourishment. Our age cannot acknow-
ledge the sons of Loyola for its children. A few retreats, in
which their feeble remains may be concealed, where they may
secretly propagate superannuated principles, will be their only
reliance. They must never more quit them to domineer over
opinion, and through it, over the world; it is opinion which
will wound them there, and will change even the spirit of their
sectaries.

they live. They are appointed either by the prince, or by the magistrate, or by the people: *Luther* brought the Saxon church, in what relates to its internal government, to the democracy of the first age, and the hierarchy to a moderate system of subordination. The churches which have followed *Calvin* are still more democratically constituted. But the clergy no longer form a civil corporation in any of them. Some public marks of honour and deference are the only privileges of the ministers. According to the words of their master they give unto *Cæsar* that which is *Cæsar's*, by rendering unto God that which they owe him. The abolition of auricular confession* cuts off, at one stroke, the infinite ramifications by which the hierarchical despotism had taken root in all parts, and deprives the clergy of their incalculable influence over princes, grandees, and women, and over all families.

The constitution of the church, in Denmark, in Sweden, and more especially in England, has continued more conformable in appearance to the Roman hierarchy, for reasons peculiar to these three countries, and which are to be found in their history. One of the principal was the attachment of their sovereigns to the system of episcopal subordination, which they thought more favourable to their authority. The Puritans, Presbyterians, and others, had given sufficient indications of republicanism, to alarm their princes for the consequences of this spirit, so nearly connected with that of Protestantism. The favourite motto of the *Stuarts*, "No Bishop, no King," is well known. Thus these kingdoms have retained Protestant bishops, who enjoy moderate revenues, and some civil prerogatives attached to their situations, as being members of the states, or of the House of Peers, etc. But these prerogatives are individual, and it would be wrong to suppose from this circumstance, that the clergy still forms a distinct order in these nations.† In some parts of Germany

* It is necessary to guard against blending the auricular confession of the Roman Catholics, with the particular confession, still in use with some Protestants. They are two very different things, which scarcely have any resemblance to each other, except in name.

† It is useless to notice the only two evangelical bishops of Germany, that of Osnaburgh, and that of Lubeck. These two bishoprics have been secularized in favour of the houses which have long possessed them.

the principal guardians of worship are called *general superintendents*. Ecclesiastical affairs are discussed by tribunals, called *consistories*. They are established by the prince, and it is by no means uncommon for their president to be a layman; as, for example, in the free towns, it is the syndic of the senate.

The Protestant princes have everywhere become the supreme heads of the church. This circumstance has contributed greatly to the increase of power which has followed the reformation in most of the governments of Europe, and which may be considered as a consequence of its influence. In the Protestant countries, the immense vacuum occasioned by the sudden cessation of all ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction, was immediately filled by the civil power, which increased in proportion. In the Catholic countries, the church, terrified and menaced, also gave some ground to the authority of government. The wars, both civil and external, which, in most states, were the consequence of the religious animosity, in the end, enabled princes to render their power unlimited, as will be shown in speaking of each state in particular.

A proximate consequence of the reformation, and of the oppositions, the actions, and reactions, it set in motion, was also the establishment of various sects of Christianity as *dominant religions* in the countries where they had taken root. Formerly, when only one communion was known, such an idea could not have existed. Papism governed by its own power, and not by the law. When heretics were persecuted, it was not by a law of the state, but by a requisition from the Pope, to whom the prince gave his aid. One effect of the reciprocal jealousy and opposition of these sects was to exclude from all the places of state, and frequently, even from the throne, all who did not profess the same faith, or had not the same creed, as that adopted by the bulk of the nation and by the government. From this legal arrangement arose a new species of intolerance, which, hitherto, had remained unknown, and which was established in the different Protestant communions, as well as among the Catholics. Hence the revocation of the edict of Nantes and the civil disability which weighed so heavily on every citizen of a confession different from that which was predominant. In some Catholic countries this disability amounted to a civil death. A reformist could not possess goods in his own right, nor bequeath them, nor marry, nor have legitimate children; happy if he was not hunted by dragoons, and did not perish by their hands, or by those of the executioner: for it must be confessed that the

Catholic states pushed this intolerance much further than the most intolerant reformists.

Finally, there are very few of the states of Europe that have adhered to the Holy See, in which it has retained all its prerogatives. Venice and Portugal have always shown themselves refractory; and so has Spain at times. A multitude of Protestants, Socinians, and Dissenters of every confession, have sprung up in Poland, Hungary, and Austria. It has been the same in the ecclesiastical principalities of Germany. In France, besides a very great number of individuals who have adopted the reform, the kings and the parliaments have on many occasions, shown themselves but little favourable to the ultramontane pretensions; and, in more instances than one, the monarchs have threatened Rome to follow the example of *Henry VIII.* The courageous Gallican church has had more than one worthy successor of *Gerson* and *Richer*; and it has required great management to keep it an integral part of the patrimony of *St. Peter.* The council assembled at Trent to reconcile all the church of Christ, only marked its divisions more strongly. This assembly issued a multiplicity of decrees which the greater part of the Catholic states did not adopt without great modifications, and which soon fell into disuse, for want of a power to enforce their execution. This council, which was to reinstate the Popes, produced *Sarpi's* book, which has done them more harm than ten councils can remedy. *M. de Marca*, Archbishop of Toulouse, in his *Traité de concordia sacerdotii et imperii*, and more especially *M. de Honthiem*, suffragan Bishop of Treves, in his work* published under the feigned name of *Justinius Febronius*, have completed what *Sarpi* so happily began. The successive efforts of the Christian states to attain independence, are connected by an uninterrupted chain with those of the first reformers. Thus we must consider, as consequences of the same influence, the reforms attempted, and, in part, effected, in the clergy of Austria by *Joseph II.*; as well as the total dispossession of the clergy of France, and its political annihilation by the constituent assembly; and, finally, the general secularization which has been lately effected in Catholic Germany.† It is obvious how easy it would be to show that the

* *De statu Ecclesiæ et legitima potestate Romani Pontificis. A conciliandos dissidentes in Religione christianos.* Bullioni, 1763.

† More terrible attacks perhaps still await the Papal authority and the Roman clergy, in this country. What friend of know-

remote source of these great events is in the reformation, which alone, as is very evident, could have made them possible; and that the fall of the Roman clergy, which began at that time, has only been completed in our days.

SECT. II.

On the principal Christian States.

HERE a double point of view manifestly offers itself; that of the interior situation of the different states in themselves, and that of the exterior situation in respect of each other. The first must exhibit the proportion of their strength; that of their prosperity; the power of their princes; the liberty of the people: the second relates solely to the system of equilibrium introduced into Europe since the reformation.

FIRST POINT OF VIEW.

Internal Situation of the States.

THE influence of the reformation has been more perceptible on the states in which it arose, and acquired consistence, than on those which have not adopted it. It therefore appears natural to begin here with the former.

And in the first place, let us attend to their common destinies, as *Protestant states*.

I. PROTESTANT STATES.

THE immense sums which, under every name and pretext, these states sent continually to Rome, and which exhausted their currency, have ceased to leave the country: they circulate in it; they give a new activity to commerce and industry;

ledge and of humanity but observes with interest the measures taken in Bavaria by an enlightened and benevolent prince, who will regenerate this fine country, by promoting learning and industry at the expense of superstition and monarchism? May all his beneficent views be accomplished without opposition! The immortality which awaits him, the homage of every good man, the benedictions of his subjects, will be his certain recompense.

a new prosperity to the subjects; and an increase of strength to the government: while, on the other hand, public credit experiences temporary checks in them. Treasures are concealed or buried, from a dread of the future, the standard of coin is changed, emigrations become frequent, the insecurity which is a consequence of the uncertainty of a triumph of parties, lessens the credit of landed property! money being more transportable, is in greater estimation than it; but man, in himself, more particularly acquires a price superior to both of them; his intrinsic value being more useful is more felt, and becomes the most esteemed of all property.

This is one of the best effects of these terrible commotions which, deranging all rights, the offspring of social institutions, leaves, in their stead, only greatness of soul, virtue, and talents, the produce of nature alone.

The immense possessions of the clergy, as well secular as regular, are placed at the disposal of the governments. Most of them wisely turn this good fortune to advantage, pay their debts, fill their coffers, apply the property of whole abbies, and other ecclesiastical possessions, in useful establishments, in schools, universities, hospitals, orphan houses, dwellings, and rewards for the old servants of the state; measures, by which this property is restored to its primitive destination: and finally these governments are placed in a state to support the wars, in which every one sees that the existing crisis must inevitably plunge them. Some of them, however, dissipate the wealth they have acquired, without thought: others are obliged to leave the better part of it to the nobility, Denmark for instance, as will be noticed hereafter.

Governments not only dispose of the wealth of the church, but they also find that they have the disposition of the wealth, the persons, and all the strength of the people. The cause of religion is become that of every individual: the resources which this disposition offers to princes are incalculable. We have seen what it was able to effect in the first war against *Charles V.* and afterwards in the thirty years war against the two *Ferdinands*. What the most imminent danger of the state could not have obtained from the individuals of it, religious zeal brought about without difficulty; for it, artizans, tradesmen, farmers ran to arms; no one attempted to screen himself from the taxes though they had become triple their former amount. In the violent agitation in which the danger of their religion had put all minds, life and property were devoted, and the efforts and the burthen, which in a state of greater tranquillity, would have been insupportably distress-

ing, were not felt. The dread of an inquisition, of the scenes of St. Bartholomew, opened sources of power to the league of Smalcald, to the Prince of *Orange*, to Queen *Elizabeth*, to Admiral *Coligny*, which would have been closed in every other state of things.

When once a people of their own accord, enthusiastically, and for several successive generations, have made common cause with their princes, a public spirit of concert and harmony is produced between the people and the government, between the head and the members, which is salutary to the country, and is sometimes continued in it for ages. We cannot err with respect to this disposition in the Protestant nations, if we examine them narrowly; and the histories of them, that of Prussia in particular, exhibit many instances wherein it was manifested.

But if through his quality of head of the church, and through the confidence of his people, a Protestant prince acquires more stability and more authority, the very nature of the event which puts this new power into his hands, requires that he should make the most legitimate and most equitable use of it. He has only acquired power to serve and to defend the nation, not to oppress it. The most accurate observers have noticed, that nature has particularly fitted the people of the North to be republicans; and it cannot be denied that several of those who have embraced the reformation have always been actuated by this spirit, as for example, the Saxons, the Swiss, the Dutch, and the English: it may even be said, that the reformation itself was only a positive application of it. This shock in its turn, awakened all the energy and the accessory ideas of it. The will to be free in matters of conscience, is, at the bottom, the same as the will to be free in civil matters. Now this will can accomplish all that is required, and there are no slaves, but those who wish to be so, or who have not the strength of will to put an end to it. The energy of men's minds at length constitutes true liberty, as their effeminacy makes tyranny necessary. The calm and sober sentiment of the high dignity of man, is the only solid foundation of true republicanism; it is by it alone that equality of rights, and reciprocity of duties are established. Christianity, in the purity of its essence, inspires this sentiment; for which reason it is very common and general, in the evangelical countries. The constitution of England has been much admired, I shall not dispute on its value; but that which renders this uncouth constitution so good, is the patriotism, the dignity, the inde-

pendence of the peasant, the citizen, the gentleman of England. Introduce the sentiments of slaves into all those hearts which now swell with freedom, and you will soon see the use of this fine palladium of a constitution. Prussia and Denmark have no parliaments, nor any visible barriers to the royal authority, yet they enjoy the most admirable liberty, but there, the invisible barriers are in the mind, even in that of the prince, nursed and trained in the spirit which animates the nation; they are in the great simplicity of manners, the most remote from luxury and pride. There we see powerful princes habited like their subjects, going like them on foot or in a plain carriage, without attendants, without etiquette; during their youth, simple officers in the national army which they are one day destined to command. What modern state can boast of a king like the immortal *Frederick II.*? what nations of a union of princes so distinguished and so wise, as the Protestant nations of Germany? Sweden instances with pride the four *Gustavuses*. Two extraordinary women, *Elizabeth* and *Catharine* have filled thrones in Europe during the last centuries; both of them were reared in the principles of Protestantism. Finally, can France forget the best of her kings, and the best minister of that king, were both disciples of the reform.

Having spoken of this disposition of the public spirit amongst the Protestants, ought I to notice here the progress they have made in the science of legislation, and the other sciences connected with it, such as administration, statistics, &c.? or, should I reserve these considerations for the section in which I am to treat of the progress of knowledge?

The uncertainty which I feel in this respect proves that everything that concerns man, in society, has a very intimate connection, and that the great business of his liberty depends very closely upon the true culture of his mind.

It will be therefore sufficient to observe that the ecclesiastical authority being, before the reformation, closely interwoven with the civil authority, in many places, and wholly blended with it in many others, it was impossible to probe and discuss the rights of the one, without the examination being extended to the rights of the other. It was asked, by what authority the popes claimed the power of setting up, and dethroning kings: this naturally led to an inquiry into the first authority by which the kings were instituted. These respective rights of the church and the state being brought into discussion, it was not impossible to touch on this important ques-

tion, without a speedy recurrence to the rights of the people. It was found that society, considered as a religious union, that is to say, as a church, had a right of choosing its ministers, and fixing its creed: it was very easy to conclude from this, that, with regard to its political union, it had also a right to elect its own magistrates, and to give itself a new constitution. The emperor opposed the new religious creed; it was therefore asked, whether in matters of belief the emperor ought to be obeyed. In 1531, the faculty of right, and that of theology of the university of Wittemberg unanimously replied in the negative. From thenceforward, there was nothing but debates on the limits of obedience due to sovereigns, and on those of the resistance which might be offered to them. *Zwingle* pronounced his severe *cum Deo potest deponi* against the oppression. Before Luther, such a language had never been loudly and explicitly heard in Europe. He dared to speak great truths, and he led the way for many others.* The writings of the first reformers on politics mostly breathe this spirit. When the long wars of Germany and Flanders were terminated, the same spirit was developed in some excellent work still received as classical, and in which the rights of the two powers, those of the princes, and the people; those of political bodies with each other, are discussed with spirit and precision, very different both from the ancient spirit of the schools, and the demagogic exaggeration of the eighteenth century. Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Eng-

* In his book, *de la guerre contre les Turcs*, Luther himself says, "No one had yet taught or understood; no one knew any thing concerning the secular power, neither whence it came, nor what was its office, nor how it could be agreeable to God. The best informed held the temporal power and authority to be worldly and profane, nay, pagan and impious, and a state of danger of salvation. In a word, good princes and lords (being otherwise so disposed to piety) considered their state and dignity as less than nothing, and in no respect agreeable to God; and therefore became true priests and monks, though without cap and cowl. Moreover the pope and clergy, were all in all, over all and everything, like God himself, in the world; and the civil authority was in darkness, oppressed and misunderstood. At present I am reproached with being seditious; although I have (by the grace of God) written wisely and usefully on the secular power, so as has not been done by any teacher since the time of the Apostles, (unless perhaps St. Augustine;) this I can say with a safe conscience, and the world can testify it."

land, even France, in which the reform had spread considerably, although the government did not adopt it, produced a number of similar writings about this period. Some of the principal ones will be noticed in one of the articles of the second section.

The reformation, therefore, which, at first, was only a return to liberty in the order of religious affairs, became, for all these reasons, also a return to liberty in the political system. Princes relied on this liberty, they sought it, and embraced it, as well as their subjects. For this reason the Protestant sovereigns have constantly held a different language towards their people; they have professed other principles of liberality and humanity, than the Catholic sovereigns, their cotemporaries. Their people have been long familiarized to the language and the principles of reason; they know that it is the basis of their government, and they are accustomed to the discussion of their interests and their rights, which produces no emotion in them; the liberty of thinking and writing is as natural to them as the air they breathe. This may induce a reasonable belief that a political revolution, similar to that of France, is not practicable in the states which are not Catholic; the most essential results of such a revolution are already completely established in them, and cupidity cannot now be stimulated by the possessions of the church. Consequently there are no people more submissive to their princes and to the laws of their country than the Protestants, because these laws are conceived in a right spirit; princes and subjects are equally patriots and republicans, and every one knows by experience the moderate medium proper to be kept between speculative democracy and practical democracy.

It is asserted that, at first, *Francis I.* appeared very favourable to the doctrine of the reformers of the church.* His beloved sister *Margaret*, Queen of Navarre, protected it publicly. At that instant, the fate of the kingdom depended on the party which he should embrace. If he had adopted the reform, all France would have followed his example: the fate of Protestantism, in Europe, would have been sooner decided; the civil wars in France would doubtless not have taken place, nor would the revolution of the eighteenth century. Everything assumed a contrary aspect, because the prince

* He even wrote to Melancthon to request him to come to Paris. Melancthon was unable to comply with this request, because the Elector of Saxony refused his permission.

conceived lively apprehensions of the political consequences of the reformation. *Brantome* relates that one day, in a conversation on this subject, the king accidentally said, "That this novelty tended principally to the overthrow of monarchy, both divine and human."* In fact, this prince showed, in the end, an irreconcilable hatred to Protestantism, of which his successors inherited too much: the lesson remains.

But if *Francis I.* thought in this manner, is it not permitted to take his opinion for an authority, and to consider the establishment of the French republic as a remote, but necessary, corollary to the reformation, as the republic of the United Provinces was a proximate corollary, and that of America another, nearer than ours?

In some of the extravagant sects which arose from the reformation, such as that of the Anabaptists, we may observe the same pretensions to absolute equality and liberty, as occasioned all the excesses of the Jacobins of France: the agrarian law, the pillage of the rich, made part of their creed, and *war with the castles, and peace to the cottages*, might have been inscribed on their ensigns. At first these enthusiasts gave great uneasiness to the princes of Germany. *Luther* was much hurt at their excesses, and frequently reproached himself with having, though innocently, given rise to them. However they were soon repressed. England was not so soon freed from the disturbance of its Presbyterians and Independents, as will be seen in the article relating to that power, in the detail to which we are about to proceed.

It may be added, that all the Protestant princes and states benefited more or less by the labour and industry of a multitude of the proscribed, who emigrated from the Catholic countries, where they were persecuted, as happened particularly to the Protestants of France, at the revocation of the edict of Nantes; while the Catholics, tranquil and tolerated, under the dominion of the Protestants, never thought of quitting and impoverishing their native land.

* Did not Francis I. imbibe this opinion from ecclesiastical insinuations? This king, (says the president Henault, under the year 1534) complaining of the pope to his nuncio, wished to make him fear the example of Henry VIII. to which the nuncio replied: "Truly, sire, you will be the first sufferer; a new religion given to a nation requires afterwards only the change of the prince." Francis might have replied, that neither Henry VIII. nor Gustavus Vasa, nor any of the Saxon princes, were dethroned, after having embraced the reform.

We may also observe, that in the Protestant countries, agriculture and industry were enriched by the suppression of numerous holidays, lost to labour in Catholic countries, and which are, in reality, negative quantities, that diminish, by all their amount, the aggregate of national industry and riches.

Germany.

Before the reformation, the German empire was an irregular aggregate of states, which chance, convenience, or events had united into an ill-formed confederation, the constitution of which was a true chaos. The individual forces of these different states, without direction, without unity, were almost a nullity as confederate forces, and incapable of acting externally. The *Golden Bull*, a strange production of the fourteenth century, fixed, it is true, some of the relations of the head with the members; but nothing was less clear than the public right of all these independent, though united states. The personal character and power of the emperor were generally the only motives which decided the degree of respect paid to him by the other princes. During the long reign of the indolent *Frederick III.*, called the *Pacific*, who slept on the imperial throne from 1440 to 1492, this throne lost nearly all its consequence. *Maximilian I.*, notwithstanding all the efforts he employed, had much difficulty in restoring it. Among the most powerful of the electors and other princes, there was not a single one sufficiently so to make himself respected externally. They all lived at home, more like private gentlemen and fathers of families than like sovereigns, and were scarcely anything more than the richest proprietors in their provinces. There was no likelihood that any of the reigning families would raise themselves from this general lethargy above the rest. Each prince divided his states among his children, who were often very numerous, which, instead of strengthening, weakened the dynasties. None of the lands were indivisible but those particularly attached to the electoral dignity. From these divisions, and from other causes, wars between prince and prince, troubles and disorders, frequently arose, which were not put an end to without much difficulty. The younger branches, who were worst provided for, and the lords, frequently gave themselves up to depredations, which at present would meet with extreme punishment, but to which, in those times, a kind of chivalrous honour was attached. Nothing can be weaker

than a body thus constituted. They met in diet, it is true, to deliberate on their common concerns; but Frederick, during more than half a century, which he reigned, had never appeared there, and Maximilian, his son, seldom came, except to ask for money, of which he was always in want, for the execution of his numerous projects. If, during the first years of Frederick's reign, the Turk, at that time the irreconcilable enemy of all Christianity, had not planted the crescent in Europe, and incessantly menaced the empire with invasion, it is not easy to judge how the feeble bond which united this body could have remained unbroken. The terror inspired by Mahomet II. and his ferocious troops, was the first common interest which obliged the princes of Germany to form a more solid connection with each other, round the imperial throne.

It was in these circumstances that Charles, already in the possession of the flourishing kingdom of Spain, of part of Italy, of the states of the houses of Burgundy and Austria, acceded to this throne. The boundless power of this new emperor soon occasioned an inquietude in most of the states for their future existence, which was menaced by the ambition of their young chief. The reformation offered them a rallying point, new powers, and the possibility of forming a respectable opposition; they embraced it, as much from political motives as from religious persuasion. Charles V. did not embrace it, and, on his part, saw only in it the fortunate event, which, furnishing him with the pretext and the right to combat the new opposition with all his power, offered the most desirable opportunity of accomplishing his designs without difficulty, and in a plausible manner. This is the main idea which forms the ground-work of the whole history of his reign. The Protestant princes and states entered into a solemn league, in a sort of peculiar diet, held at Smalcald, under the two most considerable princes of the league; Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony, the protector of Luther, and his first disciple among the sovereigns; and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, called the Generous. This league remained long in a menacing and independent attitude, in the presence of Charles. The continual attacks, as well of the French, the Venetians, the Milanese, and the popes, as of the Turks under Soliman II. and which gave the emperor sufficient employment in the south and east, prevented the rupture from taking place sooner. During this interval, the Protestants demanded concessions from the emperor, and Charles,

who required their assistance, was compelled to yield to most of them.

At length the moment arrived (in 1546, the very year of Luther's death, who had constantly endeavoured to prevent every sanguinary catastrophe) in which, being freed from his other enemies, Charles V. was enabled to engage in a contest with the party of the Protestants. At first he was successful; the strength and the military talents of the princes of the league were unequal to their courage; and the brilliant victory of Muhlberg, in the second year of the war, in which the principal of them were made prisoners, seemed to have put an end to it. But scarcely had Charles begun to enjoy his triumph when Maurice of Saxony snatched from him, by a blow as impossible to foresee as to guard against, the laurels he had so lately acquired, and nearly all those he had gained in his laborious career. The Saxon prince had very nearly made prisoner of the emperor himself, in Inspruck. The latter, by the peace signed at Passau, in 1552, strengthened more than ever the existence of the evangelical body, and saw the fine projects he had conceived for bringing Germany under his dominion, annihilated. The king of France, Henry II. who had assisted the Protestants in this war, publicly took the title of *Protector of the Germanic liberty, and avenger of the captive princes*. Assisted by these civil troubles in the empire, he also made himself master of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun. Charles V. did not lose an instant in hastening to retake these cities. He miscarried before Metz, and this was one of his last reverses.

Germany now ceased to be what it had been before this crisis. Its ancient indolence was changed into an active vigilance. The princes of the league had tried their strength, and acquired confidence in themselves. The general confederation, which continued to subsist, was composed of two opposite parties, jealous of each other, both possessed of a constitutional existence, mutually watching each other, and continually appearing ready to come to blows. This marked opposition, this reciprocal irritability became a new principle of life to the whole body, and developed all its powers. Notwithstanding the peace, (too sudden to be well secured,) the empire resembled the ocean after a tempest, the waves of which are still terrible. The universal agitation made a new rupture apparent, and it would certainly be an inexplicable phenomenon in history that this was retarded until 1618, if the personal characters of the three emperors who succeeded Charles V. did not assist us in penetrating the causes of it.

At length, Ferdinand II. on ascending the imperial throne, found that devastating war already commenced, which continued during all his reign and great part of that of his successor. Austria took advantage of its open rupture with the Protestant party, its frequent successes, and the presence of its armies, to annihilate in the archduchy, Silesia and Moravia, not only the privileges previously granted to numerous Protestants, who had oftener than once given uneasiness to their suspicious sovereigns, but also those privileges of the states which ameliorated their constitutions. She did the same in Bohemia and Hungary, where she not only destroyed all religious liberty, but also took possession of the inheritance to the crown, which had been formerly elective. The Austrian monarchs are indebted to the reformation for the definitive establishment of their real power within their states; the hope which they lost of ruling other states was certainly not so valuable to them as the real advantage of being absolute and uncontrolled masters of their own, and of acquiring, as patrimonial inheritances, two kingdoms, so inexhaustible in resources and natural riches. The fate of Bohemia was decided in 1620, after the bloody battle of Prague. That of Hungary, it is true, was not definitively settled until nearly sixty years later, but it was not the less an immediate consequence of the religious war, and of the oppression of the Protestant party in this country. After the treaty of Westphalia, the Austrian power retained no other internal weakening principle except the division of its possessions in Suabia, Belgium, and Italy, which by that means became too difficult to defend, as was very evident in her subsequent wars. The last which she had with France deprived her of these fine but burthensome domains. She has acquired others in Germany and Poland, which are much more agreeable to her real interests. Austria cannot longer conceive projects inimical to the liberty of Europe, because rivals, of too great weight, have sprung up around her, and confine her on all sides; but she may always hold an honourable rank among the principal powers, if she makes a wise use of the lessons of external degradation, and internal consolidation, taught her by the reformation.

During this long and cruel civil discord in the nations of Germany, the ancient bond which subsisted among them was never broken. Some of them were desirous that the whole should be Catholic; the others would remain Protestants; but nearly all of them wished to remain united with each other and with their head. Had the empire been divided into two

empires, these two weak confederations would have fallen a prey to the strongest, or to some stranger. On the contrary, experience has shown that the existence of an evangelical body, and its definitive organization, has become a salutary institution to the empire in general, and a strong security for its constitution; and, that both parties have an equal interest in guarding and supporting it. Even at the present day, when so many of its members have changed their form and their name, the life which supports the whole body will, in all probability, become the more active for it. Whatever may happen hereafter, all was disorder and disorganization in this extensive country before the reformation; since that, and through its influence, every state has become order and organization.

Protestant Germany subsisted at first by its federative force, with considerable equality between its principal members; and, as these states, with the exception of one, have not since been raised so as to produce any sensible influence on the political situation of the states of Europe, they may be passed over here in silence. That a succession of religious troubles has placed the house of Brunswick on the throne of Great Britain, is a circumstance of considerable interest in different points of view; but on the whole it rather concerns an individual house, than a state. The King of England being a member of the empire, has sometimes found greater facility in exciting the mass according to his interests; he has been enabled to draw some regiments from Hanover. But, if what the defence of this country, and the attachment of the kings of the house of Brunswick for their German states, has cost England, to be taken into the account; and if the sort of dependence on Prussia and France which this royal crown, by its amalgamation with the electorate, always must be in, and the state of humiliation to which it has sometimes been, consequently, reduced, be added to it, it will be acknowledged that the disadvantages are at least equal to the advantages. The true strength of England is in its riches, and its riches proceed from its fleets. Farther on we shall see what influence the reformation has had on the first development of this marine. A more important circumstance to the manner in which Germany is settled, was the establishment of the Prussian monarchy, the foundation of which was laid by the reformation. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Prussia was an ecclesiastical country, governed by the grand master of the Teutonic order. Albert of Brandenburg, who was grand master at that time, soon followed the example

which had been set him by more than one ecclesiastical prince. He secularized Prussia in 1525, and made it an hereditary duchy for himself and descendants, under the seignorage of the kings of Poland. He married and had children, and the last heiress of this branch, named Anne, espoused the hereditary prince, who was afterwards Elector of Brandenburg, by the name of John Sigismond. Prussia ceased to be a fief of Poland, in 1657, by the treaty of Wehlau, and definitively by that of Oliva, three years after. In 1701, it was erected into a kingdom, and has since raised itself to the rank of the first powers of Europe. It is very true that the future grandeur of the Prussian monarchs could not be foreseen at the time of the secularization of the duchy of Prussia; it is, however, equally true, that without this event, we should at present find an elector of Brandenburg, but not a king of Prussia among the sovereigns of Europe.

This power, in its development, retained that kind of disposition which we have, before, attributed generally to all the Protestant states; a very marked public spirit, a fervent patriotism, great reciprocal attachment between the prince and his subjects, a spirit of liberty and of true republicanism, which extends from the throne to the people. It may be added that a great part of the ancient possessions of the clergy is also united to the domains of the crown, and another part is employed in establishments useful to the country, we shall therefore find no difficulty in accounting for the internal strength manifested by Prussia in several trials, and which so effectually seconded the genius of the great Frederick, in the seven years' war. It cannot be questioned that the circumstance of being a Protestant added something to the successes of this prince, while it also diminished the number of his enemies among his co-estates in the empire. The number of those who secretly adhered to the reformation, in Silesia, Bohemia, and other Austrian countries, was great. When the tolerant banners of Prussia appeared, all these sects would be more favourable to them than to the Catholic colours of intolerant Austria.

Since, by a concurrence of many other causes, foreign to the object of this essay, Prussia has attained to the rank of a power of the first order, its sovereigns have replaced the electors of Saxony in the important station of head of the Protestant party in Germany. They have attained a double influence in Europe, that of counterbalancing Austria in the empire, and that of contributing powerfully exter-

nally to the support of an equilibrium in the general system of states.

It may be also observed, that the treaties of Augsburg and Munster, while they consolidated the body of the evangelical states in the empire, left, nevertheless, a certain priority and preponderance to the Catholics, as well in the electoral college as in the remainder of the joint concerns.* No Protestant prince has yet been decorated with the imperial crown. Since the religious interest has been, by degrees, replaced by a political interest, the evangelical body might be more aptly called the Prussian party, and the rest the Austrian party; although more than one Catholic prince has found it convenient to join with Prussia, and some Protestant states have also been seen attached to Austria. It is probable that the imperial dignity will continue, for a considerable length of time, and perhaps to its extinction, to be enjoyed by the head of the latter house.

The custom of some German princes of selling their troops to foreign powers, also originated in the time of the wars of the reformation, and of the long intervals of peace which followed them. These troops, raised on a temporary occasion, disciplined, accustomed to live in camps, to plunder, to excesses, became, during peace, exceedingly burthensome to their master and to the country. They were very happy to dispose of them to whoever would pay them, and they even turned this traffic to advantage. Philip II. attacked Holland with German soldiers, and it was with Germans that Holland defended itself. It is notorious that this custom has been since continued to the great disgrace of humanity.

Denmark.

Since the celebrated Margaret, called, before Catharine II. the Semiramis of the North, Denmark has been aggrandized by Norway; and the states of Sweden had also placed the sceptre of their country in her hands. Her successors endeavoured to make this election valid as an hereditary title; which occasioned vigorous wars between the Danish monarchs and the Swedish aristocracy. The first lost the

* Were it only by the clause which provides that if an ecclesiastical prince changes his religion, so far from being enabled to secularize his states, he is declared to have forfeited them.

throne of Sweden by them, and benefited by not having further occasion to waste their strength externally. The clergy and principal nobility of their own states gave them sufficient employment at home. In 1527 they, with their people, adopted the reformation; but it was not completely consolidated, by the wife Christian III., until twelve years after. He was obliged to divide the spoils of the clergy with the great men of his kingdom, and to keep only the smallest share to himself. The income of the prelacies alone were adjudged to the crown, and these were also charged with the expenses of several establishments. Besides the regal dignity remained elective. It required the warlike reign of the enterprising Christian IV.—it required more especially the ascendancy which the order of the citizens began to acquire, to reduce the nobility, and lead things to that state in which Frederick III. found them in 1660, to enable him to render the kingdom hereditary and his authority uncontrolled. The only fundamental law which remained express and untouched was that which established Lutheranism as the predominant religion of the state.* During the thirty years' war the king of Denmark was, for an instant, the Agamemnon of the Protestant army; this was the first attempt made by this government to the southward, in the general affairs of Europe.

Sweden.

The reformation found also an elective crown, and a powerful aristocracy in Sweden. But Vasa was a conqueror; he had lately raised himself to the throne by a revolution, and delivered his country from the Danish yoke. It was therefore in his power to make a better use of the reformation than his neighbour, Christian, had done. In 1527, he appropriated the greatest part of the possessions of the clergy to his own use, and only allowed small shares to the nobility. His wise and vigorous administration, directed these new riches to the maintenance of the royal authority, and he procured to himself a constitutional grant of the succession.

This power, which is naturally weaker than any other of

* M. Spittler formerly professor at Gottingen, and minister of the Duke of Wirtemburgh, has given a very good history of this revolution: it is translated into French, under the inspection of the author, by M. Artaud; and will be published shortly.

the great European powers, soon raised itself, however, by the genius of its kings and its ministers, as well as by the benefits of the reformation, to a sort of supremacy in Europe. Its armies saved Protestantism, and, at almost every encounter, beat the imperial armies. She had the glory of presiding at Osnaburgh in the European congress of Westphalia, as France presided at that of Munster. A sum of money was given to her to withdraw her troops from Germany, where they became as burthensome to their friends as they had been to their enemies, and only a part of Pomerania, instead of the whole, which she demanded, with some other small districts in the north of the empire, were ceded to her. By this cession the kings of Sweden have become members of the Germanic body as the king of Denmark is for Holstein, and that of England for Hanover. Since that period exhausted Sweden has constantly declined. Twenty years after the peace of Westphalia, in 1668, notwithstanding the obligations of this country to France its ally, the interest of religion, or perhaps jealousy, induced it to unite with England and Holland, against that power, in the war of Flanders and Franche Comté. Christiana, whose only merit as a queen was that of having protected men of science, and in particular, having honoured our great Descartes, contributed very much to the decay of Sweden. Charles XII. completed its ruin. A gallant and weak queen, a despotic and conquering king, neutralized the advantages which the reformation had procured to this country; if the successors of Gustavus Adolphus, and Oxenstiern had always been worthy of them, the czars, in all probability, would not have built their imperial city on the Neva; they would not have gained the banks of the Baltic; and the aspect of the north, and consequently that of Europe, would, without doubt, have been different from what it is at present. But Sweden shone only for an instant; and, like one of those sudden meteors which just gave a transient splendour to its long nights, it soon disappeared from the political horizon.

Switzerland.

Switzerland had its reformer in the person of Zwingle, a monk, like Luther, and like him, irritated by the opprobrium of the hawkers of indulgences, and who appeared almost at the same instant. Republicans, ardent friends to liberty, it was expected the Swiss would have outstripped all others in the reform; seven cantons, however, remained

Catholic; and, what is more remarkable, the cantons most decidedly republicans were of this number. This phenomenon would not be easily explained without a knowledge of the localities. It has already been observed above,* that Catholicism is not, nor can it be everywhere the same, modified as it is in different places by the peculiar spirit and character of each. The Catholicism of the small cantons of Schwitz, Uri, and Underwald, precisely because it was established among these mountaineers, republicans by nature, had taken the forms which suited their character, and was interwoven with their manners. Besides, the inhabitants of these mountains have a lively imagination, on which external objects produce a powerful influence, the indolence of the pastoral life makes religious spectacles and feasts necessary to them. A worship accompanied by many forms and ceremonies would, therefore, please them, in preference to one which is too simple and too sedate. It was here that the founders of the Helvetic liberties resided; and the remembrance of all the events and all the great men of that period, was intimately blended with the Catholic worship, and its ceremonies. It was not obelisks, it was chapels which, in this country, marked the renowned fields of battle, the acts of their ancestors. Who has travelled in Switzerland, and not seen the chapel of William Tell? It was an idolatry, a national fanaticism, which excited this mixture of the worship of liberty with that of religion, in these small cantons. Such is their Catholicism at the present day; they have no idea of any other. The abuses of the church were scarcely felt among them. The popes could not exact tribute from these poor mountaineers; and their priests, being the only men a little informed, in their hamlets and towns, had acquired, and still retain to the present day, a great ascendancy over the deliberations of the assemblies, and of all their affairs. It may be added, that knowledge had made less progress among them, than among their rich neighbours in the plain; and that having formerly given them, as it were, their liberty, they were not disposed to allow them to prescribe a change in their religion. Other localities kept Lucerne, Fribourg, and Soleure in the Catholic faith. Sanguinary conflicts and a religious civil war, several times suspended, but prolonged at intervals, until the eighteenth century, ensued

* In the first part, at the commencement of the paragraph, Reformation.

between the members of this modern Achaia; and a germ of division still remains undestroyed among them.

Spain, the pope, and Austria gave effectual support to the Catholic party. France and England alternately supported the Protestant cantons. Hence the sympathies and antipathies of the different members of the Helvetic confederation to one or other of these powers. The late events have also exhibited an example of the animosities of the small cantons against the French, the ancient protectors of the reformed cantons, and of the attachment of the Bernois to the same French.

Switzerland, employed and weakened by these civil discords, has, since the reformation, lost the little external influence which it had previously had in the affairs of Europe. But its Protestant cantons were in the number of those countries to which the revocation of the edict of Nantes procured the greatest advantages. The refugees flocked there in considerable numbers with their industry and their property.

The high pitch to which the sciences and good manners had reached in these cantons, favoured by a long peace, and that species of inviolability which this respectable confederation so long enjoyed, is well known.

Geneva.

While in this faint outline I have neglected to devote particular articles to considerable states such as Bavaria, for example, it will doubtless appear astonishing that I pause at a simple town, a city of a few thousand inhabitants. But this imperceptible point on the physical map of Europe is of very great importance on that of European morals. It was there that the two Frenchmen, Calvin and Théodore de Bèze, rejected by their country, established a new and powerful focus of religious reform. The first fruit of it was the liberty of Geneva, which expelled its prince bishop, and afterwards governed itself for almost three centuries. It found sufficient resources in the energy of its inhabitants, and sufficient strength in the benefits of the reformation, to support long wars and to defend itself by force against the princes of the house of Savoy, its dangerous neighbours, who had long endeavoured to reduce it under their dominion, and did not definitively acknowledge its independence till towards the middle of the last century. The influence of this small democracy sprung from the reformation; replete with knowledge, patriotism, and activity, its influence, I say, on some

of the great states, particularly on France, England, and Russia, is incalculable.

Geneva was the cradle of the religion professed by Henry IV. and which the ambition of the house of Guise, the subtlety of a Medicis, the interest and the secret practices of Rome and Spain, prevented him from carrying with him to the throne of France.

It was to Geneva that all the proscribed English exiles, who were driven from their island by the intolerance of the first Mary, the wife of Philip II. came, to get intoxicated with republicanism and independence. From this focus issued the sects of Presbyterians and Independents who so long agitated Great Britain and conducted the unfortunate Charles I. to the scaffold. In the works of Dr. Swift, there is a sermon which he delivered on the anniversary of the death of this martyr king (for so the English have since named him,) in which he explains, like a man of good information, the progress of this order of events.

Finally, it is well known that a multitude of men of talents have issued from Geneva, who, as writers, as men in office, have, in the most decided manner, influenced the different states of Europe, their political and moral situations, their opinions and their knowledge. To mention Le Fort, the friend and counsellor of Peter I. is to bring to recollection all which one of its citizens has done for the civilization and prosperity of the most extensive empire in existence. Besides the great men which it has formed, Geneva, has, at all times, been visited by the numerous travellers of every country who have come to Italy and Switzerland. It has communicated more or less of its spirit to all those who were calculated to receive it; and from all these considerations, it may be truly said, that this small republic has had as great a share in the destiny, and in the moral and political amelioration of Europe, as many great monarchies.

This is an additional proof of the immense advantage of small states to humanity, and of the use, which, by means of them, is made of the central power of every district of the earth. These proofs are continually renewed in Germany, where we meet with free cities, and principalities, of a moderate extent, all of which have an active, peculiar, and independent existence. Every one is emulous that industry and the arts and sciences should flourish in his small capital. Universities and schools are multiplied, and instruction consequently becomes more general through the nation. If truth is persecuted by fanaticism in any place, it is only necessary

to make one step, and it finds a secure asylum on passing the nearest frontier. In a word, every small state of this confederate system feels that it has some consequence in itself, and therefore really possesses that consequence. Each town of a moderate size is not paralyzed by the idea that it is nothing; that at a distance of one or two hundred leagues there is another larger city, which is everything, a gulf in which all its labours are to be absorbed: a city in which all the glory of the empire centres in a single point, out of which there is no prosperity, out of which there is only a political, moral, and literary insulation, through the whole extent of an immense territory.

If Athens, if Delphos, if Corinth, Pisa, Lacedemon, Mytilene, Smyrna, had not enjoyed this peculiar individuality, and if one queen-city had attracted to itself all the glory of Greece, would so many great men and great virtues have blazed forth in every part of it? If the arts, if the muses of Italy, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, had not perceived its courts and its flourishing republics smiling on them everywhere and at hand: if genius had not been aroused by immediate fame and encouragement at Ferrara, Mantua, Florence, Venice, Guastalla, and Sienna, as well as at Rome and Naples: if, in all Italy, there had been but one centre, one point, one city, would it have become the most classical country of the arts in modern times?

Holland.

Another creation, of more immediate importance to the politics of Europe, and which arose out of the reformation, was the republic of the United Provinces. This new state was a part of the possessions of the house of Austria, and was retained by the Spanish branch, that is to say, by *Philip II.* after the death of *Charles V.* Here the same solid foundation of national spirit, liberty, and rectitude prevailed, as in Lower Saxony: it had the same manners, nearly the same language, and the same origin. Before their independence, the Low Countries made part of the empire, and of the circle of Burgundy. The reformation made rapid strides in it. Its mortal enemy, *Philip II.* endeavoured to stifle it in a country where it was cherished, and opposed force to opinion, without discretion. But opinion is a secret file which wears away the iron that is rubbed against it. The inquisition, that was intended to preserve Holland to Spain and the Catholic faith, only hastened its revolt against both

of them. After fifteen years of troubles, resistance, and sufferings, the exasperated Batavians declared themselves free from the yoke of *Philip*.*

The idea of forming an independent republic does not seem to have occurred to them at first: they only wished to preserve their franchises and privileges. The confederate provinces offered the patronage of their country to several of the neighbouring princes, upon the condition of their ancient capitulations. The duke of *Alençon*, brother to *Henry III.* quitted this station from incapacity and want of conduct: Queen *Elizabeth* refused it through a policy which penetrated beyond the apparent advantage of a day. At length, not knowing who to give themselves to, the Batavians resolved upon being their own masters. Each province formed itself into a republic, and entered into the terms of confederation with the others. The body which resulted from this, was a complicated and uncouth form; but the spirit was good, and its good effects prevailed notwithstanding the faulty machine in which it was enclosed. Men of talents, animated by this spirit, carried the republic to that height of greatness and prosperity to which it is known to have attained. Having to struggle against Spain, which at that time, was the first maritime power, and which brought its fleets to the attack, it was necessary that the new state should also be maritime, to make head against its enemy, and to obtain resources by commerce. The Dutch fleets soon ranked among the first in Europe; the genius of patriotism and liberty wrought the same miracles on the sea as on the soil of Belgium. Thus, it is to the reformation that Holland is, mediately, indebted for this source of power and prosperity. Let us return to what passed in its interior.

Religious enthusiasm had been the principle of the revolution. Can it therefore be thought strange, if, in a new and free state, it should continue to manifest itself, to exercise a powerful influence on the body of the state, and to give rise

* Some of the wise counsellors of this prince wished him to employ milder and more salutary measures against the Batavians: he might, perhaps, have adopted them but for the opposite and violent advice of Pope Pius V. who also induced him to intrust the expedition to the execrable and ferocious Duke of Alva. It was Clement XI. who, in canonizing Pius V. applauded him for this great zeal in support of the faith. The bull of canonization is dated 22d May, 1712.

to a multitude of fanatic and formidable sects? It was not here as in the states of Germany, for example, where the prince had become a Protestant, as well as his subjects, and was enabled to maintain very nearly the old government with the new religion. Here, every one thought all was free, and the theologians acted very important parts. It was from this cause that the bigotry of Protestantism was carried to a greater excess in Holland than in any other country, and, that religious controversies always led to political convulsions, and revolutions in its government: the history of this republic offers many such examples. It is known how much the Prince stadtholders, in order to extend their own authority and lower that of the states, made use of the dissensions between the sect of Arminians and that of the Gomarists. The animosity of Maurice of Orange was carried to such a pitch that he took advantage of his triumph to bring Barneveld, an old patriot, who had rendered the most signal services to his country, and who supported the party of the states, to the block. These troubles form the ground-work of the internal history of the republic, from the time it has had a settled existence. They originated in the religious opinions: though, it is true, they were afterwards kept alive both by the defects of the constitution itself, and by external causes, the developement of which does not belong to our subject.

England.

Among the passions of Henry VIII., king of England, must be reckoned that which he had for St. Thomas Aquinas. His veneration for this vigorous champion of the Roman orthodoxy was carried so far, that Luther having contradicted St. Thomas with acumen, Henry thought himself bound to enter the lists and defend his master. He therefore wrote a treatise, or *assertion of the seven sacraments*, against Luther, who admitted of no more than two. The latter treated his new adversary as his equal, and ridiculed him. The king doctor conceived a violent hatred against him. The Pope, who perhaps laughed as much at the book as Luther did, gave its author all the consolation he was able, and conferred on him the title of *defender of the faith*. Six years had not elapsed when Henry, unfaithful to the Pope, separated with his kingdom from the holy see, preserving however, his title of *defender of the faith*, which his successors still retain. This first step was the foundation of a series of revolutions and

evils, which have scarcely ceased, at this time, to distract the three kingdoms: for the late revolts in Ireland were also a consequence of it. The reformation has not produced such extravagant and contradictory effects in any other country. The insulated situation of Great Britain, as well as the saturnine and invincible character of its inhabitants, contributed to them. The neighbouring nations were unable to give effective assistance to either party, and the internal activity could not act externally. When a conflagration takes place in a building so inaccessible, it must burn within it, and the flame only ceases when it cannot find aliment. Other causes have also contributed to these vigorous and long discords in the English church, and it is necessary to point them out.

In the first place, Henry did not intend to become a Protestant; he only wanted to espouse the beautiful Anne Boleyn. But to accomplish this the pope's consent to the divorce of Henry from his first wife, sister to the emperor Charles V. was necessary. The pope, who, in other circumstances, would doubtless have been more complaisant, decided in favour of him, who, of the two princes, appeared the most formidable, and refused his consent to the divorce. Henry, enraged that the pope should dare to thwart his love, declared himself head of the church of England, and prohibited all intercourse with Rome; he was excommunicated, by way of reprisal. But he hated Luther at least as much as the pope; and during his reign, it was as dangerous to pass for a Protestant as for a Catholic. He gave an episcopal constitution to the church, in which, with little more exception than the monks, whose possessions he seized, the ancient edifice of the hierarchy remained almost entire, and, in which he, very closely and very despotically acted the part of the sovereign pontiff. This was doing either too much or too little. The universal crisis did not admit of half measures. The German reform had found many partizans in England, and a considerable number of minds were devoted to it. The greater part of them were discontented to find their attempt frustrated, and made very little difference between the Catholics and the Episcopalians. The signal of rebellion against Rome was given; it was easy to foresee that it would not willingly stop half way. This was the first cause of the troubles. The determined Protestants, as well as the Catholics, became sworn enemies to the Episcopalians, and to the government which supported them.

Second cause. Far from a constant perseverance in this half reformation of Henry VIII., nothing was seen in the succeed-

ing reigns but retractions and sudden and violent transitions from Protestantism to Papism and from Papism to Episcopacy. After Edward VI., whose reign was too short, had made a step towards the reformation, followed the reign of the Catholic and bigoted Mary, daughter of the princess who had been repudiated by Henry, brought up in Spain, under the eye of her mother, in hatred to Protestantism and Episcopacy. She had scarcely ascended the throne when she married her relation, the sanguinary Philip, afterwards king of Spain. All that had been done by Henry VIII. and Edward VI. was overturned; the Protestants and Episcopalians were displaced, expelled, persecuted and inhumanly massacred. Four bishops, among whom was the virtuous patriot Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, were burnt alive. Every place was filled with the most intolerant Catholics. The animosity of the different parties was carried to its utmost pitch. A reign of five years, from 1553 to 1558 was sufficient for Mary and her popish theologians to disperse the venom of civil wars, and the most implacable hatreds, over unhappy England. The Protestants, persecuted by her, fled in multitudes to Germany, Switzerland, and more particularly to Geneva, from whence they afterwards carried back the republican ideas of the Anabaptists and Calvinists which, combined with the acrimony of exile, rendered the explosion so fatal to their country.

If Henry VIII. had prudently adopted Luther's reform, and his successors had persisted in it, the island would probably have remained as tranquil as Sweden and Denmark did in the end. Elizabeth succeeded Mary, and re-established the reform, retaining the episcopacy. The new ecclesiastical system was published in London, by a national council, in 1563, and called the *act of uniformity*. It was intended to bring all parties to an union by its means; but the time had passed; the minds of men had become too ulcerated, their heads too eccentric. The separation of Nonconformists, Puritans, and Presbyterians, from the Episcopal Church, became more obvious and more injurious. To complete the confusion, the Irish had remained Catholics. It was here that Philip of Spain, enraged against Elizabeth, who had refused him her hand, and supported his rebellious subjects in the Low Countries, employed his intrigues, scattered gold, and endeavoured to stir up a revolt; he was seconded by Rome, France, and Mary, Queen of Scotland, who afterwards perished by the axe of the executioner, in the hands of her rival.

The long war, replete with animosity, which from that time

raged furiously between England and Spain, rendered the first of these powers ambitious of ravishing all its advantages from her adversary, and of rivalling it in all points. The English marine takes date from this period of inimical emulation. Subsequent to the discovery of America, Spain rode triumphant on the seas, which she covered with her vessels. Elizabeth constructed fleets, formed sailors, and endeavoured to make head against Philip on this element. The latter, who believed himself to be king of England, because the pope had conferred its crown upon him, and Elizabeth, being excommunicated and a heretic, could no longer possess it, prepared a fleet, which still retains the nickname of invincible, but which was destroyed by the English and the winds, for the conquest of his kingdom. Thus, with an action of such splendour, began the marine of England; and it is with reason that its foundation, as well as that of the Dutch marine, is attributed to the events produced by the reformation, while the spoils of the clergy assisted both governments in this expensive undertaking.

To the immortal Elizabeth succeeded James I. king of Scotland, an enemy to the Presbyterians, who predominated in that kingdom, and revolted against him, for having attempted to put them on the footing of the Episcopal Church. His reign is a tissue of erroneous measures, which displeased all parties. He married his son to a Catholic princess of the house of France, after having offended the nation by a project of marriage between the same son and a Spanish princess. His faults prepared all the misfortunes of the reign of Charles I. When the latter came to the throne, every disposable part of the possessions of the clergy had been lavished in the preceding reigns, either on favourites or enemies of the throne, whose minds it had been employed in seducing and retaining; or applied to the expenses of the new marine, or the wars with Spain. The unfortunate Charles found himself without resources, and constrained incessantly to demand imposts from a lower house, which, having become almost wholly Presbyterian, insolently refused them, or shackled him with intolerable conditions, to obtain them. Hence his necessity for having recourse to every illegal method of establishing new levies. Favourable to the Catholics, like his father, and consequently, a greater friend to the Episcopalians than to the Presbyterians, he endeavoured to complete the work of James, by establishing Episcopacy in Scotland. By this step, he drove the inhabitants of that kingdom into open rebellion, and he made war upon his subjects of Scotland with an army

of English, who were very nearly as little attached to him ; leaving behind him, in London, a parliament as greatly to be dreaded by him as the Scotch convention. From this religious and political fermentation, arose a powerful sect of Independents, who made themselves masters of the commons, expelled the lords from the upper house, and began by compelling the unfortunate Charles, already at his last resource, to give up his faithful minister Strafford, to the executioner. The new parliament declared itself exempt from the royal prorogation ; deposed and persecuted the Episcopalians, disposed of the places, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, to the most violent, to men without conduct, without shame, and, frequently, of the lowest class of the people ; they secretly excited the rebels of Ireland, and, at the same time, refused the king every means of reducing them ; and when, at length, exhausting his last resources, Charles assembled an army to give them battle, the Independents had the address to bring this army over to oppose the unfortunate king. Abandoned by it, he threw himself into the hands of the Scotch, who delivered him up to the English. The weak party of the royalists took up arms in vain. Cromwell subdued them, and reigned more despotically than any monarch would have dared to do ; and, as the parliament, already mutilated by him, did not conduct itself to his liking, he dissolved, and dismissed them. The crowned head fell upon the scaffold. The implacable and inveterate hatred which had been restrained by the soldiers of the protector, while he lived, broke out during the anarchy which succeeded his reign. The most discordant political opinions were united with the most extravagant and religious opinions. Massacres, executions, and civil war, desolated the face of three kingdoms. From having abused every religious principle, and carried them to excess, they all fell indiscriminately into discredit ; atheism, libertinism, and a contempt for every law, divine or human, succeeded them. In this state of things Charles II. ascended the throne ; favoured Catholicism again in secret, and Episcopacy openly ; married a Catholic princess, who drew a multitude of foreigners of this sect into the kingdom ; and made war upon Protestant Holland, the ancient ally of England.

At each of these changes, so sudden and so numerous, and which were the principal source of all the misfortunes of England, those who adhered to the oppressed party, took refuge in vast numbers beyond the seas ; the Protestants, as has been said, in Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and America ; the Catholics, in France and Italy, where their

fanaticism acquired new strength, and whither they were followed by the Episcopalians, who, in that situation, generally became Catholics. In fact, it was there that James II. who succeeded Charles II. became so. His impolitic attempts to establish Popery in England only served to carry the animosity and confusion to its height; he lost his crown, and died in exile. His daughter Mary, a true Protestant, and his son-in-law, William of Orange, were called by the nation to fill the throne. Their wisdom began to still this long tempest. It was a long time before the roaring of the waves ceased; but a solemn act of succession having excluded the Catholic princes, the Protestant house of Hanover came to the throne of England; and by a mild and uniform government, has gradually calmed the agitation of the ancient parties.

Now when this terrible crisis is appeased, what remains to the nation from it? The energy arising from long civil commotions; the melancholy produced by the recollection of them; the profound love of liberty, for which so much blood has been shed: the tendency to mediation left by religious exaltation; and the toleration of all opinions, which is the natural successor of the intoxication of fanaticism.

One great error in the English monarchs, was the belief that the episcopal system was a support to the throne; a feeble prop, which so easily carried with it, in its fall, the throne which depended upon it, and of which it could not in any case retard the ruin. In the dark period which preceded Luther, the support of the clergy was of importance to princes; but since his appearance, the church, protected in its external government by the civil power, should limit its activity to the simple encouragement of good morals in the state, through the influence of religion.

The reformation, which has been a benefit to other countries, was the most grievous of scourges to unfortunate Ireland. Treated as a conquered people, and for a long time at the discretion of the English, the Irish remained obstinately Catholic, precisely because their oppressors wanted them to be Protestant. Their chains became consequently heavier: their island was filled with rapacious English, who possessed themselves of almost all the estates. The despair of these irritated men, at length broke out with fury in 1641. The consequence was a massacre through the island, of upwards of one hundred thousand Protestants. Cromwell afterwards took vengeance on them, and gave nearly the whole of Ireland to his soldiers. William III. founded a legal and con-

stitutional tyranny there. The Catholics were deprived of civil life, of property, of instruction itself; it was his pleasure to convert them into hordes of rude, barbarous beggars; and they have revenged themselves like barbarians whenever an opportunity has offered. Such resentments last, and are transmitted to remote generations. During the last war, the Irish gave many strong proofs that several reigns of toleration had not been able effectually to eradicate their strong animosity against the English.

United States of America.

It is sufficient to name this new state, which is wholly European upon the soil of America, to bring to mind that it was created by the partisans of reform and of liberty, flying from the oppression and intolerance of parties. If the English emigrants who had sought shelter on the continent of Europe, during the course of the troubles which have been spoken of, brought back with them the seeds of discord and of hatred, those who took refuge in the solitudes of Pennsylvania, acquired peace and toleration there. They founded Philadelphia, *the city of brothers*; certainly the most pleasing name that ever was borne by the residence of man. Escaped from the tempests to this distant coast, restored to nature and the primitive destination of the human race, these colonists, who had taken their knowledge with them, had leisure to reflect on the origin and rights of societies; on the respective duties of governments and nations. Having besides an entirely new political body to organize, the elements of legislation must necessarily engage their attention first. We have consequently received from thence some admirable precepts, and still more admirable examples. It is known that after having returned under the dominion of the mother country, this association of free and energetic men, of almost all countries, afterwards determined to resume the rights of governing themselves. Louis XVI. seconded them in this enterprise, and sent an army thither. The French who composed it came as friends among these republicans, were admitted into their confidence, and, for the first time, saw this spectacle to them so surprising, of simplicity of manners, of evangelical peace, among men who supported their rights. Reflection arose within them; they compared the principles and the government of their own country, with what they observed among the descendants of Penn, and it is notorious how eminently these Frenchmen, who were thus made soldiers of

liberty by a monarch, showed themselves to be so in effect, during the first years of the revolution. Among the great number of proximate and remote causes which contributed to it, the American republic, and the reformation from which it sprang, must not be forgotten.

This state, still weak, at a distance from Europe, has not hitherto had much direct influence, on the political system. But who can calculate that which it may one day acquire on the colonial and commercial system so important to Europe? Who can foretell all that may result in the two worlds, from the seductive example of the independence conquered by the Americans? what new position would the world assume, if this example was followed? and without doubt it will be in the end. Thus two Saxon monks will have changed the face of the globe. The Dominican Tetzels, came impudently to preach indulgences at the gates of Wittemberg; the open and vehement Luther was indignant at it; he raised his voice against the indulgences, and all Europe was affected, put into a ferment, and inflamed. A new order of things was the result; powerful republics were founded. Their principles, still more powerful than their arms, were introduced into all nations. Hence arose great revolutions, and those which may yet arise are, doubtless, incalculable.

11. STATES, THE GOVERNMENTS OF WHICH DID NOT EMBRACE THE REFORM.

Spain.

THIS country, governed by one of the branches of the house of Austria, had a principal share in the party opposed to the reformation. The mortal wars which its kings carried on, first against Holland, then against England, and afterwards against both at the same time, was pernicious to it. Besides exhausting it of men and money, these two rival powers, being obliged to provide themselves with arms, similar to those made use of by Spain, raised a marine, which soon crushed hers. From that time a considerable portion of the sources of its prosperity were dried up. A rivalry once established in this manner between Spain and England, necessarily obliged Portugal, in the end, to throw itself into the arms of the latter power; the right of patronage thus acquired by England still exists, and procures it great commercial advantages.

The terrible struggle, which Spain supported externally,

could not however, be continued without exactions and rigorous proceedings at home. The people, wearied and indignant, prepared to repel oppression. However ignorant the Spaniards might have been, the double example of the Bohemians, who had conquered their religious liberty, and of the Dutch, who had conquered their political liberty, from the despotic house of Austria, was so well known to them, and so seducing, as to induce them to follow it. Hence arose the revolts of Andalusia, of Catalonia, of Portugal, and of the Italian states. Portugal was strong enough under its new kings to maintain its independence. But what was the consequence to the other revolted provinces, to Catalonia in particular, which cost a war of nineteen years to reduce it? They lost all their rights and privileges by it, and were treated as conquered countries. The authority of the kings of Spain was in reality increased and strengthened at the termination of this crisis; the numerous armies which returned into the interior, at the peace, served to complete the subjugation of the nation. It must, however, be observed, that these internal revolts, and the war of Catalonia, compelled Spain to agree to very hard conditions as the price of peace. She became sooner disposed to acknowledge the republic of the United Provinces, and was obliged to yield Rousillon, Perpignan, Conflans, and a considerable part of the Low Countries to France, and the important island of Jamaica to England.

In other respects, the religious reformation had little or no effect in Spain. Its geographical position, and, still more, its language being different from the other nations of Europe, were obstacles to it. At that period the inquisition, introduced into the kingdom by Ferdinand, was more strictly on its guard than ever; and there is no doubt but many of the cruelties then exercised by it, resulted from the terror inspired by the noise of the storm which grumbled at a distance. Nevertheless the general influence of the reformation and the progress of knowledge on the spirit of humanity, has already terminated in the extinction of the inquisition itself. Now, when perhaps there are more heretics and unbelievers in Spain than at any former period, there are also fewer religious executions. Great reforms seem to be in preparation there; and the kings of French origin who are placed on the throne, act differently towards the church than Philip II. did.

France.

While the reform spoke German, it made but few proselytes in France: when the French-Swiss of the canton of Berne, when *Calvin*, lent it their organs to enable it to explain itself in French, it penetrated into every part of the kingdom, and made itself known, particularly under the new form it had taken at Geneva. The nation was too enlightened, too vivacious for the new ideas to be retarded in their progress. From the steps of the throne to the most remote cottages, the doctrines of the reformers found numerous partisans, and the Roman communion would doubtless have been overturned in France, if the monarch had consented to it. All the weak minds, who compose the multitude, and the great majority of the people, would have been drawn into it. The Catholics who chose to continue so, would have retained the free exercise of their worship; the country would not have been torn by a long civil war; an edict of Nantes would not have been revoked; the immense force which, at that time, might have been freely displayed by France, would, without difficulty, and at its pleasure, have stopped the commotions of Germany and England; France would have remained tranquil within; and, without, would have been the arbiter of Europe.

Francis I. remained a Catholic; something has been said of the reasons which determined him to act thus.* From that time he pretended to show his consequence, and to eradicate the roots of the heresy. He therefore, without pity, burned and massacred those of his subjects who openly embraced the reform. Externally, he supported it, and formed alliance with the princes of Germany. This double and inconsistent conduct of the French government deprived it of the best part of its strength, and obstructed its operations. Within, it was requisite to guard against the reformed; these refused their assistance, or served with regret, and preferred deserting, emigrating, and combating with their brethren of Germany, Switzerland, or Holland, to remaining exposed to punishment, while fighting on the side of their persecutors. Hence, it became impossible for France to acquire all the preponderance which would have been her portion in another state of things.

* At the end of that article of this section, intituled, First Point of View. Internal situation of States.

It has become a trite axiom, that the blood of martyrs extends a rising sect. Henry II. showed himself still more intolerant than his father, and the reformed entered into a closer connection with each other for their mutual support, and to prevent their total ruin. Thus they began to raise a formidable opposition in the kingdom, which raged during the sanguinary course of the three succeeding reigns. The throne ceased to be the tribunal of justice and of peace to the people; the king to be a father to his subjects. France mangled its own bosom, and the aggression which was the child of authority, compelled the unfortunate objects of its oppression to become rebels. The horrible scenes of Saint Bartholomew will for ever be an afflicting and irrevocable proof of the perfidy and implacable hatred which actuated the court in its conduct towards the Protestants. Thus the latter acquired the form of a political party; princes, nobles were at their head; they had armies, allies, posts in the kingdom. The history of the intestine wars, which, on this occasion, desolated France from 1562 to 1598, when the edict of Nantes put an end to them, is too well known for it to be necessary to give even a sketch of them here.

But animosities and commotions, of such violence, do not take place without leaving deep traces in the constitution of the government, as well as in the character of the nation; hence they determine, for a length of time, the mode of existence of the latter, and its political situation. Let us endeavour to show the principal result of the religious troubles in France, at the end of the sixteenth century, both with respect to the government, and to the political character of the nation.

The most fortunate event that can happen to a monarch whose authority in his states is limited by the power of his nobles, or of any civil corporation whatever, is that which produces a marked opposition, an open rebellion, which he may combat and reduce by force of arms. At this moment of general dread and submission, everything is allowed to him; no one dares to urge rights or privileges, and the prince has an open field to render his power more absolute in future. History furnishes frequent examples of similar issues to revolts and commotions in states. Without doubt this is not always the case, and the prince, if, on the contrary, he is obliged to compound, loses a part of his authority, or is wholly deprived of it. We have seen the house of Austria in these two different situations, at the same time, in the thirty years' war; having the worst with the German princes whom it

hoped to reduce to vassallage, and the upper hand in its states, particularly those of Hungary and Bohemia, where it established an unlimited and hereditary monarchy. But that which succeeded so badly with the Emperors in respect of the German Protestant princes had the most happy issue with the kings of France against the reformed party. The result of it was a great consolidation and extension of the regal power. At the moment when it became unlimited, and when the strength of government was the most energetic, if France had had a Louis XI. or a Philip II. of Spain, on the throne, with what despotism might not our annals have been stained? But at that period Providence placed a Henry IV. on it, who, having so many outrages to avenge, so many crimes to punish, thought only of burying all animosity in oblivion, of healing all wounds. Then, which is very rare in the government of nations, absolute power was employed only in promoting the prosperity of the state, and the felicity of every individual. The Catholic religion remained dominant: but the edict of Nantes effaced intolerance, and soothed the irritation of the conquered party, to whom liberty of conscience, and a political existence were secured.

These wise dispositions were satisfactory to good sense and equity; they were not enough for fanaticism; it made several attempts on the life of the saviour of France, and, at length, succeeded in assassinating him. From this day of mourning (May 14th 1610) the Protestant party, alarmed, with justice at the intrigues of the new court, and at the offensive steps taken against it, revolted again, took up arms, and prepared for the defence of its rights. The impartiality of history cannot blame this conduct; but neither can it blame that of Richelieu, in not suffering an armed faction, which formed a state within a state, which called in foreigners, frequently thwarted the best projects of the administration, and incessantly threatened the existence of the government. In the existing situation of things, he was obliged to oppose them; his success is known, as well as the new increase which the royal authority obtained from his victories. The legal despotism of the three subsequent reigns, which terminated in the terrible catastrophe of the last revolution, may be attributed to the definitive reduction of the religious opposition under Louis XIII.

But though the government succeeded in rendering its authority absolute, the nation, nevertheless, retained a ferment, a principle of irritation, resistance, and contradiction, which was manifested here and there against the arrangements which

emanated from the throne. From the edict of Nantes to the period which preceded its revocation, when the open violation of it began to be manifested, the parliaments had been partly composed of Huguenots. During this period, it was natural that these bodies should show themselves refractory, and be animated with a certain spirit of republicanism and opposition to the court. When the Huguenots were expelled, this spirit did not go with them; the parliaments were proud of their influence, and of the essay which they had sometimes made of their strength. This was not the only cause of the ulterior conduct of the parliaments; but it contributed greatly to it. It was therefore in them that the spirit of independence remaining in the nation took refuge, and there it was found in 1788, when the exhausted finances, an effeminate court, the principles of republican liberty propagated by some writers from the books of the English and other Protestants, or brought from Pennsylvania by the French army; in short, when a thousand circumstances gave it the impulse it then took, and which was so rapidly communicated to the whole nation. It is known what influence was produced on the general revolt by the old resentments of the Huguenot party, which were far from being extinguished, and which had often been too wantonly envenomed before the reign of Louis XVI.

In fact, Richelieu only wished to subdue the dissidents, not to annihilate them. The peace of Rochelle, in 1629, had left them some privileges, with the free exercise of their religion. From a contempt of the royal word, all these promises were soon violated. Secret and open persecutions increased from day to day, until the formal revocation of the edict of Nantes gave them free vent; a deplorable epocha, which reduced a multitude of families to beggary, gave rise to the emigration of the best and the most industrious citizens, whose descendants are still to be met with in every Protestant state in Europe, where they have carried prosperity to the prejudice of their own unjust country. Such of these unfortunate people as remained in France, lost all civil existence, were pursued without remission, without pity, and like wild beasts; their blood frequently streamed under the steel of the executioner, or of the soldiery. Such treatment made a deep impression on men's hearts, and indignation was propagated from father to son.* This last explosion of popish intolerance at length

* Should it not be permitted here to consider the punishment of Calas as one of those events, which, from the notoriety given

ceased. The unfortunate Louis XVI. who had not been rendered inhuman by a great share of Catholicism, laboured to heal all these wounds,* when the storm arose, of which he was the most illustrious victim. Since religion has become tolerant and the friend of liberty, in France, the dissidents of this country have rebuilt their peaceful temples, and enjoy the right of professing the gospel in their own way. By this wise measure, if it is well adhered to, the new government will for ever eradicate the tares of religion, the most fatal sources of discord, from the nation.

Italy.

We have already noticed the reasons which rendered a religious reform impracticable in Italy. We may also add the vicinity of the holy see; the interest of all the small Italian states to be on good terms with it; and, more especially, the dread of the imperial arms, which would, instantly, and without a possibility of resistance, have sacked the first state which should have dared to show itself favourable to Luther. Besides, the elegant Italian considered these people of the north with whom the reformation was effected, as little better than barbarians. The most enlightened of them applauded it in secret; more than one prince rejoiced to see the Pope humbled; but none of them durst risk appearing openly. Those who took a liking to the reform, went into Switzerland, or into other countries, where they might adopt it at ease, like the two Socini, natives of Sienna. Italy, which had already lost so great a part of its commercial importance, by the discovery of America, and of the Cape of Good Hope, wholly lost that by the reformation which the capital of the church gave it. The first of these events had deprived it of its commerce in spices, and the other productions of the east; the second took from it, in part, that of indulgences and of benefices, and dried up several of the sources of its riches. The arts of painting and of music, attached to this enchanting

to it by Voltaire, and from the animated writings he published on the occasion, contributed the most to sour all minds against the fanaticism of Catholic priests, and against the authority which supported them?

* It will be recollected that the king did not pay any attention to the intolerant *Memoire de l'Assemblée generale du clerge*, in 1780, against the reformed.

soil, continued to flourish there; but in true civilization, and the superior cultivation of the understanding, its people remained generally behind the other European nations. The events which have since agitated Italy, and even those which have changed its aspect, depend very little, if at all, upon the influence of the reformation.

Poland.

The vicinity of Bohemia and Germany, and the Latin generally spoken in Poland, gave the reformation an easy access into that country. There it made rapid and daring strides during the last half of the sixteenth century. The lax police of the small towns, and of the flat country, where every magnate, every individual lord, claimed a sort of sovereignty, made this country the refuge of the most audacious sectaries, who were not suffered even in the Protestant states. They came hither in crowds from Moravia, Silesia, Bohemia, Sweden, Germany, and even from Switzerland. The two Socini, uncle and nephew, but particularly the latter, made a great number of proselytes here, and founded the sect which bears their name; a sect which has spread very much in Poland, the principal tenet of which is to honour J. C. as a sage sent by God, but not as one of the persons of the Divinity itself. All these different sects, which, in Poland, experienced neither assent nor opposition from the central government, could not, at first, on account of this toleration, acquire the life, the importance, and the development which they acquired elsewhere: they remained individual opinions among the nobles, and did not produce any beneficial fermentation among a people composed of ignorant serfs. In principle, everything was limited to the disputes of theologians with each other, and to the name of *dissidents*, given generally to all who were not Catholics. But when Charles XII. undertook the conquest of Poland, and made a few partisans there, although perhaps the smallest number of these were dissidents, still, the king of Sweden being a Lutheran, the suspicions of the Catholics turned to that sect, their hatred was kindled, and the dissidents from thence forward became a political party, obliged to take arms in its own defence, and for the support of its rights. Dissident and partisan of Sweden became synonymous. This event soon produced discord in a country the constitution of which exposed it too much to the animosity of factions, and in which it was not forgotten that Gustavus Adolphus had been the

hero of the reform. When Charles XII., the promoter of these new divisions, was conquered and weakened, the Catholics became persecutors, and the dissidents were oppressed. The diet of 1717 also began to deprive them of their civil rights. Hence the acrimony of the two parties could not be assuaged, even when the idea of a Swedish faction had ceased. To crush the dissidents, became a maxim of the government and of the Catholic party. The Jesuits were principally employed for this purpose, and acquitted themselves with a method and a connected system which does honour to their sagacity. Thus at a period when the religious troubles of all Europe had ceased they began in wretched Poland. Its neighbours had long been accustomed to interfere in its domestic concerns. The advantages which her policy might derive from these divisions among the Poles did not escape the penetrating eye of the great Catharine, when she came to the throne of Russia. In 1764 and 1766, she declared herself protectress of the dissidents. In 1768, a Russian minister and Russian soldiers gave laws to the diet, and arrested several of its principal members. The Catholics, in despair, formed a confederation at Bar. They applied to the Turks and French for assistance. Only the first appeared to wage an unfortunate war against Russia. The French contented themselves with sending some officers to the confederates, who prosecuted the civil war they had commenced with fury. At length Russia, which had brought Prussia and Austria into its views, proceeded to a first partition of Poland, which was followed by a second, and shortly, as is known, by a third, which definitively erased this country from the list of European states. The sanguinary expedition which led to this last catastrophe recalls to mind the time when the right of war consisted in the annihilation and general massacre of the conquered; it is a worthy termination to the history of a society wherein civil wars, intestine convulsions, and the delirium of political and religious factions, were the ordinary scenes which each generation saw renewed.

Russia.

The lion's share which Russia obtained from Poland is the most important political event by which the influence of the reformation and of the religious troubles in Europe was felt in this country. We must, however, take into the account some of the ideas of administration, and government which Peter I. acquired in Holland and England; more par-

ticularly, it must not be forgotten that his genius was roused and his mind enlightened by a child of the reform, the Genevese Le Fort, who may, in fact, be considered as the real legislator of Russia. Besides, at the time of the reformation, this empire being within the pale of the Greek church, took no part in the dissensions of the western church. But Peter I. having seen what was passing among the Protestant princes, at his return, effected a reform in the Russian church, of which he declared himself the supreme head, withdrawing his obedience from the patriarch of Constantinople, as the kings of England had separated from Rome. Perhaps it may also be necessary to consider the influence which the protestant and liberal education of the young princess of Zerst, at the court of Brunswick, may have had on the ever memorable reign of this princess, under the name of Catharine II. The toleration of the czars drew colonies of sectaries into many parts of the vast empire of Russia, as well from our southern countries, as from Poland, Germany, and Holland. The Anabaptists, and the Moravian brethren, have several establishments there. There are also propagated the sects of Ascetic Christians, who lead a sort of conventual life, under the name of Theodosians, Phillipons, and Raskolnicks, and who have all the enthusiasm and fervour of the ancient Cenobites. Some Dutchmen had also established several flourishing colonies on the banks of the Wolga, in the early part of the reign of Catharine II. The brigand Pugatschef soon afterwards exterminated them.

SECOND POINT OF VIEW.

External and Respective Situation of the States of Europe with each other.—System of Equilibrium.

BEFORE the fifth century of our era, the greatest part of Europe was Roman, and consequently subjected to a certain uniformity of action. What was not Roman endeavoured to maintain its independence against the common enemy of all nations, and to this was confined all the political system of that age. When the various nations of the north and north-east invaded the south and west, a chaos which lasted several centuries confounded the whole of Europe. The wandering hordes of new conquerors founded empires of a day, which were quickly destroyed by new hordes who

drove the first farther on. By degrees, however, these irregular oscillations slackened; dominations were settled; and groups of small states were established on the soil of the ancient divisions of Europe. In Germany, Gaul, Italy, Iberia and England, these species of confederations were formed, the limits and constitution of which varied often, and, in which the right of the strongest was almost the only public right. This new state was but one step towards another, better regulated. The leaders of these anarchial aggregates, in which every possessor of a fief set up for a sovereign, at length strengthened their paramount authority, reduced a number of small princes to the condition of subjects, and thus founded durable powers, monarchies, and empires. But during the infancy of this new order, the confusion and anarchy were still great. The Gothic kings of Spain, contended with the Moorish kings, who had come from Africa; the kings of France fought against the kings of England, who had invaded a part of their provinces, against the dukes of Brittany, Burgundy, Lorraine, and others; Italy was the prey of eternal invasions; of conquests followed by defeats: of a flux and reflux of armies which succeeded each other. Hungary was contended for by the Mussulmen and the Imperialists; Germany saw civil wars incessantly arising, without object and without end, between its different princes. There were, therefore, as many political systems in Europe, as groups of states within the limits of each country; and in each of these systems ignorance and disorder generally reigned. The interest of the moment, or the local interest, determined everything; each one thought only of his own danger, or his own design; their ill-arranged alliances were of short duration; the attention of their statesmen seldom passed the boundaries of one country; Hungary was nothing to England, Sweden was nothing to Spain; the political bodies had not acquired that universal contact which now makes a confederation of states in Europe, already embracing almost all the old and the new world. It is true, momentary alliances were formerly entered into; but they were mostly without consistence, without any fixed and durable plan. To be convinced of this, we need only attend to the history of the greater part of these alliances; that for example, of the absurd and ridiculous league of Cambray, of which our guileless Louis XII. was the dupe. It must however be acknowledged that the multiplicity of negotiations, of transient leagues of this period, exposed the necessity, which began to be generally felt, of a union, a reciprocal support, a stabi-

lity of principles. The partial systems had nearly found their centres of gravity; that of the total system was to be sought.

It has been already said that the crusades had, for the first time, accustomed the western nations to a general union, a sort of European fraternity. Catholicism produced this good effect for a continuance. The pontifical monarchy taught princes and nations to consider themselves as compatriots, being all equally subjects of Rome. This centre of unity was, for some centuries, a real benefit to the human race. But it derived its power from opinion, and from the acquiescence of princes. But from the time when abuses of too great magnitude had disgusted opinion; when princes had humbled popes; when a long schism had offered to undirected Christianity the spectacle of several popes at once, who claimed the same power, and, of councils, which in their turn, aspired to be superior to all these pontiffs, this centre of unity lost its attractive force, and the general system, which was insensibly detaching itself from it, was menaced with falling again into a chaos. Masses, however, had been formed, sufficiently powerful to become centres of action in a new order. Austria, which then predominated, France, England, and Spain had acquired great internal consistence; these powerful bodies were in presence of each other, and it required only one decisive occurrence to bring them into contact, to render them rivals or friends; in a word, to connect them closely. This event was the reformation, and the wars to which it gave rise.*

* A writer of great talents says, "The interests which had hitherto been national, ceased to be so, in proportion as a religious interest united men of different countries, and subjects of different governments, who had formerly been strangers to each other. The difference in language, manners, and character had raised a wall of separation between the nations of Europe which nothing had been able to shake. It was destroyed by the reformation of the church. A sentiment of greater power over the heart of man than even the love of his country, had rendered him capable of seeing and feeling beyond the limits of his country. The French Calvinist felt a greater relation with the English, German, Dutch, or Genevese Calvinist, than with his Catholic countrymen. The triumph of the Batavian armies was more grateful to him than the triumph of the armies of his sovereign, who fought for the papacy. Thus the men who were formerly troops employed by princes in their personal affairs,

The new interests to both princes and nation, produced in men's minds by this religious reformation, became a general concern of Christianity in the aggregate, and no longer depended on the localities of any country in particular, but exceeding them all in importance. States which had scarcely existed to each other, then began to feel a sympathy which led to a union. France formed an alliance with Sweden; England with Holland; Bavaria with Spain. Their views, being enlarged, enlarged also their foresight, and gave birth to precautions. Their interest having become common, required common measures. The designs of the house of Austria were discovered and openly resisted. To find a counterpoise which could balance this ambitious power, and prevent it from rising at pleasure, became an affair of the utmost importance to the newly coalesced Europe. Hence the fruitful idea of an equilibrium between the European powers; an idea which was the soul of the negotiations in Westphalia, and has become a principal consideration in all the public affairs of Europe, since the treaty which was the result of it.

Austria and the Catholic states were then placed in one scale, and, in the other, all the powers which had fought for the reform, including also France. The principle of the European equilibrium was therefore, in reality, only the opposition of the Catholic party and the reformed party. New circumstances soon supervened, which gave it a totally different

became gradually the judges of their own destinies, and were actuated by views arising from their dearest affections. The assistance which would not have been granted without repugnance to a simple neighbour, was lavished with zeal on an associate in the same creed. The Palatine quitted his own country to defend, against the enemy of his religion, the Frenchman who had adopted it. The Frenchman quitted a country where his conscience was not at liberty, and he was subjected to a thousand vexations, to shed his blood for the salvation of Holland. On the banks of the Loire and the Seine, Swiss and Germans were seen fighting against Swiss and Germans, for the order of succession to the throne of France. The Dane quitted his marshes, the Swede his icy regions, to come and break the chains prepared for Germany. By these new bonds all were taught to extend their good-will beyond the narrow limits of their country, and to mix with the great human family; and, ceasing to be attached to the glebe of a certain district of the earth, they become Europeans, citizens of the world." Schiller's history of the thirty years war, vol. i.

aspect ; but, in general, it may be considered as the division of the political bodies of Europe into two groups, nearly equal in strength, and in each of which sometimes one and sometimes another of the powers bears the principal sway.

Before the states of Europe entered into an aggregate system of connection, Italy and Germany had, for a long time, formed individual systems, or confederations, in which the common policy of each of the states endeavoured to maintain a certain equilibrium, and to restrain one party by another. It is possible that this partial equilibrium may have been the type from which the idea of a general equilibrium was formed : but how much more extensive and accurate were the views which flowed from this ! Politics, which, in Italy especially, had hitherto been a tissue of low craft, petty perfidies, intrigues, cruelties, and meannesses, became more expanded and more liberal ; its principles were more evident, and better known : the greater part of the powerful governments who took part in negotiations by their ministers, mutually enlightened each other. Among these governments, some were animated by frankness and good faith : the mean Italian spirit was gradually banished from cabinets. There is no doubt but a little knavery still enters into politics, and that deceit is practised here and there ; but reciprocal deceit is neither so easy, nor even so necessary as formerly. Since the long and universal war in which every power was involved by the reformation, it has been found that true politics consisted in real strength ; and that this had its origin in the prosperity of the state, in commerce, a good public spirit, and the attachment of the citizens to the government. The strength and resources of each state were known to all the others. Statistics renders this knowledge more and more exact, and mutual imposition is now scarcely practicable. Every one feels that it is necessary to protect his ally against inimical enterprises ; that the weak must be protected against the powerful, who would become too much so by aggrandizement. An exclusive egotism has therefore ceased to be the dominant spirit of European politics : the state which aims at raising itself is watched and repressed ; that which is on the point of falling is supported : the disproportionate elevation of any power only tightens the bonds which unite the others. Even the smallest states have acquired a real importance in this system. Precaution and good will, externally ; within, the development of the total strength by a good administration : such is, in general, the new tendency which politics have taken since the great conflict produced by the reformation.

First period of the equilibrium of Europe, from 1520 to 1556.

Charles V. and Francis I. were the two principal actors in the events of this period. The colossal increase of the Austrian power was the first cause which showed other states the necessity of a closer alliance among them. From thenceforward the situation of France was fixed, and, from the nature of things, its monarch became the most formidable rival to Charles. But it was not easy to bring about an alliance of interested states, and to make this confederation act with the requisite effect and energy. The reformation came and supplied the means; and, by its assistance, the European opposition was organized with facility. Henry VIII., who might have held an honourable rank in it, drew back; he dreaded appearing subordinate to Francis I., and at length was too much engaged with his mistresses and theology. In revenge, France introduced the Ottoman power into the new system. France, Turkey, and the Protestant princes of the north, were the first united mass destined to be a counterpoise to German Austria, Spain, and Burgundy. These two masses, formed themselves, one around the Protestant party, and the other around the Catholic party, in Germany. It was generally felt that the equilibrium in the empire would decide that of the rest of Europe; and, that if Charles V. triumphed over the Protestant princes, his power would become irresistible. Henry II., who succeeded Francis I., formed a close alliance with Maurice of Saxony. At length, in 1556, the formidable Charles V. disappeared from the theatre of events, and shut himself up in a cloister; his German states were separated from the Spanish monarchy and Burgundy, which were the lot of his son Philip. A change became perceptible in the European system.

Second period, from 1556 to 1603.

Philip II. of Spain, and Elizabeth of England, became the two ostensible personages; the one at the head of the Catholic, the other at the head of the Protestant party. The peaceful Rodolph II. suffered Austria and the rest of Germany to take breath. The scene of events was transported to a new theatre. Great Britain was Protestant, and the Low Countries revolted against Philip. Spain, on the one hand, fighting for Popery; England and the United Provinces, on the other, fighting for the reform, fill the history of this period. The new republic, scarcely born, attains to the rank of the

first powers. The overstrained spring of oppression had provoked the reaction of the spring of liberty in it; the efforts made to subdue it had no other effect than accelerating the developement of all its strength. If France had not then languished under weak princes, who seemed to be devoid of energy, except in feeding factions, yielding to fanaticism, and persecuting their Protestant subjects; if it had not been reduced to support the miserable, contradictory, and difficult character of a protector of the reform, without, and its enemy within, no doubt it might easily have supported the Batavian league with a powerful hand, and attached it to itself for ever, to the prejudice of England. The latter has since made good use of this attachment of Holland, which France neglected. It would be superfluous to detail here all we have lost by it during two centuries, and all which our rivals have gained; every body knows it too well.

In the preceding period, land armies decided the fate of the war; in this, the geographical position of the two countries required fleets; and the phenomenon of maritime powers contending on the seas, was seen for the first time in modern Europe. Since this time, the superiority of naval armies has become of still more decisive consequence than that of land armies. The merchants of Holland have possessed themselves of a considerable part of the navigation of the two worlds, and show what a commercial state may become by the sole aid of its vessels. The religious spirit had given rise to the new republic; but it also gave rise to the spirit of commerce, which, by degrees, made the first lose its influence, and, at length, wholly disappear; and took its place in politics. Thus everything is connected in the destiny of states, and yields to a mutual developement.

In the struggle which employed all this period, the opposition of the two religious parties was more marked than before, since one was wholly Catholic, and the other Protestant without mixture. Now, as the Catholic party fought for the royal authority against rebellious subjects, and the Protestants fought in support of these same rebels, and for the foundation of a republic, it has been since received as an avowed and fundamental maxim of state, that Catholicism was the best support of absolute power, while Protestantism favoured rebellion and a republican spirit. Even at the present day, this maxim is not relinquished by many statesmen. It may have its true side; but we have already shown in what manner.

The powerful Elizabeth died after Philip; the United

Provinces subsisted by themselves; a new period was preparing in the European equilibrium.

Third Period, from 1603 to 1648.

The preceding period had only been an interlude to the long commotions in Germany; an interlude which supplied the stage with the liberty of Holland, and the civil wars of France. After six years of war, and three of trouble and uncertainty, the league of Smalcald had obtained from Charles V., tired and enfeebled, the peace of Augsburgh, which was dated in 1553, but was not entirely consolidated by the emperor until 1555, a few months before he abdicated the throne. In 1618, the war between the emperor and the Protestant princes broke out again with more violence than ever, and lasted for thirty successive years, until the treaty of Westphalia put an end to it in 1648.

Spain had again become inert. England was agitated by terrible convulsions, which have been already noticed in the article appropriated to that power. *Henry IV.* had ascended the throne of France; but the early years of the reign of this great prince were consumed in the re-establishment of what had been overturned in the interior of the kingdom, by so many shocks. If Providence had thought it right to leave him longer to his people, whose idol he was, from what evils might his genius have relieved Europe! The war of thirty years would either have been prevented by him, or it would have been sooner terminated. He had already restored France to her rank, and her importance. Thus he had again brought it into its natural place, that is to say, with respect to Austria, which he had resolved to curb. He was become the protector of the Protestant party in Germany, and had resolved to maintain the peace and equilibrium of the European republic. Who can ascertain how much the will of such a hero, seconded by such a minister as Sully, might have influenced the world? The project for peace is known; this in the head of the Abbe St. Pierre could only be a dream; but in that of a powerful monarch there were, at least, some means of realizing it. Henry was snatched from the world in the midst of his brilliant career. France, after his time, fell again into a paroxysm of weakness and anarchy, under a minor king. She formed an alliance with Spain which had done her so much injury, and became the sport of all the petty intrigues of the Italian court of Mary de Medicis. It was not until 1624 that the skilful hand of Richelieu was effectually applied for its welfare.

Thus it was disabled from having any weight at the commencement of this period.

In 1630, Sweden appeared on the theatre of war in Germany; and France was not long in joining her. The armies of the two countries rivalled each other in courage, as did their leaders, in talents. It must not, however, be concealed, that the part of the Swedes, who fought boldly in the cause of their religion, was better supported, and more uniformly heroic; and the intrinsic weakness of Sweden rendered these efforts more worthy of admiration. Austria, Spain, the Pope, Bavaria, and some of the small Catholic states, on the one side; France, Sweden, and the Protestant states of Germany, on the other, formed the two principal groups of the European equilibrium, towards the close of this period. They remained the same at the celebrated negotiations for peace. Austria there saw its fate determined. France and Sweden became the guarantees of a treaty which regulated the future order of the empire. Both of them acquired portions of that Germany which they had come to defend: the first, the three Bishoprics, and Alsace; the second, the bishoprics of Bremen and Verdun, a part of Pomerania, and some ports and islands on the Baltic.

Sweden soon declined; France rose; and new variations supervened in the equilibrium of Europe. But it is not necessary to follow them. From this time the influence of the reformation, at least the immediate influence, cease to be manifested in it. Religious interest is no longer the dominant principle of activity in cabinets. The ambition of Louis XIV., the Spanish succession, the colonies, the establishment of Prussia, the intervention of Great Britain in the affairs of the continent, and other events also occurred to fill the scene. Nevertheless, the support of the equilibrium continues to be the fundamental law of the politics of Europe; and, now, when new events have, for a short time, disordered this balance, we see the heads of nations eagerly seeking to re-establish it, not, it is true, with the same materials, but still on the same basis as before. Individuals change in the political order, as in the other parts of nature, but the laws of the great whole remain constantly the same.

Summary Recapitulation of the results of the Reformation with respect to Politics.

Europe, plunged for several centuries in a stupor and apathy, interrupted only by wars, or rather by incursions and rob-

beries, without any beneficial object to humanity, received at once a new life and new activity. An universal and deep interest agitated the nations; their powers were developed, their minds expanded by new political ideas. Former revolutions had only exercised men's arms; this employed their heads. The people who, before, had been only estimated as flocks passively subject to the caprice of their leaders, now began to act for themselves, and to feel their importance and utility. Those who embraced the reform, made common cause with their princes for liberty; and hence arose a closer bond, a community of interest and of action, between the sovereign and his subjects. Both were for ever delivered from the excessive and burthensome power of the clergy, as well as from the struggle, so distressing to all Europe, and which had endured so long between the popes and the emperors, to know which of them should retain the supreme power. Social order was regulated and brought near to perfection. The Austrian power was confined within proper limits; that of France was raised and made head against it; the necessity of durable alliances began to be felt; the political bodies of Europe formed a connected system of equilibrium, a regularly organized aggregate, of which even the idea was not formerly entertained. States, such as Sweden and Turkey, which had scarcely had an existence for the others, gained a rank and an importance in this system. Some, such as Holland, originated from this great shock, and acquired much preponderance from their origin. The foundations of the Prussian monarchy and the American republic were laid. A general spirit arose in politics, and embraced all Europe. The art of negotiation was improved and became more liberal and more certain; the progress of affairs, clearer and more simple. In this state of intercourse and contact, commotions and wars became more general, but they were also sooner terminated, and their rigour was lightened by a more humane law of nations.

If France had been Protestant, she would have fought more zealously for the cause of Protestantism, and the struggle might, perhaps, have been shorter. But an equivalent advantage to humanity might nevertheless result from her being Catholic: that is, men became gradually habituated to toleration and to the fraternity of sects, more especially when they saw a very powerful minister habited in the Roman purple, Cardinal Richelieu, make common cause; and enter into strict alliance with Protestant Sweden, and all the league of heretic princes of Saxony.

In one part of Europe the church ceased to form an extra-

neous state within the state; from which it was easy to foretell that this change would one day be effected through the whole of it, and that its head would be reduced to the simple spiritual primacy. At length the Catholic clergy reformed their conduct on the example of the Protestants, and gained in manners, knowledge, and esteem, as much as they lost in power and riches.

Almost all the European governments, however, increased in their power, and internal strength; the Protestant ones, because they were united with the mass of the people, and had appropriated to themselves the wealth, prerogatives, and jurisdiction of the church; the Catholics, because they had placed themselves on a formidable war establishment, had overthrown the Protestants in their own states, and thus subjugated one part of their people by another, the citizens by the soldiers.

After the discovery of America and the Cape of Good Hope, the commerce of the two worlds was concentrated in the hands of Spain and Portugal. But these two countries, like almost all others, before the sixteenth century, had only a throne and no people; all the national activity resided in the government. The ignorance of princes was employed in conducting a commerce as greedy as it was ill understood, the profits of which were absorbed by the luxury or unskilfulness of the court. How much longer might a true commercial spirit, navigation, the exploring of seas, have languished, had not two states, actuated by the reformation (states in which the whole nation exerted all its powers, lavished its resources, and seconded the action of the government,) found themselves led, and, as it were, forced to seize the trident? Without the religious commotion produced by Luther, the order of events would have been different; Holland, a poor portion of the Austrian states, would have remained without a marine and without commerce; England would not have had that volcanic force, or that direction which turned its against Spain. On the contrary, the maritime and commercial systems of Europe have, by means of these two powers, attained to a developement and a range, proportionate to the internal force which animates them. Their fleets, their skilful mariners have traversed all seas, and encircled the globe in their course; this example has been followed by France, the constant emulator of everything great and useful. Thus the fermentation excited in Europe by religious opinions, has created in it a new order

of things more beneficial to humanity, and has even affected the two worlds.

SECOND HEAD.

ON THE PROGRESS OF KNOWLEDGE.

“It is about two hundred years since a man of genius, having discovered and collected incontestable proofs of the motion of the earth, was condemned, as an heretic, to perpetual imprisonment, by the tribunal of the inquisition. Now, a complete treatise on the celestial mechanism is freely published. Its illustrious author sees the sciences honoured in his person, by the most dignified men of the state. What a progress in so short a time, and what a career has been gone over since Galileo!”

This was the language of Citizen Biot, lately, in announcing the third volume of the immortal work of the senator Laplace. This ingenious observation of a distinguished votary of the sciences, who, in writing it perhaps had no thought of Luther's reformation, contains, nevertheless, in an implicit manner, this certain result; that is to say, that the ancient system of Roman Catholicism was diametrically opposite to the progress of knowledge; and that an event which has contributed to free the human mind from such an adversary, ought to be considered as one of the most fortunate epochs in the intellectual culture of modern nations. The opposite system of liberality, of examination, of free criticism, established by the reformation, has become the *Ægis* under which the Galileos, of subsequent ages, the Keplers, the Newtons, the Leibnitzes, the Hevels, and finally the Laplaces, have been enabled securely to develop their exalted conceptions.

But in this really immense career, passed through by the human mind, during three centuries, how can we distinguish the progress which the reformation alone has enabled it to make? So many causes have contributed to the intellectual culture of this period! The reformation, as has been already observed, was itself only a first effect of the restoration of knowledge. This effect, however, must have become a cause in its turn; it must have influenced subsequent events. But in what degree, and in what manner? Has the reformation accelerated, or has it retarded the progress of the human mind? Has it been favourable or injurious to it? Writers of eminence have supported each opinion. Must one of the two be adopted without reserve? Is it more expedient to take a

middle course? The author of this essay will freely avow his opinion, and endeavour to justify it.

A daughter of renovating knowledge, the reformation could doubtless be no other than favourable to its progress. But this child of light was conceived in an age still gloomy, in a world still in a chaos, and in which a multitude of opposite principles fermented. Abandoned to all the passions which then prevailed; frequently disfigured in its exterior forms by the ignorance and by the superstition of those who contributed to its establishment; the reformation which originally tended only to good, has been the source of many evils. The good which it produced is a result of the spirit which constitutes its essence; the evils it has occasioned depend in a great degree on the incidents with which it was accompanied, on the resistance opposed to it, and on the foreign motives joined to it. It is therefore necessary to consider two things here, which cannot be blended without injustice; the one is the moral impulse given, primitively, by the reformation; the other is the commotion which resulted from it, when to this primitive impulse, so many other things were added, which modified it in different ways and changed its nature; in a word, in the reformation, the spirit and the event, the intention and the effect must be considered.

SECT. I.

Results of the Moral Impulse given by the Reformation.

FROM what has been said in several passages of this work, on the nature of the reformation, the direction which its moral impulse must have had, and the objects to which it extended, may be easily presumed. The intention of the reformers was, in principle, to free themselves from the despotism and infallibility of the popes; to depend only on the sacred writings for the grounds of their belief; and, in short, to overthrow the scholastic divinity which has become the soul of the Roman theology, and the firm support of the hierarchy. Hence it follows, that in its essence, the reformation must have had an influence on the liberty of thought, so precious to man, and the basis of his civil liberty; on the manner of contemplating religion, establishing the proofs of it, and of interpreting the Scriptures; in the third place, on philosophy, and on the ramifications of the tree of science, arising from any of

these three principal points. Order and perspicuity require that each of these articles should be separately treated of.

With respect to Liberty of Thought.

I should think myself deficient in respect to my judges, and to the enlightened part of the public, were I to go into a long enumeration of the advantages which the human mind derives from the unlimited faculty of exercising its powers with freedom. Let us only reflect on the immense train of censures, prohibitions and inquisitors employed by the Romish church to keep every eye closed, at a period in which every new truth became a heresy, that is to say, a crime deserving the severest punishment, and against which all the rigour of the secular arm was demanded; and we shall shudder at the danger incurred by humanity before the sixteenth century. If, through a most happy and most unexpected concurrence of favourable circumstances, thought had not received, one after another, new supports and new food for its activity, what would the feeble spark of light which began to shine have become, with the system of oppression and *obscurationism* adopted by the court of Rome? If the Greeks of Constantinople had not emigrated towards the west; if Copernicus in the heavens, and Columbus upon the earth, had not enlarged the limits of knowledge; if the art of printing and the reformation of the church had not issued from the bosom of industrious Germany; if the colossal power which fettered consciences, and oppressed minds, had not experienced rapid and perceptible attacks, how many ages, perhaps, might the culture of the human race and the amelioration of the social state have been retarded? Let it be asked in the south of Germany, of the people of the two Sicilies, of Spain, of Ireland. After having freely examined the state of knowledge in these countries, let an impartial observer satisfy himself to what degree it has attained in Switzerland, the two Saxonies, Holland and England; the contrast will not escape him. It is not asserted that in the Catholic countries named above, men of superior talents, and eminent in their age, have not been met with; but they are rare, and it is the masses of the nations which are to be compared. Without doubt, considering the close connection in which the nations of our little Europe live together, it is impossible that the knowledge of some should be prevented from penetrating a little among the rest. The wall of separation cannot be sufficiently strengthened, nor so strictly guarded as that the individuals

on each side cannot have communication. But certainly on the part of the Catholics, the precautions for repelling the liberal ideas of Protestantism from the limits of their territories, like a dangerous epidemy, have not been neglected. It was at Rome that the first censures of books were invented, and the example was religiously followed by the governments devoted to Rome. Leo X., this vaunted protector of the arts, in 1515, promulgated some severe regulations against the printing and publishing of books translated from the Greek, Hebrew, or Arabic. Almost at the same instant, in which five years after, he fulminated that famous bull against the reform, beginning thus; *Exurge, Deus, judica causam tuam*, in which Luther and all his adherents are assailed with the most terrible anathemas; in which it is indiscriminately prohibited to read all their books, on whatsoever subject they may treat; at the same instant, I say, this pontiff did not blush to publish, in the name of Jesus Christ, a bull in favour of the profane poems of Ariosto, menacing with excommunication all who should blame them or impede their circulation. What could be expected from such a spirit, from such an abuse of things which they wished to be respected as holy, and received as the oracles of heaven itself? France, the most enlightened of all the Catholic countries, and wherein papacy had never prevailed indefinitely, notwithstanding its attempts to get footing there and to introduce the inquisition; France, where a half reform existed under the title of the Gallican liberties, was not entirely free from that stifling system.* In Spain, Italy, and Austria, prohibitions and

* The history of all the books which have been juridically condemned would be highly interesting were it philosophically written. We should find many stigmatized for having dared to say that every honest man ought to glory in thinking. Let us take one instance among a thousand. Towards the close of the seventeenth century the missionary Lecomte published his *Nouveaux Memoires sur l'etat present de la Chine*, in which he had the candour to say, that, "the Chinese had adored the true God for two thousand years; that, among the nations, they were the first who had sacrificed to their Creator, and taught a true morality." We cannot, at this time, conceive what a clamour this simple assertion of an historian then excited. The abbe Boileau, brother to the celebrated satirist, thundered in the Sorbonne, and denounced the good missionary as a blasphemous. In 1700, the Sorbonne condemned the book, which the parliament had also the weakness to order to be torn and burnt by the hands of the hangman.

cenſures were carried much farther, and even yet impoſe heavy ſhackles on the liberty of writing and thinking. Several of the governments of ſouthern Germany, from time to time, renew theſe ſalutary regulations againſt reading books written by heretics or by wits. The public libraries lock up the works of Rouſſeau, Voltaire, Helvetius, Diderot, etc. and it is expreſſly ordered "that they be not communicated, except to thoſe who will undertake to refute them;" theſe are the words of a very recent edict. A profeſſor of a Bavarian univerſity was deprived of his employment, ſome years before the French revolution, for having required that a copy of *Dictionnaire critique de Bayle* ſhould be placed in the common library. Theſe facts, and an infinity of others which are daily making their appearance, characterize the ſpirit of Catholicism, with reſpect to the propagation of knowledge and the freedom of inſtruction. This maxim of the centuries of the middle age ſtill lives in it, and is kept up as much as it is poſſible to do ſo in theſe times; "to keep men's minds in perfect ſtupidity on certain ſubjects; to keep as many empty ſpaces in them as poſſible, in order to be able to fill them up afterwards at pleaſure, and that ſuperſtition may be more conveniently inſtilled into them." Has it happened that any pope has retracted the bull *In Cœna Domini*, by which all thoſe are excommunicated who read books compoſed by heretics? Fra Paolo, mentioning the firſt index of prohibited books which was publiſhed at Rome, in 1559, ſays, among other things, "that in it, under pretext of religion, the pope had condemned to excommunication the authors of writings ſolely becauſe the authority of princes and magiſtrates was ſupported in them againſt the uſurpations of the eccleſiaſtics. Beſides this, the Roman inquiſitors prohibited en maſſe all the books printed by ſixty-two printers, without regard to their contents; adding alſo a general prohibition againſt reading any book coming from the preſs of a printer who ſhould, once in his life, have printed any writing coming from the pen of a heretic. So that, continues the hiſtorian, nothing was left to read. A more excellent ſecret for ſtupifying and corrupting mankind by religion, will never be diſcovered. (*Histoire du Concile de Trente*, Lib. VI.)

The reformation broke all theſe chains impoſed upon the human mind, and overthrew all the barriers which prevented the free communication of thoughts. Nothing remains prohibited by it but ſuch productions as public morality or modeſty would bluſh at.

To have recalled the remembrance of these chains and these barriers, to have examined the long barbarism which they would have supported upon earth; is not this to have shown sufficiently how much the reformation has contributed to the progress and the universality of knowledge? In fact, as soon as the career was open by it, men dared publicly to discuss the most valuable interests of humanity, and to speak, as men, of everything human.

The Roman church said; "*Submit yourselves to authority, without examination.*" The Protestant church says, "*Examine, and submit yourselves only to conviction.*" The one commanded a blind belief; the other teaches with the apostle* "to reject the bad, and to adopt only that which is good."

"Protestantism," says an esteemed writer,† "is the repulsive power with which reason is endowed, throwing from her, and repelling everything which would usurp her place." I shall abstain from saying more, and from indulging in idle declamations on this subject. It is sufficient to reflect a single instant on the immense opposition of these two principles, adopted respectively, by the two parties, as the basis of moral culture: on the one side, *believe!* on the other *examine!* Most assuredly on the supreme authority of these two contrary principles everything must wear a very different aspect, on the two sides. The principle of examination provokes that knowledge of which it is the friend, as that of blind submission is the votary of ignorance. And by what means shall we calculate how far the infinite influence of a fundamental principle which is admitted for the basis of religious instruction, and, consequently, also, for the moral instruction of a nation, may extend? The man who is free in his inmost soul, looks freely and boldly around him; he becomes enterprising, active, capable of all that is great and useful. He that is a slave in his conscience, a slave in the centre of his being, is so, without perceiving it, in every part of his conduct, debased as he is by the stupefaction and apathy which enervates his faculties.

* Spiritum nolite extinguere . . . Omnia autem probate; quod bonum est tenete. Quench not the spirit. Prove all things; hold fast that which is good. 1 Thess. v. 19, 21.

† The Rev. M. Greiling, in a very good German work, entitled Hieropolis, on the reciprocal relations of the church and state.

With respect to the Study of Religion—ancient Languages, Exegesis, Archæologia, History.

Conformably to the terms of the question proposed by the National Institute, the study of religion can only be considered here, in as far as the mode of this study has had an immediate influence on literature and the sciences. It will be unnecessary, therefore, to attend to the doctrine of the different reformed churches, or to their method of religious instruction, which belongs to the science called *catechetical*, or to the science of sacred oratory, called *homiletic*, etc. . . . which, in other respects, and under other circumstances, might, perhaps, furnish matter for a very extensive and very interesting work.

In the time when the Roman church reigned alone in the west, the absence of all contradiction led to that of all inquiry, and of all study of religious antiquities. Besides, the church, as we have already seen, opposed an active resistance to all investigations into these matters. It prohibited with all its power the teaching of the oriental languages, and the reading of the books of the Old and New Testaments. Its system was founded on passages and terms in these books, which it interpreted according to its views; and on traditions, passages from the holy fathers, decisions of councils, pontifical bulls, decretals, charters, and other historical monuments, true or counterfeit. To attack this system with effect, and in all parts, as well as to establish their own on sure foundations, the Protestant theologians were compelled to penetrate into all the depths of criticism, as well in regard to the idioms in which the originals of the sacred books were written, as to the different branches of sacred history and ecclesiastical history. It was of the utmost importance to them to show with precision that this passage was mutilated, or not well interpreted; that that expression had, at the time in which it was written, a totally different meaning from that which was now attributed to it, and so of the rest. Hence, to them the study of orientalism, of the sacred antiquities, (which are intimately connected with the profane antiquities of the east) and, finally, that of languages, which are the necessary key to them, became indispensable. They were obliged to investigate and attain an exact knowledge of the places, manners, events, ideas, the whole intellectual culture, the political and private state of the different nations during the periods when this prophet or that evangelist had written. We have seen already that the principal leaders of the re-

formation were very strongly attached to studies of this nature, which required the assiduity and phlegm of the north. Is it necessary here to remind my judges of the immense services rendered by the reformists of different communions, from Luther, Melancthon, Camerarius, Zwingle, Calvin, the Buxtorfs, &c. to Michaelis, Eichhorn, Schultens, Lowth, Kennicott, and others, to oriental literature and antiquities? The study of Greek, so important on account of the New Testament, the fathers, and the version of the septuagint, was pursued with at least equal ardour. An acquaintance with the ancient master-pieces written in this language, gave it a new attraction. Shall I name here all the celebrated Hellenists which Protestant Europe has produced? Shall I display a list of their labours? This would require a work of pure nomenclature, more voluminous than all this dissertation. Who that has trod on classic ground is unacquainted with Ernesti, Heyne, Heeren, Schütz, Wolf, Hemsterbuys, Bentley, Voss, and Spanheim? * Who does not know that in the Protestant countries, the knowledge of Greek is, perhaps, more common than that of Latin, in most Catholic countries? In England, Holland, and Germany, every man who has received an education, is as well acquainted with the language of Homer as with that of Virgil. With respect to the ecclesiastics, this knowledge is indispensable to them, and it is not uncommon to find them versed in the culture of the oriental languages and antiquities. Thus the impulse was given by the necessity which the Protestants felt, at the first, of acting offensively against the church of Rome. They were the aggressors, and their existence depended upon conquering the Catholic theologians. Thus their attention and their efforts were turned towards historical criticism, and philology. Public education was consequently organized: and this study became as much more esteemed and more generally in vogue, as the advances of the learned men of the nation became more eminent. †

* The greatest number of men of erudition in France, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were the reformists, Robert and Henry Etienne, Jos. Scaliger, Casaubon, Saumaise, Bouchart, Tanegui-Lefebvre, J. Morin, (who afterwards abjured, and joined the Congregation of the Oratory,) Bayle, &c. &c.

† The great attention given in Protestant countries to the study of the ancient languages, is without doubt one reason of the facility with which they also learn the modern and living languages. In general, a Protestant, of the informed class, commonly understands two or three languages besides his own.

The study of languages, and of the sacred and ecclesiastical antiquities, could not, however, belong exclusively to the Protestants. The Catholics were obliged to take measures to defend themselves, and to prove, in opposition to their learned adversaries, that the passages and expressions, charged by them to be falsely interpreted, were, on the contrary, explained with justice and truth. Besides, the impulse once given in the republic of European literature, no one could remain behind, and submit to the disgrace of appearing less informed than the adverse party.* A great number of Catholics distinguished themselves as much in criticism, and philosophy, as the Protestants. But it must, nevertheless, be acknowledged that this study was never so much encouraged and so universal in the nations attached to Rome, as in those who had separated from it.† Here they gave themselves up to these sciences with the ardour of desire and enthusiasm; they were revered as the protectors of the public welfare, as the sources of religious and political independence: there they were only handled like dangerous weapons, from which the first attack had been received; and they were only cultivated by compulsion, and through a necessity of defending themselves upon equal terms.

It was thus that Protestantism, by its new method of studying religion, of examining it, and establishing its evidences, gave birth in Europe, and more especially in its own bosom, to a more profound culture of sacred, profane, and ecclesiastical antiquity. Even in our own days we see striking proofs of it in the erudition of the learned men of the north, who, more remote than the other Europeans from the countries in which the beauties of antiquity have flourished, seem nevertheless to secure to themselves the domination over them, in their scientific excursions. The Italians tread upon Her-

* The Jews were also aroused by the general activity, and during this period published several grammars and lexicons of the Hebrew tongue. They remained, in general, more learned and more enlightened in the Protestant countries, than elsewhere. Spinoza lived in Holland, as did Moses Mendelshon at Berlin, where they still reckon several learned men and philosophers of the first order among the Jews.

† It is very evident that this has no reference to the works published by the propagandists or foreign missions, nor to the works of some other Catholics, the objects of which are only the languages and state of the modern east, or of India, China, &c. The particular subject in question is biblical orientalism.

culaneum, and disinter its wonders; they multiply museums and collections; it is for Winklemann they amass these materials: by their assistance, he rediscovers the thread of the art; he writes the annals of it; he becomes its legislator.

From this acute study of the oriental and Greek archæologia by the Protestant theologians, applied to the interpretation of the sacred books, a perfection and richness, which it was very far from having before, has resulted to the science called *Exegesis*, or a critical examination of the text of the scriptures, which forms an important part of their studies. *Exegesis* has several branches. That which relates particularly to languages and antiquities, to a knowledge of times, places, and authors, is called hermeneutic. The English in particular, the Swiss, the Dutch, and the Germans have carried this science very far. There the various fragments, books, poems, or treatises which compose the Bible (in as far as they are considered as works written in a certain age and in a certain nation) are interpreted, commented on, and restored to their true meaning. There the Pentateuch is explained with the same care and the same penetration as the poems of Hesiod or Homer, in profane archæologia. The scholia written on the book of Job; on those of Isaiah and Jeremiah; on the Psalms; on Solomon's Song, &c. throw an entire new light on these precious remains of oriental antiquity, on their authors, and on the spirit of the age in which they were written. The mythology of the nation and of the neighbouring people is developed and unfolded in them. The hermeneutic labours on the books of the New Testament are not less important. The gospels, the acts and the epistles of the Apostles, the apocalypse itself, submitted to criticism like historical passages, give rise to inquiries and dissertations which cannot be read without the most lively interest. In thus tracing the sacred historians and poets through the Egyptian, Arabian, Syriac, Chaldean, Samaritan, Persian, Greek and Roman antiquity; in analyzing their language, their manners, their dispositions, the culture and ideas of their cotemporaries, they have cultivated an extensive region of the domain of antiquity, and have thrown a light upon a part of the archives of the human race, which is greatly essential to us.*

* See on this subject a Discourse delivered on the opening of the Protestant academy of Strasburgh, on the 15th Brumaire, in the year XII. by M. Haffner, professor of theology, the title

All the Protestant universities have professors, by whom exegesis, the hermeneutic, and other sciences which depend upon it, are in general taught with credit. Such a course, the object of which is the interpretation of the Proverbs, or of the epistle to the Galatians, is very frequently a complete picture of the political, literary, and religious history of the period in which these writings were composed; a picture in which the erudition, critical knowledge, and philosophy which have contributed to its composition, often command admiration. The Protestant states, as well as individuals, neglect nothing to carry this science of the interpretation of the sacred books to the highest possible degree of perfection. The libraries of the old monasteries of the east and west were for a long time visited without intermission by indefatigable English, German, and Danish philologists. Manuscripts and monuments of every kind were sought there, deciphered and compared; obscure passages were elucidated; knowledge flashed from these old dusty depositories: it was for the intelligent and experienced eye of the Protestant that the indolent *Cenobite* had preserved these treasures. What rich and invaluable discoveries have the adversaries of Rome made in these receptacles of knowledge which the Catholic monks are doubtless entitled to the honours of having kept shut up during so many ages, but which the greater part of them were unable to make any use of, and the most learned of them too frequently disfigured in their writings. It would be inconsistent with the plan of this slight essay to enter into the endless details which a thorough investigation of this subject would require, or to collect all the justificative documents which would be necessary to it. Since the zealous Pocock, how many others have been sent for the same purpose, by the Protestant princes, and even by simple societies, to traverse all the Levant, Asia, Palestine, the vicinity of Thebes, and Ethiopia? I shall only mention the expedition in which Niebuhr, a Dane, already known by his travels in

of which is: *Des secours que l'étude des langues, de l'histoire, de la philosophie, et de la littérature offre à la théologie.* This excellent piece has been too little read; the journals have taken too little notice of it; in a word it may be said of it, as Condorcet also said of a very good discourse on the reformists which appeared in his time; "It would make a great noise if the people of Paris employed themselves seriously with anything but pleasure, intrigues, and money." (Tom. X. of his *Œuvres*, p. 289.)

Arabia and Egypt, was concerned, and which had no other object. All who were acquainted with Niebuhr's relation, know also the interesting series of questions prepared for him by the celebrated Michaelis of Gottingen before his departure, and which such a man as him alone could conceive.

Before terminating this article relative to the sublime and profound science of exegesis among the Protestants, I cannot avoid noticing, cursorily, how greatly the whole system of the study of Protestant theology differs from that of Catholic theology. They are two antipodean worlds to each other, having nothing in common, except the name. But, unhappily, this is sufficient to deceive all who judge by the name.* The Catholic theology rests on the inflexible authority of the decisions of the church, and, consequently, prohibits to the student every free use of his reason. It has retained the jargon and the barbarous accompaniments of the scholastic divinity; in it may be discovered the works of darkness of the monks of the tenth century; in short, the greatest happiness that can be experienced by him who has had the misfortune to learn it, is to forget it as soon as possible. The Protestant theology, on the contrary, rests on a system of examination, on the unlimited use of reason. The most liberal exegesis opens to it the knowledge of sacred antiquity; and criticism, that of the history of the church; a simplified and pure doctrine is, to it, only the body, the positive form necessary to religion; it is supported by philosophy in its examination of the law of nature, of morality, and of the relation of man to the divinity. Whoever is anxious to be well informed in history, in classical literature, in philosophy, can use no better method than a course of Protestant theology. Ecclesiastics, so instructed, quit the universities to fulfil the functions of pastors, of ministers, in the small towns through the country. There they frequently establish

* Some years ago I read in a French journal called *le Propagateur*, a sharp reprimand to these inconsiderate people who praised the German literature. Among others, under the article of theology, the journalist observed, ironically, that at the last fair of Leipsic, above a hundred works on this subject had appeared. "Thanks to heaven," added he, "we no longer have such folly among us." Those who know the subjects of Protestant theology, those also who have a little knowledge of the literary history of the two last centuries in France, under Nicole, Arnauld, Bossuet, Fenelon, Fleury, &c. can set a just value upon this ignorance in the journalist.

excellent schools, and disseminate around them that knowledge with which their masters enriched them. The class of our village curates and vicars has generally been very respectable, and very exemplary, at all times; it must, however, be acknowledged, and all who have had an opportunity of making the observation will acknowledge it, without difficulty that this class is not less exemplary among the Protestants, and that it receives much more and much better instruction.*

Another advantage which the new mode of religious studies introduced by Protestantism has procured to the sciences, is its having contributed so powerfully to take ecclesiastical history, and also a great part of civil history, out of the hands of the monks, the usual chroniclers of the centuries preceding the sixteenth. These recluses, very ill-informed respecting the transactions of the world, seldom impartial, gave merit to princes only in proportion as they had endowed their convents, or rendered services to the church. They mixed a multitude of fables, superstitions, and maledictions against heretics, with these deformed annals. Where was then the muse of history with such ministers? In a few instances they have done some service; but how much more would human reason, which they held in bondage for ages, have done for itself, if it had been suffered to act without constraint? At length Reineccius, Melancthon, Sleidan, Buchanan, Grotius, †

* In some Protestant countries, the ministers who are to be stationed in the country, are required to go through a course of agriculture and rural economy, as well as to have some knowledge of medicine and pharmacy. At Geneva, the young ecclesiastics are examined on their progress in grammatical knowledge, the ancient languages, &c. before they begin their theological studies; and after these, which last four years, they are subjected to another examination in the same, to ascertain whether they have lost anything in that species of instruction. This good custom has been preserved at Geneva, ever since the re-establishment of learning. The same regulation is also in force in all the academies of Protestant Switzerland.

† It must be confessed that the only modern historians whom we dare to compare with the ancients, such as Burnet, Clarendon, Robertson, Hume, Gibbon, J. Muller, Schiller, etc. are all Protestants. The abbe de Mably, in his *Maniere d'écrire l'histoire*, directly places Grotius far above Tacitus; and in many places he gives the Protestant historians the preference over those of the Catholic persuasion. The reason of this preference

De Thou, Puffendorf restored history to its true form; it has since their time been united to criticism and philosophy, from which it ought never to be separated. Bayle, and many others of the Protestant historians, wrote with a freedom, a critical knowledge, and a spirit, which many of the Catholics afterwards imitated.

The history of the church, as well that of its doctrine, as that of the exterior events which connected this church, as a society, with the other political bodies, acquired a consistence, a truth, an impartiality, and an accuracy, which have made it one of the most important branches of human knowledge. The essays of the two Basnages, of Lenfant, of Beausobre, Le Bret, and others, are known in France; there are also known the works, already become ancient, of the Centuriators of Magdeburgh, the fathers of true ecclesiastical history, those of Seckendorf, and Mosheim, in Latin; but those of Walsh and Cramer in German, are less known. These have had worthy successors in the later historians of their country, the

is clearly expressed in these words of Mably; "in fact, it is not worth while to write history to make it only a poison, like Strada, who, sacrificing the dignity of the Low Countries to that of the court of Spain, invites its subjects to servitude, and thus prepares the progress of despotism. If this historian is to be credited, Philip II. might trample under his feet all the laws, all the treaties, all the agreements with his subjects, because he held his crown from God; and this dangerous casuist condemns the Low Countries to suffer patiently the ruin of their privileges and the most cruel oppression, that they may not render themselves culpable of a sacrilegious disobedience. It is to this ignorance of natural rights, or to that baseness with which the greater part of modern historians betray their consciences by flattery, that the disgusting insipidity of their works is owing. Why is Grotius so superior to them? It is because, having meditated deeply on the rights and the duties of society, I find in him the elevation and the energy of the ancients. I dwell with avidity on his history of the war of the Low Countries; and Strada, who has perhaps more skill in narrating, falls continually from my hands. Buchanan is another example of that power of study which I speak of. After having read his learned production bearing the title of *De jure regni apud Scotos*, we are not surprised that this writer should have composed a history which breathes an air of dignity, generosity, and elevation." (Page 18 et seq. of the Paris edition, 1783, in 12mo.) Here is the great secret disclosed; the one have liberality and philosophy in their manner of thinking and writing; the others have not.

only one in which this history, so full of noble lessons and ideas, has been ably treated by men of profound information, such as M. M. Semler, Plank, Schræck, Spittler, Henke, Munter, and Thym; and with respect to the history of the gospel, in itself and in its critical history, by M. Paulus, the Michaëlis of the New Testament. In conclusion, we may add that literary history, that species of history which is employed to show the picture of the progress or the variations of the human mind in the sciences and the arts, is also indebted to this same impulse for a new life. The first example of such a picture was given at Kiel by the illustrious Morhoff, in his book entitled, *Polyhistor*.

With Respect to Philosophy—to the Moral and Political Sciences.

A revolution began by a reform in religious opinions, could not fail to awaken the philosophical spirit in man, which is so intimately connected with mystical speculations, with the ideas of a divinity, of a future life for him in another world, and of his moral duties in this. It has been already sufficiently shown above, what an imperfect philosophy reigned in the schools before the reformation, and what an extravagant and puerile dialectic was amalgamated with the system of the Roman theology, which maintained itself by its aid. To support this system was, in fact, for many centuries, the only end of all philosophy; the theologians, who were generally monks, were the only philosophers. Their subtle, and sometimes risible arguments, tended only to the support of orthodoxy, against innovators and heretics; it never entered their heads to teach a useful morality to human society; they only employed themselves in establishing the rights of the pope and the clergy, but never those of the people, nor of individuals. To reason conformably to the views of the Roman church, at that period, it is evident that it must only be done in a certain manner, and on certain subjects. To reason in a new manner, and to extend the reasoning of subjects considered, till then, sacred and inviolable, was to loosen the bases of the edifice. A firm, independent philosophy, which aspired at becoming universal, was, in this state of things, a monstrosity, consequently nothing of this description existed before the reformation. A strange mixture of disguised propositions of peripatetism, which was applied in the strangest manner to matters of faith and controversy, formed all the ground-work of the doctrine of the schools.

Subsequent to the renovation of letters, some men of talents,

with the famous Erasmus at their head, had opposed this monkish barbarism. But, remaining in the bosom of a church to which scholastic divinity had become an indispensable auxiliary, how could they labour effectually to destroy this support. Such an undertaking could only be accomplished by reformers bold enough to quit this church, and to establish one separate from it on the pure principles of the gospel and of reason. It was in this manner that the reformation dethroned the scholastic divinity.

Protestants and Catholics, having entered into a competition in the study of Greek to acquire a knowledge of the original writings in this language, read also the works of Aristotle, which they procured from among the dust of the libraries. With what surprise did they find that their contents were totally different from what had been, for centuries taught in the name of this great man! They discovered that the grotesque pagoda, so revered in the schools under the imposing name of Aristotle, did not in any manner resemble the philosophy of the Stagyrite. Melancthon laboured to obtain evidence of this new conviction. He laid down the true doctrine of Aristotle, in favour of which he declared, and he allowed it to be valid in everything which came within the jurisdiction of human reason, but at the same time, contended most strenuously, that it ought to be excluded from the domain of theology. They did not confine themselves to reading the original books of Aristotle: the discoveries they had made in them inspired the learned men of this century with the desire of extending their investigations to all that remained of the monuments of the ancient philosophy. The writings of the Pythagoreans, those of the two schools of Plato, the old and the new academies, those of the stoic and epicurean schools, were read, interpreted, and their different doctrines publicly taught. Then began a philosophical period, during which the interest in truths of a superior order, in the discussion of the most sublime rules of logic, metaphysics, and morality, acquired an activity which had been lost to it for many centuries. The perusal of the precious remains of antiquity, from its connection with the speculative sciences, became again to the moderns, what it had been in the age of Petrarch, from its connection with poetry.

It would be necessary to follow all the deviations of the philosophical spirit during this period; to show all the various forms which it assumed, either in the systems alternately borrowed and modified from the ancients, or in those created by modern genius; it would be necessary to state what these

deviations had been in so many comprehensive minds as those of Agrippa, Bacon, Cherbury, Descartes, Spinoza, Gassendi, Pascal, Mallebranche, Locke, Leibnitz, Wolf, Bayle, Berkeley, &c. &c. to give a complete idea of this period;* but so extensive a picture cannot enter into the narrow limits of this work. It is sufficient to our purpose to have shown the share which the reformation had in this great agitation of the human mind.†

It must, however, be observed that this agitation could only receive a free and full expansion in Protestant countries: it was foreign and contradictory to the system established in the Catholic states. In the latter, philosophy could only be considered as a sort of disturber of the public peace, or rather of the public apathy, which, in the eyes of a considerable number of people, amounts to the same thing. In Austria, Italy, and Spain, this philosophical flash was soon extinguished, and the usual torpidity resumed the upper hand. Even in France, a country, which as we have several times shown, is by no means to be put on a level with the other Catholic countries, the philosophical spirit was at an end soon after Descartes, who, as is known, found the greatest number of partisans and opponents in Holland. The interest in truths, or in the philosophical systems; on the contrary, far from losing any part of its activity, seemed to be constantly increasing among the English, the Dutch, the Swiss, and the Germans of the north. London, Halle, and Geneva, became the schools from whence the French derived their erudition: Locke

* It is to be observed, that, at that time, philosophy had its martyrs. Bruno was burnt alive at Rome, in 1600; Vanini at Toulouse, in 1619; and Kuhlman at Moscow, in 1686; the two former, Italians by birth, as atheists.

† It would be too easy to make this essay, which can be no more than a simple sketch, a voluminous history, filled with details and compilations. In this article, for example, which relates to the influence of the reformation on philosophical studies, it would only be necessary to copy everything interesting on this subject, inserted by Brucker in the fourth volume of his history of philosophy, lib. II. cap. I. *De causis mutatæ, tempore emendatæ Religionis, Philosophiæ*; and afterwards to lay under contribution the learned works of Rexinger and Edzard, (*Dissert. quantum reformatio Lutheri logica profuerit*;) of Lehmann, (*De utilitatæ quam morali disciplinæ reformatio Lutheri attulit*;) of Seelen, (*De incrementis quæ studium politicum e reformatione Lutheri cepit*;) and a multiplicity of writings of this kind.

and Hume, Wolfe and Bonnet became our masters ; the modest plurality of the small number of the national thinkers, attached themselves sometimes to one, sometimes to another of these great men, and more particularly to the first. Their works, the produce of a Protestant soil, became our classical and fundamental works in philosophy.

When, however, for some lustres, the philosophical spirit seemed deadened in England and Holland, it revived in Germany more powerfully than ever, and with a depth and energy which it had not had since the best times of Greece. It is indebted to the immortal Kant for this new light. Kant has laid down principles, and arrived at immutable results, which will remain for ever, as the cardinal points of the mind, as brilliant light-houses in the darkness of metaphysical researches. The schools, the offspring of his, are powerful adherents of his doctrine when they follow and examine it ; they often lose themselves when they deviate from it. However this may be, it is demonstrated to every one who observes the progress of the intellectual culture of nations with attention, that the doctrine of the philosopher of Königsburgh could not, on the one hand, excite so profound an enthusiasm, and on the other, so vigorous an opposition, such powers of reasoning, except in a country where the grand questions on the relations of human reason to nature, and to universal reason, were habitual to its inhabitants, that is to say, in a country where they think with freedom on the objects of a purified religion, and where the most exalted ideas of the high destination of man, are universally diffused. Nothing is more pure, more religious, more strict, more stoical, than the moral doctrine of the most celebrated schools of Germany, whether that of Kant, or that of Jacobi. The superficial lessons, the errors of Helvetius and his associates, were never able to take root in this soil. For the influence of the reformation on the study of morality has been as decisive, as on that of the other branches of philosophy. This science, which is the same to the conduct of man, as metaphysics is to his knowledge, had, after the last of the Roman moralists, fallen into an almost total oblivion. It is known that the fathers of the church, who exerted every resource of their minds in the controversies on tenets, did very little or even nothing, for the moral sciences. The scholastics did still less ; and under their long domination, true morality disappeared entirely, and gave place to a casuistic degenerated morality, in which the duties of man towards God and towards his fellows, were almost wholly reduced to his duties to the church : here a multiplicity of prac-

tical superstitions and subtleties corresponded but too well to the superstition and subtleties of the theology of these dark ages. When the gospel had regained its rank, and displaced casuistry, the pure and divine morality announced in it, also resumed its place in the pulpits and the writings of the spiritual pastors. Besides, the reading of the ancient philosophers in the original works, must have familiarized men to their different moral principles. They compared these principles with each other, and with that of christianity. Hence the study of morality acquired a high degree of interest, to which it would never have attained, if casuistry had remained dominant, and the pulpits of the churches, and the schools, had remained in the power of the monks. Now it has become, to the ministers of the Protestant worship, the most essential, and almost the only ground of their precepts to the people, the inexhaustible text of their discourses. It makes one of the most important objects of the public instruction in the universities. It is well known what a number of excellent writings on this subject have been produced by the different Protestant churches, particularly in the last century; what a spirit of purity, of humanity, and of religion, they display; at the same time equally remote from the ascetic fanaticism of the ages of ignorance, as from the stern and cyrenaic egotism of the ages which are called more enlightened.*

With respect to that morality of states, which, rising superior to individual relations, fixes the respective rights of societies and of their members, those of princes and of citizens, as also those of nations with each other; which gives the theory of the laws, that of the right of nature, and that of positive right, in a civil state; the progress which the reformation has enabled it to make has been already mentioned, in different passages of this work.† The great questions, which for the first time, in modern times, were at length discussed, and appeared before the European public, turned their minds to this subject, of such universal interest. Lu-

* M. Stœudlin, professor of theology at Gottingen, has given a very good history of the attempts which have been made by philosophers, to treat morality scientifically. The elevation of religious morality to the rank of a science, is owing to Calixtus, a Protestant theologian, who collected into one body the scattered precepts of the gospel and of reason, and arranged them systematically.

† It was particularly noticed, in the article on the Internal Situation of the Protestant States in general.

ther wrote his Treatise of the civil magistrate; his Appeal to the German nobility, &c. Melancthon, Zwingle, John Stourm, and other reformers, discussed similar subjects, and brought them within the reach of the less informed.* Buchanan published his famous and bold libel, *de jure regni*, in Scotland: while on the continent, Hubert Languet wrote his *Vindicie contra tyrannos*, and Etienne de la Boëtie, his *Discours sur la servitude volontaire*. Milton, who laboured to defend the long parliament of England, and to justify the punishment of Charles I. to the human race, composed several political books, which breathed the most ardent republicanism, and among others his Defence of the people of England, against Saumaise. Some of these productions, full of the vehemence and anger of the parties which then clashed with such fury, too frequently overshot their object; but they, at least, served to point it out, to inspire the wish of attaining it, and effectually to attract attention. These shortly gave way to the superior productions of wise and penetrating minds, which re-created the science of the right of nature and of people. Bacon foresaw the necessity; he projected the basis of it, as well as almost all the parts of the philosophical edifice. It was reserved for the immortal Grotius to carry light into the midst of darkness, to class and arrange the principles, and to offer to Europe the first book in which the rights and duties of men in society were laid down with energy, precision and wisdom. Why did Jean Jacques, so great, so much a friend to truth, without a shadow of reason, in his *Contrat Social*, calumniate Grotius in so strange a manner? Had he not read the Law of Peace and War; or, had he forgotten what he had read?

After Grotius, shall I speak of his rival Selden, of his commentator Bæcler, of Puffendorf, who published a Law of

* It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the canon law was subjected to a total reform in the Protestant countries. It was there rigorously separated from the civil law, on which it had hitherto been continually encroaching, and it was made subordinate to the local law of each particular state. While the Protestants simplified their ecclesiastical law, and reduced it to a very small number of indispensable regulations, the popes augmented still further the immense code of the apostolic law, incorporating with it all the decrees of the council of Trent, the Institutes which they had caused to be composed by Lancelot of Perouse, their bulls, decisions, &c. Nevertheless the Catholic civilians, endeavoured to give their code a better form, and more connection and consequence.

Nature, superior, perhaps to the Law of Peace;* of Barbeyrac, the able translator and Aristarchus of these two works? Hobbes, however, in England, supporting another system, was not less useful to the science, both by the truths which he published, and by the refutations which he provoked against him. Algernon Sydney followed the opposite principles to those of Hobbes, in his Treatise on Government, and died a martyr to his attachment to the cause of the people. It is necessary to cease these citations, notwithstanding the importance of similar works; and although I might still bring forward such names as Conring, Forstner, Locke, Leibnitz, Wolf, Thomasius, Jurieu, Burlamaqui, Vattel, Bolingbroke, and so many others more modern, in the north of Europe and in America, this may suffice to show how greatly the moral impulse given by the reformation has influenced the progress made in the science of legislation, formerly plunged in a Scholastic barbarism, equal to that which prevailed in theology. But though we may, with justice, attribute this influence on the minds of Europeans to the reformation, we must guard against the belief that it was an exclusive cause, confining its effects to those countries alone in which the reformation has become dominant. Italy has had its Machiavel, Spain its Mariana, France its Bodin, (suspected, it is true, of being secretly the partisan of the reform.) The ardour of these studies was also increased by the polemical disputes which took place between the different parties. We have in the eighteenth century, seen writers on public law eclipse those of the sixteenth and seventeenth; but they are only able to surpass them from benefiting by their labours. Would Montesquieu have become so much the pride of our political literature, if he had not had so many laborious predecessors to smooth his path?

From all these facts it is not difficult to deduce this evident truth; that the reformation, which from its birth was so intimately in contact with politics, and with every object of public utility, must have directed the minds of men to the sciences connected with the economy and the administration of states.

Men, on the contrary, who, in their own country, lived under the continual influence of a foreign authority; who saw around them a powerful secular and regular clergy, in the

* The book of Puffendorf, like that of Grotius, was put into the Index, and prohibited in certain Catholic countries, at Rome, in Austria, Spain, &c.

possession of the finest domains ; in addition to this, raising tithes, the most unincumbered produce of the labours of the cultivator ; these men became incapable of any generous effect : the interest they took in the culture of the soil was without energy. Besides, the members of this clergy were the pastors, the founders, the depositaries of all the knowledge, the masters of all souls. Employed in the exterior practice of devotion, and in supporting the rights of the church, these were also nearly the only objects on which they instructed the people. From this resulted a profound ignorance and indolence respecting the most precious interests of men in society. Agriculture, economy, and its various branches were in a deplorable state of degradation. Such is nearly the present condition in the fine provinces of Naples and Rome, in Spain and in Portugal ; poverty, indolence, immorality, all sorts of vices are engendered among people of such dispositions ;* the state remains weak and badly governed. What activity, on the contrary, what improvements in agriculture, in rural economy, in the government, strike the attention of an observer in the midst of the cold and infertile fields of Scotland, in England, and in Holland ! There, the hand of man creates everything, because it labours for itself ; there it is all powerful, because it is free, and a suitable instruction guides it. The contrast of these indubitable effects of the two religions is more particularly perceptible in Germany and Switzerland, where the different

* It is a certain fact that more crimes are committed in Catholic than in Protestant countries. The author might instance many facts which he has collected on this subject. He will be satisfied with foreign authorities. Cit. Rebmann, president of the special tribunal of Mayence, in his *Coup-d'œil sur l'état des quatre départements du Rhin*, says that the number of malefactors in the Catholic and Protestant cantons, is in the proportion of four, if not six to one. At Augsburg, the territory of which offers a mixture of the two religions, of 946 malefactors, convicted in the course of ten years, there were only 184 Protestants, that is to say, less than one in five. The celebrated philanthropist Howard observed that the prisons of Italy were incessantly crowded: at Venice, he has seen three or four hundred prisoners in the principal prison ; at Naples, 980 in the succursal prison alone, called Vicaria ; while he affirms that the prisons of Berne are almost always empty ; that in those of Lausanne he did not find any prisoner ; and only three individuals in a state of arrest at Schaffhausen. Here are facts ; I do not draw any conclusion.

territories which are intermixed, cause the traveller to pass continually from a Catholic to a Protestant country. Does he meet with a miserable mud cottage, covered with thatch, the fields badly kept, wretched rude peasants, and many beggars; he will be in little danger of erring, if he conjecture that he is in a Catholic country. If, on the contrary, neat, pleasant houses* are seen, offering the spectacle of affluence and industry, the fields well enclosed, a culture well understood, it is very probable that he is among Protestants, Anabaptists, or Mennonites. Thus nature seems to change her aspect, as he who gives her laws enjoys his liberty more or less, and exercises all his powers in a greater or less degree: while, at the same time, nature appears to have delighted in endeavouring to bestow all her gifts upon the Catholic nations, which inhabit the finest countries of Europe. This singularity is very evident in the limited territory of Helvetia. Let the fertile plains of Soleure be compared with the much less favoured soil of Argovia; the rocky sterile land, unprotected from the northern blasts, of the Pays de Vaud, with the magnificent Italian Switzerland, or the well sheltered Valais; † the territory of Neuchatel, with the fruitful fields of the country lately subjected to the Abbe of Saint-Gall; and, finally, even in the states of this monk-prince, let that portion which follows the Roman worship be compared with that, much smaller, which, under the protection of Zurich and Berne, has been able to adhere to the reform; and it will everywhere appear that the activity and knowledge of man is superior to even the liberalities of prodigal nature, while all her benefits are as though they were lost, to idleness and want of care. Agriculture is carried to such a height of perfection in the canton of Berne, that many of the methods of the Bernois farmers are adopted in England, and the economical society established by them are the authors of the true

* Who has travelled and not been struck with the slovenliness which reigns, almost universally, in the Catholic countries, and which contrasts so strongly with the extreme neatness of the Protestant countries of the north, of Holland, and of England? Whence arise the apathy on the one side, and the activity on the other? Whence the spirit of order and industry to the one, to the others, carelessness and indolence? The reason is very evident.

† Haller found all the plants of Europe, from those of the southernmost countries to those of Lapland, in the Valais.

irrigation, the importance of which is very well known to every agriculturalist.*

The activity impressed on the public spirit of each state by the reformation, was therefore naturally directed to the objects of public interest of the state. The science of cameralistics taught the administration of the national revenues; agriculture and commerce had their libraries, and were raised above a daily routine, by the inquiries of genius, and the assistance derived from the other sciences, such as geography and navigation, which, in their turn, also received improvement. The knowledge of the mechanical arts, and of all the objects of human industry, under the name of *technology*, resumed a rank among the sciences which it had lost since Pliny; finally it must not be forgotten that, on the Protestant soil, was born and brought to perfection, *statistics*, a science which forms an account of the resources of every country, and of which, statesmen, even of Catholic countries, begin to perceive all the importance. The study of all these objects has long been a part of the public instruction among the Protestants; and their universities, at which all the subjects who fill posts in the state, of greater or less importance, are formed, are provided with professors of the political and cameralistic sciences, of public and rural economy, commerce, technology, and statistics. It is known how many

* If we pass from the culture of lands to that of minds, Switzerland will offer the same contrasts. How many celebrated men of letters have sprung from Geneva, whom literature and the sciences called with pride among us! Berne, Lausanne, Basle, Zurich, Schaffhausen, have their literary annals filled with celebrated names. The antiquarian Morel; Haller, the creator of physiology, and also a great poet; Crouzas; the Buxtorfs; the Werenfels; Bernouilli; Euler; Iselin, the first who conceived the idea of writing a philosophical history of the human race; the Wettsteins, (and all the booksellers and printers of Basle who, from the dawning of the sixteenth century, have undertaken enterprises so immense and so fruitful in results,) Gessner, the naturalist and restorer of the natural sciences: Gessner, the bucolick poet: some other German poets, such as Bodmer, etc. who have contributed so much to the restoration of elegant literature in Germany, who have restored it to national independence and originality: in short, a multiplicity of authors whom it would be superfluous to name. Catholic Switzerland, on the contrary, has not a single man of eminence, of any description, to mention.

good works, on these subjects, were produced by the Germans, English, Scotch, Dutch, and Swiss, before they were generally cultivated in the remainder of Europe. It was among the Dutch that Colbert acquired the greatest part of his knowledge; Peter I. learnt much of the art of governing in their school; no one is ignorant that it was from the example of the great Frederick that Joseph II. and his brother Leopold conceived the plans of regeneration, which one formed for his Austrian states, and the other for Tuscany.*

Almost all the system of knowledge to be acquired having changed its aspect, it was very necessary that a considerable change should also be effected in the system of public instruction. Luther was the first who felt the necessity of a reform in this department, and who laboured effectually to produce it.† Melancthon, and the other principal reformers being also, like Luther, professors of universities, turned their attention to these establishments, and to the secondary schools. They purged them, as far as circumstances would admit, from the vices of that monarchal and scholastic period. That which they could not themselves effect, was brought about, by degrees, and very naturally, in the end, by the proper spirit which they had introduced. It is remarkable that, during the three last centuries, besides a great number of gymnasia, lycea, and other schools, Germany has been enriched with upwards of twenty universities, three-fourths of which are Protestant.‡ England has founded three, and Holland

* This is the place to observe that the more liberty of thinking and public spirit are diffused through a nation, the more also the communications become free and active between all the parts which compose the public, and between all the classes of the nation. The journals, newspapers, and periodical writings in the Protestant countries exhibit those general dispositions in the highest degree, which are common both to the authors and readers of these productions. There they are the objects of an attention much more universal and more serious, than they are in Spain or Italy, and than they were in France until 1789. For which reason I do not fear being contradicted by facts, when I state that the journals, whether political or literary, of England, Holland and Saxon Germany, have a consistence and organization, of which, perhaps, a very just idea is not generally formed in other countries.

† Seelen has written a very good treatise entitled, *Lutherus de scholis optime meritis*, 1716.

‡ If the Protestants have founded and endowed a great num-

five.* On the Catholic side, six have been founded in Italy, eight in Spain, and three in France. The Protestants have not only the advantage of the plurality, which might be equivocal; but no reasonable person will doubt that they have also the advantage in respect of the instruction which is given at these universities. It will not, I am of opinion, be thought a very inconsistent paradox, to say that there is more real knowledge in one single university, as that of Gottingen, or Halle, or Jena, than in the eight Spanish universities of San Jago de Compostella, Alcala, Orihuela, etc. In these, they teach what must, with or without the consent of reason, be believed: in the others they teach how a reasonable belief may be acquired, on any subject whatever. Here, the Decretals are given for infallible oracles; there, no other oracle is acknowledged but reason, and the best supported facts. From all these considerations, it is natural that pedantry, the offspring of scholastics, must be infinitely more uncommon in the Protestant schools than in the others. Some external forms, differing from those in use with us, have given rise to a generally received, though very ill founded prejudice, that a German professor is a pedant: but manners different from ours; Latin or Greek quotations in a book where they may be very necessary, and other similar things, do not constitute pedantry; neither do the long robe and furred cap. The true essence of a pedant is to be an enemy to reason, and to liberal inquiry in the sciences; to have a slavish belief in the authority of some other person, and, in his turn, to put in a despotic claim to make his own arbitrarily valid. If such is, in fact, a pedant, it will be acknowledged that the learned Protestants can have little title to the appellation; they, whose principal maxim is inquiry, the free use of his own reason to every reasonable being, and a liberation from all authority. This disposition tends rather to literary humanity, and should be considered as the direct antipode of pedantry. The science of instruction and that of education therefore must have gained from the new spirit which regulated learning. The pede-

ber of schools, it is because their existence depends upon being the best informed; it is because the reformation is essentially learned; it has received its impulse from science, and can only be supported by science. Knowledge is an affair of state in the reformed nations.

* I also omit noticing those which have been erected in Switzerland, Sweden and Denmark, the Protestant university of Dorpa in Livonia, etc.

gogic* science was brought to perfection. Bacon, who is always referred to when a better discipline for the intellectual man is in discussion; Comènius, the celebrated author of the *Janua linguarum*; Stourm, Locke, and several others, laid the foundations of a better system of education. It is from their examples that the Fenelons, Lachalotais, Schlæzers and Pestalozzi have spoken; it is their language which the citizen of Geneva has overcharged in his sublime hyperboles. In short, it is to all these great men, it is to the memorable event which unfettered their tongues, that the present and future generations are indebted for the mildest, and, at the same time, the most efficacious methods of their culture and their instruction.

It has been shown, in the preceding article, how much history had gained since the reformation, by the freedom of criticism, and by the depth of research. It remains to be added that, since that period, it has been treated in a more philosophical manner. Great lessons and great precepts have been drawn from it. The mind, become more scrutinizing, has endeavoured to bring together the unformed aggregate of scattered facts; it has seized a guiding clew in the labyrinth of ages; in it, it has discovered the progress of humanity; and hence arose the philosophy of history. The Scotch and the English productions, of this description, are known particularly in France, as those of France are to all Europe. Those of the Germans are less so, although they have a very considerable number of works worthy of being known, and included in the general classification of the history of improvement, which holds a medium between political and literary history, participating of both. Opinions are, however, divided in these meditations on the destiny of the human race. Some only see in it the tempestuous fluctuations of a boundless ocean; a blind and endless series of crimes, absurdities, and barbarisms; some fortunate moments succeeded by terrible relapses; chance dictating its pauses, necessity executing them, and crushing with its iron hand the successive generations which it plunges into the gulf of oblivion. Others, of a more consolatory opinion, see, in the progressive course of the human race, a conducting Providence, an approach towards a better state, towards a civil and moral perfection.

* I beg pardon for this word; it means simply the science of education in some countries of Europe, where useful and respectable things are not given up to the sarcasms of frivolity.

There are many Protestants who abide by the latter opinion, and endeavour to demonstrate its certainty. Those who think that a more reasonable and a more happy state has, through the influence of the reformation, been the consequence of a commotion so terrible, so universal, and so long, in Europe, must be permitted to give credit to this sublime conception of the perfectibility of our species. Perhaps those who are of a contrary opinion owe it to being placed in contrary circumstances, or else to some individual disposition, which does not allow them to suppose any possible perfection in their fellow-creatures.

With respect to the Mathematical and Physical Sciences.

At the first glance it appears that the reformation, the immediate impulse of which would be very perceptible in the study of the historical and philosophic sciences, could not, on the contrary, exercise any direct influence on that of the methodical and natural sciences. But if it be considered that a redoubled activity, an investigating disposition, implanted in the human mind by some great event, cannot remain inactive on anything within its scope, conviction will soon follow that the study of these sciences must also have been advantageously affected by the moral impulse given by the reformation. To this presumption, indicated by the nature of things, may also be joined this historical and local consideration, that, at the moment when Luther effected the reformation of the theological system at Wittemberg, at sixty miles from it, in another city of the north, Copernicus prepared that of the astronomical system. These two revolutions, being effected by two contemporaries, it is not easy to discover, with precision, how much the one promoted the other, what have been the results of their combination, nor what are the effects which belong strictly to each of them. For this it would have been necessary to have penetrated into the recesses of all thoughts, and to have followed the most hidden steps of the progress of the human mind, of which, at present few traces and memorials remain. We may, however, observe, as we did at the commencement of this second part, that sheltered by the Ægis of the reform, the Galileans were, at the least, freed from the dread of chains, and from the disgrace of recantations. It was under the protection of this Ægis that Kepler completed the work of Copernicus, and gave geometrical certainty to the new system, which, probably in the eyes of its author, rested on a conviction purely

logical. It is also remarkable, whatever may have been the cause, that the two inventors of the differential calculation Leibnitz and Newton lived, the one in Protestant Germany, and the other in England. The Catholic countries, as well as the Protestant, have since had an equal number of great mathematicians and great philosophers. It is, however, just to suppose that the superior guidance of study and the greater freedom of investigation, are among the causes which have contributed most powerfully to make these beautiful branches of the tree of human knowledge flourish.* But above all; it is certain that the philosophical spirit, fomented, as has been shown, by the reformation, exercised its influence in a very marked manner on the study of mathematics and physics. It was not enough to extend and perfectionate these sciences in themselves, it was also wished to unveil the sublime theory, to scrutinize their foundations, and fix their bases; scientific men of the Protestant persuasion attached themselves more to these species of investigation than those of Catholic countries, who do not seem to have set so high a value on them.†

The philosophy of nature, a science distinct from that called general physics, also acquired a consistence and developments which make it one of the most sublime branches of knowledge of which the genius of man can boast. It is to Kant also that it is indebted for its renovation and its principal bases. The intrepid Schelling has enriched it with the most sublime ideas. The system of Brown, which is only an organized philosophy of nature originated in Scotland; has been cultivated and developed in Germany; and is despised in France, where it is hitherto only imperfectly known.

With respect to the military science, which is usually treated as an appendix to the mathematical sciences, the north of Germany seems, in modern times, to have been destined to furnish it with its principal additions. The infant state of tactics before the thirty years' war is known, Gustavus Adolphus was its reformer, and under him, this art acquired a new aspect in the fields of Saxony and Bohemia. On this same soil, Frederick II. King of Prussia, nearly a

* See the dissertation of Wucherer on this subject; *De incrementis physices a reformationis tempore.*

† It was Kant who first established the principles of a theory of mathematical certainty, and the evidence which is admitted in metaphysics, on occasion of the question proposed on this subject, in 1771, by the academy of Berlin.

century later, also contending against the same house of Austria, which had been humbled by the Swedish hero, completed the work of Gustavus Adolphus, and brought modern tactics to a degree of perfection, at which it will no doubt remain for the future, as far as regards its essential elements.

With respect to the Belles Lettres, and to Modern languages.

Since the reformation redoubled the ardour for a knowledge of the ancient languages, the study of which it rendered more necessary and more general, as well among the Catholics as among the Protestants, it cannot be denied that it contributed greatly to the culture of the belles lettres, and to the restoration of a good taste. In proportion as the classic works of antiquity, those eternal models of the beautiful; genuine and sublime as nature, were more dispersed and read, men's minds were gradually elevated to their pitch, and shook off the barbarism of the Gothic ages.* This revolution had been commenced in Italy by the Greek refugees, who had fixed themselves there in particular. The reformation assisted in propagating its benefits to the European nations farthest distant from this focus.

Nevertheless, a language in which they might give vent to their ideas, a flexible and living organ, by which they might express their living conceptions, was necessary to those, in whom the spark of ancient genius had kindled an enthusiasm. The modern idioms were in the uncultivated, rude state in which long want of use had plunged them. In the south alone, the Italian, and, perhaps, the Provençal, its ally, had assumed a purer form. In the rest of Europe they wrote in Latin; Latin was the language of the schools and the books; and what Latin! a jargon bearing all the blemishes of eleven centuries of corruption and bad taste. Although the reading of Cicero, and the other masters of good Latin might have ameliorated and purified this jargon, whether good or bad, as in fact it did, this Latin was only the language of a very small number of individuals, and remained a dead letter to the people. Now the higher sciences may, without inconvenience, be well expressed in the language of the adepts; the learned might treat on subjects in Latin, which only the learned were to read; in this manner mathematics, physics,

* See Stock's work, entitled *De bonarum literarum Palin-
genesis, sub et post Reformationem*. See also Morhoff, &c.

philosophy, might be tolerably cultivated. But how could they have a literature, without a vulgar tongue, without a people, or, as it may be said, without a public? Every one has a right to decide on productions of taste and sentiment: the auditory of a wit or a poet cannot be restrained to Latin scholars; he requires all classes, all ages, all sexes; he must speak the language of courts and of taverns, of closets and camps, of citizens and peasants; his business is, with all minds, all hearts, and more particularly those most ingenious, most open to all impressions, with those who know least of Latin. While Vaniere can scarcely number a hundred readers, Delille will find thousands. In order, therefore, that each nation might have a literature, it was necessary to write in its language; it was necessary that all classes should be accustomed to read; a great event, a powerful interest, a subject which should become the favourite topic of every one, which should agitate all minds, which should find access everywhere, was wanted; then alone would authors be found willing to write for the people, and a people who would read their writings with eagerness. The reformation was such an event, and became the active source of a general and inexhaustible interest to all classes.

The reformation, conceived by men of learning, and brought forth within the narrow boundary of a Latin speaking public, could never have been consummated, if it had remained within these limits. It was requisite that it should quit them, that it should become the cause of the multitude, that it should gain millions of heads, to arm millions of hands in its favour. An appeal to the people was the first step of the reformist, and this must necessarily be made in their language. When once the people were, in this manner, called upon and made judges, the opponents of the reform were also compelled to appear and plead at this tribunal, and were not sparing in their efforts to retain or bring back the multitude to their side. This controversy, which had left the schools, and become the great business of the whole of Europe, was the first active principle by which modern languages were really fertilized. Before they were only jargons, as rude as the vulgar who made use of them. A few amorous sonnets were not enough to give them that richness and flexibility which they required, to become capable of treating on all descriptions of subjects. The universal animosity between the Papists and the Reformists; the long troubles of Germany and Switzerland; those of the league in France; those of the Low Countries; those of Scotland and England,

became so many furnaces in which the different languages of these countries were elaborated and purified. In his *Histoire de l'Esprit Humain*,* the Marquis D'Argens, after having described the state of letters previous to the sixteenth century, says, "In these times of ignorance Luther appeared, like one of those cheering lights, which after a long tempest, announces to mariners an approaching calm. This great man did as much good to science, as he did injury to the court of Rome. He showed the absurdity of the errors which long respect and ancient custom had rendered sacred; he not only ridiculed the opinions of the theologians, but their language and their manner of writing. He was seconded in his undertakings by Calvin, and it is to these disputes on religion that we are indebted for the restoration of the fine and good style. The theologians of the different parties eagerly strove with each other to write correctly, and to prejudice their countrymen by the purity of their style."

The German nation acknowledges Luther for the reformer of its literature and its idiom. One of his first cares was to publish a faithful translation of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, executed by him and some of his co-operators, from the original. It may be conceived with what avidity this immense work was received, and what a general sensation it excited. It is still taken as authority, and is the principal classic foundation of what is called high German. In this idiom he wrote the greater part of his treatises, letters, discourses, and poems, the collection of which forms twenty-two quarto volumes. One of his first writings was that entitled, *Of the Christian Liberty*, at the head of which he placed an epistle dedicatory, as decent as open and liberal, to Pope Leo X. "No writer for many ages (says M. Georges Muller, of Schaffhausen, in his *Lettres sur les Sciences*.) had seen his writings bought up with such avidity, and so universally read from the throne to the cottage. They were all reprinted several times, pirated, hawked over all the empire. The popularity, the natural ease, the energy of expression which prevailed in them, a doctrine which cheered and elevated the soul, gained him the most upright and judicious of all classes. A multiplicity of pamphlets, loose sheets, songs, which have reached us from that period, testify the universal ecstasy which this vivifying light inspired." Wickliff had previously translated the New Testament into English; as soon as the reformation had rendered the reading of the

* Tom I. p. 258.

sacred books of the first necessity to the people of England, Tindal, Roye* and others published a version of them. The same thing occurred in France, where the reformation multiplied the French Bibles, and placed them in the hands of every one.† When the Catholic theologians saw these great mysteries of religion become the prey of the ignorant, they resolved to countermine them, and to publish also their translations, their commentaries, their explanations of the sacred books. We shall content ourselves with observing, generally, that the European languages were perfectionated by these religious and political controversies, by these translations and explanations, which is sufficient to the object in discussion.‡

It would, doubtless, be hazarding too much, to say more of the influence exerted on the belles lettres, by the reformation.§ So many different causes have contributed to their

* This is probably intended for Rogers, who in conjunction with Coverdale, revised Tindal's translation, and added the prefaces and notes from Luther's Bible. This translation was dedicated to Henry VIII. in the feigned name of Thomas Matthews, and is known by the name of Matthews's Bible. T.

† It is true that in his *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*, p. 332, Father Simon asserts that the first French Bible was that of Anvers, of 1530, revised by the theologians of Louvain, and that thus "it was the Catholics who were the first authors of the French Bibles read at present." But Father Simon did not know that that Bible was the work of Jacques Lefebvre of Estaples, commonly called Father Stapulensis, the confidant of the queen of Navarre, suspected with good reason of being a partisan of Luther, declared to be a heretic by the Sorbonne, and deprived of his doctorate. This translation of the Bible was also used as the basis of that of Geneva.

‡ We must not omit here the real services rendered by Bayle to the French language, which he contributed greatly to the production of a taste for, which he made capable of being modelled to every subject, and even of treating on matters which before had only been treated of in Latin.

§ Nevertheless it may also be added, that the inhabitants of the towns and the country, who hear divine service regularly in their own tongue, who sing psalms, canticles, and rich pieces of poetry in it, written, as they are in Germany, by the best national poets, acquire by that means a crowd of ideas, a taste and a notion of the beautiful, which can never be attained by those who assist at a service performed in bad Latin, which they do not understand.

culture, and to the different modifications they have experienced, in the various European nations, that whoever enters this labyrinth will be in danger of missing his track, of blending objects, and of giving ingenious conjectures instead of certain results. The Protestant nations, which may be called the Germanic race, have such a similarity of features among them in their manners, language, and climate, that we must be careful of taking a conformity in the characters or genius of their literary productions, for the immediate effects of the great revolution which was common to them. The spirit of each people, so powerfully modified by such a number of events, and of generations, has its own tendencies, its natural dispositions, which cannot be attributed to one insulated circumstance. Without doubt, the unanimity with which the Protestant nations of the present day adopted the reform as soon as it presented itself, was only a result of this mutual conformity of their spirit. Their progress in this respect (the matter being adopted in general) has always tended to simplify religion, to render it more strict and more intellectual, remaining inviolably attached to deism, and to that morality which is the basis of it. The manners of the Protestant are also incontestably better and more grave, than those of the Catholic nations. Is it because these nations are Protestant, that they have acquired this character; or, is it because they have this character that they became Protestant? I must leave the decision of this question to others. I am only desirous of showing the influence of this character on the culture of the belles lettres. The French and Italian literature is rich in a multitude of works, in which love is treated with the most exquisite delicacy and grace; such a number of these agreeable productions would be sought for in vain, among the English or Germans; I might even dare to assert, that the few they have are merely imitative, and that they are not indigenous plants in their soil. Among them, love would not dare to appear escorted by the desires, and associated with voluptuousness. Their Bocaces, Grecourts and Lafontaines, have not yet been born. Should they appear they would be coldly received; and it was not by the softened imitations of this description, which Wieland hazarded, that he conciliated the most of the esteem of his countrymen. In a word, their songs, their romances, the ideal world of their poets, are totally different from what is seen among their neighbours. I dare not give this as a consequence of the reformation, but rather as a coincidence. It is, however, very deserving of notice, that the two most sublime epic poems, in which

the God of Christians, and the inhabitants of heaven are the actors, and in which these actors speak a language worthy of them; the two most wonderful pictures of celestial innocence and virtue, that of the fall of the first human beings, and that of their redemption, are Protestant productions. If the too short golden age of Italian poetry had not produced the Jerusalem of Tasso, Paradise Lost and the Messiah would have been the only two epic poems of which modern literature could have boasted.

Finally, the investigating and reasoning spirit, to which the reformation opened a free career, as has been shown above, was also introduced into the domain of the imagination, and took such a post in it as it was capable of, that is to say, it took refuge in the theoretic department of the belles lettres, in the systems connected with sentiment, taste, the beautiful and sublime, &c.

It is known, that in proportion, the Protestant literati have done more on these subjects, and perhaps, have penetrated more deeply into them than the others. It is among them that the rational part of literary criticism has assumed the form of a science, under the name of Esthetics. This name was given to it by Baumgarten, a German, from a Greek word signifying sentiment. Lessing, as well as Sulzr and his followers, have published some valuable pieces of this description. Kant has founded a new esthetic school, in his Criticism on the Judgment. He has had numerous and ingenious disciples; the most remarkable among them, both in theory and in practice, is the illustrious Schiller.

With respect to the Fine Arts.

It is when a pompous worship requires magnificent temples, imposing ceremonies, and a striking appearance; it is when religion exhibits the sensible images of the objects of public veneration, when it rests on a sacred mythology; when the earth and the heavens are peopled with supernatural beings, to whom the imagination can lend a form; it is then, I say, that the arts, encouraged, ennobled, reach the summit of their splendour and their perfection. The architect, called to honours and wealth, conceives the plan of these basilisks, these cathedrals, the appearance of which inspires a religious awe; of which the rich walls are decorated with the master-pieces of art. This temple, these altars are adorned with marble and the precious metals, out of which sculpture has formed angels, the blessed, and images of illustri-

ous men. The choirs, the galleries, the chapels, the sacristies, are decorated with pictures hung in all parts. Here, Jesus dies on the cross; there he appears on Tabor, in all the splendence of divine majesty. Art, so much the friend of the imagination, which can find gratification only in the heavens, goes there in search of its most sublime creations; a St. John, a Cecilia, and more particularly, a Mary, that patroness of all tender and ardent minds, that virgin model of all mothers, the mediatrix of mercy between man and his God, the august and touching Elysian being, of which no other religion offers a resemblance or a model. During the solemnities, the choicest stuffs, precious stones, and embroidery cover the altars, the vessels, the priests and even the partitions of the holy place. By the most exquisite songs, by the harmony of orchestras, music completes the charm. These encouragements, of such powerful efficacy, are renewed in a hundred different places; the metropolises, the parishes, the numerous convents, the simple oratories, vie in splendour, and captivate all the powers of the religious and devout soul. Thus the taste for the arts, assisted by such a powerful lever, becomes general; artists are multiplied, and rival each other in their efforts. Through this influence, the celebrated schools of Italy and Flanders flourished, and those most beautiful productions of them which remain to us, testify the richness of the encouragement lavished on them by the Catholic worship.

From the natural course of things, it cannot be doubted that the reformation was unfavourable to the fine arts, and laid a considerable restraint upon the exercise of them. It broke the bond which united them to religion, which rendered them sacred, and secured them a share in the veneration of the people. The liturgy of the Lutherans, and still more that of the Calvinists, is simple and strict. A stone, a cloth, form the altar; a pulpit and benches are all the decoration necessary to the temple. Here nothing is thought of but the gospel, and some divine songs on morality and the Christian duties, sung by the congregation. All is devoid of ornament, pomp and elegance. The priest is clothed in a modest black garment; no veneration of a saint or an angel, and still less of their images, is recommended to pious souls. It might be said that this worship is melancholy and dry, in comparison with that of the Catholics, if, however, an assembly of persons collected to worship in common, can really correspond with the idea of melancholy. Nevertheless it is certain, that this worship which can elevate the soul, tends to disenchant

the imagination; it renders superb churches, and statues, and paintings superfluous; it depopulates the arts, and deprives them of one of their most powerful resources.

Besides this general disposition peculiar to a worship which keeps so rigidly close to the pure spirit of the primitive church, and which does not admit of any coquetry with the senses, the particular disposition of the nations which have embraced the reform must be considered. The greater part of them inhabit the severest climate of Europe. They are colder, more phlegmatic, more thoughtful than those of the south; they have not nature before their eyes in so beautiful a form; they do not respire that voluptuous, soft, intoxicating air of the Italian atmosphere. Independent of the reformation, therefore, they are not so well placed, so well constituted for the practice of the arts, as the Italians for example. Without doubt they have had, and still have, esteemed artists, but not such as to excel those of Italy, or even to counterbalance them. Their real merit in the arts, and which arises from their reflecting, scrutinizing spirit, is that of treating the theory with more penetration; of observing and investigating the principles which, unknown to them, direct the great artists; of tracing the course of the imagination, and the understanding in their productions; of discovering the connections between the ideal nature of the arts, and real nature; in a word, of developing the principles and philosophy of the arts. The Italian feels and produces; Hemsterhuys, Kant, Burke, Goethe, think, analyze the production, and the faculty of producing. The one has the instinct of art; the other, the intelligence. The one creates; the other judges of the creation, and calculates its laws. These two functions equally presuppose genius. The first displays it externally, in visible forms; the second, in the depths of the understanding. This may be named the legislative power; that, the executive power of the fine arts.

SECT. II.

RESULTS OF THE EVENTS WHICH HAVE ACCOMPANIED AND FOLLOWED THE REFORMATION.

Troubles and Wars in the Political World.—Controversies in the Theological World.

IF the reformation had only affected doctrine, and Luther had only attacked transubstantiation, or pardons, such an obscure quarrel would have remained in the schools, and scarcely have obtained the honours of a bull of condemnation. The holy father, would, unconcernedly, have treated the new heretic like a thousand others who have passed by without creating an epocha. The nations and the princes would have been wholly ignorant of a quarrel which was not theirs. But Luther not only attacked the spirit, or the doctrine of popery; he from the first, struck at the most sensible part of the temporals of the church, and began the heresy with the apostolical finances. From thenceforward no one could remain indifferent; those who raised the tribute made a great outcry; those who were freed from the payment of it, declared strenuously for the innovators. The most powerful of the Christian princes, however, those who have threatened the independence of all the others, thought proper to support the rights of Rome. The others, who, in this conjuncture saw the double opportunity of freeing themselves at the same time, from the papal despotism, and from the yoke of Austria, resolved to arm in defence of the reform, and suffered themselves to be carried down the torrent with their people. Hence also resulted this double misfortune, that the wars which arose, took a religious and a fanatic character; consequently, more animated, more dreadful, and more sanguinary than that of other wars; and that the controversies of the theologians acquired a political importance, a universality which rendered their effects more fatal, more durable, and more extensive than those of all the numerous controversies which had, at any former time, agitated the Christian church.

These were the sources of the evils, of the horrible catastrophes, which accompanied and followed the reformation; such were the causes of a century and a half of a mortal crisis, of sanguinary wars, of revolts, and of troubles in Europe. A spark which Luther had struck to light a torch, fell among heaps of powder, in a country wholly mined. The explosion

shook all the west, and seemed likely to bring back the night of barbarism which had been begun to be dissipated; but fortunately the torch had been lighted; and when the clouds of vapour emitted from the volcano began to disperse, its beneficent light shone like a star which had been darkened by a tempest, but, on the return of serenity, serves to restore the pilot to his course.

It may, therefore, be truly said, with some of the opponents of the reformation, that, at the moment, it forced the reign of knowledge and the culture of the sciences to retrogradé. Let us figure to ourselves the unheard-of devastations to which unfortunate Germany became a prey; the war of the peasants in Suabia; that of the Anabaptists of Munster; that of the league of Smalcald against Charles V. Finally, that dreadful one which lasted until the treaty of Westphalia, and also after this treaty, until its complete execution. The empire was changed by it into a vast cemetery, in which two generations were swallowed up, where cities were only smoking ruins, and heaps of ashes: the schools deserted and without masters; agriculture destroyed; manufactures burnt. To this may be added, that, on this desolated land, men's minds were soured, disunited, exasperated by their long divisions; Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Moravians, all accused and attributed to each other the lamentable wounds of their common country, of that country which was not only torn by its own children, but so long exposed to the troops of Spain and Italy, to the fanatics of Bohemia, to hordes of Turks, to the French, Swedish and Danish armies, who vied with each other in bringing into it the carnage and desolations of war, such as was carried on in the seventeenth century, and which had the characters of a civil and religious war. A country requires a very long space of time to recover from such a commotion and so deep a ruin. Consequently we see the German nation, after having, at first, made very great strides in the sciences, during the peace which was maintained while Luther lived, fall, for a part of the seventeenth century, into a sort of stupor, into an almost total want of culture. In this period, its literature remained behind that of the Italians, the French, and the English; and from thence may be dated the unfavourable prejudice against German talents, which is not yet wholly extinguished in the latter nations. Since this period the aspect of things has been greatly changed; but prejudices last longer than things; and the love of our own country, strengthened by a habit disposed

to believe, and an indolence which checks examination, will, perhaps render this opinion very difficult to destroy.

It was not on its native soil alone, where its cause was contested with such inveteracy, that the reformation occasioned these destructive convulsions. France could not escape them; but the troubles of this country were neither so long nor so mischievous as those of Germany. The latter country was in the most deplorable state, when France had healed all her wounds, under Sully, Richelieu, and Mazarine, and had attained the summit of her literary and political glory. The Low Countries were the theatre of the convulsive struggle of Spain against the new Dutch republic. The evils resulting from it to this part of Europe, nearly equalled those of the rest of the empire. Finally, England became the prey of intestine commotions, which have been detailed above, in the article appropriated to that power. It is enough to be obliged to acknowledge that, since the irruption of the northern tribes into the Roman empire, no event had provoked such long and such universal ravages in Europe, as the war kindled in the furnace of the reformation. In this point of view, it is too true that it retarded the progress of the general culture; but when the conflagration was at an end, all the solid benefits derived from it appeared, in the better direction, the new activity, the liberty, it had given to the human mind, in the immense obstacles it had removed from its path, and which so invincibly shackled its progress.

I ask, besides, was it the reformation which called the princes and the nations to the combat? In its principle, the reformation was only the act by which reason declared itself emancipated, and freed from the yoke of arbitrary authority; an emancipation which was the natural and unavoidable consequence of the renovation of knowledge. Its object was to restore the gospel to Christians in its purity, to renounce the exorbitant claims of the popes. The adversaries of this reform were so enraged, so iniquitous, as to wish to stifle it in the blood of its sectaries. They alone are guilty of all the evils which followed. The terrible efforts made to annihilate the reform prove, to every reflecting mind, its great necessity.

A more direct reproach, and apparently a more just one, which may be brought against the reformation, is that of having rekindled, with inconceivable fury, the theological disputes, which interested all minds, were introduced into all places, and consumed so much knowledge, talents, assiduity and erudition, as were lavished in feeding their fire. The

attention of the learned world was directed for upwards of a century to these calamitous quarrels of dogmas and forms, which became a new and powerful obstacle to the progress of the sciences. They strengthened the disposition for reveries and the extravagant mysticism of some ardent imaginations. Polemical disputations naturally arose, from the first, between the theologians of Rome and those of the reform; they were violent on both sides, and accompanied by contumely and insults.* The acrimony, too natural to such dis-

* Luther is greatly reproached, and by Voltaire among others, for some invectives and contemptuous terms which he used against the Pope. Voltaire has employed much more indecent language himself, and with less reason, against his opponents. At the beginning, Luther showed himself very submissive and very respectful to the head of the church. He expressed himself at first, and also frequently afterwards, with great moderation and decency. But let us reflect on the horrible abuse with which he was loaded; let us read the libels of Hochstraten, Eckius, Tetzels, &c. and we shall see whether Luther ought to be condemned for the anger and indignation he occasionally manifested. If he had not been ardent and irritable, how could he have become the leader of so great a revolution? If his enemies had had him in their power, they would have burned him as they did John Huss. For his part, he was satisfied with turning them into ridicule, but he did not burn any one. Against adversaries who employ tortures and fire, is it an offence so heinous to employ sarcasms even though they should be in a bad taste? There was very little good taste in the sixteenth century. Besides, leisure and tranquillity are necessary to taste; and could leisure be allied with the clashing of all interests, and all passions? The language of Luther, sometimes violent, was never cruel and ferocious, like that of some of the popes. Clement VI. in the bull of anathema which he issued against the emperor Louis of Bavaria, expresses himself thus; "May God strike him with imbecility and madness; may heaven overwhelm him with its thunders; may the anger of God, with that of St. Peter and St. Paul, fall upon him in this world and in the next; may the whole universe revolt against him; may the earth swallow him up alive; may his name perish from the earliest generation; and may his memory disappear; may all the elements be adverse to him; may his children, delivered into the hands of his enemies, be crushed before the eyes of their father, &c." (Rainaldi, Ann. Eccles.) Such language did not prevent Petrarch, playing on the name of this pope, from saying that he was clemency itself; while Garasse and all his wor-

cussions and such circumstances, was propagated from year to year, and from controversy to controversy, and contributed greatly to giving the literary disputes of the times that followed, that strain of animosity which is more observable in this than in any other age.

It was not between the Catholics and the innovators alone that the combat raged; but very ardent contests soon arose in the bosom of the reform itself, and between its partisans. I cannot here relate the history of all the sects and all the opinions which the unlimited liberty established by the reform gave rise to, in such numbers. These sects, all enemies of Rome, did not treat each other better than they treated the Papists. Besides the fanatic brotherhoods of Anabaptists Mennonites, Adamites, Muntzerians, Puritans, &c.; besides the violent contests on the doctrine of the sacraments, which Luther, Melancthon, and others had to support against Carlstadt, Œcolampadius, &c. there arose important schisms in the Evangelical Church, which were also allied to politics and were not without influence on the fate of the people. The Swiss reform declared itself against the Saxon reform, and the English church was established independent of both. The struggle between Lutheranism and Calvinism was violent and long.* So many vain disputes could not take place but at the expense of beneficial studies and useful knowledge, the culture of which was neglected on account of them.

This does not contradict what I have said above of the happy results of the moral impulse given by the reformation.

thy successors delight in repeating that Luther was a clownish monk, a hot-headed heresiarch, and other pitiful things. Strange blindness of ignorance and fanaticism!

* If I have not taken greater notice of the schism between the Lutherans and Calvinists, it is because I had not to give an account of the influence of the reform on the religious doctrine and belief. There have been few results of this schism of any importance to the states, because the Calvinists have obtained the same rights as the Lutherans in the empire. It has only produced some misunderstandings and internal dissensions in the evangelical party, to which it has, for that reason, been hurtful. The electoral houses of Saxony and the Palatinate, among others, have had severe contests on this subject: but I cannot speak of them; my only object has been to give results of importance to the rest of Europe, these domestic bickerings of the reform are not of that description.

I have given these results such as they really were in the end, and without confining myself to the order of time. It is thus that what may appear contradictory in that which I have formerly said, in favour, and that which I now say to the disadvantage of the reform, is to be understood and interpreted.

We may observe, however, that these religious disputes, which related only to the different opinions on theology and matters of faith, have contributed to keep up that living spirit of religion, and that attachment to Christianity in the Protestant countries, which is much less visible in Catholic countries. After all, it is better to dispute on religion than to agree quietly not to have any; to contend on the manner of adoring God, than not to believe in him at all, and to remain indifferent and lukewarm on what relates to our connection with the Divinity. It is also better, without doubt, to adore God sincerely, and to leave each individual at liberty to perform this high action in his own manner. This is precisely what, some sooner, and others later, the different reformed nations have come to. They began with wrangling and controversy; they finished with philosophy and toleration; and the spirit of religion remained with them.*

We may also observe, that this theological inquietude, which has produced so many useless and even injurious controversies among the Reformists, was not in any respect essential to the reformation, but belonged to the age, and to Christianity in general. The first Reformers were Catholic theologians, trained in the bosom of the Roman Church, and

* The religious discussions had also some other good effects, from the favourable disposition to philosophical and speculative subjects which they kept up in men's minds. Would our great Descartes have founded a school; would his doctrine have occasioned the sensation it did, or, would it have produced the good it did produce, if he had not found both opponents and disciples, equally ardent, in Holland? Holland was the true focus of Cartesianism. It was there also that all those sheltered theologians, Saurin, Jurieu, Basnage, (as well as Beausobre, Lenfant and others at Berlin,) discussed and wrote, and whose books warmed the zeal of our Arnauld, Bossuet, and Nicole, in their answers, from which, as well as from the replies of their adversaries, we might select more than one master-piece, in works remarkable for the eloquence arising from a warmth of soul, for the beauty of style, and the erudition which is displayed in them.

had communicated a captious irritability to their new doctrine. It was not because they were Lutherans or Calvinists that these new doctors were full of subtleties, were vain and petulant; it was because they had been Catholics, and were compelled to defend themselves without remission against the Catholic doctors. This spirit of disputation was, as we may suppose, transmitted to their immediate successors; but it was at length subdued and overpowered by the true spirit of the reform, which is the same as that of the Gospel, and by that of knowledge and philosophy, so powerfully seconded by the reform, which are not different from those of humanity and toleration.

Abelard and St. Bernard were not Reformists; neither were the two parties of the Franciscans, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. To what a deluge of controversies and scholastic barbarisms did these two give rise! Since the time of the apostles, the Christian church has been constantly afflicted with this mania of sects, and debates on doctrine. From Simon the magician, Cerinthus and Ebbion to Jansenius, Quesnel, and the last days of the Sarbonne, nothing has been seen but disputes, the acrimony of parties, hatreds, condemnations. How could a sudden revolution be effected in this church, without bearing the same characters? How could such a volcano break out without discharging torrents of lava? Poor human reason had been so long captive in the schools of theology, that, at first, it was unable to make the most proper use of its liberty. A prisoner whose chains are struck off, the door of whose dungeon is thrown open, quits it with unsteady steps; his benumbed feet are unable to support him; the blaze of day, destined to enlighten him, makes him blind; he wanders about at hazard, strikes against every obstacle, falls and destroys himself.—Would it have been better, for this reason, to have left the man in his dungeon? The opponents of the reform say yes.

Secret Societies—Free-Masons—Rosicrucians—Mystics—Illuminati.

When a certain number of individuals, forming a feeble minority of a nation, feel themselves the depositories of opinions which they believe to be of importance, and which they dare not make public, because they think them dangerous to the multitude, or because they would expose themselves to persecutions by professing them openly, or from any other cause: then arises to these individuals the necessity of secret

unions, in which they may profess their doctrine with freedom; an intimate fraternity between all the members of the association, oaths not to betray it, tests, signs to know each other in the midst of strangers, are necessary to them. Hence the mysteries of Egypt, of Greece, those of Pythagoras, &c.

There is no doubt that many of these mysterious fraternities have existed in Europe since the fall of the Roman empire, and that some of them may have passed through the middle age to reach us. But without attending to all the recitals, true or fabulous, which several of them give of their origin, and which frequently have no other foundation but a romantic tradition, deceitful symbols, and suppositious monuments, we shall only stop to observe that the nature of things never made these societies so necessary and so mysterious as they were rendered by the abuses of the hierarchial despotism, the inquisition, and the vexations of every kind exercised by the agents of Rome in the period which preceded the reformation. There was a considerable number of all classes whose eyes were opened to these abuses, and who perceived their enormity; but they carefully concealed in their souls, a secret, which, had it been divulged, would have condemned them to the flames. It was only when they met a tried friend apart, that they could communicate their sentiments; then their oppressed breasts were unburthened, they consoled each other, in a low voice, on the load with which they were borne down, and consulted on the means of uniting, and supporting themselves, and of forming a small circle within which the tyrants of the mind could not reach them. It is more than probable that such societies existed at the time of the reformation. The Wickliffites in England and Scotland, the Hussites in Bohemia, Silesia and Moravia, as well as the remains of the Albigenses in France, must, doubtless, have felt the want of a mutual communication, and also of a careful concealment; two conditions which are principally instrumental in the formation of these societies. How much more pressing and general must these circumstances have become, when the reformation broke out openly in Saxony, and everywhere redoubled the activity and watchfulness of the spies and inquisitors of Rome? There was not any Catholic country in which the principles of Luther had not gained a great number of partisans. The situation of these secret adherents of the reform was exceedingly perilous. A simple suspicion would have undone them, would have given them over to punishment. The extreme constraint they

were under could only cease and receive some alleviation in the hidden conventicles of the most profound mystery. If the order of free-masons did not then take its rise, (that is to say, towards the close of the sixteenth, or beginning of the seventeenth century,) at least it received both new modifications and a new extension at that period. They have not yet found titles which are completely sheltered from criticism, or in which a formal mention of them is made, prior to the year 1610. The temple of Jerusalem, the strict filiation of the templars, belong probably to the mythology of this order, rather than to its history. There are ancient laws in existence which exclude the Catholics, and confine the order to the Protestants alone. The principles of equality and fraternity between the members, are very conformable to that seen at that time in several open and avowed sects. The geographical position of Bohemia and Saxony, from whence issued the light of reform, with respect to Scotland, England, and France, seems to explain the denomination of the *East* commonly used in their lodges. In the state of confusion and advancement of all nations, a conformity of opinion was of more importance to them than a conformity of country. A Lutheran of Bavaria was more attached to a Lutheran of Saxony, than to a Bavarian Catholic. The Swiss Calvinist, become the enemy of the Swiss Catholic, considered the French and Dutch Calvinist, as his true countrymen. The Scotch Puritan fraternized with the Englishmen of his sect, in despite of the national antipathy. Nevertheless the civil wars, those of nation against nation, long and sanguinary, which followed, particularly in England and Scotland often brought these brothers, the secret allies, to blows, and exposed them to the mutual danger of taking each other's lives. Each followed at random the colours under which his fortune had thrown him. How many soldiers, zealous Protestants at the bottom of their hearts, served in the imperial armies of Ferdinand, and in those of Philip II.! How many Calvinists in the army of the league, and Presbyterians in the ranks of the episcopals! A mysterious sign was, therefore, required, by which brother might be revealed to brother in the midst of the confusion and carnage. It is known that the Free-Masons have one destined to accomplish this object; and this alone seems evidently to prove that this order belongs to the sanguinary period of the wars of the seventeenth century, during which there are numerous examples of individuals being saved amidst the greatest perils, by their ene-

mies themselves, who, by this sign, recognized them for fellows and brothers.

The state of disorder and fermentation in which the human mind was, in general, at the moment of Luther's appearance; the efforts which it made in various directions to arrive at the light, and escape from the darkness of the middle age, gave rise to several coincident events in the reign of science, which were mingled in a thousand different ways, both with the ideas of the religious sects of this period, and with the mysterious doctrine of the secret societies. A fanciful assemblage of aphorisms, called of Hermes, Pythagoras, and Plato, adapted to the Hebrew text of the books of the old Testament, and of those of some Rabbis, had renewed the Judaical reveries, known by the name of Cabbala. The sectaries of this obscure doctrine, called also by them the Hermetic, the Pythagorean, etc. philosophy, expected to find in them the sources of knowledge, of universal wisdom. Reuchlin, Zorzi and Agrippa gave it its consistence in the sixteenth century. Cardan and others added judicial astrology to it. The celebrated Swiss, Theophrastus Bombast de Hohenheim, better known by the name of Paracelsus, united his knowledge to the cabbala, and aimed at penetrating all the secrets of God, or of nature, which to him was the same thing. To find the primitive element, the great menstruum; to fix the light, and subject it to his operations; in a word, to find the philosopher's stone, to cure all diseases and to make gold, by its means, was the end, the great work of the new science, which its numerous partisans sometimes called theosophy, the philosophy of fire, etc. He who, after Paracelsus, gained it the most popularity, was the celebrated Englishman, Robert Fludd. In the laboratories of this sect were propagated the Oriental ideas of magic, of apparitions, of genii; ideas which prevailed about this time, and have not yet entirely ceased. The common doctrine of the groundwork of all these cabbalists, astrologers, and alchemists, was the pantheism of the school of Alexandria; and, consequently, through all its variations, a sort of Platonism, which, as such, would oppose, with all its powers, the famous Aristoteism, defended by the scholastics, and the principal support of the Roman theology.* The Protestant sects, the

* It cannot be denied that these theosophists, as well as the reformist theologians, prepared the way for Descartes, in the mortal war which he waged against the remains of the scholastic philosophy. It is impossible to understand the writings of

enemies of Rome, received therefore, and gave great credit to all these novelties, introduced, principally, in the secret associations of which we have spoken, and which sometimes were open to these magicians, blowers of gold, etc.

The religious ideas of every description, from the most extravagant cabbala, to the most rational Protestantism; the moral ideas of equality, of fraternity, and of beneficence among all men; those of judicial astrology, of theosophy and alchemy, with all their shades and consequences; such were the elements, so various and so heterogeneous, of which the mysterious basis of the secrets of all these new associations was composed. According as an individual or a lodge adopted more particularly one or other of these views, its doctrine tended more to religious mysticism, or to political mysticism, or to astrology, or to alchemy, etc. Gradually, however, the elements purely moral were separated entirely from the mysteries of alchemy, and of the philosopher's stone. They took refuge in the society so well known by the name of *Free-Masonry*, which, whether its origin ascends higher than the reformation or not, received a new growth and a new vigour from it. For a long time, since the religious troubles have been calmed in Europe, and all the Christian sects are allowed in it, this estimable society has only retained some of the mysterious forms of its infancy, a secret which only seems to be preserved to render the association more connected or more enticing, and a great respect for the sacred books, which was the characteristic feature of Protestantism. The remainder became the portion of the Rosicrucians, who notwithstanding the imposing history of their pretended founder, Rosencreutz, and of his interment; notwithstanding the rose surmounted with a cross borne by Luther on his seal, according to all appearance, owes its origin to a Wittembergian theologian, Valentine Andreæ, who established it there with a good design, but afterwards withdrew from it.*

this philosopher, or those of his disciples or adversaries, such as, Voëtus, Gassendi, Poiret, etc. and, generally of all the philosophical works of this period, without a perfect acquaintance with the key of the labours of the reformers, and of those of the sectaries of Paracelsus.

* A work will shortly be published in Germany by the learned M. Buhle, professor of philosophy in the university of Göttingen, which will make what is advanced here on the origin of Masonry evident, and will exhibit all the proofs. M. Buhle has

Sometimes the religious ideas of the theosophists remained united with their metaphysical pantheism, with their mythology of supernatural beings, with their chemistry, with their manner of seeing nature. From this the most eccentric and sometimes the most whimsical doctrine was produced in some heads which gave way to this medley. The most famous of these mystical theosophists was a shoemaker of Goerlitz in Lusatia, Jacob Bœhm, whose writings, being read with avidity, created him a multitude of sectaries over all the north of Europe; there are also among them, some very illustrious for their knowledge; I shall only instance the two Van Helmonts, father and son, of Brussels, and Peter Poiret, of Metz. At a period very near our own, we also reckon Swedenbourg, and all the sect of Martinists, among whom Paracelsus and Bœhm are likewise held in great esteem. It is certain that this Bœhm, and some other mystics, have been men of extraordinary genius; and that some of their ideas merit an honourable rank in the sublime philosophy, as certain discoveries of Paracelsus deserve in chemistry. If, as Seneca says, there is no great genius without some mixture of folly, perhaps, also, there is no great folly without some mixture of genius.

However this may be, these secret societies were not without some influence on the moral culture, and also on the events which have occurred in Europe since the reformation. It was, therefore, to our purpose to notice the influence which this had on their existence. On these have been grafted and modelled some more recent associations, of which the best known is the order of the Illuminati, a general denomination which have served as a mask and a pretext to much knavery. The purpose of the real Illuminati, as I believe, was no other than to propogate knowledge and to realize liberal ideas of the rights of nature, by founding a society of energetic and well meaning men, who might labour with all their united strength against a certain system of obscurantism which tended towards a return to barbarism, and which was efficaciously supported by some courts. The Illuminati, during the short period of their existence, neglected no means to make their intentions triumph, and to subject all the great men of the

already read a Latin dissertation on the same subject to the Royal Society of Sciences at Gottingen, at the end of 1802, and an extract from this piece appeared in the literary papers of the same city, in January, 1803, Nos. 7 and 8.

earth to them. In this view they may be considered as the Jesuits of philosophy, and the apostles of a political sect whose belief is founded on this agreeable dream, that virtue and talents should have precedency and authority among men.

Jesuits, Jansenists, etc.

The sixteenth century saw Luther and Loyola arise almost at the same instant, the one in the north, and the other in the south of Europe: the latter, sprung from Spain, seems to be a natural product of the soil and of the spirit of Saxony. A century earlier, Loyola would probably only have founded an order like many others, a fraternity of worshippers of the Virgin, for whom he had a great veneration. The religious innovations which, at this time, menaced the existence of the Roman church, gave the enthusiasm of the devout and warlike Ignatius, another direction; he conceived the idea of a sort of spiritual crusade against heresy. After some doubts his plan was vigorously adopted at Rome, and they thought seriously of this new society as of a formidable phalanx, which might be opposed to the most violent champions of the reform. It is, therefore, as has been already observed, to the reaction provoked by the latter, that the species of existence which the company of Jesus had, must be attributed. It will, perhaps, be agreeable to see the identical words of Damianus, one of the first historians of the society, who expresses himself thus, in his *Synopsis Historiæ Soc. Jes. primo sæculo*, printed in 1640.*

* “ Eodem anno vigesimo-primo, adulta jam nequitia, palam ecclesiæ bellum indixit Lutherus: læsus in Pampelonensi arce Ignatius, alius ex vulnere, fortiorque quasi defendendæ religionis signum sustulit.

“ Lutherus Petri sedem probris, convitiisque lacerare aggreditur: Ignatius quasi ad suscipiendam causam, a S. Petro prodigiose curatur.

“ Lutherus ira, ambitione, libidine victus, a religiosa vita desciscit: Ignatius Deo vocante impigre obsecutus, a profana ad religiosam transit.

“ Lutherus cum sacra Deo vergine incestas nuptias init sacrilegus: perpetuæ continentiæ voto se adstringit Ignatius.

“ Lutherus omnem superiorum contemnit auctoritatem: prima Ignatii monita sunt, plena christianæ denissionis, subesse et parere.

“ In the same year, 1521, Luther, moved by a consummate malice, declared war openly against the church: wounded in the fortress of Pampeluna, having become better, and, as it were, stronger, from his wound, Ignatius raised the standard in defence of religion.

“ Luther attacks the see of St. Peter, with insults and blasphemies: Ignatius, as if to undertake his cause, is miraculously cured by St. Peter.

“ Luther, subdued by rage, ambition, and lust, quits a religious life: Ignatius, eagerly obeying the call of God, changes from a profane to a religious life.

“ Sacrilegious Luther contracts an incestuous marriage with a holy virgin of God: Ignatius binds himself by a vow of perpetual continency.

“ Luther contemns all the authority of his superiors: the first precepts of Ignatius, full of Christian humility, are to submit and obey.

“ Luther declaims like a fury against the Holy See: Ignatius everywhere supports it.

“ Luther draws as many from it as he can: Ignatius conciliates and brings back as many to it as he can.

“ All Luther's studies and enterprises are directed against it: Ignatius, by a special vow, consecrates his labours, with those of his associates, to it.

“ Luther detracts from the veneration and worship of the sacred rites of the church: Ignatius maintains all veneration for them.

“ The sacrifice of the mass, the eucharist, the mother of

“ In sedem apostolicam, furentis in morem, declamat Lutherus: illam ubique tuetur Ignatius.

“ Ab ea quotquot potest Lutherus avertit: quotquot potest conciliat, reducitque Ignatius.

“ Adversus illam ninentur omnia Lutheri studia atque conatus: Ignatius suos, suorumque labores peculiari voto illi consecrat.

“ Lutherus sacris ecclesiæ ritibus venerationem, cultumque detrahit: Ignatius omnem illis reverentiam asserit.

“ Missæque sacrificio, eucharistiæ, Dei paræ, tutelaribus divinis, et illis, tanto Lutheri furore impugnat, pontificum indulgentiis; in quibus novo semper invento celebrandis Ignatii sociorumque desudat industria.

“ Luthero illo Germanicæ probro, Epicuri porco, Europæ exitio, orbis infelici portento, Dei atque hominum odio, etc.... æterno consilio Deus opposuit Ignatium.”

(Synopsis, etc.—Lib. 1. Diss. VI. p. 18.)

God, the tutelary saints, the indulgences of the pontiffs, and the things attacked by Luther with such fury, were objects which the industry of Ignatius and his companions was eagerly and continually employed in seeking new modes of celebrating.

“To this Luther, the disgrace of Germany, the hog of Epicurus, the destroyer of Europe, the accursed portent of the universe, the abomination of God and men, etc.... God, in his eternal wisdom, opposed Ignatius.”

In fact, the new order performed the functions, prescribed for it from its cradle, with fidelity. A great number of Catholic associations and fraternities, to which the general unquiet gave rise about that epocha, appeared, and were eclipsed without glory, like those meteors which blaze for an instant in the atmosphere, and leave no trace behind them. The society of Jesus rose above the horizon like a formidable comet which spreads terror through the nations. Scarcely established, it rendered important services to the Holy See during the sitting of the Council of Trent, and powerfully influenced the decrees of that assembly. The ancient orders, and, in particular, the mendicants, were very envious of these new comers, who began with such lustre, and drew all consideration and all favours to themselves. This emulation redoubled the activity of those who were not Jesuits, and particularly of the Dominicans, who exercised the arm of the inquisition, entrusted to their direction, in a more dreadful manner than ever. Nevertheless, the Jesuits eclipsed all their rivals, and acquired the unlimited favour of the pontiffs, and an immense power over all the Catholic world. The missions were, to them and the popes, what colonies are to civil governments, a source of riches and power. At length this militia of the Holy See gradually became formidable to their masters. They were suspected of harbouring a secret design to appropriate to themselves the universal monarchy they were intended to reconquer for the popes. From this arose discussions, in which the society, oftener than once, showed themselves intractable, and made it appear that it knew the value of its services. But let us return to the immediate object of this article, to the influence of the Jesuits on the progress of knowledge.

It has been already said that they were intrusted with the greater part of the public instruction, in the Catholic states. Europe had already tasted of the tree of knowledge; its light had spread into all parts, and had made a rapid progress; it had become impossible to oppose it openly. The safest ex-

pedient now was, not to combat the science, but to get possession of it, to prevent it from being injurious; not being able to stop the torrent, it was necessary to dig a channel for it where it might fertilize the soil of the church instead of destroying it. To well informed adversaries, therefore, they determined to oppose men as well informed; the crafty companions of Ignatius were appointed to satisfy the universal desire to acquire knowledge manifested by the age. It was here that the inconceivable talent of the new preceptors of humanity was displayed. Their leading maxim was to cultivate, and bring to the highest possible degree of perfection, every species of knowledge from which no immediate danger could arise to the system of the hierarchical power, and by that means to acquire the estimation and celebrity of being the most able and most learned men of the Christian world. Assisted by this supremacy over opinion, it became easy for them either to paralyze the branches of knowledge which might bear fruit dangerous to the papacy, or to bend, direct, and graft these branches at pleasure. Thus, in inspiring a taste for the liberal sciences, the Greek and Roman classics, profane history, mathematics, they could conveniently stifle that of inquiring into matters of religion and state, the philosophical and investigating spirit. The philosophy taught in their schools was calculated to make this science repulsive and disgusting. It was no other than the scholastic, revised and corrected by them and applied to circumstances, particularly to the polemical controversy with the Reformists, whose arguments, as may readily be supposed, were brought forward in them so as to be destroyed by the artillery of the school. With respect to religion, the study of it was confined to the books of theology composed purposely by members of the society, to Jesuit casuists and moralists. The study of the original books of religion was withdrawn; or if the gospels and other pieces appeared sometimes in their works of devotion (and this was very necessary, since the translations, made by the reformed, were public,) it was with interpretations and even alterations conformable to the principal object of the society. Their grand rallying word was the *utility* of the sciences, and the *lustre* of the belles lettres. As to everything relating to a moral amelioration or the ennobling of mankind, as well as everything connected with the philosophical and theological sciences, the Jesuits strove eagerly, and, in fact succeeded, in making them be totally forgotten; in rendering theology and philosophy barbarous and full of difficulties, and even ridiculous, in the eyes of the

bulk of mankind. Who can determine how much this Jesuitic mode of instruction, which became the reigning mode in the Catholic countries, and which differs so widely from the mode of instruction of the Protestants; how much, I say, this procedure, obstinately followed during several successive generations, might have influenced the species of culture and particular turn of mind among the Catholics, so different, in general, from what is seen among the Protestants?

It, however, results from all this (and I believe this consideration is the key to the contradictory judgments formed on the method of the Jesuits, in the culture of the sciences), that this society has rendered immense services to certain parts of literature, on which it has thrown light; but that, on the other hand, it has purposely kept certain other important parts in obscurity; or, it has so scattered the avenues with difficulties, that men were not tempted to engage in them; so that, taken in general, the instruction given in their schools, very brilliant on the one side, remained very dark on the other, was a partial and incomplete instruction, and put the mind in a wrong track; for, as on the one side, all was clear and bright, and, on the other, all was dark and mysterious, the eye naturally turned to that side which alone was luminous, and disdained to rest on the other, of which they were even habituated not to suspect the existence.

To model science according to the interests of the pontifical power, and even to render it ignorant where it was requisite it should be ignorant; to produce certain objects in open day, and to keep others in a profound night; to fertilize the reign of the memory and wit, by rendering that of the mind and the reason barren; to form enlightened, but submissive spirits, ignorant only of that which might lessen their submission, like those valuable slaves of the great men of antiquity, who were grammarians, poets, rhetoricians, skilful dancers, and musicians, knowing everything, but to be free; I do not dread being contradicted by any impartial man, in asserting that such were the tactics of instruction adopted by the Jesuits. They were profound and supremely calculated for their object. They could form illustrious and polished writers, learned men, orators, good Roman Catholics, nay, Jesuits, but not men, in the extensive acceptation of the term; whoever became a man under their regulations, became

so, independent of these regulations, and, I shall add, almost in despite of them.*

Besides, if this system of papal infallibility and blind submission to the apostolic see, was incompatible with reason and the progress of knowledge, (which no moderate Catholic makes any difficulty of acknowledging at the present day,) ought we not to consider the existence of a learned society, the sole object of whose labours is to make reason itself and acquired knowledge subservient to the consolidation of a system inimical to reason and knowledge, as the most pernicious thing which can happen? If an ignorant Franciscan proclaimed ultramontane propositions from his pulpit, the danger was not great, and they might be refuted without difficulty; but when the learned and ingenious Jesuits of the college of Clermont proclaimed publicly in Paris, "that the pope was as infallible as Jesus Christ himself;" when they displayed all their knowledge and their talents, to inculcate this principle, and to make it an article of faith, † it must be acknowledged, that then the danger became imminent, and that opinion was in danger of being irrevocably sophisticated. As nothing can be more fatal to the liberty of a people than a despotism which can render itself amiable and plausible, neither is anything more capable of vitiating the minds of men radically, than the knowledge of the art of rendering falshood, truth; and irrationality, reasonable.

It may be conceived how much the universal employment

* This is one of the secrets of the society, for it had secrets; it had its tests, its degrees, its apprentices, and its masters; if it had an open and legal existence, it was because its principles were agreeable to the authority which protected them. From its nature it was in opposition to the society of Free-Masons, to that of the Illuminati, &c. which it strove against with all its power. Formerly, while the Jesuits triumphed with a high hand, the Free-Masons concealed themselves, and assembled by stealth. Now the times are greatly changed; the Free-Masons have scarcely any secrets but what an enlightened public participate with them; their society appears freely and openly; that of the Jesuits, on the contrary, conceals its feeble remains from publicity through almost the whole of Europe, and has really become a secret society of anti-illuminati. Of the two centuries, that in which they showed themselves, and that in which they are concealed, we may decide which had the best spirit.

† See what the celebrated Arnaud wrote on this occasion, under the title of *La Nouvelle heresie des Jesuites*.

and the pretensions of the Jesuits must have excited envy and ill will in all classes. They wished to be the preachers, the theologians, the supporters of the holy see; and they came in collision with the Dominicans, and almost all the other religious orders; they aspired to the direction of consciences, particularly those of princes, and of all those who had any influence on the politics of courts; and they inflamed the hatred of courtiers and ministers; they sought to be masters of all the institutions for education and public instruction; and they irritated against them the ancient universities, the masters and professors of all the schools which they did not succeed in bringing under their domination. Neither is it to be doubted that the powerful rivalry of the Jesuits, the erection of their new schools, their methods, their writings, and still more their silent machinations, were the secret poison which from that time, affected the universities of France, which caused them to languish, decay, and finally fall into a nullity which places them far below those of Protestant countries.

The most formidable enemies which the Jesuits made, and those most capable of opposing them, were the Jansenists. They thought they saw in the pains taken by the latter to spread the principles of St. Augustin on grace, and to render them acceptable, a secret design of ruining their society, whose doctrine did not agree with that of this father of the church. Whatever might have been the secret design of these partisans of Jansenius with respect to the Jesuits, it is not the less true that all this disputation on grace is immediately connected with the religious quarrels produced by the reformation. This terrible shock, which had separated a great part of the western Christians from the Roman church, had shook this church itself to its foundations, and had long left there the leaven and the germs of fermentation. The spirit of inquiry, of chicane, and of controversy, were also awakened in it. The greater number of Catholics would have been pleased with certain reforms in the essence itself of the church, with amendments and regulations in the doctrine and discipline which did not take place, or were not conceived as they wished; there were many discontented Catholics; a great many of the abuses attacked by the Protestants appeared very culpable to these Catholics; and several points of doctrine disputed by the first had given rise to consideration in these last. The Council of Trent had not nearly satisfied any but the ultramontanes. In it, whatever related to the rights of the pope and the hierarchy were carefully determin-

ed; but the essential points of doctrine still remained in a painful uncertainty; as, for example, what should be believed on grace, which held so important a place in the doctrine of the Lutherans, and that of the Calvinists. Baius, a theologian and professor at Louvain, who had assisted at the council, raised a discussion on this subject, and occasioned it to be much talked of in his time. After him, Jansenius, professor in the same university of Louvain, followed the same deviations, wrote his book entitled *Augustinus*, was the friend of the Abbe of St. Cyran, and of some other leaders of this party, which from him, took the name of Jansenist. The number of illustrious defenders of this party is known, and also that Port Royal became its chief place. The war of opinion which broke out between the Jansenists and Jesuits was the most violent that ever agitated the Roman church internally. The Jansenists, who, at the bottom had so many opinions in common with Luther and the other reformers, who with all their heart resisted the pretensions of Rome, and those of the satellite Jesuits of Rome, dreaded above all things the reproach of heresy, which was directed against them. They made it a sort of point of honour to write vigorously against the reformed, to give a signal proof that they were as good Catholics as their adversaries. At the same time they wrote at least as vigorously against the Jesuits, and acquitted themselves of this essential task, *con amore*, with still greater eloquence than the other. Thus as the Jesuits had entered the lists of science and wit with the Protestants; their adversaries, the Jansenists, were, for the same reason, eager to show themselves superior to the Jesuits in every department in which these shone; they composed grammars, books of education and piety, treatises of logic, morality, history and erudition.*

The names of Lancelot, Arnauld, Tillemont, Nicole, Pascal, Sacy, etc. are as immortal as the remembrance of the services they have rendered to the sciences and to our literature.

* It is curious to observe in these books, when they are read attentively by one acquainted with the literary history of the times, how much they are bestrewed (and even those which seem least adapted for that species of controversy, such as grammars and others) with strokes directed against the Jesuits, their classical books, their method of instruction, without their being once named or pointed at openly.

It was to arrive at this result that I introduced the preceding digression, which may, perhaps, appear to have led me out of my subject. But if it be considered that the society of Jesuits became what it was, only because the popes wished to make it a counterpoise to Protestantism, and a militia capable of perpetually opposing it, and also to re-establish the tottering holy see, it will be acknowledged that the existence of this society, as well as the principal events to which it has given rise, and the oppositions which it has excited, must be considered among the important results of the reformation. No reformation, no Jesuits; and no Jesuits, no Jansenists, nor a Port Royal. Now, it is to the rivalry of the one against the other, and to the activity it gave to their minds, that we are indebted for a multitude of good works which appeared during the 17th century; works, in which our language, and French prose in particular, attained a richness, a flexibility, a perfection, which it was far from having before. The polemical writings bent the language into all the forms of reasoning, and gave it precision, strength and delicacy. I need only name the Provinciales, the Cleanthe of Barbier d'Aucour, and I shall not dread being contradicted. All these literary events, so important to us, depend on the great event of the reformation; it is not a chain which I have arbitrarily formed to attach them to it; it is the natural series of historical facts which I have ingeniously followed.

Until their destruction, the Jesuits constantly continued to perform a principal part in all the disturbances which arose on religious or ecclesiastical, and, not unfrequently, on political subjects. In China and Japan, jealous of the missionaries unconnected with their society; in Europe, enemies of the learned and modest fathers of the Oratory, they provoked both the quarrel of the missions, and the condemnation of Father Quesnel, other troubles, which do not belong to our subject, except as they relate to letters, by the writings which they gave rise to. In this point of view we must also place the disputes among the party of the mystics, towards the close of the seventeenth century, at the head of which appear the Abbe de Rance, Mesdames Bourignon and Guyon, but particularly, the noble and pious Fenelon, who was implicated, by this circumstance, in a very animated controversy with Bossuet. The name of these two illustrious adversaries is sufficient to bring within the number of events which have been of importance to literature, this Quietism, a sect which belongs, perhaps, as much to philosophy as to theology,

and which is not foreign either to the troubles of Jansenism, or to those of the church, in general, since the reformation.

Reflection on the Employment of the Ecclesiastical Possessions.

It is very evident, that the financial administration is the object which governments believe most deserving of their whole attention; and the most important employment made of the finances of a state is commonly war; to attack or to defend itself; to restrain its neighbours by a formidable army, always on foot, by fortresses, by arsenals. There is nothing in this but what is very laudable. Nevertheless, war is not the only object of men in society; all war itself has peace for its object, and that of peace, is the furnishing the citizens of each state with the possibility of ennobling and ameliorating their existence, of developing all their powers of morality and industry. Study and knowledge, which direct the efforts of mankind to the perfecting and ennobling everything which constitutes their nature, are, therefore, as a last result, the final objects of the labours of finance, of war, and of peace. But here, as frequently happens, the means overpower the end. How much is lavished on war! What parsimony is practised on the success of study and the advancement of morals!

In what order of things, in what age, in what country of the earth, could the culture of the sciences be more promoted than in a Catholic country? Without the established government having new charges to defray, without the nation having new burthens, there is an entire cast of rich citizens, whose destination removes them from all the professions of civil life, who are in their essence devoted to a contemplative life, to a leisure which they might render learned and useful. A multitude of benefices, of prebends, of chapels, instead of being bestowed on the indolent, might secure a maintenance to men of activity devoted to the sciences. Each monastery provided with an ample library, instead of pious sluggards, might contain studious recluses, whose labours would belong to the state. If the Spanish nation, for example, had the will, it would be in its power, by the touch of the wand, to transform the whole system of its superstitious clergy, into a corporation of learned men and philosophers. In short, it would be consecrating to the mind what has been so long consecrated to the senses; and God knows what advantage such an order, who would people the chapters and abbeys, who might be excused from matins, but not from labour, or study, or medi-

tation, might in ten years procure to the stock of sciences! This is not altogether a dream. We have seen what could be effected by a congregation of Saint Maur, an oratory, a Port Royal, etc. From what they have done well, and even from what they have done ill, a judgment may be formed of what they might have done had they been actuated by a power having no other object but the progress of knowledge! and how often have our kings recompensed literary merit with bishoprics; how many literary men, assisted by a priory, a benefice, have lived in France, sheltered from want and enabled to apply themselves to labours, which have enlightened and done honour to the nation! Under the modest title of Abbe, which a simple tonsure rendered common to them, they became, in fact, the priests of the temple of science; from Amyot to the author of Anacharsis, how has this title of Abbe been ennobled and dignified! It has been borne by a multitude of worthy and learned men of letters, who probably would have remained obscure and inactive, without that portion of the wealth of the church, which warmed them, and permitted them, free and exempt from cares, to enter upon the career.

With us, the revolution has dried up this beneficent source, which might have been rendered so useful to the progress of knowledge.* Several of the reformed states have retained some means of encouragement to letters. In Sweden and in England there are still certain ecclesiastical dignities which the sovereigns commonly give to men eminent for their knowledge. More than one archbishop of Upsal or of York, more than one bishop of Abo or of Chester, etc. hold a distinguished rank in literature. Holland, Switzerland, and Germany have fewer of these honourable and lucrative posts

* It has done more; it has swallowed up almost all the patrimony of the ancient establishments of instruction, and has thus deprived the new, which they are labouring to establish, of that material and indispensable basis, without which, such establishments can neither subsist solidly, with honour or efficacy. An endowment and a real property, to be managed by a local administration, are absolutely necessary to every school which would prosper; it requires a security, an existence different from what may arise from the casualty of uncertain boarders, or the assistance of government, which having to provide for a multitude of other wants, will, very frequently, be compelled to leave such objects unattended to.

for men of letters. The possessions of the church have been there principally employed in the endowment of universities and other schools; so that the greater part of their writers are professors, very scantily paid, or superiors or inferiors of schools, who, frequently burthened with a numerous family, set a value on the recompense of an author; and whom this stimulus too frequently induces to write quick, that they may write a great deal.

Summary recapitulation of the Results of the Reformation, as they relate to the Progress of Knowledge.

The human mind is freed both from the external constraint imposed upon it by the hierarchical despotism, and from the internal constraint of the apathy in which it was kept by a blind superstition. It is wholly emancipated from guardianship, and begins to make a more free, and, consequently a more energetic, and more proper use of its faculties. The documents of religion, the titles of the hierarchy are subjected to a severe and profound criticism; and as the study of the holy books, that of the fathers, of the councils, of the decretals are connected with that of antiquity, history, the languages, the masterpieces of Greece and Rome, all these great objects of classical learning assume a new aspect, and are illuminated with a new light. The scholastic philosophy, the ally and supporter of the ancient system, finds, in these innovaters, formidable adversaries, who unveil its vices and attack its weak sides. The torch of reason, which the edifice of the scholastics kept in concealment, begins to shine again. The empty science of the casuists vanishes before the morality of the gospel, the reading of which is restored to all Christians. The human mind delivered from the obstacles which stopped its progress during the centuries of the middle age, displays all its activity, probes the foundations of the tottering societies, discusses the rights of the people, those of governments, those of the state and of the church.

This activity makes its happy influence to be felt on every branch of human knowledge; and the scrutinizing disposition impressed on all minds by the reformation, puts philosophical inquiries and the most sublime theories of the sciences and the arts in motion. D'Alembert has sketched this picture with a masterly hand, and at a single stroke. He says, "the middle of the sixteenth century saw a rapid change in the religion and the system of a great part of Europe; the new doctrines of the reformers, supported on the one hand

and opposed on the other, with that warmth which the interests of God, well or ill understood, can alone inspire, equally compelled their partisans and their adversaries to seek instruction: the emulation excited by this great motive multiplied knowledge of every kind; and the light produced in the bosom of error and trouble spread itself to those objects also which seemed most foreign to these disputes."*

The long, multiplied, and desolating wars which this commotion gave rise to, retarded some of the effects which should have resulted from it. The moral culture of the people which was on the point of taking a new flight, was, for a short period, driven backward. But shortly, their souls, steeped in misfortune, resumed their energy, and the imperishable spirit which had been awakened, displayed all its activity. At first, it wandered among the devious paths of theological controversies, but, at length, it returned more supple and more accustomed to meditation. Nevertheless, the necessity the different parties felt to gain over the multitude of nations, causes them to cultivate the vulgar languages, and multiplies good writings in them; the French, English, and German prose is developed, perfectionated, and enriched, amidst the disputes of sects and the conflicts of religious opinions.

Particular associations arise, or are strengthened on the different sides, either for attack or for defence; some mysterious and persecuted, the others open and privileged. The order of Jesuits, the most important of them all, is placed in opposition to the reform. It requires a preponderance proportionate to the enormous mass it is destined to counterbalance. Dragged forward by the torrent of the universal spirit, this order, which should only have supported the hierarchy and the scholastic philosophy, contributes, by itself, and by its formidable adversaries the Jansenists, to the progress of knowledge. It falls when the time arrives, at which it should give place to institutions more suitable to the new age. Thus by its action, and its reaction, the religious commotion effected by Luther, carries the European nations forward in the career of knowledge and of intellectual culture.

Conclusion.

Such are the principal results which, I am of opinion, originated in the influence exercised on Europe by Luther's re-

* *Elemens de Philosophie, I.*

formation. In analyzing the complicated causes of the most considerable events which have occurred during three centuries in the political world, and in the literary world, it is easy to go astray, to mistake some causes, to lose sight of some effects. Amidst the confusion of all these entangled threads of European politics and culture, he who seeks to unravel those immediately connected with the quarrels on religion, however careful he may be, will too often be in danger of erring. Some of them issue from the establishment itself, from the preaching of the alcoran, from chivalry, the crusades, the use of artillery, the discovery of a new world, the renovation of letters, the institutions of Peter I., the succession war, and the other major events. Were it required to determine the influence of some one of these events, perhaps such of the consequences as I have attributed to the reformation might be claimed as belonging to it. Historians who narrate facts, are generally silent on their causes, and frequently also are unacquainted with them. Sometimes they give those which are false and contradictory. The writers of the opposing parties are exclusive, and render the truth uncertain. To whom must credit be given; the Catholics, or the Protestants; to Duperron or Dumoulin; to Platina or Mornay? How shall we decide between Varillas and Maimbourg, on the one side, Sleidan, Bayle, and Seckendorf, on the other; between Pallavicini and Fra Paolo; between Bossuet and Claude? In the work of the reformation, the one sees only an infinite source of errors and calamities; the others see in it only knowledge and benefits to the human race. Among so many different opinions, each must have his own. We are at present better situated than ever to judge of a revolution which broke out three hundred years ago; let us consider what was before it, and what has happened since; let us hear all parties, look around us, see what exists at the present day, and judge.

When after the long sleep of the European nations and of their reason, during the middle age, we turn our attention to the state of the human race in this fine part of the world, in the fifteenth, and at the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, we shall see it recover from its stupefaction, rise, move unsteadily in all directions, seize instruments for its activity, forge new ones, try them, develop its powers, take possession of the field of science, throw from it the swaddling clothes which embarrass it, and begin a new epocha. How is this interval crowded with decisive occurrences and inventions. The happy employment of the mariner's compass,

the telescope, printing, the taking of Constantinople, the new world, the submission of the great vassals to the crown of France, the golden age of poetry and the arts in Italy, the foundation of numerous schools, the books of the ancients revived in it, the establishment of posts, which render all communications rapid, the salutary peace of the empire and the imperial chamber, the extravagant increase of the Austrian power which terrifies Europe, and compels it to arm, Copernicus who reforms the heavens, Luther and Loyola who arose nearly at the same time! The crisis must necessarily have a term, the state of things must change in the order of civil societies, and in that of human knowledge.

"*Better is an enemy to well,*" says a proverb of modern Italy. This ridiculous adage, which ought never to have quitted the language in which it appeared, is the unsophisticated expression of an ultramontane character. Happily it is not in the power of a despised cast, nor of a maxim against nature, thus to fetter the destinies of science and civilization. Men pass them, and give no credit to such reclamations, the reclamations, says Chenier,* of those *idle and jealous spirits, whose reason, without stimulus, would paralyse the human mind*. None of the institutions of the middle age were calculated for the new humanity. As lances and shields had been laid aside for fire-arms, so must the scholastic philosophy be removed by the new arms of reason; the inextricable circles of Ptolemy, by the simple idea of the motion of the earth; and the false decretals must fall at the first looks of criticism. The external form of religion no longer corresponded with the new culture, any more than the representation of mysteries corresponded with the scene on which Moliere and Corneille were about to appear; any more than Gothic architecture with the basilick of St. Peter. It was requisite that everything should change; the new spirit could not subsist in the ancient form; a harmony, an agreement must be established between it and things; and since it had in itself the energy of a new life, the omnipotence of youth, it acted in all directions with strength and efficacy, and was everywhere seconded by enthusiasm.

It is therefore under this point of view that the reformation must be considered as a necessary product of a new age, as a manifestation of a new spirit. What Dante and Petrarch

* In his *Discours sur le Progres des Connoissances*, An. IX. Printed by Didot.

were to poetry, Michael Angelo and Raphael to the arts of drawing, Bacon and Descartes to philosophy, Copernicus and Galileo to astronomy, Columbus and Gama to the science of the earth, such was Luther to religion. Organs of the universal mind, these eminent men expressed correctly what was lurking in a great number of their cotemporaries, and at one stroke satisfied the wants of their time. As soon as the spark flashed from their genius, the flame, ready to appear, spread in all directions. What was only a prescience, a vague idea, insulated in a number of heads, acquired a consistence, a fixed direction, appeared externally, was communicated from individual to individual, and a continued chain connected all thinking minds. Such is the natural mode of the tacit conspiracy which governs all reformations. Those effected in the dominion of the arts and of the major part of the sciences, being foreign to the passions and to the volcanic commotions of the mass of the people, are generally accompanied by peace, and are accomplished without causing the tears of humanity to flow. It could not be thus with that provoked by Luther. Religion was not then a simple opinion, a simple moral being; it had an immense body, which oppressed all the political bodies which laid claim to all thrones, to all the possessions of the earth. At the first wound it felt, the collossus shuddered, and the world was shaken. Princes and nations flew to arms and engaged in a dreadful struggle, a struggle of opinions and interests, the results of which were so varied and so important.

The Institute has demanded an account of such of these results as have influenced the political situation of the states of Europe, and the progress of knowledge. This task was enormous, and far above my powers. What would it have been if the Institute, besides the political and literary consequences, had required an exposition of the influence of the reformation on the morality of the European nations, on their belief and their religious dispositions? But this new point of view might be the subject of a work, perhaps more extensive and more difficult than mine. I was obliged to confine myself within the prescribed limits, which circumscribe a field of vast extent. It has not been my intention to disguise either the evil or the good produced by the reformation. I have only sought to prove that, everything being balanced, and the definitive account closed, this revolution offers a surplus of good to humanity; and, finally, that it must be ranked in the number of the major events which have contributed most powerfully to the progress of civilization and know-

ledge, not only in Europe, but in every part of the earth where Europeans have carried their culture.

I have also thought I might express myself with the open freedom of an historian, who, if possible, should not belong to any age or any country; supporting myself with an opinion that prejudice could not find access into the sanctuary of the sciences; and that an illustrious society so philosophical as to choose such a subject, and to ask for the truth respecting it, would, doubtless, be disposed to listen to it.

DOCTOR MACLAINE'S NOTE

ON A RECEIVED CALUMNY AGAINST THE PERSON AND VIEWS OF
LUTHER.

From his translation of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. iv. page 31,
Edit. 1803.

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

Mr. Hume, in his history of the reign of Henry VIII., has thought proper to repeat what the enemies of the reformation, and some of its dubious and ill-informed friends, have advanced, with respect to the motives that engaged Luther to oppose the doctrine of indulgences. This elegant and persuasive historian tells us, that the "Austin friars had *usually* been employed in Saxony to preach indulgences, and from this trust had derived both profit and consideration; that Arcemboldi gave this occupation to the Dominicans;* that Martin Luther, an Austin friar, professor in the university of Wittemberg, *resenting the affront put upon his order*, began to preach against the abuses that were committed in the sale of indulgences, and, being provoked by opposition, proceeded even to decry indulgences themselves."† It were to be wished that Mr. Hume's candour had engaged him to examine this accusation better, before he had ventured to repeat it. For, in the first place, it is not true that the *Austin friars had been usually employed in Saxony to preach indulgences*. It is well known, that the commission had been offered alternately, and sometimes jointly, to all the mendicants whether Austin friars,

* Hume's history of England, under the house of Tudor, vol. i. p. 119.

† Id. ib. p. 120.

Dominicans, Franciscans, or Carmelites. Nay, from the year 1229, that lucrative commission was principally entrusted with the Dominicans;* and in the records which relate to indulgences, we rarely meet with the name of an Austin friar, and not one single act by which it appears, that the Roman pontiff ever named the friars of that order to the office under consideration. More particularly it is remarkable, that for half a century before Luther, (i. e. from 1450 to 1517,) during which period indulgences were sold with the most scandalous marks of avaricious extortion and impudence, we scarcely meet with the name of an Austin friar employed in that service; if we except a monk named Palazius, who was no more than an underling of the papal questor Raymond Peraldus; so far is it from being true, that the Augustin order were exclusively, or even usually employed in that service.† Mr. Hume has built his assertion upon the sole authority of a single expression of Paul Sarpi, which has been abundantly refuted by De Prierio, Pallavicini and Graweson, the mortal enemies of Luther. But it may be alleged, that, even supposing it was not usual to employ the Augustin friars in the propagation of indulgences, yet Luther might be offended at seeing such an important commission given to the Dominicans exclusively, and that, consequently, this was his motive in opposing the propagation of indulgences. To show the injustice of this allegation, I observe,

Secondly. That in the time of Luther the preaching of indulgences was become such an odious and unpopular matter, that it is far from being probable, that Luther would have been solicitous about obtaining such a commission, either for himself, or for his order. The princes of Europe, with many bishops, and multitudes of learned and pious men, had opened their eyes upon the turpitude of this infamous traffic; and even the Franciscans and Dominicans, towards the conclusion of the fifteenth century, opposed it publicly, both in their discourses, and in their writings.‡ Nay, more, the very commission which is supposed to have excited the envy of Luther, was offered by Leo to the general of the Franciscans, and was

* See Weismanni. *Memorabilia Historiæ Sacræ* N. T. p. 1051, 1115.

† See Harpii *Dissertat. de Nonnullis Indulgentiarum*, Sæc. xiv. et xv. *Questoribus*, p. 384, 387.

‡ See Walch *opp. Luther*, tom. xv. p. 114, 283, 312, 349, Seckendorff, *Hist. Lutheranismi*, lib. i. sect. vi. p. 13.

refused both by him and his order,* who gave it over entirely to Albert, bishop of Mentz and Magdeburg. Is it then to be imagined, that either Luther or the other Austin friars aspired after a commission of which the Franciscans were ashamed? Besides, it is a mistake to affirm, that this office was given to the Dominicans in general, since it was given to Tetzal alone, an individual member of that order, who had been notorious for his profligacy, barbarity, and extortion.

But that neither resentment nor envy were the motives that led Luther to oppose the doctrine and publication of indulgences, will appear with the utmost evidence, if we consider in the third place, That he was never accused of any such motives, either in the edicts of the pontiffs of his time, or amidst the other reproaches of the contemporary writers, who defended the cause of Rome, and who were far from being sparing of their invectives and calumnies. All the contemporary adversaries of Luther are absolutely silent on this head. From the year 1517 to 1546, when the dispute about indulgences was carried on with the greatest warmth and animosity, not one writer ever ventured to reproach Luther with those ignoble motives of opposition, now under consideration. I speak not of Erasmus, Sleidan, De Thou, Guicciardini, and others, whose testimony might be, perhaps, suspected of partiality in his favour, but I speak of Cajetan, Hogstrat, De Prierio, Emser, and even the infamous John Tetzal, whom Luther opposed with so much vehemence and bitterness. Even Cochläus was silent on this head during the life of Luther; though after the death of that great reformer, he broached the calumny I am here refuting. But such was the scandalous character of this man, who was notorious for fraud, calumny, lying, and their sister vices,† that Pallavicini, Bossuet, and other enemies of Luther, were ashamed to make use either of his name or testimony. Now, may it not be fairly presumed, that the contemporaries of Luther were better judges of his character, and the principles from which he acted, than those who lived in after times? Can it be imagined, that motives to action, which escaped the prying eyes of Luther's contemporaries, should have discovered themselves to us, who live at such a distance of time from the scene of action, to M. Bossuet, to Mr. Hume, and to other abettors of this ill-

* See Walch. loc. cit. p. 371.

† Sleidan. De statu Bel. et Reip. in Dedic. Epist. ad August. Elector.

contrived and foolish story. Either there are no rules of moral evidence, or Mr. Hume's assertion is entirely groundless.

I might add many other considerations to show the unreasonableness of supposing that Luther exposed himself to the rage of the Roman pontiff, to the persecutions of an exasperated clergy, to the severity of such a potent, and despotic prince as Charles V., to death itself, and that from a principle of avarice and ambition. But I have said enough to satisfy every candid mind. Whoever is desirous of knowing more on this subject need only consult *Historie du Renouveau de l'Evangile*, par Gerdes, Tom. I. p. 96, quoted by La Courayer, in his translation of the *History of the Reformation*, by Sleidan, Tom. I. p. 1; and finally, Letter XI. of L'Enfant's book, entitled, *Preservatif contre la reunion avec le siege de Rome, ou apologie de notre separation d'avec ce siege*. Amsterdam, 1723, 4 vols. This letter is in the first volume, page 27, and following ones.

FINIS.

NEW AND POPULAR WORKS,

PUBLISHED

BY KEY & BIDDLE,

23 MINOR STREET.

GREAT NATIONAL WORK.

Key & Biddle have in course of publication,

A HISTORY OF THE INDIAN TRIBES OF NORTH AMERICA, with Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of the Principal Chiefs. Embellished with 120 Portraits, from the Indian Gallery in the Department of War at Washington. By Col. T. L. M'KENNEY.

The public are aware that a most interesting and curious collection of Indian Portraits has been making since 1821, by the Executive of the United States; and that this collection forms a gallery in the Indian department at Washington, numbering at this time about one hundred and twenty heads. The interest felt in this effort to preserve the likenesses and costume of our aborigines—a work so intimately connected with the natural history of Man, is indicated by the immense numbers of citizens and foreigners, who visit the gallery; and the uniform admiration they express of its valuable and interesting character. Believing the public will sustain the undertaking, the undersigned have made arrangements for publishing this unique group. That nothing might be lost, the size of most of the original drawings have been preserved. The original drawings, it may be proper to remark, are principally by King, of Washington, from

life; and will be vouched by responsible names, to be perfect likenesses.

An Essay suited to such a work, and calculated to throw a light upon the history of this interesting people, will accompany the first number; and as materials will authorize it, the remaining numbers will be interspersed with biographical sketches, and anecdotes of the original, and with a *vocabulaire*.

This part of the undertaking will be executed by Colonel M'Kenney, of the Indian Department, whose long and familiar intercourse with our Indian relations, and travels over the country inhabited by most of the tribes, and personal knowledge of most of the originals, fit him peculiarly for the task.

The work will be completed in twenty numbers—each number will contain six heads handsomely coloured. Terms of subscription, six dollars per number, payable in advance.

The publishers avail themselves of the following flattering notice of this design, in a letter from Dr. Sparks, editor of the *North American Review*, to Col. M'Kenney. From a gentleman so distinguished as Dr. Sparks, so well, and so deservedly appreciated for his high standing and attainments, his taste and science, and with such enlarged opportunities of judging of the importance of such a work, such a letter is very encouraging.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am heartily rejoiced to learn by your favour of the 22d instant, that there is so good a prospect for publishing the portraits of the red men. I do not consider that I have any claim, growing out of our conversation, and, indeed, as my only motive was to be instrumental in bringing before the public, so rare and curious a collection, it is a double satisfaction for me to know, that the matter is in so good hands, and encourages hopes of entire success. In my mind, the whole glory and value of the undertaking, will depend on the accuracy and beauty, with which the heads shall be executed, and the completeness of the costume. You must write all that is known about the character and life of each person. Let us have a work worthy of the subject, and honourable to the nation, and just to the Indians.

"Very sincerely your friend and obedient servant,

(Signed)

"JARED SPARKS."

TH. L. M'KENNEY, Esq.

It is in reference to the foregoing work that Peter S. Duponceau, Esq., the enlightened scholar and profound civilian, thus expresses himself:

"DEAR SIR,

"Philadelphia, 25th May, 1831.

"I can not express to you how delighted I was, when I was kindly shown by Col. Childs, the fac similies of the portraits of some of our Indian Chiefs, which he has already prepared for your great and truly National work, and is such an one as would do honour to the greatest sovereign of Europe. It has often occurred to my mind, that such a work would have added much to the glory of the late Emperor Alexander, of Russia; and I yet wonder, that his friends did not suggest to him the idea of beginning a cabinet, or rather a museum of the *natural* history of man, by collecting either in wax figures, or in paintings, in an immense hall, or gallery, exact likenesses, representing the shapes, colour, and features, as well as the various costumes of the numerous nations and tribes that inhabit his empire. I am glad he did not do it, and that our country will have the honour of laying the first foundation of an edifice, which must sooner or later be erected to the most important of all sciences, the knowledge of our own species. The day will come, I have no doubt, when by the exertions of patriots in republics like our own, and the munificence of monarchs in other countries, the philosopher will have it in his power to take a view at one glance of the different races of mankind, their genera, species and varieties in well executed effigies, and thus to test the numerous theories to which differences have given rise.

We are going then to begin by exhibiting the *red race*. Your knowledge of the Indian Tribes is not merely theoretical; you have lived among them, and have had the means of becoming familiar with their habits, manners, and customs, as well as of their languages, therefore the historical part of this undertaking could not be confided to better hands.

"The aborigines of the United States will soon disappear from the face of the earth. I am unwilling to dwell upon this topic, so disgraceful to the white race—to the Christian race to which I belong—one consolation only remains. By means of this great work, the effigies of those former lords of the American soil, will at least after their destruction, serve the purposes of philosophy and science, as the bodies of murdered men in the hands of the surgeon, serves those of humanity.

"I am, respectfully, your friend
and servant,

"PETER S. DUPONCEAU.

"THOMAS L. MCKENNEY, ESQ."

AN ADDRESS TO THE YOUNG, ON THE IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION. By JOHN FOSTER, author of *Essays on Decision of Character, &c.*

This is a good publication, well conceived and admirably executed, full of important truths and beautifully enforced.

Our readers know, or ought to know John Foster, the Author of "Essays on Decision of Character," one of the best writers that England has produced, suited to be compared in many things with Robert Hall, he needs no higher praise.—*U. S. Gazette.*

This work comprises a series of eloquent and affectionate exhortations, which, if carefully attended to, will make wise and good men of all who lay them to heart, and endeavour to accord with them in life and conversation. The author has acquired great celebrity by his former writings.—*Saturday Courier.*

We are not going to hold a rush-light up to a book of John Foster's, but only mean to tell what is its intent. It is an awakening appeal to youth of the refined and educated sort, upon the subject of their personal religion. There can be no doubt as to its currency.—*The Presbyterian.*

John Foster is allowed by men of all parties, political and religious, to be one of the most original and vigorous thinkers of the age. His well tried talents, his known freedom from cant and fanaticism. And the importance of the subject discussed, strongly commend this Book to the attention of that interesting class to whom it is addressed. All his writings are worthy of careful and repeated perusal; but his essay on "Decision of Character" and this "Address to the Young," should be the companions of all young persons who are desirous of intellectual and moral improvement.

FOSTER'S ADDRESS TO THE YOUNG.—Perhaps no religious book has issued from the American press which commanded more general and abundant patronage than one from the pen of the Rev. Jared Waterbury, called "Advice to a Young Christian." Aside from its intrinsic excellence, it was rendered valuable by the fact that it was exactly adapted to a particular class of society; and all who wish to make an impression upon that class, was apprised by its very title that it was designed to be subservient to such a purpose. A work of precisely such a character from the pen of the celebrated Foster, and designed to operate upon a

different class of persons, will be found in the one of which the caption of this article is the title-page. The name of its author will supersede the necessity for all eulogium to those who have not read it, and to those who have, the book will abundantly commend itself. Permit me to direct to it the attention of such of your readers as may have careless young friends, into whose hands they would desire to place a solemn, affectionate, and fervent appeal on the indispensable necessity of religion. It is just published by Key and Biddle, of this city, and can, I presume, be procured at any of the book-stores. May the great Head of the Church make it instrumental in the conversion of many souls.—*Episcopal Recorder*.

A MOTHER'S FIRST THOUGHTS. By the author of "Faith's Telescope."

This is a brief miniature, from an Edinburgh edition. Its aim is to furnish religious *Meditations, Prayers, and Devotional Poetry for pious mothers*. It is most highly commended in the Edinburgh Presbyterian Review, and in the Christian Advocate. The author, who is a Lady of Scotland, unites a deep knowledge of sound theology, with no ordinary talent for sacred poetry.—*The Presbyterian*.

"A Mother's First Thoughts," is a little work of great merit. It breathes a spirit of pure and fervent piety, and abounds in sound and salutary instruction. It contains also some excellent poetry.—*Saturday Courier*.

A Mother's First Thoughts. By the author of "Faith's Telescope," 12 mo. p. 223. Key & Biddle, Philadelphia, 1833. A neat pocket edition which will commend itself to all parents who have the right direction of the minds of their children at heart. It is dedicated to religious mothers, "and may He," says the author, "who alone can, render it, in some degree, conducive to their education."—*Journal of Belles Lettres*.

BRIDGE'S ALGEBRA, 12 mo. In this work the hitherto abstract and difficult science of Algebra is simplified and illustrated so as to be attainable by the younger class of learners, and by those who have not the aid of a teacher. It is already introduced into the University of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia; and the Western University at Pittsburgh

It is also the text book of Gummere's School at Burlington, and of a great number of the best schools throughout the United States. It is equally adapted to common schools and colleges.

Messrs. KEY & BIDDLE have published in a very neat form, the 1st American, from the 6th London Edition of Bridge's Algebra; a treatise, which from a cursory examination, we think superior to any of the text books now in use, for perspicuity, simplicity of method, and adaptation to the comprehension of learners. It contains several chapters on Logarithms and the subjects connected thereto, which, though interesting and important, are not usually appended to works on the subject.—*Fredericksburg Political Arena*.

The publishers take great pleasure in presenting the accompanying opinion of Professor Adrain, of the University of Pennsylvania, who has introduced the work into that Institution.

University of Pennsylvania, March 30, 1833.

GENTLEMEN—

IN compliance with your request, that I would give you my opinion respecting your edition of Bridge's Algebra, I beg leave to say, that the work appears to me to be well adapted to the instruction of students. The arrangement of the several parts of the science is judicious, and the examples are numerous and well selected.

Yours respectfully,

ROBERT ADRAIN.

Philadelphia, March 7th, 1833.

Bridge's Algebra is the text book in the school under my care; and I am better pleased with it than with any which I have heretofore used.

The author is very clear in his explanations, and systematic in his arrangement, and has succeeded in rendering a comparatively abstruse branch of science, an agreeable and interesting exercise both to pupil and teacher.

JOHN FROST.

THE CHRISTIAN LIBRARY, is published semi-monthly. The first number was issued on the first day of May.

The design of the work is to publish,

1. The most valuable Religious and Literary works which appear from the English press. In selecting from the former class, sectarianism will be studiously avoided; from the latter, such only will be chosen as Christians may with propriety circulate.

2. Translations of valuable works from the Continental press: and occasionally original productions of American writers.

3. Standard works which may be out of print; and selections from such as are accessible to but few.

4. Brief reviews of such books as do not fall within the plan of this work; so that the reader may be enabled to become speedily acquainted with most of the publications of the day, and to form, in some measure, an estimate of their value.

The editors are pledged to favor no religious, much less any political party; but to act on those great principles in which all Evangelical Christians agree. The degree of confidence which may be reposed in their faithfulness and ability will be learned from the attestations of the distinguished individuals given below.

The publishers have made arrangements to receive from Europe copies of all popular works suitable for this publication, as soon as they are issued from the press, and will be enabled on the above plan, to furnish, by course of mail, the most distant subscribers with their copies before the same book could be procured even in our cities, through the usual method of publication.

The **CHRISTIAN LIBRARY** is published semi-monthly, on fine paper, with a fair type, for five dollars a year. Each number will contain forty-eight extra-imperial or double medium octavo pages, in double column. The work will thus form two volumes of 576 pages each; an amount of matter equal to *thirty* volumes 12mo, of 264 pages each. The

usual price of such volumes is from 50 to 75 cents; on the plan of this publication, subscribers will receive them at 16 1-2 cents each.

The Postage on the Christian Library is 1 1-2 cts. per sheet under 100 miles, over that distance 2 1-2 cents.

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The LIBRARY & OBSERVER are recommended in the highest terms by the following distinguished gentlemen:—

G. T. Bedell, D. D., Thomas M'Auley, D. D. L. L. D., Thomas Skinner, D. D., A. Nettleton, Author of Village Hymns, William T. Brantley, D. D., W. D. Snodgrass, D. D., G. R. Livingston, D. D., Stephen H. Tyug, D. D., A. Alexander, D. D., Rev. Charles Hodge, A. M., Rev. J. L. Dagg, Rev. Win. E. Ashton, Samuel Miller, D. D., James Carnahan, D. D., Rev. J. Maclean, A. M., Rev. Albert B. Dod, A. M., Chas. P. M'Ilvaine, D. D. John Breckenridge, A. M., W. C. Brownlee, D. D., Rev. G. W. Rulgeley, A. M., Rev. Charles H. Alder, A. M., Cornelius D. Westbrooke, D. D., James Milnor, D. D., M. Eastburn, A. M., G. Spring, D. D., W. W. Phillips, D. D., Samuel H. Cox, D. D., R. M'Cartee, D. D., J. M. Matthews, D. D.

If the first number, which we have received, is a fair specimen of the work, we are prepared to speak of it in terms of the highest commendation. It contains the whole of the life of Robert Hall, by Dr. Gregory, and his character by Mr. Foster. We confess that we have shared in the alarm of many good people at the multiplication of books. We have been anxious to see "to what this would grow." We have felt alarm for the healthiness and vigour of the public mind. Such constant stuffing, such gorging with books,—surely, thought we, we shall have a generation of mental dys-

peptics, or at the best, of bloated, pot-bellied epicures, instead of the hale, racy, well-proportioned minds of a former age. We have had a feeling of absolute despair, as we have perambulated the choked aisles of a modern book-store, and have felt that we needed Virgil's

"Centum linguæ, centumque ora,"

with the hundred hands of Briareus, if we ever expected to read and handle the myriads of new books. But we are cured of such feelings. We are glad to see a new book, if it be a good one. And we rejoice at every new expedient to make them as cheap as possible. Every good book will have a circle of patrons and readers, even if we can not read it, and there will be more good done on the whole, than by a smaller number of books. Besides, the only way to meet the armies of infidel and licentious books, is to array against them an equal number of good books. The book mania which has seized the public, must be satisfied in some way; and if there are not good books enough, and that too in the newest and most popular style, to fill the social and circulating libraries, and give occupation to the millions of active minds in the country, their place will be filled by such books as the novels of Bulwer, and the poems of Byron and Shelly and Moore. Messrs. Key and Biddle, if they execute their plan as they have promised and begun, will deserve the thanks, and receive the patronage of the community.—*Journal of Humanity.*

The first part of Vol. 1, of this periodical is before us. It is made up of a most interesting Memoir of the eloquent divine, Robert Hall, and the commencement of a History of the Reformed Religion in France. It would really seem that knowledge is about to be brought to every man's door, however distant, and served up to him in the most agreeable forms for a mere trifle.—*Commercial Herald.*

We have received the first number of the Christian Library, which contains an intensely interesting Memoir of Robert Hall, by Olynthus Gregory. The incidents of the life of such a man, in the hands of such a writer, could not be otherwise than captivating.—*Fredericksburg Arena.*

Judging from the plan of the work, and also from the number before us, we believe it well calculated to disseminate the light of the gospel, and we think that every Christian's library would be enriched by it. We would particularly recommend it to the ministers of our church, who, from their

situation, being located in the "far west," have not an opportunity of procuring the many valuable books which are issuing from the press in Europe and middle and eastern states. By subscribing for this work, in a few years, for a comparative trifle, they may possess an extensive and valuable religious library, calculated to impart to them useful and important information, which is above all price; and to give them a perfect knowledge of what is now doing for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom throughout the world, and consequently, to keep them up with the spirit and improvements of the age.—*Nashville Revivalist*.

The Christian Library, of which Messrs. KEY & BIDDLE, of Minor street, have just published the first part, is a work which will command the respect and patronage of all professors of religion, irrespective of sects. The *Library* is conducted with a free, judicious spirit of selection; and if the first number may be deemed a fair specimen, will abound with instructive tales and useful matter. In so good a cause, the publishers deserve the hearty good will of those for whom they will furnish, at a price singularly reasonable, a large amount of most valuable information, on the most important of all subjects.—*Philadelphia Gazette*.

We beg leave to inform our country friends that the *Christian Library* continues to deserve the approbation, and to demand the patronage of the religious and moral public.—*American Sentinel*.

The plan of the *Christian Library* has met the decided approbation of the Clergy of various denominations, and as the selections made for it will be exempt from all tincture of sectarianism, we think it can not fail to be acceptable to Christians of the different persuasions.—*Berks & Schuylkill Journal*.

The first number of the *Christian Library* contains the Memoir of that interesting divine, Robert Hall, and is well executed. It will unquestionably prove a valuable work.—*Baptist Mission & Home Repository Record*.

The 3d part of vol. 1. is before us, in which we are glad to find a beginning of the life of Cowper, by Taylor. This life, alone, is worth more than a year's subscription.—*Commercial Herald*.

THE CHRISTIAN LIBRARY.—We have just received the first number of this truly valuable publication. From the

prospectus, and recommendations which we had seen, we were prepared to think highly of the work, but the appearance of the first number far exceeds our expectations. It contains the Memoir of *Rev. Robert Hall*, by Dr. Gregory, and commences a valuable work on the "Reformation in France," by the Rev. Edward Smedley, of Cambridge, England. In the cheapness, and solid value of its materials, this work promises to surpass every thing of the kind hitherto published. It is truly gratifying to see the periodical Press so efficiently employed in disseminating substantial religious knowledge, instead of the light trash and worse than useless fictions with which it has been hitherto burdened.

We are in earnest in commending this publication, and sincerely hope that among all Christian people, it will utterly supplant the whole tribe of periodical novels, romances and the like.

Among the many recommendations to this work, the Episcopalians of Ohio will notice that of our diocesan expressed in no very measured terms.—*Gambier Observer*.

Christian Library.—The style and appearance, and, we may add, the contents of the first number, which we have before us, can not fail to meet the approbation of Evangelical Christians of every denomination.—*Southern Religious Telegraph*.

Those who have leisure for extensive reading, and are determined to procure valuable works as they appear, will not grudge nine or ten cents per month to have such a volume brought to their door. The mail is much more usefully employed in conveying the means of solid reading, than in the transportation of such trash as abounds in political papers and electioneering pamphlets. Papers and periodicals of this description are doing much to reform the public taste. The first number will furnish the reader with Dr. Gregory's Memoir of Hall.—*Zion's Advocate*, (Portland.)

From the specimen before us we consider the *Christian Library* a very cheap and valuable work.—*Christian Sentinel*.

We anticipate a useful auxiliary to christianity in this publication, and wish it much success.—*Christian Guardian*.

PHILOSOPHY OF A FUTURE STATE.
 PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.
 CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHER.

BY THOMAS DICK.

Philadelphia, Key & Biddle.

IN the first of the works whose titles head this article, Mr. Dick has endeavoured to prove, that man is an immortal being. His arguments are drawn from various sources, and he has judiciously availed himself of the recent discoveries in science, in illustrating the connexion of intellectual improvement, with the state of future existence.

Mr. Dick has displayed in this work, considerable extent of knowledge, and the industry manifested in collecting and arranging his numerous and diversified materials, will meet with the decided approbation of every intelligent Christian.

The *Philosophy of Religion* is a production of no less value than the preceding, it is an attempt by the pious and indefatigable author, to illustrate the moral being of the universe, and to delineate the obligations of man to God—to show how reasonable and excellent the precepts of revealed religion are, and how well they are adapted to the condition of man, how certainly their practical adoption is productive of peace and joy, and how bright under all circumstances are the hopes, and soothing the consolations of the Christian. It is an excellent book, and may be read with advantage, by all sects of Christians.

The *Christian Philosopher*, which next claims our attention, is to the philosophic inquirer more interesting than either of the preceding two. It is a scientific investigation into the existence and attributes of a *great first cause*, and the author has evidently come to his subject well prepared, securely assured, and ready to give a reasonable answer to the sceptical questioner for the hope that is within him. The author has successfully combated the ridiculous ideas of those zealous but ignorant christians who reject all human knowledge as vain and useless. He has shown that the study and contemplation of the laws of the natural world, elevate the mind in its conceptions of the power, wisdom and goodness of God, and that every advance in knowledge, every discovery in science, tends to confirm our faith, exalt our views and refine our dispositions, and thus improve us in moral and religious feelings and principles.

Mr. Dick very justly observes that "the man who would

discard the efforts of the human intellect, and the science of Nature from Religion, forgets—that He who is the author of human redemption is also the Creator and governor of the whole system of the material universe—that it is one end of that moral renovation which the Gospel effects, to qualify us for contemplating aright the displays of Divine Perfection which the works of creation exhibit, that the visible works of God are the principal medium by which he displays the attributes of this nature to intelligent beings—that the study and contemplation of these works employ the faculties of intelligences of a superior order—that man, had he remained in primeval innocence, would have been chiefly employed in such contemplations—that it is one main design of divine revelation to illustrate the operations of Providence, and the agency of God in the formation and preservation of all things—and that the scriptures are full of sublime descriptions of the visible creation, and of interesting references to the various objects which adorn the scenery of nature. In these opinions we entirely concur, and we are certain that every believer in the Gospel of Christ, will have his soul expanded, his energies awakened, and all his faculties and powers enlarged by investigating the laws of the Universe. God is every where; we perceive his wisdom in the organization of a man, and a tree; every animal on earth, all objects in nature, organized or unorganized, exhibit the power, the skill, and the benevolence of the Creator.

Mr. Dick's book contains many important facts in relation to the laws of matter and motion, illustrated by familiar explanations, and well adapted to the comprehension of the general reader. We have rarely perused a work with more pleasure and profit, and we are confident that it will prove a valuable and useful addition to every family library. To the young divine just commencing his ministerial labours, it will be of much benefit, it will supply him with topics for explication, upon which he can expatiate with the fervour and eloquence of genius, and all the enthusiasm of a finer, but rational and ardent Christian.

In dismissing these productions of Mr. Dick, we cordially commend them to the attention of our readers.

EXAMPLE; OR FAMILY SCENES.—This is one of those useful and truly moral publications which can not fail to be read with delight by the youth of both sexes, who, as their hearts expand, and they advance in years, have need of some instructor to point out the path they should follow for their future happiness. The author has been triumphantly

successful in attaining these laudable objects in this interesting publication." *Weekly Times.*

The form of a domestic story is here judiciously selected for imparting a purity of religious feeling to juvenile readers; and the purpose as fully answered. Adults may also read this interesting volume with much benefit. *United Kingdom.*

FOX'S BOOK OF MARTYRS. A Universal History of Christian Martyrdom, from the Birth of our Blessed Saviour to the latest Periods of Persecution. Originally composed by the Rev. JOHN FOX, A. M., and now corrected throughout; with copious and important additions relative to the Recent Persecutions in the south of France. In 2 vols. 8vo., beautifully printed on fine and remarkably strong paper. Being the only complete and un mutilated edition of this work ever presented to the American Public. Embellished with a Portrait of the venerable Fox, and Sixty Engravings illustrative of the suffering Martyrs in all ages of the world.

"We commend the enterprise of the publishers, which has induced them to incur the heavy expense requisite for the production of this costly and elegant book. They have thereby rendered a service to the cause of true Christianity; and we can not doubt that they will meet with ample remuneration in the approbation of the public. An additional recommendation is furnished in the extreme lowness of the price, thereby rendering the book accessible to the pocket of every class of Christians. It is a work of intense interest; and whether as a volume of Ecclesiastical History, or for occasional perusal, richly merits a place on the shelves of every family library." *Christian Advocate.*

GUY ON ASTRONOMY, AND AN ABRIDGEMENT OF KEITH ON THE GLOBES, 2 volumes in 1, 18mo.

A school book of this sort has long been a desideratum in our seminaries. It comprises a popular Treatise on Astronomy; together with the admirably clear definitions, and nearly all the problems of Keith. The whole is contained in a neat volume, and afforded at a very low price. The publishers

would particularly call the attention of parents and teachers to the above work.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, in 1 vol. 12mo. BY THOMAS HUGHS. Embellished with a great number of beautiful wood cuts.

The publishers announce this work with the highest feelings of satisfaction. The three objects they have had in view are cheapness, beauty of embellishment, and novelty of matter, combined with accuracy of research. The name of the author (who is already favourably known by several previous works for schools) is a sufficient guarantee of the manner in which this book will be executed. It will not be uninteresting to state that the sources from which some of the materials of this school book are derived, are inaccessible to any except the present writer; whose business it has also been to attempt the attainment of that which has hitherto been overlooked, as of no importance, viz: elegance of style, which may interest at the same time that it will aid in forming the taste of the youthful reader.

A HARMONY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS. Founded on the Arrangement of the *Harmonia Evangelica*, by the Rev. Edward Greswell. With the Practical Reflections of Dr. Doddridge. *Designed for the use of Families and Schools, and for Private Edification.* By the Rev. E. Bickersteth, Rector of Wolton, Herts."

A beautiful duodecimo of about four hundred pages; and one of the best books which has appeared for many years, with respect to personal and domestic edification. It is next to impossible to read the ordinary Harmonies. The current of the narrative is broken by constant interruptions. In *this*, we have in convenient sections, the four Gospel histories, made up into one, in proper order, in the words of the common English translation. The devotional notes of Doddridge are better than any we have seen for reading in the closet or at family worship. The name of *Bickersteth*, prefixed to a book, is enough to show that it is written simply to serve the cause of Christ. *The Presbyterian.*

Messrs. Key & Biddle of this city, have published a beautiful edition of a popular Harmony of the Four Gospels. A book giving a connected and chronological view of the History of our Saviour, without an array of critical apparatus which is useless and repulsive to the common reader, has long been a desider-

atum in our religious literature. It is now supplied by the labours of Mr. Bickersteth, who is well known as an able, judicious and pious writer. Each section of the text is followed by brief practical reflections, from the pen of Dr. Doddridge. The volume is well adapted to the purposes for which it was designed by the author.—“The use of families and schools, and for private edification.” *Phila. Gaz.*

The religious community will take delight in reading a work just published, entitled “A Harmony of the Four Gospels.” Scarcely any thing has so much puzzled a certain order of minds, as the apparent disagreement of parts of the New Testament. Nothing so much weakens Christian faith as an impression of this sort—whilst nothing tends more directly to confirm and strengthen it, than evidence of the entire oneness, and harmony of the Gospels.—*Com. Herald.*

THE HUMOURIST'S OWN BOOK. A cabinet of original and selected anecdotes, bon mots, sports of fancy, and traits of character; intended to furnish occasion for reflection as well as mirth. By the author of the *Young Man's Own Book*, &c.

It is good to be pleased; and the book which can chase a care, or enliven a brow, provided it be pure, is worthy of honest recommendation. Such is the character of the volume entitled *The Humourist's Own Book*, recently published by Messrs. Key and Biddle. The work is made of good things, carefully culled; and the man who can run over them all, without a laugh or a smile, is fit for treason.—*Phila. Gazette.*

Ha! ye merry dogs, if you want to shake your sides with laughter buy this book, for here you have the most delightful and varied collection of bon mots, anecdotes, &c., that we have ever seen.—And ye! ye! melancholic, hypochondriacal beings, whose countenances are always demure—imagination always gloomy, and whose risible muscles are never excited to a smile, to say nothing of a laugh, get the book, and your souls will be gladdened with joy—your hearts will swell with rapture, and if you don't hold your sides tight, you'll run the risk of bursting them with laughter.

It is a charming little work, and the collections have been made with much care and judgment.—*Saturday Courier.*

Messrs. Key & Biddle have published a neat little volume

entitled, *The Humourist's Own Book*. It is a feast of fat things.—*United States Gazette*.

This is a neat volume of original and selected anecdotes, bon mots, &c. They are well chosen, and in every respect unexceptionable, fit for the perusal of the most delicate and fastidious.—*Balt. American and Com. Advertiser*.

THE HAPPINESS OF THE BLESSED, considered as to the particulars of their state; their recognition of each other in that state; and its difference of degrees. To which are added, Musings on the Church and her services. By Richard Mant, D. D. M. R. I. A. Lord Bishop of Down and Connor.

The design of the Rev. author in this production, is to adduce from scriptural authority, the most satisfactory evidence, of the happiness and joy of those who by faith follow Christ, and who in the exercise of those virtues required by the Gospel, are emphatically denominated the children of God. The author has touched upon several topics connected with the subject, which must afford much consolation to the Christian, who from the very nature of his organization, is liable to doubts and fearful forebodings as to the state of his heart and the grounds of his faith.

Christian hope, confidence, and charity, are stamped upon every page, and the writer deserves well of the Christian inquirer, for the industry which he has displayed in collecting and arranging so many important and valuable arguments in favour of the glorious and resplendent state of the faithful and humble disciple of Jesus.

In this world, mankind have need of consolation—of the cup of sorrow all must drink—happiness is a phantom, a meteor, beautiful and bright, always alluring us by its glow—forever within our reach, but eternally eluding our grasp—but this state of things was designed by our Creator for our benefit—it was intended to withdraw our affections from the shadowy and unsubstantial pleasures of the world, to the Father of all in Heaven, and to prepare by discipline and zeal, for a state, beyond the grave, of felicity, which eye hath not seen, ear hath not heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive of. To our readers we cheerfully commend this delightful volume, confident that by its perusal the faith of the doubtful will be confirmed, and the anticipative hope of the confident increased. *Christian's Magazine*.

We take the earliest opportunity of introducing to our readers this excellent little book, to which the deeply interesting nature of the subject and the well earned reputation of the Right Rev. author will secure no inconsiderable portion of attention. The vast importance of the topics herein treated, and the valuable practical effects they may assist in producing, induce us to call thus early the public attention to a work, small indeed in size, but which is calculated not a little to inform all candid and serious inquirers into a subject hitherto involved in much obscurity, but not a little elucidated by the present author.—*Gentleman's Magazine*.

All which are entitled to much commendation, as tending to familiarize the young student with the exact phraseology of the New Testament, and calculated to recall it, in an agreeable way, to the memory of the more advanced Scholar.—*Lit. Gazette*.

It possesses much substantive merit, and is the best Key to Chronology of the Gospel History we have met with.—*Athenæum*.

We have looked over, with great pleasure, a neat little volume of 188 pages, just published by Key & Biddle, of this City, bearing the title of "The Happiness of the Blessed." It is divided into four chapters, and these chapters into sections—each section being confined to the particular subject designated in it. We are much pleased with the entire work—but more particularly with the discussion on the probability of the blessed recognizing each other, in the heavenly world. Cowper, the poet, we remember, reasons in a couple of his letters most delightfully on the subject.

We cordially recommend this little work. Bishop Mant, the author, has opened a spring in it, whence pure and wholesome waters will long flow, to refresh and benefit the world.—*Commercial Herald*.

The Happiness of the Blessed, by Dr Mant, Bishop of Down and Connor.—Published by Key & Biddle. This work is got up with the usual elegance of those enterprising publishers. It is a work of considerable metaphysical research; is written in a style of animated piety; and whether to the professing Christian or the general reader, will readily repay a perusal.—*Daily Chronicle*.

JOURNAL OF A NOBLEMAN:—Being a narrative of his residence at Vienna, during Congress.

The author is quite spirited in his remarks on occur-

rences, and his sketches of character are picturesque and amusing. We commend this volume to our readers as a very entertaining production.—*Daily Intelligencer*.

We presume no one could take up this little volume and dip into it, without feeling regret at being obliged by any cause to put it down before it was read. The style is fine, as are the descriptions, the persons introduced, together with the anecdotes, and in general, the entire sketching is by the hand of a master. Every thing appears natural—there is no affectation of learning—no overstraining—no departure from what one would expect to see and hear—all is easy—all graceful.”—*Commercial Herald*.

The volume is a beautiful one; and the matter of it, judging from more than a cursory perusal, is well worthy a recommendation, as offering a fair insight into the doings and follies of the great, in one of the celebrated capitals of Europe.—*Sat. Eve. Post*.

LIFE OF A SAILOR—By a Captain in the Navy. Two very interesting volumes.—*U. S. Gaz.*

“It is from the pen of Captain Chamier, and contains many powerful sketches.—*Penn'a. Inquirer*.

“The Sailor, who has thus given his life to the world, spins as clever a yarn as any landsman or marine would like to see recorded. He seems to have been almost every where and to have seen nearly every body; and he describes with such earnestness and perspicuity, that you are sure he must have depicted things just as he found them—penning his record when his recollections were fresh, and preserving throughout, an aim to be graphic and impressive. He has succeeded fully, in his effort; and all who procure his “log,” will find it as exciting a piece of work, as they ever had the felicity to meet with.—*Phil. Gaz.*

KEY & BIDDLE, Philadelphia, have published THE LIFE OF A SAILOR, by Captain Frederick Chamier, R. N. in 2 vols. 12 mo. neatly bound in embossed cloth.

Most various and amusing volumes, embodying the real Adventures of a Captain of the Navy.—*Lit. Gaz.*

Captain Chamier has had a full share of adventure and undoubtedly possesses a facility of style, and a playful manner. If there ever was a story to excite sympathy, to interest the feelings, and awaken the imagination of the reading

world, it is the story of Sharks in this Autobiography.—*Spectator*.

LIVES OF BANDITTI AND ROBBERS—By C. Macfarland, Esq., together with a sketch of the Lives of **BLACKBEARD**, and **CAPTAIN KID**, by the American editor.

This work is deeply interesting throughout; it is full of anecdote, bold adventure, daring enterprise, and the narrative is clear and vigorous—and such are the characters of these reckless outcasts of society and the interest in which their lives are invested, that we commend it to our readers, confident that they will be highly entertained.—*Sat. Cour.*

These lives, and indeed the whole volume, are of the deepest interest—there is nothing in this edition which would exclude it from the eyes of the ladies, some improper remarks and a very few uninteresting details, having been excluded, which are more than compensated for, even as regards quantity of reading, by the addition made by the American Editor. The volume itself is one of the neatest we have lately seen, having in fact the appearance of an English Edition—it is on very fine white paper, and the impression of the type clear and distinct.—*Saturday Evening Post*.

Many of the stories in this volume are exceedingly interesting.—*Nat. Gaz.*

We have before us *Lives of Banditti and Robbers*, in one volume, including the lives of *Blackbeard* and *Captain Kidd*, prepared for the American Edition. These lives, and indeed the whole volume are of the deepest interest.—*U. S. Gazette*.

The dangers, hardships, and reckless daring of these lawless depredators, often impart an intense interest to the relation of their deeds, and this interest is not unfrequently increased, by their adding generosity to heroism.—*N. Y. Com. Advertiser*.

LEGENDS OF THE WEST—By James Hall, second edition, containing the following beautiful told tales:

The Backwoodsman	The Intestate
The Divining Rod	Michael De Lancey
The Seventh Son	The Emigrants
The Missionaries	The Indian Hater

A Legend of Carondelet The Isle of the Yellow Sands
The Barrackmaster's Daughter.
The Indian Wife's Lament.

We are glad to see a new edition of these well told tales of Judge Hall, has recently been published.—*Boston Eve. Gazette.*

The deserved popularity of these tales of Judge Hall, have secured to it the publication of a second edition. His sketches are admirably drawn, and his personal familiarity with scenery and life in the West have furnished him with incidents of peculiar interest, greatly increased by felicitous description.—*N. Y. Com. Advertiser.*

A second edition of Legends of the West has just been published; a work to which we have before alluded in deserved praise. The favour which the work has found with the public, may be seen in the demand for its repetition. It deserves, in every respect, the reception it has met with.—*Sat. Eve. Post.*

LEGENDS OF THE WEST. BY JAMES HALL.

Philadelphia. Key & Biddle.

The rapid sale of the first, has created a demand for a second edition of the work, whose title heads this article.

The "Legends" comprise twelve articles, one of which is poetic. The scenes of these tales are all located in the "far, far West," and the characters are taken from the aborigines and early emigrants. The difficulties and dangers which the first settlers had to undergo, ere they were established in security, are depicted in glowing colours, and with a master hand.

The rude and savage warfare of the Indians, the secret ambuscade, the midnight slaughter, the conflagration of the log hut in the prairie and forest, the shrieks of consuming women and children, are presented to our minds by the author in vivid and impressive language. These tales possess much interest, as they are founded in fact, and are illustrative of the habits of the Indian, and the life of the hunter. As a writer, Judge Hall is more American than any other we possess; his scenes are American; his characters are American, and his language is American. His personages are invested with an individuality which can not be mistaken, and his conceptions and illustrations are drawn from the great store house of nature.—*Daily Intelligencer.*

LIFE OF WILLIAM COWPER, Esq.—Compiled from his correspondence and other authenticated sources of information, containing remarks on his writings, and on the peculiarities of his interesting character, never before published. By THOMAS TAYLOR.

Extract from the Preface.

Many Lives of Cowper have already been published. Why then, it may be asked, add to their number? Simply because in the opinion of competent judges, no memoir of him has yet appeared that gives a full, fair, and unbiassed view of his character.

It is remarked by Dr. Johnson, the poet's kinsman, in his preface to the two volumes of Cowper's Private Correspondence, "that Mr. Haley omitted the insertion of several interesting letters in his excellent Life of the poet out of kindness to his readers." In doing this, however amiable and considerate as his caution must appear, the gloominess which he has taken from the mind of Cowper, has the effect of involving his character in obscurity.

In alluding to these suppressed letters, the late highly esteemed Leigh Richmond once emphatically remarked—"Cowper's character will never be clearly and satisfactorily understood without them, and should be permitted to exist for the demonstration of the case. I know the importance of it from numerous conversations I have had, both in England and Scotland, on this subject. Persons of truly religious principles, as well as those of little or no religion at all, have greatly erred in their estimate of this great and good man."

In this work all that is necessary and much that is painful to know, is told of Cowper, and well told too.—His life was much wanted, and we have no doubt that it will be universally read and become, like the poems of the man it commemorates, a standard work. Mr. Taylor has our hearty thanks for having produced this work, and our commendations no less hearty for having produced it so well.—*Metropolitan.*

LETTERS TO AN ANXIOUS INQUIRER, DESIGNED TO RELIEVE THE DIFFICULTIES OF A FRIEND, UNDER SERIOUS IMPRESSIONS.
By T. CARLTON HENRY, D. D. late Pastor of the Second

Presbyterian Church, Charleston, S. C. With an Introductory Essay, (in which is presented Dr. Henry's Preface to his Letters, and his Life, by a friend.) By G. T. BEDELL, D. D. Rector of St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia.

MEMOIRS OF HORTENSE BEAUHARNAIS,
DUCHESS OF ST. LEU AND EX-QUEEN OF
HOLLAND.

This is an interesting account of a conspicuous character. She was the daughter of Josephine Beauharnais, alias, or afterwards, Josephine Buonaparte, former wife of Napoleon of France; and she became the wife of Louis Buonaparte, the ex-king of Holland. Of those who have figured as large on the great theatre of life, at one of the most memorable eras in history, many interesting anecdotes are given. We can safely recommend this work to the reading public.—*American Sentinel*.

No one of all those distinguished personages who occupied so large a space in the world's eye, from their connexion with Napoleon, presents a story of deeper interest than the amiable and accomplished subject of these memoirs. Possessing all the grace and fascination of manner, which so eminently characterized her mother the Empress Josephine, she has a strength and cultivation of intellect; an extent and variety of knowledge; and a philosophic fortitude which the empress never could boast. Unhappy in her marriage, she was yet a devoted wife and fond mother; and though gifted with every quality to adorn royalty, she willingly withdrew to the shades of private life, resigning the crown she had embellished without a murmur.

Many of the details of this work will be found deeply interesting, and the notes are copious and instructing. The translator has faithfully preserved the spirit of his original.—*Saturday Courier*.

Sometime ago we read this little volume in French, and found it strongly attractive. We regard it as an autobiography in great part. The historical as well as the personal details reward attention.—*National Gazette*.

No one of all those distinguished personages who occupied so large a space in the world's eye, from their connexion with Napoleon, presents a story of deeper interest, than the amia-

ble and accomplished subject of these memoirs. "Possessing all the grace and fascination of manner, which so eminently characterized her mother, the Empress Josephine, she has a strength and cultivation of intellect, an extent and variety of knowledge, and a philosophic fortitude, which the empress never could boast. Unhappy in her marriage, she was yet a devoted wife and fond mother; and though gifted with every quality to adorn royalty, she willingly withdrew to the shades of private life, resigning the crown she had embellished without a murmur." The work belongs to the many memoranda we have of that extraordinary man, whose family history is not complete without it.—*American Traveller*.

We have never taken up a book containing anecdotes of the eventful period of which this little volume treats, and especially of the great actors in that wonderful drama, without experiencing some of the sensations which attend upon the sight of some mighty ruin; or beholding the place in the ocean where fleets and armies have been swallowed up. Sometimes they appear to us like those distant and dark clouds; whose edges are fringed with the red light of the setting sun, and in whose bosom is seen to struggle the pent up lightning. This work will be read, we are certain, with great interest.—*Commercial Herald*.

NEW AMERICAN SPEAKER, being an entirely new selection of Speeches, Dialogues, and Poetry, for the use of Schools. By THOMAS HUGHS, Compiler of the Universal Class Book and the American Popular Reader.

A rich collection of pieces from some of the first writers in the English language, furnishing a most abundant supply of exercises in elocution and declamation. It should find admission into every academy, college, and high school, where it is an object to form the taste, as well as teach the art of speaking.

AMERICAN SPEAKER.—A volume with this title, comprising upwards of two hundred pages, has just been issued by Messrs. Key & Biddle, of this city. It has been compiled by THOMAS HUGHS, Esq., the compiler of the 'Universal Class Book' and the 'American Popular Reader,' and is designed for the use of schools. It embraces a selection of speeches, dialogues and poetry, made up with great discern-

ment, we think, from the best authors, foreign and domestic, ancient and modern. Mr. Hughs is well calculated to render such a book valuable, and from the perusal we have given many of the articles, we should suppose this 'Speaker' would soon find a place in most of our public seminaries.

Among the American writers, whose productions have been introduced into this volume, we observe with pleasure the names of Hopkinson, Brown, Canning, Payne, Webster, Everett, Ames, Clay, Randolph, Halleck, Bryant, Adams, and others. We shall enrich our first page with extracts from it in a day or two, and take pleasure in commending it to those having charge of our public and private schools.—*Pennsylvania Inquirer*.

IRISH ELOQUENCE.—The Speeches of the celebrated Irish Orators, PHILLIPS, CURRAN, and GRATTAN; to which is added, the Powerful Appeal of ROBERT EMMETT, at the close of his trial for high treason. In 1 vol. 8vo.

The above work forms a complete and unique school of Irish oratory. To every member of the bar, to every clergyman, to every aspirant to political influence and admission into the legislative halls of his country, this practical text book of eloquence will be an honoured manual; and scarcely less does it recommend itself to every lover of literature, and each promoter of his country's good, who will both be rewarded for the purchase, the one by its high literary merits, and the other in the glowing pictures it presents to him of personal sacrifice on the altar of public weal.—*United States Gazette*.

The Speeches of Phillips, Curran, Grattan, and Emmett, have been published in a neat octavo volume, by Key & Bidle, of this city.

It is unnecessary for us to say any thing as to the merit of these splendid displays of eloquence, which have stamped an immortality on the above named orators. Their merits are well known, and wherever these speeches have been read, they have been admired.

The volume is neatly "got up," the paper is good, the type is clear, bold and legible, and the binding is substantial and durable.—*Daily Intelligencer*.

THE SOLDIER'S BRIDE, AND OTHER TALES,
by JAMES HALL, Esq., author of "Legends of the West," &c.

CONTENTS.

1. The Soldier's Bride.
2. Cousin Lucy and the Village Teacher.
3. Empty Pockets.
4. The Captain's Lady.
5. The Philadelphia Dun.
6. The Bearer of Despatches.
7. The Village Musician.
8. Fashionable Watering-Places.
9. The Useful Man.
10. The Dentist.
11. The Bachelor's Elysium.
12. Pete Featherton.
13. The Billiard Table.

We have just risen from the perusal of the *Soldier's Bride*. The impression it leaves upon the mind is like that which we receive from the sight of a landscape of rural beauty and repose—or from the sound of rich and sweet melody. Every part of this delightful tale is redolent of moral and natural loveliness. The writer belongs to the same class with Irving and Paulding; and as in his descriptions, characters and incidents, he never loses sight of the true and legitimate purpose of fiction, the elevation of the taste and moral character of his readers, he will contribute his full share to the creation of sound and healthful literature.—*United States Gazette*.

Key & Biddle have recently published another series of Tales—the *Soldier's Bride*, &c. by James Hall. The approbation every where elicited by Judge Hall's *Legends of the West*, has secured a favourable reception for the present volume; and its varied and highly spirited contents, consisting of thirteen tales, will be found no less meritorious than his previous labours.—*National Gazette*.

We have found much to admire in the perusal of this interesting work. It abounds in correct delineation of character, and although in some of his tales, the author's style is familiar, yet he has not sacrificed to levity the dignity of his pen, nor tarnished his character as a chaste and classical writer. At the present day, when the literary world is flooded with fustian and insipidity, and the public taste attempted to be vitiated by the weak and effeminate productions of those

whose minds are as incapable of imagining the lofty and generous feelings they would pourtray, as their hearts are of exercising them, it is peculiarly gratifying to receive a work, from the pages of which the eye may cater with satisfaction, and the mind feast with avidity and benefit.—*Pittsburg Mercury.*

THE TESTIMONY OF NATURE AND REVELATION TO THE BEING, PERFECTIONS AND GOVERNMENT OF GOD. By the Rev. HENRY FERGUS, Dunfermline, Author of the History of the United States of America, till the termination of the War of Independence, in Lardners' Cyclopaedia.

The Rev. Mr. Fergus's Testimony of Nature and Revelation to the Being, Perfection and Government of God, is an attempt to do in one volume what the Bridgwater Treatises are to do in eight. We wish one-eighth of the reward only may make its way to Dunfermline. Mr. Fergus's Treatise goes over the whole ground with fervour and ability; it is an excellent volume, and may be had for somewhere about half the price of one Bridgwater octavo. *London Spectator.*

TALES OF ROMANCE, FIRST SERIES. This is not only an uncommonly neat edition, but a very entertaining book; how could it be otherwise when such an array of authors as the following is presented.

The work contains Ali's Bride, a tale from the Persian, by Thomas Moore, interspersed with poetry. The Last of the Line, by Mrs. S. C. Hall, an author who sustains a reputation which every succeeding production greatly enhances. The Wire Merchant's Story, by the author of the King's Own. The Procrastinator, by T. Croften Croker. The Spanish Beadsman. The Legend of Rose Rocks, by the author of Stories of Waterloo. Barbara S———, by Charles Lamb. A Story of the Heart. The Vacant Chair, by J. M. Wilson; and the Queen of the Meadows, by Miss Mitford.

This volume has no pretensions to the inculcation of mawkish sensibility. We have read every word of it, and can confidently recommend it to our friends.—*Journal of Belles Letters.*

YOUNG MAN'S OWN BOOK.—A Manual of Politeness, Intellectual Improvement, and Moral Department, calculated to form the character on a solid basis, and to insure respectability and success in life.

Its contents are made up of brief and well written essays upon subjects very judiciously selected, and will prove a useful and valuable work to those who give it a careful reading, and make proper use of those hints which the author throws out.—*Boston Traveller*.

We cheerfully recommend a perusal of the Young Man's Own Book to all our young friends, for we are convinced that if they read it faithfully, they will find themselves both wiser and better.—*The Young Man's Advocate*.

In the Young Man's Own Book, much sound advice, upon a variety of important subjects is administered, and a large number of rules are laid down for the regulation of conduct, the practice of which can not fail to ensure respectability.—*Saturday Courier*.

YOUNG LADY'S OWN BOOK, a Manual of Intellectual Improvement and Moral Department. By the author of the Young Man's Own Book.

Messrs. Key and Biddle, of this city, have published a very neat little volume, entitled, **The Young Lady's Own Book.** Its contents are well adapted to its useful purpose.—*National Gazette*.

The Young Lady's Own Book seems to us to have been carefully prepared, to comprehend much and various instruction of a practical character, and to correspond in its contents with its title.—*Young Man's Advocate*.

The Young Lady's Own Book, embellished with beautiful engravings, should be in the hands of every young female.—*Inquirer*.

All the articles in the Young Lady's Own Book are of a useful and interesting character.—*N. Y. Com. Adv.*

WACOUSTA, OR THE PROPHECY; A TALE OF THE CANADAS. 2 vols.

This work is of a deeply interesting character, and justly lays claim to be of the highest cast. We think it decidedly

superior to any production of the kind which has recently emanated from the press. It abounds with thrilling scenes, and the author has displayed a power of delineation rarely surpassed.—*Daily Intelligencer*.

We have read it, and unhesitatingly pronounce it one of the most deeply interesting works of fiction which has met our eye for many a month. It is a historical novel—the scenes of which are laid principally at Detroit and Mackinac—and some of the tragic events which those places witnessed in the early settlement of the country, are given with historic accuracy—particularly the massacre of Mackinac.—The author is evidently conversant with Indian strategem and with Indian eloquence; and has presented us with specimens of both, truly characteristic of the untutored savage. We would gladly present our readers with an extract from this interesting work, did our limits permit. In lieu of an extract, however, we commend the work itself to them.—*Commercial Herald*.

The principal personage of this novel is a savage chief, and the story of his retreat, bearing off captive the daughter of the Governor, is told with thrilling effect. It is well written throughout, and abounds with interesting scenes.—*Commercial Advertiser*.

ZOE, OR THE SICILIAN SAYDA.—As an historical romance, embellished with the creations of a lively imagination, and adorned with the beauties of a classic mind, this production will take a high rank, and although not so much lauded as a Cooper or an Irving, he may be assured that by a continuance of his efforts, he will secure the approbation of his countrymen, and the reward of a wide spread fame.—*Daily Intelligencer*.

We do not call attention to this on account of any previous reputation of its author; it possesses intrinsic merit, and will obtain favour because it merits it. It is historical, and the name and circumstances are to be found in the records of those times. The plot is ably conceived, the characters are vividly, and some are fearfully drawn.—*Boston American Traveller*.

We lately spoke in terms of approbation of a new novel from the pen of a young American, entitled "Zoe; or the Sicilian Sayda." A friend, who has read it with great pleasure, and who speaks of its merits in strong terms of praise, has furnished us with the following notice:—

"The book wherever read is admired, and among a considerable variety of persons, learned and ignorant, grave and gay, sad and serious, all have but one manifestation of feeling—and that feeling delight.

Cooper has been called the Scott, and Irving the Addison of America; and the author of *Zoe*, without any imputation of vanity or arrogance, can justly lay claim to some of the attributes of both. With all the description, energy, and grandeur of the former, he possesses the classic graces, and elegant refinements of the latter. Comparisons, it is said, are always odious, but, as in this instance, we have brought forward the names of two of our most distinguished countrymen in the field of American letters, not for the purpose of detracting from their high and justly appreciated merits, but for adding another one to the number of this small but brilliant galaxy, we shall be acquitted of any sinister attempt to elevate another at the expense of those whose fame is widely spread and firmly established.

Zoe is a production, which will rank among the highest and most successful creations of the imagination. It is replete with interest, from the first chapter to the last; the story never flags, the dialogues never tire; and the varied characters who figure in the plot, are invested with an individuality which at once impresses upon the mind the graphic skill, and vivid conceptions of the author. Interesting and all absorbing as the personages are, there is one, however, of whom to read is to love; the dark-eyed, feeling, beautiful and self-sacrificing *Zoe*. It is she that appears embodied before our eyes, in all the fascination of beauty; and it is she that we part with in all the combined feelings of affection, admiration and regret.

• But it is not our purpose to pourtray the charming heroine of the story.

For the nameless attraction of her mind, the glowing ardour of her feelings, and the thousand fascinating charms with which she was invested,—we must refer our readers to the book itself.

In conclusion, we commend *Zoe* to all who are fond of an interesting romance—to all who desire to become acquainted with and encourage the merits of our native literature."—*Pennsylvania Inquirer*.

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alone calculated to write—one of those productions which engage the attention and do not fatigue it, and which we read from first to last with the agreeable sensation, that we are gathering the information of very extensive travel easily, by our own fireside.—*London Literary Gazette.*

One striking evidence of the rapid progress we are making in civilization is the constant and increasing demand for travels and voyages. We are no longer contented to live within ourselves. The whole world is our theatre. We explore all its regions; nor is there a spot visited by the sun that is wholly unknown to us. Our enterprising countrymen go forth to collect their intellectual treasures, and return home to enrich us with their stores. Every month adds something valuable to the general stock. We enjoy the benefit without encountering the peril. We sympathize with danger, while we feel that it is past, and luxuriate in pleasurable emotions, while our hearts thrill with the interest which the daring adventurer has thrown round himself. This species of writing has also a charm for every reader. The man of science and the rustic, the scholar and the mechanic, sit down with equal zest to participate in the mental feast; and thus knowledge is widely diffused—knowledge which invigorates the inward man, enlarging his capacity, and extending the sphere of his enjoyments, and which prepares a whole nation for liberal institutions, which invests them with political and commercial importance, and thus raises them in the scale of nations. The success of works of this description stimulates enterprise, and opens the largest field for the useful employment of energies which might otherwise be wasted.

Mr. Elliott justly ranks among the most enlightened and intelligent of his class. His unpretending volume discovers an enthusiastic love of nature, and the most liberal views of man in all his diversified conditions. We scarcely ever read a work in which there is so little to censure and so much to approve. Unlike many of his brethren, he is a good writer: his style is pure and classical. He is likewise a philosopher and a Christian. We first become his willing associates, and our intercourse soon ripens into friendship. We close the book with reluctance, and take leave of him with a sigh of regret.—*London New Monthly Magazine.*

KEY & BIDDLE have now in press THE RELIGIOUS SOUVENIR—A Christmas, New Year and Birth Day Present for 1834. Edited by Gregory T. Bedell, D. D.

Most of the engravings are already finished, and we feel no hesitation in saying the volume will be much superior in every respect to that of the present year, the success of which may be learned from the perusal of the following literary notices.

A gift book which unites the embellishments of fancy and imagination, with a strictly religious and moral tendency in the whole texture of the work—a Souvenir which no person of strictly religious principles, would hesitate to place in the hands of a valued friend. Such a work has been pronounced a desideratum by many, whose opinions are regarded with deference by the religious community.—*The Revivalist*.

The literary character of this Souvenir is of a high order, many of the pieces breathe a pure, devotional spirit and Christian fervour, and the whole are entirely devoid of sectarianism, and clothed in attractive unexceptionable language. Taken altogether, the Religious Souvenir is a work that may be warmly and generally commended. Mechanically it is a beautiful volume, and intellectually, such as does credit to all who have contributed to its pages.—*Boston Traveller*.

This is an elegant Annual. The pieces are generally of a moral and religious tendency, but not the less interesting on that account.—*Journal of Commerce*.

The Religious Souvenir is a very beautiful holiday present, is Edited by the Rev. G. T. Bedell, and is devoted to moral and religious subjects, all original but one by the artist illustrating his own picture. In the initials subscribed to the articles, we recognize several writers who have heretofore distinguished themselves by contributions to our periodical literature.—*N. Y. Commercial Advertiser*.

This is really a superb volume; and one which we hope will be widely circulated throughout the community. Dr. Bedell has shown considerable judgment in the selection and disposal of his matter, and we thank him for presenting to the public in so inviting a form, a work which is well calculated to form pious feelings, and establish religious principles.—*Family Journal*.

We doubt not, but many people of piety and taste, who wish to ornament their parlour and instruct those who may read; or who desire to bestow a religious remembrancer on some beloved friend, will call at some book store for Dr. Bedell's "Souvenir."—*The Philadelphian*.

A volume, too, which does not degrade or disgrace the subject—a volume destined, not to pass away with the winter greens that adorn our Christmas parlours, but to maintain a lasting hold on the attention of the christian community, at least so long as good taste and good sense shall have any vote in the selection of books. We have read the volume carefully, and do not hesitate to pronounce it one of unusual interest as well as solid merit.—*United States Gazette*.

Messrs. Key & Biddle have made a valuable present to religious parents, guardians and friends, in this elegant little volume. Why should all our gifts on these occasions be worldly or worse? And why should religious truth always shun the aids of beautiful ornament? The embellishments are attractive, well selected, and well executed. The various papers which compose the volume are serious, tasteful, alluring, imbued with the spirit of the Gospel, in a word, such as we should have expected from one so zealous for the cause of Christ, and so inventive of happy thoughts as the Rev. Editor. This annual may be safely recommended to the Christian public.—*The Presbyterian*.

To all, therefore, who desire intellectual improvement, and, at the same time, the gratification of a true taste—and to all who would make a really valuable present to their friends, we would say, in conclusion, go and procure the *Religious Souvenir*. It is not merely a brilliant little ornament for the parlour centre table, but a book worthy of a place in every sensible man's library.—*Cincinnati Enquirer*.

The typography, embellishments, and general appearance of the work, render it fully equal in these respects to any of the kind published in our country, while its subjects are far more suitable for the contemplation of christians than the light reading with which most of them are filled.—*Episcopal Recorder*.

The articles are not only interesting, but calculated to produce a beneficial effect upon the minds of those who read it, therefore, a very proper work for the purpose for which it is designed, and hope it may meet with an extensive sale.—*Baltimore Republican*.

We hail with much pleasure this attempt to convey religious truth in a garb at once pleasing and instructive. The popular form of the annual is well adapted to the purpose, and may often invite the attention and make a salutary impres-

sion, where works of a graver character would fail of effect when perused, or more probably be never perused at all. We commend, therefore, this new effort of Christian philanthropy, and think it likely to be followed by useful results.—*Charleston Courier.*

In the general character of those fashionable, and as to appearance, attractive volumes, the annuals, there is so much that is trashy and unprofitable, that it was with no little misgiving we looked into the pages of one which is now before us, entitled "*The Religious Souvenir.*" The matter is altogether of religious and moral tendency, not chargeable with sectarian bias, and such as the most scrupulous need not hesitate to admit into family reading.—*The Friend.*

This little work is intended to furnish what was heretofore wanted—a Christmas and New Year's offering, which may be bestowed and accepted by the most scrupulous.—*Pittsburg Gazette.*

We are happy to announce the tasteful appearance and valuable matter of the Religious Souvenir for 1833. Dr. Bedell is as much distinguished for his belles-lettres attainment, as for the profoundness of his scholarship and the purity of his motives. He has found himself at home in this tasteful enterprize and in good company with the associated talent of the contributors to his beautiful pages.—*N. Y. Weekly Messenger.*

The engravings for the work are chiefly from English designs, by the best American artists, and may challenge comparison with any contemporary works of this country. The literary contributions to the volume are in strict accordance with the name.—*United States Gazette.*

This work is got up in an unusual style of neatness and beauty, and ornamented with engravings of great elegance. The contents of the work are, as might have been expected from the high character of the Editor, of a moral and religious description, intended to produce the best effects upon the minds of its readers.—*Daily Advertiser.*

Messrs. Key & Biddle have published a handsome little volume, entitled Religious Souvenir, and edited by the Rev. Dr. Bedell. It is embellished with beautiful engravings, and printed with elegance. The literary contents are very good—soundly pious, and free of all invidious remark or allusion. True christianity is that which purifies the heart, liberalizes the feelings, and amends the conduct.—*National Gazette.*

MEMOIRS OF DR. BURNEY, arranged from his own Manuscript, from family papers, and from personal recollections, by his daughter, Madame D'ARBLAY.

The Monthly Review in noticing the Memoirs of Dr. Burney, expresses the opinion "*that a more amusing and profitable production has not appeared for many years.*"

Several literary gentlemen on this side of the Atlantic who have examined the work, declare that next to Boswell's Life of Johnson, it is the most attractive and interesting memoir ever published.

TRANSATLANTIC SKETCHES, comprising visits to the most interesting scenes in North and South America, and the West Indies, with notes on negro slavery and Canadian emigration, by Capt. J. E. Alexander, 42d Royal Highlanders, F. R. G. S. M. R. A. S. etc. author of Travels in Asia, Persia, etc.

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