HIDDEN WORKS

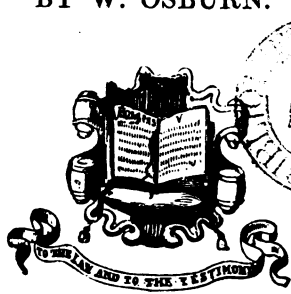
OF

DARKNESS:

OR,

THE DOINGS OF THE JESUITS.

BY W. OSBURN.



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PREFACE.

THE following work is the substance of a series of papers in "The Churchman's Monthly Review," which are reprinted at the request of several of the readers of that publication. It is the result of some research in a part of our history which is much spoken of, but, it is to be feared, little studied at present; should it prove useful, in however humble a measure, to the cause of Protestantism, my labour will be amply repaid.

WM. OSBURN.

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HIDDEN WORKS OF DARKNESS.

CHAPTER I.

FOUNDATION OF THE ORDER OF THE JESUITS.

THE year 1521 is a notable epoch in the annals of Christianity. In that year Martin Luther, full of the Spirit and clothed with the panoply of God, stood before the Diet of Worms, the most exalted and powerful assembly of princes in the world, and, by witnessing a good confession there, planted the standard of God's truth upon the citadel of the empire, from whence its enemies have never yet been able to tear it down. But we must leave the plains of Saxony for the ravines of the Pyrenees, and turn from the Diet of Worms to the siege of Pampeluna. For, strange to tell, in that year also another event occurred which in its influence upon the religion of Europe yields not at all to the Reformation itself. The siege of Pampeluna, in 1521, was an occurrence in itself of no importance

in history. It arose out of a foolish quarrel between the ambitious and crafty but timid Charles V. of Spain, who had been elected emperor about three years before, and Francis I., the king of France, a gallant, generous, open-hearted, but very profligate monarch, who had unsuccessfully competed with Charles for the emperorship. Many other causes had also concurred in fomenting ill feelings between them. The affairs of the empire were then in the utmost confusion, and it would have been the time for a vigorous and determined enemy to have made an impression upon the unwieldy domain of Charles, which lay as impotent as a carcase to offer any resistance. But, as an historian of the times* has admirably observed, when Francis should have thrust at him with the sword, he only pricked him with the needle. He provoked and roused his great adversary by mere predatory expeditions, when he ought to have stabbed him in the vitals by bold decisive manœuvres.

The siege of Pampeluna took place in one of these little wars. The Countess of Chateaubriand was then the reigning favourite with the gay and volatile king. Henry II., the hereditary monarch of the kingdom of Navarre, and a minor, was her near relative. Charles had, many years before, taken advantage of the death of the father of the young Prince, to annex his dominions to the crown of Spain. This, therefore, was a point upon which the Countess and her family were very sensitive, and she persuaded Francis, her paramour, to proclaim himself the champion of the rights of Henry,

* Sismondi.

* of Navarre. Protestantism is rooted and grounded in lust.

and to permit Andrè L'Esparre, another near relative of hers, to raise a force of five or six thousand Gascons to invade Navarre, for the purpose of rescuing it from the yoke of Spain, of which the inhabitants were heartily weary. There was nothing great or noble in the whole affair. L'Esparre was no general, and his soldiers, like the rest of their countrymen, were more apt to talk of feats of valour than to display them. They however overran Navarre, because their march was favoured by the inhabitants, and because the Spanish troops that opposed them were nearly as contemptible as themselves in point of courage and discipline.

This siege did but last fifteen days; and then one of the strongest fortresses in the world was taken by a poor, talentless commander, at the head of a handful of raw, bad troops; because there was no moral courage in the besieged to defend it.

The matter ended as it began. A week or two afterwards, the French, in their turn, retreated before a strong Spanish force, headed by Cardinal Ximenes, and almost without striking a blow, Pampeluna, with the whole of Navarre, fell again into the hands of the Spaniards: and the expedition of L'Esparre was as though it had never been. It reflected no credit on those who were engaged in it; it made no impression upon the history of any country, and it would have been forgotten but for one singular occurrence.

A high post in the garrison of Pampeluna, when L'Esparre appeared before it, had been intrusted to Don Inigo de Guipuscoa, who enjoyed the enviable reputation of being the most accomplished

gentleman in Spain. He was by birth a nobleman; and in virtue of his rank, had received his education at court. In horsemanship, fencing, dancing, music, and other accomplishments of a court-page, he excelled all his competitors. His remarkably handsome person soon procured him notice, and he rose rapidly into favour. Here his talents and acquirements enabled him to maintain the honourable position in which his personal advantages had placed him; for the energy of his character and the powers of his mind still gave him the advantage over the mere butterflies that flutter in the sunshine of court favour, even in those accomplishments to excel in which was the sole object of their ambition.

The private fortune of Don Inigo, like that of many of the Spanish nobility, was by no means large, so that it became needful for him to choose a profession. The choice was soon made in an age like the sixteenth century, and in a court like that of Ferdinand and Isabella, where the profession of arms formed at once the business and the poetry of life; where every gentleman was a soldier, and every soldier a knight-errant. For that brilliant absurdity had not then been dissipated by the merciless satire of Cervantes.

Nothing could be more auspicious than the first entry of Don Inigo upon the duties of his profession. His war-horse, bright damasked armour, and jewel-hilted sword, are said to have been the tokens of his sovereign's favour, while the plume in his helmet, and his embroidered mantle and shoulder-knot, were the gifts of the fairest and the noblest

among the ladies of the court. His first preferment was some command in the body-guard of Ferdinand and Isabella: and here he speedily justified the partiality which had been shown towards him. In skill at arms, in undaunted courage, in fortitude, in prudence, in all the hardy virtues of his profession, he far surpassed his compeers. At the time of the siege of Pampeluna, the skill and the bravery of Don Inigo had often been tested both in the tournament and the field; and his prudence, his fortitude, his proficiency in the whole art of war, in the council and the campaign. He was the *preux chevalier sans peur et sans reproche* of Spain; to whom his country looked as to her bravest defender; and his king, as soon to be one of the ablest and most distinguished of his generals.

The circumstances which had brought Don Inigo to Pampeluna, at the time of L'Esparre's invasion, are not known. He was then in his thirtieth year. On the second or third day of the siege, he was standing at an embrasure of the outer wall, opposite to which the French had planted a breaching-battery, and had just commenced their cannonade. While he was engaged in superintending and directing the pointing of the gun, a shot from the enemy struck the adjoining embattlement, and drove off several large fragments of stone, one of which inflicted a severe wound upon his right leg and foot. Like any other brave man, he found no difficulty in concealing from his attendants all expression of pain or any indication whatever of the serious injury he had received. He remained for some time afterwards

inspecting the defences, until he became faint with the excessive anguish, and was removed from the battlements in a state of insensibility. When restored to consciousness, he was in a raging fever, and the symptoms were so urgent that the physicians directed his immediate removal in a litter to his hereditary residence in the adjacent district of Guipuscoa. He had a severe and tedious illness. He suffered much from his bruised limb, more from the feverish symptoms which his pains had excited, but most of all from the consciousness that his presence was greatly needed for the public service, and from a burning impatience to return to the duties of his profession. To a mind like Don Inigo's, there is nothing in such an illness so irksome as the slow convalescence which terminates it. His pursuits had not been those which afford mental resources for hours of solitude. His castle was in a remote valley of the Pyrenees, far from his court friends and comrades in arms; so that he had nothing wherewith to beguile the tedious hours of his confinement. In the utter despair of listlessness, he despatched messengers to the castles, convents, and towns in the neighbourhood to endeavour to procure for him some of those volumes of chivalrous romance which were then in high favour with the Spanish nobility. They returned unsuccessful; for these then novel luxuries had not yet found their way into the remote valleys of the Pyrenees. One messenger, however, brought him two books which he had procured from the library of some convent. Their titles had little to attract the favourable notice of the gay soldier and man

of the world, for the one was the "Life of Christ," probably by Thomas à Kempis; the other was a Spanish translation of the *Flos Sanctorum*. Having, however, no other alternative he began carelessly to tumble over the leaves of the "Life of Christ," with but little relish for that which was written upon them. The meagre extracts from the gospels, with pious reflections interspersed, of which it consisted, were too much for the patience of the student whose taste had been formed in the pages of Amadis of Gaul, and Palmerin of England. He glanced his eye over the first page or two; then threw the book from him in disgust, and turned to the *Flos Sanctorum*. Here he found something far more congenial to his taste. The martyrdom of St. Laurence on the gridiron, of St. Sebastian by the arrows, and of that other saint who underwent the process of flaying alive in an ecstacy of holy joy, were recitals in the perusal of which he found the same pleasurable excitement as in the adventures of knights-errant with giants and enchanted castles; and he devoured these lying legends with the same avidity as he had formerly, the not grosser fictions of chivalrous romance. His appetite for them grew with what it fed upon. They soon acquired the ascendancy over his vivid imagination and vigorous but undisciplined mind; and he forgot alike his pains, his weakness, and the calls and duties of his profession, in the absorbing interest with which he dwelt upon the fables of the *Flos Sanctorum*.

No authentic particulars of the mental process of which Don Inigo was at this time the subject,

could of course be expected from his biographers. They have consulted better the taste of their readers by narrating a series of apparitions of the virgin, and of visions of angels and devils, with which he was favoured while engaged in this new study. There is little difficulty in conceiving that a man of an ardent imaginative intellect, accepting these extravagancies with implicit faith at the hand of the church, and under the seal of her authority, would be strongly moved by them; but probably the reader will scarcely be prepared to find that they had the effect of converting the gallantest soldier in the wide domain of the empire into a drivelling ascetic. Such nevertheless was the case.

Don Inigo chose as his patterns for especial imitation, St. Francis of Assisi, and his countryman St. Dominic, who three hundred years before had founded the mendicant orders; for he had been all his life engaged in public affairs, and accustomed to deal with every question in its practical bearings. The more brilliant careers of St. Laurence and St. Sebastian might have suited his taste better, but he perceived at once that the church in the sixteenth century had no longer any need of martyrs, she was wielding the sword, not submitting to it. The laborious self-devotion of the former, not the heroic endurance of the latter, must now serve her cause.

This was, however, the last expiring effort of the vigorous understanding of Don Inigo. He proceeded to distribute the whole of his goods to the poor. He then bound up his wounded limb, which

was still far from being healed, with coarse strong cord,—clothed himself with a pilgrim's amice, and leading a mule which was laden with his sword, his armour, and all his military honours and decorations, he went forth, never to return, from the castle of his forefathers,—Don Inigo de Guipuscoa no longer, but Ignatius Loyola; a name far better known in the history of Europe.

Thus the discipline which prepared the two great leaders in the conflict between scriptural truth and traditive error, of which Europe was thenceforward to be the arena, was commenced in the same eventful year.

The truth of God and the conviction of that truth, glowing in his heart, led forth Martin Luther nobly to confess it before men at the Diet of Worms. On his return from thence the kind care of his benefactor, directed by Divine providence, hid him for three years in the lonely castle of Wartburg. There, with no other companion than the Bible, his heart was disciplined to an increasing conformity to the truth it contains, and his intellectual powers to a clearer apprehension of it. Thus prepared by the truth alone, he came forth afterwards nobly to fulfil the high office of champion of the Reformation, for which God had designed him.

In that year also Ignatius Loyola went forth from his father's house to that fearful severity of discipline, which broke down his noble powers, and changed the high-minded soldier into the abject and grovelling mendicant. But he was misled by putid fables, by the acknowledged, understood, conventional falsehoods of the *Flos Sanctorum*.

The work he was to accomplish was in accordance with his preparation for it. He came forth from the fiery furnace of fanaticism with all his moral perceptions seared as with a hot iron, knowing no conscience but the will of the pope and unhesitating submission to his bidding:—in one word, to found the order of the Jesuits, which has done far more than all the other devices of the great enemy of God's truth to counteract the Reformation.

The details of the life of Ignatius Loyola, the fanatic, are made up of the fastings, watchings, whippings, and repetitions of Latin prayers, which form the staple of the lives of all Roman Catholic saints. They are very painful, yet must some account be given of them, for they are also very instructive.

He had left his castle under a vow to walk barefooted to Jerusalem, taking no provision whatever for his journey, and begging his way both there and back again. His first station was to be at the chapel of the miraculous image of our Lady of Montserrat, who had appeared to him in a vision and commanded him to undertake the pilgrimage. On his way thither he made a murderous attack with his pilgrim's staff upon a Morisco merchant, who happened to pass him upon the road, without any provocation, and for no other reason, than that he was a misbeliever. The man escaped death only through the fleetness of his beast. When he came to the convent of Montserrat he could not forget his former life altogether. He armed himself cap-a-pie, and girt with his weapons, and adorned with all his decorations, he watched for

three days and three nights before the wonder-working image, as though he was about to receive some order of knighthood. In the course of this vigil he mingled his confessions with the oft-repeated vow of entire devotion to the service of our Lady of Montserrat. He concluded it by hanging up his arms and his honours upon a pillar close by the image. Then resuming his pilgrim's habit, he went to take up his abode in the neighbouring spital of Manresa; choosing for the companions of his bed and board the meanest of the beggars that were lodging there. He, however, put himself below even these. The time that they occupied in begging, he employed in devotions and exercises of discipline. Seven hours of every day he prayed upon his knees; thrice daily he exposed his person before these his chosen companions, and scourged himself. As to eating, the accounts of his biographers would seem to imply that he had well-nigh given up the practice. He never asked for food, but contented himself with some filthy morsel which one of his mendicant companions might occasionally spare him out of his wallet; otherwise, he absolutely fasted from Sunday to Sunday, on which day dinner was provided for the beggars by the adjoining Dominican convent. He continued this regimen in the spital of Manresa for four months, during which he never once washed, nor shaved his beard, nor trimmed his hair. His pilgrim's amice, his only garment, was worn to tatters by sleeping on the floor; his hair, his beard, and his rags were alive with vermin: he was a mass of human filth, so loathsomely fetid, that the very beggars were

compelled to leave the ward in which he sojourned. To this condition "the religion of awe, and tenderness, and mystery, the only true source of the poetical and the picturesque," (for in these terms it is fashionable to speak of traditive Christianity now-a-days), had reduced the bravest soldier and the most accomplished gentleman in Spain.

The health of this wretched victim of fanaticism sank under these self-inflicted austerities. How could it be otherwise? He was found by the Dominicans, who visited and maintained the Spital, in the crisis of a low fever, and in the agonies of despair. They removed him to the convent, in order that he might be carefully watched, for on more than one occasion he had attempted to destroy himself. By a little judicious management, however, on the part of his confessors or tormentors, consisting of the skilful application of a mixture of authority and persuasion, he was induced to relax in some degree the severity of his regimen. He speedily recovered his health and spirits, but not his understanding: the restoration of that formed no part of the purpose of his ghostly advisers. From the black abyss of despair he was suddenly exalted to the not less perilous heights of fanatical elevation. He was now completely victorious over the demons whom his own folly had conjured up: and visions of joy and glory filled up the dreary intervals of his austerities and devotions. In the course of these visions the entire mystery of the Trinity, and the mode in which the world was made, were clearly explained to him. That these things should have been revealed to an unlettered soldier,

is considered by his learned biographers to be a miracle so astonishing, that one of them candidly admits that it requires faith to believe it.*

He remained a year at Manresa, and then proceeded, conformably with his vow, on his pilgrimage, barefoot to Jerusalem.

On leaving, the usual *viaticum* from the convent-fund was presented to him; he, however, distributed the whole of it among the beggars at the Spital, and went forth absolutely penniless to subsist upon casual charity. Thus he begged his way to Jerusalem, where he arrived in the year 1523. No other particulars of this extraordinary journey have been preserved.

The superior of the Franciscan convent at Jerusalem, to whom Ignatius brought letters, soon perceived the temper of his new guest, and on the day after his arrival, he ordered him instantly to set out on his return to Spain, without once venturing into the streets of the holy city, lest by some indiscreet rebuke of its zealous Mahommedan inhabitants he should expose himself to death or slavery. Loyola, who was by nature fearless as steel, started at the mention of danger, like a war-horse at the sound of a trumpet, and would have rushed forth to instant martyrdom. This, however, the worthy superior would by no means permit. Could Ignatius have undergone martyrdom strictly on his own account, he might probably have seen no particular objection to it. But he knew that to be impossible. His own comfortable residence at Jerusalem was only by sufferance, and on the faith of treaties between the

* Ribadaneira. Vita Ignat. Loy. p. 32.

pope and the grand signior, and these would prove but a poor defence if once the zeal of the Mohammedan fanatics, by whom he was surrounded, should be roused against him. So that, in all probability, a far less provocation than Ignatius was likely to offer, would have sufficed to confer the crown of martyrdom, not on the offender only, but also on the superior himself and his entire fraternity.

The pope had foreseen this danger, and in consequence had armed the superior of the Franciscans with powers perfectly unlimited over all Christian visitants to the holy city. This authority was of course promptly exerted upon a subject so dangerous as Loyola, and the wretched fanatic was sent back again, without seeing one holy place, or accomplishing a single purpose of his pilgrimage. He reached the port of Barcelona in the year 1524, after the endurance of incredible hardships.

This unhappy victim of traditive Christianity was "homme idiote et sans lettres, et qui n'avoit connoissance d'autre mestier que des armes," as his Flemish eulogist D'Oultreman is careful to inform us.* On his arrival at Barcelona he determined to remedy this defect, and to acquire the learning by which alone the cause of the Catholic Church could be effectually served. His mode of carrying into practice this perfectly reasonable resolution is scarcely credible, even after the specimens of wild fanaticism which are already before us. At the age of three-and-thirty he, who had been the gallantest soldier in Spain, became a scholar of the lowest

* Tableau des Personnages signales de la Compagnie de Jesus, p. 7.

class in the grammar-school at Barcelona, and sate on the same form with the little boys, plying the rudiments of Latin. This one would imagine was degradation enough. But even this failed to satisfy the morbid unnatural appetite for vileness with which the enemy of souls had possessed him. He was so occupied with his devotions and ecstacies that he proved but an unapt scholar. So he went to the master, fell on his knees before him, and besought him to instil into his stubborn mind the elements of learning, by precisely the same methods of vigorous compulsion as he applied to his class-fellows. It is recorded by the eulogists of Ignatius Loyola (and from them only do we know anything concerning him) that the master was brutal enough to comply with this insane request: and thenceforward for two years the little boys of the grammar-school at Barcelona enjoyed the amusement of seeing a tall man, in the prime of life, by birth a nobleman, by education a gentleman, and by profession a soldier, caned, ferruled, and whipt, literally whipt, just like one of themselves. Traditive Christianity is sometimes commended on the ground that it is the only religion for a gentleman. Let those who have run away with this fond conceit reflect for a moment upon the honour which this system conferred upon the gentlemanship of Don Inigo di Guipuscoa in the grammar-school of Barcelona!

There is no need to dwell upon the details of the studies of this extraordinary man which have been preserved by his biographers. For more than ten successive years he begged his way through the universities of Spain and France before he took his

master's degree. While at the college of Montaigne he once more put himself to the little boys' school for the purpose of learning French, subjecting himself to a repetition of the indignities he had undergone at Barcelona; though at that time he was forty years old.

In the midst of all this miserably abject prostration there were occasional outbreaks of the fierce bitter spirit, under the influence of which he had assaulted the Morisco merchant at the commencement of his career. A single instance will suffice. He had long striven unsuccessfully by exhortations and rebukes to deter one of his fellow-students at Montaigne from some course of profligacy. He therefore adopted the following somewhat unusual expedient. He waylaid the sinner one cold dark night, plunged himself up to the neck in a deep muddy ditch by the road-side, and as he stood shivering there, preached his friend a long and eloquent sermon upon the enormity of his transgression: we need scarcely add, with entire success.*

Ignatius Loyola was now precisely the being which the stern discipline to which he had been subjected was designed to make him. As an inferior he had absolutely no will but that of his superior; as a superior he allowed of absolutely none but his own. He was fully prepared to exact obedience in the one case, with the same unflinching severity as he yielded it in the other. He was at once, the most inexorable of tyrants, and the most abject of slaves.

During the whole of his long probation, Ignatius

* Ribadaneira ubi supra, p. 449.

* better than a velvet cushion

was incessant in his endeavours to make converts from among his fellow-students to his ascetic habits. The first germ of a regular society made its appearance at Paris in the year 1534. He took six of the members of the university to the church of Montmartre in the suburbs of that city; and, after confession and the hearing of mass, they took from his dictation the oath which he himself had vowed, thirteen years before, at the shrine of our Lady of Montserrat. By this oath, they were to distribute among the poor all their worldly possessions, not retaining even travelling expenses, and to devote themselves to the good of their neighbours, and to a pilgrimage barefoot to Jerusalem. The last clause, however, was modified with the alternative, that in case the pilgrimage should not be practicable, the devotees were to cast themselves at the feet of the pope, and to beseech him to employ them as he might see best for the good of souls. Ignatius had not forgotten the fruitless mortifications and perils of his journey to Jerusalem, and therefore determined to spare, if possible, his new converts this tremendous test of their sincerity. The young men over whom Loyola had obtained this influence, were all of them promising, both in talent and learning; and Francis Xavier and Simon Rodriguez, who were of the number, were likewise of noble birth. The oath was renewed at the church of Montmartre, with the same ceremonies, annually, for two years, in the course of which three other students had joined the fraternity.*

* Ribadaneira, pp. 98—122. Orlandini, Ignatius, pp. 15—32.

Loyola was compelled, by ill health, to visit Spain soon after the third renewal of the vow in 1535. Before leaving Paris, it was arranged that the whole company should meet at Venice two years afterwards, and proceed from thence to Jerusalem. Both the master and his disciples are said to have rigidly adhered to their vow in their journey to Venice, and after their arrival there. They begged their bread, and entered no habitation whatever, except the spitals which were erected in the neighbourhood of convents for the accommodation of beggars. Arrived at Venice, they found that a war was raging between that republic and the Turks, which rendered the fulfilment of their vow of pilgrimage impossible. Its other alternative was therefore incumbent upon them. Loyola, with two of his disciples, went to Rome, to lay the offer of their devotion at the feet of the sovereign pontiff, while the rest dispersed themselves among the convents in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of beating up recruits to their new company.*

Pope Paul III., who at that time sate in the chair of St. Peter, had, from the very commencement of his pontificate, seen the terrible injury which the Popish Church sustained from the profligacy of the priesthood, and had made many attempts at clerical reform. He had also heard of, and connived, at the fanaticism of Loyola and his followers; and at a moment like that, when the very heart of the Papacy was faint with alarm at the giant strides of the Reformation over the whole

* Orlandini, p. 33, seq.

of the north of Europe, he grasped at it with the eagerness of a drowning man.

The reception of Loyola and his friends at Rome was gratifying beyond all that their most sanguine expectations had dared to anticipate. The whole Papal Court combined to show them kindness, contriving their expressions of favour with admirable dexterity, so as at once to flatter their vanity and to humour their fanaticism. Lainez, one of the disciples, was elevated to the chair of the professor of scholastic theology at the university. Lefevre, the other, was licensed by the pope as his expositor of the Scriptures to the same learned body. Such an appointment would have been intolerably irksome to the erratic habits of Ignatius, and therefore it was not offered to him. Apartments were assigned to him in the convent of Monte Cassino, when he chose to occupy them, but not the slightest restraint was imposed upon his movements. He was allowed to nurse the sick beggars at the spitals, to perform fasts and vigils at the shrines of the saints, and to preach sermons to his heart's content. All the churches and pulpits of Rome were thrown open to him. Care was however taken, that his austerities should be witnessed and admired on every possible occasion by ecclesiastics of rank; and that his sermons should be delivered in churches crowded with attentive hearers of noble birth and high preferment; while the doors of his residence in the Cassino were besieged by nobles and dignitaries, who came as suitors in the humblest guise, for the advantage of the spiritual ministrations of one so eminent in piety. The effect of all these flatteries

had been accurately calculated beforehand. The extravagantly exalted notion of the Papal supremacy, which was the prominent feature in the madness of Ignatius, was still further exaggerated, if that were possible. Submission to the pope became thenceforward the one end of his life, and to promote it the one object of his projected society.

In the course of the ensuing year, the war still continuing between Venice and the Turks, the rest of the followers of Ignatius were invited to Rome. There they did eminent service to the church, in stirring up the lukewarm inhabitants to more diligent attendance upon confession, mass, and the other ceremonies of Romanism.

The new order which they had determined to found, and of which they considered themselves already members, was not yet so complete in rules and discipline, that they could with propriety apply to his holiness for that formal recognition which he was already impatient to grant. The whole company conferred upon this subject shortly after their re-union at Rome, and the draft of the rules for the order was finally settled in the year 1539.

It was to be the distinctive peculiarity of this new order, that in addition to the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, which are common to all ascetics, they bound themselves implicitly to obey in all things Christ speaking by the pope, even as He obeyed the Father. So that to whatever country the pope might see fit to send them, they were bound instantly to depart, providing nothing for their journey thither, nor for their maintenance when they

arrived there. They were also to be especially devoted to the education of children. Many regulations of internal management were also determined upon. They concluded by naming themselves the Company (or Society) of Jesus, or, in common phrase, the Jesuits.

The Court of Rome was highly elated at the formation of a company so admirably adapted to the new kind of service which was imperatively called for by the changes which the Reformation had brought about. Rich lazy monks, and rapacious profligate friars, could now serve the cause of the Church no longer. To meet the Reformation with no better weapons than these, was to throw chaff against the wind, or to tilt at proof-armour with a straw. The piety and learning of the Reformers were realities not to be scared from the field by the sounding brass of their heartless hypocritical devotions, or the tinkling cymbal of their scholastic pedantry. But if the Church could oppose to the learning of the Reformers the equal learning of the Jesuits, and could foil the scriptural piety and holy lives of the propagators of the new doctrine with the pietistic fervours and fanatical austerities of Loyola and his disciples, there would be hope in the conflict. What wonder, then, that notwithstanding the clamours of certain interested parties, Pope Paul III. at once approved and sanctioned the new code of regulations, or that the bull formally installing the order of the Jesuits, issued from the papal chancery in the course of the following year, 1540 ; that is, as soon as the rules of that court would permit ?

The order of the Jesuits was put into the hands

of the Papal hierarchy at the very moment when it most needed such a weapon. The times were full of fear, yet not altogether without hope. The Reformation was advancing everywhere, but the Reformers were quarrelling among themselves. There were likewise promising symptoms of persecutions in France, Germany, and the Netherlands. The whole world was in a ferment; and at such a period the insinuations of concealed emissaries are always most likely to influence the minds of men, and secret plots work to best advantage. The pope and his cardinals saw all this, and their impatience to profit by the critical moment would not brook the tardiness even of their own official delays. Already, in the year 1539, immediately on the settlement of the code of regulations, all the disciples of Loyola were sent forth officially to different cities in Italy, for the especial purpose of exciting the inhabitants to more attention to the offices of religion: with the exception of one of them, Francis Xavier, a Portuguese nobleman, who, at the request of the king of that country, went as a missionary to the Indies.

The bull which establishes the new order bestows abundant praises upon Ignatius, adopts the whole of his suggestions without one alteration, and creates him Grand Master or General of the Company of Jesus. In plain indication also of the pope's designs, it selects for special commendation that clause of the admission-vow which binds the members to *uncontrolled obedience to the will of the pope*, as eminently calculated to promote humility, the destruction of the body of sin, and the subjection of the will, in the new company. The bull hints also at

the great extent and delicate nature of the services to be performed by them, and enlarges upon the necessity which will be imposed upon every individual member of the order, not to express or even to harbour a wish or an opinion as to the particular mission to which he may be appointed, *but to leave every thing to God, the pope, and his superior.**

It is needless to add that the first congregation of the new order confirmed by unanimous election the pope's appointment of Ignatius to the generalship.

The advantage to be derived from these new troops in the warfare with the heretics, was soon perceived by the secular princes of Papal Christendom, as well as by the hierarchy. Honours and endowments flowed in rapidly; the number of applicants for admission into the noviciate of the company, from men of all nations, ranks, and conditions, was incredibly great; and three years afterwards, at the instance of Ignatius, the pope annulled the clause which had limited the number of members to sixty only, leaving it thenceforward with no other restriction than the discretion of the general.

From this brief account of the commencement of the order of the Jesuits, it is evident that it was as much the child of the Reformation as the Presbyterian Church of Geneva. It was the contrivance wherewith the exquisite subtlety and cunning which has always hitherto come to the aid of Rome in great emergencies, thought to stem the overwhelming tide of public indignation, which was rolling its huge billows over the length and breadth of Europe,

* Bulla Regimini militantes Ecclesiæ; in Magno Bullario Romano, tom. i. pp. 778, seq.

until they broke with fearful violence against the walls of Rome itself, which trembled to their foundation at each successive shock. The Jesuits were prepared for the calming of this ferment with the most consummate skill, and with the utmost nicety of adaptation. Not one necessary ingredient was missing; not one employed in undue proportions. The popular indignation was directed against the entire body of the clergy, both regular and secular. The Jesuits formed a new clerical genus, neither properly regular nor properly secular, competent to discharge the duties of both, yet disclaiming exclusive affinity with either. The laity of Europe were complaining loudly and justly of the inefficiency of the clergy of both conditions. All the pulpits of Papal Europe were opened to the Jesuits. They were expressly dispensed, by the Papal breve of 1545, to hear confessions, to say mass, to perform all the public offices of religion in whatever church or religious house they thought proper; and no clergyman of whatever rank had any power to prevent them. They could also absolve from every sin however heinous, and disannul all excommunications even of the pope himself. These things they were empowered to do without asking leave of any man, no, not even of the bishop of the diocese, or the incumbent of the parish, or the superior of the convent, in which they might choose to minister.* By putting the new order into this state of perfect independence of and superiority to the entire body of the older clergy, both secular and regular, the pope silently but significantly condemned their ineffici-

* Institutiones Societatis Jesu, p. 11, seq.

ency. Another special cause of complaint against the clergy was their ignorance. But the Jesuits, though Romish clergymen, were a learned body. Their houses were not cloisters like those of the monks, but colleges ; and every member was bound by his vow to diligence in study. Or again, was the popular indignation fierce against the vices and luxuries of the clergy ? Here was at any rate a community of ecclesiastics of spotlessly blameless conversation, who had renounced everything for their religion. Or lastly, did the popular mind rise in angry rebuke of the careless and profane manner in which the clergy went through their public ministrations,—whose pietistic fervours equalled theirs? Or who, with such consummate histrionic skill, impersonated the pieties of public devotion as the holy fathers of the company of Jesus ? The success of this sedative was as complete as the skill with which it had been compounded was consummate. Ere ten years had elapsed, the angry feeling against the clergy, which had so largely contributed to the Reformation, was entirely appeased in all the countries over which the Papacy retained its ascendancy. Their crimes were forgotten, and men were admiring, and praising, and joining the company of the Jesuits.

This was by no means the first time that the Church of Rome had successfully employed the device of neutralizing the effects of the scriptural piety of those who had left her pale, by a brilliant display of traditive pietism in some new order of ascetics got up for the occasion. To omit other instances, the mendicant orders had been constituted three

centuries before by Pope Innocent III. for this purpose, under St. Francis and St. Dominic, whom Loyola had selected as the patterns for his imitation. As these mendicants were only designed to imitate the poverty and self-denial of the Waldensian clergy before the unlettered inhabitants of the Alpine districts of Europe, they did their work well, and answered the purpose of their founder; but as their mendicancy was merely an expedient to enrich themselves and the Papal treasury, the Franciscan and Dominican friars, throughout all their endless ramifications of subordinate orders, had become, in the sixteenth century, as rich, and fat, and lazy as the monks themselves; and therefore, as we have seen, were of no use in the contest with Luther and the Reformers. For this purpose the Papacy (or, rather the Author of evil, who is the inspiring spirit of the Papacy) raised up the Jesuits, and their labours to re-establish her paramount unquestioned authority in the countries over which she still retained the ascendancy, were abundantly successful.

CHAPTER II.

THE JESUITS IN FRANCE.

THE order of the Jesuits, once established, was not likely to continue long without producing some important results. Their labours in the countries which remained obedient to the Papacy were but drill practice for the corps, preparatory to actual service. The missions to the heathen were in like manner merely subsidiary. They answered well as a source of income, both by furnishing a plea for levying contributions upon the faithful, and by the gainful traffic which the devoted missionaries drove with their converts. The missionary establishments also acted usefully for the order as safety-valves, through which everything like right feeling and sincerity was driven forth to waste its energies in China, or Japan, or South America, far from the field wherein the real battle of the Papacy was to be fought, and where qualifications of a very different nature were required. The scene of that conflict, it is scarcely needful to say, was Protestant Europe: for to recover the ground that had been lost, by reducing to obedience the countries that had risen up in revolt against the spiritual authority of Rome, was the one object of the Papal hierarchy in forming the order. The mode in which this object was to be accomplished will require some explanation of the ethical opinions maintained in the bosom of the

Roman Catholic Church to render it comprehensible, or even credible.

In the sixteenth century the dialectic or school divinity had reigned paramount over all the universities of Europe for at least four hundred years. The tendency of this mode of theologizing to habituate the human mind to look upon all ethical questions not in the light of their truth and justice, but of their capability of being dished up in syllogisms, is obvious and undeniable. The prevalence of it in the dark ages, to the exclusion of all other mental pursuits, affords the only satisfactory solution of the strange anomaly, that the dogma that THE END JUSTIFIES THE MEANS, was tolerated from an early period in the councils of the Church Catholic,—was formally stated and defended in the decretal epistles of Pope Innocent III. at the commencement of the thirteenth century,*—and was universally received by the Papal clergy as an established and familiar doctrine at the times of the Reformation. Notwithstanding the meek bitterness with which the modern advocates of traditive Christianity may attempt to repel this charge as "an extravagant exaggeration," it is nevertheless true, strictly and literally true. It had been virtually admitted and recognised for a long time in all proceedings against heretics, when Pope Innocent III., by stating it formally *ex cathedrâ*, gave it the sanction of Papal infallibility, and carried it out in his operations against the heretics in the south of France to the extent of its capabilities of atrocity. Did he bestow the fulness of the Papal blessing, in-

* Dupin, cent. xiii.

cluding absolution for all sins, past, present, and to come, upon the loathsome refuse and rabble of Europe, coagulated into one mass of villany, under the title of the crusade against the Albigensic heretics? He merely illustrated the principle that the end justifies the means. Did he unsluice this foul tide of wickedness upon the county of Provence, to butcher the unresisting inhabitants indiscriminately, without regard to age, sex, or even religion; to desolate their fields, to burn their habitations with fire, and to make that which had been the paradise of Europe a waste howling wilderness? And when those who had escaped the slaughter returned to their devastated homes, did he and his successors repeat these atrocities at shortly recurring intervals during nearly twenty successive years? The same broad and convenient principle, that the end justifies the means, affords them an ample defence. The inquisition, of which Pope Innocent III. was also the founder, merely embodies and perpetuates the same dogma. No one dreamt of defending the means employed by that execrable tribunal. Its end, the extirpation of heresy, was a good one, therefore the means were unimportant, and fell not at all within the range of the science of ethics: thus, however startling therefore it may sound to a modern ear, the proposition that the end justifies the means came down to the Church of Rome in the sixteenth century, venerable for antiquity, sanctioned by infallible authority, and embodied in one at least of the most important and valuable of her institutions. So that we find it without any surprise to have been carried out with

equal fulness in the devices whereby it was designed, through the agency of the Jesuits, to counteract the Reformation.

The proof of this is the point which will now require our attention.

It must be premised that the operations of the Jesuits in Protestant countries are hidden works of darkness. They are intended to be wrought in secret, and that secrecy will be maintained at a far costlier sacrifice than the bold, stout denial on the part of the accredited organs of the company, not merely of participation in them, but of all knowledge of them as official obligations, should they chance to be detected. That denial has never been wanting, when such detection has occurred, in a form sufficiently authoritative and influential to command its reception. It is thus that a book entitled *Secreta Monita*, which has been occasionally published by Protestants, is dealt with by the order at every reappearance. The entire body as with one voice repudiates it, and declares it to be an invention of their enemies. This deliberate and unanimous declaration of a community of highly educated, and for the most part highly connected men, moving in spheres of society where direct and open falsehood is unknown, at once disarms their opponents of the *Secreta Monita*, as a weapon of offence, though the evidence both external and internal of its authenticity is nevertheless so strong, that it is next to morally impossible that it should be a forgery; inasmuch as it moves the venue, by changing the attacks of an assailant upon the order into a defence of the authenticity of the *Secreta Monita*,—a ques-

tion in which the general reader is not likely to take any very particular interest.

The same line of policy has been adopted with entire success for the concealment of the secret orders, in cases far more momentous and dangerous than the one to which we have referred. The proceedings of the Jesuits in France during the earlier periods of their establishment in that kingdom well illustrate it.

In the year 1589 the kingdom of France, which the massacre of St. Bartholomew and other successes against the Protestants had pretty nearly restored to the unity of Rome, was thrown into the utmost consternation and alarm by the murder of king Henry III. by a priest named Jacob Clement. This monarch had made himself obnoxious to the Jesuits by his long hesitation to join the league of Catholic princes for the suppression of Protestantism which was formed entirely through their instrumentality. His confessor, who was himself a Jesuit, had been cited to Rome to answer to his superior the charge of too great an intermixture with state affairs. During this his absence from France the utmost efforts were made by the company to unite the rest of the members of the league in an offensive alliance against Henry. While this was proceeding in one direction, however, Auger, his confessor, was intriguing in another. He wrought upon the conscience and partialities of Henry by means of letters and messages, until he had persuaded him to petition the pope for his pardon and restoration. Through his influence Henry was at length induced to join the league,

but he was only half-hearted in it and was suspected.

Now, for many years before this occurrence, the Jesuits had been in collision with the university of Paris upon the question of certain very profligate opinions said to be maintained by their order. They were charged with asserting in official and accredited documents that it was a plain duty to remove, by any means, not excepting assassination, kings and princes, maintaining heresy or opposing the operations of the order. The murder of Henry III. had the obvious effect of strengthening the suspicion. The order, however, still managed, by the display of consummate skill in fencing, to parry the thrusts of the university.

In the year 1593 another scene in this tragedy was enacted. A soldier named Peter Barriére was detected in an attempt to assassinate the successor and namesake of Henry. He declared himself to have been in frequent communication with ecclesiastics of all orders, principally Jesuits: he also pointed out Varade, the rector of the Jesuits' college at Paris, as the person through whose incitement he had principally determined upon the crime in which he had been detected. Yet, even with the ground thus sinking beneath their feet, the society still adhered to the slippery and precipitous sides of the abyss, and, with an energy and perseverance worthy of a better cause, clambered up again to *terra firma*, by dint of bold assertion and undaunted lying. Barriére was hung with the utmost precipitation, and then all the ecclesiastics, whom he had mentioned as having

communicated with him, distinctly, deliberately, and unanimously declared that they had had with him no communications save as physicians or as priests. They knew him for a deranged person, and had prescribed medicines to alleviate his malady, and spiritual advices to calm his paroxysms. As to the king, the holy fathers were oblivious that Barriére had ever mentioned his majesty's name to them, or if he had, it would only be in the course of those incoherent ravings which were a distressing symptom of his disease. Notwithstanding their improbability, these assertions coming with perfect unanimity from every individual of the accused party, all of whom were eminent for learning and respectability, could scarcely fail of their effect upon the public opinion. The affair was so hushed up and forgotten that though the narrative rests upon an authority no less eminent than that of the chancellor De Thou,* one of the apologists of the order, Father de Jouvency,† has dared to treat the whole story of the confession of Barriére as a malignant fabrication of the enemies of the Jesuits!

Lying lips, however, are but for a moment. Some hesitation on the part of the Jesuits to take the oath of supremacy, which the Parliament of Paris directed to be tendered to ecclesiastics of all orders,—under the plea that they were bound by their oath to await the pope's permission, before they could take any step whatever, drew down upon them a tremendous exposure from the pen of

* Thuani Historia, lib. 109, p. 430.

† Historia Societ. Jesu, v. ii. p. 5, p. 44.

Antoine Arnaud, the advocate of the Parliament. The number of Jesuits in the order had already swelled to the fearful amount of nine to ten thousand. Their riches, through the trade which they carried on openly in the Spanish colonies, and through the system of private plunder which they were working so successfully as the confessors of rich penitents, were beyond computation. Their colleges and houses in France were the known haunts of all disloyal and disaffected persons, and further proofs were given that Barriére was a paid agent of the order. The holy fathers appear to have treated this attack as a fine exercise for dialectic skill. Defender after defender rushed into the field, glad, apparently, of an opportunity for the display of their proficiency in the art of making "the worse appear the better reason," and of involving their adversaries in the wordy meshes of a voluminous and fruitless controversy; when another untoward event showed the real nature of the entire institution in a light too clear to be obscurable by any dust which their subtlety could pulverize, and their mendacity throw into men's eyes.

In the month of December in the same year, 1594, the beloved monarch of France, Henry IV., sustained another murderous attack from a stripling of nineteen. The assassin missed the jugular vein of his victim, at which his knife was aimed, but wounded the king severely on the lips. On his apprehension he gave his name Jean Chatel, and told the court that he had been a profligate, and that his parents had, some time before, given the charge of him to Father Gueret, a Jesuit; having failed in

their attempts to reclaim him by any other means. The zealous exhortations of the father had deeply affected him, and he was in utter despair of being saved: but he had repeatedly heard from Gueret and other Jesuits, that the king was a tyrant, unrecognised by the pope, and that therefore it would be a meritorious act to assassinate him; and he hoped, by this attempt, to mitigate, in some degree, the eternal punishment to which he knew himself to be already condemned. This was evidence too direct to admit of the possibility of prevarication. The deluded wretch was hung; all the Jesuits whom he named as teachers of this doctrine were apprehended; and all persons connected in any way with the order were enjoined, under penalty of death, to leave Paris and all the other cities of France in three days, and France itself within thirteen. The colleges and other institutions of the Jesuits were taken possession of by the government, and, on examining the papers which were found there, many confirmations of the literal truth of Chatel's statements were discovered. One especially was found in the college of Clermont, which it was impossible to pass unnoticed: though the Parliament was by no means disposed to severity. It was a homily evidently intended for the novices of the order. It commenced with a eulogy upon the memory of Clement, the murderer of the late king, as a martyr to the cause of religion, which he had eminently served by ridding the world of a tyrant and persecutor. His successor was denounced as a Nero and a Sardanapalus; and all the rest of the crowned heads of Europe who did not directly favour and encourage the order of

the Jesuits, were held up to the abhorrence of the auditors by the epithets of various wild beasts. Elizabeth of England, for example, was a she-wolf, and Sebastian of Portugal was a lion; the assassination of both these monarchs, then, would be acts as meritorious as the killing of a wolf or a lion. The preacher also named several ecclesiastics of various orders, who, in their addresses to their pupils, had eulogized Clement as a martyr to the holy cause of the Church. He concluded by denouncing Henry IV. as a worse tyrant than his predecessor, and called upon his hearers to stir up the Catholic potentates of Europe to make war upon him, or to rid the world of him by assassination. The author of this sanguinary document, Father Guignard, suffered the death he so richly deserved, and Father Gueret, the tutor of the assassin, underwent the rack as a punishment, and was banished France for ever.*

It would seem, at first sight, that no depth of intrigue or dissimulation whatever could overmaster the proofs of guilt which were thus brought home to the order; or restore the Jesuits to the position in the kingdom of France which they had occupied before this discovery. A very little familiarity, however, with their strange history, would serve to dispel such an imagination. The order, or the spirit that actuated the order, rose to occasions like these with power irresistible. Representations, persuasions, threats, were showered upon the good-natured king from Rome, and from all the courts of Catholic Europe; many secret agencies were at work everywhere, of which the page of history preserves no other indica-

* Thuanus, lib. iii. pp. 517—521.

tion than their results; and, but six years afterwards, not only were the Jesuits in higher power and favour in France than ever, but Henry IV. himself had left the Protestant for the Romish faith, and had put his conscience in the keeping of a Jesuit confessor! As if still more clearly to exhibit the power of this wonderful association to set all human probabilities at defiance, the celebrated book of John Mariana had appeared in the interval of their banishment from France. This book, which was dedicated to King Philip III. of Spain, boldly defends the doctrine that it is meritorious to remove obstinate and heretical princes by assassination, and eulogizes the memory of Clement, who had earned himself immortal fame by ridding the world of a tyrant.*

When, eight years afterwards (1610) Henry fell in his turn, like his predecessor, beneath the murderous knife of the priestly assassin Ravilliac, the parliament of Paris ordered Mariana's book to be burnt by the common hangman. The holy fathers of the company of Jesus, whose acknowledged opinions it embodied, could afford to look on with a calm, placid smile of meek humility. They were then too strong in France to be in any danger from the parliament or the people, even when the blood of two successive kings were crying from the ground for vengeance upon them. If Ravilliac were an emissary of theirs, they had put it far out of his power to inculpate them. The moment also for the perpetration of this terrible comment upon their own doctrine was chosen with unparalleled wisdom, for it was then that the infatuated king was heaping

* De rege et regis Institutione, lib. i. c. 6, p. 51.

favours upon the order of the Jesuits to a greater extent than ever before, and therefore when the suspicion of the foul deed would be least likely to fall upon them. It is true that he was just then about to ally himself with the Protestant potentates of Germany, a measure very distasteful to the Pope. It is also true that after his death the influence of the Jesuits at the French court, during the minority of Louis XIII., was perfectly unlimited. But would the holy fathers have murdered their dear son in the faith, and most liberal benefactor, who had directed by will that, at his death, his heart should be deposited in their church at la Fleche? They shuddered with pious horror, they shed tears of heartfelt emotion at the thought! Yea, so well did they enact their innocence, that all France believed them, and a quibbling, glozing apology for their doctrine, written by F. Cotton, the confessor of the murdered king, which appeared shortly afterwards, was almost unnecessary. It was of course answered by an adherent of the ancient clergy, and the whole affair issued in a long wordy controversy between the Jesuits and their old enemy the University of Paris, which was exactly the course which the former desired; as, through their greater dialectic skill and superior talent, they were sure of the victory.

Thus did Jesuitry triumph in France at the commencement of the seventeenth century, bearing inscribed on its banner the regicidal principle which had consigned two successive monarchs of that kingdom to the knife of the assassin, and which had been the chief point of accusation with its enemies. At the same time—and this is the greatest wonder

of all—official declaration and individual opinion were played off with such consummate skill, and poised against each other with such minute accuracy, that the company stood clear of the question. Individual members might maintain it; but no one could charge the principle upon the entire body, which stood equally well prepared, boldly to avow it, or fiercely to denounce it, as circumstances might require it.

The important and highly instructive series of events which we have detailed, will doubtless have impressed the reader with a strong moral conviction of the profligacy of the principles upon which the Jesuits proposed to defend the church of Rome from her enemies; yet still they fall short of a complete unanswerable inculpation. They cannot be made the ground of a general charge against the company; for when it afterwards became expedient to disavow the regicidal principle, so carefully had the expressions of every propounder of it within the society been individualized, that there was no difficulty in the disavowal.* Some other proof must therefore be sought, before it can be clearly and unanswerably demonstrated that the Jesuits *in partibus* were acting upon secret instructions, framed upon the principle THAT THE END JUSTIFIES THE MEANS.

Another occurrence in the eventful history of the order of the Jesuits in France, supplies this proof unanswerably. It took place about five and forty years after the assassination of Henry IV. in the reign of his second successor, the well-known Louis XIV. During this interval, no circumstance arose, wherein the in-

* See F. de Jouvency, b. 2, vol. v. p. 73, seq. &c., &c.

terests of the company called for a farther practical illustration of the regicidal principle. It was occasionally advanced by individual members of the order, but it was rather explained away than defended, in reply to the indignant remonstrances which its avowal never failed to call forth from other quarters. There was an evident disposition to conceal it, and to allow its existence gradually to pass into oblivion. Meanwhile the influence of the Jesuits in France went on increasing continually. Through the tortuous sinuosities of political movements and fluctuations they wriggled their way upwards in all the institutions of the country. They had insinuated themselves into the councils of the monarch, into the dignities of the church, into the chairs of the universities, into the bosoms of families, yet generally they contrived to conceal themselves, by retiring from all obtrusive displays of power, so that it went on growing, without exciting the attention or suspicion of their opponents. Like the fibrous roots of some huge tree, which continue permeating and pervading the entire soil of the field in which it grows, without exhibiting on the surface the slightest indication of their existence.

In the year 1656, M. Arnauld, whose father had made himself conspicuous as an opponent of the Jesuits, and who himself was an ecclesiastic, holding the opinions of Jansenius of Ypres, was cited, through the influence of the Jesuits, to appear before the doctors of the Sorbonne, to answer for certain heretical opinions on the subject of divine grace, said to be propounded in his printed works. Arnauld, like his master Jansenius, held the pecu-

liar opinions of St. Augustine upon this question, which are nearly identical with those termed Calvinistic by Protestants. It was successfully proved that the whole of the passages upon which the charge had been founded were quotations from Chrysostom and Augustine; but the Jesuit opponents of Arnauld contended that the same passage which was orthodox in the fathers, became heretical when transferred to the pages of a modern author. This monstrous proposition roused the giant powers of Blaise Pascal, one of the most highly-gifted men that any country has produced, who, in his *Lettres Provinciales*, demonstrated the utter profligacy of the principles of Jesuitry, to such an extent and in a manner so perfectly unanswerable, as to render all denial or extenuation, or palliation, or any other species of lying, perfectly useless.

This most talented work contains a complete exposure of the morals taught by the Jesuits, from an epitome of the writings of twenty-eight of the most celebrated of their casuists, which had appeared just at that time from the pen of Father Escobar, who was himself one of the order. The father commences with a flaming eulogy upon the whole of the authors to be epitomized. They are angels rather than doctors, they are eagle-spirits, yea, they are *a flock of phœnixes!* The work he was about to write would be another Book of Revelations, in which these worthies would fill the parts of the four beasts and four-and-twenty elders! From eulogies like these it was impossible for any party concerned in the publication to recede; and as the general of the order had sanctioned it formally, and recom-

mended it as a class-book for the schools, the order itself was of course irrevocably committed to the sentiments it contained. Such was the atrocious character of the principles exposed in the *Lettres Provinciales*, and such was the extreme ability displayed by the exposer, that the only reply upon which the reverend fathers felt it expedient to venture, was a feeble attempt or two to charge the author with misquotation. The work, however, had excited so much attention throughout France, and the subject was so important, that both in Paris and in many of the provincial cities, the clergy as a body took up the question, and committed to those among themselves who enjoyed the highest reputation for learning, the task of collating the quotations, both of the *Lettres* and of Escobar, with the authors from whom they profess to quote. This inquiry, which was conducted in many places at once, resulted in the entire verification of every passage quoted from the writings of the Jesuits in the *Lettres Provinciales*.* So that the two refuges of lies, individualization and misquotation, to which the Jesuit controvertists had ordinarily betaken themselves on similar occasions, were, in this case, altogether cut off. The doctrines laid down in this unwelcome exposure were truly stated, they were also those of the entire order, not of individual members of the order merely. They furnish, therefore, the best possible, if not the only criterion, whereby we are to form our judgment of the principles upon which the order was founded, and upon which all its operations *in partibus* were guided.

* Vie de B. Pascal; prefixed to the "Lettres Provinciales."

The duty of the Jesuits in France had been of a very arduous nature. That country had been deeply infected with what Rome called heresy for more than five hundred years, and the deference both of the Church and crown, to the pretensions of the pope, had been of a very dubious character, especially since the great papal schism in the fourteenth century. The Reformation also made very rapid progress in France, during the early part of the sixteenth century; and that country was in imminent danger of being lost to the papacy when the Jesuits first made their appearance in it. Their state intrigues, and the part which they took in the massacre of St. Bartholomew and other atrocities of the house of Guise, over whom they had always unbounded influence, it is not our object now to consider. The far more instructive branch of their operations, which is discussed in the *Lettres Provinciales*, carries out into practice the secret orders which were evidently issued by the company, and which were as evidently framed upon the principle that THE END JUSTIFIES THE MEANS.

The design of the papal hierarchy, which the Jesuits were sent forth to accomplish in France, was, of course, to reclaim the inhabitants to the unity of Rome. The mode in which they were to accomplish it was conveyed to them in secret instructions, the exposure of which is the important object of the Letters of Pascal. A concise account of the principal dogmas laid down by the Jesuits, as they appear in this celebrated work, will suffice for our present purpose.

The moral portion of the epitome of Escobar is

introduced somewhat ominously by a solemn disavowal, on the part of the entire company, of any design to *corrupt* the manners of the age. At the same time, it is candidly admitted that moral reformation is not the object of the authors whose works are about to be quoted (who nevertheless are facetiously denominated moral writers), but the extension of the power and influence of the order of the Jesuits, which, as the epitomizer contends, is a far nobler and more important object than mere individual amendment!—(*Lettre* 5.) For this purpose they have invented *an obliging, accommodating mode of preaching Christianity*, of which Escobar gives one familiar instance, in the case of a rich plunderer of the poor, who should be unwilling, in confessing his extortions, to make the restitution, which it would be the obvious duty of his father confessor to enjoin upon him. A Jesuit, in such a case, was under no obligation to proceed to extremities with a refractory penitent, if he saw that his influence and wealth might serve the Church; but he might absolve him under a general understanding that he would make restitution at some future time. The principle which Escobar avows in this case, is the supreme importance of acquiring friends for the order, and retaining them. Pascal gives another instance of this obliging accommodating gospel, as preached by the Jesuit missionaries in China and Japan, who made converts by declaring to the heathen, not Christ crucified, but Christ glorified; and by teaching them that it was enough for them to conceal an image of the crucifix beneath their garments, and to adore it mentally, while outwardly

they continued their usual worship of the idols Chacim-choan, and Keum-fucum. His authority for this is the martyrology of Hurtado, a Jesuit, p. 427, and the injunction of the cardinals of the Propaganda to all missionaries to forbid their converts to worship idols and frequent heathen temples, and to display the cross openly in all churches in heathen countries, under pain of excommunication. This injunction had been issued by the congregation of the Propaganda but a few years before; it was dated July 9, 1646, and signed by Cardinal Capponis. It is perfectly obvious that it originated in some necessity.

The first principle, or, as Pascal well calls it, the *a*, *b*, *c*, of the whole system of morals taught by the Jesuits, is contained in the doctrine of probability; which Escobar thus defines:—"An opinion is called probable, when it is founded upon reasons worthy of consideration, whence it happens sometimes that one very grave doctor can render an opinion probable." B. 24. Example 3. No. 8. He confirms this definition by a passage from the summary of Sanchez, one of the four-and-twenty elders, which contains the decisions of the doctrine of Angelus, Navare, Emanuel Sa, and others the most celebrated as casuists of all the Jesuitical writers. The reason given by the last-named of them ought not to be omitted. "If the testimony of one man only is of weight enough to make the occurrence of any event at Rome, which he says he witnessed, a probability, why should not one competent witness have the same weight in morals also?" Diana, another of the four-and-twenty elders, thus illustrates the applica-

tion of this doctrine (Moralia, tom. iii. p. 244), "Ponce and Sanchez are of opposite opinions upon a certain point in morals: but both were great and learned men; therefore the opinions of both are probable." The writers who could record such an opinion, would, of course, not fail widely to extend the liberty afforded by this comfortable doctrine, by a sufficient supply of loose licentious moral maxims given on their authority.

To complete the entireness of the license which it was determined to give to men's consciences, or rather to their propensity to sin, it was ruled by one great man of the order, Filutius, that "a man was permitted to follow the least probable of any two opinions, even if it seemed to himself the least certain." (Quest. Morales. tr. 21, c. 4, n. 128.) And by another, that in hearing confessions and giving advice, the priest had the same liberty: he might give that advice which seemed the most likely to be agreeable to his penitent, if it were but probable; even when persuaded in his own conscience that it was false and wrong! (Laiman. Theolog. Mor. lib. i. p. 1. c. 2. s. 2. n. 7.)

The applications of this principle to many cases and conditions of life are to the full as curious as the principle itself. Valets in the service of profligates are permitted "to carry letters and presents for them to other men's wives; to open doors and windows for them; to assist their masters in climbing up to the windows of their paramours; and to hold the ladder for them while they ascend thither. All these are things indifferent, and may be done with a safe conscience." Escobar, p. 7, ex. 4, n.

221.* That is, "if only they do it for a temporal advantage, and not as consenting to the sins of their masters." Bauny Sum. p. 710. The same benevolent interpreter of Christian duty permits "a valet, who has been compelled by poverty to hire himself for too small a wage, to make himself amends by taking of his master's property whenever the opportunity is presented to him." Id. p. 213, 214. The holy fathers of the college of Clermont at Paris, experienced a practical comment upon this doctrine from one of their servants a few years before Pascal wrote. The man, whose name was Jean d'Alba, was dissatisfied with his wages, and pilfered the property committed to his charge to reimburse himself. When he was apprehended and tried for the theft, he at once acknowledged his guilt; but in his defence quoted this and many other passages from the writings of the Jesuits to whom the college belonged. He also stated and brought witnesses to prove that these and similar doctrines were constantly preached and taught there. Through the influence of the holy fathers at court, as Pascal plainly hints, the trial terminated abruptly; Jean d'Alba was removed from the bar and heard of no more, and the whole affair was hushed up and forgotten. The design of these deeply calculating intriguers thus to encourage petty larceny among so large and important a class as the valets cannot be mistaken. There was no body of persons through whom they would be so certain to arrive at the secrets of the rich, and therefore over whom it was so important for them to have that unbounded influence

* Quoted, Lettre 6me.

which the knowledge of, and connivance at, malpractice in another never fails to confer.

It will readily be imagined that these complying moralists would bid with at least equal liberality for the suffrages of the masters as for those of the servants. The Christian precepts for gentlemen at court, inculcated by the Jesuits, were strictly subordinated to that which passes in the world under the title of the code of honour; contradicting it in no single particular, and only aspiring to the humble office of a supplement to it, which might sometimes prove useful in soothing the consciences of those who were subjected to its laws. This was accomplished by an ingenious device called by its inventors *the direction of the intention*, a phrase which will be better understood by an example or two than by any definition.

Father Reginaldus (one of the four beasts of Escobar) quotes several passages of Scripture wherein he distinctly admits that the Christian is expressly prohibited from taking vengeance on his enemies. (In praxi. lib. 21, num. 62, p. 260.) Nevertheless he draws from them this extraordinary conclusion, "It plainly appears from all these things that a gentleman is at liberty to pursue instantly his enemy who may have injured him, and for the purpose of killing him, not indeed with the intention of rendering evil for evil, but of preserving his honour." This doctrine at once makes way for what follows, and the author of which is the Jesuit Hertado de Mendoza, a casuist of even greater celebrity. "If a gentleman who is called out in a duel is known not to be a devotee, and if

the sins which he is seen to commit hourly make it perfectly apparent that if he refuse to fight it is not through the fear of God, but through timidity, so that in that case it would be justly said of him, he is a chicken and not a man, he may with a safe conscience betake himself to the ground appointed in the challenge, not with the intention of fighting a duel, but of defending himself should his adversary attack him unjustly. This action will be altogether indifferent in itself, for what harm is there in going into a field and walking about there expecting the arrival of another man, and in defending oneself there against an unjust attack? Thus then the accepter of a challenge commits no sin whatever in this case, because he accepts the challenge without the intention to accept it. For to accept a challenge *bona fide* there must be the intention to fight, but here is no such intention."* Many other passages to the same effect are quoted by Pascal,† in which it is declared that the men of the world are left by the doctrines of Christianity at perfect liberty both to accept challenges to the duel and to give them, in defence of their honour and fortune; nay, even to lie in wait for and assassinate their enemies when their provocation is very great or their danger very imminent. This unutterably wicked blasphemy, which is modestly insinuated in an under tone by Sanchey, one of the four beasts of Escobar, is thundered forth in response *ore rotundo* by Bauny, one of the four

* Quoted by Diana. u. s. part 5, tr. 14, R. 99.
† Vme. Lettre, p. 89.

and twenty elders of the same eulogist. Let but the motive (whether of provocation or interest) be strong enough, and let but the general character of the perpetrator be worldly and depraved enough, and the crime of wilful murder ceased to be a crime with him, according to the teaching of the Jesuits. Their able exposer establishes the doctrine by a host of quotations from beasts and elders, which leave not the slightest hope of escape for the order. It was taught by every Jesuit confessor, with the entire concurrence of the whole of the written authorities of the company.*

In illustration of the same doctrine, it has been determined by Molina, also a Jesuit, that any man, not excepting an ecclesiastic, is at liberty to kill another who would unjustly deprive him of the value of a crown.† The reverend fathers put no limit to the liberty to murder which they grant to themselves and their penitents, save the injury of the state through the diminution of its population.

The same convenient and accommodating principles, the doctrine of probability, and the direction of the intention, are applied in all their amplitude of licence to sins and sinners of every grade and description. Corrupt judges, usurers, harlots, and fraudulent bankrupts, might all in those happy days count upon mild and benevolent interpretations of their worst offences, and most comfortable sedatives for any little compunctions of conscience that might harass them, by betaking themselves to the confessionals of the holy fathers of the company of

* Ubi sup. 90, seq. † Idem, 96.

Jesus.* For the benefit of the last-named class of offenders, the Jesuits had invented some ingenious and highly useful suggestions, which it may be doubted whether even the sharp-sighted refinement of bankrupts in the present day has been able to surpass. The first is the contract *mohatra*,—a bargain, the practice though not the name of which, is very familiar to the bankruptcy court. It is buying goods at an exorbitant price on credit, to sell them again immediately at far below their intrinsic value for ready money. To make this fraud innocent and even laudable, it is only needful so to direct the intention as to be actuated simply by motives of benevolence and Christian affection towards the cash customer. The keeping back fraudulently of a bankrupt's assets, finds likewise a ready justification in the same convenient and accommodating principle. Of course the defaulter's intention is not to defraud his creditors, but to provide for his family, a motive of undeniable excellence.

It is evident enough that the inventors of atrocities like these would stop at nothing to which their principles lead them. Nevertheless, that which follows will scarcely fail to excite some degree of surprise in the reader's mind. The Jesuits at this period published and circulated throughout France, in great numbers, small publications, professedly manuals of a religious character, but designed especially to point out to sinners ways of getting to heaven without parting with their sins, and follow-

* 8me. Lettre.

ing after holiness. One of them, by Father le Moine, appeared, without circumlocution or concealment, under the impudent title of "EASY DEVOTIONS." * Another, by Father Barry, was entitled, "PARADISE OPENED TO THE AVARICIOUS BY A HUNDRED ACTS OF DEVOTION TO THE MOTHER OF GOD, VERY EASY TO PRACTISE." The pious author of the last of these edifying works frequently assures his readers, that there is not the slightest necessity that the desires of the heart should accompany the words and ceremonies contained in his directions. If that were convenient, it would be all very well; but says he, "I know that to be impossible; I know that your heart is fully bent upon the honours, the pleasures, the riches of this world; and therefore, dear reader, I dare not ask you to give to religion that little slave you call your heart." The heart, in short, is of so little consequence, that the holy father can afford to make a jest of it. These devotional exercises made as easy a draft upon the time and memory of the devotee as upon his heart. It was only needful "to salute the blessed Virgin in passing by her images; to repeat occasionally the little chaplet of the ten pleasures of the Virgin; to pronounce the name of Mary pretty often; to request the angels to present our regards to her; to wish to build her more churches than all the monarchs upon earth put together; to say to her, 'Good morning!' always on rising, and 'Good evening!' every night on retiring; and to go through the Ave Marias

* Pascal, u. s. 9me. Lettre.

once daily in honour of the heart of the Virgin." Light as is the tax upon the mental powers of the devotee imposed by this short rubric, the author was too familiarly conversant with human nature, not to be aware that even this was more than the worldly and the wicked would be disposed to give to that in which, under their ordinary circumstances of health and occupation, they took so little interest, as their destinies after death. He therefore abates the terms of sure admission into Paradise in the first instance, down to the salutation of the Virgin morning and evening, and afterwards to wearing upon the arm a bracelet in the form of a chaplet, or even to carrying in the pocket a rosary or image of the Virgin! This is, assuredly, the perfection of facility. The reverend father knew this, and therefore added, with the air of triumphant raillery so often assumed by those who feel themselves in the high and enviable position of discoverers of great things, "And now, ye jolly dogs, tell me if I have not found out for you an easy way of getting into the good graces of Mary, and going to heaven!" *

These, however, do but make part of an entire system, which is termed by its authors one of "religious and holy finesses and pious frauds in devotion;" † of which, horrible to relate, God himself was to be the dupe. Their design was to teach the sinner how to cheat the Almighty and elude the decrees of his justice: for, as Father Barry piously observes, "What matter is it how

* 9me. Lettre. p. 118. † 10me. Lettre, p. 134.

we go to heaven, so we only get there?" (quoted 9me. Lettre, p. 119). Upon this principle the grievous sinner is recommended to keep two confessors, one for his mortal and the other for his venial sins; by which device he will be sure of absolution from one or the other of them (10me Lettre, p. 135). It was also taught by them, that when the offender feels no contrition, attrition,—that is dread and hatred not of sin, but only of its punishment,—will suffice for true repentance (id. pp. 143—146). Nor did they scruple at the utterance of blasphemies even still more appalling. The love of God is, in their divinity, a matter of perfect indifference. It may be entertained in the heart every Sunday, or once a year, or once in three years, or once in five years, or at the hour of death, or not at all, just as the sinner pleases. For it is the great privilege of the New Testament over the Old, that Jesus Christ has dispensed his disciples from all obligation to love God.* This is the climax of doctrinal wickedness. The heart of man can never devise, the lip of man can never utter, a falsehood of deeper atrocity.

Such were the means whereby the Jesuits counteracted and overbore the Reformation in France: gaining the entire sway over a line of voluptuous monarchs; and through them working their ultimate objects. They found a full justification for themselves in the plea of a worthy and laudable end. Surely it is needless to waste words in proving

* 10me. Lettre, pp. 147 ad finem.

that the same order would also scruple at no devices, however wicked, to accomplish the same end in other countries.*

* Upon the history of the Jesuits in France the reader will find ample information in the works of M. Michelet, should he be disposed to pursue the subject.

CHAPTER III.

THE PURITAN JESUITS.

THE proceedings of the Jesuits in England, which form the ultimate object of our present inquiry, are far more deeply hidden in the darkness of secrecy and deceit than those which have hitherto engaged our attention; to which we have made reference only for the purpose of illustrating the moral, or rather the immoral, of this formidable order.

There is one point in their proceedings which we feel that we have not yet made sufficiently explicit. The members of the order were not themselves generally guilty of the immoralities which they permitted or winked at in their penitents. We find in the histories of these times constant complaints against their boldness and subtilness in intrigue, and the influence they obtained thereby in all places over all ranks of the community; but we do not find it frequently objected against them that they were personally guilty of immoralities. The truth is, that the Jesuits generally were completely the victims of the delusion they were sworn to propagate, and that their moral perceptions were so distorted by the discipline in which they had been trained, that they did sincerely and verily believe that the supremacy of the pope and the Roman church was an end so ineffably holy, so infinitely beyond all other ends desirable, that the use of any

means, however morally execrable in themselves, however in their own nature diabolical, became sacred duties when they tended to the promotion of that end. The clear statement of this monstrous principle is absolutely indispensable to the comprehension of the proceedings of the Jesuits in England.

The operations of the order in our own country may probably have commenced with its first establishment, for nothing could then be more unsatisfactory than the relations between England and the Papal see. That most extraordinary of all defenders of the faith, Henry VIII., was at high romps among the temporalities of the church; unroofing richly-endowed abbeys, imprisoning corpulent abbots, and distributing church lands right and left among his courtiers, taking care of course of the lion's share for himself.* There is, however,

* The frenzied fury of the attack now making by the Tractarians and Romanists upon the memory of "bluff Harry," ought to have the effect of rousing the Protestant mind of England to a closer and more intelligent examination of the proceedings of this right English king than they have yet undergone. His moral delinquencies of course no one thinks of defending; but we are by no means disposed to rank the dissolution of the monasteries among them. In the great majority of instances, it was merely the resumption by the crown of property which had been obtained by that most intolerable of all frauds, the practices of spiritual persons upon the consciences of dying sinners—practices for the prevention of which the statutes of Mortmain were enacted. The large amount of pensions paid by Henry to the deprived inmates of the dissolved houses is strangely forgotten by the assailants of his memory, who make this (of course) the main ground of their attack. And no wonder! for the dissolution of

no direct evidence that we have been able to discover, of the presence of the new order in England, before the reign of Henry's daughter, and second successor, the gloomy bigot Mary.* Even then perhaps the only indication of the new spirit which the Jesuits had infused into the church is to be found in the unavailing opposition of Cardinal Archbishop Pole and Philip of Spain, the queen's husband, to the cruelties of Bonner and Stephen Gardiner, who were true sons of old St. Dominic. This, however, is but conjecture; we only certainly know the fact that during the reign of Queen Mary many Jesuits came to England. It is not until the times of her successor Elizabeth, that we discover the evident indications of their secret movements.

The efforts of Queen Mary and her consort Philip of Spain to re-establish the old religion in England were crowned with entire success, so far as the Church was concerned. Not one clergyman remained in any benefice or cure in England who did not conform to the Roman Catholic ritual. Of the Protestant ecclesiastics of the preceding reign the majority had lapsed into papistry in compliance with the mandates of the court. A goodly number, however, had embraced the principles of the

the monasteries is, under God, the one event which of all others in our history has the most obviously conduced to the perpetuation to England of the blessings of the Reformation. The minds of many sound Protestants are possessed with grievous misconceptions of this question, which it would be very desirable to remove.

* "They made their appearance in Ireland in the year 1542; but they were instantly expelled from thence."—Schroeckh 3. p. 533.

Reformation from the heartfelt conviction that they were those of the New Testament: but a noble army of these had borne witness to this truth at the stake, and the rest were either in concealment or in exile. So that, at the death of Queen Mary, the Church of England was once more firmly united to the Church of Rome in the bonds of a ritual and rubrical unity. This incontrovertible fact is scarcely noticed by modern writers on the history of these eventful times, notwithstanding its importance to the right apprehension of that history.

This prostrate position of the English Church at the feet of the papal hierarchy, on the accession of Elizabeth, furnishes the key to several seeming anomalies in her conduct. That illustrious queen has been charged with half-heartedness in the cause of the Reformation, and with strong inclinations towards Popery: but surely this state of things furnishes a sufficient refutation of the calumny. It is to be feared that religious truth was by no means so influential as it ought to have been upon the heart and conduct of Elizabeth; but, nevertheless, her proceedings were perfectly decided from the first day of her accession. She uniformly expressed her own adherence to the reformed religion, and her determination that it should be the religion of her realm. Nothing but strong conviction and firm principle could at such a time have elicited such an avowal from one so politic, so sagacious, and worldly as Elizabeth.* Far, therefore, from

* "O Queen Mary, and Marian times! With how much greater tenderness and moderation is truth now

there being anything suspicious in certain external conformities to the Romish ritual in her private chapel, and other circumstances which are so much dwelt upon by some writers, the wonder is that she exhibited so much firmness in maintaining the principle of Protestantism, in the teeth of the entire ecclesiastical estate of England as well as of a large and influential party among the laity.

The majority of the clergy who occupied the benefices of England at this period were Papists from conviction. They were neither men of little principle, who had conformed merely from worldly motives, nor timid, weak-minded men, who had unwillingly sheltered themselves from the fierce persecution of the former reign, under an external compliance with the Romish ritual, though such might doubtless have been found among them. The whole tenor of their conduct shows this. On the 20th of May, 1559, six months after Elizabeth's accession, four months after the meeting of her first Parliament, and three months after the act reinstating King Edward's service book had become law, Bishop

contended for, than falsehood was defended some time since. Our adversaries acted always with precipitancy, without precedent, without authority, without law; while we manage everything with so much deliberation, and prudence, and weariness, and circumspection, as if God himself could scarce retain his authority without our ordinances and precautions; so that it is idly and scurrilously said, by way of joke, that as heretofore Christ was cast out by his enemies, so he is now kept out by his friends."—Zurich Letters, Jewel to Martyr, Letter 6, p. 17. Also Letter 7: "Your letters are like religion among ourselves, reposing in listless inactivity."

Cox writes to Weidner of Zurich, with whom he had taken refuge during Mary's persecution, "The nobility come every day over to us, with many of the people, but not one of the clergy; they all stick together as a body that may not be moved."* In the July following, the oath of the queen's supremacy was tendered to the bench of bishops; but, with one exception only, that body unanimously refused to acknowledge any other head of the English Church than the pope.† It is not easy to imagine a stronger temptation to recant than that to which the clergy were exposed during this period, or a more triumphant resistance of it. All hope of the continuance of the Romish ritual must have vanished, for nothing could be firmer or more decided than the queen's proceedings to re-establish the Reformation; and in every step of them she was zealously seconded by a clear majority of her lay subjects.

* Burnet's Reformation, vol. iii. part i. p. 332. "The bishops are a great hindrance to us; for being, as you know, among the nobility and leading men in the upper house, and having none there on our side to oppose their artifices and confute their falsehoods, they reign as sole monarchs in the midst of ignorant and weak men, and easily over-reach our little party, either by their numbers or their reputation for learning. The queen, meanwhile, though she openly favours our cause, yet is wonderfully afraid of allowing any innovations: this is owing partly to her own friends, by whose advice everything is carried on, and partly to the influence of Count Feria, a Spaniard, and Philip's ambassador. She is, however, prudently, and firmly, and piously following up her purpose, though somewhat more slowly than we could wish."—Jewel to Martyr, Zur. Lett. p. 10.

† Burnet, vol. ii. part i. p. 504.

At the same time, the policy of the court, of the returned refugees, and of all parties in the state towards the clergy was that of leniency and persuasion. Inducements of every kind were held out to them to recant; they were flattered and solicited and courted by the queen and her government, by whom the patronage of the Church was thenceforth exclusively to be administered. All these means were applied for eight months successively to the whole of the clergy. Yet it does not appear that they were successful in inducing the voluntary conformity of a single individual. This circumstance is in itself a very singular one, but it is rendered still more so by the occurrences which took place very shortly afterwards.

About the same time that the papistical bishops were pressed with the oath of supremacy, the queen and her council were engaged in the preparation of injunctions to be sent over England, for the purpose of enforcing obedience to the law re-instating the English Service-book, which, by the act, was to take place on St. John Baptist's day (August 29). These injunctions were far more decidedly opposed to the Papistry than the proposals which had before been made to the clergy, inasmuch as the queen had been prevailed upon by the Protestant party entirely to abolish all images, and to sanction the marriage of spiritual persons, upon both which points she had formerly rather held with the Romanists. It might therefore have reasonably been expected that the resolution of the clergy would have stood firm against this larger demand upon their compliance, and that to a man they

would have followed the example of the bishops. A commission of visitation went through all the churches of England to enforce the injunctions, in the course of the months of July and August, and afterwards reported to the queen the result of their labours. That report is still extant, and, were it not an historical document, the authority of which admits of no question, its contents would be utterly incredible. Of the nine thousand four hundred beneficed men in England, no more than fourteen bishops, six abbots, twelve deans, fifteen heads of colleges, fifty prebendaries, and eighty rectors of parishes—189 in all, had left their benefices upon the account of their religion. The whole of the English clergy had conformed to the queen's injunctions and read the Protestant service.*

Fully to apprehend the extent to which this result sets probability at defiance, it must be borne in mind that there was at the time no danger whatever in the profession of an adherence to Romanism. The recusant bishops were merely imprisoned for a day or two, and then liberated. Many of them had pensions allowed them by the queen out of the proceeds of their benefices, and such was then her temper towards the Papists, that there seems no reason to doubt her intention to have made such an arrangement universal. Yet with such inducements to constancy to the ancient faith, that body which had so long resisted all the blandishments of the court, and which therefore (had worldly considerations been their motive) had let slip the favourable opportunity, that body, not one individual of which

* Idem, vol. ii. part i. p. 510.

had recanted in June, yields absolutely and unconditionally on the first summons in July, with the exception of a mere fraction—scarcely one-fiftieth part of the whole.

The entire compass of history does not contain the record of a more extraordinary anomaly than this. So utterly does all conjecture fail to account for the circumstance, that the mind is driven to the supposition of design and concert in the Catholic clergy of England, as the only probable, it may almost be said the only possible, solution of the difficulty.

Such a view of the subject has certainly the support of many weighty considerations. The order of the Jesuits had at that time been established about twenty years, and was in the very bloom of its existence, enjoying the entire confidence of the whole body of the Roman Catholic Church. Numbers of the clergy, both regular and secular, had become members of it. The peculiar position of the Anglican Church, on Elizabeth's accession, was one of those emergencies to meet which the order was especially created, and therefore we naturally conclude that its services would be brought into requisition.

The effect, moreover, of this strange movement upon the Church of England was exactly that which its bitterest enemy would have wished to produce. It is impossible to view the question under any aspect in which her interests were not fearfully endangered by it. We need scarcely enlarge upon these dangers, they become evident enough when it is considered that fortynine-fiftieths of her benefices

were hereby left in the hands of those who, but one month before, had avowed their conscientious and uncompromising enmity to the elementary principle upon which she was founded; while thus it was put absolutely out of her power to provide for multitudes of faithful men who had confessed their conviction of the truth of that principle in poverty and exile. Many of the refugees underwent, at this time, in London, privations to the full as severe as they had suffered at Frankfort or Zurich.

If the papal clergy of England really obeyed some secret order from Rome in this sudden conformity, the direct design of the framers of the plot has probably been pointed out by an historian who in no degree suspected its existence. * The court of Rome might at that time have flattered itself that the queen's lenity towards its adherents arose from some hesitation in her own mind as to her religion, and that she might still be won over from Protestantism; but more probably it was intended practically to illustrate the regicidal principle of the Jesuits in her assassination. In either case, the retention of the benefices by the Romanists was a point of utmost importance to its interests.

There is another circumstance which deserves to be considered. The successor of Elizabeth to the throne had already been determined upon by one section of the Catholic potentates of Europe, in the person of the unhappy Mary Queen of Scots, the next heir to it, who had just been married to the dauphin of France. They were, at this time, assuming, in all their public acts, the style of King

* Bishop Burnet, u. s.

and Queen of England. There is no improbability in the supposition that the retention of the benefices might be a part of the plan of the dauphin's family, the house of Guise, which had already made itself conspicuous as the patron of the Jesuits.

The strange event we have described certainly requires the agency of a body as formidable and unprincipled as the Jesuits to render the motives of the clergy intelligible, though no direct and formal proofs of their agency are now known to exist. We have, however, an ample store of documents testifying to the efforts of the pope, through this terrible order, to recover his former ascendancy in England, which, rightly appreciated, are equally satisfactory, inasmuch as they abundantly prove that a plot co-extensive with England itself, and as intricate as society in England, through every fold of its connexion, from the state diplomacy and the religious differences among the Protestants, down to the very ties of domestic life in the bosoms of families, was hatched at the commencement of Elizabeth's reign, and worked, with infinite annoyance to the queen, and deep detriment to the temporal and spiritual welfare of the realm, throughout the forty-four years of its duration. We may safely conclude that the Jesuits were at work in the Church, when it can be shown that at this time they were busy everywhere else.

As early as the year 1560 (that is, not eighteen months after Elizabeth's accession) we find Pope Pius IV.—as ambitious and astute a pontiff as ever sat in the chair of St. Peter,—already breaking cover in his pursuit of this great purpose of reclaim-

ing England. In perfect unison with his character, he resisted the fierce importunities of Philip II. of Spain at once to excommunicate the queen and preach a crusade against England. A course which would have been very congenial to the temper of that sanguinary devotee, who was just then stung to madness by the failure of both the hazards he had thrown for the crown of England, as the consort of Queen Mary, and as the suitor of Queen Elizabeth. The object of the pope, however, was to recover England, not to pleasure Philip. He therefore took the course he thought most likely to accomplish it, regardless of everything else. He dispatched by the hand of Vincent Parpalio, one of his creatures, upon whom he conferred the legislative power in England, a right loving and fatherly breve to Elizabeth, wherein he proposed to sanction the Book of Common-prayer, to allow the cup to the laity as in Bohemia, and to legitimatize her mother's marriage, on condition of her acknowledgment of his supremacy. The queen, however, stood perfectly firm. It is doubtful whether Parpalio was allowed to set foot in England. Certainly that privilege was refused to the Abbé Martinequez, whom the pope appointed his nuncio, with letters to the same purport, in the following year. She forbade his embarkation from Flanders. She resisted with equal firmness the solicitations of the French king and other Catholic potentates to send representatives to the Council of Trent, which was then sitting; grounding her refusal upon the illegality of that synod, because it had been convened by the pope and not by the emperor.

Such was the character of the open attempts to recover England to Rome which were made by the pope at the commencement of Elizabeth's reign. These efforts were continued throughout the whole of its duration by Pius and his successors, but the tacticians of the Vatican were adroit enough soon to discover the utter hopelessness of success in that course of gentleness and persuasion which had been at first adopted, and the pope was nothing loathe to the appeal to opposite measures. Shortly afterwards his blandishments changed to threats. He negociated with the Catholic potentates of Europe for declarations of war against England, and for a league for the extinction of the Reformation; and Elizabeth was at open enmity with the pope throughout the later periods of her reign.

It is not the practice of papal Rome to trust the chances of success in important undertakings either to the sword of the soldier or the pen of the diplomatist. She has other weapons which serve her purpose far better, and to which she never fails to resort on such occasions. These, we need not say, were the services of secret emissaries with whom she filled England and the rest of the reformed nations, and the agency by which this her manifold plot was chiefly accomplished was that of the Jesuits.

The first act of the plot we conjecture to have been that singular and very successful one, whereby the benefices of the church were retained by their papalizing incumbents. The other expedients which we know to have been adopted yield not at all to this either in adroitness or wickedness. We will give the narrative of one of those contrivances that

was detected, in the words of the ecclesiastical historian of the times :—"There was one Samuel Mason, an Englishman, bred a Jesuit in Paris, a man of learning, who being in Ireland was converted to the gospel in the year 1566. Him Sir H. Sydney, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, made his chaplain. This man made a speech of recantation in Christ Church, Dublin, and in a narrative presented to the said Sir H. Sydney, showed Pope Pius IV. his contrivance against the Protestant religion newly established in England, with what policy and craft you will easily perceive, but you will not so easily discover the piety thereof. It was in this year (1560) that this pope (Pius IV.) dispensed with several of the most active and learned Franciscans and Dominicans, and of the society of Jesus, to preach among the Protestants in England wild doctrines on purpose to sow divisions, and allowed some of them to marry, saying that the marriage established by the queen was no marriage. These so dispensed were to give monthly intelligence hence what progress they made in these practices, and for fear any of these missionaries might themselves be seduced from their orders, others were sent to discover them if they found their inclinations so bending before they came to be fully resolved. One of these emissaries was John Giles, who being at Gloucester recanted. Directions were brought from the Council of Trent to the Jesuits at Paris by another of them, one Ludowic Freak, an Englishman. Amongst these directions this was one :—'That they were not to preach all after one manner, but to observe the places wherein they came. If Lutheranism prevailed, then

they were to preach Calvinism; and if Calvinism, then Lutheranism. If they came into England then they were to preach either of these or John Huss's opinions, or Anabaptism, or any doctrines that were contrary to the holy see of St. Peter, by which their function would not be suspected; and yet they might still drive on the interests of the mother church. There being, as this council (of Trent) were agreed, no better way to demolish the Church of England's heresy than *by mixtures of doctrines, and by adding of ceremonies more than were at present permitted.*'" . . . . "That which gave the first ground and occasion of this vile project of the Pope was this: that *Calvin, the great minister of Geneva, had written to Archbishop Parker in the year* 1560, *for a good understanding and union to be had among Protestants;* which Pope Pius having knowledge of, he laboured to obstruct the good motion from taking effect by this way with the advice of his cardinals, viz. as was said before, to grant indulgences to several orders of Rome, to set up new tenets and principles of religion, and such as seemingly should be against the Church of Rome, hereby to confound the Protestant religion, and to hinder for the future all general assemblies of Protestants moved by the said Calvin, to unite all Protestants together in one doctrine and worship, lest there should be a general union and concurrence amongst them wheresoever dispersed."

"Upon these indulgences several of the English popish clergy lately fled from England upon the change of religion, joined with other foreign clergy, and came into England to distract the common people's heads

with new founded opinions and fancies in religion, and all against the liturgy established. Some of these were Dr. Thomas Lacy, Thomas Tunstal, a Franciscan friar, cousin-german to Bishop Tunstal (of Durham); James Scott, cousin to Scott, late Bishop of Chester; Faithful Cummin, a Dominican friar, who some years after, for his religious hypocrisy, narrowly escaped hanging; and William Blagrave, who was caught and hanged at York, May 10th, 1566. He being suspected to be an impostor, was seized, and divers treasonable papers were found in his closet. He was so hardened that when he went up the ladder he laughed in the Archbishop of York's face, telling him that those converts that he had made would hate the Church's Liturgy so much as his Grace did Rome, and when the Archbishop desired of him who they were, he refused, but said he hoped they would be ashamed of their folly, that is in retaining the unsound doctrines he had taught them on purpose to divide them from other Protestants, and that they would turn back again to their mother principles (Romanism), and not to heresy."—(*Strype's Annals*, i. c. 19, pp. 219, 222, fo.)

From this extraordinary passage we gather some very important particulars regarding the secret proceedings of the papacy at the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth. The godly motion of Calvin to the English bishops, (with whom he, in common with the rest of the Swiss Protestant divines, had become united in the bonds of Christian affection during their exile in Mary's reign,) for a general synod of all Protestant Churches in order to uniformity in doc-

trine and discipline, must be frustrated. The pope determined this: the Council of Trent re-echoed his determination, and the order of the Jesuits executed the plot they had contrived to effect it, which for incredible and diabolical wickedness stands without a parallel in the annals of human depravity. The plot was co-extensive with Protestantism itself, and manifold as the schisms which were then exhibiting themselves in it. The object of this Satanic agency on the Continent was, to widen existing breaches and to create new ones: to raise up Calvinistic schisms in Lutheran cities, and Lutheran schisms in Calvinistic ones. In England their mission was still more complicated; for obviously it was especially against the Reformation here that this agency was created. Two objects are specified in the account of Mason quoted by Strype, and fully corroborated by other documents, and for their accomplishment two sets of emissaries must have been employed. The first mode of attack upon the Church of England was to be by *mixtures of doctrines*, or, in other words, the infusion and fomentation of scruples and doubts upon points of doctrine and discipline already determined by her formularies. Of the proceedings of this section of the dispensed, Strype has furnished us with very ample details. There is likewise little difficulty in tracing their agency in the various Puritan controversies that arose in these times.

Another lever was also applied to the foundation-rock of the Church of England for the purpose of effecting her overthrow. This was "*the adding of ceremonies more than were at present permitted.*"

This branch of the plot was worked principally through the agency of the conforming papal clergy. So determined a churchman was honest John Strype, and so exceedingly sensitive of the fair fame of all spiritual persons, that he by no means affords us the same measure of assistance in the history of this part of the plot. From himself, however, and from others, we shall have no difficulty in amply demonstrating its reality.

The disclosure contained in our quotation from Strype has been so completely forgotten in these times, and so many voluminous histories of the reign of Elizabeth are before the public, which do not make the slightest allusion to it, that we feel constrained to pursue the subject, so as to put the reader fully in possession of the facts which establish its reality. We therefore give another extract from the voluminous records of that most honest of chroniclers. "The extraordinary craft and diligence of the Papists to overthrow the reformed religion, appeared by a remarkable instance that fell out this year (1568). *Their great project*, which they drove on to effect, was to blow up and inflame our divisions as much as they could. For this purpose, some of the craftiest of them shrouded themselves under the cloak of Puritan ministers. This year one of these was discovered and taken, named Thomas Heath, brother to Nicholas, late archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor under Queen Mary. He was sent over by the JESUITS, *being himself one of that order*, with instructions to pretend himself a preacher of the purer religion. He had a whole budget full of erroneous doctrines to disseminate here, as those of

David George, Theodore Sartor, John Hutz, foreign Anabaptists, Arians, and enthusiasts. And these doctrines he was warily to mix up with those of the Puritans. This man, *after* six years' preaching up and down the country, applied himself to the dean of Rochester, as a poor minister, desiring some preferment. The dean gave him a turn of preaching in that cathedral. In his sermon he had some strokes that looked towards Puritanism. For he said of the prayers that were made of the church for Peter without ceasing, that they were not such prayers as were then used by the Church of England. By hap, in the pulpit, he let fall out of his pocket a letter writ to him under the name of Thomas Hine, from one Malt, an eminent English Jesuit in Madrid, which contained directions how he should manage himself on his mission. This letter being taken up by the sexton, and brought to Guest the bishop, he examined him, and made so close an use of this letter, that he made him confess himself at length a Jesuit, though at first he pretended, that though he had been a Jesuit, he had wholly fallen off from that order, that indeed he was not so wholly of the Episcopal party, but laboured to refine Protestants, and to take off all smacks of ceremonies that did in the least tend towards the Romish faith.

"After this they searched his chambers, when in his boots were found beads, a licence from the Jesuits, a bull from Pius IV. to preach what doctrine that society pleased, for the dividing of Protestants, and particularly among the English Protestants; and in his trunk several books against infant baptism, and divers other dangerous papers were seized.

In the month of November he had his sentence from the bishop, and stood in the pillory three several days at Rochester, his ears were cut off, his nose slit, his forehead branded with the letter R, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. He died a few months afterwards, not without suspicion of poisoning himself. All this is taken out of the register of the see of Rochester."—*Strype*, i. c. 52, pp. 521, 522.

The simple and uncouth periods of this honest narrator of facts convey a mass of evidence, both distinct and circumstantial, of the existence and execution of this diabolical plot, which is perfectly irrefragable, and which no one has ever attempted to deny. The object of most modern histories of these times has been to recommend popery, under one guise or other, and to represent Elizabeth as a persecutrix. What wonder, then, that facts like these should be consigned by them to oblivion, notwithstanding their extraordinary and important character! We will endeavour to bring into one view the various features in the character of this portion of the dispensation with which these passages supply us.

The dispensation was co-extensive with Protestantism.

The section of it which is especially brought under notice consisted of Catholic clergymen, and others well-educated, who, having left England on account of their religion, were associated with the order of the Jesuits, and by it were sent back again hither, disguised as Protestant ministers.

The object of their mission was, by mixtures of

doctrine to sow divisions among English Protestants.

To fit them for its execution, the dispensation absolved them from the sin of whatever doctrine they might see fit to preach, however perfect its opposition to the truth of Christianity, and however deep its tinge of moral turpitude. They were equally absolved by it from the guilt of whatever sin they might, for the purpose of their mission, see it expedient to commit. Nay, they were even encouraged to sin, that thereby the judgments of God might be provoked against the nation.

In doctrine, therefore, the dispensed were freed from all other restraints than their own powers of conceiving wicked imaginations; and, in practice, from all laws but their own propensities to moral depravity.

This plot touches the extreme limits of man's capabilities of sinning. We therefore safely leave its mere enunciation to the moral perceptions of the reader. For such a theme neither needs nor admits of amplification.

We are the more anxious to direct the reader's attention to the existence of this strangely wicked plot, because of the importance of the fact to the right understanding of the religious dissensions that distracted English Protestantism during the reign of Elizabeth. It is a relief to the mind to discover that the fanaticism of the Puritans of those days was originated and fomented by designing and simulating men, for the express purpose of creating the divisions which it so successfully effected: for we would appeal to any one acquainted with the his-

tory of these troubles, if such an agency, with such a design, is not needed to account for the general course of the proceedings of the Puritan faction; and whether we do not really require to know that numbers of the Puritan ministers were concealed Jesuits, in order to bring their conduct within the range of the motives by which human beings are ordinarily actuated.

A history of religion, in this and the following reign, with a view to the proceedings of the dispensed Jesuits, is a desideratum in English literature. This, however, is not our present purpose. We can only detail a few of the events which illustrate the secret efforts of the Puritan Jesuits to foment divisions among English Protestants.

The habit-controversy, which began with the reign of Elizabeth, originated with the confessors who, for the sake of the truth, had fled from Mary's persecution, and found refuge and protection from their brethren of the Reformation at Frankfort, Zurich, and other towns in Germany and Switzerland. The details of the changes which it would be incumbent upon the Reformed to make, in matters relating to public worship, had engaged in England comparatively little of the public attention during King Edward's reign, but they were very warmly discussed by the Reformed divines on the Continent at the time of his death. The attention, therefore, of the English refugees was necessarily called to them during their exile. Queen Elizabeth was a Tudor. In temper she was a daughter of Henry VIII.; in disposition and modes of thought, she was the daughter of the arbitrary and fierce

times in which she lived. Queen Elizabeth was also a woman: and the courtly, handsome Duke of Feria, the Spanish ambassador, who had contrived to ingratiate himself with her by his mode of delivering the secret messages to her, during her captivity, with which he had been entrusted by his crafty master, Philip II., the husband of Mary, was still the representative of Spain in England, in high favour at court, and often consulted by the queen on matters of religion. The returned confessors, one and all, scrupled the habits. The scruples of most of them are detailed by themselves to their friends on the Continent, in the volume of Zurich Letters, recently published by the Parker Society. That the rest coincided in these opinions seems inevitably to be inferred from their silence. The silence, also, of Parker* and other Protestants, who had contrived, by whatever means, to remain concealed in England, upon the question, seems to imply their assent (at any rate at the period of the queen's accession) to the conclusions of their

* It may fairly be presumed that Parker himself entertained some doubts concerning the points which were afterwards disputed between the Puritans and the High Church party. Even Whitgift was one of a number of heads of houses in Cambridge who petitioned for a greater licence about dresses."—Bishop Short's Sketch of the Church of England, p. 250. Young, Archbishop of York, and Savoy, Bishop of Hereford, found a refuge in the little town of Wesel, upon Oder, where they neither sympathized with nor took part in the continental Reformation. For this they are especially glorious in the eyes of all modern conforming Romanists. See Soames's Elizabethan History, p. 20, and all other Elizabethan histories by members of the same school.

brethren in affliction, on a point on which the latter had so many opportunities and advantages in forming their judgments. The Queen, however, was perfectly inflexible upon this question. The change had not been made in her brother's life-time, and acting avowedly on the advice of the Duke of Feria to resist all further changes, she resolutely refused to hear a syllable upon it. Upon this emergency, the majority of the confessors, submitting to the opinion of Bullinger, Weidner, Gualter, and others of the Zurich divines, resolved upon conformity. A number of learned and estimable men, however, including Coverdale, Father Foxe, Humphrey, Sampson, and others, still declined wearing the habits. In the severities wherewith the queen determined to enforce conformity, and to which it must be acknowledged that Archbishop Parker lent himself but too readily, began the habit-controversy, and the first visible schism among the Protestants of England.* Of the three parties who were the originators of it, the queen was avowedly acting under papal influence; and as the conforming clergy, who had been papists in Mary's days, took the habits to a man, it cannot, of course, be denied, that Rome was also well represented on that side of the controversy. We have only, therefore, to show that, on the side of the scruplers also, the same influence was present, in

* The entire separation of the Puritans from the Church was the direct issue of this controversy. Questions of Church government were very soon associated with the habits. The first formal act of separation seems to have taken place about the year 1572, in the establishment of a presbytery at Wandsworth.

the form of secret and dispensed agents; and then assuredly some new light will be thrown upon the true origin of schism among Protestants in England.

The fact of the existence of the Puritan Jesuits we have already laid before the reader: the proofs and evidence of it will now require our attention. These are to be found in the insolent and irritating tone assumed by the Puritans so soon afterwards, in Elizabeth's days; a tone not at all characteristic, either of the men or their opinions, at the beginning of the controversy. Neither the severity of the queen's injunctions respecting uniformity, nor the coercive measures to which she soon resorted, are at all sufficient to account for this change. Such proceedings were the universal rule in religion during the sixteenth century: no one dreamed of toleration in anything connected with religion. Had the civil authority been with the scruplers, doubtless they would have been at least equally severe upon the habit-men. So that, to the impartial student of the history of these times, it is the leniency of the queen and the bishops towards the Puritans, in the early years of Elizabeth, and not their severity, that is the real ground of surprise.

The early scruplers themselves set no example of evil language to their followers. Humphrey, Sampson, and Whittingham were always respectful and submissive under the privations they underwent for their doubtless sincere opinions; and all of them at length were convinced that they might with clear consciences wear the habits. This quiet inoffensive course is not mentioned as anything especially to their praise. It is the clearly obvious

duty of every Christian man in their circumstances. It is moreover the course which had, almost without exception, been pursued by all professors of the Gospel in England during the three hundred preceding years, in which, as Lollards or as Protestants, they had been undergoing persecution. Yet how few of the Puritans, in Elizabeth's days, followed this example in their troubles! Suppose them to have been sincere men, and there is not a fouler stigma on the brow of Protestantism than their entire bearing.* When before the bishops' courts, they did their best to inflame and irritate their judges by taunting insults. They were also in the habit of publishing accounts of the proceedings in these courts, so utterly false, that the bishops themselves were driven to publish denials and refutations of them! The general tone of the Puritan publications of these times is a disgrace to the English language, whether we take a moral or a literary view of the question. Truculent malice and fierce hatred supply the place of argument, and scurrilous vulgarity plays the part of wit in their polluted pages. A single specimen shall suffice. It is from the "Clear Glass," published in 1578. A very filthy passage in this book, wherein fourteen points of resemblance are discovered between the Pope at Rome and the Pope at Lambeth; concludes with the following genealogy: "The devil begat darkness; darkness begat ignorance; ignorance begat error and his brethren; error begat free-will and self-love; free-will begat merits; merits begat forgetfulness of grace; forgetfulness

* See Bishop Cooper, Strype, vol. iii.

of grace begat transgression; transgression begat mistrust; mistrust begat satisfaction; satisfaction begat the sacrifice of the mass; the mass begat ambition; ambition begat simony; simony begat the pope; the pope begat the archbishops, bishops, commissaries, doctors, proctors, and the rest of that viperous brood." Strype, vol. ii. pp. 551. This ribald blasphemy, which, it will be perceived, is a parody upon the first chapter of St. Matthew's gospel, surely never can have been the production of a sincere believer in the truth which that gospel teaches! It is performing no light service in the cause of Protestantism, to lay clearly before the modern reader the historical facts that render it all but certain, that these and similar abominations are really the productions of determined enemies to that truth, who were dispensed by the pope to masquerade as Puritans. To multiply quotations from these writings would be to dwell upon a point, which rather receives elucidation from the facts already recorded than imparts it.

There is only one other point connected with these libels that will require attention, and that is the extraordinary occasions on which some of the most truculent of them made their appearance. To pass by other instances, Martin Marprelate, a series of pamphlets offensively conspicuous for the putid grossness of their abuse of the bishops, was first published in the year 1588, a year, the former part of which was remarkable for some relaxation in the severities against the Puritans, occasioned by the just apprehension, with which the entire nation was possessed, of the plots of the Catholics and the Spanish

invasion ; and the latter part of it, by a general disposition to forget existing animosities among all Protestants, in a deep sense of gratitude to Almighty God, for the wonderful deliverance which had been accomplished for our England by the destruction of the Armada. "Yet at the very time of that rejoicing, three or four of these odious libels were printed, and spread about almost in all the counties of this realm."* Whence, we naturally inquire, were the funds obtained, by which this wide circulation was accomplished ? The expense of such a diffusion would, in those days, have been very formidable. Why, moreover, was so untoward a time selected for the issuing of these brochures? We shall most satisfactorily solve the difficulty, by assuming that the authors, or rather secret instigators, of Martin Marprelate were not Protestants at all, but concealed Papists ; and that it was in reality one portion of that concerted movement against English Protestantism, which all the forces under the command of the Papacy were directed to make in that year. In that case, Martin Marprelate would doubtless be issued in the confident anticipation of the success of the Spanish Armada, which had possessed all Catholics ; and its object would be to render Protestantism odious, and to afford a colourable pretext for those vigorous measures of extermination, to execute which was the avowed purpose of the expedition. Numbers of Popish books flew abroad the same year, over all England, printed by the seminarists at Antwerp, and other places on the Continent, written in pre-

* Archbishop Whitgift, Admonition to the People of England, p. 7.

cisely the same spirit as Martin Marprelate, so extremely foul-mouthed against the queen, that many English Catholics, resident abroad, repudiated them.* Are we not then justified in assuming it to be even more than probable, that Cardinal Allen at Douay, and John Percy in London, were both labouring in the same cause, and drew, for the charges of their publications, upon the same treasury?

The case of Percival Wyburn has also been very conspicuously brought before the English reader, in one of the many valuable publications of the Parker Society. By an utterly false account of the proceedings of the bishops, this man succeeded in obtaining a protest against them from several of the Zurich divines.† The man expressed great penitence on his return to England, and is said even to have conformed. There can scarcely be a doubt that Wyburn was a dispensed Jesuit. His dissimulation was eminently successful in widening the breach between the Puritans and the Church of England.

Faithful to the letter, as well as to the spirit of their dispensation, the Puritan Jesuits laboured with the same assiduity in the multiplication of sects and divisions among the party with which they had ostensibly associated themselves.

Of all the distorted forms into which the proneness to sin that is in man ever succeeded in perverting the purity of Christianity, there is perhaps nothing so morally hideous as the doctrines of the "Family of Love," a sect very numerous in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and still in existence in this

* Strype, Annals, vol. iii. b. 2. c. 18.
† Zurich Letters, l. 75, p. 178, &c.

country. We first read of them as a numerous sect between the years 1560 and 1570. They continued to be very formidable in point of numbers and influence throughout the entire reign. According to the teaching of these sectaries, the only sin of which the elect (the family as they called them) need be afraid, was the fear of sin; nothing else was or could be sinful in them. The opinions of these libertines (which were the more dangerous because they were held by persons of all religious professions) were fully embodied in a Latin book entitled "Evangelium Regni," which appeared about the year 1579. As this book was very widely circulated in the diocese of Norwich, Dr. Young, at that time the bishop, published an answer to it, in the course of which he gives many quotations, showing most plainly the true intent and design of the writer himself, in common with the rest of the leaders of this profligate sect; and thence, by inevitable consequence, the purpose for which it had been established. There is scarcely a page in the book wherein a passage does not occur that looks towards the Papistry, as the good bishop phrases it. Such a passage as the following may serve to convey some idea of the very decidedly papal character of this production. "In c. 31, 32, (saith the bishop,) the author betrayeth himself to be a Papist. He calleth the church of Rome the communion of all Christians. The Pope he calleth the chief anointed, the chief bishop and high priest, who hath his being in the most holy sanctuary of true and perfect holiness, the most holy father! Next to the popes, he calls the cardinals holy and famous. Next to the cardi-

nals, he mentions bishops, whom he calleth chief priests, then curates, deacons, &c., and, after these, monks, whom he commendeth as men addicted to holiness." He concludes the sentence with an endeavour to excite his reader's indignation against those who, through contention and discord, did cast off the church of Rome, and did blaspheme her with her ministries, and *of their own brains pretending the scriptures, have brought other ministers of religion speaking much of the word of God.**

The "Evangelium Regni" remained a text-book with "the Family of Love," notwithstanding this exposure. One of them even undertook to defend it against the bishop. In the Family of Love, therefore, we clearly recognise the handiwork of the dispensed Jesuits.† The crude, vague insanities of the first founders of the sect‡ were systematized by these worthy representatives of Rome, to subserve their own purpose of bringing men back to the Papacy; but all the gross immorality of the heresy, and all the specious sophistry wherewith to sear the conscience, were scrupulously retained by them; for in them lay the secret of the sect's success. The Family of Love may be noted as the first visible germ; in the proceedings of the Jesuits, of the principle of bribing men to become Papists by licenses to sin, which (as we have seen) blossomed

* Strype, vol. iii. b. 2. c. 17. p. 590.

† The publications of Lodowick, Muggletone, and other members of the "Family of Love" may still be seen in London, exposed for sale in the same shop windows with Roman Catholic books of devotion.

‡ It began in Essex during Mary's persecution, id. 598.

so abundantly in the French and Portuguese casuists of the order in the succeeding age. Both held forth to human depravity the fatal lure of the pleasures and profits of sin without the guilt of it. But the Familist appealed merely to the physical sensations of man, by telling him to believe himself above sin; while the casuist perplexed and enervated, and at length destroyed, his moral perceptions, by weaving round them the film of his cobweb sophistries. The end was the same, though the means were different.

There is yet one other indication of the presence of these concealed Jesuits among the Puritans of Elizabeth's time that must be noted. Several instances are on record of Puritan preachers bringing themselves into trouble, by the propounding of most profligate dogmas in politics or morals. The customary admonitions, however, from the presiding bishops of the spiritual court before which they were cited, had so wonderful an effect upon them, that before its conclusion they recanted their errors, and even professed their anxiety to be reconciled to a Church which was gifted with so learned and eloquent an advocate. At the same time they protested with many tears that the dogmas they renounced had been presented to their minds as inevitable and irresistible conclusions from some passage which they quoted from the works of Calvin, or Beza, or Knox, or Humphrey, or some other foreign or British Presbyterian divine, upon whose name they heaped bitter execrations as their deceiver. This ridiculous farce was often repeated. It is the staple of more than one chapter in Heylin's

History of the Presbyterians. Who that knows anything of those times, can doubt for a moment, that these sudden converts were dispensed Jesuits to a man, labouring in their vocation of widening the breaches between the several parties of Protestantism ?

It is needless, for our present purpose, to pursue this part of the inquiry. The fact of the existence of the Puritan Jesuits rests upon the admissions of the detected agents themselves and the entire proceedings of the party abundantly corroborate it. We have merely selected one or two points wherein the corroboration appears the most palpably.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ANGLICAN JESUITS.

THE movements of that other branch of the dispensation, whose object was "the adding" to English Protestantism "of ceremonies more than at present permitted," are far more closely muffled in the folds of dissimulation, than those of the Puritan Jesuits; and are therefore far more difficult of detection. It must be remembered, that the agents of the Pope holding benefices in the Church of England had a less arduous and dangerous course to pursue than their brethren of the Puritan dispensation. We have already noticed the strong bias of the queen's prepossessions towards a gaudy and precise ceremonial. Their duties, therefore, to the Pope, comported admirably with the tone which the queen's example imparted to the court religion. An excessive zeal for the ceremonies was a very promising path to the royal favour, and decidedly in vogue. They therefore incurred scarcely a suspicion, much less the risk of detection, in discharging their obligation, "to add to the ceremonies of the Church more than were at present permitted."* This consideration alone

* The suspicion and uneasiness which this portion of the clergy created to the Reformers, are amply expressed in many contemporary documents which are still extant. It had been well for Protestantism in England, if the

suffices to account for the circumstance, that no actual detection is recorded. Nevertheless, it is not possible to doubt that the Papal power wielded at this time an extensive secret agency within the bosom of the Church of England, and that her agents there were, for the most part, clergymen. Of the 9,300 that retained their benefices, all who were sincerely and at heart Papists (and it is the height of uncharity not to assume that some respectable proportion really were such), must have conformed to the service-book, under an express permission, and with an express and (by themselves) understood object. That object we know, from the tenor of the Pope's dispensation to the

queen had followed, in this matter, the sage advice contained in a document preserved by Strype, which dates in the first year of her reign, and which from its style appears to be the production of Cecil.

"That all priests made to say mass afore it was abolished in King Edward's days, which then first had said mass; and secondarily, after it was then abolished, renouncing the mass and Papistry, did profess the Christian ministry: and thirdly, in Queen Mary's time revolted again into Papistry; and fourthly, now in Queen Elizabeth's time be returned again unto the ministry; *that therefore now they cease from any ministry of the word and sacraments, until further examination and order be taken with them and others according to God's Word.*"—Annals, vol. i. p. 205.

That a precaution so perfectly obvious as this should have been disregarded by a sovereign, in ordinary cases so sagacious as Elizabeth, can only be accounted for by the influence which the Duke of Feria and other Papists had obtained over her at the commencement of her reign, and by her possession, at that time, with the notion of reconciling her Catholic subjects to the Reformed Church.

Jesuits, to have been, the multiplication of divisions among Protestants ; and how could they have promoted it better than by turning fierce partisans on the habit-side of the controversy, and bandying bitter words with their brethren of the opposite faction ?

With the conforming Papistical clergy must be classed that party among the Reformers, from whom the Papal effort to recover the English Church received such abundant countenance, and by whom it was so efficiently promoted, whatever were the motives and intentions of those that composed it. This party consisted of the Free-willers, Lutherans, and semi-Papists, so frequently mentioned, and with such extreme apprehension, by Grindall, Jewell, and the rest of the confessors, in their letters to their friends on the Continent. (*Zurich Letters*, Ep. 75, &c. &c.) There is no evidence that this was a strong party at the period we are considering. It seemed, then, to be principally composed of a few scholars of weak heads, and still weaker principles, who, preferring a reputation for learning to doctrinal truth, bewildered themselves in the writings of the Fathers, to the neglect of their Bibles. Such, from his production, appears to have been the character of Champneys, the writer of a well-known tractate, which appeared in King Edward's days, embodying the errors of Pelagius. This book was burnt by the hangman, and the author publicly recanted its doctrine, bearing a faggot, at Paul's cross : his sentence being pronounced by Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Ridley. Yet, about a century afterwards,

the same book was re-published by Dr. Martin, one of Laud's household chaplains, along with a few shamefully garbled extracts from Hooper and Latimer, which work he entitled, "An Historical Narrative of some of the most learned and godly English Bishops, Martyrs, and others, concerning God's Election." * Such was also the character of Cheney, a name far more eminent in the Church. He belongs to the times we are considering, and his proceedings will shortly engage our attention; when the eminent service that this half-hearted party rendered to the Papal design within the Church will abundantly appear.

So fully are the ecclesiastical records of Elizabeth's reign occupied with the mad proceedings of the Puritans, that the stealthier movements of the other branch of the dispensation failed almost entirely to attract the notice of its annalists. This is especially the case during the first twelve years after her accession, whilst she was yet hot upon her favourite scheme of reconciling the English Papists to the Church by concession and indulgence. When, however, the rising in the north, and the Papal bull of excommunication opened her eyes to its utter futility, the fruits of these secret plottings then began to appear, but still in dark intimations. In a sermon preached by Bishop Sandys before the queen (apparently in the year 1573), the following passage occurs: "In a paper which of late came from the Pope, there were printed the five wounds of Christ, with this posy: '*Fili, da mihi cor tuum, et sufficit.*' Son, give

* Prynne's Canterbury's Doom, p. 174.

me thy heart, and it sufficeth. Whether his Holiness did mean thereby to allow dissimulation or no, I will not define. His practices are mysterious, and his brood is so thoroughly framed in this way, that they seem to take the Pope's emblem in no other meaning. They halt on both sides: they serve all times and turn with all winds. *By professing all religions* they show themselves plainly to be of none. They have double hearts; one for the prince, another for the Pope: one for Christ, another for Baal: one for a communion, and another for a mass."—(*Works published by Parker Society*, p. 130, *quoted also by Strype, Annals*, vol. iii. p. 618). It is impossible for words to express more plainly, the conviction with which the good bishop was possessed, that the Church in his days was infested with Papal dissemblers. The following extract from a sermon at Paul's Cross, by an unknown preacher, in the year 1577, is to the same purport. Like the preceding one, it shows how very much of Papistry either remained within the Church, or had been infused into it, in the middle of Elizabeth's reign:—"How many poisoned Protestants and maimed professors have we? I mean for opinions, for otherwise who is whole and sound? You shall have *a Gospeller, as he will be taken;* a jolly fellow, to maintain and retain such patches of Popery and infection of Rome, that methinks I see the serpent's subtility, as by the claw you may judge the lion. One holdeth faith justifieth, and *yet works do no harm.* Another saith, 'Prayer for the dead is charity, and if it doth no good, yet it doth no harm. What!

will you have me say, The devil go with them?' Another believeth verily, that infants unbaptized and dead cannot be but damned. Another crosseth me his *face, and pose, and breast, with thumb, and fingers, and cannot pray but towards the east.* Yea, some have not forgot their *Ave Maria,* though their *Pater noster* was forgot long ago. *Some,* and a large *sum* too, do superstitiously, and so sinfully, swear by saints or every other creature, and think it small offence, or none at all." [Quoted by Strype, *Annals,* vol. ii. c. 8, p. 492.] This passage sufficiently evidences the existence of a strong Papalizing tendency within the Church. Nor will the thoughtful reader fail to notice, that the symptoms of that tendency, doctrinal as well as external, were the same then as now; and that they excited the same alarm in the breasts of her orthodox members. Traces of this tendency are very abundant in the same voluminous collections. For example, in the same year, Ithel, a Louvaine Jesuit, brother to Dr. Ithel, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, being detected in an attempt to poison the minds of the students with the errors of Popery, was committed as a recusant to his brother's keeping. The doctor, however, connived at his practices while he remained at Cambridge, and afterwards favoured his escape to the Continent, when they again attracted the notice of the authorities. (Ibid. p. 493.) In the course of the following year, it appeared to a commission of visitation appointed for the University of Oxford, that "out of eighty members of Exeter College, four only were obedient subjects; all the rest were

Papistically inclined." (Idem. p. 539.) An inquiry instituted the succeeding year (1580), at Cambridge, elicited the extraordinary fact, that Dr. Legg, the Master of Caius, and Swayl, a Fellow of the same College, were both Papists by profession, and actively engaged in the propagation of their opinions. (Ibid. p. 634.) The year afterwards, 1581, Bishop Overton, of Lichfield, complained to the court, that divers of the clergy of his diocese had been seized and imprisoned by certain Papist justices of the peace, because they turned not to the east in prayer (Id. vol. iii. p. 24): leaving it, of course, to be inferred, that many of the clergy of the diocese did, in this particular, conform to the Romish ritual. The records of many similar circumstances, trifling in themselves, but all indicative of the same tendency, might be collected out of the annals of this period. We notice them, because we conceive they mark an important epoch in the Church's history; inasmuch as they seem to be the earliest discernible symptoms of a tendency in a large body of persons within her pale, to recede from the landmarks of doctrine and discipline set up by the fathers of the Reformation, in the direction of Rome. The effect of this retrograde movement in the Church was the complete counteraction of the progress of the Reformation during the latter half of the reign of Elizabeth. It was a period of much stir and bustle in religion, but of no advance whatever.

The causes of this retrogression we trust we have made abundantly apparent. With a body of pledged partizans, within the pale of the sacred

offices in the Church of England, of upwards of 9,000, and with swarms of emissaries, under the garb of Puritans, without, all obedient to uniform and simultaneous rules of action, the wonder is, that Rome accomplished so little against the Reformation in England; not that she did so much.

The mode of action of these several agencies is equally intelligible. The Papalizing clergy within the Church were magnifying the importance of the habits, and rigidly observing the enjoined ceremonies, making as they might, stealthy additions to them. For example:—the reverend bowing at the Name of Jesus, enjoined by the injunctions of Elizabeth on her accession, became, in their practice, a bowing *altare versus* in the middle of her reign. They also introduced, in the same covert manner, the corrupt teachings of the Fathers upon the mysterious subjects of the freedom of the will and the sovereignty of God, in opposition to the plain doctrines of the New Testament, in the maintenance of which the martyrs and confessors of the Reformation had been perfectly unanimous. By these their efforts they were most effectually co-working with their brethren of the Puritan dispensation, in widening the various breaches among Protestants into hopeless schisms. At the same time they were also giving the first impetus of a powerful Romeward tendency to the theology of the Church of England.

The progress of this movement becomes more perceptible in the later periods of Elizabeth's reign. In the year 1583 Archbishop Grindal died; having been from the second year of his advancement to

the see of Canterbury in disgrace, and all but in prison, because of his refusal to lend himself to the determination of the queen, at the suggestion of the Papalizing party, to discourage preaching in the church, and persecute the Puritans. (*Strype's Grindal*, p. 536, u. s.) He was succeeded by Whitgift, and the annals of the same year are tarnished by the legalized murder of Copping and Hacker at St. Edmondsbury, for the crime of circulating pamphlets against the Book of Common Prayer. (*Strype's Annal*, vol. iii. p. 42.)* A foul deed, over which Dr. Peter Heylin (Laud's chaplain) is bitter enough to gloat as "a seasonable execution." (*Ecclesia Vindicata*, Pref. § 8.) Whitgift was a harsh, though a well-meaning man; his temper had been soured against the Puritans, at the very outset of his clerical career, by an irritating controversy with Sampson, wherein (as all but invariably happens) both sides claimed the victory. In the course of this controversy he broached a novel doctrine which, a year or two afterwards (1589), the courtly Bancroft, his chaplain, and afterwards his successor, brought into notice in a gallant throw for preferment made in the form of a sermon at Paul's cross; this doctrine was the *jus divinum* of the bishop. An absurdity the parentage of which is its best apology. It is the first born in England of the *jus divinum* of the presbytery, as abundantly appears from Bancroft's sermon. (*Sermon at*

* A similar tragedy was enacted in London, in the year 1592, upon two enthusiasts of the names of Brown and Henry. It is, however, far from improbable that they were both dispensed Jesuits.

Paul's Cross, London, 1588.) This latter doctrine originated with the Puritan Jesuits, and, at their suggestion, was frequently in the mouths of the more hot-headed of the Puritans. The dexterity of the Papal party made both it and its *pendant* abundantly useful in widening the breaches among Protestants. The latter also became the nucleus of the Papalizing or Anglo-Catholic party among the clergy who were plotting in the following reigns for a reunion with Rome, and whose mad violences for the accomplishment of their plot produced the Revolution and Commonwealth. It was Rome that sowed these dragon's teeth, and when the armed men sprang up afterwards, she sate by to enjoy and to reap the fruits of their internecine conflict.

We have already noticed that other fatal token of the presence of the emissaries and agents of Rome in the bosom of the Church of England, during the latter years of Elizabeth's reign, which appears in the gradual dereliction of the teaching of the New Testament, and of the first Reformers, on the all-important questions of man's free-will and God's sovereignty, for the corrupt figments of Plato and the fathers. The former then first began to be stigmatized with the name of Calvinism (though equally the doctrine of Luther and of Cranmer), because the frantic proceedings of the feigned admirers of that most eminent of all the divines of the Reformation had brought his name, and still more his opinions on ecclesiastical history, into somewhat of evil odour. The other view, which (we repeat) the fathers of the Reformation condemned with perfect unanimity, was introduced with the same

cunning craftiness that characterizes every other step of this dangerous party. It makes its appearance now in a sermon, then in a college; and invariably incurs the censure of the episcopal authorities as a dangerous heresy, between the years 1580 and 1590. (See *Strype's Annals* of those years, vols. ii. iii.) The well-known Lambeth articles (1595) were framed by Archbishop Whitgift for the purpose of authoritatively declaring the doctrine of the Church of England on this then *vexata questio.* But it was too late; the emissaries of the Pope had been occupied for years in preparing the soil and planting in the Church "the sovereign drug Arminianism," as one of them named it, some thirty years afterwards,* and it was now too well rooted and too widely spread to be plucked up again.

The growth of all evil things in the Church was also at this time fatally promoted by the deterioration, in point of moral worth and true learning, of the men who were promoted to its dignities. The simple devoted honesty and godly self-denial of the confessors who were made bishops on Elizabeth's accession had well nigh vanished from the episcopal bench, and a generation of affected pedants, or of worldly, gay, extravagant Court Prelates, swayed the destinies of the Church at the close of the queen's reign. Lord Burleigh complains of the greediness and carelessness of the bishops in the year 1583. (*Strype*, vol. iii. p. 174.) Charges, recriminations, and quarrels among the higher clergy, are likewise of frequent occurrence in the later years of Elizabeth. (*Strype*, vol. iii. *passim.*)

* Prynem, Necessary Introduction, p. 98.

Such are scarcely to be heard of in the earlier times of her reign. If the two epochs be compared, we believe it will be found that the former was characterized by great excellence in the higher clergy, but the utmost ignorance and degradation among the inferior orders:—the latter, by some improvement in the working clergy, but a sad falling off among the bishops and dignitaries. This deterioration was also a point in favour of Rome, of which she took large advantage, as will appear in our account of the succeeding reign.

There is one individual who appears more conspicuously in the annals of these strange times, as the first expounder of the Papalizing principle in the Church. All the particulars of his history seem important to the question before us; with them therefore we conclude this part of our subject.

Dr. Richard Cheney was archdeacon of Hereford and rector of Halford in Warwickshire, at the time of Queen Mary's accession, 1553. According to Strype, "He was one of the six reformers who, in the first convocation in Queen Mary's reign, undertook boldly the cause of the gospel in a disputation against almost the whole synod." (*Annals*, vol. i. p. 418.) This is Strype's account, but if we turn to Cheney's speeches, as they are recorded by Fox, (*Acts and Mon.* iii. p. 17,) it is by no means easy to understand in what the boldness of Cheney's undertaking consisted. The subject in debate being the presence in the eucharist, Cheney propounded a scheme of his own, wherein he made it appear that both parties were right; inasmuch as, according to his view, the elements after the consecration re-

mained materially and wholly bread and wine, and at the same time became materially and altogether flesh and blood. He also interlarded his speeches with so many protestations of his anxiety to submit altogether to the queen and the synod, that he procured for himself the praises of Weston the prolocutor, who told him that he liked his speech well, and that he was a sober man, well exercised in all good learning. (*Fox*, u. s.) The impression is certainly created by the proceedings of Cheney on this occasion, that the well-known reply of Mary to the address of the men of Suffolk, not to change religion, (*Burnet*, vol. ii. b. 2, p. 212,) was tingling in his ears; and that he was striving to retain for himself a place of refuge on both sides of the question. He succeeded in this object: the resignation of the Archdeaconry of Hereford was the extent of his sufferings for the truth. It is pretty certain that he retained the rectory of Halford,* and sang mass very contentedly (so far as appears) until the year 1588, when the accession of Elizabeth brought about a change in times which he hastened to meet and improve by a corresponding change of conduct.

Cheney was a man of winning address, pleasant manners, and sociable habits. He likewise enjoyed

* Strype, vol. i. b. l. p. 373. But Fox, Strype, and indeed all the Protestant historians of these times, are very shy of Cheney. He was indeed *hæreticorum opprobrium*, as one of his Papist correspondents calls him long afterwards. They all felt this, and strove, by slurring over and extenuating his proceedings, to avoid the disgrace which his elevation cast upon the Protestant cause. He doubtless sang mass in Mary's time.—Strype u. s.

a very high reputation as a Greek scholar. He was a Londoner, and well supported by friends about Court. He was through these circumstances so completely successful in making his peace with the queen and the Protestant party, that as early as March 1559, Cheney appears as one of the preachers at Paul's Cross. (*Strype*, vol. i. p. 97.) The year following (1560) this fortunate man was consecrated Bishop of Gloucester, holding at the same time Bristol in commendam. He seems soon after this to have excited the suspicions of the Reformers by the very doubtful tone of his preaching upon the question of free-will, and by his bitter partizanship of the habits. Cooper, Humphrey, and Sampson (who were very strong on the other side) charged him with Romanism; he repelled the charge by appeals, not to the Bible but to the fathers and councils. (U. s. ii. c. xii. p. 107.) In 1562 he gave unequivocal proof of his half-heartedness with the Reformers by absenting himself from his place in the convocation which assembled that year. (Id. p. 189.) It is true that he afterwards signed the articles in Latin, of which he made a singular merit, mentioning it more than once in his correspondence with Lord Burleigh; but from that time he lost the confidence even of the Primate, Archbishop Parker, who, as we have already seen, was by no means given to the puritanical side of any question. For in the same year, the primate withdrew from Cheney two commissions he had granted to him; one, at his own request, for the regulation of rash preaching, as he called it, at Gloucester; the other, which was a very profitable one, appointing him his commis-

sary-general for the church and diocese of Bristol. He sent letters to Sir W. Cecil upon this, requesting to be permitted to resign his bishopric. His request, however, was not attended to; or, if he had the permission, he never availed himself of it; for he died Bishop of Gloucester. (Id. p. 421.) It is more probable that his powerful Romish friends at court knew the true state of his mind upon the question, and prevented his summary dismissal.

In 1566 Cheney again made himself conspicuous by stating in parliament his own very absurd opinions upon the presence in the eucharist. On this occasion he put them in the Lutheran form of consubstantiation. (*Zurich Letters:* Jewel to Bullinger, lett. 77, p. 135.) He was also noted at this time for the terms of close intimacy and friendship upon which he lived with the Romish priests and gentry that abounded in his diocese. He was never known to molest any one of that persuasion in the exercise of their religion: whereas he was incessantly teazing the Protestants under his jurisdiction upon conformity to the habits, rash preaching, and other similar matters.

In the year 1568, occurred the most prominent event of Cheney's not very remarkable life and episcopate. He appears to have proceeded in the vexatious course we have described with the Protestant portion of the inhabitants of his diocese, who were very numerous, and mainly the fruit of the preaching and pastoral care of Bishop Hooper, his predecessor, until the whole community was in a flame. In consequence, the pulpits of many of the churches at Bristol were frequently enlivened by animated de-

fences of the true doctrine. Cheney replied, in a series of sermons preached at his cathedral there, which gave so much offence, that two of the clergy of the cathedral afterwards confuted him from the same pulpit. The aldermen of Bristol also, with a large body of the citizens, sent a letter to the Lords of the Council, complaining of him, enclosing a paper of erroneous expressions and doctrines, collected out of those his sermons preached to them. This document is so very important to the question before us, that we give the extracts entire."—(*Strype*, i. pp. 525, *seq.*)

—"I am come, good people, not to recant or call back any thing that I have heretofore said; for I am of that mind now that I was then, as concerning matters of controversy, and will be to the end. If I had one foot in the grave, and another upon the ground, I would say then, as I do now, and therefore, good people, I give you that counsel that I follow myself.

—"Wherefore be not too swift or hasty to credit these new writers, for they are not tried and approved as the Catholic fathers are.

"These new writers on matters of controversy, as Mr. Calvin and others, agree not together, but are at dissension among themselves, and are together by the ears: therefore take heed of them: yet read them; *for in opening the text, they do pass many of the old fathers, and they are exceedingly well learned in the tongues.* But in matters of controversy follow them not, but follow the old fathers and doctors; although Mr. Calvin denieth some of them.

—"As for your new preachers and doctors, it is good *to pick a sallet out of them now and then.*

—"Scriptures, Scriptures, do you cry? Be not too hasty, for so the heretics always cried, and had the Scriptures. I would ask this question:—I have to do with an heretic. I bring Scripture against him, and he will confess it to be Scripture, but he will deny the sense that I bring it for. How now? How shall this be tried? Marry by consent of fathers only, and not by others.

—"In reading the Scriptures, be you like a snail which is a goodly figure; for when he feeleth a hard thing against his horns he pulleth them in again. So do you; read Scripture, in God's name; but when you go to matters of controversy, go back again: pull in your horns.

—"I never brought freewill into the pulpit: I would it never had been brought into that place. Luther wrote a very ill book against freewill,* wherein he did very much hurt. But Erasmus answered him very learnedly. So that I cannot be of Luther's opinion therein, but of Erasmus's mind.†

—"They which of long have been exercised in prayer and study, and are aged, cannot easily be ignorant, or err, or be deceived, or be without grace. Now these young men which are of a lower vein, having not the long use of prayer and study, be not men perfect as they seem, nor have such grace.

* De servo arbitrio.

† Surely this is a sufficient reply to the assertion so constantly made by all ecclesiastical writers on these times, that Cheney was a Lutheran.

—"These matters now in controversy are as it were in an equal balance, and may weigh which way they shall as yet.

—"Let them not say, as here of late was preached, that the fathers had their faults, which they had indeed. But let them bring me the consent of the fathers in these matters now in controversy; or otherwise, I shall not yield to them, nor be of their judgment.

—"A question may be asked concerning the young maid and Naaman, whether that a godly man may be at idol-service with his body, his heart being with God, without offence or sin. And because you shall not think that I am of this opinion only, I will bring you Peter Martyr, a learned man, and as famous as ever was in our time being your own doctor. Who saith, a man may be present without offence; whose very words I will read unto you. Which are these: 'Non enim simpliciter et omnibus modis interdictum est piis hominibus ne in fanis præsentes adsint dum profani et execrandi ritus exercentur.' (This is the defence of his own performance of mass in Queen Mary's days; and the apology for his associating with and countenancing the massmongers.)

—"Some among you find great fault with me, and are offended, as I perceive, at my preaching, and you do murmur. I must, out of doubt, call back something that I have preached; for indeed I said that Naaman gave to Gehazi ten thousand suits of apparel, where it was but two suits. That I call back again. Another is, that I said, if any were offended or grieved with anything I should,

preach, he should come friendly to me, and I should reason with him. Among all, a poor man came to me of late, being offended with my preaching, to reason with me. I refused him, and that I call back. But for any other thing that I have preached, I say now as I did then, and so I will do to the end.

—"Good people, I must now depart shortly. Keep, therefore, this lesson with you: believe not, neither follow this city, nor yet 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; but follow you the Catholic and universal consent. For if you go but to the river of Rhine in Germany, and behold the cities how they differ and are at contention among themselves, you will wonder. At Helvetia is one religion, at Wittenberg another, at Strasburg another, and at Geneva is another, so that there were never so many errors in any men's times as are now among us."

To the modern reader of Church theology all this will sound very familiar, and it will sound as strange and novel to one whose readings have been confined to works of Cheney's Protestant cotemporaries; for nothing can be imagined more utterly at variance with their teaching. Had a man been found bold enough to preach or publish such doctrine in King Edward's days, he would have been in imminent danger of Church censures. There was nothing half so offensive in Champneys. This remark sufficiently exposes the impudence of the attempt of the modern abettors of Cheney's opinions, to charge them upon Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, and the rest of the martyrs of the Reformation.

These extracts give a very correct view of the

character of Cheney. He was a ready, clever, plausible man, caring very little for the truth, and only anxious to produce an impression for the moment. His reasoning is below contempt; he sets out with admitting the great superiority of the reformers to the fathers, in their knowledge of the original language of Scripture, and in opening (that is giving the sense of) the sacred text: and who that knows anything of the writings of both would dare to deny it? Yet he immediately infers that therefore the fathers, and not the reformers, are the safer guides on controverted points of faith. If Scripture be the rule of faith, the more natural conclusion would appear to be that the better expositor would be the safer guide. The scheme for interpreting Scripture by consent of fathers is beset with a practical difficulty *in limine*, which its abettors of the present day have done nō more to remove than Bishop Cheney: viz. this consent of fathers is far harder to be obtained than the sense of Scripture. The case, moreover, of the heretic denying your sense of a text, by which the bishop illustrates this consent of fathers for which he contends, is not in point. An appeal, on the part of an orthodox disputant, to the understanding of a third competent person, will settle any question as to the sense of a passage, quite as satisfactorily as the consent of a thousand fathers. We owe the reader an apology for this digression. It certainly seems desirable to explain that Cheney's argument was merely colourable, and that it confuted itself, though it is not as a piece of reasoning that we introduce this extract. It is important in history,

as the first formal annunciation in the reformed Church of England, of the doctrine of the insufficiency of Scripture, which has been the pretence of the Romanizing party at all times.

Cheney was a skilful, experienced courtier. He had timely notice of the complaint of the Bristol aldermen to the Lords of the Council, and took care to be first in the field, with a memorial of his own.—(*Strype*, u. s.) His reputation for Greek learning served him with Lord Burleigh, his powerful Romish friends with the Queen, who had not, at that time, quite abandoned her favourite scheme of alluring the Papists back to the Church again, and probably hoped that Cheney would serve that purpose as a decoy-duck. He was allowed, for these reasons, to escape the consequences of the Bristol complaint. But the events of the two following years so perfectly opened the eyes of Elizabeth to the utter futility of all her schemes for conciliating the Papists, that she no longer opposed the wishes of the primate concerning Cheney. In 1571, therefore, he took the opportunity of Cheney's absence from his place in the convocation assembled that year, solemnly to excommunicate him. He was absolved from the penal consequences, upon the attestation on oath of his chaplain, that he was sick at the time; but he was never restored to the exercise of his episcopal function, which remained in commission until his death in 1578.—(*Strype*, i. c. 52, p. 324, s. &c.)

The connexion which this first apostle and father

of the traditionary faction in the Church of England maintained with Rome, after his assent to the Reformed ritual, is a curious,—and, in the present state of things in the Church, a deeply interesting, question. The existence of such a connexion is as undeniable as it is probable and natural. The traces of it, however, are vague and unsatisfactory. The proof is exactly in that position, in which one would expect to find the evidences of an event which occurred three centuries ago, and the actors in which did all in their power to conceal it. All the direct evidence is gone, but there are collateral circumstances whence we infer its occurrence. Cheney was the intimate friend and familiar companion of all the Catholics of note in his diocese. He was the harbourer of concealed seminary priests, and other foreign agents, who sojourned in this country for treasonable purposes. With one of these especially, Edmund Campian, he was on terms of the closest and most familiar intimacy. They frequently corresponded together: they met constantly at the tables of the Catholic gentry. Campian had been Cheney's pupil. Shortly after the bishop's decease he was apprehended on a charge of high treason, when he suffered a traitor's death. The intimate friend of traitors and conspirators is not, generally, assumed to be either ignorant or innocent of their designs.

Dr. Gabriel Goodman, his successor in the see of Gloucestor, informs us, that Cheney died in the open profession of that Roman Catholic faith, to

which, probably, he had always been in secret an adherent. Strype and other historians attempt to discredit this, on the ground of the non-existence of any documentary evidence of it in the public records. We can only say that, since those days, there have been too many periods in English history, wherein the destruction of such evidence would have been felt desirable by the party in power, to render its non-existence a point worthy of a moment's consideration; much less, then, ought it to weigh against direct testimony to the fact from so high a quarter.

The results of Cheney's teaching were exactly analogous to those that have flowed from the propounding of this scheme of doctrine in modern times. The more conscientious and sincere of his pupils, such as Edmund Campian, turned Romanists to a man (u. s.); those of them whose moral perceptions were less vivid, saw the worldly advantage of remaining externally in communion with the Reformed Church, obtaining, in all human probability, the Papal dispensation to dissimulate their real sentiments. Such was Buckeridge, afterwards tutor to the notorious Laud.

Campian, in his letters to Cheney, invariably speaks of him as a heretic, taunts him with the close approximation of his teaching to that of the one Church, and exhorts him to return to the unity of Rome. This, it is needless to remark, affects in no degree the question as to Cheney's secret connexion with the Holy See. A rash, braggart, noisy, but sincere enthusiast, like Campian, would

scarcely be entrusted with the secrets of the order to which he belonged. The publication, by the Romish Church, of his correspondence with Cheney, after his execution, was probably designed to throw dust into the reader's eyes, so as to prevent him from perceiving the real state of the case. We have already shown, that the Pope had an extensive, secret, and dispensed agency among the Protestants of England at this period; and such being the case, it is in the nature of things impossible, that a man like Cheney should not have had a share in that agency.

In conclusion, the retrograde and Romeward movement, which took place in the Church of England during the reign of Elizabeth, so exactly served the purposes of the Papacy, that we infer it to have been the work of the concealed Papal agency which we know to have existed within her bosom. The evidence, *primâ facie*, that we have been able to collect in support of this conclusion, is now before the reader; it is as follows: Two of the steps of that movement, the assertion of the insufficiency of Scripture, and the low, cold heresy of Pelagius on the freedom of the will, were propounded by Bishop Cheney, the tutor, friend, and associate of Campian the Jesuit, and himself also a professed Papist at his death, in 1568. A third step was taken by Whitgift and Bancroft, some twenty years afterwards; the *jus divinum* of the bishops. We have traced this also indirectly to Rome, through the Puritan Jesuits. Most probably the documents have been destroyed, which would have

demonstrated its parentage directly. The annals of the succeeding reign supply, in fearful abundance, "the apples of Sodom and the grapes of Gomorrah," which the evil plants that sprang from these roots of bitterness produced so soon afterwards.

CHAPTER V.

SEMINARY PRIESTS.

THE seething cauldron of iniquity, which the secret Papal agency in England presented in the times of Elizabeth, cast up abundantly the scum of division, hypocritical profession, and obloquy upon Protestantism. The production of those evils was one important object for which its loathsome ingredients had been compounded. The chief design, however, of this vast and costly brewage was the recovery, permanently and for ever, of England to Rome. The grand compounders of it, the Pope, Philip of Spain, and the ambitious house of Guise, sate watching it for many years, with their eyes fixed with keen impatience upon its heavings and tossings, constantly applying to the smouldering fire of sedition beneath it, the fuel and the blast with unsparing prodigality. For ten long years they persevered in these fruitless vigils. Their first hope, that of the conversion of Elizabeth, seems not to have vanished altogether until about this time—not at least with Philip and the Pope. The house of Guise had doubtless, from the first, another plan for reducing Great Britain to the obedience of the Pope. Its purpose had been to place the united crowns of England and Scotland upon the brows of that most extraordinary of all the heroines of romance, Mary, Queen of Scots. The

crafty advantage taken by Papist and semi-Papist historians and novel-writers of the personal attractions and misfortunes of this unhappy Princess, and the ignorant credulity with which the generality of professedly Protestant authors have implicitly copied them, render it needful to state plainly that, which, otherwise, would, on every account, have been joyfully buried in oblivion by all parties. There is scarcely in the history of the world an instance of a woman born to rule, who so recklessly marred her own prospects, and so wilfully brought misfortunes upon herself, by the indulgence of that propensity, the prominence of which in a female inflicts, of all others, the foulest moral taint upon her character, as Mary, Queen of Scots. We are saved the necessity of going into details, which are far from agreeable to a well-regulated mind, by the circumstance that they are already well known to most English readers. For after all, what is her history, but that of the intrigues and amours of a wanton woman!

The hopes of the house of Guise in Mary were blighted, for a time, by her reckless proceedings in Scotland. It is even possible, that the conspirators were then turning their thoughts to an alliance of some Catholic Potentate with Elizabeth, which would have materially aided the explosion in England, for which they were preparing. The Guisian scheme, however, was suddenly revived, and was, from thenceforth, the object of the entire conspiracy, on the flight of Mary to England, after her expulsion from Scotland by her own subjects, in 1568.

Rome was at this moment exulting in all the

flush and insolence of success over the fearful havoc, which, through the agency of the Jesuits, she had made with the Reformation in Europe. In Spain and Portugal, the few sparks of the true light, which had raised the hopes of the friends of the Reformation, were finally extinguished; the ashes of its professors were scattered to the winds, and one unbroken night of Papal darkness once more shrouded the entire Peninsula. In France, the Reformation was visibly receding through the intrigues of the Jesuits. The tone and temper of the Huguenots had, through the same agency, been grievously secularized; and they had become a mere faction in the State, attempting (but at miserable disadvantage) to fight with their own weapons of diplomacy, the house of Guise and the Jesuits. In Bavaria, in Austria, in Bohemia, in Hungary, in Poland, the same mighty agency for evil had prevailed entirely. The lamp of the Reformation, which but twenty years before had shone so brightly in these countries, was flickering dimly in its socket, and hastening to that extinction which befel it soon afterwards. In North Germany and Switzerland all was confusion: the sons of the Reformation were biting and devouring one another. Bitter animosity had usurped the place of brotherly love, and fierce controversy that of Christian communion. Rome looked on and smiled, for this also was the work of the Jesuits. In the Low Countries, the Reformation had taken the sword, and lay prostrate and bleeding, with the remorseless gripe of the tiger d'Alva at her throat. The contemplation of this series of triumphs seems entirely to have upset the equilibrium of the coun-

cils of the Papacy. The slow process of sapping and mining by secret agents, to which she had hitherto confided the reduction of England to her yoke, was no longer tolerable. "The day" of a general outburst of rebellion against the throne of Elizabeth, of which these agents had so long been boasting, must not wait the tedious process whereby the machinations of the dispensed Jesuits were to bring it about. An effort, a demonstration, something striking and brilliant, must be played off before the eyes of astonished Europe.

The arrival of Mary in England had only the effect of determining the mode of action with the complotters. They had previously resolved upon assuming the offensive against Elizabeth. The Queen's ambassador at Madrid wrote home, in the year preceding, 1567, complaining of the altered tone of that court towards him, and of the slights and insults he received. That year itself was ushered in with rumours of plots and conspiracies among the Papists, at home and abroad, which filled the breasts of the sage councillors about the Queen with anxiety and alarm. The expression of that anxiety of one of the greatest of them (Sir W. Cecil), has happily been preserved among the State papers. It is entitled, "Perils and Remedies," and is dated January, 1569.

PERILS.

"A conspiration of the Pope, King Philip, the French King, and sundry Potentates of Italy, to employ their forces for the suppression of the Gospel.

"The intention of the same formed to be ex-

tended against England, immediately after the subduing of the Prince of Condè and his associates.

"The Spaniard daily avaunts in the Low Countries, within short time to possess this country without any battel.

"The opinion they have conceived of the weakness of this realm, by reason of the lack of experience of the subject in feats of war. And, secondly, for that the Papistical subjects being fled out of the realm, have made books in manner of regular accounting, in every shire and great town of the realm, who be assured to the Roman religion,—making their estimate of more than the best half of noblemen and gentlemen to be theirs.

"The secret collections of money that are made in the realm by procurators of the Papists.

"The evident knowledge had for a truth, that the judges and the lawyers, both the common law and the civil, are in this matter.

"The danger hereof is also the greater, because the wise Papists of England, as well those abroad as those at home, are by former examples taught, if ever the power shall be in their hands, never to suffer any being contrary to them to have power. Remembering what is said in the science military —*Non licet bis in bello peccare.*

"The discovery of a great number of gentlemen lately, in Lancashire, that have, upon persuasion, forborne to come to church, with opinion shortly to enjoy the use of the Popish religion.

"Lastly, to speak as my entire thoughts be, by the examples of Scripture; the long tranquillity which the realm hath enjoyed, the plentiful teaching

of the truth, and the general neglecting thereof, must needs provoke the wrath of God."

REMEDIES.

"The principal is to amend our own lives, and to be thankful for the benefit of the Gospel.

"The second resteth in using those means that God Almighty hath left in this realm, which consisteth in many parts, viz. That the Queen's Majesty unite all her faithful subjects that profess the Gospel sincerely, both to herself, by giving them comfort and credit, and also among themselves, by removing of all partial faction.

"The procuring of some aid secretly for the Prince of Condè, if the French King will refuse to have the Queen a moderator of peace, as presently she hath sent to offer the same, whereof as yet no answer is had: but if it be refused, then is made apparent by themselves, that their intention is to prosecute the subversion of the common cause of religion.

"To view the power of the realm, and to put it in order (and especially the countries on the sea-coast towards Flanders and France) by special commissioners.

"To embrace such leagues as the princes of Almain do offer for the defence of religion."—(*Strype*, vol. i. c. 54, pp. 544, s.)

The history of our beloved country in the years that immediately followed shows how perfectly well founded were the apprehensions of this greatest of statesmen; and that it was only the Divine blessing upon these wise counsels of his, that saved us from

the toils that the bitter enemies of England and of God's truth had laid for us.

Retaining in full activity the vast secret agency, of which we have endeavoured to give some account, the royal complotters saw, that the time had now come for the employment, in England, of agents of a more open and decided character of hostility to the Queen and the Reformation. The measures taken for the preparation of these agents sufficiently demonstrate their steadiness of purpose, and the earnestness of their determination to prevail. In the year 1568 (which it will be recollected was also the year of the landing of Mary in England, and of the first declaration of the radical doctrines of the Anglo-Catholics by Bishop Cheney), the first college for exiled English priests was established at Douay, under the direction of that bold intriguer Cardinal Allen. This was supported, a few years afterwards, by similar establishments at Rome, Madrid, Lisbon, Seville, Valladolid, and many others of the Papist universities of Europe. The union of these seminaries with the order of the Jesuits was effected by Allen at the time of the foundation of Douay. He negotiated it with Mercuriano, then general of the order.—(*Lingard*, vol. viii. p. 171.) So that, from this period, a triple agency in England was worked by the Jesuits for the subversion of Protestantism, and for the reduction of this realm to the obedience of Rome. To the two secret and dispensed orders already in existence, a third band of educated priests, openly professing that character, was now

to be added. The plants raised in these nurseries of sedition proved very thriving and healthy ones. The disastrous consequences of the establishment of the seminaries appear, in the pages of our history, almost immediately upon the foundation of the first of them. It must also be recollected, that these direct agencies were altogether independent of the political movements which the Papacy was at this time originating against England, in all the Catholic courts of Europe, and which were vigorously prosecuting by emissaries who resided in London, some under the guise of accredited envoys or ambassadors, others under the appearance of foreign merchants. Philip of Spain stands equally conspicuous, among the political and the religious intriguers against England, at this terrible crisis. His disbursements in pensions to the disaffected subjects of Elizabeth (Papists) at home and abroad, amounted to 250,000 crowns annually. The names of the traitors, who were receiving this immense sum, were discovered by the indefatigable councillors of the Queen a few years afterwards.*

These were the preparations, the first rumour of which so justly filled the councils of the Queen with alarm. To detail the results would be to write the history of the remainder of Elizabeth's reign. This, however, is now so generally known, that a very brief chronicle of the more prominent of the occurrences of these stirring times will suffice for our purpose.

The year 1568 is noted, not only by the foundation of Douay, but by the arrival in England of two

* U. s. vol. 1.

priests named Morton and Webb, who went among the Catholic gentry of Yorkshire and the northern counties, denouncing Elizabeth, by apostolic authority, as a heretic; and discharging her subjects of their allegiance. They sent to Pope Pius V. so flattering an account of the progress of their mission, that he transmitted to his secular agent in England, Ridolfi, a Florentine merchant, the sum of 150,000 crowns to foment the troubles. A pretence of the adjustment of some trifling mercantile claims of certain Flemish cities was also made, by the Duke d'Alva, a pretext to send over to the court of London the Marquis of Cetona, a skilful diplomatist and experienced soldier. He was also charged with a secret mission, to communicate with certain disaffected parties about the Queen, to promote an outbreak, and, in case of its assuming a formidable front, to take the command of the insurgent army. —(*Camden's Elizabeth*, p. 421.)

These were the machinations which originated the general rising of the Papists of the north of England against the authority and throne of Elizabeth, under the Earl of Northumberland, which signalizes the year 1569. It failed utterly; for the complotters had grievously miscalculated both their own strength in the nation (as Cecil notes) and the Queen's hold on the affections of her subjects. The most melancholy occurrence in the whole transaction was, the implication of the Duke of Norfolk, the pupil and most liberal patron of Foxe the martyrologist, and a confirmed Protestant; which being discovered by the vigilance of the Queen, he ended his life on the scaffold. The lure which

tempted him into the meshes of this diabolical plot was, a marriage with Mary, and the crown of England. The tempter was a vagabond retailer of sedition, styling himself the Bishop of Ross.

Not deterred by the disastrous consequences to the rebels of this first attempt, the Suffolk Papists allowed themselves to be deluded into a similar outbreak; which met with as prompt a suppression in the course of the same year.

In the following year, 1570, another conspiracy was discovered against the Queen, headed by Leonard Dacre,—fomented, like the former, by the Pope's agents, and to aid which he sent, for their disposal, to a London merchant 14,000 crowns.

In the course of the same year, Pope Pius V. brings to an issue the ridiculous farce of the prosecution of Elizabeth of England, as an usurper and heretic, in the Papal courts. He, of course, obtained the sentence of deprivation of her pretended right (as they phrased it) which he wanted; whereupon he forthwith thunders forth as disgracefully scurrilous a bull as any that defiles the Bullarium Magnum Romanum,—solemnly excommunicating Elizabeth, and absolving her subjects from their allegiance to her. This document, a desperado named Felton had the audacity to affix to the gate of London House, for which offence he underwent the penalty of high-treason he so richly deserved.

The annals of the year likewise complain of infamous scrolls and bills—libelling the Queen, her council, and the Protestant nobles, most scandalously—thrown about in every part of England by the agents of the Pope.

The Queen and her councillors were now fully alive to the danger of their position; and their prudence, energy, and vigilance kept in check the proceedings of the agents of the conspiracy in England during the following year 1571. But the intrigues abroad afforded ample employment for the resources of the league. While the French court was interceding with Elizabeth for the liberation of Mary, that artful lady was herself negotiating with Spain, through d'Alva, for the surrender of her young son James into the hands of his master, the implacable Philip. The truth of this was admitted by the King of France, when it was mentioned by the English ambassador.

About the time of this discovery, a large sum of money was seized upon the person of Viracque the French ambassador, which he admitted was to be applied to foment another rebellion among the English Papists.*

The next event of the year was the seizure of Seton (Mary's ambassador to Spain, and her zealous partizan), with his ship at Harwich. In confirmation of the suspicions of the court, letters were found upon him, written from Mary to Philip, and making proposals most dangerous to the tranquillity of the realm. The Spanish ambassador

* Strype, "Annals," vol. ii. c. 5, p. 50. He mentions, on the same page, that it is to Camden the historian, that the character of Mary of Scotland is indebted for the rich tint of romantic interest which has misled so many of his successors. Camden wrote in the days of King James, her son, and found his interest at court most materially served, by making the best of the memory of his sovereign's mother.

was so deeply implicated in these treasonable proceedings, that both he and the French ambassador were summarily sent out of England.*

A Papist rebellion in Ireland, just about to chip the shell, and hatched by the same agency, was also discovered this year by Mr. Secretary Walsingham, and happily crushed before it burst forth.

The same indefatigable statesman also detected a secret alliance, offensive and defensive, between France and Spain, for the subjugation of England, in the course of the same year.†

The annals of the seven years that follow are interspersed in every part with the alarms of the Queen, her councillors, and the entire people of England, from the murderous plots of the Papists. Elizabeth, urged incessantly by her council to institute proceedings against Mary, steadily refused, with many expressions of regret, that the ceaseless intrigues of her relative defeated her kind intentions towards her. Year by year, Mary's implication with the plots of the grand conspirators became deeper; and new discoveries of treachery increased the fears of the Queen's councillors, and their urgency upon her for more stringent measures against Mary, to which Elizabeth consented with manifest reluctance, notwithstanding all the slanders that have been vented against her.

The irritation and alarm of the entire body of the people were also kept alive during this period, by the occasional discovery of Papist plots of the most diabolical character. At one time the house of Guise proposed to Elizabeth a marriage with

* U. s. p. 52. † U. s. p. 61.

the Duc d'Alençon, a boy of seventeen. The Queen not at once giving a decided negative, she was invited to visit France, for the purpose of a conference with the French King. Walsingham, at that time in France, was alarmed at this; and, by dint of his vigilance and sagacity, unravelled a deep-laid scheme of the Queen Mother's, for getting possession of the person of Elizabeth immediately on her landing. Timely notice was of course transmitted home to his royal mistress.—(U. s. p. 161.) Two years afterwards (1574) an Italian was detected in an attempt to poison the Lord Treasurer Burleigh. He was ascertained to be an emissary from the Pope, who had promised him a reward of 6,000 crowns.—(Id. 334.) The feeling which a constant series of attempts like these would naturally excite in the public mind may be easily imagined.

The English Papists conducted themselves during the period we are considering with the most irritating insolence, and with the basest disloyalty. They withdrew themselves altogether from the parish churches, which they had attended in the beginning of the reign. So confident were they of the success of the plot, that they talked of little else but "the day." They longed for "the day," they prayed for "the day," they vaunted, they prophesied the near approach of "the day," when a simultaneous rising of all the English Papists should give the signal to the sanguinary d'Alva to cross the seas, and to pour into the southern counties his remorseless hordes of disciplined cut-throats, the very parchment of whose drums was

the skins of the murdered Huguenots: and when the knife of every true Papist should find its sheath in the throat of his Protestant neighbour.* Many of the Catholic gentry had been intrusted with the commission of the peace, and flagrant abuses of the power confided to them is of not unfrequent occurrence in the annals of the times. The wives and families of the married clergy were often grossly insulted. In remote places, the Protestant laity, and even the clergy, underwent persecution and imprisonments from the Papist justices of the peace, who took upon themselves to enforce the abolished statutes of the preceding reigns. Nor did these outward indecencies content them. The continual stream of Jesuits, seminarists, assassins, plotters of every name and character, with which the great Papal league succeeded in well-nigh deluging England, during the period we are con-

* See a poem entitled "A Friendly Larum," by John Philip, 1570.

"And here they (the Papists) prie, and then they spie,
Their equals forth to find,
And oft in Paules they parley forth,
Their spiteful canker'd mind.

"Yea, still they talke of newes,
And then their mindes they say;
But partinge then '*Adew*' saith one,
'*Unto the golden day.*'"

Again—

"Let all that love thy Testament
With harts unfayned praie,
That never more in England here
The Pope have *golden day.*"

From "Select Poetry of the Reign of Elizabeth," published by the Parker Society, vol. ii. p. 525 sq.

sidering, was infused so subtilely and imperceptibly, as well nigh to elude the incessant vigilance of the government, mainly through the active instrumentality of the English Catholics. It must be remembered, that, at this time, the fires of Smithfield had scarcely been extinguished twenty years; that Elizabeth, in the beginning of her reign, had given just cause of offence and alarm to her Protestant subjects, by the lengths to which she was disposed to go in the way of religious concession for the purpose of reconciling the English Catholics; and that, even now, she had many professed Papists about her person, to whom she had permitted the exercise, in private, of the rites of their religion, though toleration was unknown in her days. When these things are considered, it is evident enough, that the Queen and her people had perfectly reasonable grounds for the constant alarm they expressed as to the plots of the Papists; and that the very severe and stringent enactments against the Popish recusants, made during this period, were the mere precautionary measures to which any well-ordered government must have resorted for the protection of its subjects. Under God, nothing but the most vigorous proceedings could have saved England from the terrible fate with which the Papal league was threatening her. In religion, she was to have been made a state of the Church; in politics, a Spanish province or colony. So studiously is this obvious fact concealed by the writers who now monopolize this portion of our history, that it seems very important to state it thus fully and plainly.

The results of the great efforts of the Papal

league, in 1569, had evidently disappointed the expectations of the conspirators; but their ill-success does not appear to have damped their determination to prosecute their purpose. The failure of the rising in the North, and of the Papal bull of excommunication, had shown them that "the pear was not ripe"—to adopt a phrase of modern diplomacy. The movements which kept the government in constant alarm during the ten succeeding years, were merely the faint indications of the widely-extended means they were secretly employing to force it to ripeness.

In the year 1580, or thereabout, the conspirators judged, that their machinations had at length succeeded, and that the time was arrived for another grand effort against Elizabeth and Protestantism in England. This fact is but too plainly written, and in characters of blood, in the annals of this and the succeeding years. On mustering and reviewing their forces previously to this attack, they must have felt, that they took the field far better prepared, and under auspices far more favourable than on the former occasion. The secret agency of the dispensed Jesuits had done wonders in splitting into hostile factions the lovers of God's truth in England; and their regular brethren were pointing to this work of their own order here, as well as on the continent, with fiendish exultation; and shouting, to the extent of their voices, to astonished and believing Europe, "Behold the fruits of Protestantism." The order itself, now largely increased in numbers, wealth, and importance, was pledged to the extent of its immense

resources for the recovery of England. The English seminaries (splendidly supported by the English Catholics) were theirs. Five of these were already established, and the number of them was increasing continually. The professors of these seminaries were the most eminent men that the order afforded: so they had already acquired a high and deserved character as seats of learning, and were the resorts for education of nearly the whole of the younger branches of the Catholic nobility and gentry of England; for secular as well as clerical studies were pursued by the students. The clerical students at these seminaries were all candidates for the English Mission. They consisted mainly of English refugees for religion, not, however, without a sprinkling of ardent enthusiastic dupes of other countries, who, lured by the prospect of the crown of martyrdom, offered themselves voluntarily to share the perils and the glories of the enterprize. For the worldly-wise and crafty rulers of the order knew well the value and importance of the religious fanaticism which had inspired their founder, and were profoundly skilled in the arts of exciting and directing it in their pupils. Trained from early youth to the implicit unhesitating submission of the understanding and conscience in all things to the will of the superior, their *alumni* cared for no dogmas in religion, save those parts of the Romish system which are controverted by Protestants; and acknowledged no religious duties, save those of stirring up the English Papists to rebellion, and the reduction of England to the obedience of the Papacy. Many

of the seminarists had found their way to England already; a still larger body was now at the disposal of the conspirators.

Another important change in favour of the complotters, was the entire secession of the English Catholics from the Church, and their formation into a distinct schism. This work had been only imperfectly begun by Harding, Sanders, and Morton, at the period of the former movement. It afforded the best of all possible pretexts to the conspirators for pouring in the seminarists and other agents, under the guise of officiating priests. It also gave a compactness and solidity to the Papistical party in England, and an unity to its movements, the want of which had materially contributed to the failure of the rising in the North.

In addition to the seminarists, another class of secret agents was now in the hands of the complotters. These were the Stukeleys, the Parries, and a host of others; English Papists, whom the severities of the government had driven forth to Paris or Madrid. Men, desperate in fortune and in character, whom Philip kept on small pensions, chewing the cud of bitter hatred against the Queen, and ready alike to deceive her ministers with false information, under the pretence of acting as spies, and to undertake her assassination. There was no lack of willing agents for any work, however mean, or however wicked, which might be required.

In addition to these circumstances, the position both of France and Spain had materially improved, in the ten years that had elapsed since the last great

effort against England. By the fearful tragedy of the night of St. Bartholomew, in the year 1572, the house of Guise had rid itself of all apprehensions from Protestantism in France, and was at liberty to aid in the suppression of the truth in other countries. The cruelties of the Duke d'Alva seemed to have been equally successful in the Low Countries; and the arms of Spain also were now far more at liberty to vindicate the supremacy of Rome in foreign parts, than at the time of the former effort. The cloud, therefore, with which its failure had overshadowed the bright anticipations of the conspirators, had altogether passed away, and they went forth to the conflict, as buoyant as ever with insolence and confidence of success.

A very brief record of the well-known occurrences in English history which followed the efforts of the conspirators (more to refresh the memory of the reader than to detail that with which he was before unacquainted) is all that is needful for our purpose, in this part of our subject.

In July, 1579, James Fitzmaurice, Earl of Desmond, landed at Smerwick, in the county of Kerry, in Ireland, having in his train two Jesuits named Sanders and Allen. This profligate noble had been plotting on the continent with Philip and the Pope for the dethronement of Elizabeth, who, but eighteen months before, had restored to him his forfeited estates.* The Pope Gregory XIII. had an illegitimate son, whom Desmond (at the suggestion of Stukeley, a most profligate Papist runagate) proposed to make King of Ireland. Philip

* Strype, "Annals," vol. ii. p. 538 s.

was to be King of England. So extremely palatable were these proposals to both potentates, especially to the sovereign pontiff, who, as Bishop Carleton quaintly observes, was "zealous not to win souls to Christ, but to win kingdoms to his bastards,"* that the wish became father to the thought; and, assuming Desmond and Stukeley to be as well able to conquer England and Ireland as they hoped them to be, they supplied them with 5,000 stand of arms, a rich military chest, and 700 Spanish and Italian soldiers, under the command of San Giuseppe, an experienced Italian officer. The whole of this force was landed at Smerwick, soon after the arrival of Desmond and the priests. Stukeley had perished in the mad expedition to Morocco, undertaken by Sebastian of Portugal. The invaders built a fort in which they maintained themselves for many months, giving to Sanders abundant opportunity of scattering in all directions the most violent and scurrilous appeals to the Irish Papists, to flock to the Papal standard, and join the holy war. His appeals, however, fell upon deaf and inattentive ears. Scarcely the shadow of an insurrection arose at his call. The fort was surrounded by the Queen's troops, the garrison surrendered at discretion, and every soul was put to the sword. Desmond and Sanders escaped in the confusion, only to die miserably in the mountains, of want and disappointment.—(*Camden*, p. 475.)

The same year, 1580, and almost in the very month in which the collision of the Queen's troops with Desmond's forces was filling the minds of

* "Thankful Remembrance," p. 37.

English Protestants with dismay and indignation, notice was received by government of the preparation of a new mission to England, to consist of avowed and long-robed Jesuits. This intelligence would have been alarming at any time; for the well-founded dread of that insidious order had already possessed the public mind: but, at such a moment as this, the consternation which it spread, through all ranks of society, can scarcely be described. The strictest vigilance was enjoined upon the officers of all the ports in the kingdom, to be exercised over all persons coming from abroad. Minute descriptions of the persons of all those who were known to be in the dreaded expedition were printed, and sent to them, accompanied by the engraved likenesses of Campian and Persons, the commanders. Every other precaution that prudence could suggest was also taken, in order, if possible, to prevent this cargo of combustibles from being landed, or to deprive it of its powers of mischief, should it elude their vigilance. The Jesuits, however, have always been admirable contrabandists; they are too well versed in the depths and subtleties of dialectics, to have any difficulty in dealing with mere custom-house officers. The cargo was *run* in in gallant style, and twelve trained emissaries of sedition, consisting of nine priests and three laymen, were landed, almost without an hindrance, at Dover and elsewhere. The issue of the adventure is not important. We have given to Campian full as much space as he deserves in another place. Persons only escaped his fate by flight. What became of the rest does not clearly appear. His Holiness

sent, by one section of this mission, a message to the English Catholics,—requesting them to be cautious in their sedition, and to admit the Queen's right to the throne for the present, until the convenient season should arrive for calling it in question. "Their words were smoother than oil; but the poison of asps was under their lips." For, while this white and well-whipt froth was vented by Campian and the part of the mission associated with him, Persons and his associates held forth in a very different strain. The discourses of *these* divines to the English Catholics treated only of "guns, pistols, blunderbusses, drums, and thunder;" their pens and their tongues teemed with schemes for the overthrow of the government; they could not remain in any man's house, but straightway a plot must be hatched to murder and dethrone the Queen. Now it is somewhat adroit in the modern Roman apologists for the order, to ascribe this striking variation in the teachings of the two sections of the mission, to the very different natural dispositions of Campian and Persons; and it is amiably confiding and simple-hearted in Protestant historians to follow them herein. Notwithstanding, it may probably appear to the reader, from that which we have laid before him concerning the grand principles of Jesuitism, and even still more from the events that followed in England immediately afterwards, that both were prepared and dispensed for the parts they acted by the subtle complotters who had sent them. The doctrine of Campian would be acceptable enough to the staid and sober majority of the English Papists, who having par-

ticipated, with the rest of Elizabeth's subjects, in the prosperity that flowed from her quiet but vigorous Government, were by no means disposed to any sudden change. That of Persons would be equally acceptable to the spendthrift and characterless minority, upon which the immediate hopes of the conspirators were principally fixed.

The necessity of further enactments against the Papists has been sufficiently vindicated by the circumstances we have detailed; but the laws against recusants, which were passed in consequence by the English Parliament, in 1581, admit of no defence. Cruel, clumsy, and ineffective,—the work of a semi-barbarous age, intent rather upon vengeance on the offender than the prevention of crime, these absurd acts may be left, without any prejudice to the cause of truth, to the tender mercies of their Papist and semi-Papist revilers. All other questions were certainly legislated upon in precisely the same way, in these harsh times. The Acts against recusancy were also the natural expression of the terror, which possessed the entire community, at the designs of the Papacy. They likewise did their part (concurrently with many other causes) in rescuing the independence of England from the dark designs of Philip of Spain and the Pope. If such considerations palliate at all the tone of these enactments, let them go for what they are worth.

The annals of England, for the year 1582, are full of the seizures and examinations of Jesuits and their devotees. In almost every single case, the reality of some design against the life of the

Queen and the independence of England, was made to appear, as well as the implication of numbers of the English Papists. So obvious was this, that the justice and necessity of the strong measures taken by Government against the Catholics were fully admitted by a contemporary, who was one of themselves.*

In this year also, the regicidal principle was finely illustrated, in the Low Countries, by the assassination of William the Silent, Prince of Orange, the liberator of Holland. Balthazar Gerard, the murderer, was a Jesuit,—hired to perpetrate the crime by Philip of Spain, and dispensed beforehand for the sin of its perpetration by the Pope. He died under unheard-of torments, exulting in the service he had done to the Church, and glorying in the bright reward that awaited him in heaven. The effect which the news of this barbarous deed produced upon the public mind in England, already distracted with so many well-grounded apprehensions from the same quarter, may be easily imagined.

The succeeding year, 1583, is signalized by the first detected attempt to exemplify the regicidal principle on the person of Elizabeth. Somerville, a furious half-witted Roman Catholic gentleman of Warwickshire, and his father-in-law, Arden, were entrapped by a seminarist named Hall, into a scheme to murder the Queen. It was defeated through the rashness of Somerville, and all the parties were arrested. Hall saved himself, by turning evidence against the other two. Somerville committed sui-

* Sir Richard Shelley ; Strype, vol. iii. pp. 127 to 133.

cide in the Tower immediately after the trial. Arden was executed as a traitor.—(*Camden*, 494, *seq.*)

The imprisonment of recusants, the seizure and destruction of seditious books, and the terrors of the Queen, her ministers, and her people, at the designs of the Papists, well-nigh make up the annals of the year.—(*Strype, Ann.* iii. 177, *seq.*)

The succeeding year is ushered in by the still increasing apprehensions of the Queen and the country. The conduct of the Spanish Court was now difficult to understand, and occasioned the utmost uneasiness to the advisers of the Crown.* The events of the year show abundantly, that these apprehensions were perfectly well-founded. Francis Throgmorton, a desperado of broken fortunes, was detected as the agent in an extensive conspiracy to dethrone Elizabeth, to which Mary of Scotland and the Kings of France and Spain were the parties. The centre of the plot in England was Don Bernardo de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, who was known to be a short-robed Jesuit. The unwearied vigilance of Government had detected this plot at its very commencement, and it was allowed to proceed until the evidence against the guilty agents was sufficiently clear. Throgmorton was hung, and Mendoza expelled the kingdom.

A very few weeks afterwards, by one of those special providences whereby the whole of the Divine dealings with our unworthy country was distinguished, the vessel in which a Scotch Jesuit, named Crighton, was returning from London to

* U. s. 210.

his native country, was boarded by a Dutch privateer. Crighton tore up a paper immediately and threw the fragments overboard. By the merest accident, one of the torn pieces blew back again into the ship or fell into a boat belonging to the privateer. It was picked up by one of the crew and given to the commander, Sir William Waad, who, on reading it, immediately ordered the rest of the fragments to be collected. On putting them together again, they proved to be a plan for raising a rebellion in England, to be aided by a Spanish force from the Low Countries. The document was written in Italian. In consequence Waad steered directly for the mouth of the Thames, and on his arrival in England delivered up to Government Crighton, Abdy, his associate, and the evidence against them, which he had so strangely discovered.—(*Camden*, 499.)

The disclosures made by Crighton in the Tower were of so alarming a nature, that a voluntary Association was formed among the Queen's subjects of all ranks, for the protection of her valuable life; each associate binding himself by oath, to punish with death, if possible, every attempt to assassinate her, successful or unsuccessful; and also to exclude from the Throne any pretender to it by whom such an attempt should be authorized. —(*Camden*, u. s.)

In the year 1585 another profligate of the name of Parry underwent a traitor's death for having, by his own confession, bound himself, by solemn oath before the Pope, to assassinate Queen Elizabeth.—(*Strype*, iii. 236, &c.) So imminent was

the danger now become, that the inhabitants of the south coast were required to keep watch and ward, day and night, along the whole sea-board, in order to exercise a strict scrutiny over all persons entering the realm. Government had at this time certain information that great mischief was designing. They had also intelligence, that shoals of Jesuits, seminarists, and other incendiaries, were pouring into England from the various spawning beds of sedition on the Continent. The system of espionage of the English Government was now complete. Young men were sent as students to all the seminaries, and to the principal houses of the Jesuits; and from them regular accounts were transmitted home of all the proceedings in these establishments relative to England.—(*Strype*, iii. 306—318. *Lingard*, vol. viii. p. 205.) It was upon this full and exact information that the Government, acting upon the humane suggestion and wish of the Queen, adopted the expedient of deporting, at the public expence, to France those of the recusants whom they knew to be listening to the traitorous suggestions of the agents of the conspiracy. It was the same accuracy of knowledge of the movements of the enemy, that enabled them to watch and defeat the infamous conspiracy of Babington to assassinate the Queen, for which he and fourteen others underwent the utmost penalty of the law in the course of the following year, Sept. 1586.—(*Camden*, 518.)

The connexion of the Queen of Scots with this most nefarious plot was proved clearly and unanswerably. This had the obvious effect of once

more rousing the swollen tide of the public indignation, and the roar of its huge billows gave fearful presage of the vengeance that so soon followed. Elizabeth always wished to save Mary. No one who goes into the history of these times, as they appear in the records of them, can possibly doubt this. It was Elizabeth that saved her for years from the axe of the executioner, against the advice and entreaties of all her councillors, and the clamorous importunities of her people of all ranks. Even when the undeniable proofs of Mary's implication in the murderous scheme of Babington were before her and her people, the visible reluctance with which she yielded to that tide of public feeling which she could stem no longer, has been construed into art and duplicity by the enemies of her and her opinions, who are now unhappily almost the only students of this part of our history, and the only expositors of it.

The well-known story of Mary's trial and execution, which took place early in the following year (1587), we only notice to point out the surely unmerited obloquy that has been cast upon the memory of Elizabeth in connexion with it. We ask any impartial person, is it not just as likely, that the occasional half-assents which she gave to the procedure of the trial were wrung from her by importunity, and by the natural fear of assassination which Mary's correspondence with Babington must have forced upon her, as that they were the expression of her real but closely dissimulated wishes on the subject? Or again, could Elizabeth have given a better evidence of the great hesitation

with which she consented to sign the warrant of execution, than the strict charge she gave to Davidson not to part with it afterwards without her order, and the extreme severity with which she visited his disobedience in this particular,—extending the expression of her high displeasure even to the venerable Burleigh, on whose suggestion Davidson had acted? We grant that, throughout the transaction, her conduct was womanly, capricious, and even tyrannical. We also grant, that the juridical and State proceedings of those days will not at all stand the test of the far wiser and better maxims of Government, which the experience of three centuries has taught us. But we feel it to be only justice to the memory of one of our greatest monarchs, to vindicate Elizabeth from the charge of duplicity in her expressions of reluctance to proceed against Mary.

The fate of this unhappy Queen was precipitated by the reckless violence of her friends. Just at the conclusion of her trial, L'Aubespine, the French ambassador, a fierce partizan of the house of Guise, was detected in an intrigue with an English traitor for the assassination of Elizabeth.—(*Camden*, 532.) This discovery of course had the effect of fearfully aggravating the headlong fury with which the current of popular feeling set in against poor Mary.

The justice of the terrible apprehensions, which had so long haunted the people of England, was at length vindicated. The secrecy and mystery, in which the proceedings of this foul conspiracy had been veiled hitherto, were now deemed no longer

needful; and, from the very commencement of the year 1587, it became perfectly evident, that the bloodthirsty tiger of Spain was rousing himself in his lair, and collecting his energies for the deadly spring. The ministers of the Queen perceived the danger, and were not slow to prepare at all points to meet it. Their preparations, indeed, date their commencement many years earlier; for all the efforts of Philip to conceal his designs from them had proved unsuccessful. This foresight had the happy effect of giving the nation time to recover the panic of the first intelligence, and return to its propriety; so that England arose and went forth to this terrible conflict with the dignified and cool composure, which so often proves the happy presage of success. The sailing of the Spanish Armada, 1588, fully justified all the fears and precautions of Elizabeth's government. The fortunes of this mighty enterprise, from its first weighing anchor to its utter destruction, are familiar as household words to every educated Englishman. Our beloved country was wonderfully delivered in that day. There is scarcely, in the history of any nation, an instance of success, so far beyond the means employed to procure it. The whole action is best comprehended in the text which Elizabeth so properly made the motto of the medal she struck to commemorate the defeat of the Armada—"Afflavit Deus et dissipati sunt."

All direct efforts to force the political and spiritual domination of Romanism upon England seem to have ceased from the period of this memorable event. The complotters were too well versed in

the progress of events, not to perceive the utter folly of continuing these costly exertions, which so evidently would only issue in new disappointments. Their own ends were frustrated, but they served their master well; for the working of their ambitious schemes afforded to the Jesuits the opportunity of inoculating England with false principles, the effects of which we suffer even now.

The regicidal principle was too rank a poison to do extensive mischief in a country where so sound a tone of moral feeling prevails as in England. It was soon afterwards wrought to an imposthume, and discharged, in the terrible Gunpowder Plot of 1605. The far subtler infusion of false doctrine,—the lessons of the insufficiency of Scripture, and the necessity of tradition to its right comprehension, had mingled with the heart's blood, and taints to this day the very sources of thought among us. The sad history of the working of this venomous infection in the Church, and the powerful aids afforded to its operation by the concealed agents of the order of the Jesuits, are the subjects which will next demand our attention.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LAUDIANS. PART I.

THE designs of the Papistry for the subversion of Protestantism in England were continued throughout the reigns of the successors of Elizabeth, James I., and his ill-fated son Charles; but the mode of attack was altogether different. The days of the seminarists were over. Insurrections and plots against the life of the Sovereign were no longer practicable or available for the service of Rome; and the Gunpowder Treason seems to have been the last attempt that was made in England to illustrate the regicidal principle of the Jesuits. The truth is, the times were changed; and the Holy Fathers of the Society of Jesus were quick to perceive it, and to adapt their devices to the times.

So far as their secret proceedings are traceable in history, the regular Jesuits occupied themselves in these days principally with court intrigues, for which there was then far more scope than in Elizabeth's reign; while their dispensed brethren were most powerfully co-operating with them, through the ambitious and dangerous faction in the Church, whose small beginnings with Cheney and others of the dispensed, in the former reign, have been already amply explained.

The tale is long and sad, and it is by no means

necessary for us to go into all the well-known particulars of it. Our object is rather to dwell upon some of its more remarkable features, in order to furnish the reader with the evidence of the existence and workings of that plot of the Jesuits for the re-establishment of Popery, which, as we shall be able to demonstrate, is the true solution of many difficulties in this, as well as in the preceding period of our history.

There is one preliminary point upon which it is needful for us to enter. The literature of England in the reigns we are about to consider was altogether in the hands of the Jesuits, their agents, or their dupes. The Protestants of England, or, as they were then pretty generally called, the Puritans, had strangely forgotten both the early history of the Reformation and the often-expressed conviction of Luther, the great father of it, as to the absolute necessity of secular learning to the champions of Scripture truth against the Papal Antichrist. In their zeal against the dissolute and almost Heathen spirit of the literature of the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, (introduced with the works of the Italian writers of the preceding age,) they were betrayed into the illogical blunder of arguing from abuse to disuse, and of teaching as a Christian duty the entire eschewing of all intellectual pursuits, save those which bore immediately and directly upon theology. So that they had not the power of appreciating the wonderful advance in terseness, vigour, freedom of expression, and everything which distinguishes the language of the civilized man from that of the semi-savage, which

our English had made during the long, peaceful, and prosperous reign of Elizabeth. Their readings in their own tongue were closely confined to the hard, stiff, jarring periods of Tindall and his contemporaries; or, still worse, to bald, jejune translations from the works of German and Dutch divines; or, worst of all, to the abortive attempts of those divines themselves to write English.* The consequence was, that the English of the Puritans of these times was a strange, uncouth, vulgar dialect, utterly different from that ordinarily in use for intellectual purposes. Yet, when their opponents applied to their solecisms the ridicule they so justly deserved, they had the fatuity to glory in this shame as "the reproach of Christ," thereby throwing the entire literature of England, with all its influence, into the hands of the enemies of Gospel truth.

This is the reason that, for the first forty years of the seventeenth century, we only know his-

* See, for example, the volume published by the "Calvin Translation Society," which professes to be a translation into English of Calvin's Commentary upon the Romans, "by Chris. Roys'dell (*quasi* Ruisdal), preacher." He was the pastor of a congregation of Dutch refugees. His work was first published in 1583. It is hard to say whether his ignorance of Latin or English is most to be deplored in it. The editor of the present reprint has done his duty so admirably, that it is only to be regretted that the volume did not consist of a re-translation by himself of this invaluable compendium of divinity. [Much to the credit of this Society the hint contained in this note has been adopted by them, and they are now publishing new translations of the works of Calvin.]

torically so much of the history of Protestantism in England, as its opponents, open or concealed, have thought fit to tell us, which is little enough; but two facts are disclosed concerning it, both very important to our present inquiry. The one is, that the apprehensions of a conspiracy on the part of the Jesuits, forcibly to re-establish Popery in England had not at all subsided; the other is, that the proceedings of Laud and his school were uniformly regarded by all Protestants, both here and on the Continent, as a part of that conspiracy.

The order of events requires us to notice the proceedings of the traditive party in the Church. These, the overmastery of one insolent and tyrannical spirit has converted into a mere biography.

William Laud was the son of a clothier at Reading, in Berkshire. He was frequently twitted by his opponents in after life with his low origin, nor was it possible to forget it, for, though a dexterous courtier, he was an essentially vulgar man. His early life was of little importance. He appears at Oxford in 1589 as the pupil of Buckeridge, a name with which we are already made acquainted as a prominent supporter of the sect of the Church-of-England Jesuits, of which Cheney and Campian seem to have been the founders. It was, therefore, the same cause in which both were engaged; for the heads of the movement in both epochs are thus connected by the visible link of tutor and pupils.

At what particular time or on what account our Britain's Solomon (as that most absurd of monarchs

James I. delighted to be called) was first duped by this party, it is no easy matter to determine. On his accession he found, as we have seen, much irritation on the subject of religion, connected on the one hand with the apprehensions of Papist plots, and on the other with the dispute with the Puritans. Bancroft, also, was Primate at that time, an austere man to his polemical opponents, but a good courtier, whom the controversy with the Puritans had more than half converted to the dogmas of Cheney and his disciples, though it can scarcely be supposed that he was one of the dispensed. His influence and patronage, however, went that way, which of course had the effect of keeping together a considerable party at Court.* It seems probable, also, that the ridiculous farces which it was the will and pleasure of our Solomon should be enacted from time to time at Hampton-court, under the names of conferences, controversies, and special sermons, were taken large advantage of by these adroit, well-practised courtiers. It is almost needless to explain that the two first of these were theological tournaments, in which an equal number of divines of the Episcopalian and Presbyterian persuasions were pitted against each other in controversy, Solomon himself sitting as umpire; and that the last were sermons preached by Episcopalian divines chosen by the King, before lay Presbyterians of rank, for the purpose of convincing them of their error. It was upon

* Montague was appointed Dean of the Chapel Royal, and Andrewes made Bishop of Lincoln immediately on James's accession.—(*Heylin. Cypr. Ang.* p. 158.)

one of these latter occasions that Buckeridge made his debut at court. He was appointed by the King one of four divines who were to preach as many sermons successively to certain of the Scotch nobility who were then with his Majesty. The King's object failed entirely: the Scots returned home disgusted with this wretched exhibition of pedantic violence; but that of the reverend divines was as completely answered, for, saith the historian, "whatsoever they lost in the opinion of that proud and refractory generation, they gained exceedingly on the King, and great preferment for themselves. Bishop Andrewes being not long after removed to the see of Ely, Bishop Barlow unto that of Lincoln, Dr. King preferred to the see of London, and Dr. Buckeridge to that of Rochester."—(*Heylin. Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 43.)

The character of these fruitful sermons might almost have been surmised. They were a mixture of coarse invective against the opinions of these unhappy victims of homiletic persecution, and of gross flattery of the King, seasoned up to the taste of the Royal pedant, with long quotations from the Fathers, and the classics, and the Hebrew Bible, and the Greek Testament, and the German Reformers, and the Romanist divines. The object of the reverend preachers, in introducing them, being not the application and use of learning, but the display of it. It was thus that Buckeridge wormed his way up to court favour and the episcopal bench. We find three of his compeers in the faction busily plying the same arts with the same success; and therefore we conclude, that this

was the process whereby the higher offices of the Church were, in the course of James's reign, placed entirely in the hands of the dispensed Jesuits.

It is now time to return to Laud. The seed of Buckeridge's doctrines fell upon a soil perfectly congenial to its growth. A sanguine temperament, a harsh, tyrannical, overbearing, disposition, and an insatiable lust for preferment, were Laud's chief characteristics; and minds of this cast will generally be found greedily to embrace arbitrary doctrines, in the evident hope of one day wielding the power they so zealously claim for their superiors. Laud's quick apprehension of the theological peculiarities of his tutor, was the means of confirming him in his especial favour, and led to large expectations in the entire party from his future progress. His zeal, however, outran his discretion, for Oxford was at that time (1600) perfectly sound in the Protestant faith. The voice of the blood of Cranmer and Ridley and Latimer was yet heard crying from the ground, and therefore the blessed truths, to seal which that blood had been shed, were yet believed, and loved, and taught in her schools and chairs of divinity. St. John's, under the Mastership of Buckeridge, being the hiding-place where a few of the dispensed concealed themselves, and there contrived the deep-laid schemes, one of the earliest issues of which was, his own elevation to the episcopal bench. Laud's first public exercise before the University, was in the year 1604, on the occasion of his taking the degree of B.D. As he had at that time some reputation for oratory, it is very probable that this

occasion was pitched upon by the conspirators, as a convenient one for a first public demonstration. Probably the subjects of Laud's first address to the University were also pointed out to him by the heads of his college; they display far more of sagacity and worldly wisdom than he had then attained, and are worthy of the well-practised disciples of Loyola, under whose tutelage he was in training. They were, 1st, the necessity of baptism; 2d, that there can be no true Church without diocesan bishops. In the handling, however, of these well-chosen subjects he was guilty of the strange indiscretion of treating the University with the mere repetition, *verbatim*, of the two chapters on these points of Cardinal Bellarmine's great work in defence of Popery. This, of course, was very soon detected by so learned a body as the University of Oxford, and a very inconvenient exposure it proved, both of the pretensions of this supposed prodigy of ecclesiastical learning, and of the real nature of the theological studies at St. John's. —(*Cypr. Angl.* p. 49.)

A very considerable excitement arose at Oxford out of this affair, and the suspicion that Laud was a concealed Papist, which had long been entertained, was of course greatly strengthened by it. He was a marked man in the University, and much avoided by the members of other colleges on account of his brutal, overbearing manners, as well as his opinions; but he had exhibited qualities which were far too important to the complotters to allow them, for a single blunder, to throw him overboard. His bitter hatred of Gospel truth, and

of those who maintained it, his ready flow of words, and his dauntless impudence, were all likely to be called into exercise, and to serve their purpose greatly in the attack upon Protestantism in England, for which they were then preparing themselves. He was, for appearance' sake withdrawn somewhat for the present from public notice, but the party let go neither their hold on him nor their hopes of him.

The next memorable event in the life of Laud illustrates a trait in his character which has been little noticed by his opponents, and which his friends and admirers of all periods are glad to keep out of sight. In the year 1605, he was made chaplain to the Earl of Devonshire, the Lieutenant of Ireland, a brave soldier, but a very profligate man, who was then living in open adultery with the wife of Robert, Lord Rich. The illicit connexion had been carried on for some time in the house of her husband, and she had but very lately left it for that of her paramour, when the latter took Laud into his family. Lady Rich was the daughter of the Earl of Essex; Devonshire was a nobleman of large estate, and both families abounded in court influence and ecclesiastical preferments. Laud's ambition was not proof against the tempting offers which were held out to him by the guilty parties with whom he was sojourning, and, in the course of the same year, he sanctioned this wickedness by solemnizing a marriage between them. Lord Rich consented to the arrangement, probably glad to be quit, on any terms, of his unfaithful partner; otherwise Laud would scarcely have escaped the ecclesiastical consequences of his illegal act. He

always observed the anniversary of this day, on which he was guilty of this offence, with fasting and humiliation. A special prayer. to be used on it was found in his diary. "His fall" (as his enemy Prynne observed) "was great and scandalous, but his private humiliation for it commendable." (*Breviat*, p. 30.) His patron (the Earl of Devonshire) died in the course of the following year, of an outraged conscience and a broken heart. He had also lost court-favour, for he had sinned upon a point in which King James's morality was exquisitely sensitive. How Laud, who was thus deeply implicated in the sin, escaped nevertheless the censure of the royal moralist, we are not informed. Most probably it was through Neale, Bishop of Rochester (one of the Jesuit party), who made Laud his chaplain immediately on the death of the Earl, and presented him with the living of Stamford in Lincolnshire. This Neale was a leader of the dispensed, whose influence over the weak-minded King was now very great, and increasing continually. In 1609, Laud preached his first sermon before the King at Theobalds. He went swimmingly on from benefice to benefice, always improving his position through the following year, and, in 1611, he was made Master of St. John's College, Oxford, through the united influence of Neale and Buckeridge, then just made Bishop of Rochester. The King confirmed the appointment, notwithstanding the representations of the Primate (Abbott), and Lord Elsmere, his Chancellor, as to his Papalizing propensities.—(*Cypr. Ang. ubi supra.*)

For four years afterwards his ascent up the ladder of ecclesiastical preferment was not so rapid. He became, however, a bold determined courtier, always about the King, and always on the watch to improve every point that might arise to the advantage of himself and his party. The death of Archbishop Bancroft, in 1610, and the elevation of Abbott to the primacy, were untoward events for the plots of the dispensed Jesuits. Andrewes, then of Ely, was the man whom they had recommended to James, and he accepted him so freely, that they concluded the business to be settled, and took no further trouble about it. But the laity were alarmed at the fearful progress of this dangerous party; and, through the Earl of Dunbar, such representations were made to the King, that he gave the congé to Abbott, who had from the first made himself conspicuous at Oxford, as the Protestant opponent of Buckeridge and Laud (*Cyp. Ang.* p. 57). Abbott knew well the character of Laud, and did all in his power to prevent his advancement; but the party had got too firm a hold, both upon the King and the Church. The Jesuit bishops kept regularly advancing by translation, filling up their entire patronage everywhere with their own creatures. By this means Laud obtained the prebendal stall of Bugden in Lincoln, and the archdeaconry of Huntingdon, even during these four years. The dispensed party, however, recovered at length the ear of the imbecile Monarch, and he once more turned his eye upon Laud, who had been all this while diligently dancing attend-

ance at Court, and presented him, in 1616, with the deanery of Gloucester.

The see of Gloucester was at this period under the episcopal charge of Dr. Miles Smith, an eminent Hebrew scholar, and one of the translators of the Authorized Version. He was equally eminent as an exemplary Bishop, an orthodox Protestant divine, and a devout Christian. His collation to the bishopric had taken place during Elizabeth's reign; and he had kept up in his cathedral that decent order of Divine service which was then prescribed by authority. The communion-table was conveniently placed in the centre of the chancel, where the many communicants could have the readiest access to it. The walls were neatly inscribed with passages of Scripture; and the seats, the reading-desk, and the pulpit were all arranged with a view to the mutual convenience of the preacher and the hearers. Such parts of the patronage of his chapter as were in his own gift, he had bestowed upon men like-minded with himself, and Gloucester was a favourite resort of the lovers of Protestant truth. All this had been represented to the King by the dispensed faction; and, as in the course of his kingcraft it had now become their turn for court favour, his first expression of it was to appoint Laud to the deanery of Gloucester, with a charge (says Heylin, *C. A.* p. 63) to take order for the transposing of the communion-table to the east end of the choir, and the renewal of the entire internal fittings of the cathedral, after the fashion which they were

then designing to reintroduce into the English churches, upon the authority of the rubrics of the mass-book.

Nothing could have been more strictly in accordance with the taste of Laud than such a commission. He forthwith rushes down to his new deanery; and without so much as condescending a single word to the Bishop, calls a chapter of the prebends, and by an admixture of court threats and court promises, of which no one was a more skilful compounder than Laud—obtains at once the chapter-acts he requires. The execution was conformable with the commencement. A day was scarcely allowed to elapse before the sacred quiet of the cathedral was invaded by a troop of rude workmen. The vaulted roof re-echoed to the sounds of axes and hammers. The seats were torn up, the texts erased from the walls, and all was confusion; in the midst of which might be seen the little square figure, and heard the rough objurgatory voice, of Mr. Dean, bustling and storming,—the presiding demon of the turmoil. It was in vain that the clergy and the laity of all ranks in Gloucester protested against this strange innovation. The only reply that the irascible little functionary vouchsafed to them was abuse, and threats of the Star Chamber. The poor Bishop fared no better, for, notwithstanding his principles, Laud's deference to episcopal authority was as strictly limited by episcopal concurrence with his proceedings as that of his modern admirers. The good old man protested earnestly and frequently, and with tears, against this shameful desecration. His

final protest was made in the cathedral to Laud, in the presence of many of the clergy of his diocese. After declaring his utter abhorrence of the changes which were making, he solemnly called to witness that God whom he had so often worshipped there, that if they were effected, that was the last time he would ever enter the cathedral. The protest was of course utterly disregarded by Laud; and thus an excellent Bishop was excluded by his tyranny from his own cathedral, which he entered no more to his dying day.

The example of the Bishop was followed by pretty nearly the whole of the clergy and laity of his diocese, and thenceforward the newly-decorated cathedral was left to the undisputed possession of Mr. Dean, his obsequious chapter of prebends, and the sidemen, choristers, vergers, and the rest of the well-paid, lightly-worked officials, who make up the staff of such establishments. The good people of Gloucester resorted to churches where their scriptural apprehensions of acceptable worship were not offended by the exhibition of idols, and by the performance of idolatrous ceremonies.

A still more direct exposure of this outrage was attempted by one of the bishop's chaplains, in a letter to a prebend of Gloucester, which was copied and dispersed about the city by many hands. But he was threatened with proceedings in the High Commission, which would probably have terminated in the forfeiture of his property, and imprisonment for life. Several persons actually suffered fine and imprisonment for dispersing copies of this libel (as

it was termed), and thus the affair was crushed by force; but that force could not repress the deep feeling of sympathy with the Bishop, and of resentment against the Dean, which possessed the entire population of Gloucester.

The nature of the changes designed by the dispensed party, and which began at Gloucester, will already have been surmised by the modern reader. The Lord's board (as it was well called in King Edward's days) was cast out from the chancel, and instead of it, an altar was erected on an elevated platform at the east end. This altar was adorned with two huge candlesticks, a crucifix, and other gewgaws, and railed round. All the officials of the cathedral were compelled to bow reverently towards it, both on entering the church and whenever they approached it. The whitewash with which the indecent and idolatrous traceries, that too often defile the walls of such erections, had been covered at the Reformation, was carefully removed from the other parts of the cathedral, and the Roman Catholic appearance of the whole interior was restored, as far as possible. (*Cyp. Ang.* 64, 65. *Canterbury's Doom*, p. 75, &c.) The people of Gloucester, as we have said, were much offended at this, and refused to worship any longer at the cathedral. Heylin says, the reason was, that the city was at that time much pestered with the Puritan faction. We will, however, try to find another reason, which may probably account for this distaste, quite as satisfactorily as the pestering of which he complains.

This we believe to consist in an historical event

which had occurred at Gloucester just sixty years before. We will give the account of it in the very words of an eminent historian of those times, who was himself a prelate of the Church of England.

"For Bishop Hooper, after they (Bonner and the courts) had degraded him, they resolved to send him to Gloucester: at which he much rejoiced, hoping by his death to confirm their faith over whom he had been formerly placed. He was carried thither in three days. After he came, he had one day's interval given him, which he spent in fasting and prayer. On the 9th February, 1555, he was led out to his execution; when being denied leave to speak, but only to pray, in the strain of a prayer he declared his belief. He prayed earnestly for strength from God to endure his torment patiently, and undressed himself and embraced the reeds. When he was tied to the stake with iron chains, he desired them to spare their pains, for he was confident he should not trouble them. The fire was put to him, but the wood being green, burnt ill, and the wind blew away the flame of the reeds. He prayed oft, 'O Jesus, thou son of David, have mercy on me, and receive my soul!' and called to the people, for the love of God, to bring him more fire, for the fire was burning his nether parts, but did not reach his vitals. The fire was revived, but the wind still blew it away from rising up to stifle him, so that he was long in the torment. The last words he was heard to say were, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.' One of his hands dropped off before he died. With the other he was seen to knock upon his breast some time after.

He was in all near three-quarters of an hour in burning."—(*Burnet's History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. part i. p. 386.)

The very spot on which this most foul, unnatural murder took place is still shown in the minster yard. At the time of Laud's outrage, there were grey-headed men in Gloucester, whose ears had heard the entreaties of the blessed martyr for more fire, and whose eyes had seen his aged body covered with blisters and quivering with agony, and his hand dropping off as the tempest blew the flame away from him. There was not a child in Gloucester, to whom the oft-told tale of Bishop Hooper's burning was not as familiar as household words. There was not a grown man in Gloucester who did not know that this was a renewal of the same quarrel, and who did not feel that Bishop Smith was making the same protest against idolatrous mummeries as Bishop Hooper, for which protest alone the latter suffered death at the stake.

We submit that this historical event accounts for the strong distaste of Laud's proceedings exhibited by the citizens of Gloucester, quite as satisfactorily as Heylin's insinuation, that the city was at that time much pestered with the Puritan faction.*

This appears to be the proper time to consider

* These circumstances may also be of service in assisting the student of English history to understand the motives of the inhabitants of Gloucester in their strenuous support of Parliament during the civil war, to which Laud's reckless proceedings gave rise.—(May's *Hist. of Parl.* 73. Clarendon, &c.)

very briefly the general arrangements of the cathedral and parish churches of England at the Reformation, and the changes forcibly introduced by the dispensed faction, of which Laud's outrage at Gloucester was the singularly ill-judged commencement.

It is an evident and indubitable fact that, at the Reformation in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, the internal arrangement of the English Churches was made conformable to that of the Reformed Churches on the Continent. The injunctions given on this point to the Queen's Commissioners are very express; and the evidence that they were complied with is as satisfactory as can possibly be imagined. They prescribed that "the Lord's board in every church shall be set in the place where the altar stood, and that it shall be removed whenever the sacrament is distributed, and placed in such sort within the chancel, as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and administration, and the communicants may more conveniently and in greater numbers communicate with him." (*Burnet*, vol. ii. part i., p. 508, &c.) This point, which Laud's violence was soon to magnify into one of the utmost importance, admitted of no equivocation or doubt, as to the fact that the Lord's Supper was administered on a moveable wooden table. The same is also the case with the rails for enclosing the holy table. There is no hint at any such arrangement in the Queen's injunctions. The evidence, moreover, of a cloud of witnesses, who were brought forward by the Commons at Laud's trial,

in 1644, from all parts of England, goes to prove demonstrably that, from the Queen's Reformation, in 1560, up to the time of his outrage at Gloucester, no other arrangement than this was either known or practised, in any cathedral, church, or chapel throughout the realm. (*Cant. Doom*, pp. 71, 72.) The placing of the Lord's board, therefore, against the east wall of the choir, like a dresser or side-table, and the impounding it with rails, were undeniably both innovations upon the uniform practice of the Church of England from the times of the Reformation.

The station of the communion-table is worthy of consideration. Laud placed it, at Gloucester, and afterwards in every church in England, upon a raised platform at the east end of the choir. He, at all times, and his partizans of every age since, have so stoutly and vociferously pleaded for this change, "Queen Elizabeth's injunctions," and "the laudable custom of the Primitive times," that the plea has been allowed to pass current without further inquiry; and this change has been regarded as the mere restoring of the Church order of the Reformation, which had been interfered with in the latter years of Elizabeth by the Puritan faction. One is however surprised at finding, that both these pleas prove to be vain and fallacious. The Queen's injunctions specify one place only in the church for the table, without any definition either as to the part of the edifice, or the quarter of the heavens, and this is "where formerly the high altar stood." Nor does this direction so triumphantly settle the question, as to the east end, as it may appear to do

to the modern reader. A reference to the polemics of Elizabeth's days, will show that the place of the high altar in the church, was one of the points upon which the Protestant and Papaline parties were engaged in controversy; and that the former proved unanswerably, from ecclesiastical antiquity, that according to the laudable custom of the Primitive times, the altar stood not at the east end of the choir, but in the midst of the chancel (the place where it originally stood at Gloucester), and that the removal of it thither was a Papal innovation of but recent date. This was the expressed opinion of William Tyndall the Martyr (*Opp.* pp. 476, 477. *Treatise on the Lord's Supper*), of Martin Bucer (*Script. Anglicana*, p. 457), of Bishop Jewell, one of the visitors under the Queen's injunctions (*Reply to Harding*, art 3, div. 26: art. 13, div. 6),* of Bishop Babington (*Comfortable Notes upon Exod.* c. 22, p. 275), of Dr. W. Fulke (*Confutation of the Rhemish Testament*, pp. 55, 56, Lond. 1577),† of Bishop Morton (*Institution of the Sacrament*, p. 46), in a word, of all the Protestant writers of that day who treated upon the subject. Their authorities for this position of the table, were Eusebius, Dionysius, Chrysostom, Augustine, and every other ancient ecclesiastical writer who had named the subject. To this array of witnesses their Papal opponents did not attempt a reply or even an exception. It was impossible, therefore, for any ancient fact to have been more

* Page 310 seq. of the reprint by the Parker Society.

† See also this valuable writer's "Defence of the English Translations," p. 517, seq. of the Parker Society's reprint.

satisfactorily proved, than that in the Primitive times the Lord's table stood in the centre of the chancel. Thus entirely are both the pleas for the change in the place of the altar disposed of: for the very men who had executed the Queen's injunctions, had also demonstrated, by their writings, that in the Primitive times the high altar stood where the Lord's table stood at Gloucester. The whole proceedings, therefore, of Laud, were a direct innovation both upon the Queen's injunctions and that Primitive antiquity of which he talked so much; and he made those changes upon no other authority than that of the Romish pontifical and missal, wherein they will be found prescribed expressly.*

If we go on to examine the other changes made by Laud, we find them equally opposed to the injunctions of Edward and Elizabeth, which are the basis of the English Reformation; equally unsupported by the authority of ecclesiastical antiquity, and all directly prescribed by the Romish service-books. We begin with the conversion of the table into an altar. The name altar was given to the table by all the dispensed faction from the first; but it was not until ten years afterwards that they ventured upon the bold experiment of erecting a stone altar in an English Church. Dr. Cosins,

* It is not easy to determine at what precise period the altar was removed to the east end by the Papal Church. Dr. Fulke, who wrote about 1577, says that traces of the Primitive arrangement were discernible in his days in most of the cathedrals of England. According to him, the quire itself, as well as the removal of the altar thither, was a Papal innovation.—(*Answer of a True Christian to a Counterfeit Catholic*, Art. 15, pp. 55, 56.)

one of their most rigid partizans, who had distinguished himself long before against the Puritans, was the man to whom its execution was intrusted. The occasion was his elevation to the see of Durham, in 1627, immediately upon which, he entirely changed the internal arrangement of that cathedral, defacing the texts from the walls, restoring and embellishing all the images and pictures, and setting up a stone altar at the east end of the chancel, which he railed in altar-wise, and adorned with pictures, candlesticks, tapers, basins, and altar cloths, having pictures embroidered upon them. Cosins' mode of dealing with the dean and chapter of Durham (who by no means relished these innovations) was in harmony with Laud's proceedings, as dean of Gloucester, with the bishop of that diocese. Their ecclesiastical rights and jurisdiction were set at nought. Their expostulations were answered by threats, and the senior prebend, Dr. P. Smart, who, in discharge of his conscience, preached against them in the cathedral, and petitioned the Commons' House of Parliament upon the subject, in 1628, was, immediately on the dissolution of that Parliament, served with three several processes from the High Commission Courts of Lambeth, York, and Durham, and by their most cruel proceedings was fined to more than the extent of his private fortune, deprived of all his preferments, and sentenced to imprisonment for life! This vigorous course proved perfectly effectual in silencing the objections of the dean and chapter of Durham. A mere reference to the Queen's injunctions will suffice to convict this proceeding of

Cosins' of total contrariety to the order of the Church of England. One of them regulates the pulling down of the altars in all the Churches, and it is followed by a direction that wooden tables be provided everywhere for the celebration of the Lord's supper. Conformably with this order, all the fathers of the Church of England protest, *und voce*, against the Christian altar, name and thing. They ground this their protest upon the authority of Christian antiquity. The table was never even called an altar, except rhetorically, during the first three centuries of Christianity. The term altar came into use with the writers of succeeding ages; but still it interchanges with table up to the latest period to which a controvertist on any side of the question would dream of appealing as traditive authority. The stone altar is unknown to any Church in Christendom but that of Rome, and is one of the latest and rankest corruptions of that apostate community.

The particular nature of the changes of internal arrangement, forced by the dispensed party upon the Church of England, under the direction of Laud, will require a fuller explanation, in order that their true nature and tendency may be clearly understood. The order introduced at the Reformation by the Queen's injunctions, obtained at the period we are considering, in nearly every individual church, of whatever rank, throughout England, and was precisely that of Gloucester cathedral, under the episcopate of Dr. Miles Smith. The Lord's table was an oblong board standing in the centre of the chancel, with its ends east and west, following

herein the usual position of the nave of an English church. Close by it was the reading-pew or desk, elevated not at all above the seats and kneelings with which the table was surrounded, and which the reader never left in any part of the service, until he came to the consecration of the elements on sacrament-days. On these occasions, the communicants took their seats immediately on entering the church. When there were more than the table would accommodate, the last comers took their seats on the benches immediately behind the table, where the elements were brought to them by the officiating clergyman. Behind these again were the seats for the non-communicants; and thus the whole congregation sate as one family around the board of their one Lord and Master. The perfect congruity of this arrangement with the genius of Christianity, will suffice to show its propriety, independently of the uniform testimony of all Christian antiquity, to its early use.

The numerous and intricate changes introduced by the dispensed party, can only be understood by a drawing. The annexed is a copy of Bishop Andrewes' ichnography of his private chapel, which was found in Laud's study, and which he admitted, in his defence, to be the original to which he had conformed his own chapel, and after which he gave directions to Cosins and to the rest of his party, as to the new arrangements to be observed.

A, is the platform against the east wall, raised three steps, on which the altar stood.

B, the altar, a cubical block of stone, of one and a quarter yards.

C, the credentia, or side-table, on which were placed an ewer and basin for the priest to wash withal, before the oblation: also the bread and wine, which he took from thence, and presented as an offering at the altar.

D, D, D, chairs or thrones for bishops, at consecrations, or other times.

E, the septum, with two ascents.

F, the music-table.

G, a footspace with three ascents, on which the lectern standeth.

H, the faldstool, whereon they kneel to read the Litany.

I, the pulpit.

K, the throne, with a canopy.

L, stalls for the chaplains.

M, M, benches for the household.

a, velvet cushion for the silver bowl for oblations.

b, *b*, two tall and fair silver candlesticks, with large wax tapers.

c, cushions for the service-book.

d, the *canistrum*, for the wafers.

e, the ton, for the wine, on a cradle.

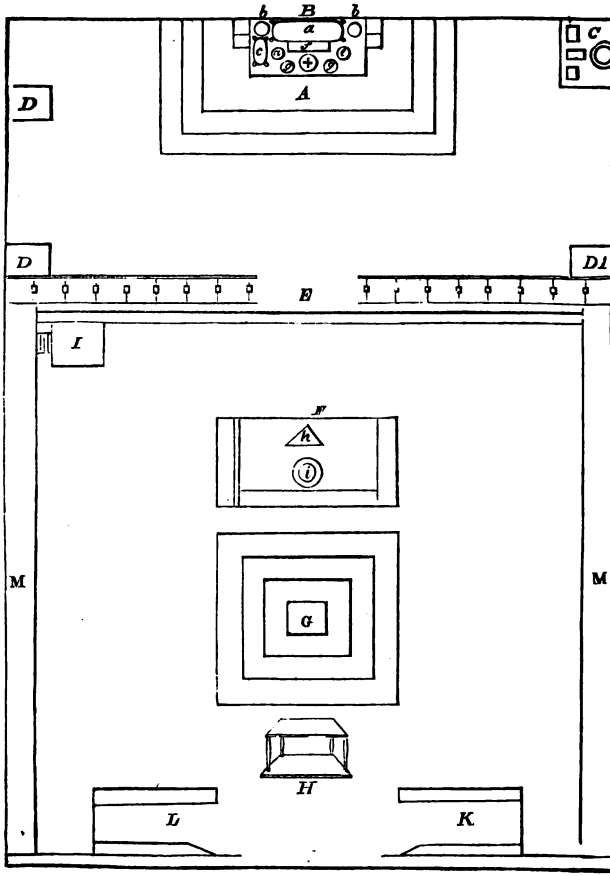
f, the chalice, covered with a linen napkin, embroidered with coloured silks.

g, *g*, two patens.

+, the tricanale, or traverse for waters, for mixing with the wine.

h, a triquetral censer, wherein the clerk putteth frankincense.

i, the navicula, out of which the frankincense is poured.



It was justly objected against these extensive innovations, that they were all of them made by Andrewes and Laud, upon the sole authority of the missal, pontifical, and other service books of the Church of Rome; and that nearly all of them rest upon no other authority whatever, being the mere inventions of that corrupt Church to support her various false doctrines, destitute of all warrant from primitive antiquity. This was very satisfactorily proved at Laud's trial, by large quotations from liturgies and liturgical writers. (*Cant. Doom*, pp. 61—63, &c.) And the researches that have been made into these subjects since those times have furnished materials for a still more satisfactory proof, should such be required.

Nothing could have been better calculated to advance the designs which we ascribe to the dispensed party, than these changes. A church thus remodelled is the complete skeleton of a mass-house, and needs but a very few additions to prepare it fully for the whole Papistical ritual. This transmutation once effected in the churches of England, and the minds of the people once reconciled to it, and the accomplishment of their grand design (a return to the unity of Rome) would follow speedily and inevitably. No wonder then at their strenuous severity in enforcing it.

The same Romeward tendency is observable in the ceremonial, engrafted by Laud and his party upon the practice of the Church of England, in reading her admirable liturgy. Gaudy copes of cloth of gold, embroidered with divers colours, were worn by the clergy while ministering at the

new altars. They and every member of their congregations were required to make lowly bows and genuflexions, *versus altare*, on first entering the church, and on all approaches to the east end. The custom of turning to the altar during the repetition of the creeds originated in the Reformed Church of England with this haughty and overbearing prelate. The frequent changes of posture observed to the present day in the reading of the liturgy were, for the most part, of his introduction. They had been rejected by the Elizabethan divines as savouring too much of the Romish idolatry. In the second service, which then, as now, was to be read at the north end of the altar, it was prescribed that immediately after the sentences the officiating priests were to go up to the credentia, and having washed their hands, were to take from thence the bread and wine; then turning to the altar, they were to make three adorations, by bowing and genuflexion, in the course of their approach to it; then kneeling upon their knees they were reverently to place them there, putting the wafers into the canistrum, and pouring the wine into the ton. After which the bishop, if present, read the prayer of the offertory. Many other innovations upon the established order of our Church were also introduced at this time, by the dispensed party, all upon the pretence of Primitive antiquity; but all in reality upon the sole authority of the existing practice of the Romish Church, and upon the rubrical directions of her authorized formularies. We have already noticed the admirable adaptation of these proceedings to smooth the way to that final

change of entire conformity, which the dispensed party had resolved to accomplish.

It is, of course, evident that James had been made acquainted with the changes at Gloucester, and that his full approbation had been obtained before the dispensed party ventured upon them. Their advance in court favour was now (1616-17) very rapid. Archbishop Abbott, an honest, simple-hearted Christian, was completely outwitted by the cunning and duplicity of Williams, then Bishop of Lincoln, and out-faced by the insolence and bluster of Laud; so that the whole of the court preferment went to their friends; for these two men ruled absolutely the weak-minded monarch. Soon after the affair at Gloucester, Laud had the address to obtain the king's assent to a string of very harsh directions, drawn up by himself, and addressed to the Divinity Professors at Oxford, the evident tendency of which was the discouragement and suppression of the Calvinistic theology in that university. This measure was intended by Laud himself as a personal affront to the primate, (as Heylin, his eulogist, is careful to inform us, *Cypr. Ang.* 66,) in revenge of the active part he had taken in exposing Laud's attempt to impose upon the university with two chapters from Bellarmine, sixteen years before. Its avowed purpose was not answered, because both the professors maintained the theological opinions they were called upon to suppress.

Laud, however, found many other opportunities of inflicting pain upon this poor persecuted man; and it is a bad trait in his character that his

own prosperity and rapidly-rising fortunes had no softening influence upon the bitter malice which he bore towards him. One object in the steps upwards in ecclesiastical dignity, which this ambitious intriguer was now making almost daily, seemed to be, that from thence he might aim a more cruel thrust at his enemy. He never ceased this persecution until he had broken his heart.

Laud's progress upwards was at this time (1617) as auspicious as that of his party. His friend Williams (for, like Herod and Pontius Pilate, for the ruin of poor Abbott and the destruction of Protestantism, these two implacable enemies became friends *pro hac vice*) was presented, in the course of this year, with the bishopric of Durham. Laud obtained the rectory of Ibstock in Leicestershire, which, as King's chaplain, he held without leaving hold of any one of the former preferments, so that his zeal for the Church was amply remunerated. Both divines accompanied the King in his progress to Scotland, and were the sole originators of his ridiculous attempt to force Episcopacy upon that kingdom, the prosecution of which by his son (at Laud's instance) cost him his crown and his head. —(*Ubi supra*, 68, 69.)

The spirit of busy mischief which possessed Laud, devised another measure, in the course of this ill-starred journey, which also concurred most powerfully, with other causes, in bringing about the revolution of 1641. As the King, on his return, passed through the northern parts of Lancashire, which then, as now, had a population all but exclusively Roman Catholic, Laud contrived that he

should hear complaints everywhere of the strictness of the magistracy in enforcing the observance of the Sabbath, and the prevention of all recreations on Sunday afternoons. Upon no better pretext, the wily ecclesiastic got the poor besotted King to issue his royal declaration for the encouragement of games of strength and skill, as boxing, wrestling, bowling, and dancing, on the Sabbath. The design was the demoralization of the people of England, and to divert their attention from religion and the acquisition of religious knowledge. The dispensed faction had begun this controversy with the Protestants in England long before, in the reign of Elizabeth and the primacy of Whitgift. They now felt themselves once more in a position to revive it. This declaration of James's is the groundwork of the notorious "Book of Sports," which was the last of the drops of bitterness in the cup of irritating and vexatious oppression, with which the evil-counselled Charles drenched our Britain, until she rose in raving madness, and hurled to the ground both the Throne and the Church.

From this time to the year 1620, Laud continued his diligent attendance at court, acquiring influence daily over the King, and assiduously flattering and paying court to the heir-apparent, through his bosom companion, the notorious Villiers duke of Buckingham. At this latter period he obtained a prebendal stall at Westminster; and, in the following year, mounted the episcopal bench, and sate down in the House of Peers, as Bishop of St. David's.

The dispensed faction was now rapidly rising to

the ascendant. Through the boundless influence of Buckingham, the King's minion, the whole of the court patronage was bestowed exclusively upon the clergy of that party, to the utter exclusion of the Protestants. Buckingham, who was probably a Papist at heart, appointed Laud his confessor in the following year (*Breviate*, p. 3), and was scarcely surpassed by his ghostly adviser in bitter enmity against Abbott and Protestantism.

In the course of this year an important scene took place in a silly drama, enacted nevertheless by great personages, of whom, to adopt his historian's phrase, "Laud was one." It is an affair familiar enough to the readers of English history, under the title of "the Spanish Match."

The history of this matter is soon related. The vanity of our England's Solomon could not brook that his dear son and heir-apparent, Charles, should be restrained by considerations of religion, from seeking an alliance with any but a Protestant crown. The thrones of Sweden, Denmark, Bohemia, and Hungary, all third-rate powers, would in this case be the limit within which his search after a princess must be circumscribed; and the honour would have been scarcely superior to that of an alliance with some Elector or Palsgrave of the Germanic empire. James's designs were as lofty as his execution of them was feeble and ill-advised. As early as the year 1616 (that is twenty-eight years after the sailing of the armada) he meditated an alliance with no less a crown than that of Spain, then, both by wealth and extent of territory, the preponderating power of Europe. The lady was

the Infanta Mary, the sister of the reigning king (Philip IV.). The article of religion was an untoward one, not to James's conscience, but to his subjects. That the court of Spain had been bitter and intolerant against the Reformation, from its very commencement, beyond any other power—that it had been engaged throughout the whole of his predecessor's reign in the unwearying endeavour to re-establish the Papacy in England, either by force or fraud, were considerations which never weighed for a moment against the aggrandisement of his family, and the stability of the future reign of "baby Charles." The overtures were made by the Earl of Bristol, the English ambassador at the court of Madrid. Spain never intended the match, but saw at once the advantage to the Papacy which might be gained by seeming to favour it, and, therefore, at once entered upon negotiations, which she contrived to keep open for seven years, amusing James with the hope of a speedy consummation, for which the poor King was compelled to pay the heavy price of outraging the Protestant feeling of England, by the removal of the restrictions which the circumstances of the times rendered so necessary upon the intrigues of the Catholics. Charles's romantic, foolish, and expensive journey to Spain was the only issue; and the whole affair vanished into smoke soon after his return. The important and really lamentable part of the business is the utter want of all religious and moral principle displayed throughout, both by father and son. They tried to cajole by turns the people of England, the King of Spain, and the Pope. Their duplicity

excited only the indignation of the former, who saw all the while that their monarch, and by consequence themselves, were merely tools and dupes in the hands of the latter. The ultimate design had been that Charles should turn Catholic at Madrid, but the deep reasons of state which prevented him, or kept it secret, do not appear on the face of any extant document.* James's kingcraft served

* "The next day, being the 20th of April, he (the Pope) addresses his lines unto the Prince (at Madrid), extolling the piety of his predecessors, their zeal for the Catholic Church; and to the head thereof, the Pope, inviting him, by all the blandishments of art, to put himself upon the following of their brave examples. Never had prince a harder game to play than Prince Charles had now: he found himself under the power of the King of Spain, and knew that the whole business did depend upon the Pope's dispensation, with whom, if he complied not in some handsome way, his expectation might be frustrated, and all the fruits of that long treaty would be suddenly blasted. *He therefore writes to the Pope in such general terms, as seemed to give his Holiness some assurances of him;* but being reduced to particulars, signified nothing else but some civil compliments, mixed with some promises of his endeavours to make up the breaches of the Church, and restore Christendom to an happy and desirable peace."—(*Cyp. Ang.* p. 104.) Heylin dare not to venture upon the publication of the letter itself. It is, however, extant (*Prynne's Necessary Introduction*, pp. 38, 39), and expresses, as clearly as words can do, the intention of Charles to turn Papist. For example, the Prince says: "I entreat your Holiness to believe that I have always been very far from encouraging novelties, and from being a partizan of any faction against the Catholic Apostolic Roman religion: but, on the contrary, I have sought all occasions to take away the suspicion that might rest on me, that *I will employ myself, for the time to come, to have but one religion and one faith, seeing we all believe in one Jesus Christ.*

him in no better stead, than that of paying down everything that was demanded of him by the King and the Pope, without receiving one equivalent in return. Such was the deep dissimulation both of father and son, that their own servants constantly fell into mistakes as to the true meaning of their instructions. The Duke of Buckingham, the companion, and the Earl of Bristol, the ambassador, afterwards each impeached the other of high treason in the House of Lords, upon transactions at Madrid. The articles of impeachment of the latter were carefully revised by Charles himself, then King. The substance of both accusations was the same. It was the making use of expressions to the Prince at Madrid, which implied their consciousness that he had come thither to turn Catholic, and proceeding in the negotiations with the Spaniard as if with the secret understanding that such was to be the case. For deep reasons of state, the two impeachments were presented to the House of Lords within five days of each other :* for reasons equally deep, neither was proceeded with.

We have said that the preliminary conditions required of James, by the King and the Pope, were the suspension of all the penal laws against the Papists, with a view to their abrogation as soon as possible. These he fulfilled to the letter, and con-

Having resolved myself to spare nothing that I have in this world, and to suffer all manner of discommodities, even to the hazarding of my estate and life, for a thing so pleasing to God." The whole letter, which is long, is to the same purport.

* May 1 and 6, 1626.

tinued the suspension during the entire negotiation; so that, for seven years together, the intrigues of the Jesuits, regular and dispensed, proceeded not only without interruption from government, but almost under its direct encouragement. Society of all grades in England was once more saturated with the emissaries of Rome; and the giddy, the thoughtless, and the irreligious were turning Catholics by hundreds.*

Now for the part that our hero, Laud, took in these strange proceedings. He was at that time prime favourite and father confessor to the Duke of Buckingham, King James's minion, and the chief instigator of the Spanish match. The entries in Laud's journal show that, at the time when Buckingham was intriguing for the Prince's journey to Spain, he and Laud were frequently closeted together for many hours successively. The subject of these conferences is not entered even on his journal. When Buckingham accompanied the Prince to Spain, immediately afterwards, there was a constant interchange of letters between them (*Canterbury's Doom*, pp. 547—549. *Cyp. Angl.* p. 100). Laud, moreover, had been in favour with the King from the very commencement of the negotiations, and had already made himself busy and conspicuous by his vexatious proceedings against those whose consciences would not allow them to speak smooth things of the Pope and Romanism, in obedience to the King's command. Wren and Mawe, the chaplains who were to accompany the

* See the remonstrance of the Commons to King James, April, 1624, apud Prynne. *Hidden Works*, p. 63.

Prince to Spain, were two of Laud's most servile creatures, and the Romanizing version of the Common Prayer, which they were to use, was drawn up by Laud himself, as well as the well-known instructions for the fitting up of the Prince's chapel at Madrid, whereby it was to be conformed exactly in appearance to a Romish mass-house. (*Cyp. Angl.* p. 100.)

The following inferences plainly follow upon these historical facts :—

1. Whatever were the designs of the King, the Prince, and the Duke in the Spanish match, Laud was privy to them.

2. One of those designs must have been that the Prince should become a Papist. How otherwise could both Bristol and Buckingham his attendants, as well as the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Spanish ecclesiastics, have expected and looked for it? (See in Prynne's *Hidden Works*, pp. 34, *seq.*, several curious documents.)

3. The mutual impeachments of Buckingham and Bristol were designed for the purpose of accounting for any rumours of the truth which might reach England, and also to take the blame from Charles's shoulders, and put it upon that of his attendants.

4. The dissimulation of the Spaniard was discovered just before the time when Charles's public profession of Catholicism was to have taken place ; and then, it at once became expedient to bury this circumstance in oblivion.

5. The busy bitterness with which Laud at once entered into the designs of the court, by repressing

the slightest whisper of discontent at these proceedings from those under his control; and the eager cruelty with which he applied the almost unlimited punitive powers which were then entrusted to the bishops, in order to that repression, —leave nothing to be desired in the proof of his hearty concurrence in the meditated apostasy of Charles.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LAUDIANS. PART II.

It is not necessary for us to follow Laud step by step, in his rapid ascent up the ladder of ecclesiastical preferment. Never man served the times more diligently than he, or succeeded better in making the times serve him. Never man was more successful in making his own advantage, both out of his friends and his enemies. His two great opponents, Abbott and Williams, were foiled utterly by the profundity and skill of his intrigues, and his bold and reckless execution of them. He seems not once for a moment to have lost the entire favour and confidence either of King James or of his obstinate, weak-principled, though possibly right-meaning son, the unhappy Charles. In 1626, the first of Charles, he was translated to the diocese of Bath and Wells. The same year he became Dean of the Chapel Royal on the decease of Andrewes. In 1628 he removed to the see of London. In 1630 he was made Chancellor of Oxford. In 1633 he reached the topmost round of the ecclesiastical ladder, and sate down on the archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury. From this elevation he dealt to Protestant truth in England heavier blows, and inflicted upon her deeper wounds, than those she had sustained from Mary's persecutors.

The fall of Laud was as remarkable as his rise. In

one day he fell from the giddy summit of his elevation, down to the depths of the dungeon, whence he was only led forth to trial and to death. He was impeached of high treason by the House of Commons, and committed to the Tower, A.D. 1641. In 1646, he underwent decapitation as a traitor on Tower Hill. Laud was a fortunate man notwithstanding. He was fortunate equally in his enemies and his friends. Had the Long Parliament been possessed with the wisdom and foresight of Elizabeth's councillors, they would have dealt to him the same measure that Bonner experienced: they would merely have restrained him from further mischief and left him. Had they done so, the name and memory of Laud would have rotted as did Bonner's.

In one especial point, the prosecution of Laud by the Long Parliament was favourable to his posthumous reputation. Two of the commissioners appointed to seize and examine his papers and conduct his trial, had been severe sufferers from the capricious tyranny of his administration. William Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, a man of piety, of extensive reading, and scholarly acquirements, stood in the pillory twice, and underwent both times the cruel mutilations and burnings which, in those barbarous times, were inflicted upon those convicted of libel. His ears were twice clipped, his nose was twice slit, and twice the red-hot brand, with the letters S. L., was applied to his face. On the second occasion, the executioner cut out the stumps of his ears with such relentless barbarity that he divided some of the greater vessels of his victim, who had very nearly died of hœmorrhage.

(See an account of this horrid transaction, *Harl. Misc.* vol. vi.) In addition to all this, he was undergoing the sentence of perpetual imprisonment in the isle of Jersey, at the time of the meeting of the parliament, whose first act was to release him. Dr. Leighton, another of the commissioners, had proceeded to D.D. at Oxford, and was, like Prynne, a man of great learning, though best known as the father of the deservedly celebrated Archbishop Leighton. The sentence which Laud procured to be passed upon him was the same as that of Prynne, with the further indignity of whipping by the common hangman. He had undergone only part of it, when the strong hand of parliament interposed, and the victim sate in judgment upon his oppressor. There was a rough, wild justice in the placing of these cruelly-injured men upon such a commission, which was, at the moment, highly satisfactory to the excited feelings of the people of England; but, nevertheless, it was a singularly inexpedient step for the parliamentary party. A vindictive tone characterized the whole of the proceedings against Laud; and thereby, a measure of sympathy in his favour was awakened in the public mind, which nothing else could have originated. The private wrongs of the judges were soon forgotten, and Laud in his turn figured as a meek and suffering victim. In addition to all this, Prynne (to whom *virtute facultatis*, the preparatory steps to Laud's trial were especially committed), though a laborious and extensive reader, was neither remarkable for his logic nor his law. He has certainly shown as little skill in the arrangement and digestion of the volu-

minous evidence against the Archbishop as it is almost possible to imagine. His "Canterbury's Doom," as he absurdly calls his published account of Laud's trial, is a book full of interesting matter, yet absolutely unreadable, abounding in documents of inestimable value as history, yet altogether useless, without an extent of labour in re-arrangement nearly equal to that of its first composition. Prynne, moreover, was a man of no gentlemanly feeling. He either had not the power of repressing his anger against Laud, or he wanted the tact to discern the vital importance of not allowing it to appear. Such is his intense anxiety to find him guilty in everything, that he shrinks from no labour, and hesitates at no absurdity, in order to extract high treason from the most indifferent actions. The consequence is, that Laud's real criminality is scarcely made to appear in his book, though there is abundant evidence of it (according to the then received notions of *lèse majesté*) in almost every page. On the other hand, the warpings and strainings of trifles into crimes, of which so much of the book consists, are the passages of all others the most likely to tell in support of the spotless innocence and martyr purity of Laud, with which the partizans of his faction, in succeeding times, have always laboured to impress their votaries. It is, in short, just such a book as a guilty man might wish his adversary to have written. In this, therefore, especially, as well as in the other particulars, Laud was a fortunate man.

Laud was the great head of the faction in the Church, whose small beginnings we have already

traced from Cheney and his pupils in Elizabeth's reign. The connexion of Cheney with Rome through Campian, and of Laud with Cheney through his tutor Buckeridge, we have already explained at length. The probability of the continuance of the connexion between Laud and Rome directly, receives *primâ facie*, a strong affirmative support from this hereditary and transmitted sympathy. The next step in the inquiry still further corroborates it. The times of Laud were those wherein the party, of which he was the head, had first the opportunity of embodying in practice their wishes regarding the doctrines and ceremonies of the Church of England. They made many changes and innovations in both. The tendency of every one of these changes was uniformly Romeward. To support this assertion, we have merely to detail the several points which were objected against Laud on his trial, by the counsel for the prosecution, and not attempted to be denied, because obviously undeniable.

I. It was taught by that section of the clergy which alone was permitted to teach, "That priests have not only a ministerial, but an authoritative and judicial, power to remit sins confessed, and that we ought, at least once a month, to confess our sins to our priests and confessors, especially in Lent." The proof of this allegation is most easy. Laud himself writes in his journal, June 15, 1622. "I became C. (*confessor*) to the Lord Marquesse of Buchinghame."*

* Villiers, the favourite of James I. He owed his elevation, and the boundless influence he exercised over

The now well-known Gregorio Panzani, who, having been intrusted by the Pope with the legantine power in England, came over to this country in disguise in 1634, and was received with open arms by Charles's court, was told by one of the King's chaplains "that the King approved of auricular confession, was willing to introduce it, and would use force to make it received, were it not for the fear of sedition among the people." (*Pope's nuncio: compiled by the Venetian ambassador*, p. 12.) The same doctrine is also stated with the most undisguised plainness in the theological writings of Mountague, Pocklington, Shelford, and other clergymen of the Church, whose works were published, *superiorum permissu*, under the archiepiscopate of Laud; as well as in several devotional

that extraordinary monarch, solely to his personal beauty. The entries in Laud's diary touching this nobleman are very singular, e.g. "June 8, being Whitsunday, the Lord Marquesse of Buckingham was pleased to enter into a nearer respect to me. The particulars are not for paper." "August 21, 1625. This night, in a dream, the Duke of Buckinghame seemed to me to ascend into my bed, where he carried himself with much love toward me, after such rest wherein wearied men are apt exceedingly to rejoice." —("Breviate," pp. 4, 6.) Laud was a great chronicler of dreams. These extracts may probably remind the reader of the following passage from the pen of one of the most devoted of the modern admirers of Laud. It is supposed to be addressed to Lord John Manners:—

"We pull'd each other's hair about,
Peeped in each other's eyes,
And spoke the first light silly words
That to our lips did rise."

Faber's Cherwell Water Lily, p. 150.

Many similar passages will be found in the same poem.

works by Papistical divines, published under the license of Laud and his chaplains.*

II. The benefit and efficacy of penance, such as wearing of sackcloth, scourging, and other acts of discipline peculiar to the Church of Rome, were constantly descanted upon in the pulpits of the Church of England during Laud's administration.

The proofs of this are just as pregnant as of the preceding doctrine. It was recommended in printed essays, enjoined in pulpit addresses, and, in country places and remote parishes, rigorously enforced by the clergy.—(See *Laud's Tryall*, p. 196, &c.)

III. It was taught by Laud's clergy, that Christians must have altars to be placed at the east end of the church, and to be worshipped on entering the church, at every approach thereunto by bowing, as the place of Christ's chief, real presence upon earth.

There is no need of proof of this. There is scarcely a book of divinity of these divines which does not contain it. Laud himself states it plainly enough in a blasphemous passage of his well-known star-chamber speech, on the conviction of Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, in which he exalts the altar far above the pulpit; because the one has merely the word of Christ, while the other is the place of the body of Christ, "and greater reverence no doubt is due to the body than to the word of our Lord."—(*Cyp. Angl.* p. 318.)

IV. Jesus Christ and his passion are offered up

* Such as "Christ's Epistle to a Devoute Soul," by John Lanspergius. "Introduction to a Devoute Life," by Francis of Sales, &c., &c.

to God as a sacrifice in the sacrament of the altar, which is, therefore, a sacrifice as well as a sacrament.

A voluminous array of quotations in support of this doctrine, from the writings of the divines of this age, will be found in the Tracts for the Times, No. 81, *Catena Patrum*.

V. The setting up and restoration of crucifixes, pictures of God the Father, and of the Holy Ghost, and of the images of saints in churches, were commended by the precept and example of the Laudian clergy. The destruction, on the other hand, of any of these, was visited with the severest censures of the ecclesiastical courts.

There are many passages in Mountague, Pocklington, and other ecclesiastical authors of the period in support of this practice. The determination, however, of the court party to enforce this mode of idolatry, appears the most clearly in their proceedings against those who attempted to oppose it. Two instances will suffice. Sherfield, the recorder of Salisbury, was fined 1,000*l*., deprived of his office, and subjected to long imprisonment, for breaking a most blasphemously painted window, wherein God the Father was represented many times over in the form of a little old man. The Rev. John Workman, a lecturer at Gloucester, a man of singular talent, was fined heavily, ejected from the ministry, suffered long imprisonment, and, on his liberation, was deprived of an annuity of 20*l*. voted him by the corporation of Gloucester, and not permitted either to teach school or to practise physic. In consequence he died partly of

famine and partly of a broken heart, leaving a numerous family in a state of the deepest destitution. This cruel persecution, of which Laud was the sole author, he underwent on account of a passage in one of his lectures against the use of images, the strongest sentence in which was a quotation *verbatim* from the Homily against the Peril of Idolatry.*

VI. The doctrine of purgatory was maintained by Laud and his clergy.

It is discussed as a curious question, from which they give a very hesitating dissent, or rather to which they covertly consent, both by Mountague and Pocklington. So needful was it to their system, that there can scarcely be a doubt, that it was frequently taught in the pulpit.

VII. They taught the value and necessity of prayers for the dead.

Of this, the recent publications of collections from the works of the Laudian divines, by their modern admirers, will furnish ample corroboration. To the "Tracts for the Times," therefore, we again refer the incredulous reader, if such there be.

VIII. The intercession of saints and angels, the preservation of relics, and the reverence to be paid to them, are all commended, though perhaps not directly enforced, in the writings of the Laudian clergy.

This it will be needful to prove, as their followers

* Sherfield was censured in 1632; Rushworth: "Hist. Coll." part ii., pp. 152, seq: Workman in 1635. The reader will not fail to note the latter as one of the fruits of Laud's outrage at Gloucester in 1618.

in these days have, for the present, kept it out of sight.

Bishop Mountague writes in his *Antidiatribe*, "I should not deny that the saints are the mediators of intercession and prayer, but that, universally, they intercede with God and mediate for the acceptance of the prayers of all."—(p. 20.) He states the same doctrine in another of his works, "The saints pray for us in particular, some particular saint for some particular man, in some especial case at some time."—(*Gagge*, p. 214.) The intercession of angels he propounds with equal plainness: "Now the case of angel keepers, in point of advocation and invocation, is much different from other angels not guardians, as being continually attendant, always at hand, though invisible; and, therefore, THOUGH WE MIGHT SAY, *Sancte angele custos, ora pro me*, it followeth not that we may say, *Sancte Gabrieli, ora pro me.*"—(Idem, p. 203.) The religious value of relics is in the same manner declared in the inconveniently perspicuous writings of Bishop Mountague, "Concerning the relics of the saints, I will briefly explain what we Anglicans think. We, who honour their memories, annually on the day of St. Stephen, the protomartyr, also kiss their blessed wounds. Their relics, if any such should come to our knowledge, we account precious. If we can obtain any such, genuine and not forged, we freely receive them, and honour with the reverence that is due to them."—(*Orig. Eccles.* pars i. p. 39.)

IX. On the worship of the Virgin it was needful for the Anglicans to be especially cautious, as this

was a point upon which suspicion would be very likely to arise; and, once awakened by an unguarded expression, would be very difficult to allay. Their own notices, therefore, of it are generally so vague and involved, that it is impossible to make any precise inference from them. The mode adopted by Laud, of inculcating the worship of Mary, was very skilfully devised to meet this exigency. The press being entirely under his control, he directed his chaplains to license the devotional works of several Popish writers wherein this idolatry was recommended in its grossest form. Such was Henry Stafford's "Female Glory," a book written with this especial object. The same doctrine was also most plainly inculcated in "The Introduction to a Devoute Life," of St. Francis de Sales, and "Christ's Epistle to a Devoute Soul," both which persuasives to Popery, as well as the former, were licensed by Laud's chaplains to be printed and published. A most nefarious transaction was connected with the printing of the two last works, which usefully illustrates the mode of proceeding of the party then in possession of the revenues of the Church of England. English translations of these books, by Jesuits, were licensed for printing in 1636 by Dr. Hayward, one of Laud's chaplains. Oakes, the printer, to whom they were sent by Brooks the publisher, was surprised at the decidedly Papistial tenor of many of the passages, and waited upon the licencer for the purpose of pointing them out. The Dr., however, laughed at his scruples, and bade him go on and fear nothing, for he would save him from any harm that might arise from

printing them, adding that he himself would preach as much. The book was therefore printed and published. It happened, however, about the time of Laud's proceeding against Dr. Burton, in the star-chamber, for preaching against Popery, Prynne (one of Burton's fellow sufferers) exhibited a cross bill against Laud for licensing Popish books. This bold manœuvre compelled Laud to retrace the course he had prescribed to his chaplain. The books were called in by a royal proclamation, and a few copies burnt by the hangman. The poor printer, Oakes, was imprisoned for several months, to the great injury of his property and prospects, notwithstanding that he proved the authority and command of Laud's licencer, Hayward, for all that he had done; while the publisher, Brooks, was threatened, but being a Catholic, no proceedings were taken against him. The worst feature, however, of this partial and tyrannical proceeding remains to be told. The calling in of Oakes's editions was a mere tub to the whale; for the same works, without the least alteration, were allowed to be reprinted, published, and sold in abundance immediately afterwards, with Laud's evident connivance, as copies of several of the reprints were found in his study.—(*Canterbury's Doom*, p. 186, &c.)

X. The Laudian clergy taught the real substantial presence of the body and blood of Christ, in the sacrament of the altar.

There cannot be a doubt that in this doctrine they held with the Romanists. The exact form in which they maintained the presence, is stated in the celebrated sermon of Dr. Pusey, "The body and

blood of Christ are really present with the elements in a supernatural way;" being all the same as if he had said that a substance can be really present in an unsubstantial way; which is a mere absurdity, to escape from which the human understanding will inevitably betake itself to transubstantiation as to a refuge. For, to conceive of an imperceptible change of substance involves no logical contradiction, and therefore taxes nothing but man's credulity; but to talk of the real yet supernatural presence of a substance, is to present an idea which no rational mind can possibly entertain, because it involves a logical contrariety as well as a physical impossibility. A substance supernaturally present is a substance no longer, for, in this sense, its substance is identical with its entity. Therefore, if the substance of the body and blood are really present, in a supernatural way, the substance of the body and blood is substance no longer; and, therefore, this substance of the body and blood are not really present, although by the doctrine they are really present. That is to say, it is possible for a substance to be and not to be at the same moment. The subtle logicians who directed the movement, saw this *cul de sac* clearly enough.

Their mode of defending the presence was the same as that resorted to by their modern admirers. They were aware that, in the examinations of the fathers and martyrs of the English Reformation by their tormentors, some of them* had been betrayed into expressions, concerning the presence, which might be construed in favour of this doctrine.

* Especially Cranmer and Ridley.

Like their successors, therefore, in the present day, they were never weary of citing the authority of Ridley and Cranmer for this doctrine; well knowing all the while its inevitable tendency into the very heart of that Papistry, for their protest against whose apostasy from Christian truth these holy men had suffered martyrdom.

XI. The Laudian clergy denied that the Pope was Antichrist, or the Church of Rome apostate; they spoke of her as a beloved but erring sister. They conceded to the Pope a patriarchal authority, and reverenced him as *primus inter pares* among the bishops.

The proof of this is also rendered unnecessary by the revival of this mode of divinity in the present day. The mode of speaking and writing upon the Pope and Rome, adopted by the Tractarian divines, is most servilely copied from that of the Laudian clergy.

These particulars comprise, we apprehend, the main body of the doctrinal differences between Protestantism and Romanism. In every single point, it will be observed, there was a move in the direction of concession to Rome, yet so as to avoid a visible coincidence in any. If we take into consideration the state of public feeling in those times, the strong attachment to Protestant truth which had diffused itself far and wide over England, and the morbid sensibility of every shadow of danger to it, which had arisen out of the fiery trials to which it had so long been subjected, we shall find that this approximation at all points, was the very utmost that the temper of the times would allow,

upon the most sanguine calculation. The evidence, therefore, *primâ facie*, of the secret connexion of Laud with Rome receives a very strong corroboration, from the nature and extent of the changes which he forced upon the Church of England.

We have yet another class of proofs of the secret connexion of Laud and his party with Rome. The direction given, by the influence of this ambitious and busy dignitary, to the political movements of his times, was just as decidedly Romeward as was that of his ecclesiastical proceedings. The marriage of Charles to Henrietta Maria, a daughter of France, immediately on his accession, 1625, the permission to the Queen of an exercise of her religion, quite as unfettered as that which had been claimed by the Infanta, and the needlessly ample act of lenity towards Popish recusants which graced the nuptials, were measures to all of which Laud gave his hearty approbation, and in which, so far as his office required him, he was a most active agent. Twenty priests were liberated from prison, having his majesty's special pardon for all offences, on the third day after the marriage. The parliament then sitting was dissolved in disgust, in August the same year, after some delusive evasions of their remonstrances to the court upon the increase of Popery; and, from that period to the breaking out of the rebellion, there never ceased to be a determination on the part of the court (to which, we repeat it, Laud was ever the willing and ready agent) to promote, by every possible means, the efforts of the emissaries of Rome, to recover the people of England to her obedience, and to repress;

with the utmost practicable extremity of persecution, the progress, or even the exhibition, of the opposite principle of Protestantism. The amplitude of the proof of this part of the subject is the main difficulty that we have to encounter. We select one or two of the more prominent passages. The whole proof is co-extensive with the history of Laud's public life.

Our first selection shall be the book of Santa Clara, a translation of which, slightly modified, forms the notorious *Tract for the Times*, No. 90. The author of this most impudent and flagitious publication was either Damport or St. Giles. The authorship was never definitively assigned to either, nor is it of much importance, for they were both Romish priests, and of the same order. Its object was, we need scarcely explain, to show that a man might with a safe conscience subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, and remain nevertheless in the communion of the Church of Rome. It was entitled *Deus, Natura, et Gratia*, and first printed at Leyden in the year 1634, dedicated to our King Charles. The argument by which the writer prefaced his well-known gloss upon the Thirty-nine Articles, was the entire coincidence with that of Rome, of the theology of Mountague, Andrewes, and others of the *têtes exaltées* of Laud's party, whom he had put forth as *tentacula*, to feel how far it would be practicable with the public to proceed Romeward: himself remaining the while on the safe side of the invisible and constantly progressive line that was still assumed to separate the two Churches. From this

coincidence, Santa Clara inferred the very minute and unimportant character of the differences between Anglicanism and Romanism, and the desirableness of extinguishing those differences as soon as possible, for the sake of restoring the severed unity of the Catholic Church. Meanwhile, it was of no sort of importance to which of the two Churches the true Catholic belonged, as he proceeded to show, that nothing was more palpable, than that the Thirty-nine Anglican Articles presented no barrier whatever to communion with Rome. So exactly does this teaching flow as an inevitable consequence from the doctrine of Mountague and his compeers, that the suggestion that both had one origin, and were put forth in prosecution of the same design, immediately presents itself to the mind. The proceedings of Laud in regard of this infamous book and its author, leave no doubt whatever upon the point.

We must now remind the reader, that the most oppressive and vexatious restrictions upon the freedom of the press were enforced by Laud against the Puritans. The kingdom, from the diocese of Durham to that of Exeter, and from St. David's to Norwich, was kept in incessant agitation and turmoil by the rigorous and cruel proceedings of Laud and his myrmidons against the Puritans. The bishops' chaplains, to whom the censorship was assigned, suppressed or mutilated unsparingly every published work in which the slightest tendency towards the doctrines of the Reformation could be detected; while the committing to paper of even the most distant approach to disapproval of Laud's mad

proceedings, was accounted a libel, and the unfortunate objector was subjected to heavy fines, long imprisonment, and cruel mutilations. No words can express too strongly the utter bondage to which the press was subjected in the iron gripe of Laud. Having, therefore, this absolute and unlimited control over the entire press, nothing could have better indicated his approval of the design of Santa Clara than even his connivance at the circulation of his book. How, then, stands the case, when the reader is informed, that Laud accepted a splendidly-bound presentation-copy of Santa Clara's work for himself, and advised the King to do the same? and that without the slightest attempt at prevention, he allowed the original impression from Leyden to be imported and freely circulated here? and that even the printing of it in this country several times over, and its distribution in immense numbers, failed to elicit a single expression of disapprobation either from him or any of his agents?* But this falls short of the entire proof, which we can adduce, of the connivance of Laud with the design of Santa Clara. If Santa Clara, St. Giles, and Damport were all one and the same individual, which is far from improbable, Laud provided for St. Giles at Oxford, and he resided there with a comfortable annuity, under the protection of a special warrant from the King; he appears to have been one of Laud's most intimate friends, and in constant com-

* "Canterbury's Doom," p. 424, *seq.* No attempt is made to deny, in the defence, any single fact that we have stated here from the charge against the Archbishop by the Commons.

munication both with himself and the King. The point of identity, however, is unimportant. Laud distinctly admits on his trial that he had five several conferences with Santa Clara upon the subject of that and other works he was preparing, and he also admits that that Franciscan friar, as he styles him, was first introduced to him about the year 1630, by Dr. Lindsay, then his chaplain, but afterwards elevated by him to the see of Hereford (*Cant. Doom*, 427). Stronger historical evidence it is impossible to adduce of a criminal connexion in which the guilty parties had used every possible means to conceal and destroy the proofs of its existence.

The next point we shall notice, is the promotion of Windebank to be Secretary of State; a piece of mad impolicy, into which the weak and wilful Charles was drawn, solely through the influence of Laud, as we find by the following entry in the journal of the latter: "June 15, 1632. Master Francis Windebanke, my old friend, was sworn Secretary of State, which place I obtained for him of my gracious master King Charles." * The character of this statesman we give on the (on this point) perfectly unexceptionable testimony of Lord Clarendon.† "Against Secretary Windebank, they (the House of Commons) had more pregnant proof of offences within the verge of the law, than against any person they had accused since this Parliament (that of 1640); and of some that, it may be, might have proved capital, and so their appetite

* "Breviate," p. 18. "Nec. Int." p. 122.
† "Hist. Rebellion," b. iii. p. 76.

of blood might have been satisfied; for, besides his frequent letters of intercession in his own name, and signification of his Majesty's pleasure on the behalf of Papists and priests to the judges and to other ministers of justice, and protections granted by himself to priests, that nobody should molest them, he harboured some priests in his own house knowing them to be such; which, by the statute made in the twenty-ninth of Elizabeth, is made felony; and there were some warrants under his own hand for the release of priests out of Newgate, who were actually attainted of treason, and condemned, which by the strict letter of the statute would have been very penal to him." The man who could thus violate the laws in favour of Papists, was at the same time crowding the prisons of England with clergymen and laymen for daring to publish, in any form, the doctrines of the Reformation, and filling half the households of the land with misery and ruin, by the fines and sequestrations with which his patron Laud (with his assistance most willingly rendered) was enforcing the observance of his new ceremonial. We do not now blame Windebank because he did not persecute Papists, but because, while he screened the Papists from the penalties of existing laws, he, at the same time, and in defiance of all law, inflicted heavy penalties upon the Protestants. There is scarcely a doubt that Windebank was himself a Papist, and in the pay of some foreign court. He fled from England immediately on the arrest of the Earl of Stafford, in 1641, and had a most brilliant reception at Paris. The placing of such a man in such an office, by a

patron who professes himself to be his intimate and old friend, is assuredly a most suspicious circumstance: nor is it possible to suppose that Laud was either ignorant of his designs or unfriendly to them.

This suspicion becomes certainty, when we read Laud's reply upon his trial to the charge of connivance with Windebank. The man who in his notorious Star-chamber speech, committed Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick "to God's mercy and the King's justice;" (*Cyp. Ang.* p. 320;) who pulled off his cap and thanked God when he heard the tidings that the same detestable tribunal had passed a sentence, the sanguinary barbarity of which had scarcely a parallel even in its own blood-stained annals, upon Dr. Leighton; whose remorseless persecution of Protestantism had filled England with desolation and mourning and woe, had the fatuity or the impudence to boast in his defence that he had never given ill language to Jesuits, and to express a hope that it was no offence not to be a persecutor! (*Defence*, p. 558.) Assuredly Laud was no persecutor of the Papists. This honour belongs to him in common with Edmund Bonner, Stephen Gardiner, and every other persecutor of the Protestants whose name is recorded in history. It is not easy to conceive of a stronger presumptive proof of guilt than the adoption of such a line of defence. We proceed with our examination of the facts substantiated against him.

Laud's direct and immediate correspondence with Rome, was a point upon which the evidence was necessarily imperfect. Upon the causes of that

imperfection, the Report of the Commissioners for the sequestration of his papers expresses itself thus: "It is true we met with no letters (from dignitaries of the Romish Church) in his study or closet: but the reason was, himself, before his commitment, and afterward when he went to Lambeth, to fetch papers thence (his closet and study being not sealed up till some months after his commitment), had time and wisdom enough to convey all such letters out of the way, or burn them, lest they should rise in judgment to condemn him; though he removed not others thence, wherein he conceived least danger, the better to colour his removal or burning of the most dangerous." (*Canterb. Doom*, p. 560.) All this is very supposable in Laud's unhappy circumstances. He failed, however, in destroying the proofs of the occurrence of the following particulars, the reality of which, we conclude, to have been fully substantiated on his trial, as no refutation of them was attempted.

Laud was on terms of close intimacy with a Jesuit of rank, talent and influence, named Sir Toby Matthew. They were constantly seen together, sometimes in the Archbishop's barge, sometimes in his coach, and at other times in the garden at Lambeth. He was also a frequent guest at the archiepiscopal table. Five other Romish ecclesiastics are mentioned, who were also in the habit of frequently resorting to the Archbishop, and with all of whom he was evidently in negotiation.

The office of searcher at Dover, which was an institution of the times of Elizabeth, for the purpose of preventing the landing in England of semi-

nary priests and other emissaries of Rome, was, by Laud's means, put into the hands of two professed Papists: thereby, of course, defeating altogether the object of the institution, and making it into a facility instead of a hindrance to the evil designs of the Papacy.

He was twice offered a cardinal's hat from the Pope, by persons about Court, who were empowered to communicate with him. He mentions this singular fact in his own journal.—(*Breviate*, p. 18.)

He proceeded so severely against the persons employed by Parliament to detect disguised ecclesiastics, that they dared not perform the duties to which they were sworn. One of them, named Gray, was imprisoned for several months, and made to give bail never to discover or persecute priests more, before he was released.

While Laud was in this at once open and secret manner communicating with the Papacy, the scarcely concealed design of the French court and the Vatican to restore England to the unity of Rome was prosecuted with the utmost vigour. The Queen had boundless influence with her proud, weak-minded husband, and that influence was invariably exercised in favour of the Romish religion, for which there can scarcely be a doubt that Charles entertained himself a strong partiality.

One great step in advance, at which the design had arrived, when it was altogether demolished by the Revolution, was the interchange of official agents between the courts of the Vatican and of London. Between the years 1634 and 1641, there were three successive nuncios from Rome to Eng-

land, who kept their residences and were entertained in their legantine capacity in London, had frequent access to court, and held correspondence with divers of the nobility: especially with Mr. Secretary Windebank and the Bishop of Chichester (Mountague). The first of these nuncios was Gregorio Panzani, who arrived in London in December, 1634. He was succeeded by Giorgio Conne, a Scotch Jesuit, who arrived in June, 1636, was most magnificently entertained by the King, and left, after a residence of two years and upwards, having received of the nobility gifts to the value of many thousand pounds. Count Rosselli, a nobleman of Ferrara, immediately succeeded him, and remained at court until the breaking out of the troubles in 1641, when he fled with the Queen to France. Agents from the English court, with full diplomatic powers, were also at the same time resident in Rome: the first of them was Walter Mountague, the son of the Bishop of Chichester, who, more honest than his father, had turned Papist outright; he went to Rome in the year 1633. The second was Serjeant-major Bret, who succeeded him at the end of 1635. He, however, was soon displaced by Sir W. Hamilton, who remained in his official capacity at Rome, until the termination of Laud's archiepiscopate, by the breaking out of the Revolution. The mere fact of such a communication with Rome is sufficient to show the disposition of all the dominant authorities, to tamper with the terrible dangers of a return to the unity of Rome.

The true state of the court-feeling upon the

question is so well stated in the memoirs of Gregorio Panzani, the first of these nuncios, that we venture to give an extract from them, even at the risk of repeating that which may now be familiar to our readers. This work was first published in England, fifty years ago, by Mr. Berrington, a Romish priest well known at that time in the literary world, to illustrate the immediate object of Panzani's mission to this country, which was the settlement of a dispute between the Jesuits and the English secular priesthood. Panzani, "who was a secular priest of experienced virtue, of singular address, of polite learning, and in all respects well qualified for the business, was sent by the Pope to obtain information, not only of the true state of affairs among the Catholics, but also to feel the pulse of the nation with regard to other concerns." * The permission of the weak, unprincipled Charles was obtained, for the entrance of this agent of mischief into the kingdom, through the influence of the Queen and Windebank. He arrived in England in 1634, the year after Laud's elevation to the see of Canterbury. Shortly after his arrival he reported progress in a letter to Cardinal Barbarini at Rome, his immediate patron, full of hope, and detailing many hopeful symptoms. The King in his hearing exclaimed against the Reformation as a schism, that rather than it should have happened he would have parted with his right hand.—(p. 135.) The Archbishop of Canterbury had ordered the Psalms, in the daily service, to be read no longer, but sung in the Gregorian method

* "Memoirs of Panzani," 8vo., 1793, p. 132.

used in the Church of Rome, and the King himself had been the first to adopt it. The universities also were now forbidden any longer to make use of the works of the first Reformers, but were enjoined to apply themselves to the works of the ancient fathers and councils. Catholic schoolmasters were allowed to teach in several parts of the City of London. The writings and discourses of Protestants were in a different key from what formerly they had been. The King's preachers often took occasion to run into the praises of moderate Papists: they recommended the use of auricular confession: they extolled the beautifying and adorning of churches, and the paying respect to the name of Jesus by bowing, &c.: they disclaimed many of the popular calumnies fixed on the Church of Rome, owning her to be the mother Church and the author of happiness to many nations. Altars, images, relics, &c., were mentioned with respect, and many in common conversation wished for a re-union.—(pp. 135—139.)

This minute corroboration, from a Catholic witness, of every particle of the evidence brought by the Puritan House of Commons against Laud, is of the utmost value and importance in the establishment of the case against him, as a concealed agent of Rome.

Panzani describes Windebank (Laud's old friend) as "a Protestant by profession, yet no enemy to the Catholics, and prepared to go all lengths with the King and the court party."—(p. 142.) He told the nuncio at their first interview, that he might stay in England without apprehension or

hazard, and requested that his Holiness would write an obliging letter to the King; "for," said he, "why should not a common father make himself familiar with his children?"—(Id.) Panzani had constant access to the Queen, and Windebank soon contrived that he should meet the King also, though in a very remote and unsuspected place, the Queen being present. Charles received him graciously, recognized his official character of nuncio by taking off his hat while he kissed his hand, accepted very graciously the Pope's acknowledgments of his kind treatment of the Catholics, and owned that "he had always conceived a very exalted idea of the merits of Urban VIII., and had an uncommon affection for his person."—(Id.) The peculiar form which the end at which the dispensed party had been always working, was made to assume at this period, was that of an union of the Churches of England and Rome. Upon this most palpable of all delusions Panzani had frequent discourses with Windebank, as a question to which the holy see was most favourably disposed. Nay, the Pope himself wrote to Panzani, in a manner whence he wished it to be inferred, that he was by no means indisposed to the entertainment of such a proposition.—(p. 172.) And as to the wretched dissimulating Charles, it is really scarcely a doubtful point that he was himself a Papist in heart and secret profession.

The state of feeling in the Church at the period of Panzani's visit was fully expounded, also, to this very clever emissary, in the many interviews that he had with the Bishop of Chichester (Mountague),

at the especial request of that dignitary. The Bishop informed him that he himself was continually employed in disposing men's minds for a reunion with Rome, both by words and writings, as often as he met with an opportunity. He voluntarily acknowledged the Pope's supremacy, and expressed repeatedly his perfect willingness to kiss his feet and acknowledge himself to be one of his children. "The Archbishop of Canterbury," he added, "was entirely of his sentiment, but with a great allay of fear and caution." The proposal even to appoint deputies was fully discussed between them. Bishop Mountague was equally communicative with the nuncio upon the opinions of his brethren in the priesthood of the Anglican Church. He told him that there were only three bishops (Morton, Davenant, and Hall) who could be said to be violently bent against the Church of Rome, the rest he said were very moderate. From another hand the wily legate had obtained a particular character of each bishop, specifying their age, family, way of life, qualifications, and how they stood affected as to the present management of affairs at court; a document which he had transmitted to Rome. He therefore knew all this before. Mountague constantly returned, in all their conferences, to the subject of the union, as the one next his heart. The danger which the far-sighted Jesuit discerned in the attempt, and the difficulties in the execution, all vanished before his impetuous ardour to return to the unity of Rome. He dwelt with enthusiasm upon the great change which had been acomplished in public opinion in the preceding

ten years. Dr. George Leyburn, another of the court chaplains, also had assured Panzani, *in verbo sacerdotis*, that Laud encouraged the Duchess of Buckingham (who greatly wished to turn Catholic) to remain contented, for in a little while she would see England reunited to the see of Rome. Mountague solemnly declared to Panzani, at the conclusion of their many conferences, that both he and many of his brethren were prepared to conform themselves to the method and discipline of the Gallican Church when the civil rights were well guarded, adding, "*and as for the aversion we discover in our sermons and printed books, they are things of form, chiefly to humour the populace, and not to be much regarded.*"

Thus the existence of a design on the part of Laud and his clergy to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion in England, under the vain pretext of an union with Rome, is a fact unquestioned and unquestionable. It was objected against them by their Puritan opponents; it was proclaimed, with much triumph, by their Papist contemporaries; it was even avowed by themselves.* Now it has been our purpose in this somewhat long investigation to show that, from the commencement of Elizabeth's reign, this very design had been cherished by the Papacy: and that the agency whereby Rome hoped to accomplish it, was that of dispensed and concealed persons belonging to the order of the Jesuits. It is also perfectly evident that this identity of design is in itself an amply sufficient ground of inculpation in the guilt of the

* See Laud's Defence.

very wicked devices which Rome had framed to compass it: to say the least, it was a charge from which Laud and his clergy were bound to clear themselves. The trial of Laud afforded them amply the means of exculpation: means extended, in consideration of his high office, far beyond those which were usually granted to accused persons; inasmuch, as he was allowed to have frequent access to his papers before their sequestration. Notwithstanding this, he failed in rebutting the charge of having afforded every possible facility to the avowed agents of the Papacy in the prosecution of their designs in this country, and also in disproving the fact, that he had been on terms of frequent and intimate communication with the most dangerous of them. The inference is inevitable. Laud and his clergy constituted in England, during the reigns of James and Charles, that secret agency through the medium of which the Church of Rome designed to reduce this country to her obedience, an agency which she herself had created in the preceding reign by the dispensation of the Jesuits!

It would be easy to proceed with the inquiry through the subsequent periods of our history, and to show the workings of the same agency in the disastrous reigns of the two sons of the hapless Monarch whose terrible fate it was to have Laud for his counsellor. But our purpose having been to illustrate the designs of existing parties from the facts of history, it is already accomplished. LAUD, BISHOP AND MARTYR, is one of the gods of the modern Tractarians' idolatry. They are never weary of singing his praises; they are straining

every nerve to accomplish his vast and ambitious project. To those who entertain any doubt as to the tendency of that project, it may be useful to know that Laud was the secret agent of Rome, and to learn somewhat of the nature and character of that agency.

The invidious task of bringing home this subserviency to the machinations of Rome to individuals of the present day we would willingly decline; but we are bound by common honesty to avow our conviction that, though vast numbers have doubtless joined the Romeward movement that now distracts the Church of England in ignorance of its real nature and tendency, such cannot possibly have been the case with its first projectors. They must have been aware of the inevitable consequence and prepared for it. Their proceedings irrefragibly demonstrate this. The present large secession to Rome from the Church of England, consisting altogether of individuals of their opinions, has had not the slightest effect in modifying any one of their doctrines. On the contrary they put forth the very dogmas, the maintenance of which, convert after convert has unequivocally declared to be perfectly incompatible with adhesion to the formularies of the Church of England, more boldly and impudently than ever. Their assertions of facts which have been shewn to be false, are

reiterated by these writers in every imaginable form, just as if no such refutations had ever occurred. In consequence of these proceedings, the stream of converts to Rome continues its steady unvarying flow. What other cause, we should be glad to know, can possibly be assigned for this phenomenon than this teaching of theirs? Yet these very men are at the same time loud in their professions of loyalty to the Church of England, and vehement in their denunciations of the clergy who maintain Protestant principles, as the true disturbers of our Israel, whose forcible ejection from the ministry they do not scruple to advocate!

If the Company of the Jesuits really has dispensed members of its body who officiate as ministers in the Church, it is not possible for them to adopt any course which shall more manifestly serve the cause of Rome, than that which is now adopted by the Tractarian clergy.

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2. The labours of editors in this department have hitherto been gratuitous, and independent of the time, labour, and talent thus bestowed, some positive expenses must in almost every case be incurred by the editors who kindly assist in carrying out the objects of the Committee.

Yet it has not been in the power of the Committee to grant any sums for this purpose, consistently with the statement originally set forth, that "*the services of all literary contributors are entirely gratuitous.*"

The Committee have therefore rescinded that rule, for however some of themselves, or of their own immediate friends, would gladly assist gratuitously in carrying out the work, yet there is much valuable assistance to be derived from other quarters, of which they cannot avail themselves, without making some pecuniary, though inadequate acknowledgment.

3. The most important ground, however, is the being able to offer their works to the public at a cheaper price.

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