

History of the Popes, Their Church and State.

As an Historian Leopold Von Ranke has a reputation second to none, he was known for his dedication to accuracy and impartiality in his forceful presentation of facts. Of all the great Historic Works that Von Ranke has given the world, 'The History of the Popes,' that we include on this CD-ROM, is recognized as his greatest Work, it is the Work that won him world wide fame. Von Ranke's 'History of the Popes' is necessary reading for every person who wishes to know the true and impartial History of the Roman Catholic Church.

There is a great difference between the great Works of scholarship, produced with careful research by reliable Historians such as Von Ranke, and the raging hostility and religious prejudice so often found in that class of books generally known as "anti-Catholic." The careful Historian records the facts as they are found, he or she presents exactly what happened and why it happened, what led up to the incident, and the consequences and aftermath -- that is good History. The prejudice writer will take the terrible incidents and present them so they seem like unprovoked, spontaneous, acts of senseless violence. The acts themselves are often accurate, usually taken from some reliable Work of History, such as are presented on this CD-ROM, but with all else left out.

The partial truth, presented as the whole truth, is the usual method of propaganda. Not long ago, in our local newspaper, there was a long story, with impressive pictures of burning churches, of the Anti-Catholic riots in Philadelphia in the 1800s. The story failed to mention what led to the riots; the coming of large numbers of Catholic immigrants; the needy immigrants working for lower wages, and the Church using its influence to find employment for its people, all this caused unemployment and great suffering among non-Catholic citizens. And the fact that the immigrants usually followed the advice of their Church, as to whom to vote for, produced the usual political machine that defeats the Democratic process. All this created an intolerable situation for the desperate non-Catholic citizens who could see no way to correct the problem. Finally, from fear, frustration and desperation, there erupted the mob violence that was as inevitable as spontaneous combustion when certain volatile chemicals are mixed together.

To understand the cause does not justify the bloody riots and massacres of History, but to understand that these things are not simply random acts of meanness will allow wisdom to understand what is happening, and what it will lead to, and be able to correct the problem before the tragedy happens. Such are the uses of History, to know what has happened allows us to know what will happen when certain things come together.

There is also a great difference between the Vatican, and the Catholic Church. No one saw this better than the Great Catholic Historian Lord Action, who used his research abilities to trace some of the most outrageous acts of History back to the intrigues of the Vatican. History tells us that no people have suffered more than the Catholic people themselves from the plots, wars, aggressions and mistakes of the Vatican. There is no necessary connection between the political plotters in the Vatican and the worshipers in the churches, the worshipers should be aware of the danger of blindly following those who plot to conquer the whole world.

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LEOPOLD VON RANKE.

Photogravure from the original painting by Julius Schrader.



HISTORY OF THE POPES

THEIR CHURCH AND STATE

BY

LEOPOLD VON RANKE

Translated by E. FOWLER

WITH A SPECIAL INTRODUCTION BY

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REVISED EDITION

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SPECIAL INTRODUCTION

LEOPOLD VON RANKE won for himself a position among the historians of the world which he is never likely to lose. Whether we consider the width and depth of his erudition, the impartial spirit in which he conducted his investigations, or the comprehensiveness of his historical views, we must pronounce him to be the type of the scientific historian and the model who may be safely imitated by all his successors. The long list of his compositions bears sufficient testimony to his unwearying industry.

It would hardly be possible to set forth the qualities of this great historian better than was done on the occasion of his death, in May, 1896, by one of the first of our English historians, Dr. S. R. Gardiner. He truly remarks that to speak of Ranke "as the greatest historian of his time is to fail to appreciate his work at its due value. He was more than this. He was a path-maker, and that, too, not in one direction only. . . . He developed instinctively in himself all the tendencies which were to appear in the collective work of a younger generation. It would have been much for any man to lead the way in the conscientious use of manuscript authorities, or in the divorce of history from modern politics, or in the search into the roots of character and action in the mental and moral attainments of each special period. It was Ranke's glory, not only to have pointed the way in all these matters, but in one respect to have reached an achievement which was all his own. No one else has been able to speak with equal authority on the history of so many nations. Grote wrote nothing on the history of Rome, Mommsen has written nothing on the history of Greece. Ranke was equally at home in the Germany of the Reformation, in the France of Louis XIV, and in the England of Charles I and Cromwell."

It can hardly be said to derogate from the peculiar character

and excellency of Von Ranke's work that he lived through the most eventful period in the history of the world, and that the state of Germany during his youth almost constrained him to give his attention to the history of the other nations of Europe; and it may have arisen as much from his circumstances as from his temperament that he showed more interest in the doings of statesmen than in the lives and characters of the actors in the dramas whose progress he narrates. One advantage at least results from his lack of enthusiasm, that he does not, like Macaulay, write under the perpetual bias of political sentiment. We can always follow him without the slightest fear of being misled by the prejudices of the writer.

If Ranke had begun his historical investigations at a somewhat later period, his tone might have been different. The fall of the great Napoleon took place when he was barely twenty years of age, and he was nearly seventy-five when the second Napoleon proclaimed war upon Prussia and gave occasion for the foundation of the new German Empire. The greater part of his historical work was accomplished in the interval between these two events.

Ranke was born December 21, 1795, at Wiehe, a small town of Thuringia, about twenty-seven miles from Merseburg, capital of the government of the same name in Prussian Saxony. He studied at the Gymnasium of Schulpforta, and subsequently at the University of Leipzig under the eminent Greek scholar Hermann, by whom he was guided to the study of the historians of antiquity. On leaving the university in 1818, he was made professor of history at the Gymnasium of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, a position in which he was enabled to give the greater part of his thoughts to the study of history, especially to the latter part of the fifteenth century and to the sixteenth. As a result of these studies, he published, in 1824, his first contributions to history, namely, a "History of the Latin and Germanic Nations" ("*Geschichte der romanischen und germanischen Völker*") and "Contributions to the Critical Study of some Modern Historians" ("*Kritik neuerer Geschichtschreiber*"). In the latter work he laid down the true principles of historical composition, the scientific methods which he was henceforth to inculcate by precept and example. It has been remarked that these treatises are characterized by a certain

crudeness of style. Germans, as a people, have never greatly excelled in this respect, and German literature had had only a short life when Ranke began to write. It is, however, more worthy of note that, even in these earlier compositions, the historian already displayed the clearness of insight, the scientific instinct, the comprehensiveness of view which he never lost.

The first publications of Ranke were so remarkable, especially as being the work of a man living at a distance from great public libraries, that we cannot wonder that they soon came under the notice of the Minister of Public Education, who lost no time in appointing the author *Professor extraordinarius* in the University of Berlin (1825). In this new post he had much greater facilities for carrying on his historical studies and investigations. At Berlin, in the collection of the Royal Library, he discovered in manuscript the "Secret Relations of the Venetian Ambassadors," giving an account of their diplomatic missions to the various countries of Europe. Ranke immediately perceived the importance of these documents, and embodied much of their contents in a volume on the "Princes and Peoples of Southern Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" ("*Fürsten u. Völker von Südeuropa*"), published in 1827, and republished fifty years afterward under the title "The Ottomans and the Spanish Monarchy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." We can hardly overestimate the importance of the work of Ranke in bringing to the light documents hitherto concealed from the public eye. At the present day such collections are for the most part accessible to all students of history; and it is to Ranke more than anyone else that we are indebted for the change.

In 1827 he obtained the means of visiting some of the great libraries and depositories of documents in Southern Europe; so that he was able to spend four years in Venice, Vienna, Rome, and Florence, where he discovered much material available for future use. Returning to Berlin, he gave himself with great devotion to the duties of his chair, while he afforded proofs of the value of his researches in the South by several publications, among others a history of the Servian Revolution ("*Die serbische Revolution, 1829*"). One of his most important undertakings about this time was the "Historical and Political

Journal" (*"Historische-politische Zeitschrift"*), 1832-1836. In this review several valuable studies, on the different forms of government and other subjects, appeared, and were afterward republished in his collected works.

But the work which first gave Ranke his assured place among the great historians of the world was that which is presented in these volumes—"The Popes of Rome, their Church and State, in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" (*"Die Romanischen Päbste, ihre Kirche und ihr Staat im XVI und XVII Jahrhundert"*), of which the first volume appeared in 1834 and the third and last in 1837. To this great work we shall presently return, so that here it may suffice to remark that the work was universally recognized as both adequate and impartial, so that it has been translated into the principal languages of Europe, and by three different translators into English. It is truly remarked by a French writer that never before had there proceeded from a Protestant pen an estimate so impartial of the political and religious situation of the epoch of the great crisis of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a picture so striking of the part of the Catholic Church in those times of strife and trouble, or a description so intelligent and sagacious of all those pontiffs who occupied the Holy See during that period, from Leo X to Paul IV and Sixtus V. "It was," the writer remarks, "great history, written by a man who loved truth for itself, one who knew well the heart of man, and who was no less able to set forth, in artistic fashion, the discoveries of the scholar and the judgments of the moralist."

Soon afterward Ranke put forth the first volume of a work which in some measure was complementary to his "History of the Popes," the "History of Germany in the Time of the Reformation" (*"Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation"*). The work extended to six volumes, published from 1839 to 1847. From this time, although individuals might prefer one or another of the historians of Germany, the general verdict gave to Ranke a place of supremacy among them. Men who were put forward as having a superior claim as historians are now almost forgotten. A whole school of historical writers has sprung from him. He is the father of Neander and Gieseler and of many more. The great Niebuhr gave

him the first place; and Döllinger pronounced him to be "*Præceptor Germaniæ.*"

The "History of the Popes," had made Ranke Ordinary Professor of history at Berlin, and in 1841 he became historiographer royal. In recognition of this honor he put forth a work of less interest, "Nine [afterward twelve] Books of Prussian History" ("*Neun Bücher preussischer Geschichte*"), in three volumes, 1847-1848. It will be remembered that this was not a time quite favorable for such a publication. This was followed by a history of France principally in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ("*Französische Geschichte vornehmlich im XVI und XVII Jahrhundert*"), in five volumes, 1852-1861. When it is remembered that this history covers the period of time that lies between Francis I and Louis XIV, the time of French supremacy in Europe, a supremacy gained by so many doubtful means, it will be understood how arduous and delicate was the task imposed upon himself by a German writer; yet it is confessed that Ranke has marshalled his facts and pronounced his judgments with a calmness and an impartiality which could hardly be excelled. Michelet speaks of it as a work beyond all praise.

The next important work of our historian was one in which English-speaking men and women, whether in Great Britain or in the Western Hemisphere, have a nearer and warmer interest. Ranke's "History of England principally in the Seventeenth Century" ("*Englische Geschichte vornehmlich im XVI und XVII Jahrhundert*") was published in six volumes (1859-1867), and a later edition in nine (1870-1874). The author had thus taken up in turn the histories of Spain, of Italy, of France, of Germany, and of England, tracing the rise and development of those great nations and examining their mutual influence during the most critical periods of their history. If this great work lacks something of the vivacity of his earlier writings, it is not inferior to them in the vastness of the knowledge which it displays nor yet in the sagacity and fairness of its judgments.

When the last volume of his English history was published, Ranke was in his eightieth year, and might well have claimed the repose which he had so well earned. But he could not yet feel that his work was done, and so he began the issue of

a series of treatises on German history intended as supplementary to his previous writings on this subject. Among these may merely be mentioned a "History of Germany between the Religious Peace and the Thirty Years' War" (1868), a "History of Wallenstein" (1869), "The German Powers and the League of Princes" (1872), "Contributions to the History of Austria and Prussia between the Treaties of Aachen and Hubertsburg" (1875), "The Origin and Beginning of the Revolutionary War" (1875), "The Memories of Hardenburg" (1877). But a still grander scheme hovered before the imagination of the aged historian. This was nothing less than the idea of a universal history.

The first volume of this great undertaking appeared in 1880, and year after year saw the appearance of a new volume, reaching to the number of twelve, when death cut short the work, May 23, 1886, while he was occupied with the Middle Ages. The work was not a history in the ordinary sense of the word: it was not a continuous narrative of events connected with particular countries or epochs. It was rather a commentary upon the history of the world and presupposed a considerable knowledge of facts on the part of the reader. It was a review of history by a great savant and a great thinker, who could cast his eye over the large area before him, and speak with the authority of knowledge and wisdom of the men and the events of the past, and give us out of his own fulness a true conception of the philosophy of history.

Few men have labored more assiduously, more devotedly than Ranke. Few men have been more loyal to the idea of life and work which they set before themselves. It may also be said that few men have obtained more generous recognition from their own age and from those in authority. From the government he received every kind of assistance, and by the royal family he was treated as an intimate friend. In 1865 he was raised to the nobility. In 1867 he was made a member of the Order of Merit, and in 1882 a privy councillor. In 1885 his ninetieth birthday was kept as a public holiday, while the Emperor visited him at his house and personally offered his congratulations.

An interesting account of the personal appearance of von Ranke is given by a writer in "Blackwood's Magazine" (Au-

gust, 1886): "Long ago, about the time of the great war, I often met him, most commonly in the Thiergarten [in Berlin]; the small figure—he was not much over five feet—and the peculiarly finely poised head with the clear outline of the face, readily recognizable from afar. He had a curious old-fashioned way of saluting ladies, even out-of-doors, with a kiss on either cheek, after first asking permission in a formula which carried one back to Minna von Barnhelm and Chodowiecki's drawings. So kindly and so funny, too, it was. He was very small in stature, but few men have made such a majestic impression. The head was superb, finely chiselled, with a great arched forehead, exceedingly mobile lips, covered only during the last few years of his life by a long white beard, and very bright eyes, with an incessantly inquiring and keenly interested look. He seemed to send this look before him, to recognize and to welcome."—(Sophie Weisse.) The same writer tells us that she heard from Ranke of an American who had visited him and asked whether he expected to finish his great undertaking, the "*Weltgeschichte*." "*Lieber Freund*," said the great historian, "*ich glaube*"—and here with an implied religious faith—"und wenn Gott will, dass ich mein werk vollende, so werde ich es vollenden." "Yes," he went on, "it is finished, the whole '*Weltgeschichte*' is finished here," touching his head; "but from one's head to the pen is a long way: so many a thing must be gone over again, many facts settled and confirmed, much elaborated [*ausgearbeitet*] as it should be." Being asked whether he did not enjoy his work, he replied: "My work? Oh, surely! It is my life. I live to work. As long as I live, I shall work"—with that magnificent upward look, says the writer, which those who have seen it will not readily forget.

Those who may wish for illustrations of the industry and insight, both almost superhuman, of the great historian, may safely be referred to a most valuable collection of historical and biographical essays ("*Historisch-biographische Studien*") published by him in 1877. These "Studies" deal with several subjects of great difficulty, and are not only monuments of the wonderful patience and perseverance of the antiquary, but are striking exemplifications of the penetrating intelligence of the historian. One example may here be noticed, as a speci-

men of the acuteness and insight of the historian in discerning the respective authority of historical testimony and solving a problem which had presented great difficulties to previous writers. We refer to the interview between Lorenzo de' Medici and Savonarola, when the former lay dying.

It is well known that two different accounts have been given of the incident, Roscoe and others preferring to follow the testimony of Politian, while Villari and others followed the two biographers of Savonarola, Pico della Mirandola, and Burlamacchi, both friends of the great Frate. The differences had reference to several points; for example, the way in which Savonarola came to visit the dying man at all. According to Roscoe, Savonarola almost forced his presence upon Lorenzo: according to the other side, Lorenzo sent and entreated him to come; and Savonarola reluctantly consented, being persuaded that no good result could be hoped for. Passing over the fact that Roscoe adds considerable details, not contained in his authorities, we note that there were various incidents in the accounts of the interview which could not be reconciled. For example, according to Pico and Burlamacchi, Savonarola demanded of Lorenzo that he should restore "liberty to his native country, as it was in the early days of Florence," and that Lorenzo, while ready to confess his faith in God and his need of divine mercy, and even to restore money which he had wrongfully taken away, resisted this attack upon the pride and ambition of his family, and angrily turned his back upon the friar, refusing to utter another word.

Writers who took the view most favorable to Savonarola had urged, first, that Politian was not present during the whole of the interview. In his letter describing the last days of Lorenzo's life, he states that he several times went into an adjoining chamber; and another witness asserts expressly that, "during the interview, the others left the room." Further, it has been urged that the facts generally must have been communicated by Savonarola himself to his biographers, while their account is intrinsically the more probable. On the whole, the weight of evidence seemed decidedly on the side of Savonarola. Yet the difficulties were so great that writers like Perrens and Milman took the other view, and this to a large extent on account of a passage in the narrative of Burlamacchi.

This writer relates that Lorenzo said he had three sins to confess, for which he asked absolution: the sack of Volterra; the money taken from the Monte delle Fanciulle, whereby a number of orphan girls were reduced to destitution; and the blood shed in punishing those who were implicated in the Pozzi conspiracy.

It has naturally been objected that these circumstances could not have been known without a violation of the secrecy of the confessional; and this was a difficulty not easily surmounted. But here, as in so many historical questions of difficulty, the genius of the historian triumphed. Previous writers had generally assumed that the biography of Burlamacchi, as coming from a member of the Dominican order, must be of greater authority than that of Pico. But Ranke shows conclusively that, if we follow the lead of Pico, most of the difficulties connected with the interview will disappear. In the first place the so-called confession of Lorenzo, recorded by Burlamacchi, falls away, having no place in the story told by Pico. In the second place, the account given by the latter presents no difficulties. It may be well to state the case in Ranke's own words (*"Studien,"* s. 350):

"According to Pico, Savonarola declined to hear a formal confession from Lorenzo until he had satisfied him on three points. Above all he must have faith. Next he must restore the money provided as the dower for young girls, which he had appropriated, or else give orders to his heirs to do so. To the first Lorenzo consented, and he promised to take care for the second. Then, it is said, Savonarola brought forward the third point, he must restore her liberty to Florence. *'Libertatem patriae restituere, ut in statu pristino Florentina respublica collocetur.'* All this is repeated by Burlamacchi, as follows: *'e necessario che si restituisca Firenze in liberta e nel suo stato popolare a uso di repubblica.'* But then he adds a statement which is inconsistent with the narrative of Pico into which he brings it: he represents Lorenzo as confessing three principal sins; referring to the testimony of trustworthy sureties. In this case, however, the testimony is not credible; for in such a case there would be a violation of the secrecy of the confessional. The incident, therefore, as reported by Burlamacchi, is impossible. But there is no such impossibility in

the narrative of Pico. It is quite consistent with what Politian says, namely, that he exhorted Lorenzo to a virtuous life, to which it is quite natural that other particulars should be added of which Politian was not aware; and Savonarola might speak of such exhortations as were not connected with a regular confession. Even in this view many difficulties remain; and I do not put forward these suggestions as a complete solution. It is clear, however, that Pico hands on the original tradition as it was held by the followers of the Frate, whereas in Burlamacchi there is much that is fabulous and impossible."

Here is an example of careful investigation and penetrating historical criticism which may be regarded as a model by all laboring in the same field. It may be mentioned, in regard to this particular case, that Dr. Bass Mullinger, Professor of history in the University of Cambridge, who had previously followed Milman here, after reading von Ranke's essay, declared, in a letter to the present writer, that it was conclusive in regard to this particular incident, and especially in regard to the respective merits of the biographers of Savonarola.

And now, turning to the great work before us, the "History of the Popes, their Church and State; and especially their conflicts with Protestantism in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," it is obvious to remark that the book, which is admirably written and well translated, will here tell its own story. Moreover, its moral has been set forth in the brilliant pages of Macaulay, in his well known essay on "Von Ranke." As this essay is within the easy reach of all, we will make only two extracts from it. In the first place we have Macaulay's judgment of the characteristic merits of this history. It "is known and esteemed," he says, "wherever German literature is studied, and has been found interesting in a most inaccurate and dishonest French version. It is indeed the work of a mind fitted both for minute researches and for large speculations. It is written also in an admirable spirit, equally remote from levity and bigotry, serious and earnest, yet tolerant and impartial." So much for the general historical character of the book.

The special teaching of the history is pointed out with equal force and precision. Macaulay states it in this fashion: "The subject of this book has always appeared to us singularly in-

teresting. How it was that Protestantism did so much, yet did no more, how it was that the Church of Rome, having lost a large part of Europe, not only ceased to lose, but actually regained nearly half of what she had lost, is certainly a most curious and important question; and on this question Professor Ranke has thrown far more light than any other person who has written on it." This is high praise, and we are not aware that any critic has ever called it in question.

In regard to the papacy, Ranke struck the true historical note near the beginning of his history. Speaking of the process by which the Church came to be constituted on the model of the empire, he remarks: "No long time had elapsed before the bishops of Rome acquired the supremacy. It is indeed a vain pretence to assert that this supremacy was universally acknowledged by East and West, even in the first century, or, indeed, at any time, but it is equally certain that they quickly gained a pre-eminence, raising them far above other ecclesiastical dignitaries." So far we discern the calm judgment of the impartial historian, simply desirous of ascertaining and stating the truth.

Equally fair and accurate is his statement of the causes which produced the state of things in which the Roman pontiffs became supreme. "Many causes concurred to secure them this position; for if the relative importance of each provincial capital secured to its bishop a corresponding weight and dignity, how much more certainly would this result take place as regarded the ancient capital of the empire, that city whence the whole had derived its name? Rome was, besides, one of the most illustrious seats of the apostles [if by that the author means sees, the seat of an episcopate, we must hesitate to follow him]; here had the greater number of the martyrs shed their blood. The bishops of Rome had displayed the most undaunted firmness throughout the different persecutions, and had sometimes been scarcely installed in their sacred office before they followed their predecessor in the path of that martyrdom by which his seat had been vacated." It is an admirable statement of the process by which the bishops of Rome rose to their proud pre-eminence in the Church of Christ; and if the story has now become familiar to us, it is perhaps owing to Ranke more than to any other writer that it has become so.

Equally excellent is his sketch of the relation of the papacy to the empire during the Middle Ages.

It is, however, when the historian reaches the period to which his volumes are specially devoted that we recognize the fulness of his knowledge, the firmness of his grasp, and his great power of presentation, by which he sets before us the successive stages in the history of the Church; on the one hand bringing out the essential character of the period and of the men who determined the direction of events; on the other, furnishing such details in the life and work of men as lend a living interest to the story which he narrates. And everywhere we remark the same calm spirit of loyalty to the truth of history, without a leaning in favor of the side he would himself espouse or any indication of antagonism to that which he would condemn. Whether he tells of the great advances made by the Reformation in its earlier periods, or of the reaction in the Counter-Reformation, when Rome won back much of that which she had lost, it is the historian that is speaking, not the partisan.

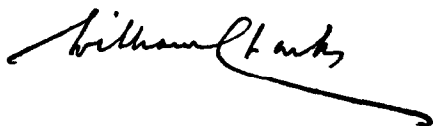
This is remarkable in Ranke's dealing with the popes. Even Alexander VI is treated with a kind of courtesy while the plain truth is told about him. Leo X, the "elegant pagan Pope," as Carlyle called him, has full justice done to him, although the widest charity could hardly speak of him as a Christian in faith or practice. Some of the popes that follow evoke a keener interest, but all stand before us as living men whom we know, and who, we feel sure, are represented to us as they lived, nothing extenuated, nor ought set down in malice.

Not less remarkable and commendable are those passages which tell of the relations of the papacy to foreign countries, of the terrible invasion of Italy, for example, by the German armies of Charles V, and the sack of Rome, when "the bloodthirsty soldiery, hardened by long privations and rendered savage by their trade, burst over the devoted city." The result of this terrible invasion is told in a few words which stamp themselves upon the memory. "How vivid a lustre was cast over the beginning of the sixteenth century by the splendor of Rome: it designates a period most influential in the development of the human mind. This day saw the light of that splendor extinguished forever."

No less striking is the brief but relatively complete account given of the loss of England under Elizabeth to the papacy. After speaking of the violent and impolitic conduct of Paul IV, he adds, "Thus had Elizabeth not been disposed to the opinion of the Protestants, the force of her circumstances would have compelled her to adopt that party." In reference to this and other imprudences of the papacy, the author remarks: "We are warranted in declaring that the popedom seemed destined to suffer no injury to which it had not itself conduced, in one way or another, by its tendency to interference in political affairs." As a result of the aggressions of the reforming party and the unwisdom of Rome, he remarks: "And now, if we survey the world from the heights of Rome, how enormous were the losses sustained by the Catholic faith! Scandinavia and Great Britain had wholly departed; Germany was almost entirely Protestant; Poland and Hungary were in fierce tumult of opinion; in Geneva was to be found as important a central point for the schismatics of the Latin nations and of the West, as was Wittenberg for those of Germanic race and the East, while numbers were already gathering beneath the banners of Protestantism in France and the Netherlands."

It seemed as though victory were assured to the Protestant faith and Europe were lost to Rome. But the history before us tells another tale. It would be interesting to linger here over the pages in which Ranke tells of the means whereby the tide of conquest was rolled back, how practical abuses were met and remedied by the great Council of Trent; how the mighty society founded by Loyola brought help and strength to the wavering armies of Rome; how Austria, to her own great and irreparable loss, crushed the growing spirit of reform within her borders, and helped to desolate Germany at large in the Thirty Years' War; how France, at one time almost a reformed country, underwent reaction and finally drove some of her noblest sons, because they were Protestants, from her borders; and how the endless divisions and conflicts among the Protestants themselves furnished arms to their adversaries and weakened their own power of aggression, but these things will be found told in the pages before us; and it is our present business to assure the reader that he will not find the details of the story wearisome, uninteresting, or un instructive.

To those who are familiar with other historical writings treating of the same period, it will be a matter of astonishment to observe how little Ranke owes to those who had gone before him, and how little is added to his representation of the subject by those who have come after him. It has often been said that Ranke was the founder of a school, the initiator of a method, in history; and the statement is hardly too strong. At least it is a true verdict which declares that he has here given us history, and not the personal feelings of a partisan, and that he has given us not only history, but literature, showing that the noble language which he wielded was adapted, not merely for setting forth the investigations of science and the speculations of philosophy, but also for clothing human thought and historical facts in garments of grace and beauty.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "William Clark". The signature is written in black ink and features a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

RANKE'S INTRODUCTION

THE power of Rome in the early and Middle Ages is universally known: in modern times, also, she has exercised renewed influence over the world. After the decline of her importance, in the first half of the sixteenth century, she once more raised herself to be the centre of faith and opinion to the Romanic nations of southern Europe, and made bold, and often successful, attempts to recover her dominion over those of the North.

This period of a revived church-temporal power—its renovation and internal development—its progress and decline—it is my purpose to describe, at least in outline; an undertaking which, however imperfectly it may be performed, could never have been attempted, had I not found opportunity to avail myself of certain materials hitherto unknown. My first duty is to give a general indication of these materials and their sources.

In an earlier work* I have already stated the contents of our Berlin MSS.; but Vienna is incomparably richer than Berlin in treasures of this kind.

Besides its essentially German character, Vienna possesses also an element more extensively European: the most diversified manners and languages meet in all classes, from the highest to the lowest, and Italy in particular is fully and vividly represented. Even the collections in this city present a comprehensiveness of character, attributable to the policy of the state and its geographical position; its ancient connection with Spain, Belgium, and Lombardy; and its proximity to and ecclesiastical relations with Rome. The Viennese have from the earliest times displayed a taste for collecting, possessing, and preserving; whence it arises that even the original and purely national collections of the imperial library are of great value: to these, various foreign collections have since been added. A number of volumes similar to the Berlin *Informazioni* were purchased

*In the Preface to the "Ottoman and Spanish Empires in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries."

at Modena, from the house of Rangone; from Venice were acquired the invaluable manuscripts of the Doge Marco Foscarini; including his materials for a continuation of his literary undertaking, the "Italian Chronicles," of which no trace is elsewhere to be found; and the bequest of Prince Eugene added a rich collection of historical and political manuscripts, which had been formed, with comprehensive judgment, by that distinguished statesman. The reader is animated by feelings of pleasure and hope, on examining the catalogues, and perceiving the many unexplored sources of knowledge that will enable him to supply the deficiencies manifest in almost all printed works of modern history. A whole futurity of study! And at the distance of a few steps only, Vienna presents literary subsidies still more important. The imperial archives contain, as might be expected, the most authentic and valuable records for the elucidation of German, and general, but particularly of Italian history. It is true that the greater part of the Venetian archives have been restored, after many wanderings, to Venice; but there still remains in Vienna a mass of Venetian manuscripts far from unimportant; despatches, original or copied, and abstracts thereof made for the use of the State, and called "Rubricaries;" reports which, in many instances, are the only copies extant; official registers of public functionaries, chronicles, and diaries. The notices to be found in the present volumes, relating to Gregory XIII and Sixtus V, are for the most part derived from the archives of Vienna. I cannot sufficiently acknowledge the unconditional liberality with which I was permitted to have access to these treasures.

And perhaps I ought here to particularize the many and various aids afforded me in furtherance of my attempt, both at home and abroad, but I feel restrained by a scruple (whether well-founded or not, I am unable to decide), that I should have to mention so many names, some of them of great eminence, as would give my gratitude the appearance of vain-glory; and a work, which has every reason to present itself modestly, might assume an air of ostentation ill suited to its pretensions.

Next to Vienna, my attention was principally directed to Venice and Rome.

It was formerly the almost invariable practice of great houses in Venice to form a cabinet of manuscripts, as an adjunct to

the library. It was in the nature of things that these would relate principally to the affairs of the republic. They served to show the part taken by the respective families in public affairs, and were preserved as records and memorials of the house, for the instruction of its younger members. Some of these private collections still remain, and I had access to several; but much the larger number were destroyed in the general ruin of 1797, or since. If more have been preserved than might have been expected, the gratitude of the world is due chiefly to the librarians of St. Mark, who labored to save, from the universal wreck, whatever the utmost resources of their institution would permit them to secure. Accordingly this library possesses a considerable store of manuscripts, indispensable to the history of the city and State, and which are even valuable aids toward that of Europe. But the inquirer must not expect too much from it: it is a somewhat recent acquisition; gathered, almost at hazard, from private collections; incomplete and without unity of plan. It is not to be compared with the riches of the State archives, especially as these are now arranged. I have already given a sketch of the Venetian archives, in my inquiry into the conspiracy of 1618, and will not repeat what I there said. For my Roman investigations, the reports of the ambassadors returning from Rome, were above all desirable; but I had great reason to wish for assistance from other collections, because none are free from *lacunæ*, and these archives must necessarily have sustained losses in their many wanderings. In different places I gathered together forty-eight reports relating to Rome: the oldest dating from the year 1500; nineteen of the sixteenth, twenty-one of the seventeenth century; these formed an almost complete series, having only a few breaks here and there. Of the eighteenth century there were, it is true, only eight, but these, too, were very instructive and welcome. In the majority of cases I saw and used the originals. They contain a great number of interesting notices, the results of personal observation, which had passed out of memory with the generation. It was from these that I first derived the idea of a continued narrative, and these also inspired me with courage to attempt it.

It will be obvious that Rome alone could supply the means for verifying and extending these materials.

But was it to be expected that a foreigner, and one professing a different faith, would there be permitted to have free access to the public collections, for the purpose of revealing the secrets of the papacy? This would not perhaps have been so ill-advised as it may appear, since no search can bring to light anything worse than what is already assumed by unfounded conjecture, and received by the world as established truth. But I cannot boast of having had any such permission. I was enabled to take cognizance of the treasures contained in the Vatican, and to use a number of volumes suited to my purpose; but the freedom of access which I could have wished was by no means accorded. Fortunately, however, other collections were thrown open to me, from which I could acquire information, which, if not complete, was very extensive and authentic. In the flourishing times of aristocracy, more particularly in the seventeenth century, it was customary throughout Europe for the great families, who had administered the affairs of state, to retain possession of some of the public documents. This practice prevailed in Rome to a greater extent, perhaps, than in any other State. The reigning kinsmen of the pontiff, who in all ages exercised considerable power, usually bequeathed as an heir-loom to the princely houses they founded, a large part of the state papers accumulated during their administration. These constituted a part of the family endowments. In the palaces which they erected, a few rooms, usually in the upper part of the building, were always reserved for books and manuscripts, which each succeeding generation contributed to enrich. Thus, to a certain extent the private collections of Rome may be regarded as the public ones, as the archives of state were dispersed among the descendants of reigning houses, without any objection being made to the practice; much in the same manner as the redundancy of public wealth was suffered to flow into the coffers of the papal kindred, and certain private galleries, such as the Borghese or Doria, became greatly superior to the Vatican, both in extent and historical importance, though the latter is distinguished by its selection of masterpieces. The manuscripts which are preserved in the Barberini, Chigi, Altieri, Albani, and Corsini palaces, are accordingly of inestimable value, for the aid they give toward a history of the popes, their State and Church. The

state-paper office, recently established, is particularly important for its collection of registers illustrative of the Middle Ages; which, as regards that period, will still repay the inquirer; but, so far as my knowledge extends, I do not believe that much is to be gained from it for later centuries. Its value sinks into insignificance, unless I have been purposely deceived, when compared with the wealth and magnificence of private collections. Each of these comprises, as may be readily supposed, that epoch in which the pope of the family reigned; but as the kindred of each pontiff usually retained an eminent station; as men are in general desirous of extending and completing a collection once begun, and as opportunities were frequent in Rome, from the literary traffic in manuscripts established there; so the whole of these private collections possess many valuable documents illustrating other periods, both proximate and remote. The richest of all (in consequence of important bequests), is the Barberini; that of the Corsini Palace has been remarkable from its commencement for the care and judgment with which it has been formed. I was fortunately permitted to use all these collections, as well as others of less importance; and in some instances with unrestricted freedom. An unhoped-for harvest of authentic and suitable materials thus lay before me. As for example, correspondences of the nuncios (*nunciaturæ*), with the instructions given to them, and the reports which were brought back; circumstantial biographies of different popes, written with the more freedom, because not intended for the public; lives of distinguished cardinals; official and private journals; investigations of particular circumstances and transactions; special opinions and deliberations; reports on the administration of the provinces, their trade and manufactures; statistical tables, and accounts of receipts and disbursements. These documents, for the most part entirely unknown, were prepared by men practically acquainted with their subject, and of a credibility which, though it does not supersede the necessity for a searching and critical examination, is equal to that usually accorded to the testimony of well-informed contemporaries. The oldest of these MSS. of which I made use, related to the conspiracy of the Porcari against Nicholas V. Of the fifteenth century I met with only a few; but on entering the sixteenth, they became more numerous and more comprehensive

at every step. Though the whole course of the seventeenth century, during which so little is known with certainty respecting Rome, they afford information, the more valuable because of its previous dearth. After the commencement of the eighteenth century, they decrease in number and intrinsic value; but at that time the Roman State and court had already lost much of their influence and importance. I will go through those Roman MSS., as well as the Venetian, in detail, at the end of the work, and will there not whatever I may find deserving attention, and which I could not well introduce in the course of the narrative. The large mass of materials, both manuscript and printed, which are lying before me, renders a stringent condensation indispensable.

An Italian or Roman, a Catholic, would enter on the subject in a spirit very different from mine. By indulging in expressions of personal veneration, or, perhaps, in the present state of opinion, of personal hatred, he would give to his work a peculiar, and, no doubt, more brilliant coloring; on many points he would be more elaborate, more ecclesiastical, more local. In these respects, a Protestant, a North German, cannot be expected to compete with him. He regards the papal power with feelings of more indifference; and must, from the first, renounce that warmth of expression which arises from partiality or hostility; and which might, perhaps, produce a certain impression in Europe. For mere matters of ecclesiastical or canonical detail, we can have no true sympathy; on the other hand, our position affords us different, and, if I am not mistaken, purer and less partial views of history.* For what is there in the present day that can make the history of the papal power of importance to us? Not its particular relation to ourselves; for it no longer exercises any essential influence, nor does it create in us solicitude of any kind; the times are past in which we had anything to fear; we now feel ourselves perfectly secure. Popery can now inspire us with no other interest than what results from the development of its history and its former influence.

The papal power was, however, not so unchangeable as is commonly supposed. If we consider the question apart from

* Nor has any change been produced in this respect by the events that have occurred since the first edition of this work was published. The author, on reviewing it, has

found occasion for only slight additions and alterations, which in no wise affect the essentials of the subject.

those principles upon which its existence depends, and which it cannot abandon without consigning itself to destruction, we shall find it affected, quite as deeply as any other government, and to the very essence of its being, by the various destinies to which the nations of Europe have been subjected. As the history of the world has varied; as one nation or another has gained the ascendancy; as the fabric of social life has been disturbed; so also has the papal power been affected: its maxims, its objects, and its pretensions, have undergone essential changes; and its influence, above all, has been subjected to the greatest variations. If we cast a glance at the long catalogue of names so frequently repeated through successive ages, from Pius I in the second century, to our contemporaries, Pius VII and VIII in the nineteenth, we receive an impression of uninterrupted stability; but we must not permit ourselves to be misled by the semblance of constancy. The popes of different periods are, in fact, distinguished by differences as strongly marked as those existing between the various dynasties of a kingdom. To us, who are lookers-on at a distance, it is precisely these mutations that present the most interesting subject of contemplation. We see in them a portion of the history of the world, and of the general progress of mankind; and this is true, not only of periods when Rome held undisputed sovereignty, but also, and perhaps even more remarkably, of those shaken by the conflicting forces of action and counter-action, such as the times which the present work is intended to comprise—the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries;—times when the papacy was menaced and endangered, yet maintained and fortified itself; nay, even re-extended its influence; striding onward for a period, but at last receding again, and tottering to its fall; times when the mind of the Western nations was pre-eminently occupied by ecclesiastical questions; and when that power, which, abandoned and assailed by one party, was upheld and defended with fresh zeal by the other, necessarily assumed a station of high and universal importance. It is from this point of view that our natural position invites us to consider it, and this I will now attempt.

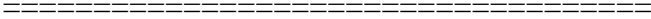
I think it appropriate to commence by recalling to the memory of my reader the situation of the papal power in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the course of events which led thereto.

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CHOICE EXAMPLES OF PALEOGRAPHY.

Fac-similes from Rare and Curious Manuscripts of the
Middle Ages.

THE FOUR BOOKS OF KINGS.

French manuscript written about 1160.

Although this plate offers another excellent example of Gothic writing, one can trace here and there the Roman roundness and elegance which were lost in the angularity of the newer style. The *i*'s are still accented, but the *h*'s are terribly deformed, and the *u*'s, it will be noticed, are accented similarly to the *i*'s, in order to distinguish them from the *v*'s, which in the text assume the same form as the *u*. The small capitals which begin some of the sentences in the text are in the best Gothic style, and there are other characteristics in the text which enable us to fix the date of the manuscript. The title "Li Quarz Livres" is a mixture of small capitals, uncials, and minuscules, the *e* especially denoting the Gothic tendency. The page is taken from the Four Books of Kings (Kings I and II and the two Books of the Maccabees), and the signature at the foot is that of Blanche, fourth daughter of Philip the Long of France, who was a sister (*suer*) in a nunnery at Longchamps.



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ma dame puer blanche fille de rois de france

Blanche

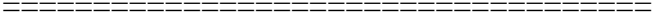
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The wealth of thought hidden in obscure books of past ages makes festinating reading, and as much of this original thought was suppressed by the sheer power of the established systems of the time, these ideas may well be those needed for the future progress. One thing is certain, the belief systems we have are not the ones we need.

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THE HISTORY OF THE POPES

BOOKS I, II, III AND IV

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES

BOOK I

CHAPTER FIRST

EPOCHS OF THE PAPACY. A.D. 1-1500

Section I.—Christianity in the Roman Empire

IF we examine the condition of the ancient world in its earlier ages, we find it occupied by a great number of independent communities. Seated along the shores of the Mediterranean, and extending themselves inland, so far as their knowledge of the country permitted, they dwelt divided into various tribes, all originally confined within very narrow limits, but all purely free, and each possessing its own peculiar character and institutions. The independence enjoyed by these communities was not merely political; an independent religion also had been established by each: the ideas of God and of divine things had received a character strictly local; deities of the most diversified attributes divided the worship of the world, and the law by which their votaries were governed became inseparably united with that of the state. We may safely declare that this intimate union of church and state, this twofold freedom, limited only by the light obligations arising from identity of race, had the most important share in the civilization of the early ages. Each community was indeed surrounded by narrow limits, but within these the rich fulness of the world's vigorous youth found space to develop itself according to its own unfettered impulse.

How entirely was all this changed as the might of Rome

arose! All the self-governing powers that had previously filled the world are seen to bend one after the other, and finally to disappear. How suddenly did the earth become desolated of her free nations!

In later times, empires have been shaken because religion had lost its power of control. In those days the subjugation of the state necessarily involved the downfall of the national religion. Impelled by the political power, believers in every creed would draw toward Rome; but what significance could remain to these peculiar forms of belief, once torn from the soil whence they had derived their birth? The worship of Isis was doubtless intelligible in Egypt, where it deified the powers of nature, as manifested in those regions. In Rome this worship became a senseless idolatry. No sooner did the various mythologies come in contact than their mutual destruction ensued: it was impossible to discover any theory capable of reconciling their contradictions.

But even had this been possible, it would no longer have sufficed to the necessities of the world.

However deeply we may sympathize with the fall of so many free states, we cannot fail to perceive that a new life sprang immediately from their ruins. With the overthrow of independence fell the barriers of all exclusive nationalities: the nations were conquered—they were overwhelmed together; but by that very act were they blended and united; for, as the limits of the empire were held to comprise the whole earth, so did its subjects learn to consider themselves as one people. From this moment the human family began to acquire the consciousness of its universal brotherhood.

It was at this period of the world's development that Jesus Christ was born.

How obscure and unpretending was his life! His occupation was to heal the sick and to discourse of God in parables with a few fishermen, who did not always understand his words. He had not where to lay his head. Yet, even from the worldly point of view whence we consider it, we may safely assert that nothing more guileless or more impressive, more exalted or more holy, has ever been seen on earth than were his life, his whole conversation, and his death. In his every word there breathes the pure spirit of God. They are words, as St. Peter

has expressed it, of eternal life. The records of humanity present nothing that can be compared, however remotely, with the life of Jesus.

If the earlier forms of belief had ever contained an element of true religion, this was now entirely obscured; they no longer, as we have said, could pretend to the slightest significance. In Him who united the nature of man with that of God, there shone forth, in contrast with these shadows, the universal and eternal relation of God to the world, and of man to God.

Jesus Christ was born among a people broadly separated and distinguished from all others by ritual laws of rigid and exclusive severity, but which also possessed the inappreciable merit of holding steadfastly to that worship of the one true God in which they had persisted from their earliest existence, and from which no power could sever them. It is true that they considered this monotheism as a national worship only, but it was now to receive a much wider significance. Christ abolished the law by fulfilling it; the Son of Man declared himself Lord also of the Sabbath, and rendered manifest the eternal import of those forms, which a narrow understanding had as yet but imperfectly comprehended. Thus, from the bosom of a people hitherto separated by insurmountable barriers of opinion and customs from every other, there arose, with all the force of truth, a faith which invited and received all men. The Universal Father was now proclaimed—that God, who, as St. Paul declared to the Athenians, “hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth.” For this sublime doctrine, the moment, as we have seen, had now arrived—a race of men existed who could appreciate its value. “Like a sunbeam,” says Eusebius, “it streamed over the face of the earth.”¹ Its beneficent influence was quickly seen extending from the Euphrates to the Ebro, and overflowing the wide limits of the empire even to the Rhine and the Danube.

But however pure and blameless the religion of Christ, it was not in the nature of things that it should escape opposition from the creeds already established. These had entwined themselves with the habits and wants of daily life; they were bound up with all the old memories of the world; and had, be-

¹ “Hist. Eccl.” ii. 3.

side, now received a certain modification which had brought them into harmony with the constitution of the empire.

The political spirit of the ancient religions displayed itself once again under a new aspect. All those self-governing powers that had once filled the world had become absorbed into one concentrated whole. There remained but one sole power that could be called self-dependent; religion acknowledged this when she decreed divine worship to the Emperor. To him temples were built and sacrifices offered, vows were made in his name, and festivals were solemnized in his honor, his statues gave the sacredness of a sanctuary to the place where they stood. The worship men paid to the genius of the Emperor was perhaps the only one common to the whole empire;² all idolatries accommodated themselves to this, for to all it offered countenance and support.

This worship of the Cæsar and the doctrines taught by Christ had a certain resemblance when viewed with relation to the various local religions, but they nevertheless presented the strongest possible contrast with each other.

The Emperor conceived religion in its most worldly aspect only, as bound to earth and the things of earth. "To him be these surrendered," says Celsus; "whatever each man possesses, let it come from him." Christianity regarded religion in the fulness of the spirit, and of superhuman truth.

The Emperor united Church and State: Christianity separated, before all things, that which is Cæsar's from that which belongs to God.

The offering of sacrifice to the Emperor was an acknowledgment of the most abject thralldom. In that very union of Church and State wherein consisted the perfection of independence under the self-governing powers, might now be found the seal and completion of man's subjection: thus the prohibition of this worship by Christianity was an act of emancipation. Finally, the adoration paid to the Emperor was restricted by the limits of the empire—then believed to comprise the whole earth—while the true faith was destined to reach to the world's real limits, and to embrace the whole human family. Christianity sought to reawaken the primitive consciousness of religious

² Eckkel, "*Doctrina Nummorum Veterum*," pt. ii. vol. viii. p. 456; he quotes a passage from Tertullian, whence it

would appear that the worship of the emperor was sometimes more earnest than any other.

truth (if it be granted that such consciousness preceded all idolatries), or, at least, to infuse a belief complete in its purity, obscured by no inevitable connection with the state, and opposed to the exactions of that all-grasping power which, not content with earthly dominion, was seeking to extend its influence over things divine also. It was from Christianity that man derived the spiritual element wherein he could once again become self-sustaining, free, and personally invincible; a new vitality awoke in the bosom of the freshened earth, she became fructified for the development of new productions.

At this moment was exhibited the contrast between the earthly and the spiritual, between freedom and servitude—a gradual decay and a life-breathing and vigorous renovation.

It is not here that we can describe the long struggle between these opposing principles: all the elements of life throughout the Roman Empire became involved in the movement—all were gradually penetrated and influenced by the essential truth of Christianity, and were borne forward by this great effort of the spirit. "By its own act," says Chrysostom, "has the error of idolatry been extinguished;" already did Paganism appear to him as a conquered city, whose walls were beaten down, whose halls, theatres, and public buildings had been destroyed by fire, whose defenders had fallen by the sword, and among whose ruins remained only old men or helpless children. These, too, were soon dispersed, and a change without example ensued.

From the depths of the catacombs arose the adoration of the martyrs. On those sites where the gods of Olympus had been worshipped—on the very columns that had supported their temples, were shrines erected to the memory of those who had rejected their divinity, and died for refusing to yield them worship. The religion of Christ, coming forth from the desert and the dungeon, took possession of the world. We sometimes feel astonished that precisely a secular building of the heathen, the basilica, should have been converted to the purposes of Christian worship: but in this fact there is a remarkable significance—the apsis of the basilica contained an Augusteum,³ the assembled statues of such emperors as had received divine worship. These were replaced by the images of Christ and his apostles, as they are seen in many basilicas to the present day.

³ I take this fact from E. Q. Visconti, "Museo Pio Clementino."

The rulers of the world, themselves considered as deities, gave place to the Son of God arrayed in the nature of man. The local deities passed away, and were seen no more. In every highway, on the steep summits of the hills, in the deep ravines and remote valleys, on the roofs of houses, and in the mosaic of the floors was seen the cross: the victory was complete and decisive. As, on the coins of Constantine, the labarum, with the monogram of Christ, is seen to rise above the conquered dragon, so did the worship and name of Jesus exalt themselves over the vanquished gods of heathenism.

Considered in this aspect also, how all-embracing is the influence—how immense the importance of the Roman Empire! In the ages of its elevation all nations were subjugated, all independence destroyed by its power; the feeling of self-reliance, resulting from the division of interests, was annihilated: but, on the other hand, its later years beheld the true religion awake in its bosom—the purest expression of a common consciousness extending far beyond its limits—the consciousness of a community in the one true God. May we not venture to say, that by this development the empire had fulfilled her destiny—that she had rendered her own existence no longer necessary? The human race had acquired the knowledge of its true nature; religion had revealed the common brotherhood of mankind.

This religion now received from the Roman Empire its external forms also.

Among the heathens, sacerdotal offices were conferred in like manner with those of civil life: the Jews set apart a particular tribe for the duties of the priesthood; but Christianity was distinguished from both these by the fact that a certain class of men, freely choosing the sacred profession, consecrated by the imposition of hands, and withdrawn from worldly cares and pursuits, is solemnly devoted “to things spiritual and divine.” The Church was at first governed in accordance with republican forms; but these disappeared as the new belief rose to pre-eminence, and the clergy gradually assumed a position entirely distinct from that of the laity.

This did not take place, as I think, without a certain innate necessity. The advance of Christianity involved an emancipation of religion from all political elements, and this was inevitably followed by the establishment of a distinct ecclesiastical

body, with a constitution peculiar to itself. In this separation of the Church from the State consists, perhaps, the most important and most effectually influential peculiarity of Christian times. The spiritual and temporal powers may come into close contact—they may remain in the most intimate communion; but a perfect coalition can only take place occasionally, and for short periods of time. In their reciprocal relations and position with regard to each other, has since then been involved one of the most important questions presented by all history.

It was nevertheless imperative on the ecclesiastical body to form their constitution on the model of that of the empire; and accordingly, the hierarchy of the bishops—metropolitan patriarchs—was formed in close correspondence with the gradations of the civil power. No long time had elapsed before the bishops of Rome acquired the supremacy. It is, indeed, a vain pretence to assert that this supremacy was universally acknowledged by East and West, even in the first century, or, indeed, at any time; but it is equally certain that they quickly gained a pre-eminence, raising them far above all other ecclesiastical dignitaries. Many causes concurred to secure them this position; for, if the relative importance of each provincial capital secured to its bishop a corresponding weight and dignity, how much more certainly would this result take place as regarded the ancient capital of the empire—that city whence the whole had derived its name?⁴ Rome was, besides, one of the most illustrious seats of the apostles: here had the greater number of the martyrs shed their blood. The bishops of Rome had displayed the most undaunted firmness throughout the different persecutions, and had sometimes been scarcely installed into their sacred office before they followed their predecessor in the path of that martyrdom by which his seat had been vacated. In addition to all this, the emperors now found it advisable to favor the advancement of a great patriarchal authority. In a law that became decisive for the predominance of Rome as well as of Christianity, Theodosius the Great commands that all nations claiming the protection of his grace should receive the faith as propounded by St. Peter to the Romans.⁵ Valentinian

⁴ "Casauboni Exercitationes ad Anales Ecclesiasticos Baronii," p. 260.

⁵ Codex Theodos. xvi. 1, 2: "All nations governed by our gentle clemency shall remain in that religion which the

divine apostle Peter declares himself to have delivered to the Romans." Planck also mentions the edict of Valentinian III.

also forbade the bishops, whether of Gaul or of other provinces, to depart from the received customs of the Church without the sanction of that venerable man, the Pope of the Holy City. Thenceforth the power of the Roman bishops advanced beneath the protection of the Emperor himself; but in this political connection lay also a restrictive force: had there been but one emperor, a universal primacy might also have established itself; but this was prevented by the partition of the empire. The emperors of the East were too eagerly tenacious of their ecclesiastical rights to make it possible that they should promote that extension of power desired by the western patriarchs in their dominions. In this respect also the constitution of the Church presents the closest resemblance to that of the empire.

Section II.—The Papacy in Connection with the Frankish Empire

Scarcely was this great change completed, the Christian religion established, and the Church founded, when new events of great importance took place; the Roman Empire, so long conquering and paramount, was now to see itself assailed by its neighbors: in its turn it was invaded and overcome.

Amidst the general convulsion that ensued, Christianity itself received a violent shock. In their terror, the Romans bethought themselves once more of the Etruscan mysteries, the Athenians hoped to be saved by Achilles and Minerva, the Carthaginians offered prayers to the genius Cœlestis; but these were only temporary waverings, for even whilst the empire was shattered in the Western provinces, the Church remained firm and undisturbed throughout all.

But she fell, as was inevitable, into many embarrassments, and found herself in an entirely altered condition. A pagan people took possession of Britain; Arian kings seized the greater part of the remaining West; while the Lombards, long attached to Arianism, and, as neighbors, most dangerous and hostile, established a powerful sovereignty before the very gates of Rome.

The Roman bishops meanwhile, beset on all sides, exerted themselves, with all the prudence and pertinacity which have

remained their peculiar attributes, to regain the mastery—at least in their ancient patriarchal diocese; but a new and still heavier calamity now assailed them. The Arabs—not conquerors merely, as were the Germans; but men inspired even to fanaticism by an arrogant and dogmatizing creed, in direct opposition to the Christian faith—now poured themselves over the West as they had previously done over the East. After repeated attacks, they gained possession of Africa: one battle made them masters of Spain, their general, Musa, boasting that he would march into Italy by the passes of the Pyrenees and across the Alps, and cause the name of Mahomet to be proclaimed from the Vatican.

This position was all the more perilous for the western portion of Roman Christendom, from the fact that the iconoclastic dissensions were at that moment raging with the most deadly animosity on both sides. The Emperor of Constantinople had adopted the opposite party to that favored by the Pope of Rome; nay, the life of the latter was more than once in danger from the Emperor's machinations. The Lombards did not fail to perceive the advantages derivable to themselves from these dissensions; their King, Astolphus, took possession of provinces that till then had always acknowledged the dominion of the Emperor, and again advancing toward Rome, he summoned that city also to surrender, demanding payment of tribute with vehement threats.¹

The Roman See was at this moment in no condition to help itself, even against the Lombards; still less could it hope to contend with the Arabs, who were beginning to extend their sovereignty over the Mediterranean, and were threatening all Christendom with a war of extermination.

Happily, the true faith was no longer confined within the limits of the Roman Empire.

Christianity, in accordance with its original destiny, had long overpassed these limits—more especially had it taken deep root among the German tribes of the West; nay, a Christian power had already arisen among these tribes, and toward this the Pope had but to stretch forth his hands, when he was sure to

¹ Anastasius Bibliothecarius: "Vita Pontificum. Vita Stephani III." ed. Paris, p. 83. Furious as a lion, he desisted not from pouring forth deadly

threats against the Romans, affirming that all should be destroyed by the sword unless they submitted themselves to his rule.

find the most effectual succor and earnest allies against all his enemies.

Among all the Germanic nations, the Franks alone had become Catholic from their first rise in the provinces of the Roman Empire. This acknowledgment of the Roman See had secured important advantages to the Frankish nation. In the Catholic subjects of their Arian enemies, the western Goths and Burgundians, the Franks found natural allies. We read so much of the miracles by which Clovis was favored; how St. Martin showed him the ford over the Vienne by means of a hind; how St. Hilary preceded his armies in a column of fire, that we shall not greatly err if we conclude these legends to shadow forth the material succors afforded by the natives to those who shared their creed, and for whom, according to Gregory of Tours, they desired victory "with eager inclination." But this attachment to Catholicism, thus confirmed from the beginning by consequences so important, was afterward renewed and powerfully strengthened by a very peculiar influence arising from a totally different quarter.

It chanced that certain Anglo-Saxons, being exposed for sale in the slave-market of Rome, attracted the attention of Pope Gregory the Great; he at once resolved that Christianity should be preached to the nation whence these beautiful captives had been taken. Never, perhaps, was resolution adopted by any pope whence results more important ensued: together with the doctrines of Christianity, a veneration for Rome and for the Holy See, such as had never before existed in any nation, found place among the Germanic Britons. The Anglo-Saxons began to make pilgrimages to Rome, they sent their youth thither to be educated, and King Offa established the tax called "St. Peter's penny" for the relief of pilgrims and the education of the clergy. The higher orders proceeded to Rome, in the hope that, dying there, a more ready acceptance would be accorded to them by the saints in heaven. The Anglo-Saxons appear to have transferred to Rome and the Christian saints the old Teutonic superstition, by which the gods were described as nearer to some spots of earth than to others, and more readily to be propitiated in places thus favored.

But beside all this, results of higher importance still ensued when the Anglo-Saxons transplanted their modes of thought to

the mainland, and imbued the whole empire of the Franks with their own opinions. Boniface, the apostle of the Germans, was an Anglo-Saxon; this missionary, largely sharing in the veneration professed by his nation for St. Peter and his successors, had from the beginning voluntarily pledged himself to abide faithfully by all the regulations of the Roman See: to this promise he most religiously adhered. On all the German churches founded by him was imposed an extraordinary obligation to obedience. Every bishop was required expressly to promise that his whole life should be passed in unlimited obedience to the Romish Church, to St. Peter, and his representative. Nor did he confine this rule to the Germans only. The Gallican bishops had hitherto maintained a certain independence of Rome; Boniface, who had more than once presided in their synods, availed himself of these occasions to impress his own views on this western portion of the Frankish Church; thenceforward the Gallic archbishops received their pallium from Rome, and thus did the devoted submission of the Anglo-Saxons extend itself over the whole realm of the Franks.

This empire had now become the central point for all the German tribes of the West. The fact that the reigning family, the Merovingian race, had brought about its own destruction by its murderous atrocities, had not affected the strength of the empire. Another family, that of Pepin of Heristal, had risen to supreme power—men of great energy, exalted force of character, and indomitable vigor. While other realms were sinking together in one common ruin, and the world seemed about to become the prey of the Moslem, it was this race, the house of Pepin of Heristal, afterward called the Carlovingian, by which the first and effectual resistance was offered to the Mahometan conquerors.

The religious development then in progress was also equally favored by the house of Pepin: we find it early maintaining the best understanding with Rome, and it was under the special protection of Charles Martel and Pepin le Bref that Boniface proceeded in his apostolic labors.² Let us consider the temporal condition of the papal power. On the one side the East Roman

² "Bonifacii Epistolæ," ep. 12, "ad Danielelem episc.": "Without the patronage of the Frankish ruler, I can neither govern the people nor defend the presbyters, deacons, monks, or handmaidens

of God nor even could I forbid the pagan rites and sacrilegious idolatries in Germany without his mandate and the fear of his name."

Empire, weakened, falling into ruin, incapable of supporting Christendom against Islamism, or of defending its own domains in Italy against the Lombards, yet continuing to claim supremacy even in spiritual affairs; on the other hand, we have the German nations full of the most vigorous life, victorious over the Moslem, attached with all the fresh ardor and trusting enthusiasm of youth to that authority, of whose protecting and restrictive influences they still felt the need, and filled with an unlimited and most freely rendered devotion.

Already Gregory II perceived the advantages he had gained; full of a proud self-consciousness, he writes thus to that iconoclast Emperor, Leo the Isaurian: "All the lands of the West have their eyes directed toward our humility; by them we are considered as a God upon earth." His successors became even more and more impressed with the conviction that it was needful to separate themselves from a power (that of the Roman Empire) by which many duties were imposed on them, but which could offer them no protection in return. They could not safely permit a succession to the mere name and empire to fetter them, but turned themselves rather toward those from whom help and aid might also be expected. Thus they entered into strict alliance with those great captains of the West, the Frankish monarchs; this became closer and closer from year to year, procured important advantages to both parties, and eventually exercised the most active influence on the destinies of the world.

When Pepin the younger, not content with the reality of kingly power, desired also to possess himself of the name, he felt that a higher sanction was needful. This the Pope afforded him. In return, the new monarch undertook to defend "the Holy Church and the Republic of God" against the Lombards. Nor did he content himself with merely defending them. On the contrary, he compelled the Lombards to evacuate that portion of territory called the Exarchate, and which they had wrenched from the Roman Empire. In strict justice this should have been restored to the Emperor, from whom it had been taken; but when the proposal for such restoration was made to Pepin, his reply was, "That for no favor of man had he entered the strife, but from veneration to St. Peter alone, and in the hope of obtaining forgiveness for his sins." He caused

the keys of the conquered towns to be placed on the altar of St. Peter, and in this act he laid the foundation of the whole temporal power of the popes.

In this reciprocity of services, the alliance between the Pope and the Emperor continued to extend and strengthen its bonds. At length the Holy See was delivered from its long oppressive and dangerous neighbors, the Lombard chiefs, by the Emperor Charlemagne. In his own person this monarch evinced the most profound deference for the holy father: visiting Rome, he kissed the steps of St. Peter, as he entered the vestibule where the pontiff awaited him; here he confirmed all the possessions awarded by Pepin to the Church. The Pope on his part always proved himself to be Charlemagne's most steady friend, and the influence of the spiritual chief with the Italian bishops rendered it an easy matter for the Emperor to make himself master of the Lombards and gain possession of their dominions.

This tendency of events was soon to be followed by results of still higher importance.

The strife of contending factions was now raging so violently in Rome that the Pope could no longer maintain himself in his own city without foreign aid. In this conjuncture Charlemagne once more visited Rome to afford the assistance needed. The aged monarch was now full of fame and victory; after long struggles he had gradually subdued all his neighbors, and had united under his own banner the greater part of the Roman-Germanic nations of Christendom. These he had repeatedly led to victory against their common enemy, and it was matter of remark that he possessed all the seats of the western emperors, whether in Italy, Germany, or Gaul;³ and had, besides, inherited all their power. It is true that these countries had since become a totally different world, but should this diminish the dignity of their leader? It was thus that Pepin had gained the royal diadem, for to him who has secured the power does the dignity also belong. It was in this sense that the Pope again decided; impelled by gratitude, and well know-

³ Thus it is that I understand the "Annales Laureshamenses, ad annum 801": "It seemed good to the apostolic Leo himself, that Charles himself, king of the Franks, should be named emperor, seeing he held that Rome where the Casars were ever accustomed to

reside, also the other seats which they held in Italy and Gaul, as well as Germany; because God Almighty has put these in his power, wherefore it seemed to them right that by God's assistance he should have the name also."

ing his own need of a permanent protector, he placed the crown of the Western Empire on Charlemagne's head on Christmas eve of the year 800.

With this act, the series of events which had commenced with the first incursions of the German tribes into the Roman Empire was fully completed.

A Frank sovereign now filled the place of the western emperors, and exercised all their prerogatives. In the dominions conferred on St. Peter, we see Charlemagne performing unequivocal acts of sovereign authority. His grandson Lothaire nominated his own judges in Rome, and annulled confiscations made by the Pope. The pontiff, on the other hand, remaining head of the hierarchy in the Roman West, became, nevertheless, a member of the Frankish Empire. He separated himself from the East, and gradually ceased to command any influence there. Of his patriarchal diocese in the East the Greek emperors had long since bereft him.⁴ But he received a degree of observance from the western churches (not excepting the Lombard, which had also been subjected to the Frankish laws and institutions) exceeding all that he had previously enjoyed. Permitting the introduction of schools for Frieslanders, Saxons, and Franks into Rome, by which that city itself began to be Germanized, he thus induced that intimate connection of German and Latin elements which has since so actively influenced the general character of the West. In his utmost adversity the power of the Pope struck new roots in a fresh soil; threatened by the most imminent ruin, it was at this moment that a firm and lengthened endurance was secured to it: the hierarchy, taking its rise in the Roman Empire, now diffused itself over the German nations; these presented a boundless field for ever-extending activity, and here it was that the germ of its being was first fully developed.

⁴ Nicholas I laments the loss of the patriarchal power of the Roman See, "throughout old and new Epirus, Illyricum, Macedonia, Thessaly, Achaia, Dacia on the Danube, and Dacia on the Mediterranean, Mœsia, Dardania, and Prævalis; also the loss of the patrimony

in Calabria and Sicily." Pagi (*Critica in "Annales Baronii,"* iii. p. 216) compares this letter with one from Adrian I to Charlemagne, whence it is obvious that these losses were among the results of the iconoclastic disputes.

Section III.—Relation of the Popes to the German Emperors —Internal Progress of the Hierarchy

We now pass over some centuries, in order to arrive at that point of view whence the various events they produced may most profitably be considered.

The Empire of the Franks has fallen; that of the Germans has arisen into full and vigorous life.

Never was the German name more powerful in Europe than during the tenth and eleventh centuries, under the Saxon and first Salique emperors. We see Conrad II marching from the eastern frontier, where he had compelled the King of Poland to personal subjection and to a division of his territory, and condemned the Duke of Bohemia to imprisonment, and pouring down on the West to support Burgundy against the pretensions of the French nobles. These nobles he defeated on the plains of Champagne, his Italian vassals crossing the St. Bernard to his assistance. He caused himself to be crowned at Geneva, and held his diet at Soleure. Immediately after this, we find him in Lower Italy. "By the force of his word," says his historian, Wipps, "he extinguished all discords on the borders of his empire at Capua and Beneventum." Nor was Henry III less powerful: at one moment we find him on the Scheldt and the Lys, victorious over the counts of Flanders; no long time has elapsed, and we meet him in Hungary, which country he also compelled, at least for some time, to do him feudal service. He pressed beyond the Raab, where his conquests were limited by the power of the elements alone. The King of Denmark hastened to await his arrival at Merseberg: the Count of Tours, one of the most powerful princes of France, submitted to become his vassal; and the Spanish historians inform us that he demanded from the mighty and victorious Ferdinand I of Castile an acknowledgment of his own supremacy as sovereign liege of all Christian kings.

If we now ask on what basis a power so extended in its influence, and claiming supremacy throughout Europe, essentially reposed, we find in it a most active and important ecclesiastical element. The Germans also made their conquests and conversions go hand in hand with the Church, their marches, too, ex-

tended over the Elbe toward the Oder on the one hand, and the Danube on the other. Monks and priests prepared the way for German influence in Bohemia and Hungary; thus did a great increase of importance everywhere accrue to the ecclesiastical power. Baronial and even ducal rights were held in Germany by the bishops and abbots of the empire, not within their own possessions only, but even beyond them. Ecclesiastical estates were no longer described as situated in certain counties, but these counties were described as situated in the bishoprics. In Upper Italy nearly all the cities were governed by the viscounts of their bishops. We are not authorized to infer from this, that an entire independence was already conceded to the clerical body. The appointment to all ecclesiastical offices still resting with the sovereign (the chapters returned the ring and crosier of their deceased superior to his court, whence it was that they were conferred anew), it was generally advantageous to the prince that the man of his choice, one on whose devotion to himself he could rely, should be invested with temporal authority. It was in defiance of his refractory nobles that Henry III exalted a plebeian, on whom he could depend, to the seat of St. Ambrose in Milan: to this mode of action he was principally indebted for the obedience he subsequently met with in Upper Italy. No Emperor displayed greater munificence toward the Church than did Henry II; yet none was more tenacious of his claim to the nomination of bishops:¹ but these two facts are illustrative of each other. Nor was the endowment of bishops permitted to diminish the resources of the State. Church property was neither exempted from civil imposts nor from feudal service, and bishops were frequently found taking the field at the head of their vassals. How advantageous to the prince, therefore, was the right of nominating bishops, who, like the archbishop of Bremen, held the highest ecclesiastical authority in the kingdoms of Scandinavia, and over numerous Wendish tribes!

If, then, the ecclesiastical element was of such paramount importance to the institutions of the German Empire, it is manifest that much would depend on the relations existing between the Emperor and the head of the whole clerical body, the Pope of Rome.

¹ For instances of this, see Planck's "History of the Social Constitution of the Christian Church," iii. 407.

The papacy was not less closely allied with the German emperors than it had been with the Roman, and with the successors of Charlemagne. The political subordination of the Pope was unquestionable. It is true, that while the empire remained in weak and incapable hands, and before it passed definitively to the Germans, certain acts of sovereign authority had been exercised by popes over the imperial sceptre; but no sooner did the vigorous German princes attain to that dignity, than they became, if not without dispute, yet, in fact, as completely liege lords of the popedom as the Carlovingian monarchs had been. With a powerful hand Otho the Great maintained the Pope whom he had raised to the throne;² his sons followed the example. The circumstance of the Roman factions once more rising into activity, seizing the papal chair, and again resigning it, or making it an article of traffic and barter, as their family interests required, shows but more clearly the necessity for some higher intervention. The vigor with which this was exercised by Henry III is well known; his synod at Sutri deposed such popes as he considered irregularly chosen; and scarcely had the patrician ring been placed on his finger, and the crown of the empire on his brow, than he nominated the individual who should ascend the papal throne by his unrestricted will. Four German popes were successively appointed by him; and when the supreme ecclesiastical dignity became vacant, the ambassadors from Rome presented themselves at the imperial court to receive the announcement of a successor, as did the envoys of other bishoprics.

In this position of things, it was a matter of personal interest to the Emperor that the Pope should hold an important place in the eyes of the world. Henry III was an active promoter of all reforms undertaken by the popes whom he had nominated; nor did the growth of their power awaken his jealousy. That Leo IX should hold a synod at Rheims, in despite of the King of France—should exalt and depose French bishops, receiving the solemn acknowledgment that the Pope was sole primate of the universal church—this could in no way offend the Emperor, while his own supremacy over the pope-

² In Goldast. "Constitut. Imperiales," i. p. 221, we find an instrument (with the Scholia of Dietrich von Niem) by which the right of Charlemagne to

choose his own successor, and in future that of the popes, is transferred to Otho and the German emperors. This, however, is without doubt a fabrication.

dom remained undisputed; it gave, on the contrary, a more imposing weight to the authority he claimed to exercise over all Europe. As by the Archbishop of Bremen he was placed in immediate relation with the North, so was he placed by the Pope with the remaining powers of Christendom.

But this state of affairs involved a great danger to the empire. The ecclesiastical body was very differently constituted under the Germanic and Germanized states, from what it had been under the Roman Empire. The clergy now possessed a large share of political influence; they had risen to princely power. The Church still depended on the Emperor, the supreme temporal authority. But suppose this authority again fallen into weak and incapable hands; suppose, then, that the head of the Church, wielding the triple force arising from his dignity—the object of universal reverence, from the devotion of his own subjects, and from his influence over other states—should seize the favorable moment and place himself in opposition to the imperial power.

The nature of things offered more than one inducement to such a course. There was a principle inherent in the ecclesiastical constitution which opposed itself to a secular influence so widely extended, and this would inevitably make itself felt, should the Church become strong enough to bring it into effectual action. There is also, as it appears to me, an inconsistency in the fact that the Pope should exercise on all sides the supreme spiritual power, and yet remain himself subjected to the Emperor. The case would have been different had Henry III really brought about his purpose of exalting himself to be the head of all Christendom; but as he failed in this, there needed but a certain complication of political affairs, and the Pope might have been prevented, by his subordination to the Emperor, from performing the duties imposed on him by his office as common father of the faithful.

It was under these circumstances Gregory VII ascended the papal throne. Gregory was a man of bold, prejudiced, and aspiring mind, obstinate in his adherence to logical consequences, immovable in his purposes, yet skilful and pliant when the object was to parry any well-founded objection. He perceived the end to which things were tending, and amidst the trifling occurrences of every-day life, took note of the vast con-

tingencies preparing for the future. He resolved to free the pontificate from the authority of the empire. Having fixed his thoughts on this object, he soon seized the decisive means for attaining it. The resolution that he caused to be adopted by one of his councils, namely that no clerical office should in future be conferred by a layman, was equivalent to altering the constitution of the empire in its very essence. This reposed, as we have already said, on the connection between the spiritual and temporal institutions: the bond that held these together was the investiture; to deprive the Emperor of this his ancient right, was to declare a revolution.

It is obvious that Gregory could not have ventured to think of this measure, much less to put it in practice, had he not been favored by the convulsions that shook the empire during the minority of Henry IV, and by the frequent insurrections of the German princes and people against that monarch. Among the great vassals he found natural allies. They also felt oppressed by the overwhelming power of the Emperor; they also desired to become free. In a certain point of view, the Pope might be considered one of the magnates of the empire. It is not then surprising, that when the pontiff declared Germany an electoral monarchy—a doctrine tending greatly to augment the power of the princes—these last should offer no opposition to the efforts he made for his own emancipation from the imperial power.

Even in the contention for the investiture, their interests went hand in hand: the Pope was still far from claiming the direct nomination of the bishops; he referred the choice to the chapters, and over these the higher German nobility exercised the most commanding influence: in one word, the Pope had the aristocratic interests on his side.

But even with these allies, how long and sanguinary were the conflicts maintained by the popes before they could bring their enterprise to a fortunate issue! "From Denmark even to Apulia," says the hymn in praise of St. Anno—"from Carlingen to Hungary, have the arms of the empire been turned against its own vitals." The contention between the spiritual and temporal principles, which had hitherto acted in concert, spread fatal discord through the breadth of Europe. Frequently were the pontiffs driven from their capital, and com-

pelled to witness the ascent of antipopes to the apostolic throne!

At length, however, the task was accomplished. After long centuries of confusion—after other centuries of often doubtful strife, the independence of the Roman See and that of its essential principle was finally attained. In effect, the position of the popes was at this moment most exalted; the clergy were wholly in their hands. It is worthy of remark that the most firm-minded pontiffs of this period—Gregory VII for example—were Benedictines. By the introduction of celibacy they converted the whole body of the secular clergy into a kind of monastic order. The universal bishopric now claimed by the popes bears a certain resemblance to the power of an abbot of Cluny, who was the only abbot of his order; in like manner these pontiffs aspired to be the only bishops of the assembled church. They interfered without scruple in the administration of every diocese,³ and even compared their legates with the proconsuls of ancient Rome! While this closely knit body, so compact in itself, yet so widely extended through all lands—influencing all by its large possessions, and controlling every relation of life by its ministry—was concentrating its mighty force under the obedience of one chief, the temporal powers were crumbling into ruin. Already in the beginning of the twelfth century the provost Gerohus ventured to say: “It will at last come to this, that the golden image of the empire shall be shaken to dust—every great monarchy shall be divided into tetrarchates, and then only will the Church stand free and untrammelled beneath the protection of her crowned high-priest.”⁴ And this bold prophecy had well-nigh received a literal fulfilment; for in fact which was the more powerful in England during the thirteenth century—was it Henry III or those four-and-twenty to whom the government was for a certain period confided? In Castile, who were the effective rulers—the King or the altoshomes? The power of the Emperor seems to have

³ One of the principal points in reference to which may be cited the following passage from a letter of Henry IV to Gregory VII: “rectores sanctæ ecclesiæ, videl archiepiscopos, presbyteros, sicut cervos pedibus tuis calcasti.” [The rulers of the holy church—archbishops, bishops, and priests, to wit—these thou hast trodden beneath thy feet as were they slaves.] But we

perceive that in this case public opinion was on the side of the Pope, since Henry thus continues his reproaches: “In quorum conculcatione tibi favorem ab ore vulgi comparasti.” [In trampling on whom, thou hast gained applause from the mouths of the populace.]

⁴ Schröckh quotes this passage, “Kirchengeschichte,” vol. xxvii. p. 117.

become superfluous from the moment when Frederick conceded the essential attributes of sovereignty to the princes of the empire. Italy, as well as Germany, was occupied by numerous independent powers; the only self-centred and comprehensive sovereignty was that of the Pope. Thus it came to pass that the independence of the ecclesiastical principle resolved itself into a new kind of monarchy; the politico-religious character that life had everywhere assumed, and the general course of circumstances, all tended to this result. When countries, long lost to the Church, as Spain had been, were regained from Mahometanism—when provinces, like Prussia, hitherto buried in the darkness of paganism, were brought over to the faith and filled with a Christian population—when even the capitals of the Greek Church conformed to the Latin ritual, and when hundreds of thousands poured forth to plant the banner of the cross on the holy sepulchre—is it not here manifest, that the crowned priest, whose hand was in all these enterprises, and at whose feet was offered the fealty of the subdued, must have enjoyed unbounded influence and honor? In his name, and under his guidance, the western nations poured themselves forth as one people and sought to gain possession of the whole world. It cannot awaken surprise that the Pope should exercise unlimited authority in his internal administration, when we remember that a king of England consented to hold his kingdom as a fief from the pontiff's hand, that a king of Aragon resigned his realms to the apostle Peter, and that Naples beheld her throne conferred by the same all-commanding power on a family wholly foreign to her soil. Extraordinary aspect of those times—which yet no one has hitherto placed before us in all its completeness and truth! The most wonderful combination of internal discord with the most brilliant external progress of independence and subjection, of spiritual and temporal existences! Even piety herself adopted a twofold character. At one time we see her withdrawn amidst rugged mountains, or retiring to the lonely forest, where her harmless days are devoted to divine contemplation. Awaiting death, she denies herself every enjoyment that life presents her; or, appearing in the homes of man, she proceeds with youthful enthusiasm to exhibit, under forms profoundly suggestive, the mysteries that float around her, and the ideas in which she has

her being. But a moment after and we find another piety—it is she who has invented the inquisition and who fulminates the terrible judgment of the glaive against all who reject her creed. “Neither sex, nor age, nor rank, have we spared,” says the leader of the war against the Albigenses; “we have put all alike to the sword.” Sometimes she presents these widely differing aspects at the same moment of time. At sight of Jerusalem the crusaders descended from their horses—they bare their feet, to the end that they may approach the holy walls in the guise befitting pilgrims. In the midst of carnage they believe themselves aided by the visible presence of saints and angels. Yet, scarcely have they passed the walls, than they rush into the wildest excesses of pillage and bloodshed. On the site of Solomon’s temple thousands of Saracens were cruelly put to death, the Jews were burnt in their synagogues, and the holy threshold, on which they had come so far to kneel in adoration, they first profaned with blood. In this contradiction may be found a picture eloquently illustrative of those times, and of that politico-religious government. It is an inconsistency that will be seen to pervade their whole being.

Section IV.—Contrasts between the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

There are certain periods of history that tempt us to anxiously scrutinize, if we dare thus to express ourselves, the plans of God in his government of the world, and earnestly to examine the forces that are in action for the education of the human race.

However defective may have been the development that we have sought to describe, it was indispensable to the complete naturalization of Christianity in the West. The task of bending the refractory spirits of the northern tribes to the pure laws of Christian truth was no light one: wedded, as these nations were, to their long-cherished superstitions, the religious element required a long predominance before it could gain entire possession of the German character; but by this predominance, that close union of Latin and German elements was effected on which is based the character of Europe in later times. There is a spirit of community in the modern world which has always been regarded as the basis of its progressive improvement,

whether in religion, politics, manners, social life, or literature. To bring about this community, it was necessary that the western nations should, at one period, constitute what may be called a single politico-ecclesiastical state.

But this, also, was to be no more than the phenomenon of a moment in the grand march of events; the necessary conversion once effected, new necessities supervened.

The advent of another epoch already announced itself in the simultaneous and almost universal impulse received by the languages of nations. Slowly, but with unceasing effort, they pressed themselves into the manifold branches of intellectual activity. Step by step the idiom of the church gave way before them; universality retired, and in its place appeared a new species of partition, founded on a higher principle. The ecclesiastical element had up to this time overborne every distinguishing nationality; now, modified and transformed, but again asserting individual existence, these nationalities displayed themselves in a new light.

We are forced irresistibly to the conviction that all the purposes and efforts of humanity are subjected to the silent and often imperceptible, but invincible and ceaseless march of events. The existence of the papal authority was demanded by the earlier phases of the world's progress; those immediately following were directly adverse to that authority. The impulse given by the ecclesiastical power was no longer necessary to the well-being of nations; it was consequently at once opposed. All had awakened to a sense of their own independence.

We shall do well if we recall to mind the more important events in which this fact becomes revealed.

It was the French, as is well known, by whom the first effectual resistance was opposed to the pretensions of the popes. The whole nation declared itself as one man against the excommunications of Boniface VIII. All the public authorities expressed their adhesion to Philip the Fair, and their cordial approbation of the steps taken by him in his contest with the pontiff, in documents amounting to several hundreds.

Next followed the Germans. When the popes once more assailed the empire with all their old animosity, although the latter no more possessed its ancient importance, yet, perceiv-

ing the dangers of foreign influence, the electoral princes assembled on the banks of the Rhine; seated on their stone chairs, in the field of Rense, they proceeded to adopt measures for maintaining "the honor and dignity of the empire." Their object was to secure its independence against the future aggressions of the papacy by a solemn resolution. This was instantly afterward promulgated with all due form, and by all the potentates united. Emperors, princes, and electors, all joined in a common opposition to the principles of the papal policy.¹

England did not long remain behind. In no country had the popes possessed higher influence—nowhere had they dealt in a more arbitrary manner with the benefices of the Church; but when Edward III refused to continue the tribute, to the payment of which former kings had pledged themselves, his parliament united with him, and promised him their support. The King then took measures to prevent any further encroachments by the Pope.

We thus see one nation after another acquiring the sense of its own unity and independence. The civil power would no longer endure the presence of any higher authority. The popes no more found allies among the middle classes, while princes and legislative bodies were resolutely bent on withstanding their influence.

In addition to all this, the popedom itself had at this period fallen into a state of debility and confusion, by which the secular princes, who had hitherto sought only to defend themselves, were enabled to become in their turn aggressors.

Schism made its appearance. Let us observe the consequences that ensued. It was long at the option of each prince to attach himself to one pope or the other, as might best suit his political interests. The Church possessed no means within herself by which this division could be remedied; by the secular power alone could this be done. When a council was held in Constance for that purpose, the members no longer voted individually, as had formerly been the practice, but by the four nations, each nation exercising the right of deliberating in preliminary assemblies on the vote to be given. Unanimously they decided the deposition of a pope, and the newly elected pontiff

¹ Licet juris utriusque. See Ohlen-
schläger, "Staatsgeschichte des Röm.

Kaiserthums in der ersten Hälfte des
14ten Jahrhunderts," No. 63.

was called on to accede to concordats with each separate nation. These concordats were of great importance, only from the precedent they afforded. During the council of Basle, many states remained neutral; it was by the immediate intervention of the princes alone, that this second breach in the Church could be closed.² There could arise no state of things better calculated to promote the preponderance of the temporal power and the independence of the several states.

And now the Pope was again in a position of great splendor. He was obeyed universally; the Emperor still led his palfrey on occasions of ceremony. There were bishops—not in Hungary only, but in Germany also, who styled themselves bishops “by the grace of the Apostolic See.”³ St. Peter’s penny was still collected in the north; innumerable pilgrims from all countries came flocking to the “threshold of the apostles”—an eye-witness compares them to swarms of bees, or flights of migratory birds; but, spite of these appearances, the old relations of things were no longer in force.

If we desire proof of this, we need only recall the enthusiasm with which all ranks rushed toward the holy sepulchre in earlier times, and compare this with the coldness evinced in the fifteenth century toward every appeal in favor of a combined resistance to the Turks. How much more pressing was the necessity of protecting the native territory against the danger that unquestionably threatened it at all times, than that of maintaining the custody of the holy sepulchre in the hands of believers. Eneas Sylvius and the Minorite Capistrano employed their best eloquence—the first in the diet, the second before the people in the market-places of towns; and historians tell us many things of the impression they produced, but we do not find that anyone was moved to the taking up of arms. What efforts were made by the popes in this cause! One fitted out a fleet; another, Pius II, who was that same Eneas Sylvius just alluded to, betook himself, though weak and suffering from illness, to the port where those princes whose domains were most immediately endangered, if none others, were expected to assemble. He desired to be present, in order, as he said, to lift up, like Moses,

² Erklärung des Papetes Felix in Georgius, “Life of Nicholas V.,” p. 65.
³ Constance, Schwerin, Fünfkirchen.

—Schröckh. “Kirchengeschichte,” vol. xxxiii. p. 60.

his hands to God during the battle, as he alone was empowered to do. Neither exhortations, nor entreaties, nor example could avail to move the people of his times. The youthful enthusiasm of chivalrous Christendom had passed away; no pope might ever awaken it more.

Other interests occupied the world. It was now the moment when the European kingdoms were finally consolidating their forces after long internal struggles. The central authorities having succeeded in suppressing the factions that had endangered the security of the throne, were gathering their subjects around them in renewed allegiance. The papacy, interfering in all things and seeking to dominate all, came very soon to be regarded in a political point of view; the temporal princes now began to put forth higher claims than they had hitherto done.

It is commonly believed that the papal authority was almost unrestricted up to the time of the Reformation; but the truth is that no inconsiderable portion of the rights and privileges of the clergy had been appropriated by the civil power, during the fifteenth and in the early part of the sixteenth centuries.

The encroachments of the Roman See were materially restricted in France by the pragmatic sanction, which for more than half a century was regarded as the palladium of the kingdom. It is true that Louis XI was hurried into certain concessions by that false devotion, to the forms of which he adhered the more rigidly, because altogether destitute of true religious feeling; but his successors insisted all the more pertinaciously on a return to this their fundamental law. It has indeed been asserted that when Francis I concluded his concordat with Leo X, the Roman Court thereby recovered its ancient preponderance, and it is very true that the Pope did regain the first-fruits (Annates); but he was compelled to sacrifice valuable sources of revenue in exchange, and above all the right of nomination to the bishoprics and other important benefices. The rights of the Gallican Church were unquestionably lost, but this was rather in favor of the King than the Pope: the principle, for which Gregory VII had moved the whole world, was resigned with little difficulty by Leo X.

Matters were by no means carried so far in Germany: the decrees of Basle, which in France had received the form of a

pragmatic sanction,⁴ were rendered much less effectual in Germany, where also they had at first been accepted, by the concordat of Vienna; but this change was not effected without large concessions on the part of Rome.

In Germany it was not enough to come to terms with the high chief of the empire; the subordinate states must also be separately won. The archbishops of Mayence and Treves obtained the privilege of naming to the vacant bishoprics, even during those months hitherto reserved for the Pope; the electoral prince of Brandenburg extorted the right of nomination to the three bishoprics of his dominions, while less important states, as Strasburg, Salzburg, and Metz, were also propitiated by concessions.⁵ But not even by these was the general opposition extinguished. In the year 1487 the whole empire opposed itself to a tithe that the Pope desired to impose and effectually defeated his purpose.⁶ In 1500 the imperial government accorded one-third only of the sum produced by indulgences to the papal legates, appropriating the remaining two, and applying them in aid of the war against the Turks.

In England, without any new concordat, without any pragmatic sanction, affairs were carried far beyond the concessions of Constance. Henry VII possessed the undisputed right of nomination to the bishoprics, and, not content with retaining the promotion of the clergy in his own hands, he appropriated the half of the first-fruits also. The ecclesiastical and secular powers were, to a certain extent, united in the person of Wolsey, when, in the early part of Henry VIII's reign, he added the title of legate to his many other offices, and, before Protestantism had even been thought of by the English sovereign, he had already proceeded to a merciless confiscation of the numerous monasteries.

Nor did the countries and kingdoms of southern Europe remain in the background. By the King of Spain also the nomination to episcopal sees was assumed as of right; that crown, with which were united the grand masterships of the

⁴ "We perceive the connection from the following words of Æneas Sylvius: 'Concerning the decrees of the council of Basle, a dissension began, you declaring that they were to be implicitly observed; but the apostolic seat rejected them all, so at last a composition was made by which some of the decrees of the said council appear to have been

received, others rejected.'"—Müller's "Reichstagstheatrum unter Friedrich III." Vorst iii. p. 604.

⁵ Schröckh's "Kirchengeschichte," vol. xxxii. p. 173. Eichhorn's "Staats- und Rechts-geschichte," vol. iii. § 472, n. c.

⁶ Müller's "Reichstagstheatrum," Vorst vi. p. 130.

religious orders, which had instituted and still directed the inquisition, made no scruple of appropriating various attributes and immunities, formerly held sacred to the clergy; nor did Ferdinand the Catholic shrink from opposing himself to the papal legates whenever it suited his purpose to do so.

In like manner with the religious orders of Spain, those of Portugal—namely, St. James, Avis, and the order of Christ, which had inherited the wealth of the Templars, were also in the patronage of the crown.⁷ King Emanuel obtained a third of the *cruciata* from Leo X, and not content with this he demanded and received a tenth part of the church property in his dominions, with the express right of distributing it according to his unrestricted will, and the merit of the recipient.

These things sufficiently show that a universal tendency to the circumscription of papal power was at this time manifested throughout Christendom, in the south as in the north. A participation in ecclesiastical revenues, and the right of promotion to church benefices and offices, was that which the civil power more especially desired. Nor did the popes attempt any strenuous opposition. Of their privileges and possessions they maintained what they could; the rest they resigned. It was remarked of Ferdinand of Naples by Lorenzo de' Medici in relation to a dispute of the former with the Roman See—"He will make no difficulty of promising, but when it comes to the fulfilment his deficiencies will be overlooked, as those of kings always are by the popes;"⁸ for this spirit of opposition had penetrated even into Italy. Of Lorenzo de' Medici himself we are told that he followed the example of more powerful sovereigns in this respect, obeying just so much of the papal commands as suited him, and no more.⁹ We shall be mistaken if we consider these movements as but so many acts of self-will: the life of the European nations was no longer pervaded and impressed as it had formerly been by ecclesiastical influence. The development of national character, and the separate organization of the

⁷ "Instruzione piena della cose di Portogallo al Coadjutor di Bergamo: nuntio destinato in Portogallo." MS. among the Informazioni politiche in the Royal Library of Berlin, vol. xii. Leo X conferred this patronage of the orders, "the King agreeing to pay a very large sum for the said patronage."

⁸ Lorenzo to Johannes de Lanfre-

dinis, "Fabroni Vita Laurentii Medici," ii. p. 362.

⁹ Antonius Gallus *derebus Genuensibus*, "Muratori Scriptt. R. It." xxiii. p. 281, says of Lorenzo: "He followed the contumacious license of the greater kings and princes against the Roman Church, allowing nothing of the pontifical rights but as he saw good."

various monarchies, were making important advances. It thus became indispensable that the relation of the ecclesiastical to the secular powers should be thoroughly remodified. A very remarkable change had become obvious, even in the popes themselves.

CHAPTER SECOND

THE CHURCH AND HER TERRITORIES IN THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Section I.—Extension of the Ecclesiastical States

WHATEVER judgment may be formed as to the popes of the earlier ages, it is certain that they had always important interests in view—the duty of upholding an oppressed religion, that of contending with paganism, of diffusing Christianity among the nations of the North, and of establishing an independent hierarchical government. To will, and to achieve some great object, is proper to the dignity of human nature; and while such was their tendency, the popes were sustained in their lofty efforts; but this spirit had passed away with the times by which it had been awakened. Schism had been suppressed, but it had become obvious that no hope remained of effecting a combined action against the enemy of the Church. Men would no longer give their lives to defend her from the Turks. It thus followed that her spiritual head now devoted himself to the interests of his temporal sovereignty, and pursued these with an avidity hitherto unknown. And this was in accordance with the temper and direction of the age: “I had once thought,” remarks one of the speakers in the Council of Basle, “that the secular power should be wholly separate from that of the Church; but I have now learned that virtue without force is but slightly respected, and that the pope, without patrimony of the Church, would be merely the servant of kings and princes.” This speaker, who had yet sufficient influence in the assembly to determine the election of Pope Felix, declares it not so very objectionable that a pope should have sons, who might defend him against the aggressions of tyrants.¹

¹ See an extract from this speech in Schröckh.

This question was afterward considered from a different point of view among the Italians. It was held to be a thing of course that a pope should provide for his own family and promote its interests; nay, a pontiff neglecting to do this would have exposed himself to injurious remarks. "Others," writes Lorenzo de' Medici to Innocent VIII, "have not so long postponed their efforts to attain the papal chair, and have concerned themselves little to maintain the retiring delicacy so long evinced by your holiness. Now is your holiness not only exonerated before God and man, but this honorable conduct may cause you to incur blame, and your reserve may be attributed to less worthy motives. Zeal and duty lay it on my conscience to remind your holiness that no man is immortal. Be the pontiff as important as he may in his own person, he cannot make his dignity and that importance hereditary; he cannot be said absolutely to possess anything but the honors and emoluments he has secured to his kindred."² Such were the counsels offered by him who was considered the wisest man of Italy. It is true that he had himself a direct interest in the matter, having given his daughter in marriage to a son of the Pope, but he would never have dared to express himself thus boldly and without reserve, had not the views he was propounding been admitted without question among the higher classes of his country.

There is a certain internal connection between the fact that at this period the temporal princes were regularly seeking possession of the papal privileges, and the circumstance that enterprises partly secular now began to occupy the most earnest attention of the Pope. He felt himself above all an Italian prince.

No long time had elapsed since the Florentines had overcome their neighbors the Pisans, and the house of Medici had established its authority over both. The power of the Sforza family in Milan, that of the house of Aragon in Naples, and of the Venetians in Lombardy had all been achieved and consolidated within the memory of man. What was to prevent the Pope from establishing a yet more exalted sovereignty for himself in those domains which were regarded as the patrimony of the Church, but which were now under the rule of various independent chiefs?

² A letter of Lorenzo's without date, but apparently of the year 1489—since the fifth year of Innocent VIII is

therein alluded to.—Fabroni, "Vita Laurentii," ii. 390.

Pope Sixtus IV was the first pontiff by whom this purpose was undertaken with a fixed will and effectual results. He was strenuously, and most successfully, followed by Alexander VI. From Julius II this plan received a direction wholly unexpected, and of which the effect was permanent.

Sixtus IV (1471-1484) conceived the idea of founding a principality for his nephew, Girolamo Riario, in the fertile and beautiful plains of Romagna. The other Italian powers were already disputing the possession of, or the preponderance in, this fair district; and, if the question had been one of right, the Pope had manifestly a better title than any one of these princes; but he was greatly their inferior in political force and the materials of war. He did not scruple to employ his spiritual influence—exalted by its nature and objects above all earthly purposes—for the furtherance of his worldly interests; nor did he shrink from debasing it by contact with the temporary intrigues in which these involved him. The Medici were especially obnoxious to the Pope, and mingling himself in the disputes of the Florentines, he gave rise to the suspicion that he had taken part in the conspiracy of the Pazzi, and is believed, as is well known, to have been privy to that assassination, committed by them before the very altar of a cathedral. He—the father of the faithful! When the Venetians ceased to favor the undertakings of his nephew, as for some time they had done, the Pope was not content with leaving them to their fate, in the midst of a war to which he had himself impelled them; he even went so far as to excommunicate them for persisting in it.³

He acted with equal violence in Rome. The Colonna family, opponents of Riario, was persecuted by him with the most savage ferocity. He seized on their domain of Marino, and causing the prothonotary Colonna to be attacked in his own house, took him prisoner, and put him to death. The mother of Colonna came to St. Celso, in Banchi, where the corpse lay, and lifting the severed head by its hair, she exclaimed: “Behold the head of my son. Such is the truth of the Pope. He promised that my son should be set at liberty if Marino were delivered into

³ The “*Commentarii di Marino Sanuto*” on the war of Ferrara were printed at Venice in 1829; at page 56 he alludes to the defection of the Pope, quoting the words of the Venetian ambassador:

“All men will see that we began this war by desire of the Pope; he, however, took measures for the breaking of the league.”

his hands. He is possessed of Marino, and behold we have my son—but dead. Thus does the Pope keep his word.”⁴

At such cost was it that Sixtus IV secured victory over his enemies, domestic and foreign. He did, in effect, exalt his nephew to be lord of Imola and Forli; but if his temporal influence gained extension by these means, there can be no doubt that his spiritual authority and character lost infinitely more. There was even an attempt made to assemble a council against him.

Meanwhile Sixtus was soon to be far surpassed. No long time after him (1492) Alexander VI took possession of the papal throne.

The great object of Alexander, through his whole life, was to gratify his inclination for pleasure, his ambition, and his love of ease. When at length he had attained to the supreme spiritual dignity, he seemed also to have reached the summit of happiness. Spite of his advanced years, the exultation he felt seemed daily to impart to him a new life. No painful thought was permitted to disturb his repose for a single night. His only care was to seize on all means that might aid him to increase his power, and advance the wealth and dignity of his sons: on no other subject did he ever seriously bestow a thought.⁵

This one consideration was at the base of all his political alliances, and of those relations by which the events of the world were at that time so powerfully influenced. How the Pope would proceed, in regard to the marriages, endowments, and advances of his children, became a question affecting the politics of all Europe.

The son of Alexander, Cæsar Borgia, followed close on the footsteps of Riario. He began from the same point, and his first undertaking was to drive the widow of Riario from Imola and Forli. He pressed forward to the completion of his designs with the most daring contempt of consequences; what Riario had only approached, or attempted, Cæsar Borgia carried forward to its utmost results. Let us take a rapid glance at the means by which his purposes were accomplished.

The ecclesiastical states had hitherto been divided by the

⁴ “Alegretto Alegretti, Diari Sanesi,” p. 817.

⁵ “Relazione di Polo Capello,” 1500, MS. (App. No. 3.)

factions of the Guelfs and the Ghibelines, the first represented in Rome by the family of Orsini, the second by the house of Colonna. The popes had usually taken part with one or the other of these factions. Sixtus IV had done so, and his example was followed by Alexander and his son, who at first attached themselves to the Guelf, or Orsini party. This alliance enabled them very soon to gain the mastery of all their enemies. They drove the house of Sforza from Pesaro, that of Malatesta from Rimini, and the family of Manfredi from Faenza. They seized on those powerful, well-fortified cities, and thus commenced the foundation of an extensive lordship. But no sooner had they attained this point, no sooner had they freed themselves from their enemies, than they turned every effort against their friends. And it was in this that the practice of the Borgias differed from that of their predecessors, who had ever remained firmly attached to the party they had chosen; Cæsar, on the contrary, attacked his own confederates, without hesitation or scruple. The Duke of Urbino, from whom he had frequently received important aid, was involved, as in a network, by the machinations of Cæsar, and, with difficulty, saved his life, a persecuted fugitive in his own dominions.⁶ Vitelli, Baglioni, and other chiefs of the Orsini faction, resolved to show him that at least they were capable of resistance. But Cæsar Borgia, declaring that "it is permitted to betray those who are the masters of all treasons," decoyed them into his snares, with profoundly calculated cruelty, and mercilessly deprived them of life. Having thus destroyed both parties, he stepped into their place, gathered the inferior nobility, who had been their adherents, around him, and took them into his pay; the territories he had seized on were held in subjection by force of terror and cruelty.

The brightest hopes of Alexander were thus realized—the nobles of the land were annihilated, and his house about to found a great hereditary dominion in Italy. But he had already begun to acquire practical experience of the evil which passions, aroused and unbridled, are capable of producing. With no relative or favorite would Cæsar Borgia endure the partici-

⁶ Many interesting particulars regarding Cæsar Borgia are to be found throughout the fourth volume of Sauto's great MS. chronicles—as also cer-

tain of his letters; in one of these, written to the Pope, he subscribes himself "Your holiness's humblest servant and most devoted creature."

pation of his power. His own brother stood in his way: Cæsar caused him to be murdered and thrown into the Tiber. His brother-in-law was assailed and stabbed, by his orders, on the steps of his palace.⁷ The wounded man was nursed by his wife and sister, the latter preparing his food with her own hands, to secure him from poison; the Pope set a guard upon the house to protect his son-in-law from his son. Cæsar laughed these precautions to scorn. "What cannot be done at noon-day," said he, "may be brought about in the evening." When the prince was on the point of recovery, he burst into his chamber, drove out the wife and sister, called in the common executioner, and caused his unfortunate brother-in-law to be strangled. Toward his father, whose life and station he valued only as means to his own aggrandizement, he displayed not the slightest respect or feeling. He slew Peroto, Alexander's favorite, while the unhappy man clung to his patron for protection, and was wrapped within the pontifical mantle. The blood of the favorite flowed over the face of the Pope.

For a certain time the city of the apostles, and the whole state of the Church, were in the hands of Cæsar Borgia. He is described as possessing great personal beauty, and was so strong that in a bull-fight he would strike off the head of the animal at a single blow; of liberal spirit, and not without certain features of greatness, but given up to his passions and deeply stained with blood. How did Rome tremble at his name! Cæsar required gold, and possessed enemies: every night were the corpses of murdered men found in the streets, yet none dared move; for who but might fear that his own turn would be next? Those whom violence could not reach were taken off by poison.⁸

There was but one place on earth where such deeds were possible—that, namely, where unlimited temporal power was

⁷ "Diario de Sebastiano di Branca de Telini," MS. Bibl. Barb. N. 1103, speaks of Cæsar's atrocities in the manner following: "First, he caused his brother, called Duke of Gandia, to be thrown into the river; he ordered his brother-in-law, who was son of the Duke of Calabria, and the handsomest man ever seen in Rome, to be assassinated: again, he contrived the murder of Vitellozzo, the bravest man of that time." He calls the Lord of Faenza "the handsomest lad in the world."

⁸ To the manifold notices extant on this head, I have added something from Polo Capello (App. No. 3). On the death of distinguished men, people instantly suspected poisoning by the Pope. With regard to the death of the Cardinal of Verona, Sanuto has the following: "He was supposed to be poisoned that the Pope might take his riches, because Alexander placed guards around his house before he died."

united to the highest spiritual authority, where the laws, civil and ecclesiastical, were held in one and the same hand. This place was occupied by Cæsar Borgia. Even depravity may have its perfection. The kindred of the popes have often distinguished themselves in the career of evil, but none attained to the eminence of Cæsar Borgia. He may be called a virtuoso in crime.

Was it not in the first and most essential tendencies of Christianity to render such a power impossible? And yet, Christianity itself, and the very position of the supreme head of the Church, were made subservient to its existence.

There needed, then, no advent of a Luther, to prove to the world that these things were in direct opposition to the spirit of Christianity. Even at that time men complained that the Pope was preparing the way for antichrist, and laboring for the interest of Satan rather than the kingdom of God.⁹

We do not follow the history of Alexander in its minute details. He once purposed, as is but too well authenticated, to destroy one of the richest cardinals by poison: but the latter contrived to win over the Pope's chief cook by means of promises, entreaties, and gifts. The confection prepared for the cardinal was set before the pontiff himself; and Alexander expired from the effects of that poison which he had destined for another.¹⁰ The consequences resulting from his various enterprises after his death were entirely different from those he had anticipated.

The papal families had always hoped to acquire hereditary sovereignty; but, for the most part, their authority came to an end with the life of the Pope, and his kindred returned to the rank whence they had risen. If the Venetians beheld the career of Cæsar Borgia with indifference, it was principally because they had no doubt but that matters would in this respect take their usual course: there were, perhaps, other motives in action, but this was the principal; they "judged all this to be merely a fire of straw, and believed that things would return to their former position, if Alexander were once dead."¹

On this occasion, they were nevertheless disappointed in

⁹ A loose sheet, MS. from Sanuto's chronicle.

¹⁰ "Successo di la Morte di Papa Alessandro," MS. (See App. No. 4.)

¹ "Priuli Cronaca di Venezia," MS.:

"Del resto poco stimavano, conoscendo, che questo acquisto che all' hora faceva il duca Valentino's sarebbe foco di paglia, che poco dura."

JULIUS THE SECOND.

Photogravure from the original painting by Raphael.



their expectations: a pope followed, who did indeed make it his object to assume a position in direct contrast with that of the Borgias; but who pursued the same end, though he took different, and from that very circumstance, successful, means for his purpose. Julius II (A. D. 1503-1513) enjoyed the incalculable advantage of finding opportunity for promoting the interests of his family by peaceable means: he obtained for his kindred the inheritance of Urbino. This done, he could devote himself, undisturbed by the importunities of his kindred, to the gratification of that innate love for war and conquest which was indeed the ruling passion of his life. To this he was invited by the circumstances of the times, and the consciousness of his eminent position: but his efforts were all for the Church—for the benefit of the papal see. Other popes had labored to procure principalities for their sons or their nephews: it was the ambition of Julius to extend the dominions of the Church. He must, therefore, be regarded as the founder of the Papal States.

He found the whole territory in extreme confusion; all who had escaped by flight from the hand of Cæsar had returned—the Orsini, the Colonna, the Vitelli and Baglioni, Varani, Malatesta, and Montefeltri—everywhere throughout the whole land, were the different parties in movement; murderous contests took place in the very Borgo of Rome. Pope Julius has been compared with the Neptune of Virgil, when rising from the waves, with peace-inspiring countenance he hushes their storms to repose.² By prudence and good management, he disembarassed himself even of Cæsar Borgia, whose castles he seized and of whose dukedom he also gained possession. The lesser barons he kept in order with the more facility from the measures to this effect that had been taken by Cæsar, but he was careful not to give them such cardinals for leaders as might awaken the ancient spirit of insubordination by ambitious enterprise. The more powerful nobles, who refused him obedience, he attacked without further ceremony. His accession to the papal throne sufficed to reduce Baglioni (who had again made himself master of Perugia) within the limits of due subordination. Nor could Bentivoglio offer effectual resistance when required to

² Tommaso Inghirami, in "Fea, Notizie intorno Rafaele Sanzio da Urbino," p. 57.

resign that sumptuous palace which he had erected in Bologna, and whereon he had too hastily inscribed the well-known eulogy of his own good fortune: of this he saw himself deprived in his old age. The two powerful cities of Perugia and Bologna were thus subjected to the immediate authority of the pontifical throne.

But with all this Julius was yet far from having accomplished the end he had proposed to himself. The coasts of the Papal States were in great part occupied by the Venetians; they were by no means disposed to yield possession of them freely, and the Pope was greatly their inferior in military power. He could not conceal from himself that his attacking them would be the signal for a commotion throughout Europe. Should he venture to risk this?

Old as Julius now was, worn by the many vicissitudes of good and evil fortune experienced through a long life, by the fatigues of war and exile, and most of all by the consequences of intemperance and licentious excess, he yet knew not what fear or irresolution meant; in the extremity of age, he still retained that grand characteristic of manhood, an indomitable spirit. He felt little respect for the princes of his time, and believed himself capable of mastering them all. It was precisely from the tumults of a general war that he hoped to extract the fulfilment of his purposes; his only care was to be always in command of money, to the end that he might seize the favorable moment with his utmost power. He desired, as a Venetian of that day felicitously remarks, "to be lord and master of the game of the world."³ Awaiting the fruition of his desires with an excess of impatience, he yet kept them confined to his own breast. If we inquire what enabled him to assume so commanding an attitude, we find it principally attributable to the fact that the state of public opinion in his day permitted the frank avowal of his natural tendencies; he was free to profess them openly; nay, to make them his boast. The re-establishment of the States of the Church was in that day considered not only a glorious, but even a religious enterprise; every effort of the Pope was

* *Sommario di la relatione di Dolnengo Trivixan,* MS.: "Il papa vol esser il dominus et maistro del jocho del mundo." (App. No. 6.) There exists also a second relation by Polo Capello, of the year 1510, whence a few notices are inserted in the App. No. 5.

Francesco Vettori, "*Sommario dell'istoria d'Italia,*" MS., says of him: "Julius was more fortunate than prudent, and had more courage than strength, but was ambitious and desirous of grandeur to an immoderate degree."

directed toward this end; by this one idea were all his thoughts animated; they were, if I may so express myself, steeled and moulded into this one unvarying form. In furtherance of this, his grand aim, he engaged in the boldest operations, risking all to obtain all. He took the field in person, and having stormed Mirandola, he pressed into the city across the frozen ditches and through the breach; the most disastrous reverses could not shake his purpose, but rather seemed to waken new resources within him. He was accordingly successful; not only were his own baronies rescued from the Venetians, but in the fierce contest that ensued, he at length made himself master of Parma, Placentia, and even Reggio, thus laying the foundation of a power such as no pope had ever possessed before him. From Placentia to Terracina the whole fair region admitted his authority. He had ever sought to present himself in the character of a liberator; governing his new subjects with a wise benignity, he secured their attachment and even devotion; the temporal princes were not without alarm at sight of so many warlike populations in allegiance to a pope. "Time was," says Machiavel, "when no baron was so insignificant but that he might venture to brave the papal power; now, it is regarded with respect even by a king of France."

Section II.—Prevalence of Secular Views and Interests in the Church

It was an inevitable consequence that the whole body of the hierarchy should be influenced by the character and tendencies of its chief, that all should lend their best aid to the promotion of his purposes, and be themselves carried forward by the impulse thus given.

Not only the supreme dignity of the pontiff, but all the offices of the Church, were regarded as mere secular property. The Pope nominated cardinals from no better motive than personal favor, the gratification of some potentate, or even (and this was no infrequent occurrence) for actual payment of money! Could there be any rational expectation that men so appointed would fulfil their spiritual duties? One of the most important offices of the Church, the Penitenziaria, was bestowed by Sixtus IV on one of his nephews. This office held a large portion of

the power of granting dispensations; its privileges were still further extended by the Pope, and in a bull issued for the express purpose of confirming them, he declared all who shall presume to doubt the rectitude of such measures, to be "a stiff-necked people and children of malice."¹ It followed as a matter of course that the nephew considered his office as a benefice, the proceeds of which he was entitled to increase to the utmost extent possible.

A large amount of worldly power was at this time conferred in most instances, together with the bishoprics; they were held more or less as sinecures according to the degree of influence or court favor possessed by the recipient or his family. The Roman Curia thought only of how it might best derive advantage from the vacancies and presentations; Alexander extorted double annates or first-fruits, and levied double, nay triple tithes: there remained few things that had not become matter of purchase. The taxes of the papal chancery rose higher from day to day, and the comptroller, whose duty it was to prevent all abuses in that department, most commonly referred the revision of the imposts to those very men who had fixed their amount.² For every indulgence obtained from the datary's office, a stipulated sum was paid; nearly all the disputes occurring at this period between the several states of Europe and the Roman Court arose out of these exactions, which the Curia sought by every possible means to increase, while the people of all countries as zealously strove to restrain them.

Principles such as these necessarily acted on all ranks affected by the system based on them, from the highest to the lowest. Many ecclesiastics were found ready to renounce their bishoprics; but they retained the greater part of the revenues, and not unfrequently the presentation to the benefices dependent on them also. Even the laws forbidding the son of a clergyman to procure induction to the living of his father, and enacting that no ecclesiastic should dispose of his office by will, were

¹ Bull of the 9th of May, 1484: "Quoniam nonnulli iniquitatis filii, elationis et pertinaciæ suæ spiritu assumpto potestatem majori pœnitentiarii nostri in dubium revocare præsumunt, decet nos adversus tales adhibere remedia," etc.—*Bullarium Romanum*, ed. Cocquelines, iii. p. 187.

² "Reformationes cancellariæ aposto-

licæ Smi. Dni. Nri. Pauli III.," 1540, MS., in the Barberini library in Rome, enumerates all the abuses that have crept in since the days of Sixtus and Alexander. The grievances of the German nation relate especially to these "new devices" and the officers of the Roman chancery.

continually evaded; for as all could obtain permission to appoint whomsoever he might choose as his coadjutor, provided he were liberal of his money, so the benefices of the Church became in a manner hereditary.

It followed of necessity that the performance of ecclesiastical duties was grievously neglected. In this rapid sketch, I confine myself to remarks made by conscientious prelates of the Roman Court itself. "What a spectacle," they exclaim, "for a Christian who shall take his way through the Christian world, is this desolation of the churches! All the flocks are abandoned by their shepherds, they are given over to the care of hirelings."³

In all places incompetent persons were intrusted with the performance of clerical duties; they were appointed without scrutiny or selection. The incumbents of benefices were principally interested in finding substitutes at the lowest possible cost, thus the mendicant friars were frequently chosen as particularly suitable in this respect. These men occupied the bishoprics under the title (previously unheard of in that sense) of suffragans; the cures they held in the capacity of vicars.

Already were the mendicant orders in possession of extraordinary privileges, and these had been yet further extended by Sixtus IV, who was himself a Franciscan. They had the right of confessing penitents, administering the Lord's Supper, and bestowing extreme unction, as also that of burying within the precincts, and even in the habit of the order. All these privileges conferred importance as well as profit, and the mendicant friars enjoyed them in their utmost plenitude; the Pope even threatened the disobedient secular clergy, or others, who should molest the orders, more particularly as regarded bequests, with the loss of their respective offices.⁴

The administration of parishes as well as that of bishoprics being now in the hands of the mendicant orders, it is manifest

³ The counsel of the select cardinals and other prelates, respecting the amelioration of the church, written by special command of our most holy lord Paul III, in the year 1538, printed more than once even at the time, and important as pointing out the evil, so far as it lay in the administration, precisely and without reserve. Long after it had been printed, this MS. still remained incorporated with the MSS. of the Curia.

⁴ Most ample privileges of the minorite friars of the order of St. Francis, which are called on that account a great sea.—*Bullarium Rom.* iii. 3. 139. A similar bull was issued in favor of the Dominicans; this "*Mare-Magnum*" attracted much attention in the Lateran council of 1512; but privileges, so at least was then the case, are more readily conferred than revoked.

that they must have possessed enormous influence. The higher offices and more important dignities were monopolized, together with their revenues, by the great families and their dependents, shared only with the favorites of courts and of the Curia; the actual discharge of the various duties was confided to the mendicant friars who were upheld by the popes. They took active part also in the sale of indulgences, to which so unusual an extension was given at that time, Alexander VI being the first to declare officially that they were capable of releasing souls from purgatory. But the orders also had fallen into the extreme of worldliness. What intrigues were set on foot among them for securing the higher appointments! What eagerness was displayed at elections to be rid of a rival or of a voter believed unfavorable! The latter were sent out of the way as preachers or as inspectors of remote parishes; against the former, they did not scruple to employ the sword, or the dagger, and many were destroyed by poison.⁵ Meanwhile the comforts men seek from religion became mere matter of sale; the mendicant friars, employed at miserably low wages, caught eagerly at all contingent means of making profit.

“Woe is me!” exclaims one of the prelates before alluded to, “Who are they that have turned my eyes to fountains of tears? Even those set apart and elect have fallen off; the vineyard of the Lord is laid waste. Were they to perish alone, this were an evil, yet one that might be endured: but since they are diffused through all Christendom as are the veins through the body, so must their corruption and downfall bring on the ruin of the world!”

Section III.—Intellectual Tendency

Could we unfold the book of history, and lay its facts before our eyes in their connected reality; were the fleeting events of time to display their most concealed mechanism before us, as do the eternal forms of nature, how often should we not be comforted by perceiving in the first as in the last, that the fresh germ

⁵In a voluminous report from Caraffa to Clement, which is given by Bromato, “Vita di Paolo IV.,” in a mutilated form only, the passage following occurs in the manuscript of the

monasteries: “They proceed to commit murders, not only by poison, but openly with the dagger and the sword, to say nothing of firearms.”

is hidden beneath the decay we deplore, and that new life is proceeding from death!

Deeply as we may lament the earthward tendency of spiritual things, and the corruption we have just described as existing in religious institutions; yet, but for these evils, the mind of man could with difficulty have entered on that peculiar path, which, more directly than any other, has led to his essential progress, moral and intellectual.

We cannot deny the fact, that, ingenious, diversified, and profound as are the productions of the middle ages, they are yet based on views of the world, visionary in character and but little in accordance with the reality of things. Had the Church remained in full and conscious power, she would have adhered firmly to these views, narrowing and restricting as they were; but as she now was, the human intellect was left at liberty to seek a new development in a totally altered direction.

We may safely assert that, during those ages, the mind of man was necessarily held within the limits of a closely bounded horizon. The renewed acquaintance with antiquity removed this barrier, and opened a loftier, a more comprehensive, and a grander prospect.

Not that the classic authors were altogether unknown to the middle ages. The avidity with which the Arabs, to whom we are indebted for the introduction of so many branches of science into the West, collected and appropriated the works of the ancients, was but little inferior to the zeal with which the Italians of the fifteenth century pursued the same object. Caliph Mamoun does not lose by comparison in this respect with Cosmo de' Medici. There was nevertheless a difference, which, though at first sight it may seem of no great moment, is in my opinion all-important. The Arabs translated, but they often destroyed the originals. Their translations being pervaded, and thus transmuted, by their own peculiar ideas, the end was, that in their hands, Aristotle was wrested, so to speak, into a system of theosophy. Astronomy was perverted to astrology, and this last applied to medicine. They may thus be said to have aided in producing those visionary views of things to which we have before alluded. The Italians, on the contrary, extracted true profit from all they read. They proceeded from the Romans to the Greeks. The art of printing disseminated the originals

throughout the world in copies innumerable: the true Aristotle superseded that falsified by the Arabs. Men studied science from the unaltered works of the ancients: geography directly from Ptolemy, botany from Dioscorides, medicine from Galen and Hippocrates. How rapidly was the mind of man then delivered from the fantasies that had hitherto peopled the world—from the prejudices that had held his spirit in thrall.

We should, however, say too much, were we to assert for these times an immediate evidence of originality in the cultivation of literature and science, the discovery of new truths, or the production of grand ideas; as yet men sought only to comprehend the ancients, none thought of going beyond them. The efficacy of the classic writers lay not so much in the impulse given to production and the growth of a creative spirit in literature, as in the habit of imitation that their works called forth.

But in this imitation will be found one of the causes most immediately contributing to the mental progress of that period.

Men sought to emulate the ancients in their own language. Leo X was an especial patron of this pursuit: he read the well-written introduction to the history of Jovius aloud in the circle of his intimates, declaring that since the works of Livy nothing so good had been produced. A patron of the Latin improvisators, we may readily conceive the charm he would find in the talents of Vida, who could set forth a subject like the game of chess, in the full tones of well-cadenced Latin hexameters. A mathematician, celebrated for expounding his science in elegant Latin, was invited from Portugal; in this manner he would have had theology and jurisprudence taught, and church history written.

Meanwhile it was not possible that things could remain stationary. Once arrived at this point, to whatever extent the direct imitation of the ancients in their own tongues might be carried, it was utterly insufficient to occupy the whole field of intellect; there was something in it incomplete, unsatisfactory, and it was so widely practised that this defect could not long escape the general notice. The new idea gradually arose of imitating the ancients in the mother tongue. The men of that day felt themselves to stand in the same position with regard to the classic authors, as did the Romans with regard to

the Greeks: they determined no longer to confine themselves within the bounds of a contest in mere details; on the broad fields of literature were they now resolved to vie with their masters, and with youthful enthusiasm did they rush forward on this new career.

The language of nations was fortunately receiving at this precise moment an improved and regulated form. The merit of Bembo does not consist so much in the finished style of his Latin, nor in those essays in Italian poetry still remaining to us, as in his well-devised and happily successful efforts to give correctness and dignity to his mother tongue, and to establish its construction according to fixed rules. This it is for which he has been praised by Ariosto; he appeared precisely at the right moment, his own literary attempts serving to exemplify his doctrines.

If we examine the circle of works, formed on antique models, but of which the medium was that Italian so incomparable for harmony and flexibility, and which had been so skilfully adapted to the purposes of the writer, the following observations are forced on our attention.

But little success resulted from the efforts of those who sought too close an adherence to the classic model. Tragedies, like the "Rosmunda" of Rucellai, constructed, as the editors assure us, entirely after the antique: didactic poems, like "The Bees" of the same author (wherein we are from the very first referred to Virgil, who is turned to account in a thousand ways throughout the poem), were by no means favorably received, nor did they produce any real effect on the progress of literature. Comedies were from the first less restrained. It was in their very nature to assume the color and impression of the time; but the groundwork was almost invariably some fable of antiquity, or a plot borrowed from Plautus.¹ Men, even of such talent as was possessed by Bibbiena and Machiavelli, have failed to secure for their attempts

¹ Marco Minio, among many other remarkable things, describes to the Signory the circumstances attending the first production of a comedy in Rome. His date is the 13th of March, 1519. (See App. No. 8.) "The festival being finished, they went to a comedy given by Monsignore Cibo, where was a fine sight, with decoration more superb than I can tell. In the comedy there was feigned to be a Ferrara, and in the

said hall was made Ferrara, exactly as it is. They say that Monsignor Cibo, passing through Ferrara, and wishing to have a comedy, that one was given him; it was taken from the 'Suppositi' of Plautus and the 'Eunuchus' of Terence—very beautiful." He doubtless means the "Suppositi" of Ariosto, but we may remark that he mentions neither the name of the author nor the title of the piece, only whence it was taken.

in comedy the entire approbation of later times. In works of a different description, we occasionally perceive a species of conflict between their component parts, ancient and modern. Thus, in the "Arcadia" of Sanazzaro, how peculiarly do the prolix periods and stilted Latinity of the prose contrast with the simplicity, the earnest feeling, and rare melody of the verse!

If the success obtained, considerable as it was, did not arrive at perfection, that should by no means excite astonishment: a great example was at all events given—an attempt made that has proved infinitely productive; still, the modern elements of literature neither did nor could move with perfect freedom in the classic forms: the spirit was mastered by rules imposed on it from without, and in flagrant discord with its own nature.

But how could anything really great be produced by mere imitation? The master-works of antiquity do assuredly possess their own influence as models, but this is the influence of mind on mind. It is the firm conviction of our own times that the beautiful type is to educate, to form, to excite, but never to enslave.

The most felicitous creation might, on the other hand, be reasonably hoped for, when the genius of those times should arouse itself to the production of a work, departing in form and matter from the writers of antiquity, and affected by their internal influence only.

The romantic epos owes its peculiar charm to the fact that it fulfils these conditions. A Christian fable, combining the religious influence with heroic interests, supplied the groundwork: the most prominent figures were depicted by a few bold broad general traits; efficient situations, but slightly developed, were ready to the hand of the poet, as was the poetic expression which was presented to him immediately from the common colloquy of the people. In aid of all this came the tendency of the age to adapt itself to the antique, of which the humanizing influences colored and informed the whole. How different is the Rinaldo of Bojardo—noble, modest, replete with a joyous love of action and adventure—from the desperate son of Aimon of the old legend! How does the extravagant, the violent, the gigantic of the earlier representation, become transformed into the intelligible, the graceful, and the charming! There is doubtless something attractive and agreeable in the

simplicity of the unadorned old stories; but how greatly is our enjoyment increased, when the melody of Ariosto's verse floats along with us, and we pass from one bright picture to another in companionship with a cultivated mind and frank, cheerful spirit! The unlovely and formless has wrought itself into beauty, symmetry, and music.²

A keen susceptibility to pure beauty of form, with the power of expressing it, is manifested at a few favored periods only; the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries was one of them. How can I hope to indicate, were it but in outline, the wealth of art, whether in conception or practice, that filled those times—the fervid devotion that gave life to every effort? We may boldly affirm, that whatever of most beautiful the later ages have produced in architecture, sculpture, or painting is all due to this short period. The tendency of the time was not toward abstract reasonings, but rather toward a vivid life and active practice: in this earnest medium did men live and move. I may even say that the fortress erected by the prince against his enemy, and the note written by the philologist on the margin of his author, have a certain something in common: a severe and chaste beauty forms the groundwork of all the productions of the period.

We cannot, however, refuse to acknowledge that when art and poetry took possession of religious materials, they did not leave the import of them unchanged. The romantic epos, presenting us with a legend of the Church, is usually in direct opposition to the spirit of that legend. Ariosto found it needful to dismiss from his fable the background containing its original signification.

In earlier times the share of religion was equal with that of art, in every work of the painter or sculptor; but no sooner had the breath of antiquity been felt on the bosom of art than the bonds that had chained her to subjects exclusively religious were cast from her spirit. We see this change manifest itself more decidedly from year to year even in the works of Raphael. People may blame this, if they please; but it would seem to be certain that the co-operation of the profane element was necessary to the full development and bloom of art.

² I have endeavored to work out this subject in a special treatise read before the Royal Academy of Sciences.

And was it not profoundly significant that a pope should himself resolve to demolish the ancient basilica of St. Peter, the metropolitan church of Christendom, every part of which was hallowed, every portion crowded with monuments that had received the veneration of ages, and determine to erect a temple, planned after those of antiquity, on its site? This was a purpose exclusively artistic. The two factions then dividing the jealous and contentious world of art, united in urging Julius II to this enterprise. Michael Angelo desired a fitting receptacle for that monument to the pope which he proposed to complete on a vast scale, and with that lofty grandeur which he has exhibited in his Moses. Yet more pressing was Bramante. It was his ambition to have space for the execution of that bold project, long before conceived, of raising high in air, on colossal pillars, an exact copy of the Pantheon, in all the majesty of its proportions. Many cardinals remonstrated, and it would even appear that there was a general opposition to the plan; so much of personal affection attaches itself to every old church, how much more then to this, the chief sanctuary of Christendom!³ But Julius was not accustomed to regard contradiction; without further consideration he caused one-half of the old church to be demolished, and himself laid the foundation-stone of the new one.

Thus rose again, in the heart and centre of the Christian worship, those forms in which the spirit of the antique rites had found so eloquent an expression. At San Pietro in Montorio, and over the blood of the martyr, Bramante erected a chapel in the light and cheerful form of a peripteros.

If this involve a contradiction, it was one that pervaded the whole existence and affected all the habits of the times.

Men frequented the Vatican, less to kneel in devotion on the threshold of the apostles than to admire those great works of ancient art that enriched the dwelling of the pontiff—the Belvedere Apollo and the Laocoon.

It is true that the Pope was exhorted as earnestly as ever

³ The following passage is given by Fea, from the unprinted work of Panvinus ("De rebus antiquis memorabilibus et de præstantia basilicæ S. Petri Apostolorum Principis," etc.): "In which matter he had men of almost all classes against him, and especially the cardinals; not because they did not

wish to have a new basilica erected with all possible magnificence, but because they grieved that the old one should be pulled down, revered as it was by the whole world, ennobled by the sepulchres of so many saints, and illustrious for so many great things that had been done in it."

to make war against infidels. I find this, for example, in a preface of Navagero,⁴ but the writer was not concerning himself for the interests of Christianity; his hope was that the pontiff would thus recover the lost writings of the Greeks and perhaps of the Romans.

In this exuberance of effort and production, of intellect and art, and in the enjoyment of increasing temporal power attached to the highest spiritual dignity, lived Leo X. Men have questioned his title to the honor of giving his name to the period, and he had not perhaps any great merit in doing so, but he was indubitably favored by circumstances. His character had been formed in the midst of those elements that fashioned the world of his day, and he had liberality of mind and susceptibility of feeling that fitted him for the furtherance of its progress and the enjoyment of its advantages. If he found pleasure in the efforts of those who were but imitators of the Latin, still more would the works of his contemporaries delight him. It was in his presence that the first tragedy was performed, and (spite of the objections liable to be found in a play imitating Plautus) the first comedy also that was produced in the Italian language; there is, indeed, scarcely one that was not first seen by him. Ariosto was among the acquaintance of his youth. Machiavelli composed more than one of his works expressly for him. His halls, galleries, and chapels were filled by Raphael with the rich ideal of human beauty, and with the purest expression of life in its most varied forms. He was a passionate lover of music, a more scientific practice of which was just then becoming diffused throughout Italy; the sounds of music were daily heard floating through the palace, Leo himself humming the airs that were performed. This may all be considered a sort of intellectual sensuality, but it is at least the only one that does not degrade the man. Leo X was full of kindness and ready sympathies; rarely did he refuse a request, and when compelled to do so evinced his reluctance by the gentlest expressions. "He is a good man," says an observant ambassador, "very bounteous and kindly; he would avoid all disorders, if it were not that his kinsmen incite him to them."⁵ "He is learned," says another, "and the friend of the learned;

⁴ Naugerii Præfatio in "Ciceronis Orationes," t. i.

⁵ Zorzi: "As to the Pope, he desires

neither wars nor troubles, but his kindred embroil him in both." (See App. 7.)

religious too, but he will enjoy his life.”⁶ It is true that he did not always attend to the pontifical proprieties. He would sometimes leave Rome—to the despair of his master of the ceremonies—not only without a surplice, but, as that officer ruefully bemoans in his journal, “what is worst of all, even with boots on his feet!” It was his custom to pass the autumn in rural pleasures. At Viterbo he amused himself with hawking, and at Corneto with hunting the stag. The Lake of Bolsena afforded him the pleasure of fishing, or he would pass a certain time at his favorite residence of Malliana, whither he was accompanied by improvisatori and other men of light and agreeable talents, capable of making every hour pass pleasantly. Toward winter he returned with his company to Rome, which was now in great prosperity, the number of its inhabitants having increased full one-third in a very few years. Here the mechanic found employment, the artist honor, and safety was assured to all. Never had the court been more animated, more graceful, more intellectual. In the matter of festivities, whether spiritual or temporal, no cost was spared, nor was any expenditure found too lavish when the question was of amusements, theatres, presents, or marks of favor. There was high jubilee when it was known that Giuliano de’ Medici meant to settle with his young wife in Rome. “God be praised,” writes Cardinal Bibbiena to him, “for here we lack nothing but a court with ladies.”

The debasing sensuality of Alexander VI cannot fail to be regarded with horror and loathing; in the court of Leo X there were few things deserving absolute blame, although we cannot but perceive that his pursuits might have been more strictly in accordance with his position as supreme head of the Church.

Easily does life veil its own incongruities as they pass, but no sooner do men set themselves to ponder, examine, and compare, than at once they become fully apparent to all.

Of true Christian sentiment and conviction there could be no question in such a state of things; they were, on the contrary, directly opposed.

The schools of philosophy disputed as to whether the reasonable soul were really immaterial and immortal—but one

⁶ Marco Minio, “Relazione.” He calls him “bona persona.” (See App. No. 8.)

single spirit only and common to all mankind—or whether it were absolutely mortal.

Pietro Pomponazzo, the most distinguished philosopher of the day, did not scruple to uphold the latter opinion. He compared himself to Prometheus, whose heart was devoured by the vulture, because he had sought to steal fire from Jupiter; but with all the painful efforts Pomponazzo could make, with all his subtlety, he could arrive at no other result than this: "If the lawgiver declared the soul immortal, he had done so without troubling himself about the truth."⁷

Nor are we to believe that these opinions were confined to a few, or held only in secret. Erasmus declares himself astonished at the blasphemies that met his ears; attempts were made to prove to him—a foreigner—by passages from Pliny, that the souls of men are absolutely identical with those of beasts.⁸

While the populace had sunk into almost heathen superstition, and expected their salvation from mere ceremonial observances, but half understood, the higher classes were manifesting opinions of a tendency altogether anti-religious.

How profoundly astonished must Luther have been, on visiting Italy in his youth! At the very moment when the sacrifice of the mass was completed, did the priests utter blasphemous words in denial of its reality!

It was even considered characteristic of good society in Rome to call the principles of Christianity in question. "One passes," says P. Ant. Bandino,⁹ "no longer for a man of cultivation, unless one put forth heterodox opinions regarding the Christian faith." At court, the ordinances of the Catholic Church, and of passages from holy Scripture, were made subjects of jest—the mysteries of the faith had become matter of derision.

⁷Pomponazzo was very seriously assailed on this subject, as appears from extracts of papal letters by Contelori, and from other proofs. "Peter of Mantua has asserted that, according to the principles of philosophy and the opinion of Aristotle, the reasoning soul is or appears to be mortal, contrary to the determination of the Lateran council; the Pope commands that the said Peter shall retract, otherwise that he be proceeded against."

⁸Burigny, "Life of Erasmus," i. 139. Here may also be quoted the following passage from Paul Canensius in the "Vita Pauli II":—"With no less diligence he banished from the Roman

Court a nefarious sect, and the abominable opinion of some youths who, depraved of morals, maintained that our orthodox faith was founded rather on certain subtleties of the saints than on the true testimonies of things." A very decided materialism is evinced by "The Triumph of Charlemagne," a poem by Ludovici, as may be seen from the quotations of Daru in the 40th book of his "Histoire de Venise."

⁹In Caracciolo's MS. life of Paul IV: "At that time he seemed neither a gentleman nor a good courtier who did not hold some false and heretical opinion as to the doctrines of the Church."

We thus see how all is enchained and connected—how one event calls forth another. The pretensions of temporal princes to ecclesiastical power awaken a secular ambition in the popes, the corruption and decline of religious institutions elicit the development of a new intellectual tendency, till at length the very foundations of the faith become shaken in the public opinion.

Section IV.—Opposition to the Papacy in Germany

There appears to me something especially remarkable in the dispositions of Germany, as exhibited at this moment. In the intellectual development we have just been considering, her part was a decided and influential one, but conducted in a manner peculiar to herself.

In Italy, the promoters of classical study, and those from whom the age received its impulse toward it, were poets; as, for example, Boccaccio and Petrarch. In Germany, the same effect was due to a religious fraternity, the Hieronymites—a community united by a life of labor, passed in sequestration from the world. It was one of this brotherhood, the profound and blameless mystic, Thomas à Kempis, from whose school proceeded all those earnest and venerable men who, first drawn to Italy by the light of ancient learning, newly kindled there, afterward returned to pour its beneficent influence over the breadth of Germany.¹

The difference thus observable in the beginning was equally apparent in the subsequent progress.

In Italy the works of the ancients were studied for the sciences they contained; in Germany, for the aids they offered to the study of philosophy. The Italians sought a solution of the highest problems that can occupy the human intellect, if not by independent thought, at least with the help of the ancients; the Germans collected all that was best throughout antiquity for the education of their youth. The Italians were attracted toward the ancients by the beauty of form; this they sought to imitate, and thence proceeded to the formation of a national literature: among the Germans, these same

¹ Meiners has the merit of having first brought to light this genealogy from the "Daventria Illustrata of Revius."

Lives of celebrated men belonging to the period of the revival of letters.

studies took a more spiritual direction. The fame of Erasmus and Reuchlin is familiar to all; if we inquire what constitutes the principal merit of the latter, we find it to be his having written the first Hebrew grammar—a monument of which he hoped, as did the Italian poets of their works, that “it would be more durable than brass”; as by him the study of the Old Testament was first facilitated, so was that of the New Testament indebted to Erasmus. To this it was that his attention was devoted; it was he who first caused it to be printed in Greek, and his paraphrases and commentaries on it have produced an effect far surpassing the end he had proposed to himself.

While the public mind of Italy had become alienated from, and even opposed to, the Church, an effect in some respects similar had taken place in Germany. There, that freedom of thought which can never be wholly suppressed, gained admission into the literary world, and occasionally displayed itself in decided scepticism. A more profound theology, also, had arisen, from sources but imperfectly known, and though discountenanced by the Church, had never been put down; this now formed an essential part of the literary movement in Germany. In this point of view, I consider it worthy of remark, that, even as early as the year 1513, the Bohemian brethren made advances to Erasmus, whose modes of thought were, nevertheless, entirely different from their own.²

Thus, on either side the Alps, the progress of the age was in direct opposition to ecclesiastical ascendancy. In Italy this tendency was associated with science and literature; in Germany it arose from biblical studies, and a more profound theology. There it was negative and incredulous; here it was positive, and full of an earnest faith. There it destroyed the very foundations of the Church; here the desire was to construct the edifice anew. In Italy it was mocking and sarcastic, but ever pliant and deferential to power; in Germany, full of a serious indignation, and deeply determined on a stubbornness of assault such as the Roman Church had never before experienced.

The fact that this was first directed against the abuses arising from the sale of indulgences, has sometimes been regarded as mere matter of accident; but as the alienation of that which

² Füsslin, “Kirchen- und Ketzergeschichte,” ii. 82.

is most essentially spiritual, involved in the doctrine of indulgences laid open and gave to view the weakest point in the whole system—that worldliness of spirit now prevalent in the Church—so was it, of all things, best calculated to shock and offend the convictions of those earnest and profound thinkers, the German theologians. A man like Luther, whose religion was sincere and deeply felt, whose opinions of sin and justification were those propounded by the early German theologians, and confirmed in his mind by the study of Scripture, which he had drunk in with a thirsting heart, could not fail to be revolted and shocked by the sale of indulgences. Forgiveness of sins to be purchased for money! this must of necessity be deeply offensive to him, whose conclusions were drawn from profound contemplation of the eternal relation subsisting between God and man, and who had learned to interpret Scripture for himself.

It is true that he did, by all means, oppose the sale of indulgences; but, the ill-founded and prejudiced opposition he encountered, leading him on from step to step, he was presently made aware of the connection subsisting between this monstrous abuse and the general disorders of the Church. His was not a nature to shrink from, or tremble at, the most extreme measures. With unhesitating boldness, he attacked the head of the Church himself. From the midst of an order, hitherto the most submissive adherents and devoted defenders of the papacy, that of the Friars-Mendicant, now rose the most determined and most vigorous opponent the pontificate had yet known. And as Luther, with the utmost precision and acuteness, held up its own declared principles in the face of that power which had so widely departed from them—as he did but express truths of which all men had long been convinced—as his opposition, the full import of which had not yet become apparent, was acceptable to those who rejected the faith, and yet, because it was undertaken in defence of those principles, was consonant to the mind of the earnest believer—so had his writings an incalculable effect, and were rapidly disseminated, not in Germany alone, but through the whole world.

CHAPTER THIRD

POLITICAL COMPLICATIONS.—CONNECTION BETWEEN THESE AND THE REFORMATION

THE secular spirit that had now taken possession of the papacy had occasioned a twofold movement in the world. The one was religious; a falling off from the Church had begun, whence it was manifest that the future would behold results of immeasurable consequence. The second movement was of a political nature; the conflicting elements so long in action were still fermenting violently, and could not fail to produce new combinations. These two movements, their effect on each other, and the contests to which they gave rise, imposed their influence on the history of the popedom during a period of ages.

Well would it be for states and princes, would all be convinced that no essential good can result to them except from their own exertions—that no benefit is real unless acquired by their own native strength and effort!

While the Italian powers were laboring to conquer each other by foreign aid, they were in effect destroying that independence which they had enjoyed during the fifteenth century, and exposing their common country to be the prize of a foreign victor. A large share in this result must be imputed to the popes. It is certain that they had now acquired a sovereignty such as had never before been possessed by the Papal See; but this was by no means attributable to themselves—it was to the French, the Spaniards, the Germans, and Swiss, that they were indebted for the whole. Very little would Cæsar Borgia have accomplished, had it not been for his alliance with Louis XII; nor could Julius II have escaped destruction, enlarged as were his views, and heroic his achievements, had he not been upheld by the Spaniards and Swiss.

How could those who had gained the victory fail to seek their utmost profit in the preponderance it procured them? Julius did not neglect to ask himself this question, and sought to maintain a kind of equipoise by employing only the least formidable—the Swiss, namely: believing he might lead them as he pleased.

But the event failed to justify this expectation: two great powers arose, and these contended, if not for the sovereignty of the world, at least for supremacy in Europe; with neither of them could the pontiff hope to compete, and it was in Italy that they sought their battle-ground.

The French were the first to show themselves: soon after the accession of Leo X they appeared, in greater force than any with which they had ever before crossed the Alps, to regain possession of Milan. Francis I, in all the ardor of his chivalrous youth, was their leader. Everything depended on the question of whether the Swiss could resist him or not; therefore it was that the battle of Marignano had so paramount an importance; for here this question was resolved. The Swiss were totally routed, and since that defeat they have exercised no independent influence in Italy.

The battle had remained undecided on the first day, and a report of victory to the Swiss having reached Rome, bonfires had been lighted throughout the city. The earliest intelligence of the second day's battle and its result was received by the envoy of the Venetians, who were in alliance with Francis, and had in no small degree contributed to decide the fortune of the day. At a very early hour of the morning he hastened to the Vatican to communicate his intelligence to the Pope, who came forth when but half-dressed to give him audience. "Your holiness," said the envoy, "gave me bad news last night, and they were false beside; to-day I bring you good news, and they are true: the Swiss are beaten." He then read the letters he had received, and which, being written by men known to the Pope, left no doubt remaining.¹ Leo did not conceal his profound alarm. "What then will become of us? What will become even of yourselves?" he inquired. "We hope the best

¹ "Summario de la relatione di Zorzi:" "E cussi dismissiato venne fuori non compito di vestir. L' orator disse: Pater sante eri vra santa mi dette una

cattiva nuova e falsa, io le daro ozi una bona e vera, zoe Sguizari è rotti." The letters were from Pasqualigo, Dandolo, and others. (App. No. 7.)

for both." "Sir Envoy," replied the Pope, "we must throw ourselves into the King's arms and cry misericordia."²

In effect, the French acquired a decided preponderance in Italy by this victory. Had it been vigorously followed up, neither Tuscany near the States of the Church, both so easily incited to revolt, could have offered them resistance, and the Spaniards would have found it sufficiently difficult to maintain themselves in Naples. "The King," says Francesco Vettori, explicitly, "might become lord of Italy." How much was at this moment depending on Leo!

Lorenzo de' Medici said of his three sons, Julian, Peter and John, that the first was good, the second a fool, but that for the third, John, he was prudent. This third was Pope Leo X; and he now showed himself equal to the difficult position into which he had fallen.

Contrary to the advice of his cardinals, he betook himself to Bologna to have a conference with the King:³ then it was that they concluded the concordat (before alluded to), in which they divided between them the rights of the Gallican Church; Leo was compelled to give up Parma and Placentia, but he succeeded in dispersing the storm that had threatened him, persuaded the King to return, and himself remained secure in the possession of his dominions.

How fortunate this was for the pontiff, may be seen from the effects immediately produced by the mere approach of the French. It is highly deserving of remark that Leo, after his allies had been defeated and himself obliged to yield up a portion of his territory, was yet able to retain his hold on two provinces, but lately conquered, accustomed to independence, and replete with every element of revolt.

Leo X has been constantly censured for his attack on Urbino, a princely house, which had afforded refuge and hospitality to his own family when driven into exile. The provocation to this attack, and Leo's motive for resolving on it, were as follows:—The Duke of Urbino, being in the Pope's pay, had deserted him at a very critical moment; the pontiff then said that "if he did

² "Domine orator, vederemo quel fara il re Christmo se metteremo in le so man dimandando misericordia, Lui orator disse: Pater santè, vostra santità non avrà mal alcuno."

³ Zorzi: "This Pope is learned and practised in matters of state, and he

took counsel with his advisers about going to Bologna to hold conference, with the modesty proper to the Apostolic See; many cardinals, among whom was Cardinal Hadrian, sought to dissuade him, but for all that he would go."

not visit him with punishment for this, there would be no baron in the States of the Church so powerless as not to venture opposing him. He had found the pontificate respected; nor should it cease to be while in his hands."⁴ As, however, the duke was upheld by the French, at least in secret—as he had partisans throughout the States, and even in the college of cardinals, a contest with him was likely to prove dangerous: it was no easy matter to expel so warlike a prince. Leo was occasionally seen to tremble at the receipt of unfavorable news, and was often reduced to extreme perplexity. It is said, too, that a plan was formed for poisoning him in the course of treatment for a malady under which he labored. The Pope did at length succeed in defending himself from this enemy, but we have seen that it was not without great difficulty. The defeat of his party by the French affected him, not only in his capital, but even in his very palace.⁵

The second great power had meanwhile become consolidated. How extraordinary does it seem that one and the same prince should hold the sceptre in Vienna, Brussels, Valladolid, Saragossa, and Naples! Nor was this all—his rule extended even to another continent; yet this was brought about almost imperceptibly by a series of family alliances. This aggrandizement of the house of Austria, which linked together so many different countries, was one of the most important and eventful changes that Europe had yet witnessed. At that moment when the nations were diverging from the point that had hitherto been their common centre, they were again gathered, by their political circumstances, into new combinations and formed into a new system. The power of Austria instantly placed itself in opposition to the preponderance of France. With his imperial dignity, Charles V acquired legal claims to supremacy, at least in Lombardy. This being the state of things in Italy, war was kindled with but slight delay.

The popes, as we have before remarked, had hoped to secure entire independence by the extension of their states; they now found themselves hemmed in between two greatly superior

⁴Franc. Vettori ("Sommario della Storia d' Italia"), intimately connected with the Medici, gives this explanation (see App. 16). The defender of Francesco Maria, Giovo. Batt. Leoni, relates facts tending very nearly to the same import.

⁵Fca, in the "Notizie intorno Raffaele," p. 35, has given the sentence against the three cardinals from the Acts of the Consistory, and this refers distinctly to their understanding with Francesco Maria.

powers. A pope was not so insignificant as that he could remain neutral in a strife between them, neither was he sufficiently powerful to secure preponderance for that scale into which he should cast his weight; his safety could only be found in the dexterous use of passing events. Leo is reported to have said, that when a man has formed a compact with one party, he must none the less take care to negotiate with the other;⁹ this double-tongued policy was forced on him by the position in which he was placed.

But the pontiff could not seriously entertain a doubt as to the party which it was his interest to adopt; for had he not felt it of infinite importance to regain Parma and Placentia—had the promise of Charles V, that an Italian should hold possession of Milan, a thing so much to his advantage, been insufficient to determine his choice, there was still another consideration, and one that appears to me entirely conclusive—this was a motive connected with religion.

Throughout the whole period of time that we are contemplating, there was no assistance so much desired by the temporal sovereigns in their disputes with the popes as that of a spiritual opposition to their decrees. Charles VIII of France had no more efficient ally against Alexander VI than the Dominican Giralamo Savonarola of Florence. When Louis XII had resigned all hope of a reconciliation with Julius II, he summoned a council to meet at Pisa, and this, though producing no great effect, yet excited much alarm in Rome. But when had the Pope so bold or so prosperous an opponent as Luther? The mere fact that so fearless a foe to the popedom had made his appearance, the very existence of such a phenomenon, was highly significant, and imparted to the person of the reformer a decided political importance. It was thus that Maximilian considered it, nor would he permit injury of any kind to be offered to this monk; he caused him to be specially recommended to the elector of Saxony—"there might come a time when he would be needed"—and from that moment the influence of Luther increased day by day. The Pope could neither convince nor alarm this impracticable opponent, neither could he get him into his hands. It must not be supposed that Leo

⁹Suriano, "Relatione di 1533": "Dicesi del Papa Leone, che quando il aveva fatto lega con alcuno prima, se-

leva dir che però non si doveva restar de tratar eum e altre principe opposto."

failed to perceive the danger; more than once did he urge the many theologians and men of talent by whom he was surrounded in Rome, to engage themselves in contest with this formidable controversialist. One resource yet remained to him. Might he not hope that by an alliance with the Emperor, he should secure the aid of that sovereign for the repression of these religious innovations? as it is certain that they would be protected and even promoted by the Emperor, should Leo declare against him.

The affairs of Europe, religious and political, were the subject of discussion in the Diet of Worms (1521). Here the Pope entered into a league with the Emperor for the recovery of Milan. On the day when the alliance was concluded, the edict of outlawry proclaimed against Luther is said to have been also dated. There may have been other motives operating to produce this act of proscription; but no one will persuade himself that there was not an immediate connection between the outlawry and the political treaty.

And no long time elapsed before the twofold effect of this league became manifest.

Luther was seized on the Wartburg and kept in concealment.⁷ The Italians at once refused to believe that Charles had allowed him to escape, from a conscientious regard to the safe-conduct he had granted. "Since he perceived," said they, "that the Pope greatly feared of Luther's doctrine, he designed to hold him in check with that rein."⁸

However this may be, Luther certainly disappeared for some time from the stage of the world; he was to a certain extent without the pale of the law, and the Pope had in any case procured the adoption of decisive measures against him.

The combined forces of the Pope and Emperor were meanwhile successful in Italy; one of Leo's nearest relations, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, the son of his father's brother, was himself in the field, and entered with the conquering army into Milan. It was asserted in Rome that the Pope had designs of conferring on him the duchy; but I find no distinct proof of

⁷Luther was believed to be dead; it was said that he had been murdered by the partisans of the Pope. Palavicini ("Istoria del Concilio di Trento," i. c. 28) infers from the letters of Alexander, that the nuncios were in danger of their lives on that account.

⁸Vettori: "Carlo si excusò di non poter procedere più oltre rispetto al salvocondotto, ma la verità fu, che conoscendo che il papa temeva molto di questa doctrina di Luthero, lo volle tenere con questo freno." (See text.)

this, nor do I think the Emperor would readily have acceded to it: even without this, however, the advantages gained by Rome were enormous. Parma and Placentia were recovered, the French were compelled to withdraw, and the Pope might safely calculate on exercising great influence over the new sovereign of Milan.

It was a crisis of infinite moment: a new state of things had arisen in politics—a great movement had commenced in the Church. The aspect of affairs permitted Leo to flatter himself that he should retain the power of directing the first, and he had succeeded in repressing the second. He was still young enough to indulge the anticipation of fully profiting by the results of this auspicious moment.

Strange and delusive destiny of man! The Pope was at his villa of Malliana, when he received intelligence that his party had triumphantly entered Milan; he abandoned himself to the exultation arising naturally from the successful completion of an important enterprise, and looked cheerfully on at the festivities his people were preparing on the occasion.

He paced backward and forward till deep in the night, between the window and a blazing hearth⁹—it was the month of November. Somewhat exhausted, but still in high spirits, he arrived in Rome, and the rejoicings there celebrated for his triumph were not yet concluded, when he was attacked by a mortal disease. “Pray for me,” said he to his servants, “that I may yet make you all happy.” We see that he loved life, but his hour was come, he had not time to receive the sacrament nor extreme unction. So suddenly, so prematurely, and surrounded by hopes so bright!—he died—“as the poppy fadeth.”¹⁰

The Roman populace could not forgive their pontiff for dying without the sacraments — for having spent so much money, and yet leaving large debts. They pursued his corpse to its grave with insult and reproach. “Thou hast crept in like a fox,” they exclaimed; “like a lion hast thou ruled us, and

⁹ Copia di una lettera di Roma alli Signori Bolognesi, a di 3 Dec. 1521, scritta per Bartholomeo Argilelli.” See vol. xxxii. of Sanuto. The intelligence reached the Pope on the 24th of November, during the Benedicite. This also he accepted as a particularly good omen—“Questa e una buona nuova che havete portato,” he remarked. The Swiss immediately began to fire feux-de-joie. Leo requested them to desist, but in vain.

¹⁰ There was instant suspicion of poison. “Lettera di Hieronymo Bon a suo barba, a di 5 Dec.,” in Sanuto: “It is not certainly known whether the Pope died of poison or not. He was opened. Master Fernando judged that he was poisoned, others thought not. Of this last opinion is Master Severino, who saw him opened, and says he was not poisoned.”

like a dog hast thou died." ¹ Aftertimes, on the contrary, have designated a century and a great epoch in the progress of mankind, by his name.

We have called him fortunate. Once he had overcome the first calamity, that after all affected other members of his house rather than himself, his destiny bore him onward from enjoyment to enjoyment, and from success to success; the most adverse circumstances were turned to his elevation and prosperity. In a species of intellectual intoxication, and in the ceaseless gratification of all his wishes, did his life flow on. This was in a great measure the result of his own better qualities—of that liberal kindness, that activity of intellect, and ready perception of good in others, which were among his distinguishing characteristics. These qualities are the fairest gifts of nature—felicitous peculiarities, rarely acquired, but when possessed how greatly do they enhance all life's enjoyments! His state affairs did but slightly disturb the current of his pleasures: he did not concern himself with the details, looking only to leading facts; thus he was not oppressed by labor, since it called into exercise the noblest faculties of his intellect only. It was perhaps precisely because he did not chain his thoughts to business, through every day and hour, that his management of affairs was so comprehensive. Whatever the perplexity of the moment, never did he lose sight of the one guiding thought that was to light his way; invariably did the essential and moving impulse emanate directly from himself. At the moment of his death, the purposes he had proposed to himself in the policy he had pursued were all tending toward the happiest results. It may be considered a further proof of his good fortune that his life was not prolonged. Times of a different character succeeded, and it is difficult to believe that he could have opposed a successful resistance to their unfavorable influences. The whole weight of them was experienced by his successors.

The conclave lasted long:—"Sirs," said the Cardinal de' Medici, whom the return of the enemies of his house to Urbino and Perugia filled with alarm, and who feared for Florence itself—"sirs, I perceive that of us who are here assembled, no one can become pope. I have proposed to you

¹ "Capitoli di una lettera scritta a Roma, 21 Dec. 1521:" "I judge there

never died a pope in worse repute since the Church of God had existence."

three or four, but you have rejected them all. Neither can I accept those whom you propose; we must seek a pope among those who are not present." Assenting to this, the cardinals asked who it was that he had in view: "Take," said he, "the Cardinal of Tortosa, an aged venerable man, who is universally esteemed a saint."² This was Adrian of Utrecht, formerly a professor of Louvain;³ he had been tutor to Charles V who from personal attachment had given him the office of a governor, and promoted his elevation to the dignity of cardinal. Cardinal Cajetan, although not of the Medicean party, rose to speak in praise of the candidate proposed. Who could have believed that the cardinals, ever accustomed to consult their personal interests in the choice of a pope, would agree to select an absent Netherlander, with whom no one could make conditions for his own private advantage? They suffered themselves to be surprised into this determination, and when the affair was concluded, they could not themselves account for the decision they had arrived at. "They were well-nigh dead with fright," quoth one of our authorities. They are also said to have persuaded themselves that Adrian would not accept the dignity. Pasquin amused himself at their expense, representing the pope elect as a schoolmaster, and the cardinals as schoolboys whom he was chastising.

On a worthier man, however, the choice of the conclave could scarcely have fallen. The reputation of Adrian was without a blemish; laborious, upright, and pious, he was of so earnest a gravity, that a faint smile was his nearest approach to mirth, yet benevolent withal, full of pure intentions, a true servant of religion.⁴ What a contrast when he entered that city

² "Lettera di Roma a di 19 Zener.," in Sanuto. "Medici doubting how his affairs might go if things were too much protracted, resolved to put an end; and having in his mind that cardinal of Tortosa, as being closely attached to the Emperor, said, etc."

³ It is thus that he calls himself in a letter of 1514, to be found in Casper Bumannus: "Adrianus VI sive analecta historica de Adriano VI." In documents belonging to his native country he is called "Master Aryan Florisse of Utrecht." Modern writers sometimes call him Boyens, because his father signs himself Floris Boyens; but this means no other than Bodewin's son, and is not a family name. See Bourmann, in the notes to "Moringi Vita Adriani," p. 2.

⁴ "Litteræ ex Victorial directivæ ad Cardinalem de Flisco," in the 33d volume of Sanuto, describe him in the terms following: "A man tenacious of his own; very cautious in conceding; and never, or very rarely, accepting. He performs early mass daily. Whom he loves, or whether he love any, none hath discovered; he is not affected by anger, nor moved by jests, nor has he seemed to exult at obtaining the pontificate; on the contrary, it is said that on receiving the news of it he uttered a groan." In the collection of Bumannus, will be found an "Itinerarium Adriani," by Ortiz, who accompanied the pope and knew him intimately. He declares (p. 223) that he never observed anything in him deserving censure; he was a mirror of all the virtues.

wherein Leo had held his court with so lavish a splendor! There is a letter of his extant in which he declares that he would rather serve God in his priory at Louvain, than be pope.⁵ And his life in the Vatican was in fact the counterpart of what he had led as professor at Louvain. It is characteristic of the man, and we may be permitted to relate the circumstance, that he brought his old housekeeper from his priory to his palace, where she continued to provide for his domestic wants as before. Nor did he make any alteration in his personal habits. He rose with the earliest dawn, said mass, and then proceeded in the usual order to his business and studies, which were interrupted only by the most frugal meal. He cannot be said to have remained a stranger to the general culture or acquirements of his age: he loved Flemish art, and prized the learning that was adorned with a tinge of eloquence. Erasmus acknowledges that he was especially protected by the Pope from the attacks of bigoted schoolmen.⁶ But he disapproved the almost heathenish character which modes of thought had assumed at Rome in his day; and as to poets, he would not even hear them named. No one could be more earnest than was Adrian VI (he chose to retain his original designation) in his desire to ameliorate the grievous condition into which Christendom had fallen at his accession.

The progress of the Turkish arms, with the fall of Belgrade and of Rhodes, furnished a new impulse to his anxiety for the re-establishment of peace among the Christian powers. Although he had been preceptor to the Emperor, he yet assumed an entirely neutral position. The imperial ambassador who had hoped, on the new outbreak of war, that he should move the pontiff to declare for his late pupil, was compelled to leave Rome without accomplishing his purpose.⁷ When the news of the conquest of Rhodes was read to the Pope, he bent his eyes to the ground, said not a word, and sighed deeply.⁸ The

⁵Florenz. Oem Wyngaerden: "Vittoria," 15 Feb. 1522. See Burmann, p. 398.

⁶Erasmus says of him in one of his letters: "Although he favored the scholastic teaching, he is very fair toward polite learning." Burm. p. 15. Jovius relates with complacency the progress that his reputation as a "scriptor annalium valde elegans" (a most elegant annalist) had caused him

to make with Adrian, especially as he was no poet.

⁷Gradenigo Relatione, as quotes the viceroy of Naples, Girolamo Negro (some interesting letters from whom respecting this period we find in the "Lettere di Principi," t. i.), says, p. 109, of John Manuel: "He went away half despairing."

⁸Negro, from the narration of the Venetian secretary, p. 110.

danger of Hungary was manifest; nor was he altogether free from apprehension respecting Italy or Rome itself. His utmost efforts were directed to the procuring, if not peace, at least a suspension of hostilities for three years; during which time preparations might be made for a general expedition against the Turks.

Equally was he determined to anticipate the demands of the Germans, with regard to the abuses that had made their way into the Church. His avowal that such existed was most explicit. "We know," he observes in the instructions for the Nuncio Chieragato, whom he sent to the diet, "We know that for a considerable period many abominable things have found place beside the holy chair—abuses in spiritual matters—exorbitant straining of prerogatives—evil everywhere. From the head the malady has proceeded to the limbs; from the Pope it has extended to the prelates; we are all gone astray, there is none that hath done rightly, no not one." On his part he proceeds to promise all that may be expected from a good pope: he will promote the learned and upright, repress abuses, and, if not all at once, yet gradually, bring about a reformation both in the head and members, such as men have so long desired and demanded.⁹

But to reform the world is not so light a task; the good intentions of an individual, however high his station, can do but little toward such a consummation. Too deeply do abuses strike their roots; with life itself they grow up and become entwined; so that it is at length difficult to eradicate the one without endangering the other.

The fall of Rhodes was far from inclining the French to make peace. On the contrary, perceiving that this loss would give the Emperor new occupation, they resolved on more vigorous measures against him. They established a connection in Sicily (not without the privity of the very cardinal in whom Adrian most confided), and made a descent on that island. The Pope was at length constrained to form an alliance with the Emperor, which was, in fact, directed against France.

The Germans, again, were not now to be conciliated by what would once have been hailed as a reformation of head and mem-

⁹"*Instructio pro te Francisco Chieragato,*" etc., to be found, amongst

other writers, in Rainaldus, tom. xi. p. 363.

bers; and even had they been, how difficult, how almost impracticable, would such reform have been found!

If the Pope attempted to reduce those revenues of the Curia in which he detected an appearance of simony, he could not do so without alienating the legitimate rights of those persons whose offices were founded on these revenues; offices that, for the most part, had been purchased by the men who held them.

If he contemplated a change in the dispensations of marriage, or some relaxation of existing prohibitions, it was instantly represented to him, that such a step would infringe upon and weaken the discipline of the Church.

To abate the crying abuse of indulgences, he would gladly have revived the ancient penances; but the Penitenziaria at once called his attention to the danger he would thus incur; for, while he sought to secure Germany, Italy would be lost!¹⁰

Enough is said to show that the Pope could make no step toward reform, without seeing himself assailed by a thousand difficulties.

In addition to all this came the fact that in Rome Adrian was a stranger, by birth, nation, and the habits of his life, to the element in which he was called on to act; this he could not master, because it was not familiar to him; he did not comprehend the concealed impulses of its existence. He had been welcomed joyfully, for people told each other that he had some 5,000 vacant benefices to bestow, and all were willing to hope for a share. But never did a pope show himself more reserved in this particular. Adrian would insist on knowing to whom it was that he gave appointments and intrusted with offices. He proceeded with scrupulous conscientiousness,¹ and disappointed innumerable expectations. By the first decree of his pontificate he abolished the reversionary rights formerly annexed to ecclesiastical dignities; even those which had already been conceded, he revoked. The publication of this edict in Rome could not fail to bring a crowd of enemies against him. Up to his time a certain freedom of speech and of writing had been suffered to prevail in the Roman Court; this he would no longer tolerate. The exhausted state of the papal exchequer,

¹⁰In the first book of the "Historia de Concilio Tridentino," by P. Sarpi, ed. of 1629, there is a good exposition of this state of things, extracted from a diary of Chierigato.

¹Ortiz, "Itinerarium," c. 28, c. 39, particularly worthy of credit, because he says: "When with my own eyes I looked over provisions and things of that kind."

and the numerous demands on it, obliged him to impose new taxes. This was considered intolerable on the part of one who expended so sparingly. Whatever he did was unpopular and disapproved.² He felt this deeply, and it reacted on his character. He confided less than ever in the Italians. The two Netherlanders, Enkefort, his datary, and the secretary, Hezius, to whom a certain authority was intrusted, were conversant neither with business nor the court: he found it impossible to direct them himself, neither would he resign his habits of study; not contenting himself with reading only, but choosing to write also. He was by no means easy of access; business was procrastinated, tediously prolonged, and unskilfully handled.

Thus it came to pass that in affairs of vital importance to the general interest, nothing effectual was accomplished. Hostilities were renewed in Upper Italy; Luther was more than ever active in Germany; and in Rome, which was, besides, afflicted with the plague, a general discontent prevailed.

Adrian once said: "How much depends on the times in which even the best of men are cast!" The painful sense he entertained of his difficult position is eloquently expressed in this sorrowing outburst. Most appropriately was it engraven on his monument in the German church at Rome.

And here it becomes obvious, that not to Adrian personally must it be solely attributed, if his times were so unproductive in results. The papacy was encompassed by a host of conflicting claimants—urgent and overwhelming difficulties that would have furnished infinite occupation, even to a man more familiar with the medium of action, better versed in men and more fertile in expedients than Adrian VI.

Among all the cardinals, there was no one who seemed so peculiarly fitted to administer the government successfully—no one who appeared so well prepared to support the weight of the popedom, as Giulio de' Medici. He had already managed a large share of the public business under Leo—the whole of the details were in his hands; and, even under Adrian, he had maintained a certain degree of influence.³ This time he did

²"Lettere di Negro," Capitolo del Berni: "And when anyone follows the free custom of indulging his feelings in writing or in song, he threatens to have him tossed into the river."

³The "Relatione di Marco Foscarini"

reports of him, with reference to those times: "He lived in excellent repute; it was he who governed the papacy, and he had more people at his audiences than the Pope himself."

not permit the supreme dignity to escape him, and ascended the papal throne under the name of Clement VII.

The faults and mistakes of his immediate predecessors were carefully avoided by the new pope. The instability, prodigality, and pleasure-seeking habits of Leo, and that ceaseless conflict with the tastes and opinions of his court into which Adrian had suffered himself to be drawn, were all eschewed by Clement VII. Everything was arranged with the utmost discretion, and his own conduct was remarkable for the blameless rectitude and moderation of its tenor.⁴ The pontifical ceremonies were performed with due care. Audience was given from early morning to night, with untiring assiduity. Science and the arts were encouraged in that direction toward which they had now become decidedly bent. Clement was himself a man of extensive information. He spoke with equal knowledge of his subject, whether that were philosophy and theology, or mechanics and hydraulic architecture. In all affairs he displayed extraordinary acuteness; the most perplexing questions were unravelled, the most difficult circumstances penetrated to the very bottom by his extreme sagacity. No man could debate a point with more address: under Leo, he had already manifested a prudence in counsel, and a circumspect ability in practice that none could surpass.

But it is in the storm that the pilot proves his skill. Clement entered on the duties of the pontificate—if we consider it merely as an Italian sovereignty—at a moment of most critical import.

The Spaniards had contributed more than any other power to extend and uphold the States of the Church; they had re-established the Medici in Florence. Thus leagued with the popes, their own advancement in Italy had kept pace with that of the house of Medici. Alexander VI had made a way for them into Lower Italy, Julius had given them access to the central regions, and their attack on Milan, undertaken in alliance with Leo X, had made them masters of Upper Italy. Clement himself had frequently afforded them powerful aid. There is still extant an instruction from him to one of his ambassadors at the Court of Spain, wherein he enumerates the

⁴Vettori says, for the last hundred years there has not been so good a man pope: "Not proud, no trafficker in

church property, not avaricious, not given to pleasure, moderate in food, frugal in dress, religious and devout."

services he had rendered to Charles V and his house. It was principally attributable to his efforts that Francis I did not press forward to Naples at his first arrival in Italy. He had prevented Leo from throwing impediments in the way of Charles's election to the imperial crown, and had induced him to repeal the old constitution by which it was enacted that no king of Naples could at the same time be emperor. Unmoved by the promises of the French, he had given his best support to the alliance of Leo with Charles for the recovery of Milan; and to favor this undertaking, he spared neither his own person nor the resources of his country and adherents. It was he who procured the election of Adrian; and at the time when this was done, it seemed nearly equivalent to making Charles himself pope.⁵ I will not inquire how much of Leo's policy was due to the counsellor and how much to the pontiff himself; but thus much is certain, that Cardinal Medici was always on the side of the Emperor. Even after he had become pope, the imperial troops were furnished by him with money, provisions, and grants of ecclesiastical revenues. Once again they were partially indebted to his support for their victory.

Thus intimately was Clement connected with the Spaniards, but, as not unfrequently happens, this alliance was the cause of extraordinary evils.

The popes had contributed to the rise of the Spanish powers; but that rise had never been the result they had sought. They had wrested Milan from the French, but not with the purpose of transferring it to Spain. There had even been more than one war carried on to prevent Milan and Naples from falling into the hands of one and the same possessor.⁶ The fact that the Spaniards, so long masters of Lower Italy, should be now daily obtaining firmer footing in Lombardy, and that of their delaying the investiture of Sforza, were regarded in Rome with the utmost impatience and displeasure.

Clement was also personally dissatisfied. It may be perceived from the instructions before cited, that even as cardinal he had not always thought himself treated with the considera-

⁵Instruction to Cardinal Farnese, afterward Paul III, when he went as legate to Charles V, after the sack of Rome. (App. No. 15.)

⁶It is expressly stated in the before-mentioned instructions that the Pope

had displayed a readiness to acquiesce even in what displeased him; "to the effect that the state of Milan should remain in possession of the Duke, a thing which had been the object of all the Italian wars."

tion due to his merits and services. He did not even now meet with the deference that he felt to be his right; and the expedition against Marseilles in the year 1524 was undertaken in direct opposition to his advice. His ministers, as they declared themselves, expected still further marks of disrespect toward the apostolic see, perceiving nothing in the Spaniards but imperious insolence.⁷

How closely had the by-gone course of events, and his personal position, bound Clement both by necessity and inclination to the Spanish cause, yet how many were the reasons that now presented themselves, all tending to make him execrate the power he had so largely contributed to establish, and place himself in opposition to the cause for which he had hitherto so zealously labored!

There is, perhaps, no effort in politics so difficult to make as that of retracing the path we have hitherto trodden—of recalling that chain of sequences which we ourselves have elicited.

And how much was now depending on such an effort! The Italians were profoundly sensible to the fact, that the acts of the present moment would decide their fate for centuries. A powerful community of feeling had taken rise and prevailed throughout the nation. I am fully persuaded that this may be in great part ascribed to the literary and artistic progress of Italy—a progress in which it left other nations so far behind. The arrogance and rapacity of the Spaniards, alike leaders as soldiers, were, besides, intolerable to all; and it was with contempt and rage combined that the Italians beheld this horde of half-barbarous foreigners masters in their country. Matters were still in such a position that they might yet free themselves from these intruders: but the truth must not be disguised. If the attempt were not made with the whole force of the nation's power, if they were now defeated, they were lost forever.

I could have desired to set forth the complicated events of this period in their fullest development—to exhibit the whole contest of the excited powers in its minutest detail; but I can here follow a few of the more important movements only.

⁷M. Giberto, "datario a Don Michele di Silva," "Lettere di Principi," i. 197, b.

The first attempt made, and one that seemed particularly well devised, was that of gaining over the best general of the Emperor to the Roman side. It was known that he was greatly dissatisfied, and if, together with him, that army by means of which Charles mastered Italy could also be won, as was confidently hoped, what more could be required? There was no dearth of promises, by way of inducement—even that of a crown was included amongst them; but how grievously had they miscalculated, how instantly were the delicate complications of their astute prudence shivered to atoms against the rugged materials to which it was applied! This General Pescara was an Italian born, but of Spanish race; he spoke only Spanish, he would be nothing but a Spaniard; for the elegant cultivation of the Italians he had neither taste nor aptitude; the best furniture of his mind had been drawn from Spanish romances, and these breathe, above all, of loyalty and fidelity. His very nature was opposed to a national enterprise in favor of Italy.⁸ No sooner had he received the Italian overtures than they were communicated, not to his comrades alone, but even to the Emperor; he used them only to discover the purposes of the Italians, and to frustrate all their plans.

But these very overtures made a deadly strife with the Emperor unavoidable; for how was it possible that the mutual confidence of the parties should fail to be utterly destroyed?

In the summer of 1526, we at length see the Italians putting their own hands to the work, and that with all their might. The Milanese are already in arms against the imperialists, a combined Venetian and papal force advance to their support, assistance is promised from Switzerland, and treaties have been concluded with France and England. "This time," says Giberto, the most trusted minister of Clement VII, "the question is not of some petty vengeance, some point of honor, or a single town; this war is to decide whether Italy shall be free, or is doomed to perpetual thralldom." He had no doubt

⁸ Vettori has pronounced over him the least enviable eulogy imaginable; here it is: "He was proud beyond all measure, envious, ungrateful, greedy, virulent, and cruel; without religion, without humanity; he was born for the very destruction of Italy." Morone also declares to Guicciardini that there was no man more faithless and ma-

licious than Pescara ("Hist. d'Italia," xvi. 476); and yet the proposal above described was made to him! I do not cite these opinions as believing them true, but simply because they prove that Pescara had shown no feeling as regarded the Italians but those of hatred and enmity.

of the result—he was persuaded that it would be a fortunate one. “Posterity will envy us,” he declares, “for having lived at such a moment; for having witnessed and had our share in so much happiness.” His hope is, that no foreign aid will be required. “The glory will be all our own; and so much the sweeter will be the fruit.”⁹

It was with thoughts and hopes such as these, that Clement undertook his war with Spain;¹⁰ it was his boldest and most magnanimous project, but also his most unfortunate and ruinous one.

The affairs of the Church were inextricably interwoven with those of the state, yet Clement would seem to have left the commotions of Germany entirely out of consideration; it was, nevertheless, in these that the first reaction became manifest.

In July, 1526, that moment when the papal forces were advancing toward Northern Italy, the diet had assembled at Spires, with the purpose of arriving at some definitive resolution in regard to the disorders of the Church. It was not in the nature of things that the imperial party, or Ferdinand of Austria, who represented the Emperor, and who had himself the hope of possessing Milan, should be very earnest in the maintenance of the papal influence north of the Alps, when they were themselves attacked by the Pope, with so much determination, on their southern side. Whatever intentions might have been earlier formed or announced by the imperial court,¹ the open war now entered on by the Pope against the Emperor would assuredly put an end to all considerations in favor of the former. Never had the towns expressed themselves more freely, never had the princes pressed more urgently for the removal of their burdens. It was proposed that the books containing the new regulations should be burnt forthwith, and that the holy scriptures should be taken as the sole rule of faith. Although some opposition was made, yet never was a more independent or more decisive resolution adopted. Ferdinand signed a decree of the empire, whereby the states

⁹G. M. Giberto al vescovo di Veruli, “Lettere di Principi,” i. p. 192, a.

¹⁰Foscari also says: “His present wish to ally himself with France is for his own good and that of Italy, not because he has any love for the French.”

¹The instructions of the Emperor, which had occasioned some alarm to the Protestants, bear the date of March, 1526, when the Pope had not yet concluded his alliance with France.

were declared free to comport themselves in matters of religion as each should best answer it to God and the Emperor, that is, according to its own judgment. In this resolution, no reference whatever was made to the Pope, and it may fairly be regarded as the commencement of the true reformation, and the establishment of a new church in Germany. In Saxony, Hesse, and the neighboring countries, it was practically adopted without delay. The legal existence of the Protestant party in the empire is based on the decree of Spire, of 1526.

It may be easily asserted that this expression of opinion in Germany was decisive for Italy also. The Italians were far from being zealous, as a nation, for their great enterprise, and even among those who desired its success, unanimity did not prevail. Able as he was, and thoroughly Italian in spirit, the Pope was yet not one of those men who calmly control the current of circumstances, and seem to hold fortune enchained. His keen perception of realities seemed injurious rather than serviceable to him: his conviction that he was the weaker party was stronger than was expedient; all possible contingencies, every form of danger, presented themselves too clearly before him; they bewildered his mind and confused his decisions. There is a practical and inventive faculty by which some men intuitively perceive the simple and practicable in affairs, and, guided by this, they rapidly seize on the best expedient. This he did not possess;² in the most critical moments he was seen to hesitate, waver, and waste his thoughts in attempts to spare money. His allies having failed in their promises, the results he had hoped for were far from being obtained, and the imperialists still maintained their hold in Lombardy, when, in November, 1526, George Frundsberg crossed the Alps with a formidable body of lanzknechts, to bring the contest to an end. This army was altogether Lutheran—leader and followers. They came resolved to avenge the Emperor on the Pope, whose secession from the alliance had been represented to them as the cause of all the evils so generally felt and complained of. The wars so long continued through Christendom, and the successes of the Ottomans, who were pouring their troops over Hungary,

²Suriano, "Rel. di 1533," finds in him "a very cold heart, which causes his holiness to be endowed with no common timidity—for I will not say

cowardice—but I think I have noticed that frequently in the Florentine character. This timidity makes his holiness very irresolute."

all were attributed to the faithlessness of Clement. "When once I make my way to Rome," said Frundsberg, "I will hang the Pope."

With anxious thought is the storm seen to gather in the narrowing and lowering horizon. Rome, loaded perhaps with vices, yet not the less teeming with the noblest effort, the most exalted intellect, the richest culture; powerfully creative, adorned with matchless works of art, such as the world has never since produced; replete with riches, ennobled by the impress of genius, and exercising a vital and imperishable influence on the whole world, this Rome is now threatened with destruction. As the masses of the imperial force drew together, the Italian troops dispersed before them, the only army that yet remained followed them from afar; the Emperor had been long unable to pay his troops, and could not alter their direction even did he desire to do so. They marched beneath the imperial banner, guided only by their own stormy will and impulse. Clement still hoped, negotiated, offered concessions, retracted them; but the sole expedient that could have saved him—the contenting these hordes, namely, with all the money they may find the boldness to demand—this, he either could not, or would not adopt. Will he then at least make a stand against the enemy with such weapons as he has? Four thousand men would have sufficed to secure the passes of Tuscany, but the attempt was not even thought of. Rome contained within her walls some thirty thousand inhabitants capable of bearing arms; many of these men had seen service, they wore swords by their sides, which they used freely in their broils among each other, and then boasted of their exploits. But to oppose the enemy, who brought with him certain destruction, five hundred men were the utmost that could ever be mustered without the city. At the first onset the Pope and his forces were overthrown. On the sixth of May, 1527, two hours before sunset, the imperialists poured their unbridled numbers into Rome. Their former general, Frundsberg, was no longer at their head; in a disturbance among his troops he had been unable to repress them as was his wont, and, being struck by apoplexy, remained behind in a state of dangerous illness. Bourbon, who had led the army so far, was killed at the first fixing of the scaling-ladders. Thus, restrained by no leader,

the bloodthirsty soldiery, hardened by long privations and rendered savage by their trade, burst over the devoted city. Never fell richer booty into more violent hands, never was plunder more continuous or more destructive.³ How vivid a lustre was cast over the beginning of the sixteenth century by the splendor of Rome! It designates a period most influential on the development of the human mind. This day saw the light of that splendor extinguished forever.

And thus did the pontiff, who had hoped to effect the liberation of Italy, find himself besieged, as it were a prisoner, in the castle of St. Angelo; by this great reverse the preponderance of the Spaniards in Italy was irrevocably established.

A new expedition undertaken by the French, and promising great results in its commencement, was a total failure. They were compelled to give up all their claims upon Italy.

No less important was another occurrence: before Rome was yet captured, when it was merely seen that the march of Bourbon was in that direction, the enemies of the Medici in Florence had availed themselves of the confusion of the moment, and once more expelled the family of the Pope. The revolt of his native city was more painful to Clement than even the downfall of Rome. With astonishment did men behold him, after so many indignities, again connect himself with the imperialists. He did so because he saw that with the help of the Spaniards alone could his kindred and party be reinstated in Florence; this he would secure at all hazards; the domination of the Emperor was at least more endurable to Clement than the disobedience of his rebels. In proportion as the fortunes of the French were seen to decline, did the Pope make approaches to the Spaniards; and when the first were at length entirely defeated, he concluded the treaty of Barcelona with the last. He so completely changed his policy, that the very army by which Rome had been sacked before his eyes, and himself so long held captive, was now called to his assistance; recruited and strengthened, it was led to the reduction of his native city.

³ Vettori: "The slaughter was not great, because men rarely kill those who will not defend themselves; but the booty was of inestimable value—money, jewels, vessels of gold and silver, garments, tapestry, household furniture, merchandise of all sorts, and

ransoms." He does not blame the pope, but the inhabitants, for this misfortune; he describes them as proud, avaricious, murderous, envious, luxurious, and hypocritical. Such a population could not sustain itself.

Thenceforth Charles was more powerful in Italy than any emperor had been for many centuries. The crown that he had received at Bologna had now regained its full significance; Milan gradually became as entirely subjected to his authority as was Naples. His restoration of the Medici to their seat in Florence secured him a direct and permanent influence in Tuscany. The remaining states of Italy either sought his alliance or submitted to his power. With the strength of Germany and Spain, united by the force of his victorious arms, and in right of his imperial dignity, did he hold all Italy in subjection, from the Alps to the sea.

To this point it was then that the Italian wars conducted the country; from that period never has she been freed from the rule of the stranger. Let us now examine the progress of the religious dissensions that were so intimately entwined with the political events.

If the Pope acquiesced in the establishment of Spanish supremacy in all directions, he had at least the hope that this powerful Emperor, who was described to him as so devoted to Catholicism, would in all cases assist to re-establish the papal dominion in Germany. There is even a stipulation to that effect in the treaty of Barcelona. The Emperor promised to lend his utmost efforts for the reduction of Protestantism, and did indeed seem bent on accomplishing that purpose. To the Protestant delegates who waited on him in Italy he returned a most discouraging reply, and on his progress into Germany (1530) certain members of the Curia, and more especially Cardinal Campeggi, who accompanied him as legate, proposed extreme measures, infinitely dangerous to the peace of Germany.

There is still extant a memorial, from the cardinal to the Emperor, presented during the sitting of the diet at Augsburg, in which these projects are set forth. I allude to this with extreme reluctance, but in deference to the truth, I must say a few words respecting it.

Cardinal Campeggi does not content himself with deploring the disorders in religion, but insists more particularly on the political evils resulting from them; he points to the decadence of power among the nobles in all the cities of the empire, as one of the consequences of the Reformation. He declares that neither ecclesiastical nor secular princes can any longer obtain

the obedience due to them, so that even the majesty of the Cæsar has come to be no longer regarded! He then proceeds to show how this evil may be remedied.

The mystery of his curative system was not very profound. There required only, according to him, that the Emperor should form a compact with the well-affected princes, whereupon attempts should be made to convert the disaffected, either by promises or threats. But suppose these last to be recusant—what was next to be done? The right would then exist of “rooting out these pestilential weeds by fire and sword.”⁴

“The first step in this process would be to confiscate property, civil or ecclesiastical, in Germany as well as in Hungary and Bohemia. For, with regard to heretics, this is lawful and right. Is the mastery over them thus obtained, then must holy inquisitors be appointed, who shall trace out every remnant of them, proceeding against them as the Spaniards did against the Moors in Spain.” The university of Wittenberg was furthermore to be placed under ban, all who studied there being declared unworthy of favor, whether from pope or emperor. The books of the heretics were also to be burnt, the monks who had abandoned their convents were to be sent back to them, and no heretic was to be tolerated at any court. But first of all, unsparing confiscation was necessary. “And even though your majesty,” says the legate, “should deal only with the heads of the party, you may derive a large sum of money from them, and this is indispensable, in any case, for proceeding against the Turks.”

Such are the main propositions, and such is the tone of this project:⁵ how does every word breathe of oppression, carnage, and rapine! We cannot wonder that the very worst should be apprehended by the Germans from an emperor who came among them surrounded by such counsellors, nor that the Protestants should take counsel together as to the degree of resistance they might lawfully oppose to such measures in their own self-defence.

⁴“If there be any, which God forbid, who will obstinately persist in this diabolical path, his majesty may put hand to fire and sword, and radically tear out this cursed and venomous plant.”

⁵Such a project did they venture to

call an instruction. “*Instructio data Cæsari a reverendmo, Campeggio in dieta Augustana, 1530.*” I found it in a Roman library, in the handwriting of the time, and beyond all doubt authentic.

Happily, however, as affairs stood, an attempt at such proceedings as those recommended by the legate was not greatly to be feared.

The Emperor was by no means sufficiently powerful to carry out this proposal: a fact that Erasmus demonstrated very clearly at the time.

But even had he possessed the power, he would scarcely have found the will to do it.

Charles was by nature rather kind, considerate, thoughtful, and averse to precipitation, than the contrary: the more closely he examined these heresies, the more did he find in them a certain accordance with thoughts that had arisen in his own mind. The tone of his proclamation for a diet gives evidence of a desire to hear the different opinions, to judge of them, and seek to bring all to the standard of Christian truth. Very far removed was this disposition from the violence of purpose intimated by the legate.

Even those whose system it is to doubt the purity of human intentions, will find one reason unanswerable: it was not for the interest of Charles to adopt coercive measures.

Was he, the Emperor, to make himself the executor of the papal decrees? Should he set himself to subdue those enemies of the Pope—and not his only, but those of all succeeding pontiffs—who furnished them with so much occupation? The friendly dispositions of the Papal See were by no means so well assured as to awaken a confidence that could induce him to this.

Rather it was his obvious interest that things should remain as they were for the moment, since they offered him an advantage, unsought on his part, but which he had only to seize in order to attain a higher supremacy than he even now enjoyed.

It was generally believed, whether justly or not I will not inquire, that a general council of the Church alone could avail for the settlement of differences so important, the removal of errors so fatal. Church councils had maintained their credit precisely because a very natural repugnance to them had been evinced by the popes, and all opposition to them by the papal chair had tended to raise them in public estimation. In the year 1530, Charles applied his thoughts seriously to this matter, and promised to call a council within a brief specified period.

In the different complications of their interests with those

of the pontificate, the princes had ever desired to find some spiritual restraint for the Church. Charles might thus assure himself of most zealous allies in a council assembled under existing circumstances. Convened at his instigation, it would be held under his influence; and to him also would revert the execution of its edicts. These decrees would have to bear upon two important questions—they would affect the Pope equally with his opponents, the old idea of a reformation in head and members would be realized, and how decided a predominance would all this secure to the temporal power—above all, to that of Charles himself!

This mode of proceeding was most judicious; it was, if you will have it so, inevitable, but it was, at the same time, for the best interest of the Emperor.

On the other hand, no event could be better calculated to awaken anxiety in the pontiff and his court. I find that at the first serious mention of a council, the price of all the salable offices of the court declined considerably.⁶ The danger threatened by a council to the existing state of things is obvious from this fact.

In addition to this, Clement VII had personal motives for objecting to the measure: he was not of legitimate birth, neither had he risen to the supreme dignity by means that were altogether blameless: again, he had been determined by considerations entirely personal, to employ the resources of the Church in a contest with his native city; and for all these things a pope might fairly expect heavy reckoning with a council. Thus it inspired him with a deadly terror, and Soriano tells us that he would not willingly utter its very name.

He did not reject the proposal in terms; this he could not do with any regard to the honor of the papal see, but we can easily conceive the reluctance of heart with which he would receive it.

He submitted, without doubt—he was entirely compliant; but he did not fail to set forth the objections existing to the measure, and that in the most persuasive forms. He represented all the dangers and difficulties inseparable from a council,

⁶“Lettera anonima all’ arcivescovo Pimpinello” (“Lettere di Principi,” iii. 5). “The mere rumor of a council has so depreciated all offices that no

money can be got for them.” I see that Pallavicini also quotes this letter, lii. 7, 1. I do not know on what authority he ascribes it to Sanga.

declaring its consequences to be of a very doubtful nature.⁷ Next he stipulated for the concurrence of all other princes, as well as for a previous subjection of the Protestants—demands that were perfectly in accordance with the papal system and doctrine, but utterly impracticable in the existing state of things. But how could it be expected from him that, within the limit of time assigned by the Emperor, he should proceed, not apparently only, but in earnest, and with resolution to promote a work so likely to injure himself? Charles often reproached him with his backwardness, ascribing to it all the mischief that afterward ensued. He doubtless still hoped to evade the necessity that hung over him.

But it clung to him fast and firmly: when Charles returned to Italy in 1533, still impressed with what he had seen and heard in Germany, he pressed the Pope in person during a conference held at Bologna, and with increased earnestness, on the subject of the council, which he had so frequently demanded in writing. Their opinions were thus brought into direct collision—the Pope held fast by his conditions, the Emperor declared their fulfilment impossible—they could come to no agreement. In the documents respecting these matters that remain to us, a sort of discrepancy is perceptible—the Pope appearing less averse from the Emperor's wishes in some than in others; however this may be, he had no alternative—a fresh proclamation⁸ must be issued. He could not so effectually blind himself as not to perceive that when the Emperor, who was gone to Spain, should return, mere words would be insufficient to content him—that the danger he dreaded, and with which a council summoned under such circumstances certainly did menace the Roman See, could then be no longer averted.

⁷ For example, "All' imperatore: di man propria di papa Clemente," "Lettere di Principi," ii. 197: "On the contrary, no remedy can be more dangerous, or produce greater evils (than the council), if the proper circumstances do not concur."

⁸ Respecting the negotiations at Bologna, valuable information, derived from the archives of the Vatican, may be found in one of the best chapters of Pallavicini, lib. iii. c. 12. He names the variation alluded to in the text, and says, it rested on explicit discussion; and, in effect, we find in the despatches

to the Catholic States in Rainaldus, xx. 659, Hortleder, i. xv., the stipulation for a general concurrence repeated; the Pope promises to communicate the results of his efforts. Among the points proposed for the consideration of the Protestants, it is said expressly in the 7th article: "But if it happen that any prince refuse to co-operate in so pious a work, our supreme lord shall nevertheless proceed with the consent of the more sanely disposed part." This would seem to be the discrepancy that Pallavicini had in view, although he mentions another point of difference.

The situation was one in which the possessor of a power, of whatever kind, might well be excused for resorting even to extreme measures, if these were the only means that could insure his own safety. The political preponderance of the Emperor was already excessive, and if the Pope had resigned himself to this state of things, he could not but feel his own depressed condition. In arranging the long-standing disputes of the Church with Ferrara, Charles V had decided for the latter; this mortified the pontiff deeply, and though he acquiesced in the decision, he complained of it among those of his own circle. How much more afflicting was it now, then, when this monarch, from whom he had hoped the immediate subjugation of the Protestants, was preferring his claim, under pretext of religious dissension, to an amount of predominance in ecclesiastical affairs, such as no emperor had enjoyed for centuries. Nay, that he was proceeding without scruple to acts that must compromise the spiritual authority and dignity of the holy see. Must Clement indeed endure to see himself sink utterly into the Emperor's hands, and he wholly given up to his tender mercies?

His resolution was taken even whilst in Bologna. More than once Francis had proposed to cement his political alliances with Clement by means of a family connection. This the pontiff had hitherto declined—in the desperate position of his present affairs, he recurred to it as a ground of hope. It is expressly affirmed that the real cause of Clement's once again lending an ear to the French King was the demand of Charles for a council.⁹

The Pope would most probably never more have attempted to establish an equilibrium of power between these two great monarchs, and to divide his favor equally between them, from motives purely political; but it was on this course that he now determined, in consideration of the dangers threatening the Church.

⁹Soriano, "Relatione," 1535. "The Pope went to Bologna against his will, and, as it were, by compulsion, as I have heard from good authority; and an evident sign of this was that his holiness consumed a hundred days in that journey which he might have made in six. Clement then, considering this state of his affairs, and the servitude, so to speak, in which he was placed by

the affair of the council, which the Emperor would not cease to urge, began to be more compliant toward the most Christian king, and then was concluded the conference at Marseilles, and also the marriage, the niece (Clement's) being now marriageable." At a previous period the Pope would have alleged her birth and age as a pretext for evading the agreement.

Another meeting between Francis and the Pope was arranged, and which took place in Marseilles, where the closest alliance was agreed upon. Precisely as Clement had confirmed his friendship with the Emperor, during the Florentine difficulties, by accepting a natural daughter of Charles as wife to one of his nephews, so did he now cement the bond which the embarrassments of the Church compelled him to form with Francis, by the betrothal of his young niece, Catherine de' Medici, to the King's second son: in the first instance, it was against the French, and their indirect influence on Florence, that he sought to defend himself; on this occasion, the Emperor and his intentions with regard to a council, were the cause of fear.

He now took no further pains to conceal his purpose. We have a letter addressed by him to Ferdinand I, wherein he declares that his efforts to procure the concurrence of the Christian princes to the assembling of a council had been without effect. King Francis I, to whom he had spoken, thought the present moment unfavorable for such a purpose, and refused to adopt the suggestion, but he (Clement) still hoped at some other opportunity to obtain a more favorable decision from the Christian sovereigns.¹⁰ I cannot comprehend the doubt that has existed in regard to the real intentions of the Pope. It was but in his last communication with the Catholic princes of Germany, that he had repeated his demand for universal concurrence as a condition to the proposed council. Is not his present declaration, that he cannot bring about this general agreement, equivalent to the positive assertion that he recalls his announcement of the council?¹ In his alliance with France, he had found alike the courage to pursue this line of conduct, and the pretext for it. I can by no means convince myself that the council ever would have been held in his pontificate.

This was not, however, the only consequence of the new league; another and a most unexpected one presently developed itself, one, too, of the most extensive and permanent importance, more especially as regards the Germans.

Most extraordinary was the combination that resulted from this alliance, in consequence of the peculiar complications of

¹⁰ March 20, 1534.—Pallavicini, iii. xvi.

³. ¹“ For the matter of the council, your

serenity may then be most certain, that it was eschewed by Clement in all possible ways and by every sort of means.”

ecclesiastical and secular interests. Francis I was on the most friendly terms with the Protestants, and now, becoming so closely connected with the Pope, he may be said, in a certain sort, to have combined the Protestants and the pontiff in one and the same system.

And here we perceive what it was that constituted the strength of that position, to which the Protestants had now attained. The Emperor could have no intention of again subjecting them unconditionally to the Pope, because the agitations they occasioned were absolutely needful to him for the purpose of keeping the pontiff in check. Clement, on the other hand, as it gradually became manifest, was not disposed, even on his part, to see their existence entirely dependent on the favor or disfavor of the Emperor; it was not altogether unconsciously that the Pope had become in a measure leagued with the Protestants; his hope was that he might avail himself of their opposition to Charles, and supply that monarch with occupation by their means.

It was remarked at the time that the French King had made Clement believe the principal Protestant princes dependent on himself, and that he had both the will and power to induce them to renounce the project of a council;² but if we do not greatly mistake, these engagements went much further. Soon after the meeting of Francis with the Pope, another took place between the French King and the landgrave, Philip of Hesse; these sovereigns united for the restoration of the Duke of Würtemberg, who had at that time been dispossessed of his states by the house of Austria. Francis agreed to furnish supplies of money, and the landgrave effected the undertaking with astonishing rapidity in one short campaign. We have full proof that the landgrave had been instructed to make an advance on the hereditary dominions of Austria;³ the universal opinion being that Francis was meditating again to attack Milan, and this time from the side of Germany.⁴ A still clearer

²Sarpi, "Historia del Concilio Tridentino," lib. i. p. 68. An important part of what Sarpi has asserted, though not the whole, is confirmed by Soriano. This ambassador says: "Having made Clement believe that those princes and chiefs of the Lutheran faction depended on his most Christian majesty, so that at least he (the Pope) should escape the council." This is all that I have ventured to assert.

³In the instructions to his ambassador to France, August, 1532 (Rommel, "Urkundenbuch," 61), he excuses himself "that he did not go on to attack the king in his hereditary possessions."

⁴Jovius, "Historiæ sui temporis," lib. xxxii. p. 129. Paruta, "Storia Venez," p. 389.

insight is afforded to us of this matter by Marino Giustiniano, at that time Venetian ambassador in France; he expressly declares that these German operations had been determined on by Clement and Francis at Marseilles: he adds further, that a descent of these troops upon Italy was by no means foreign to the plan of operations, and that secret aid was to be afforded by Clement to the enterprise.⁵ It would be somewhat rash to accept these assertions, however confidently made, as fully authentic; still further proof would be required: but even though we do not accord them entire belief, there does unquestionably remain a very extraordinary phenomenon for our consideration—it is one that could never have been looked for—that the Pope and the Protestants, at the very moment when each was pursuing the other with implacable hatred, when both were engaged in a religious warfare that filled the world with discord, should yet on the other hand be strictly bound together by the ties of a similar political interest!

On earlier occasions of difficulty and complication in the temporal affairs of Italy, the crooked, ambiguous, and over-subtle policy of Clement had been more injurious to his interests than all his enemies, and the same dubious measures produced him yet more bitter fruits in his ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Threatened in his hereditary provinces, King Ferdinand hastened to conclude the peace of Kadan; by this he abandoned Würtemberg, and even formed a close league with the landgrave himself. These were the brightest days of Philip of Hesse; he had restored an exiled German prince to his rights by the strong hand, and this rendered him one of the most influential

⁵ "Relazione del clarissimo M. Marino Giustiniano el Kr. venuto d'ambasciatore al Christianissimo re di Francia, del 1535" ("Archivio Venez."): "Francis had a meeting with Clement at Marseilles, where, seeing the Emperor remain firm, they decided on that movement in Germany, under the pretext of restoring the Duke of Wurtemberg to his own; in consequence of which, if God had not intervened by means of the Emperor, all those troops would have poured into Italy by secret favor of Clement." I am of opinion that more minute information will yet be obtained on this point. Soriano has also the following: "Di tutti li desiderii (del re) s'accommodò Clemente, con parole tali che lo facevano credere

S.S. esser disposta in tutto alle sue voglie, senza però far provvisione alcuna in scrittura." That an Italian expedition was talked of cannot be denied, the Pope maintained that he had rejected the proposal—"Non avere bisogno di moto in Italia." The King had told him that he must remain quiet, "with his hands drawn back into his sleeves." It seems probable that the French were affirming what the Italians had denied, the ambassador in France being more positive than the ambassador in Rome; but, supposing the Pope to say that he desired no movement in Italy, it is obvious how little that expression would exclude the idea of a movement in Germany.

chiefs of the empire. But he had secured another important result by his victory: the treaty of peace concluded in consequence, contained a momentous decision in regard to the religious dissensions—the imperial chamber of justice was directed to take cognizance of no more suits relating to confiscated church property.

I do not know that any other single event was of equal importance with this expedition of the landgrave Philip's, in the promotion of Protestant ascendancy among the Germans. In that direction to the imperial chamber is involved a judicial security of most extensive significance. Nor were its effects slow to follow. The peace of Kadan may be regarded, as it appears to me, as the second great epoch in the rise of a Protestant power in Germany. For a certain period the progress of Protestantism had declined in rapidity; it now began anew to extend itself, and most triumphantly: Würtemberg was reformed without delay; the German provinces of Denmark, Pomerania, and the March of Brandenburg; the second branch of Saxony, one branch of Brunswick and the Palatinate followed. Within a few years the reformation of the Church extended through the whole of Lower Germany, and permanently established its seat in Upper Germany.

And the enterprise that had conducted to all this, the undertaking by which this enormous increase of desertion from the ranks of the Church had been brought about, was entered on with the knowledge, perhaps even with the approbation, of Pope Clement himself!

The papacy was in a position utterly false and untenable; its worldly tendencies had produced a degeneracy that had in its turn called forth opponents and adversaries innumerable. These tendencies being persisted in, the increasing complications and antagonism of temporal and ecclesiastical interests, promoted its decadence, and at length bore it wholly to the ground.

Among other misfortunes the schism of England must be attributed chiefly to this state of things.

The fact that Henry VIII, however inimical to Luther, however closely bound to the Papal See, was yet disposed to threaten the popedom with ecclesiastical innovation on the first political difference, is one that well deserves remark. This occurred in

relation to matters purely political, so early as the year 1525.⁶ It is true that all differences were then arranged, the King made common cause with the Pope against the Emperor; and when Clement, shut up in the castle of St. Angelo, was abandoned by all, Henry VIII found means to send him assistance; from this cause the Pope was perhaps more kindly disposed toward Henry personally, than toward any other sovereign.⁷ But since that time the question of the King's divorce had arisen; it is not to be denied that, even in the year 1528, the Pope had allowed Henry to believe a favorable decision probable, even though he did not promise it, "once the Germans and Spaniards should be driven out of Italy."⁸ But so far were the imperialists from being "driven out," that they now first established themselves, as we know, in permanent possession of the land. We have seen in how strict an alliance Clement connected himself with them. Under circumstances so essentially changed, he could by no means fulfil those expectations, which, be it observed, he had warranted by a passing hint only.⁹ Scarcely was the peace of Barcelona concluded, than he summoned the suit for the divorce before the tribunals of Rome. The wife whom Henry desired to put away, was aunt to the Emperor; the validity of the marriage had been expressly affirmed by a former pope; it was now to be tried before the tribunals of the Curia, and these were under the immediate and perpetual influence of the Emperor; was there a possibility of doubt as to the decision? Hereupon, Henry at once adopted the course that had for some time been in contemplation. In essentials, in all that regarded the dogmas of the Church he was doubtless a Catholic, and

⁶Wolsey had written threats to the effect, "che ogni provincia doventarà Lutherana"; an expression in which may perhaps be perceived the first symptoms of secession from Rome shown by the English Government.—"S. Giberto ai nuntij d' Inghilterra," "Lettere di Principi," i. p. 147.

⁷Contarini, "Relatione di 1530," expressly affirms this. Soriano too says, 1533: "His holiness loves the English King, and was at first strictly united with him." The design of Henry as to his divorce, he declares without ceremony to be a "piece of folly."

⁸From the despatches of Doctor Knight of Orvieto, January 1 and 9, 1528. Herbert's "Life of Henry VIII," p. 219.

⁹The whole situation of affairs is explained by the following passages from

a letter by the papal secretary, Sanga, to Campeggi, dated Viterbo, September 2, 1528, at the moment when the Neapolitan enterprise had failed (a fact alluded to in the letter), and Campeggi was preparing for his journey to England: "Lettere di diversi Autori," Venetia, 1556, p. 39. "Your reverend lordship knows, that our lord the pope, considering himself most deeply obliged to that most serene king, would think nothing too great to do for his gratification; but his beatitude the pope must still avoid giving the Emperor cause for a new rupture, seeing that he is now victorious, and probably not indisposed to peace; for not only would all hope of peace be destroyed by new dissensions with the Emperor, but he would also put our lord to fire and slaughter through all his states."

so did he remain; but this question of the divorce, which was so unreservedly treated in Rome according to political views, and with no other consideration, exasperated him to an ever-increasing opposition of the Pope's temporal ascendancy. To every step that was taken in Rome to his disadvantage, he replied by some measure directed against the Curia; and by giving more formal expression to his determined purpose of emancipating himself from its influence. When at last then, in the year 1534, the definitive sentence was pronounced, he no longer demurred, but declared the entire separation of his kingdom from the Pope. So weak had those bonds already become, by which the Roman See was united to the several national churches, that it required only the determination of a sovereign to wrest his kingdom altogether from their influence.

These events filled the last year of Clement's life; they were rendered all the more bitter by the consciousness that he was not altogether blameless as regarded them, and that his misfortunes stood in afflictive relationship to his personal qualities. Day by day the course of things became more threatening and dark. Already was Francis preparing to make a new descent on Italy; and for this design he declared himself to have had the oral, if not the written, sanction of Clement's approval. The Emperor would no longer be put off with pretences, and urged the assembling of the council more pressingly than ever. Family discords added their bitterness to these sufferings; after his labors and sacrifices for the reduction of Florence, the Pope was doomed to see his two nephews enter into dispute for the sovereignty of that city, and proceed to the most savage hostilities against each other. His anxious reflections on all these calamities, with the fear of coming events, "sorrow and secret anguish," says Soriano, brought him to the grave.¹⁰

We have pronounced Leo fortunate. Clement was perhaps a better man, certainly he had fewer faults, was more active, and, as regarded details, even more acute than Leo; but in

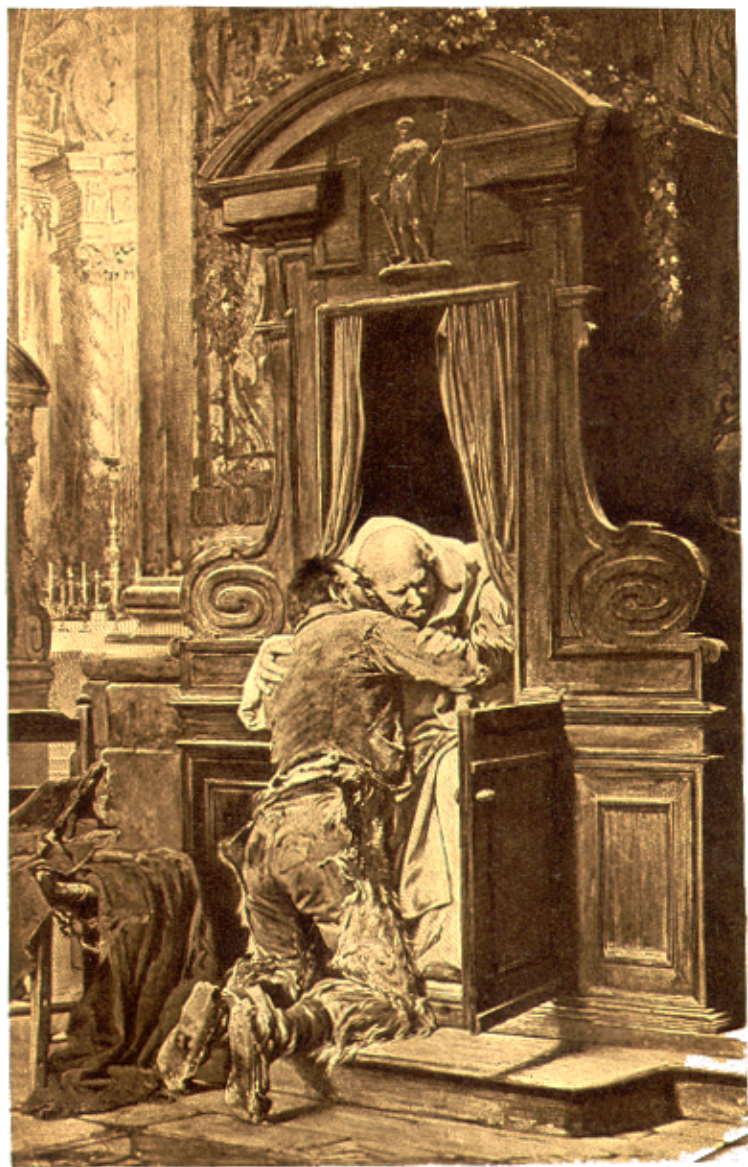
¹⁰Soriano: "The Emperor did not cease to press for a council; his most Christian majesty demanded that his holiness should fulfil the promises made to him; and of which the conditions had been stipulated between them; whereupon his holiness gave himself up to heavy thoughts; and this grief and

anxiety it was that conducted him to his death. His sorrow was increased by the follies of Cardinal de' Medici, who was more than ever resolved at that time to renounce the cardinal's hat, for the purpose of entering into competition with the political parties then agitating Florence."

all his concerns, whether active or passive, he was the very sport of misfortune; without doubt the most ill-fated pontiff that ever sat on the papal throne was Clement VII. To the superiority of the hostile powers pressing on him from all sides, he opposed only the most uncertain policy, ever depending on the probabilities of the moment; this it was that wrought his utter downfall. Those efforts for the establishment of an independent temporal power, to which his more celebrated predecessors had devoted their best energies, he was doomed in his own case to find resulting in perfect subjugation; it was his lot to see those from whom he had hoped to rescue his native Italy, establish their dominion over her soil forever. The great secession of the Protestants proceeded unremittingly before his eyes; and the measures he adopted in the hope of arresting its progress, did but serve to give it wider and more rapid extension. He left the papal see, immeasurably lowered in reputation, and deprived of all effectual influence, whether spiritual or temporal. That northern Germany, from of old so important to the papacy, to whose conversion in remote times the power of the popes was principally indebted for its establishment in the West; and whose revolt against Henry IV had so largely aided them in the completion of their hierarchy, had now risen against them. To Germany belongs the undying merit of having restored Christianity to a purer form than it had presented since the first ages of the Church—of having rediscovered the true religion. Armed with this weapon, Germany was unconquerable. Its convictions made themselves a path through all the neighboring countries. Scandinavia had been among the first to receive them; they had diffused themselves over England contrary to the purposes of the King, but under the protection of the measures he had pursued. In Switzerland they had struggled for, and, with certain modifications, had attained to, a secure and immovable existence; they penetrated into France; we find traces of them in Italy, and even in Spain, while Clement yet lived. These waves roll ever onward. In these opinions there is a force that convinces and satisfies all minds; and that struggle between the spiritual and temporal interests, in which the papacy suffered itself to become involved, would seem to have been engaged in for the furtherance of their progress and the establishment of their universal dominion.

THE CONFESSION.

Photogravure from the original painting by G. H. Kuntz.



BOOK II

CHAPTER FIRST

BEGINNING OF A REGENERATION OF CATHOLICISM

WE are not to believe that the influence of public opinion on the world has begun to make itself felt for the first time in our own day; through every age of modern Europe, it has constituted an important element of social life. Who shall say whence it arises or how it is formed? It may be regarded as the most peculiar product of that identification of interests which holds society in compact forms, as the most intelligible expression of those internal movements and revolutions, by which life, shared in common, is agitated. The sources whence it takes its rise are equally remote from observation with those whence its aliment is derived; requiring little support from evidence or reason, it obtains the mastery over men's minds by the force of involuntary convictions. But only in its most general outline is it in harmony with itself; within these it is reproduced in greater or smaller circles innumerable, and with modifications varied to infinity. And since new observations and experiences are perpetually flowing in upon it, since original minds are ever rising, that, though affected by its course, are not borne along by its current, but rather themselves impress on it a powerful reaction; it is thus involved in an endless series of metamorphoses; transient and multiform, it is sometimes more, sometimes less, in harmony with truth and right, being rather a tendency of the moment than a fixed system. It is sometimes the attendant only of the occurrence that it has contributed to produce, and from which it derives form and extension. There are times nevertheless, when, encountering a rugged will that refuses to be overcome,

it bursts forth into exorbitant demands. That its perception of defects and deficiencies is frequently the just one, must needs be confessed; but the modes of proceeding required as the remedy—these, its very nature forbids it to conceive with force of perception, or employ with effect. Thence it is, that in long lapses of time, it is sometimes to be found in directly opposite extremes; as it aided to found the papacy, so was its help equally given to the overthrow of that power. In the times under consideration, it was at one period utterly profane, at another as entirely spiritual; we have seen it inclining toward Protestantism throughout the whole of Europe; we shall also see, that in a great portion of the same quarter of the world, it will assume an entirely different coloring.

Let us begin by examining, first of all, in what manner the doctrines of the Protestants made progress even in Italy.

Section I.—Opinions analogous to those of the Protestants entertained in Italy

Throughout the Italian peninsula, as elsewhere, an incalculable influence has been exercised on the development of science and art, by literary associations. They formed themselves, now around some prince, some distinguished scholar, or even some private individual of literary tastes and easy fortune; or occasionally they grew up in the free companionship of equals. These societies are usually most valuable when they arise, naturally and without formal plan, from the immediate exigencies of the moment. It is with pleasure that we shall follow the traces they have left.

At the same time with the Protestant movements in Germany, there appeared certain literary societies, assuming a religious complexion, in Italy.

When, under Leo X, it became the tone of society to doubt or deny the truth of Christianity, a reaction displayed itself in the minds of many able men; men who had acquired the high culture of the day, and took part in its refinements, while avoiding its depravities. It was natural that such persons should seek the society of each other; the human mind requires, or at least it clings to, the support of kindred opinion: this support is indispensable, as regards its religious convictions, for these have their basis in the most profound community of sentiment.

As early as the time of Leo X we find mention of an "Oratory of Divine Love," which had been founded by some distinguished men in Rome, for their mutual edification; they met for the worship of God, for preaching, and the practice of spiritual exercises, at the church of St. Silvestro and Dorothea, in the Trastevere, near the place where the apostle Peter is believed to have dwelt, and where he presided over the first assemblies of the Christians. The members were from fifty to sixty in number; among them were Sadolet, Giberto, and Caraffa, all of whom afterward became cardinals. Gaetano di Thiene, who was canonized and Lippomano, a theological writer of high reputation and great influence, were also of the number; Giuliano Bathi, the incumbent of the church where they met, was the central point around which they grouped themselves.¹

That this association was by no means opposed to the doctrines of Protestantism, will be readily inferred from their place of assemblage; on the contrary, its views were to a certain extent in harmony with them; as for example, in the hope entertained of arresting the general decadence of the Church, by the revived force of religious convictions; a point whence Luther and Melancthon had also departed. This society consisted of men actuated at that moment by community of feeling, but great diversity of opinion was afterward displayed among them; and eventually this made itself manifest in tendencies altogether distinct and heterogeneous.

After the lapse of some years, we again meet with a certain portion of this Roman society in Venice.

Rome had been pillaged, Florence subdued, Milan was the mere haunt of factions, and battle-ground of contending armies; in this general ruin, Venice had remained undisturbed by foreigners or armies, and was considered to be the universal refuge. Here were assembled the dispersed literati of Rome, and those Florentine patriots against whom their native land was closed forever; among these last more particularly, as may be seen

¹I take this notice from Caracciolo, "Vita di Paolo IV," MS.: "Those few upright men and learned prelates, who were in Rome in that time of Leo X, seeing that in the city of Rome, and throughout all Italy, where, from vicinity to the apostolic see, the observance of the rites should most flourish, divine worship was very ill performed, united themselves, in number about sixty, in an oratory called of Divine Love, there to make, as in a strong

tower, every effort to maintain the divine laws." In the "Vita Cajetani Thienæi" (A.A. SS. August II.), c. i. 7-10, Caracciolo repeats this with more minute details, but enumerates only fifty members. The "Historia Clericorum regularium vulgo Theatinorum," by Joseph Silos, confirms it in many passages, which are printed in the "Commentarius prævius" to the "Vita Cajetani."

in the historian Nardi, and in Bruccioli, the translator of the Bible, a very decided spirit of devotion, not unmarked by the influence of Savonarola, became manifest. This was shared by other refugees, and among them by Reginald Pole, who had quitted England to withdraw himself from the innovations of Henry VIII. From their Venetian hosts, these distinguished men found a cordial welcome. In the circle of Peter Bembo of Padua, who kept open house, the point of discussion was more frequently mere letters, as Ciceronian Latin; but among the guests of Gregorio Corteri, the learned and sagacious abbot of San Georgio in Venice, subjects of much more profound interest were agitated. Bruccioli makes the bowers and groves of San Georgio the scene of some of his dialogues. Near Treviso was the villa of Luigi Priuli, called Treville.² He was one of those upright and accomplished Venetians, of whom we occasionally meet specimens in the present day, full of a calm susceptibility to true and noble sentiments, and formed for disinterested friendship. Here the inmates employed themselves chiefly in spiritual studies and conversation. Hither came that Benedictine, Marco of Padua, from whom it would appear to be that Pole declares himself to have drawn his spiritual nurture. Here also was the eminent Venetian Gaspar Contarini, who must be considered as the head of the assembly. Of him Pole says, that nothing which the human mind can discover by its own powers of investigation, was unknown to him; and nothing wanting to him that the grace of God has imparted to the human soul. To this eminence of wisdom he further says, that Contarini added the crown of virtue.

If we now inquire what were the leading convictions of these men, we find that foremost among them was the doctrine of justification, which, as taught by Luther, had originated the whole Protestant movement. Contarini wrote a special treatise concerning this, which Pole cannot find words strong enough to praise. "Thou," he exclaims to his friend, "thou hast brought forth that jewel which the Church was keeping half-concealed." Pole himself finds that Scripture, in its more profound and intimate revelations, is entirely in accordance with this doctrine. He congratulates Contarini on having been the first to bring to light "that holy, fruitful, indispensable truth."³

² "Epistolæ Reginaldi Poli," ed. Quirini, tom. ii. "Diatriba ad epistolas Scheibornii," clxxxiii.

³ Epistolæ Poli, tom. iii. p. 57.

To this circle of friends belonged M. A. Flaminio, who resided for some time with Pole, and whom Contarini desired to take with him into Germany. Let us observe how distinctly he professes this doctrine. "The Gospel," says he, in one of his letters,⁴ "is no other than the glad tidings, that the only-begotten Son of God, clothed in our flesh, has satisfied for us the justice of the Eternal Father. Whoever believes this, enters the kingdom of God; he enjoys the universal forgiveness; from a carnal creature, he becomes spiritual; from being a child of wrath, he becomes a child of grace, and lives in a sweet peace of conscience." It would be difficult to announce the Lutheran doctrines in language more orthodox.

These convictions extended themselves, as a literary opinion or tendency might have done, over a great part of Italy.⁵

It is, however, highly worthy of remark, that an opinion so lately alluded to from time to time only in the schools, should now suddenly seize on the minds of men, and employ their intellectual activity throughout an entire century; for it is indisputable, that this doctrine of justification was the parent of wild commotions, dissensions, and even revolutions, throughout the greater part of the sixteenth century. One might almost declare, that this disposition of men's minds to occupy themselves with so transcendental a question, had arisen by way of counterpoise to the worldliness of the Church, which had now nearly lost all consciousness of the relation of God to man; that the examination of this, the most profound mystery of that relation, had been entered on, by the world generally, as a contrast to the blind indifference then affecting the hierarchy of Rome.

Even in the pleasure-loving Naples, these doctrines were promulgated, and that by a Spaniard, Juan Valdez, secretary to the viceroy. Unfortunately the writings of Valdez have wholly disappeared; but we may gather very explicit intimations of their character from the objections of his opponents.

⁴To Theodorina Sauli, February 12, 1542. "Lettere Volgari" ("Raccolta del Manuzio"), Vinegia, 1553, ii. 43.

⁵Among other documents, the letter of Sadolet to Contarini ("Epistola Sadoleti," lib. ix. p. 365), in regard to his "Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans," is very remarkable. "In quibus commentariis," says Sadolet: "In which commentary I have en-

deavored to illustrate the whole mystery of Christ's death and passion." He had not, however, quite satisfied Contarini, in whose opinion he did not entirely concur; he promises meanwhile to give, in his new edition, a clear explanation of original sin and grace. "About this disease of our nature, and the reparation of our will brought about by the Holy Spirit."

About the year 1540, a little book, "On the Benefits bestowed by Christ," was put into circulation; it "treated," as a report of the inquisition expresses it, "in an insidious manner of justification, undervalued works and merits, ascribing all to faith; and as this was the very point at which so many prelates and monks were stumbling, the book had been circulated to a great extent." Inquiries have frequently been made as to the author of this work; we learn his name with certainty from the report just quoted. "It was," says this document, "a monk of San Severino, a disciple of Valdez, and the book was revised by Flaminio."⁶ From this extract we find, then, that the authorship of the treatise, "On the Benefits of Christ," is due to a friend and pupil of Valdez. It had incredible success, and made the study of those doctrines of justification, for some time, popular in Italy. The pursuits of Valdez were, however, not exclusively theological, his attention being occupied in part by the duties of an important civil office. He founded no sect; this book resulted from a liberal study of Christian truth. His friends looked back with delight on the happy days they had enjoyed with him on the Chiaja, and at Posilippo, in that fair vicinity of Naples, "where nature rejoices in her splendor, and smiles at her own beauty." Valdez was mild, agreeable, and not without expansion of mind. "A part only of his soul," as his friends declare, "sufficed to animate his slight and feeble frame; the greater part, the clear, unclouded intellect, was ever uplifted in the contemplation of truth."

An extraordinary influence was exercised by Valdez over the nobility and learned men of Naples; a lively interest was also taken by the women of that day in this movement, at once religious and intellectual. Among these was Vittoria Colonna. After the death of her husband, Pescara, she had devoted herself entirely to study; in her poems, as well as

⁶Schelhorn, Gerdsius, and others have ascribed this book to Aonius Palearius, who says, in a certain discourse: "This year I wrote in the Italian tongue, showing what advantages were brought to mankind by the death of Christ." The compendium of the inquisitors, which I found in Caracciolo, "Vita di Paolo IV," MS., expresses itself, on the contrary, as follows: "The author of that book on the benefits of Christ, was a monk of San Severino in Naples, a disciple of Valdez—Flaminio was the reviser; it was often printed, but particularly at Mo-

dena: it deceived many, because it treated of justification in an attractive manner, but heretically." But since that passage from Palearius does not so clearly point out this book as to make it certain that no other is meant, since Palearius says he was called to account for it in the same year, while the compendium of the inquisition expressly declares: "That book was approved by many in Verona alone, but being known and reprobated, was placed in the index many years after"; so I conclude that the opinions of the above-named scholars are erroneous.

her letters, will be found evidence of a deeply felt morality, and unaffected sense of religious truth. How beautifully does she console a friend for the death of her brother, "whose peaceful spirit had entered into everlasting rest; she ought not to complain, since she could now speak with him, unimpeded by those absences formerly so frequent, which prevented her from being understood by him."⁷ Pole and Contarini were among her most confidential friends. I do not believe that she devoted herself to spiritual exercises of a monastic character; I think, at least, that so much may be inferred from Aretino, who writes to her, with much *naïveté*, that he is sure she does not take the silence of the tongue, casting down of the eyes, and assuming coarse raiment, to be essential, but purity of soul alone.

The house of Colonna generally was favorable to this religious movement, and more especially so were Vespasiano, Duke of Palliano, and his wife, Julia Gonzaga, the same who is reputed to have been the most beautiful woman in Italy. Valdez dedicated one of his books to Julia.

These opinions had moreover made active progress among the middle classes. The report of the inquisition would seem to exaggerate, when it reckons 3,000 schoolmasters as attached to them; but admitting the number to be smaller, how deep an effect must have been produced on the minds of youth, and of the people!

With almost equal cordiality were these doctrines received in Modena. The bishop himself, Morone, an intimate friend of Pole and Contarini, received them favorably; at his express command it was that the book, "On the Benefits of Christ," was printed, and extensively distributed. Don Girolamo da Modena was president of a society in which the same principle prevailed.⁸

There has from time to time been mention made of the Protestants in Italy, and we have already adduced several names recorded in their lists. There is no doubt that many of the convictions predominant in Germany had taken root in the minds of these men; they sought to establish the articles

⁷ "Lettere Volgari," i. 92; "Lettere di diversi Autori," p. 604. The first of these is a particularly useful collection.

⁸ In Schelhorn's "Amœnitatt. Litterar." tom. xii. p. 564, we find the

"Articuli contra Moronum," published by Vergerio in 1558, reprinted; these accusations do not fail to appear there; I took the more exact notices from the Compendium of the Inquisitors.

of their faith on the testimony of Scripture; in the particular of justification they did certainly approach very near to the doctrines of Luther. But, that they adopted these on all other points must not be asserted; the conviction that the Church is one and indivisible, and reverence for the pope, were too deeply impressed on their minds to admit this; there were besides many Catholic usages too closely interwoven with the national character to have been easily departed from.

Flaminio composed an exposition of the Psalms, of which the dogmatic tenor has been approved by Protestant writers, but even to this he prefixed a dedication, wherein he calls the pope, "the warder and prince of all holiness, the vicegerent of God upon earth."

Giovan. Battista Folengo ascribes justification to grace alone, he even speaks of the uses of sin, which is not far removed from the injury that may arise from good works. He remonstrates zealously against trusting in fasts, frequent prayers, masses, and confessions; nay, even in the priesthood itself, the tonsure or the mitre.⁹ Yet, in the same convent of Benedictines, where he had taken his vows at sixteen, did he peaceably close his life at the age of sixty.¹⁰

It was for some time not far otherwise with Bernardino Ochino. If we may believe his own words, it was at the first a deep longing, as he expresses it, "for the heavenly paradise to be achieved through God's grace," that led him to become a Franciscan. His zeal was so fervid that he soon passed over to the severer discipline and penances of the Capuchins. Of this order he was elected general in its third chapter, and again in the fourth, an office that he filled to the satisfaction of all. But however rigorous his life (he went always on foot, had no other bed than his cloak, drank no wine, and strictly enforced the rule of poverty on others also, as the most effectual means for attaining evangelical perfection), yet did he gradually become convinced and penetrated by the doctrine of justification by grace alone, earnestly then did he preach it from the pulpit, and urge it in the confessional. "I opened my heart to him," says Bembo, "as I

⁹ "Ad Psalm. 67," f. 246. An extract from these explanations will be found in Gerdesius, "Italia Reformata," p. 257-261.

¹⁰ "Thuani Historiæ, ad. a. 1559," l. 473.

should have done to Christ himself. I felt as I looked at him that I had never beheld a holier man." Cities poured forth their multitudes to his teachings, the churches were too small for his hearers, all were alike edified, old and young, men and women, the profound scholar and the untaught peasant. His coarse raiment, his gray hair, and beard that swept his breast, his pale emaciated countenance, and the feebleness brought on by his persistence in fasting, gave him the aspect of a saint.¹

There was thus a line within Catholicism which the opinions analogous to Lutheranism did not overpass. Priesthood and the monastic orders encountered no opposition in Italy, nor was there any thought of questioning the supremacy of the pope. How indeed could such a man as Pole, for example, be otherwise than strongly attached to this last principle, he who had fled his native land in preference to acknowledging his own king as head of the Church? They thought, as Ottonel Vida, a disciple of Vergerio, expresses himself to his master, "in the Christian Church has each man his appointed office: on the bishop is laid the care of the souls in his diocese; these he is to guard from the world and the evil spirit. It is the duty of the metropolitan to secure the residence of the bishop, and he is himself again subjected to the pope, to whom has been confided the general government of the Church, which it is his duty to guard and guide with holiness of mind. Every man should be vigilant and upright in his vocation."² Separation from the Church was regarded by these men as the extremity of evil. Isidoro Clario, who corrected the Vulgate, with the assistance of the Protestant writers, and prefixed an introduction which was subjected to expurgation, warns the Protestants against any such intention in a treatise written for that especial purpose. "No corruption," he declares, "can be so great as to justify a defection from the hallowed communion of the Church." "Is it not better," he demands, "to repair what we have, than to endanger all by dubious attempts to produce something new? Our sole thought should be, how the old institution could be ameliorated and freed from its defects."

¹ Boverio, "Annali di Frati Minori Capuccini," i. 375. Gratiani, "Vie de Commendone," p. 143.

² Ottonello Vida Dot. al Vescovo Vergerio, "Lettere Volgari," i. 80.

With these modifications, the new doctrines had a large number of adherents in Italy, among them Antonio dei Pagiari of Siena, to whom had even been attributed the authorship of the work, "On the Benefits bestowed by Christ"; Carnesecchi of Florence, who is mentioned as a disseminator of this work, and as upholding its tenets; Giovan. Battista Rotto of Bologna, who was protected by Morone, Pole and Vittoria Colonna, and who found means to aid the poorest of his followers with money and other succors; Fra Antonio of Volterra, and indeed some man of eminence in nearly every town of Italy, connected themselves with the professors of these doctrines.³ It was a system of feelings and opinions, decidedly religious, but tempered by attachment to the Church and its forms, which moved the whole land from one end to the other, and in every phase of society.

Section II.—Attempts at Internal Reform, and a Reconciliation with the Protestants

An expression has been attributed to Pole, to the effect that a man should content himself with his own inward convictions, without greatly encumbering his thoughts as to whether there were errors and abuses in the Church.¹ Yet it was precisely from a party to which he himself belonged that the first attempt at a reformation proceeded.

The most honorable act of Paul III, and that by which he signalized his accession to the papal throne, was the elevation of many distinguished men to the college of cardinals without any consideration but that of their personal merits. The first of these was the Venetian Contarini, by whom the others were afterward proposed. They were men of irreproachable character, in high repute for learning and piety, and well acquainted with the requirements of different countries. Caraffa, for example, who had long resided in Spain and the Nether-

³ Our authority on this subject is the extract from the *Compendium* of the Inquisitors, "Compendio," fol. 9, c. 94: Bologna was in great peril, because heretics of great note were there, among them one Gio. Ba. Rotto, who had the friendship and support of very powerful persons, as Morone, Pole, and the Marchesa di Pescara; he collected money with all his strength, and di-

vided it among the poor and concealed heretics who were in Bologna. He afterward recanted before Father Salmerone, by order of the legate of Bologna. The same course was pursued in all the towns.

¹ Passages from Atanagi in McCrie's "Reformation in Italy," German translation, p. 172.

lands; Sadolet, bishop of Carpentras in France; Pole, a refugee from England; Giberto, who, after having long taken active part in administering the affairs of the state, was then ruling his bishopric of Verona with exemplary wisdom; Federigo Fregoso, archbishop of Salerno, almost all, be it observed, members of the Oratory of Divine Love, before mentioned, and many of them holding opinions inclining to Protestantism.²

It was these same cardinals who now prepared a plan for the reform of the Church by command of the Pope himself. This became known to the Protestants, who rejected it with derision. They had indeed meanwhile advanced far beyond its most liberal provisions. But we are not on that account permitted to deny the extreme significance of such an act on the part of the Catholic Church. Here we have the evil grappled with in Rome itself. In the presence of the Pope it was that former popes were accused of misgovernment, and, in the introduction to the document now laid before him, his predecessors were accused of having "frequently chosen servants, not as desiring to learn from them what their duties demanded, but rather to procure the declaration that those things were lawful toward which their desires led them." This abuse of the supreme power was declared to be the most prolific source of corruption.³

Nor did matters rest there. Certain short pieces are extant, written by Gaspar Contarini, in which he makes unsparing war on those abuses most especially, from which the Curia derived profit. The practice of compositions or the acceptance of money in payment for spiritual favors, he denounces as simony that may be considered a kind of heresy. It was taken very ill that he should inculcate former popes. "How!" he exclaims, "shall we concern ourselves about the fame of three or four popes, and not amend what has been suffered to decay, and win a good reputation for ourselves? In good truth it would be asking very much, to require that we should defend all the acts of all the popes!" The abuse of dispensations also he attacks most earnestly and effectively; he considers it

² "Vita Reginaldi Poli," in the edition of his letters by Quirini, tom. i. p. 12. "Florebelli de vita Jacobi Sadoleti Commentarius," prefixed to the "Epp. Sadoleti," col. 1590, vol. iii.

³ This is the council of select cardinals

and other prelates for the improvement of the church before alluded to. It is signed by Contarini, Caraffa, Sadolet, Pole, Fregoso, Giberto, Cortese, and Aleander.

idolatrous to say, as many did, that the pope was restrained by no other rule than his absolute will from the suspension or confirmation of the positive law and right. What he says on this subject is well worth repeating: "The law of Christ," he declares, "is a law of freedom, and forbids a servitude so abject that the Lutherans were entirely justified in comparing it with the Babylonish captivity. But furthermore, can that be called a government of which the rule is the will of one man, by nature prone to evil, and liable to the influence of caprices and affections innumerable? No; all true dominion is a dominion of reason, whose aim is to lead all whom it governs to the proposed end—happiness. The authority of the pope is equally with others a dominion of reason, God has conferred this rule on St. Peter and his successors, that they might lead the flocks confided to their care into everlasting blessedness. A pope should know that those over whom he exercises this rule are free men; not according to his own pleasure must he command, or forbid, or dispense, but in obedience to the rule of reason, of God's commands, and to the law of love, referring everything to God, and doing all in consideration of the common good only. For positive laws are not to be imposed by mere will, they must be ever in unison with natural rights, with the commandments of God, and with the requirements of circumstances. Nor can they be altered or abrogated, except in conformity with this guidance and with the imperative demands of things." "Be it the care of your holiness," he exclaims to Paul III, "never to depart from this rule; be not guided by the impotence of the will which makes choice of evil; submit not to the servitude which ministers to sin. Then wilt thou be mighty, then wilt thou be free, then will the life of the Christian commonwealth be sustained in thee."⁴

It will be seen that this was an attempt to found a papacy guided by reasonable laws, and is the more remarkable as proceeding from that same doctrine regarding justification and free-will which had served as the groundwork of the Protestant secession. We do not merely conjecture this from our knowledge that Contarini held these opinions, he declares it in

⁴ G. Contarini, "Cardinalis ad Paulum III. P. M. de potestate Pontificis in compositionibus," printed by Rocca-
berti, "Bibliotheca, Pontificia Maxima,
tom. xiii. I have also in my possession

a "Tractatus de compositionibus datarii
Revmi. D. Gasparis Contarini," 1536,
of which I cannot find that any copy
has been printed.

express terms. He asserts that man is prone to evil, that this proceeds from the impotence of the will, which, when it turns to evil, becomes rather passive than active; only through the grace of Christ is it made free. He afterward utters a distinct recognition of the papal authority, but demands that it be exercised in obedience to the will of God and for the common good.

Contarini laid his writings before the pope. In a bright and cheerful day of November, in the year 1538, he journeyed with him to Ostia: "On the way thither," he writes to Pole, "this our good old man made me sit beside him, and talked with me alone about the reform of the compositions. He told me that he had by him the little treatise I had written on the subject, and that he had read it in his morning hours. I had already given up all hope, but he now spoke to me with so much Christian feeling, that my hopes have been awakened anew; I now believe that God will do some great thing, and not permit the gates of hell to prevail against his Holy Spirit."⁵

It may be readily comprehended, that a complete reformation of abuses, in which were involved so many personal rights and conflicting claims, and which had become so closely interwoven with all the habits of life, was of all things the most difficult that could be undertaken. Nevertheless, Pope Paul did gradually seem disposed to enter earnestly on the task.

He appointed commissions, accordingly, for carrying reform into effect,⁶ as regarded the Apostolic Chamber, the Ruota, Chancery, and Penitentiaria: he also recalled Giberti to his councils. Bulls, enacting reform, appeared, and preparations were made for that council so dreaded and shunned by Pope Clement, and which Paul also might have found many reasons of a private nature for desiring to avoid.

And now, supposing ameliorations really to have been made, the Roman Court reformed, and the abuses of the constitution done away with: if then, that same tenet from which Luther had started, had been taken as the principle of renovation in life and doctrine, might not a reconciliation have been possible? for even the Protestants did not tear themselves hastily or without reluctance from the communion of the Church.

⁵ "Gaspar C. Contarinus Reginaldo C. Polo," "Ex ostiis Tiberinis," November 11, 1538. ("Epp. Poli," ii. 142.)

⁶ "Acta consistorialia" (August 6, 1540) in Rainaldus, "Annales Ecclesiastici," tom. xxi. p. 146.

To many minds this seemed possible, and earnest hopes were founded on the results of the religious conference.

According to theory the Pope should not have permitted this conference, since its object was to determine religious differences (as to which he claimed the supreme right of judging) by the intervention of the secular power. Paul was, in fact, extremely reserved on the occasion of this council, though he suffered it to proceed, and even sent his deputies to be present at the sittings.

The affair was proceeded in with great circumspection; carefully selecting men of moderate character—persons, indeed, who fell afterward under the suspicion of Protestantism: he, moreover, gave them judicious rules for the direction of their political conduct, and even for the government of their lives.

Thus, for example, when he sent Morone, who was yet young, to Germany in the year 1536, he strictly enjoined him to “contract no debts, but pay all things regularly in the lodgings assigned him”: further, Morone was recommended “to clothe himself without luxury, but also without meanness; to frequent the churches, certainly, but to avoid all appearance of hypocrisy.” He was, in fact, to represent in his own person that Roman reform of which so much had been said, and was advised to maintain a “dignity tempered by cheerfulness.”⁷ In the year 1540, the bishop of Vienna had recommended a very decisive course. He was of opinion that those articles of Luther and Melancthon’s creed, which had been declared heretical, should be laid before the adherents of the new doctrines, and that they should be directly and shortly asked whether they would renounce them or not. To such a measure, however, the Pope would by no means instruct his nuncio. “We fear they would rather die,” said he, “than make such a recantation.”⁸ His best hope was to see only the prospect of a reconciliation. On the first gleam of this, he would send a formula, in terms free from all offence, which had been already prepared by wise and venerable men. “Would it were come to that! Scarcely do we dare to expect it!”

⁷ “*Instructio pro causa fidei et concilii data episcopo Mutinæ.*” October 24, 1536, MS.

⁸ “*Instructiones pro Revmo. D. Ep. Mutinensi, apostolico nuncio inter futuro conventui Germanorum Spiræ, 12 Maij, 1540, celebrando.*” “It is to be

feared, it is even certain, that not only such as trust to a safe conduct, will reject what things are piously and prudently contained in these articles, but even where instant death threatens, that would rather be chosen.”

But never were parties in a better position to warrant this hope of the pontiff than at the conference of Ratisbon in the year 1541: political relations looked extremely favorable; the Emperor, who desired to employ all the forces of the empire in a war with the Turks or with France, wished for nothing more earnestly than a reconciliation. He chose the most sagacious and temperate men he could find among the Catholic theologians, namely Gropper and Julius Pflug, to proceed to the conference. On the other side, the landgrave Philip was again on good terms with Austria, and hoped to obtain the chief command in the war for which men were preparing themselves. With admiration and delight the Emperor beheld this warlike chief ride into Ratisbon on his stately charger, the rider no less vigorous than his steed. The yielding Bucer and gentle Melancthon appeared on the Protestant side.

The earnest desire of Paul for an amicable result from this conference, was made manifest by his choice of the legate whom he sent to it—no other than that Gaspar Contarini, whom we have seen so profoundly attached to the new modes of thought that were prevalent in Italy; so active in devising measures of general reform. He now assumed a position of still higher importance: placed midway between two systems of belief—between two parties that were then dividing the world—commissioned, at a moment of peculiarly advantageous aspect, to reconcile these parties, and earnestly desiring to effect that purpose. It is a position which, if it do not impose on us the duty of considering his personal character more clearly, yet renders it allowable that we should do so.

Messire Gaspar Contarini, the eldest son of a noble house in Venice, that traded to the Levant, had especially devoted himself to philosophical pursuits: his mode of proceeding in regard to them is not unworthy of remark: he set apart three hours daily for his closer studies, never devoting to them more, and never less; he began each time with exact repetition. Adhering to this method, he proceeded to the conclusion of each subject, never allowing himself to do anything lightly or with half measures.⁹ He would not permit the subtleties of Aristotle's commentators to lead him into a similar subtleties, perceiving

⁹ "Joannis Casæ Vita Gasparis Contarini," in "Jo. Casæ Monumentis Latinis," ed. Hal. 1708, p. 88.

that nothing is more astute than falsehood. He displayed the most remarkable talent, with a steadiness still more remarkable; he did not seek to acquire the graces of language, but expressed himself with simplicity and directly to the purpose—as in nature the growing plant is unfolded in regular succession, yearly producing its due results, so did his faculties develop themselves.

When, at an early age, he was elected into the council of the Pregadi, the senate of his native city, he did not for some time venture to speak; he wished to do so, and felt no want of matter, but he could not find courage for the effort: when at length he did prevail on himself to overcome this reluctance, his speech, though not remarkable for grace or wit, and neither very animated nor very energetic, was yet so simple and so much to the purpose, that he at once acquired the highest consideration.

His lot was cast in a most agitated period. He beheld his native city stripped of her territory, and himself aided in the recovery. On the first arrival of Charles V in Germany, Contarini was sent to him as ambassador, and he there became aware of the dissensions then beginning to arise in the Church. They entered Spain at the moment when the ship *Vittoria* had returned from the first circumnavigation of the globe,¹⁰ and Contarini was the first, so far as I can discover, to solve the problem of her entering the port one day later than she should have done according to the reckoning in her log-book. The Pope, to whom he was sent after the sack of Rome, was reconciled to the Emperor, partly by his intervention. His sagacious and penetrating views of men and things, together with his enlightened patriotism, are clearly evinced by his short essay on the Venetian constitution, a most instructive and well-arranged little work, as also by the different reports of his embassies, which are still occasionally to be found in manuscript.¹

On a Sunday, in the year 1535, at the moment when the imperial council had assembled, and Contarini, who had meanwhile risen to the highest offices, was seated by the balloting urn,

¹⁰ Bocatello, "Vita del C. Contarini" ("Epp. Poli," iii.), p. 103. There is also another edition, but it is taken from the volume of letters, and has the same number of pages.

¹ The first is of 1525, the other of

1530. The first is particularly important for the earlier times of Charles V. I have found no trace of it either in Vienna or Venice; in Rome I discovered one copy, but have never been able to get sight of another.

the intelligence came, that Pope Paul, whom he did not know, and with whom he had no sort of connection, had appointed him cardinal. All hastened to congratulate the astonished man, who could scarcely believe the report. Aluise Mocenigo, who had hitherto been his opponent in affairs of state, exclaimed that the republic had lost her best citizen.²

For the Venetian noble there was nevertheless one painful consideration attached to this honorable event. Should he abandon his free native city, which offered him its highest dignities, or in any case a sphere of action where he might act in perfect equality with the first in the state, for the service of a pope, often the mere slave of passion and restricted by no effectual law? Should he depart from the republic of his forefathers, whose manners were in harmony with his own, to measure himself against others in the luxury and display of the Roman court? We are assured that he accepted the cardinalate, principally because it was represented to him, that in times so difficult, the refusal of this high dignity (having the appearance of despising it) might produce an injurious effect.³

And now, the zeal that he had formerly devoted with exclusive affection to his native country, was applied to the affairs of the Church generally. He was frequently opposed by the cardinals, who considered it extraordinary that one but just called to the sacred college, and a Venetian, should attempt reform in the court of Rome. Sometimes the Pope himself was against him; as when Contarini opposed the nomination of a certain cardinal, "We know," said the pontiff, "how men sail in these waters, the cardinals have no mind to see another made equal to them in honor." Offended by this remark, the Venetian replied, "I do not consider the cardinal's hat to constitute my highest honor."

In this new position he maintained all his usual gravity, simplicity, and activity of life, all his dignity and gentleness of demeanor; nature leaves not the simply-formed plant without the ornament of its blossom, in which its being exhales and communicates itself. In man, it is the disposition, the character, which, being the collective product of all his higher faculties, stamps its impress on his moral bearing, nay, even on

² Daniel Barbaro to Domenico Veniero, "Lettere Volgari," i. p. 73.

³ Casa, p. 102.

his aspect and manner; in Contarini this was evinced in the suavity, the inherent truthfulness and pure moral sense, by which he was distinguished; but above all in that deep religious conviction which renders man happy in proportion as it enlightens him.

Adorned with such qualities, moderate, nearly approaching the Protestant tenets in their most important characteristics, Contarini appeared in Germany; by a regeneration of Church doctrines, commencing from this point, and by the abolition of abuses, he hoped to reconcile the existing differences.

But had not these already gone too far? Was not the breach too widely extended? Had not the dissentient opinions struck root too deeply? These questions I should be reluctant to decide.

There was also another Venetian, Marino Giustiniano, who left Germany shortly before this diet, and who would seem to have examined the aspect of things with great care. To him the reconciliation appears very possible.⁴ But he declares that certain concessions are indispensable. The following he particularizes:—"The pope must no longer claim to be the vicegerent of Christ in temporal as well as spiritual things. He must depose the profligate and ignorant bishops and priests, appointing men of blameless lives, and capable of guiding and instructing the people, in their places; the sale of masses, the plurality of benefices, and the abuse of compositions must no longer be suffered; a violation of the rule as regards fasting must be visited by very light punishment at the most." If in addition to these things, the marriage of priests be permitted, and the communion in both kinds be allowed, Giustiniano believes that the Germans would at once abjure their dissent, would yield obedience to the pope in spiritual affairs, resign their opposition to the mass, submit to auricular confession, and even allow the necessity of good works as fruits of faith—in so far, that is, as they are the consequence of faith. The existing discord having arisen because of abuses, so there is no doubt that by the abolition of these it may be done away with.

And on this subject we shall do well to remember what the landgrave, Philip of Hesse, had declared the year before;

⁴ "Relazione del Clarmo. M. Marino Giustinian Kavr. (ritornato) dalla legazione di Germania sotto Ferdinando,

re di Romani."—Bibl. Corsini in Rome, No. 481.

namely, that the temporal power of the bishops might be tolerated, whenever means should be found for securing the suitable exercise of their spiritual authority. That, as regarded the mass, an agreement might be made, provided the communion in both kinds were conceded.⁵ Joachim of Brandenburg declared himself ready to acknowledge the pope's supremacy. Meanwhile advances were made from the other side also. The imperial ambassador declared repeatedly that concessions should be agreed to by both parties, so far as was consistent with the honor of God. Even the non-protesting party would have willingly seen the spiritual power withdrawn from the bishops throughout Germany; they being now to all intents secular princes: this power they would then have had placed in the hands of superintendents, when means might have been adopted for a general change in the administration of church property. There was already some talk of things neutral and indifferent, that might either be retained or omitted, and even in the ecclesiastical electorates, prayers were appointed to be offered up for a prosperous issue to the work of reconciliation.

In what degree this reconciliation was either possible or probable need not be made the subject of dispute; it would in all cases have been extremely difficult; but if only the most remote probability existed, it was worth the attempt. Thus much is obvious, that a great wish for reunion had certainly arisen, and that many hopes and expectations were built on it.

And now came the question as to how far the Pope, without whom nothing could be done, was disposed to depart from the rigor of his demands. On this point a certain part of the instructions given to Contarini at his departure is worthy of attention.⁶

The unlimited power with which the Emperor had pressed Paul to invest the legate had not been accorded, the Pope suspecting that demands might be made in Germany, which not only the legate, but even he, the pontiff, might find it dangerous to concede without first consulting the other nations, yet he did

⁵ Letters from the landgrave in Rommel's "Urkundenbuch," p. 85. Compare this with the letter of the bishop of Lunden in Seckendorf, p. 299. "Contarini al Cardinal Farnese, 1541, 28 April" ("Epp. Poli," iii. p. 255.) The landgrave and the elector both demanded the marriage of priests and communion in both kinds; the former made

more difficulty with respect to the pope's supremacy, the latter with regard to the doctrine whether the mass be a sacrifice."

⁶ "Instructio data Revmo. Cli. Contarino in Germaniam legato, d. 28 mensis Januarii, 1541," to be seen in MS. in various libraries, and printed in Quirini, "Epp. Poli," iii. 286.

not decline all negotiations. "We must first see," he remarks, "whether the Protestants are in accord with us as to essential principles; for example, the supremacy of the Holy See, the sacraments, and some others." If we ask what these "others" were, we find that on this point the Pope does not clearly express himself concerning them. He describes them generally, as "whatever is sanctioned by the Holy Scriptures, as well as by the perpetual usage of the Church, with which the legate is well acquainted." "On this basis," he further observes, "attempts may be made for the arrangement of all differences."⁷

This vague mode of expression was beyond all question adopted with design. Paul III may have been willing to see how far Contarini could proceed toward a settlement of affairs, and reluctant to bind himself beforehand to a ratification of all his legate's acts; he chose beside to give Contarini a certain latitude. It would without doubt have cost the legate new efforts and infinite labor, to have made those conditions pleasing to the intractable Roman Curia, which he, with all his cares, had only wrung out by great effort at Ratisbon, but which yet were certain of being unsatisfactory at Rome. In the first instance everything depended on a reconciliation and union among the assembled theologians; the conciliatory and mediate tendency was still too weak and undefined to possess any great efficacy, as yet it could scarcely receive a name, nor, until it had gained some fixed station, could any available influence be hoped from it.

The discussions were opened on the fifth of April, 1541, and a plan of proceeding, proposed by the Emperor, and admitted after some slight alterations by Contarini, was adopted; but even here, at the first step, the legate found it requisite to dissent in a certain measure from his instructions. The Pope had required in the first place, a recognition of his supremacy, but Contarini perceived clearly that on this point, so well calculated to arouse the passions of the assembly, the whole affair

⁷ Videndum imprimis est, an Protestantes et ii qui ab ecclesiæ gremio defecerunt, in principiis nobiscum conveniant, cujusmodi est hujus sanctæ sedis primatus, tanquam a Deo et Salvatore nostro insitutus, sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ sacrament et alia quædam, quæ tum sacrament litterarum au toritate, tum universalis ecclesiæ perpetua observatione, hactenus observata et compro-

bata fuere et tibi nota esse bene scimus, quibus statim initio admissis omnia super aliis controversiis concordia tentaretur." (See the text.) We must not fail to keep in view the position of the Pope, which was in the highest degree orthodox, and, from its very nature, inflexible, in order to comprehend how much lay in such a turn of affairs.

might be wrecked at the very outset; he therefore permitted the question of papal supremacy to be placed last, rather than first on the list for discussion. He thought it safer to begin with subjects on which his friends and himself approached the Protestant opinions, which were besides questions of the highest importance, and touching the very foundations of the faith. In the discussions concerning these, he himself took most active part. His secretary assures us, that nothing was determined by the Catholic divines, until he had been previously consulted, not the slightest variation made without his consent.⁸ Morone, bishop of Modena, Tomaso da Modena, master of the sacred palace, both holding the same opinions with himself as to justification, assisted him with their advice.⁹ The principal difficulty proceeded from a German theologian, Doctor Eck, an old antagonist of Luther; but when forced to a close discussion, point by point, he also was at length brought to a satisfactory explanation. In effect, the parties did actually agree (who could have dared to hope so much) as to the four primary articles, of human nature, original sin, redemption, and even justification. Contarini assented to the principal point in the Lutheran doctrine, namely, that justification is obtained by faith alone, and without any merit on the part of man; adding only, that this faith must be living and active. Melancthon acknowledged that this was in fact a statement of the Protestant belief itself;¹⁰ and Bucer boldly declared, that in the articles mutually admitted, "everything requisite to a godly, righteous, and holy life before God, and in the sight of man, was comprehended."¹¹

Equally satisfied were those of the opposite party. The bishop of Aquila calls this conference holy, and did not doubt that the reconciliation of all Christendom would result from its labors. The friends of Contarini, those who shared his opinions and sympathized with his feelings, were delighted with the progress he was making. "When I perceived this unanimity of opinion," remarks Pole in a letter of this period to Contarini,

⁸ Bocatelli, "Vita del Cardinal Contarini," p. 117.

⁹ Pallavicini, iv. xiv. p. 433, from Contarini's "Letters."

¹⁰ Melancthon to Camerar, May 10th ("Epp." p. 360): "They admit that men are justified by faith, and that even in the sense in which we teach." Compare

Planck, "Geschichte des protestantischen Lehrbegriffs," iii. ii. 93.

¹¹ All the negotiations and documents, for the reconciliation of the religious parties, executed by his Imperial Majesty, A.D. 1541, by Martin Bucer, in Hortleder, bk. i. chap. 37, p. 280.

"I was sensible to such pleasure as no harmony of sounds could have afforded me, not only because I foresee the coming of peace and union, but because these articles are in very truth the foundation of the Christian faith. They seem, indeed, to treat of various matters, faith, works, and justification; upon this last, however, on justification, do all the rest repose. I wish thee joy, my friend, and I thank God, that on this point the divines of both parties have agreed. He who hath so mercifully begun this work, will also complete it."²

This, if I do not mistake, was a moment of most eventful import, not for Germany only, but for the whole world. With regard to the former, the points we have intimated tended in their consequences to change the whole ecclesiastical constitution of the land; to secure a position of increased liberty as regarded the Pope, and a freedom from temporal encroachment on his part. The unity of the Church would have been maintained, and with it that of the nation. But infinitely farther than even this, would the consequences have extended. If the moderate party, from whom these attempts proceeded, and by whom they were conducted, had been able to maintain the predominance in Rome and in Italy, how entirely different an aspect must the Catholic world necessarily have assumed!

A result so extraordinary was, however, not to be obtained without a vehement struggle.

Whatever was resolved on at Ratisbon, must be confirmed by the sanction of the Pope, on the one hand, and the assent of Luther on the other: to these latter a special embassy was sent.

But already many difficulties here presented themselves. Luther could not be convinced that the doctrine of justification had really taken root among Catholics; his old antagonist, Doctor Eck, he regarded with some reason as incorrigible, and he knew that this man had taken active part on the occasion in the articles agreed upon. Luther could see nothing but a piecemeal arrangement, made up from both systems. He, who

² Polus Contareno, "Capranica," May 17, 1541, "Epp. Poli." tom. i. iii. p. 25. The letters of the bishop of Aquila, in Rainaldus, 1541, Nos. 11, 12, also deserve attention. It was believed that if the point of the Lord's Supper could be settled, every other difficulty might be readily arranged. What above all gives

the highest hope to everyone is the declaration of the Emperor that he will in no case depart until affairs are amicably arranged, and also that our theologians conduct the disputations in all respects with the knowledge and according to the advice of the most reverend prelate."

considered himself to be continually engaged in a conflict between heaven and hell, imagined that here also he discerned the labors of Satan. He most earnestly dissuaded his master, the elector, from proceeding to the diet in person, declaring that "he was the very man for whom the devil was in search;"³ and certainly the appearance of the elector, and his assent to the resolutions adopted, would have had an important effect.

These articles meanwhile had arrived in Rome, where they awakened universal interest. The cardinals Caraffa and San Marcello found extreme offence in the declaration respecting justification; and it was not without great difficulty that Priuli made its real import obvious to them.⁴ The Pope did not express himself so decidedly as Luther had done; it was signified to the legate by Cardinal Farnese, that his holiness neither accepted nor declined the conclusions arrived at; but that all others who had seen the articles thought they might have been expressed in words much clearer and more precise, if the meaning of them were in accordance with the Catholic faith.

But however strenuous this theological opposition, it was neither the only, nor perhaps the most effectual one; there was yet another, proceeding from causes partly political.

A reconciliation, such as that contemplated, would have given an unaccustomed unity to all Germany, and would have greatly extended the power of the Emperor, who would have been at no loss to avail himself of this advantage.⁵ As chief of the moderate party, he would inevitably have obtained predominant influence throughout Europe, more especially in the event of a general council. All the accustomed hostilities were necessarily awakened at the mere prospect of such a result.

Francis I considered himself as more particularly threatened, and neglected no means that might serve to impede the projected union; he remonstrated earnestly against the concessions made by the legate at Ratisbon,⁶ declaring that "his conduct

³ Luther to John Frederick, in De Wette's collection, v. 353.

⁴ I cannot pardon Quirini for having failed to give un mutilated the letter of Priuli touching these affairs, and which he had in his hands.

⁵ There was always an imperial party, which promoted this tendency; and here, among other things, will be found the whole secret of those negotiations undertaken by the archbishop of Lund. He had represented to the Em-

peror ("Instruzione di Paolo III." Montepalciano, 1539), if his majesty would endure that the Lutherans should remain in their errors, he might dispose of all Germany at his will and pleasure. The Emperor himself also then desired toleration.

⁶ He spoke of it to the papal ambassadors at his court. "Il Cl. di Mantova al Cl. Contarini," in Quirini, iii. 278. "Loces, 17. Maggio, 1541." "S. Ma. Chma. diveniva ogni di più ardente

discouraged the good, and emboldened the wicked; that from extreme compliance to the Emperor, he was permitting things to get to such extremities, as would soon be irremediable; the advice of other princes also, ought surely to have been taken." Affecting to consider the Pope and Church in danger, he promised to defend them with his life, and with all the resources of his kingdom.

Other scruples besides those of a theological description before mentioned, had already arisen in Rome. It was remarked that the Emperor, on opening the diet and announcing a general council, did not add that the Pope alone had power to convene it: symptoms it was thought appeared of an inclination on his part to arrogate that right to himself. It was even said that in the old articles agreed on with Clement VII at Barcelona, there was a passage that might intimate such a purpose. Did not the Protestants continually declare that it rested with the Emperor to summon a council? And might not he be supposed to receive favorably an opinion so manifestly in harmony with his own interests?⁷ Herein was involved the most imminent danger of further divisions.

Meanwhile Germany also was in movement. We are assured by Giustiniani, that the importance accruing to the landgrave from his position as head of the Protestant party, had already tempted others to secure themselves equal influence by assuming the lead of the Catholics. A member of this diet assures us, that the dukes of Bavaria were adverse to all proposals for agreement, and that the elector of Mayence displayed hostility equally decided. He cautioned the Pope, in a letter written specially to that effect, against a national council, and indeed against any council to be held in Germany; "where the concessions demanded would be exorbitant."⁸ Other documents also are extant, in which certain German Catholics complain directly to the Pope of the progress made by Protestantism

nelle cose della chiesa, le quali era risoluto di voler difendere e sostenere con tutt le forze sue e con la vita sua e de' figliuoli, giurandomi che da questo si moveva principalmente a far questo officio." (See the text.) Granvella had, on the other hand, different instructions. "He declared to me," says Contarini, in a letter to Farnese, *ibid.* 255, "on oath, that he had letters in hand written by the most Christian king to

the Protestant princes, exhorting them by no means to make agreement with the Catholics, and avowing himself desirous to learn their opinions, which were not displeasing to him." According to this, Francis impeded the reconciliation by efforts with both sides.

⁷ Ardinghello, "al nome del Cl. Farnese al Cl. Contarini, 29 Maggio, 1541."

⁸ *Literæ Cardinalis Moguntini*, in Rainaldus, 1541, No. 27.

at the diet, the pliability of Gropper and Pflug, and the absence of Catholic princes from the discussions.⁹

Suffice it to say, that in Rome, France, and Germany, there arose among the enemies of Charles V, among those who either were or appeared to be the most zealous for Catholicism, a determined opposition to his efforts for the conciliation of differences. An unusual degree of intimacy was remarked in Rome as existing between the pontiff and the French ambassador. It was thought the former meant to propose a marriage between Vittoria Farnese, his relative, and one of the house of Guise.

A powerful effect was inevitably produced by these agitations on the different divines. Eck remained in Bavaria. "The enemies of the Emperor, whether in or out of Germany," says the secretary of Contarini, "dreading the power he would obtain in the union of all Germany, began to sow the tares of discord among these divines. Carnal envy hath interrupted the conference."¹⁰ If we consider how many difficulties were involved in the very nature of such an attempt, it cannot surprise us that agreement as to any one article was no longer possible.

Those who attribute the whole, or indeed the greater share of the blame attached to his failure to the Protestants, pass beyond the limits of justice. After a certain time, the Pope announced his positive will to the legate, that neither in his official capacity, nor as a private person, should he tolerate any resolution in which the Catholic faith and opinions were expressed in words admitting the possibility of ambiguous acceptation. The formula in which Contarini had thought to reconcile the conflicting opinions as to the supremacy of the pope and the power of councils, was rejected at Rome unconditionally.¹ The legate was compelled to offer explanations that seemed in flagrant contradiction to his own previous words.

But, to the effect that the conference might not be altogether

⁹ Anonymous also in Rainaldus, No. 25. The side from which they came is obvious, from the fact that Eck is thus spoken of: "One able theologian was at least brought forward." "Nihil," they say, "Nothing will be done to strengthen the Church, from fear of offending him (the Emperor)."

¹⁰ Beccatelli, "Vita," p. 119: "Hora il diavolo, che sempre alle buone opere

s' attraversa, fece sì che sparsa questa fama della concordia che tra Catholici e Protestanti si preparava, gli invidi dell' imperatore in Germania e fuori, che la sua grandezza temevano, quando tutti gli Alemanni fussero stati uniti, cominciavano a seminare zizania tra quelli theologi collocatori."

¹ Ardinghello a Contarini, *ibid.* p. 224.

without result, the Emperor desired that both parties would, for the present at least, abide by the articles mutually assented to, and that with regard to those still in dispute, each should tolerate the differences of the other; but neither Luther nor the pope could be moved to hear of this, and the cardinal was given to understand that the sacred college had resolved unanimously not to extend tolerance under any conditions whatever in regard to articles so vitally essential.

After hopes so inspiring, after a commencement so propitious, Contarini saw himself compelled to return without effecting any part of his purpose. He had wished to accompany the Emperor to the Netherlands, but neither was this permitted to him. Returning to Italy, it was his lot to endure all the slanders touching his conduct, and the concessions he was charged with making to Protestantism, that from Rome had been circulated over the whole country. This was sufficiently vexatious, but he had a loftiness of mind that rendered the failure of plans so comprehensive, and so replete with good for all, still more grievous and more permanently painful to him.

How noble and impressive was the position that moderate Catholicism had assumed in his person! But, having failed in securing its benevolent and world-embracing designs, it now became a question whether it would even maintain its own existence. In every great tendency should reside the power of vindicating its own existence, of rendering itself effectual and respected; if it be not strong enough to secure this, if it cannot achieve the mastery, its doom is inevitable; it must sink into irremediable ruin.

Section III.—New Ecclesiastical Orders

The minds of men had meanwhile become affected in another direction, in its origin not remote from that already indicated, but soon diverging from it; and though likewise seeking reform as its end, yet in a manner directly opposed to that adopted by Protestantism.

If the priesthood as heretofore existing had been repudiated by Luther in its very conception, and in every principle of its being, so was it as zealously upheld in its utmost extent by

others, and a movement was at once made in Italy for its renovation and re-establishment in all its original force; in the hope that a more rigid observance of its tenor would restore it to the respect of the Church. Both parties were sensible to the decadency of ecclesiastical institutions; but while the Germans were content with nothing less than the abolition of monasticism, the Italians sought to restore and regenerate it. Whilst in Germany the churchman was throwing off so many of the restraints that had bound him, men were seeking in Italy to make these fetters yet more stringent. On this side the Alps a new path had been entered on; beyond them, attempts were repeated that had already been made from time to time throughout the lapse of ages.

There is no period in church history unprovided with examples of a decline toward worldly corruption in the monastic bodies, but, arrived at a certain point of decadence, they had appeared to recall their origin, and had returned to habits of a more blameless purity. The Carlovingsians even in their early day had found it needful to enforce the rule of Chrodegang on the clergy, compelling them to community of life, and to voluntary subordination. Nor did the simple rule of Benedict of Nursia long suffice to maintain order even among religious houses. During the tenth and eleventh centuries, small secluded congregations, with special rules after the model of Cluny, were found to be requisite. This produced an instant effect on the secular clergy; by the enforcement of celibacy, they also, as before remarked, became in a manner subjected to the forms of monastic life. None the less, however, did corruption prevail; and, spite of the powerful religious impulse given by the crusades to all Europe, an impulse so extensively influential, that even the knights and nobles submitted their profession of war to the forms of monastic law, these institutions had sunk into the utmost decay, when the mendicant orders arose. On their first appearance, they doubtless did much to restore things to their primitive simplicity and severity; but we have seen how they too became gradually degenerate and tainted by the world's disorders, until at length the most glaring evidence of decadence in the Church might be found among these friars-mendicant.

From the year 1520, a conviction had been gaining ground

through all those countries into which Protestantism had not yet penetrated, that reformation was deeply needed by the institutions of the hierarchy; this conviction became ever more and more confirmed as the new tenets made progress in Germany and elsewhere. It found place even amongst the orders themselves; sometimes appearing in one order, sometimes in another.

The extreme seclusion to which the order of Camaldoli was subjected, had not been able to preserve even this one; it was found by Paolo Giustiniani to partake largely of the general disorder. In the year 1522, he formed a new congregation of the same order, which received the name of Monte Corona, from the mountain on which its chief establishment was afterward placed.¹ For the attainment of spiritual perfection, Giustiniani held three things to be essential: solitude, vows, and the separation of the monks into distinct cells. He alludes with special satisfaction in one of his letters to these little cells and oratories,² of which many may yet be found on the loftiest mountains, and niched amidst the beautiful wilds of nature; inviting the spirit at once to the most sublime aspirations and the deepest repose. The reforms effected by these hermits made themselves felt through the whole world.

Among the Franciscans, who were perhaps more deeply tainted than any, a new experiment of reform was made in addition to all that had been attempted before. The Capuchins determined on reviving the regulations of their founder—the midnight service, the prayer at stated hours, the discipline and silence—the life imposed by their original institute, that is to say, in all the extremes of its austerity. We may be tempted to smile at the undue importance attached to mere trifles, but it cannot be questioned that these monks comported themselves on many occasions in compliance with all the rigor of their duties, as, for example, during the plague of 1528, when their courage and devotion were most exemplary.

Nothing of real value could, however, be effected by a reform of the monastic orders only, while the secular clergy were

¹ We may reasonably date the foundation from the drawing up of the rules, after Masacio was granted to the new congregation in the year 1522. Basciano, the successor of Giustiniani, was the founder of Monte Corona. Helyot,

"Histoire des Ordres Monastiques," v p. 271.

² "Lettera del b. Giustiniano al Vescovo Teatino," in Bromato, "Storia di Paolo IV." lib. iii. § 19.

so utterly estranged from their vocation; a reformation, to be efficient, must affect them likewise.

And here we again encounter members of that Roman oratory before mentioned: two of these, men, as it would seem, of characters totally dissimilar in other respects, undertook to prepare the way for this needful reformation—the one, Gaetano da Thiene, peaceful and retiring, of gentle manner and few words, disposed to the reveries of religious enthusiasm, and of whom it was said that he desired to reform the world without permitting it to be known that he was in the world;³ the other, John Peter Caraffa, of whom we shall have further occasion to speak, turbulent, impetuous, and fiercely bigoted. But Caraffa also perceived, as he says himself, that his heart was only the more heavily oppressed the more it followed its own desires—that peace could be found only by the resignation of the whole being to God, and in converse with heavenly things. Thus, these two men agreed in their desire for seclusion; the one from an instinct of his nature; the other impelled by yearnings after an ideal perfection; both were disposed to religious activity, and convinced that reform was needed, they combined to found an institution (since called the Order of Theatines), having for its objects at once the reformation of the clergy and a life of contemplation.⁴

Gaetano belonged to the “protonotari participanti”; he at once resigned all emolument. Caraffa held the bishopric of Chieti and the archbishopric of Brindisi, but he renounced them both.⁵ In company with two intimate friends, also members of the oratory, they solemnly assumed the three vows on the fourteenth of September, 1524.⁶ To the vow of poverty they made the special addition that not only would they possess nothing, but would even abstain from begging, and await the

³ Caracciolus, “Vita S. Cajetani Thienæi,” c. ix. 101: “In conversation humble, gentle, and of few words, and in prayer I remember to have often seen him weeping.” He is very well described in the testimony of a pious society at Vicenza, which may be found in the same work, c. i. No. 12.

⁴ Caracciolus, c. 2, § 19, declares their intention to be: “To make up what is wanting in the clergy, who are corrupted by vice and ignorance to the ruin of the people, so that the mischief done by evil example might be remedied.”

⁵ From a letter by the papal datary of September 22, 1524, we have authentic proof that the Pope long hesitated to accept the resignation (“non volendo privare quelle chiese di così buon pastore”) [not wishing to deprive those churches of so good a pastor]. He yielded only to Caraffa’s urgent entreaties.

⁶ The documents relating to this ceremony are to be found in the “Commentarius prævius, AA. SS. Aug.” ii. p. 249.

alms that might be brought to their dwelling. After a short abode in the city, they withdrew to a small house on the Monte Pincio, near the Vigna Capisucchi, which afterward became the Villa Medici. Here, though within the walls of Rome, there prevailed at that time a deep solitude, and in this place they lived amidst the privations of their self-imposed poverty, in spiritual exercises and in study of the gospels. Of this the plan had been previously arranged, and it was repeated with great exactitude every month. They afterward descended into the city to preach.

They did not call themselves monks, but regular clergy—they were priests with the vows of monks. Their intention was to establish a kind of seminary for the priesthood. By the charter of their foundation, they were expressly allowed to receive secular clergy. They did not originally adopt any prescribed color or form of dress, leaving these to be determined by the local customs of their inmates; they suffered even the services of the Church to be performed everywhere according to the national usages; they were thus freed from many restraints under which monks labored, expressly declaring that neither in the habits of life, nor in the service of the Church, should any mere custom be permitted to become binding on the conscience;⁷ but on the other hand, they devoted themselves rigidly to their clerical duties—to preaching, the administration of the sacraments, and the care of the sick.

And now a custom that had long fallen into disuse among Italians, was again seen to prevail; priests appeared in the pulpit wearing the cross, the clerical cap and gown: at first this occurred principally in the oratory, but afterward, when the wearers were proceeding on missions, in the streets also. Caraffa himself preached with all that exuberance of eloquence which remained his characteristic up to the last hour of his life. Together with his associates, for the most part men of noble birth, who might have possessed all the enjoyments of the world, he now began to visit the sick, whether in hospitals or private houses, and to wait by the pillow of the dying.

⁷ Rule of the Theatines in Bromato, "Vita di Paolo IV." lib. iii. § 25: "No custom, and no mode of living or ritual whatsoever, whether of those things that belong to divine worship, and are in any way practised in churches, or of

matters that relate to the living in community with us, or without in the accustomed dwelling, shall be ever permitted to acquire the force of prescription."

The best effects were produced by this return to the performance of clerical duties. The order of the Theatines did not indeed become a seminary for priests precisely, its numbers were never sufficient for that; but it grew to be a seminary for bishops, coming at length to be considered the order of priests peculiar to the nobility; and, as from the first the rule that all new members should be noble was sedulously observed, so demands for a proof of noble birth were afterward occasionally made as a condition to acceptance by this order. It will be readily understood that the original intention of living on alms, and yet refusing to beg, could not have been fulfilled except on these conditions.

The great point gained by all these efforts, meanwhile, was this, that the useful purpose of conjoining the clerical duties and consecration of the secular clergy with the vows of monks, gained extensive approval and imitation.

The North of Italy had been scourged by continual wars since the year 1521: these were followed of necessity by desolation, famine, and disease. How many children were here made orphans, and menaced by ruin both of body and soul! Happy is it for man that pity stands ever by the dwelling of misfortune. A Venetian senator, Girolamo Miani, collected such of these children as had come wanderers and fugitives to Venice, and sheltered them in his house; he sought them among the islands neighboring to the city, and, giving slight heed to the clamors of his reluctant sister-in-law, he sold the plate and richest tapestries of his palace to procure shelter, food, clothing, and instruction for these destitute children. After a time his whole existence was devoted to this occupation. His success was very great, more especially in Bergamo: the hospital that he had founded there was so effectually supported that he was encouraged to make similar experiments in other towns. In Verona, Brescia, Ferrara, Como, Milan, Pavia, and Genoa, hospitals of the same kind were by degrees established. Eventually, Miani associated himself with certain friends of like character, and formed a congregation of regular clergy, modelled on that of the Theatines, and called "di Somasca." Their principal occupation was to educate the poor: their hospitals received a constitution which was common to all.⁸

⁸ "Approbation of a society, consisting of persons ecclesiastical and others,

lately formed for the support of poor orphans and converted women," this last

Few cities have been so heavily visited by the horrors of war as Milan, exposed to repeated sieges, and captured now by one party, now by another. To mitigate the effect of these misfortunes by acts of mercy, to remedy the disorders and correct the barbarism consequent on these evils, by instruction, preaching, and example, was now the object proposed to themselves by Zaccaria, Ferrari, and Morigia, the three founders of the order of Barnabites. We learn from a Milanese chronicle, the surprise with which these new priests were at first regarded, as they passed through the streets in their homely garbs and round cap—all still young, but with heads already bent in the earnestness of thought. Their dwelling-place was near the church of St. Ambrosio, where they lived in community. The countess Lodovica Torella, who had sold her paternal inheritance of Guastalla, and devoted the money thus obtained to good works, was the chief support of this society.⁹ The Barnabites had also the form of regular clergy.

The effect produced by these congregations, each in its separate circle, was doubtless very considerable; but, either from the exclusive end that they had proposed to themselves, as in the case of the Barnabites, or from the restriction of their means, as, by the very nature of their constitution was inevitable in that of the poverty-vowed Theatines, they were incompetent to the carrying out of a deep-searching reform, and inadequate to the exercise of any widely extensive influence. Their existence is remarkable, because the voluntary character of their efforts betokens a tendency that largely contributed to the regeneration of Catholicism, but the force that was to stand against the bold advance of Protestantism, required to be of a totally different character.

This power was, however, approaching, and had already entered on a similar path, but the modes of its development were altogether unexpected, and in the highest degree peculiar.

object was, in some hospitals, joined with the first-named. (Bull of Paul III. June 5, 1540.) Bullarium Cocquelines, iv. 173. It would appear, nevertheless, from the bull of Pius V. "Injunctum Nobis," December 6, 1568, that

the members of this congregation did not take their first vows till that date.

⁹ "Chronicle of Burigazzo," in Custode. Continuation by Verri, "Storia di Milano," vol. iv. p. 88.

Section IV.—Ignatius Loyola

The chivalry of Spain was the only one that had preserved a certain remnant of its religious character, down to the period before us. The war with the Moors, but just arriving at its conclusion in the Peninsula, and still proceeding in Africa; the vicinity of the subjugated Moriscos still remaining, and with whom the intercourse held by the victors was marked by the rancor characteristic of religious hatred; with the adventurous expeditions yet undertaken against infidels beyond the seas; all combined to perpetuate this spirit. In such books as the "Amadis de Gaul," full of a simple, enthusiastic loyalty and bravery, that spirit was idealized.

Don Iñigo Lopez de Recalde,¹ the youngest son of the house of Loyola, was born in a castle of that name, between Azpeitia and Azcoitia, in Guipuscoa. He was of a race that belonged to the noblest in the land—"de parientes mayores"—and its head claimed the right of being summoned to do homage by special writ. Educated at the court of Ferdinand the Catholic, and in the train of the Duke of Najara, Iñigo was deeply imbued with the spirit of his nation and class. He aspired to knightly renown, and for none of his compatriots had the glitter of arms, the fame of valor, the adventures of single combat and of love, more attractive charms than for him; but he also displayed an extraordinary fervor of religious enthusiasm, and had already celebrated the first of the apostles, in a romance of chivalry, at this early period of his life.²

It is, nevertheless, probable, that his name would have become known to us, only as one of those many brave and noble Spanish leaders, to whom the wars of Charles V gave opportunities so numerous for distinguishing themselves, had he not been wounded in both legs, at the defence of Pampeluna, against the French, in 1521. Of these wounds he was never completely cured; twice were they reopened, and such was his fortitude, that, in these severe operations, the only sign of pain he permitted to escape him was the firm clenching of his hands.

¹ He is so called in judicial acts. How he became possessed of the name "Recalde" is not known, but this does not impugn its authenticity. "Acta

Sanctorum, 31 Julii, Commentarius prævius," p. 410.

² Maffei, "Vita Ignatii."

His sufferings were, unhappily, unavailing; the cure remained deplorably incomplete.

He was much versed in, and equally attached to, the romances of chivalry, more especially to the Amadis. During his long confinement, he also read the life of Christ, and of some of the saints.

Visionary by nature, and excluded from a career that seemed to promise him the most brilliant fortunes, condemned to inaction, and at the same time rendered sensitive and excitable by his sufferings, he fell into the most extraordinary state of mind that can well be conceived. The deeds of St. Francis and St. Dominic, set forth by his favorite books in all the lustre of their saintly renown, not only seemed to him worthy of imitation, but, as he read, he believed himself possessed of the courage and strength required to follow in their footsteps, and to vie with them in austerity and self-denial.³ It is true that these exalted purposes were sometimes chased by projects of a much more wordly character. Then would he picture himself repairing to the city where dwelt the lady to whose service he had devoted himself. "She was no countess," he said, "and no duchess, but of yet higher degree." The gay and graceful discourses with which he would address her, how he would prove his devotion, the knightly exploits he would perform in her honor; such were the fantasies between which his mind alternated.

The more his recovery was protracted, and his hope of ultimate cure was deferred, the more also did the spiritual revery gain ascendancy over the worldly vision. Shall we do him wrong, if we impute this result to the increased conviction that his former vigor could not be restored, that he could not hope again to shine in military service or the knightly career?

Not that the transition was so abrupt, or to so opposite an extreme, as it might, on the first view, appear to be. In his spiritual exercises, the origin of which was coincident with the first ecstatic meditations of his awakened spirit, he imagines two camps, one at Jerusalem, the other at Babylon; the one belonging to Christ, the other to Satan; in the one is every

³The "Acta antiquissima, a Ludovico Consalvo ex ore Sancti excepta, AA. SS. LL." p. 634, gives very authentic information on the subject. The thought occurred to him once: "Quid, si ego hoc agerem, quod fecit b. Franciscus, quid si hoc, quod b. Domini-

cus?" Again: "Of many vain things that offered themselves to his mind, one he retained." The honor that he meant to pay his lady ["non era condesa ni duquesa mas era su estado mas alto que ninguno destas"], a singularly frank and simple acknowledgment.

thing good—in the other, whatever is most depraved and vicious. These are prepared for combat. Christ is a king who has signified his resolve to subjugate all unbelievers; whoever would fight beneath his banners must be fed with the same food, and clad in like garments with him; he must endure the same hardships and vigils; according to the measure of his deeds, shall he be admitted to share in the victory and rewards. Before Christ, the Virgin, and the whole court of heaven, shall each man then declare that he will truly follow his Lord, will share with him in all adversities, and abide by him in true poverty of body and of spirit.⁴

By these fanciful imaginations, it probably was that his transition from the chivalry of arms to that of religion was facilitated; for it was indeed to a sort of spiritual knighthood that his aspirations now tended, the ideal perfection of which was to consist in emulation of the achievements performed, and privations endured, by the saints. Tearing himself from home and kindred, he now sought the heights of Montserrat, not driven to this by remorse for his sins, nor impelled by any reality of religious feeling, but, as he has himself declared, merely by the desire of achieving deeds equally great with those to which the saints are indebted for their renown. His weapons and armor he hung up before an image of the Virgin; kneeling or standing in prayer, with his pilgrim's staff in his hand, he here passed the night, holding a vigil somewhat different from that of knighthood, but expressly suggested by the Amadis,⁵ where all the rites proper to it are minutely described. The knightly dress in which he had arrived at Montserrat he gave away, assuming the coarse garb of the hermits, whose lonely dwellings are scooped among those naked rocks. After having made a general confession, he set off toward Jerusalem, not going direct to Barcelona, lest he should be recognized on the highways, but making a round by Manresa, whence, after new penances, he meant to gain his port of embarkation for the holy city.

But in Manresa he was met by other trials; the fantasies

⁴ "Exercitia spirituali: Secunda Hebdomada." "Contemplatio regni Jesu Christi ex similitudine regis terreni subditos suos evocantis ad bellum;" and in other places.

⁵ "Acta antiquissima." A strange

mistake of the compiler, for certainly Amadis is not an author. "When his mind was filled with things from Amadis of Gaul, and other writers of that sort, many of which he met with."

to which he had yielded himself, not so much from conviction as caprice, began here to assume the positive mastery. He devoted himself to the severest penances in the cell of a convent of Dominicans; he scourged himself thrice a day, he rose to prayer at midnight, and passed seven hours of each day on his knees.

He found these severities so difficult of practice that he greatly doubted his own ability to persevere in them for his whole life, but, what was still more serious, he felt that they did not bring him peace. He had spent three days on Montserrat in confessing the sins of all his past life; but, not satisfied with this he repeated it in Manresa, recalling many faults before forgotten, nor permitting the most trifling errors to escape him; but the more laborious his exploration, so much the more painful became the doubts that assailed him. He did not believe that he should be either accepted by or justified before God. Having read in the works of the fathers that a total abstinence from food had once moved the compassion and obtained the mercy of the Almighty, he kept rigid fast from one Sunday to another, but his confessor forbade him to continue this attempt, and Iñigo, who placed the virtue of obedience above all others, desisted immediately; occasionally it appeared to him that his melancholy had been removed, falling away as does a heavy garment from the shoulders, but his former sufferings soon returned. His whole life seemed to him but one continuous series of sin, and he not unfrequently felt tempted to throw himself from the window.⁶

This relation cannot fail to remind us of the nearly similar sufferings endured by Luther some twenty years before, when he also was assailed by similar doubts. The great demand of religion, a perfect reconciliation with God, and its full assurance, could never be obtained in the ordinary manner prescribed by the Church, with such certainty as to satisfy the unfathomable longings of a soul at enmity with itself. But out of this labyrinth Ignatius and Luther escaped by very different paths, the latter attained to the doctrine of recon-

⁶ Maffei, Ribadeneira, Orlandino, and all his other biographers describe these struggles; but more authentic than all are the writings of Ignatius himself on this subject; the following passage, for example, clearly depicts his condition: "When agitated by these thoughts he

was often sorely tempted to throw himself from a large window in his cell, near the place where he prayed; but when he saw that it was a sin to destroy himself, he cried out again, 'Lord, I will not do aught that may offend thee.'"

ciliation through Christ without works; this it was that laid open to him the meaning of the Scriptures which then became his strong support; but of Loyola we do not find that he examined the Scriptures or became impressed by any particular dogma. Living in a world of internal emotion, and amid thoughts arising for ever within him, he believed himself subjected to the influence now of the good, and now of the evil spirit. He arrived finally at the power of distinguishing the inspirations of the one from that of the other, perceiving that the soul was cheered and comforted by the first, but harassed and exhausted by the latter.⁷ One day he seemed to have awakened from a dream, and thought he had tangible evidence that all his torments were assaults of Satan. He resolved to resign all examination of his past life from that hour, to open those wounds no more, never again to touch them. This was not so much the restoration of his peace as a resolution, it was an engagement entered into by the will rather than a conviction to which the submission of the will is inevitable. It required no aid from Scripture, it was based on the belief he entertained of an immediate connection between himself and the world of spirits. This would never have satisfied Luther. No inspirations—no visions would Luther admit; all were in his opinion alike injurious. He would have the simple, written, indubitable word of God alone. Loyola, on the contrary, lived wholly in fantasies and inward apparitions; the person best acquainted with Christianity was, as he thought, an old woman, who had told him, in the worst of his mental anguish, that Christ would yet appear to him in person. For some time this was not clear to him; but at length he believed not only to have the Saviour in person before his eyes, but the Virgin Mother also. One day he stood weeping aloud on the step of the church of St. Dominick, at Manresa, because he believed himself to see the mystery of the Trinity at that moment standing before his sight.⁸ He spoke of nothing else through the whole day, and was inexhaustible in similes and comparisons respecting it. Suddenly also the mystery of the creation

⁷ One of his most peculiar and most original perceptions, the beginning of which is referred by himself to the fancies of his illness. In Manresa it became a certainty, and it is described with great expansion in the "Spiritual Exercises," wherein are found especial

rules: "For discovering whether the movements of the soul proceed from good spirits or evil, so that the first be admitted and the last repelled."

⁸ Figured by three keys of a musical instrument.

was made visible to him in mystic symbols. In the host he beheld the God and the man. Proceeding once along the banks of the Llobregat to a distant church, he sat down and bent his eyes earnestly on the deep stream before him, when he was suddenly raised into an ecstasy wherein the mysteries of the faith were visibly revealed to him. He believed himself to rise up a new man. Thenceforth neither testimony nor Scripture was needful to him; had none such existed he would have gone without hesitation to death for the faith which he had before believed, but which he now saw with his eyes.⁹

If we have clearly comprehended the origin and development of this most peculiar state of mind, of this chivalry of abstinence, this pertinacity of enthusiasm, and fantastic asceticism, we shall not need to follow Iñigo Loyola through every step of his progress. He did, in fact, proceed to Jerusalem, in the hope of confirming the faith of the believer as well as that of converting the infidel. But how was this last purpose to be accomplished, uninstructed as he was, without associates, without authority? Even his intention of remaining in the Holy Land was frustrated by an express prohibition from the heads of the Church at Jerusalem, who had received from the Pope the privilege of granting or refusing permissions of residence there. Returning to Spain he had further trials to encounter, being accused of heresy on attempting to teach and inviting others to participate in those spiritual exercises on which he had now entered. It would have been an extraordinary sport of destiny, if Loyola, whose Society, centuries later, ended in Illuminati, had himself been associated with a sect of that name;¹⁰ and it is not to be denied that the Spanish Illuminati of that day—the Alumbrados—did hold opinions bearing some analogy to his fantasies. They had rejected the doctrine then taught in Christendom, of salvation by works, like him they gave themselves up to ecstasies, and believed, as he did, that they beheld religious mysteries, above all that of the Trinity, in immediate and visible revelation. They made general confession a condition to absolution, and insisted earnestly on the neces-

⁹ "Acta antiquissima:" "his visis haud mediocriter tun confirmatus est" (the original has "y le dieron tanta confirmacion siempre de la fe") "ut sæpe etiam id cogitaret, quod etsi nulla scriptura mysteria illa fidei doceret, tamen ipse ob ea ipsa quæ viderat, sta-

tueret sibi pro is esse moriendum." (See the text.)

¹⁰ This charge was made against Lainez and Borgia also.—Llorente, "Hist. de l'Inquisition," iii. 83. Melchior Cano calls them plainly illuminati, the gnostics of the age.

sity for inward prayer, as did Loyola and his followers of later times. I would not venture to affirm that Loyola was entirely untouched by these opinions, but neither would I assert that he belonged to the sect of Alumbrados. The most striking distinction between them and him is, that whereas they believed themselves to be exalted by the claims of the spirit above all the common duties of life, he, on the contrary, still impressed by his early habits, placed the soldier's virtue, obedience, before all others; his every conviction and whole enthusiasm of feeling he compelled himself to place in subjection to the Church and to all who were invested with her authority.

These troubles and obstacles had meanwhile a decisive influence on his future life; in his then circumstances, without learning or profound theological knowledge, and without political support, his existence must have passed and left no trace. The utmost effect he would have produced would have been the conversion of some two or three Spaniards, but being enjoined, by the universities of Alcala and Salamanca, to study theology for four years before attempting to expound or teach the more obscure points of doctrine, he was compelled to enter on a path which gradually led him forward to an unexpected field for the exertion of his religious activity.

He proceeded then to Paris, which at that time was the most celebrated university of the world.

His studies were at first surrounded by unusual difficulties, he had to begin with the class of grammar (on which he had entered in Spain), and with those of philosophy, before he could be admitted to that of theology; ¹ but his grammatical inflections and the analysis of logical forms were alike interrupted by, and intermingled with the ecstasies of those religious significations with which he had been accustomed to connect them; there was something of magnanimity in his at once declaring these aberrations to be occasioned by the evil spirit, who was seeking to lure him from the right way; he subjected himself to the most rigorous discipline in the hope of combating them.

But though his studies now opened a new world to his gaze—the world of reality—he did not for a moment depart from his

¹ From the oldest chronicle of the Jesuits, "Chronicon Breve, AA. SS. LL." p. 525, we learn that Ignatius was in Paris from 1528 to 1535: "Ibi vero non sine magnis molestiis et persecu-

tionibus prima grammaticæ de integro, tum philosophiæ ac demum theologico studio sedulam operam navavit." (See the text.)

religious intentions, nor fail to share them with others. It was indeed at this time that he effected those first conversions, by which the future world was destined to be so powerfully and permanently influenced.

Of the two companions who shared the rooms of Loyola in the college of St. Barbara, one, Peter Faber, a Savoyard, proved an easy conquest; growing up among his father's flocks, he had one night devoted himself solemnly, beneath the canopy of heaven, to study and to God. He went through the course of philosophy with Ignatius (the name that Loyola received among foreigners), and the latter communicated to him his own ascetic principles. Ignatius taught his young friend to combat his faults, prudently taking them not altogether, but one by one, since there was always some virtue to the possession of which he should more especially aspire. He kept him strictly to confession and to frequent participation of the Lord's Supper. They lived in the closest intimacy. Ignatius received alms in tolerable abundance from Spain and Flanders, these he constantly divided with Faber. His second companion, Francis Xavier of Pampeluna, in Navarre, was by no means so easily won; his most earnest ambition was to ennoble still further the long series of his ancestors, renowned in war during five hundred years, by adding to their names his own, rendered illustrious by learning. He was handsome and rich, possessed high talent, and had already gained a footing at court. Ignatius was careful to show him all the respect to which he laid claim, and to see that others paid it also, he procured him a large audience for his first lectures, and, having begun by these personal services, his influence was soon established by the natural effect of his pure example and imposing austerity of life. He at length prevailed on Xavier, as he had done on Faber, to join him in the spiritual exercises. He was by no means indulgent; three days and three nights did he compel them to fast. During the severest winters, when carriages might be seen to traverse the frozen Seine, he would not permit Faber the slightest relaxation of discipline. He finished by making these two young men entirely his own, and shared with them his most intimate thoughts and feelings.²

² Orlandinus, who likewise wrote a life of Faber, which I have not seen, is more circumstantial on this point also

(in his great work, "*Historiæ Societatis Jesu*," pars i. p. 17) than is Ribadeneira.

How full of mighty import was that little cell of St. Barbara, uniting as it did these three men, who there formed plans and devised enterprises, inspired by their visionary and enthusiastic ideas of religion, and that were to lead, they themselves could have no conception whither.

Let us examine the more important features in the development of this association. After having gained over certain other Spaniards, to whom Ignatius had rendered himself indispensable either by good counsels or other aid, as Salmeron, Lainez, and Bobodilla, they proceeded one day to the church of Montmartre. Faber, who was already in orders, read the mass. They took the vow of chastity, and swore to proceed to Jerusalem, after the completion of their studies, there to live in poverty, and dedicate their days to the conversion of the Saracens. Or, should they find it impossible to reach that place, or to remain there, they were next to offer their services to the Pope, agreeing to go whithersoever he might assign them their labors, without condition and without reward. Having taken this oath, each received the host, which Faber also instantly took himself. This completed, they proceeded in company to a repast at the fountain of St. Denis.

Here we see a league formed between enthusiastic young men, and of which the purposes were absolutely unattainable, still in accordance with the original ideas of Ignatius, or departing from them only so far as, on a calculation of probabilities, they might find themselves unable to carry them into effect.

In the beginning of the year 1537, we find them in effect assembled in Venice, with three other companions, prepared for the commencement of their pilgrimage. We have already observed many changes in the fortunes of Loyola: from a military knighthood we have seen him pass to a religious chivalry; we have marked his subjection to the most violent mental conflicts, and have seen him force his way through them by the aid of a visionary asceticism; formed by heavy labors, he became a theologian and the founder of a fanatical society, and now at length his purposes assumed their final and permanent character. His departure for Jerusalem was deferred by the war just then commencing between Venice and the Turks, and the prospect of his intended pilgrimage was rendered more remote; but the institution of the Theatines, with which he became acquainted

in Venice, may be said to have first opened his eyes to his true vocation. For some time Ignatius lived in the closest intimacy with Caraffa, taking up his abode in the convent of Theatines, which had been established in Venice. He served in the hospitals which Caraffa superintended, and wherein he exercised his novices, but, not entirely content with the institution of the Theatines, he proposed to Caraffa certain changes in its mode of action, and this is said to have caused the dissolution of their intimacy.³ But even these facts make it obvious that a deep impression had been produced on him by that society; he there saw an order of priests devoting themselves zealously and strictly to their true clerical duties. Should he, as seemed ever more probable, remain on this side the Mediterranean, and find the scene of his activity in Western Christendom, he perceived clearly that this must be his course also, if he would turn his labors to the best advantage.

In pursuit of this conviction, he took priest's orders in Venice, with all his companions; and, after forty days of prayer, he began to preach in Vicenza, together with three others of his society. On the same day and at the same hour, they appeared in different streets, mounted on stones, waved their hats, and with loud cries exhorted the people to repentance.

Preachers of a very unwonted aspect were these; their clothing in rags, their looks emaciated, and their language a mixture of Spanish and Italian well-nigh unintelligible; they remained in this neighborhood until the year had expired during which they had resolved to delay their journey to Rome; they then proceeded thither.

Having determined to make this journey by different roads, they were now about to separate; but first they established certain rules by means of which they might observe a fixed uniformity of life, even when apart: next came the question what reply should be made to those who might inquire their profession. They pleased themselves with the thought of making war as soldiers against Satan, and in accordance with the old military propensities of Loyola, they assumed the name of the Company of Jesus, exactly as a company of soldiers takes the name of its captain.⁴

³ Sacchini, "cujus sit autotoritatis, quod in B. Cajetani Thienæi vita de beato Ignatio traditur," discusses all the particulars of this intimacy.

⁴ Ribadeneira, *Vita brevior*, c. 12, declares that Ignatius chose this title, "lest it (the company) should be called by his own name." Nigroni ex-

Their situation in Rome was in the first instance by no means free from difficulty. Ignatius thought he saw every door closed against them, and they had also once more to defend themselves from suspicions of heresy; but no long time had elapsed before the mode of their lives, with their zeal in preaching, instructing youth, and tending the sick, attracted numerous adherents, and so many showed a disposition to join them, that they felt themselves in a condition to prepare for a formal institution of their society.

They had already taken two vows, they now assumed the third, that of obedience; but as this had been ever held by Loyola to be the first of virtues, so they desired to surpass all other orders in that particular. It was already going very far to elect as they resolved to do, their general for life; but even this did not suffice to their enthusiasm; they superadded the special obligation "to perform whatsoever the reigning pontiff should command them, to go forth into all lands, among Turks, heathens, or heretics, wherever he might please to send them, without hesitation or delay, as without question, condition, or reward."

How entirely is all this in contrast to the tendency hitherto manifested by that period! Whilst from every other side the Pope met only opposition or defection, and had only continued desertions to expect; here was a body of men, earnest, enthusiastic, and zealous, uniting to devote themselves exclusively to his service; there could be no hesitation in such a case for the pontiff. In the year 1540, he gave his sanction to their institute, at first with certain restrictions, but afterward, in 1543, the Society of Jesus was absolutely and unconditionally established.

And now its members also made their final arrangements; six of the oldest associates met to choose their president, who, according to the first sketch of their plan presented to the Pope, "should dispense offices and grades at his own pleasure, should form the rules of their constitution, with the advice and aid of the members, but should alone have the power of commanding in every instance, and should be honored by all as though Christ

pounds the word "societas," "As who should say a cohort or centry called on to do battle against spiritual enemies." "After we had offered ourselves

and our life to Christ our Lord, and to his true and lawful vicar on earth." In the "Deliberatio Primorum Patrum, AA. SS. LL." p. 463.

himself were present in his person." The choice fell unanimously on Ignatius, "to whom," as Salmeron expressed it in the letter declaring his assent, "they were all indebted for their birth in Christ and for the milk of the word."⁵

At length, then, the Society of Jesus had acquired its form. This association also was a company of clerks regular, its duties were likewise a combination of the clerical and monastic, but the members were nevertheless broadly distinguished from those of other congregations.

The Theatines had freed themselves from many of the less important obligations of conventual life, but the Jesuits went much further,⁶ they dispensed entirely with the monastic habit, exempted themselves from all those devotional exercises in common, by which so much time is occupied in convents, and abstained from singing in the choir.

Exempted from these less important practices, they devoted all their energies and every hour of their lives to the essential duties of their office; not to one only, as did the Barnabites, although they attended sedulously to the sick as one measure toward acquiring a good name; nor with the restrictions that fettered the Theatines, but to all the greater duties equally, and with whatever force they could command. First to preaching; before separating in Vicenza, they had mutually agreed to preach chiefly for the common people, to think more of making an impression on their hearers, than of shining themselves by display of eloquence, and to this system they adhered. Secondly to confession: for by this they were to hold the immediate guidance and government of consciences. The spiritual exercises by which they had themselves become united with Ignatius afforded them important aid. Finally, they devoted themselves to the education of youth: they had intended to bind themselves to this last by a special clause in their vows, and although they had not done so, yet the practice of this duty was made imperative by the most stringent rules; to gain the rising generation was among the purposes most earnestly pursued. They laid aside, in short, all secondary matters, devoting themselves

⁵ *Suffragium Salmeronis.*

⁶ This they consider the difference between themselves and the Theatines. Didacus Payba Andradius: "Orthodoxarum Explicatt." lib. 1. fol. 14: "They (the Theatines) devote themselves principally to meditating on things sacred

and eternal, and to psalmody; but the Jesuits add to continual contemplation of divine mysteries, the exposition of the Gospel, instruction of the people, administration of the sacraments, and all other apostolic duties."

wholly to such labors as were essential, of immediate result, and calculated for the extension of their influence.

Thus was a system pre-eminently practical evolved from the visionary aspirations of Ignatius; and from the ascetic conversions he had made, there resulted an institution, framed with all that skilful adaptation of means to their end which the most consummate worldly prudence could suggest.

His most sanguine hopes were now more than fulfilled—he held the uncontrolled direction of a society, among whose members his own peculiar views found cordial acceptance, and wherein the religious convictions at which he had arrived by accident or the force of his genius, were made the object of profound study, and the venerated basis and guide of belief. His plan relating to Jerusalem was not, indeed, to be carried out, for nothing useful could now be obtained by it; but in other directions the company he ruled went forth on the most remote, and above all, most successful missions. The care of souls, which he had so earnestly enforced, was entered on with a zeal that he could not have hoped for, and to an extent surpassing his highest anticipations. And lastly, he was himself the object of an implicit obedience, combining that of the soldier to his captain with that of the priest to his spiritual chief.

But before we further describe the practical efficiency and widely spread influence attained by the Company of Jesus, let us investigate one of the most important causes contributing to their successful progress.

Section V.—First Sitzings of the Council of Trent

The interests by which the Emperor was moved to the demand of a council are already before us, together with those inclining the Pope to avoid and refuse it. There was, however, one point of view in which an assembly of the Church might be considered desirable even by the pontiff—that the doctrines of the Catholic Church might be inculcated with unwavering zeal, and successfully extended, it was essential to remove the doubts existing in the bosom of the Church itself, touching more than one of its tenets. The authority to do this effectually was exclusively vested in a council; an important consideration for the Pope, therefore, was the choice of a time

when it might be held in favorable circumstances and under his own influence.

The eventful moment in which the two religious parties had become more nearly approximate than at any other period, on the ground of a moderate opinion, taking a medium between both creeds, was also decisive of this question. We have remarked that the Pope believed he saw symptoms of an intention on the part of the Emperor himself to call a council. At this moment, then, assured from all sides of adherence from the Catholic princes, he lost no time in anticipating the imperial purpose. The movements we have before described were still proceeding when the pontiff resolved to interpose no further delay, but at once take steps for the œcumenic assembling of the Church.¹ He made known his intention at first to Contarini, and through him to the Emperor: the negotiations proceeded with earnest purpose; the Pope's letters of convocation were issued, and in the following year we find his legates already in Trent.²

Again, however, new obstacles presented themselves; the number of bishops who appeared was not sufficient. The times were too deeply involved in war; nor was the state of things generally altogether favorable. It was not until December, 1545, that the opening of the council actually took place: then, indeed, the old loiterer, Time, did at length bring the wished-for moment.

For when could one occur more propitious than that when the Emperor was at variance with both the chiefs of the Protestant party, and preparing to make war on them? Since he would require the aid of the Pope, he could not venture now to assert those claims which he was believed to intend bringing forward in a council. By the war he would be kept entirely occupied; the power of the Protestants made it impossible to foresee the extent of embarrassments in which he might become involved; he would thus be in no condition to press too earnestly for those reforms with which he had so long been threatening the papal throne. The Pope had, besides, another

¹ Ardinghello al Cl. Contarini, 15 Giugno, 1541, in Quirini, iii. ccxlvii.: "It being considered that no agreement has been made among Christians, that toleration is most illicit and hurtful, and war very dangerous and difficult, his holiness has determined to re-

sort to the remedy of a council; he will therefore now have the suspension removed, and will declare and assemble such council at the first moment possible."

² They arrived on November 22, 1542.

method of baffling his purposes: the Emperor demanded that the council should begin with the subject of reform, but the papal legates carried a resolution that the question of reform and the questions of the Church should be treated together;³ in effect, however, the discussion of the dogmas was that first entered on.

Again, the Pope not only succeeded in averting whatever might have been injurious to his interests, but contrived to secure all that could be turned to his advantage; the establishment of the disputed doctrines was to him of the very first importance, as we have shown: it was now to be decided whether any of those opinions, tending toward the creed of the Protestants, could hold a place within the limits of the Catholic faith.

Contarini was no more, but Pole survived: he was present; and there were in the assembly many others warmly attached to these opinions. The question now was, would they be able to make their tenets prevail?

In the first instance (for proceedings were very systematically arranged) revelation itself was discussed, with the sources whence our knowledge of it is to be derived; and even at this early stage, voices were raised in favor of opinions tending toward Protestantism: the Bishop Nachianti of Chiozza would hear of nothing but Scripture; he maintained that in the Gospel was written whatever was needful, but he had an overwhelming majority against him, and the resolution was adopted, that the unwritten traditions, received from the mouth of Christ, and transmitted to the latest ages under the guardianship of the Holy Spirit, were to be regarded with reverence equal to that paid to the Scriptures. In respect to these last, no reference was made to the original text, the Vulgate was declared an authentic translation, but a promise was given that for the future it should be printed with the most scrupulous care.⁴

The foundation of their work thus laid (and it was said with good reason that half the business was thereby accomplished), the speakers proceeded to the great and decisive article of justi-

³ An expedient suggested by Thomas Campeggi, Pallavicini, vi. vii. 5; for the rest, a bull concerning reform had been prepared in the beginning, but it was never published. *Bulla Reformationis Pauli Papæ III. concepta, non vulgata: primum edidit H. N. Clausen. Havn. 1829.*

⁴ *Conc. Tridentii, sessio IV.*: "For public readings, disputations, and proceedings, let it be held authentic." It was to be printed in an amended form, *posthac* [hereafter], not exactly as Pallavicini says, "as soon as possible."

fiction and the doctrines connected with it. To this portion of the controversy the principal interest was attached.

Among the members of this council there were many who held opinions on this point entirely similar to those of the Protestants. The archbishop of Sienna, the bishop della Cava, Giulio Contarini, bishop of Belluno, and with them five theologians, ascribed justification to the merits of Christ and to faith alone and wholly; charity and hope they declared to be the attendants, and works the proof of faith, but nothing more—the basis of justification must be faith alone.

But was it to be expected, at a moment when pope and emperor were attacking the Protestants with force of arms, that their primal doctrine—that on which the whole existence of their creed was founded—should be received as valid by a council assembled under the auspices of these two powers? It was in vain that Pole exhorted them not to reject an opinion simply because it was held by Luther; too much of bitter and personal animosity was connected with this tenet; the bishop della Cava and a Greek monk proceeded to actual violence against each other. It was seen that the council could not even debate to any purpose, on so unequivocal an expression of Protestant opinion: the discussions were confined—and even this was a great point gained—to that intermediate system propounded by Gaspar Contarini and his friends.

Seripando, the general of the Augustines, advanced this doctrine, but not without the express declaration that he was upholding no tenet of Luther, but rather those of his most renowned opponents, as Pflug and Gropper: justification, he contended, was twofold⁵—the one inherent in us, indwelling, and that through which, from children of sin, we become children of God. But this also is of free grace, and unmerited; it becomes manifest in virtues, and is active in works, but not of itself capable of conducting us to the glory of God. The other is the righteousness and merits of Christ imparted and attributed to us; this atones for all our sins—it is perfect and equal to our salvation. Thus was it that Contarini had taught: “If we make question,” he remarks, “as to which of these justifications we must rely on—that indwelling or that imparted through Christ—the devout man will reply, that we must confide in the

⁵ Parere dato a 13 di Luglio, 1544. See Pallavicini, viii, xi. 4.

latter only. Our own righteousness is incomplete and ineffective, marred by its deficiencies—that of Christ alone is true and sufficient; this only is entirely pleasing in the sight of God, and in virtue of this alone may we trust to be justified before God.”⁶

But even thus modified, leaving as they did the essentials of Protestant doctrine unharmed, so that its adherents might have sanctioned the change, these tenets encountered the most violent opposition.

Caraffa, who had already opposed the Protestant tendency when it appeared at Ratisbon, had now his place among those cardinals to whom the control of the council of Trent was intrusted. He brought forward a treatise of his own on the subject of justification, and in this he contended eagerly against all such opinions as those upheld by the moderate party.⁷ Already had the Jesuits assumed a position by his side; Salmeron and Lainez had secured the advantageous privilege of addressing the assembly; the one at the commencement, the other at the close of its sittings: each possessed learning and ability, was fired with zeal, and in the bloom of life. Enjoined by Ignatius to commit themselves to no opinion approaching to innovation on the doctrines of the Church,⁸ they combated the tenets of Seripando with their utmost force. Lainez appeared on the field of controversy with an entire volume, rather than a mere reply; he had the majority of the theologians on his side.

The distinction drawn between the two kinds of justification was left unquestioned by these disputants, but they affirmed that the imputed righteousness became involved in the inherent, or that Christ's merits were immediately ascribed and imparted to man through faith; that we must by all means place our reliance on the merits of Christ, not because these merits complete, but because they produce our own. This was precisely the point on which all turned, for as according to Contarini and

⁶ Contarini “Tractatus de Justificatione.” But the reader must not consult the Venice edition of 1589, which was that I first saw, where this passage will be sought in vain. In 1571 the Sorbonne had approved the treatise as it stood; in the Paris edition of that year it is given unmutated. In 1589, on the contrary, the inquisitor-general of Venice, Fra Marco Medici, refused to permit its appearance; and, not satisfied

by the omission of condemned passages, he so altered them as to bring them into harmony with the Catholic tenets. We are amazed on finding the collection in Quirini. These instances of unjustifiable violence must be remembered, if we wish to explain so bitter a hatred as that cherished by Paul Sarpi.

⁷ Bromato, “Vita di Paolo IV.” tom. ii. p. 131.

⁸ Orlandinus, vi. p. 127.

Seripando, the merits of works could avail nothing, so by this view of the case was their efficacy restored. The old doctrine of the schoolmen taught, that the soul, clothed with grace, merits for itself eternal life.⁹ The archbishop of Bitonto, one of the most learned and eloquent of these fathers, distinguished between a previous justification, dependent on the merits of Christ, by which the sinner is rescued from the state of reprobation; and a subsequent justification, worked out by our own righteousness, dependent on the grace imputed to, and dwelling in us: in this sense, the bishop of Fano declares faith to be but the gate of justification, where we must not stand still, but must traverse the whole course.

However closely these opinions may appear to approximate, they are in fact diametrically opposed to each other; the Lutheran doctrine does indeed assert the necessity of inward regeneration, points out the way to salvation, and declares that good works must follow; but it maintains that the divine grace proceeds from the merits of Christ. The council of Trent, on the contrary, admits the merits of Christ, it is true, but attributes justification to these merits only so far as they promote regeneration, and thereby good works, on which, as a final result, this council makes all depend. "The sinner," it declares,¹⁰ "is justified, when, through the merits of the most holy passion, and through the operation of the sacred Spirit, the love of God is implanted in his heart and abides in it; thus become the friend of God, man goes forward from virtue to virtue, and becomes renewed from day to day; whilst he walks by the commandments of God and the Church, he grows with the help of faith through good works, in the righteousness obtained through the grace of Christ, and becomes more and more justified."

And thus were the Protestant opinions altogether excluded from Catholicism, all mediation was utterly rejected. This occurred precisely at the moment when the Emperor was victorious in Germany, the Lutherans were submitting in almost every direction, and preparations were making to subdue those who still hoped to hold out. The advocates of moderate views, Cardinal Pole and the archbishop of Sienna, had already quitted the council, but as might be expected, under different pretexts;¹

⁹ Chemnitius, "Examen Concilii Tridentini," i. 355.

¹⁰ Sessio VI. c. vii. 10.

¹ It was at least a strange coincidence, if both were prevented, as is said, by the accident of sudden illness, from re-

instead of guiding and moderating the faith of others, they had cause to fear, lest their own should be assailed and condemned.

The most important difficulty was thus overcome. Since justification is progressive in the heart of man, and undergoes continual development, the sacraments are manifestly indispensable; for by these it is begun, or if begun, is continued; or when lost, is recovered. The whole seven might then all be retained without difficulty as heretofore, and their origin referred to the Author of Faith, since the institutions of Christ's Church were communicated, not by Scripture only, but also by tradition. Now these sacraments embrace the whole life of man as we know well; in every stage of its progress, they represent the true power of the hierarchy; by these does she rule every day and hour of the layman's existence, since they are not the types of grace only, they impart grace, completing thus the mystical relation in which man is believed to stand with God.²

Therefore it is that tradition was received, for the Holy Ghost is perpetually abiding in the Church; and the Vulgate, because the Romish Church has by special grace been kept wholly free from error. It is in harmony with this indwelling of the divine element, that the justifying principle should also have its abode in man; that the grace bound up in the visible sacrament should be imparted to him step by step, embracing his whole life, and holding full possession to, and of, the hour of his death. The visible Church is at the same time the true Church, which has been called the invisible. Beyond her own pale can no religious existence be acknowledged.³

Section VI.—The Inquisition

Time had not been lost in the meanwhile, measures having already been adopted for the suppression of the Protestant doctrines, and for the careful dissemination of those they had sought to subvert.

And here we must once more look back to the time of the Ratisbon conference. When it became obvious that no con-

turning to Trent. "Polo ai Cli. Monte e Cervini, 15 Sept., 1546," "Epp." tom. iv. p. 189. The opinions maintained by Pole were greatly injurious to that prelate—"Mendoza al Emperador Carlos, 13 July, 1547." "The cardinal of England has done himself

much harm by what he has said of justification."

² Sessio VII., Proœmium.

³ Sarpi gives the discussions on this point: "Historia del Concilio Tridentino," p. 241. (See the edition of 1620.) Pallavicini's account is very insufficient.

clusion could be arrived at with the professors of the new tenets; and that even in Italy disputes had arisen concerning the sacraments, while doubts as regarded purgatory and other points of great moment in the Roman ritual were awakening among the people, the Pope one day inquired of Cardinal Caraffa, "what remedy could be devised for these evils?" The Cardinal replied, that a thoroughly searching inquisition was the only one sure to be efficient, and his opinion was supported by that of John Alvarez de Toledo, cardinal of Burgos.

The old Dominican Inquisition had long fallen to decay, the choice of inquisitors was committed to the monastic orders, and it sometimes happened that these men partook of the very opinions that they were appointed to suppress. The primitive form had been so far departed from in Spain, that a supreme tribunal of the Inquisition had been established for that country. Caraffa and Burgos were both old Dominicans, zealots for the purity of Catholicism, holding stern and gloomy views of moral rectitude, in their own lives rigidly austere, and immovable in their opinions; these men advised the Pope to establish a supreme tribunal of inquisition in Rome, universal in its jurisdiction, and on which all others should depend. "As St. Peter," exclaimed Caraffa, "subdued the first heresiarchs in no other place than Rome, so must the successors of Peter destroy all the heresies of the whole world in Rome."¹ The Jesuits account it among the glories of their order, that their founder, Loyola, supported this proposition by a special memorial. The bull was published on the twenty-first of July, 1542.

By this edict six cardinals were appointed commissioners of the Apostolic See, and inquisitors general and universal in matters of faith on both sides the Alps, Caraffa and Toledo being the first among them. These cardinals were invested with the right of delegating similar power to ecclesiastics, in all such places as should seem good to them, as also of determining all appeals against the acts of these delegates, even without the intervention of the ordinary ecclesiastical courts. All were subjected to their authority without distinction of rank or person—no station or dignity was to be exempt. The suspected were at once to be thrown into prison, the guilty to be punished by loss of life and confiscation of property. One restriction only

¹ Bromato, "Vita di Paolo IV.," lib. vii. § 3.

was imposed on the power of these men; they were at liberty to inflict punishment, but the right of pardon was reserved by the Pope to himself; they might condemn heretics without restraint, but to absolve those once condemned was in the power of the Pope only. Thus were they to proceed, enforcing and executing whatever might most effectually "suppress and uproot the errors that have found place in the Christian community, and permitting no vestige of them to remain."²

Caraffa lost not a moment in carrying this edict into execution; he would have thought it waste of time to wait for the usual issue of means from the apostolic treasury, and though by no means rich, he hired a house for immediate proceedings at his own expense; this he fitted up with rooms for the officers, and prisons for the accused, supplying the prisons with strong bolts and locks, with dungeons, chains, blocks, and every other fearful appurtenance of his office. He appointed commissioners general for the different countries. Teofilo di Tropea, his own chaplain, was the first of those named for Rome, so far as I have been able to discover, and of this man's severity, many cardinals, among whom was Pole, had afterward grievous experience.

The manuscript life of Caraffa gives the following rules³ as drawn up by Caraffa himself; and as being "the best he could devise for promoting the end in view:—

"First. When the faith is in question, there must be no delay; but at the slightest suspicion, rigorous measures must be resorted to with all speed.

"Secondly. No consideration to be shown to any prince or prelate, however high his station.

"Thirdly. Extreme severity is rather to be exercised against those who attempt to shield themselves under the protection of any potentate: only he who makes plenary confession shall be treated with gentleness and fatherly compassion.

"Fourthly. No man must debase himself by showing toleration toward heretics of any kind, above all toward Calvinists."

It will be remarked that all is severity, inflexible and remorse-

² "Licet ab initio. Deputatio nonnullorum S. R. E. Cardinalium Generalium Inquisitorum hæreticæ pravitatis, 21 Julii, 1542." Cocquelines, iv. 211.

³ Caracciolo, "Vita di Paolo IV.," MS., c. 8: "He held as a positive axiom

this rule, that in matters of faith one must in no way pause at all, but in the first suspicion or intimation of this plague of heresy, proceed by all force and violence to its utter extirpation."

less; till confession has been wrung out no mercy may be hoped for. A fearful state of things; and then more especially so when opinions were not well fixed or fully developed, and many were seeking to conciliate the more profound doctrines of Christianity with the institutions of the existing Church. The weaker resigned themselves and submitted; those of firmer character, on the contrary, now first decidedly attached themselves to the proscribed opinions, and sought to withdraw from the violence threatening them.

One of the first among these was Bernardino Ochino. It had for some time been remarked that his conventual duties were performed with less zeal than he had formerly displayed. In the year 1542, his hearers became dissatisfied with the mode of preaching he had adopted. He distinctly asserted the doctrine of justification by faith alone. Following St. Augustine, he says, "He who hath made thee without help of thine, shall he not also save thee without asking thine aid?" On the doctrine of purgatory also, his comments were not entirely orthodox. Already had the nuncio of Venice interdicted his preaching for some days; this caused his citation to Rome, and he had proceeded to Bologna, and even reached Florence on his way thither, when, fearing most probably the Inquisition just then established, he determined to escape. Not inaptly does the historian of his order⁴ describe his melancholy pause on reaching the summit of Mount Bernard; when, looking once more back on his beautiful Italy, he recalls the honors he had received there; the countless multitudes by whom he had been eagerly received, and respectfully listened to, and who afterward conducted him with reverential admiration to his abode: certainly no man loses so much as an orator in losing his country: yet was he leaving it, and that when far advanced in years. Up to this moment he had retained the seal of his order; this he now resigned to his companion, and then turned his steps toward Geneva. His opinions, however, were not yet well settled, and he afterward fell into very extraordinary errors.

Peter Martyr Vermigli left Italy about the same time. "I tore myself," he exclaims, "from all those false pretensions, and saved my life from the danger impending." He was subsequently followed by many of the scholars whom he had taught in Lucca.⁵

⁴ Boverio, "Annali," i. p. 438.

⁵ From a letter of Peter Martyr to the

More nearly did Celio Secundo Curione permit the danger to approach him. He waited until the bargello appeared to arrest him, then, being a large and powerful man, he cut his way through the sbirri with the knife he wore, threw himself on his horse, and rode off. He also reached Switzerland in safety.

Disturbances had before taken place in Modena; they now reappeared, many being denounced to the Inquisition. Filippo Valentini withdrew to Trent, and Castelvetro thought it advisable, at least for a time, to secure himself by a retreat into Germany.

For persecution and dismay were now proceeding throughout all Italy; the rancor of contending factions came in aid of the inquisitors. How often did he who had long vainly waited for an opportunity of destroying his enemy, now compass his designs by an accusation of heresy! Now had the old bigoted monks again become possessed of weapons, wherewith to combat that band of cultivated men whose literary labors had led them toward religious speculations, and whose intelligent reasonings had made them an object of hatred to the monks, who were in their turn despised and disliked by the literati. "Scarcely is it possible," exclaims Antonio dei Pagliarici, "to be a Christian, and die quietly in one's bed."⁶ The academy of Modena was not the only one whose members separated. The Neapolitan also, founded by the Seggi, and originally intended for the study of literature only, but which had proceeded to theological disputations, in accordance with the spirit of the age, broke up by command of the viceroy.⁷ The whole body of men of letters was subjected to the most rigorous supervision. In the year 1543, Caraffa decreed that no book, whether new or old, and whatever its contents, should for the future be printed without permission from the inquisitors. Booksellers were enjoined to send in a catalogue of their stock, and to sell nothing without their assent. The officers of customs also received orders to deliver no package, whether of printed books or MS.

community he had left, wherein he expresses regret for having occasionally veiled the truth, in Schlosser, "Lives of Beza and Peter Martyr," p. 400. Gerdies and McCrie have collected many detached notices in the works already quoted.

⁶ "Aonii Palearii Opera," ed. Wetsten. 1696, p. 91. "Il Cl. di Ravenna al

Cl. Contarini," "Epp. Poli," iii. 208, already alludes to this: "This city (Ravenna) being filled with factions, no man being free from the stain, they take all occasions that offer of loading each other with accusations."

⁷ Giannone, "Storia di Napoli," xxxii. c. v.

to its address, without first laying them before the Inquisition.⁸ This gradually gave rise to an Index of prohibited books; the first examples were set in Louvain and Paris. In Italy, Giovanni della Casa, who was on terms of the closest intimacy with the house of Caraffa, caused the first catalogue to be printed at Venice; this included about seventy works. Lists more carefully arranged and longer, appeared at Florence in 1552, in Milan, in 1554; and the first published in the form afterward used, was put forth at Rome in 1559. Writings by cardinals were included in this last, together with the poems of Della Casa himself.

Nor were printers and booksellers the only persons subjected to these stringent regulations; even on private persons it was enforced as a duty of conscience to denounce all forbidden books, and contribute their utmost toward the destruction of all that should come to their knowledge. These laws were carried into execution with incredible success. Though many thousands of the work "On the Benefits Bestowed by Christ" were disseminated, not one was suffered to escape; the book entirely disappeared, and is no longer to be found. Whole piles of confiscated copies were burnt in Rome.

The secular arm was called in aid of the clergy for all these rules and restrictions.⁹ The purposes of the Papal See were in this instance largely assisted by the extent of its own dominions, since they could here set the example they desired to see followed, and offer a model for the imitation of other lands. The Governments of Milan and Naples could present but slight opposition, because they had themselves intended to establish the Spanish Inquisition in their own territories, with this difference only; that in Naples the confiscation of property was not permitted. In Tuscany the Inquisition was rendered accessible to the influence of the civil power by the agency of the legate whom the duke, Cosmo de' Medici, found means to get appointed to his court. Notwithstanding this, however, the fraternities founded by it gave great offence. In Sienna and Pisa,

⁸ Bromato, vii. 9.

⁹ Many laymen offered their assistance. Says the Compendium of the Inquisitors, "this evil was opportunely remedied by the holy office in Rome, who placed able and zealous inquisitors in every city, employing also zealous and learned laymen in aid of the

faith, as, for example, Godescalco in Como, Count Albano in Bergamo, and Mutio in Milan. These secular persons were employed, because many bishops, vicars, monks, and priests, nay, members of the Inquisition itself, were also heretics."

the most oppressive severities were put in force against the universities. The Inquisitor for the Venetian States was in some measure subjected to the control of the civil power. In the capital, three Venetian nobles were appointed to sit in his tribunals from April, 1547; while, throughout the provinces, the rector of each town took part in the proceedings, seeking counsel occasionally from learned doctors, or, if persons of great eminence were accused, applying for his guidance to the Council of Ten. With all this, however, the ordinances of Rome were for the most part, and on all essential matters, fully carried into effect.

And in this manner were all the agitations of dissentient opinion subdued by main force, and annihilated throughout Italy. Almost the whole order of the Franciscans were compelled to recantation, and the disciples of Valdez had for the most part to retract their opinions. In Venice a certain degree of freedom was allowed to the foreigners, principally Germans, who resided there for purposes of trade or study; but the natives, on the contrary, were compelled to abjuration, and their meetings were broken up. Many took to flight, and these fugitives were to be found in every town of Germany and Switzerland. Those who would not abjure their faith and could not escape, were subjected to the penalty. In Venice, they were taken beyond the lagoons by two boats: arrived in the open sea, a plank was laid between these, on which was placed the condemned; at the same moment the rowers pulled in opposite directions; the plank fell: once more did the unhappy victim invoke the name of Christ, and then the waves closed over him, he sank to rise no more. In Rome, the auto-da-fe was held formally at certain intervals before the Church of Santa Maria alla Minerva. Many sought escape by flying from place to place with their wives and children; we trace their wanderings for a time, then they disappear; they had most probably fallen into the toils of their merciless hunters. Others remained quiet. The Duchess of Ferrara, who, but for the Salic law, would have sat on the French throne, was not protected by her birth and high rank. Her husband was himself her accuser. "She sees no one," says Marot, "the mountains rise between herself and her friends; she mingles her wine with her tears."

Section VII.—Further Progress of the Jesuit Institution

Such was the position of things in the Catholic hierarchy. All opponents set aside by force, the tenets of the Church firmly reinstated in the mind of the age, and the ecclesiastical power enforcing their observance with weapons against which no resistance could avail. Then it was that, in closest alliance with this all-mastering power, the Order of the Jesuits arose.

Not in Rome only, but throughout all Italy, the most extraordinary success attended its efforts; designed, in the first instance for the common people, it was not slow to gain acceptance from the higher classes also.

It was highly favored in Parma by the Farnese;¹ princesses submitted themselves to the spiritual exercises it enjoined. In Venice, the Gospel of St. John was expounded by Lainez, expressly for the nobles; and in 1542, he succeeded, with the assistance of one of the Lippomano family, in laying the foundation of the Jesuits' college in that city. So extraordinary a degree of influence was gained by Francesco Strada over the citizens of Montepulciano, that many of them were induced to accompany him through the streets, begging; Strada knocking at the different doors, and his companions receiving the donations. They made themselves extremely popular in Faenza, although this city had previously been much under the influence of Bernardino Ochino. They formed schools there, succeeded in allaying enmities of a hundred years' standing, and in forming societies for the relief of the poor. I name these instances as examples only; suffice it to say, that they appeared everywhere, gained numerous adherents, and firmly established their ascendancy.

But as Ignatius Loyola was altogether a Spaniard, and entirely possessed by the ideas proper to his nation, as also he had thence received his most zealous disciples, so had it followed, that his society, wholly Spanish in spirit, made greater progress in Spain than even in Italy. A very important conquest was gained at Barcelona, in the person of Francesco

¹ Orlandinus expresses himself in singular terms. Says he: "Both the city and certain private persons, who were said to be in some degree related to the pontiff, presented a letter of supplication to the end they might retain

Faber." As if all the world did not know that Paul III had a son. Moreover, the Inquisition was subsequently established in Parma, as a consequence of the opposition manifested toward the priests who favored Jesuitism.

Borgia, Duke of Candia. Such multitudes flocked to hear Araoz, in Valencia, that no church could contain them, and a pulpit was prepared for him in the open air. Equally successful was Francesco Villanova, in Alcala, where he gained numerous adherents of high consideration, notwithstanding his mean birth, weakness of health, and total want of all learning. From this city, and that of Salamanca, where, in 1548, the Jesuits commenced their establishment, in a small, wretched house, they afterward extended themselves over all Spain.² Nor were they less cordially received in Portugal. Of the two first who, at his own request, were sent to him, the King retained one, Simon Roderic, near his person; the other he despatched to the East Indies, and this was that Xavier who there gained for himself the name of an apostle and the glory of a saint. At both the peninsular courts, the Jesuits obtained extraordinary popularity; that of Portugal they reformed altogether, and in the Spanish Court they were almost instantly selected as confessors by the most distinguished nobles, as the president of the council of Castile, and the cardinal of Toledo.

So early as the year 1540, certain young men had been sent by Loyola to study in Paris; from that city the society extended itself over the Netherlands. In Louvain the most decisive success attended the efforts of Faber. Eighteen young men, already masters of arts or bachelors in that university, attached themselves to his steps, offering to abandon home and country, for the purpose of following him to Portugal. Already were the Jesuits seen in Germany; among the first who joined them was Peter Canisius, afterward so effectual a promoter of their interests, and who entered their order on his twenty-third birthday.

This rapid success was, of necessity, most powerfully influential in the development of the institution; the form assumed by it was as follows:—

Into the circle of his first companions, the class of the professed, Ignatius received but few; he found that men at once highly educated, good, and pious, were very rare; even in the first sketch of his purposes laid before the Pope, he declares the intention of training young men according to his own views, and in colleges, which he hopes to found in different universities.

² Ribadeneira, "Vita Ignati," c. xv. n. 244; c. xxxviii. n. 280.

Of these, a number surpassing his expectations presented themselves, as we have said; they constituted the class of scholastics, as distinguished from that of the members "professed."³

But in this arrangement a certain inconvenience was discovered. The professed, by their fourth and special vow, had bound themselves to perpetual travels in the service of the Pope; but it would be utterly inconsistent to assign to these men the government of the many colleges now required, since such institutions would demand their continual residence. Ignatius thus found it necessary to constitute a third class, standing between the two just described. These were called spiritual coadjutors; they were priests, possessing the classic learning and general science required for the instruction of youth, and devoting themselves expressly to that employment. No portion of the Jesuit institution was more important than this, and, so far as my researches have enabled me to discover, its character was peculiar to that body, which is indebted to it for a large part of its unexampled influence and success. These coadjutors were allowed to settle themselves in such places as they chose to select; they assumed the control of education, and silently established a wide-spreading ascendancy for the order. They also took three vows only, and these, be it remarked, were simple, and not solemn; that is to say, the society could absolve them from these vows, in certain cases, carefully defined, while any attempt on their part to leave the order, was followed by immediate excommunication.

But one thing more was now requisite. The studies and occupations to which these classes were destined must have suffered undue interruption, had they been also subjected to the care of providing for their own subsistence. This, then, they were spared. The professed lived on alms in their houses, and the colleges were permitted to possess revenues in common. For the administration of this income, so far as it did not devolve on the professed, who were excluded from all share in the enjoyment of it, Ignatius appointed secular coadjutors, to whom the management of other affairs, merely external, was also intrusted. These secular coadjutors were equally bound

³ Pauli III, "Facultas coadjutores admittendi, d. 5 Junii, 1546": "So that they shall be held to keep their vows, for whatever time thou my son and

those who shall preside for the time being over the society, shall think fit to employ their services, spiritual or temporal, and not longer."

by the three simple vows, but had to content themselves with the persuasion, that they were serving God, by aiding a society devoted to the salvation of souls; they were not suffered to seek for any other reward.

These arrangements were perfectly well calculated in themselves, and, at the same time, laid the foundation of a hierarchy, eminently proper, by its several gradations, to subjugate the minds of those on whom it acted.⁴

And now, if we examine the laws of which the code of the Jesuits came gradually to be formed, we shall perceive that an entire separation of its members from all the usual interests and relations of life was one of their principal objects. Love of kindred they denounced, as a carnal inclination.⁵ The man who resigned his property to enter the order, was in no case to bestow it on his relations, but must distribute all to the poor.⁶ He who had once become a Jesuit could neither receive nor write a letter that was not read by his superior. The society demands the whole being; all the faculties and inclinations of the man must be held in its fetters.

It claims to share in the most intimate of his secrets; all his faults, nay, even all his virtues, must be carefully enumerated: a confessor is appointed him by his superiors, the general reserving to himself the right of granting absolution in such cases as it may be deemed expedient that he should take cognizance of.⁷ He insisted on this regulation as a means to his obtaining a perfect knowledge of his subordinates, that so he might the better use them at his pleasure.

For in the order of Jesuits, obedience takes the place of every motive or affection that usually awakens men to activity—obedience, absolute and unconditional, without one thought or question as to its object or consequences.⁸ No man shall aspire to any rank above that he holds. The secular coadjutor may not even learn to read or write without permission, if it happen that

⁴ The basis of the society was formed of "novices, guests, and indifferents"; from these arose the different classes.

⁶ "Summarium Constitutionum," § 8, in the "Corpus Institutorum Societatis Jesu," Antwerp, 1709, tom i. In Crdinus, iii. 66, Faber is lauded for having once passed through his native town, after many years of absence, and proceeding on his journey without permitting himself even to make halt.

⁶ "Examen generale," c. iv. § 2.

⁷ Rules found separately in the "Summarium Constitutionum," §§ 32, 41; the "Examen generale," §§ 35, 36; and "Constitutionum Pauli III," c. i. n. 11. "Illi casus reservabuntur," it is remarked in the latter place, "those cases to be reserved which it shall seem needful or very expedient that the superior should know."

⁸ The letter of Ignatius "to the Brethren of the Society of Jesus in Portugal."

he do not possess these attainments. With the most unlimited abjuration of all right of judgment, in total and blind subjection to the will of his superiors, must he resign himself to be led, like a thing without life, as the staff, for example, that the superior holds in his hand, to be turned to any purpose seeming good to him. The society is to him as the representative of the divine providence.⁹

What a power was that now committed to the general—vested in him for life was the faculty of wielding this unquestioning obedience of thousands; nor is there one to whom he is responsible for the use made of it. By that plan of the order submitted to the pontiff in 1543, every member of the society, who might chance to be at the same place with the general, was to be called to the discussion of even the most trifling affairs: but by Julius III he was freed from this restriction in 1550, and is to take counsel only when he shall himself desire it. For some material change in the constitution, or for the suppression of houses and colleges alone, was a consultation imperative;¹⁰ in every other case, all power is committed to him of acting as may be most conducive to the good of the society. He has assistants in the different provinces, but these confine themselves strictly to such matters as he shall confide to them. All presidents of provinces, colleges, and houses, he names at his pleasure: he receives or dismisses, dispenses or furnishes, and may be said to exercise a sort of papal authority on a small scale.¹

In all this there was one only danger to be feared, namely, that the general, possessing so great a power, might himself depart from the principles of the society: certain restrictions were therefore imposed on his habits of life. To us it will

⁹ "Constitutiones," vi. x. "And let each one be certain that they who live under obedience should suffer themselves to be moved and governed by divine providence (through their superiors), as though they were dead bodies." Here is also the other Constitution, vi. 5, according to which it would seem that even a sin might be enjoined. "It has seemed good to us in the Lord . . . that no constitutions, declarations, or order of living can induce an obligation to mortal or venial sin, unless the superior command them, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, or in virtue of obedience." A man can scarcely trust his eyes as he reads this; and, certainly, another meaning besides

that suggested by the first perusal may be extracted. "Obligatio ad peccatum mortale vel veniale," may rather point to the binding force of the constitution, which he who violates is guilty of "mortal or venial sin"; but the words should be more precise, for no one could be blamed for seriously referring "ea" to "peccatum," and not to "constitutiones."

¹⁰ Says Julius III. ("Confirmatio Instituti"): "He shall have the right to himself to ordain those things which to him shall seem conducive to the glory of God, assisted, so far as he shall see fit, by his brethren."

¹ "Constitutiones," ix. 3.

certainly not seem so important as it may have appeared to Ignatius, that the Society or its deputies were intrusted with the arrangement of certain external observances, the hours of meals and sleep, for example, the dress, and whatever concerned the daily habits.² It is, nevertheless, still something, that the supreme power should be deprived of a freedom of action enjoyed by the most insignificant individual. The assistants who were not named by himself, maintained a constant supervision over him in these respects; and one officer, called the admonitor, was specially appointed to warn him of any lapse. In the event of any gross fault, the assistants could summon the general congregation, who had the power of pronouncing a sentence of deposition against the offending general.

This carries us a step further in our examination of the order.

We must not suffer ourselves to be dazzled by the hyperbolic descriptions left us of their power by the Jesuits themselves; rather let us consider what may have been practicable, the great extent soon obtained by the society considered. We shall then arrive at the following results: To the general remained the supreme guidance of the whole order, more particularly the control of the superiors, whose conscience he was to scrutinize and direct—whose duties he alone could assign. These superiors, on the other hand, possessed a similar power within their own jurisdiction, and frequently exercised it with a severity exceeding that of the general himself.³ The superiors and general were to a certain extent counterpoised by each other. The general was also to be informed as to the personal characteristics of every subordinate, and although it is obvious that he could interfere on important occasions only, yet the supervision remained in his hands. A select number of the professed, on the other hand, were authorized to exercise supervision over him.

Other institutions have existed, forming a world within the world, and which, releasing their members from all exterior obligations, have sought to absorb their whole being to themselves, and to inspire each individual with a new principle of life and action. This was pre-eminently the purpose of the Jesuits, and it was fully accomplished. But there was a further

² "Schedula Ignatii, AA. SS." "Commentatio prævia," n. 87z.

³ Mariana, "Discurso de las enfermedades de la Compañia de Jesus," c. xi.

peculiarity in their proceedings; while the order was itself taking captive the mind, and holding it as a mere piece of property, it nevertheless demanded the full development of all the faculties in each individual. No Jesuit was in any sense his own property; he belonged fully and unreservedly to the order: thus all personal consideration was merged in a life of mutual supervision and subordination. But a firmly compacted and perfect unity was thus formed—a body endowed with nerve and vigorous power of action. It was to secure this last effect that the monarchical power was so earnestly enforced, to this did they subject themselves unreservedly; nor did they ever abandon it, unless the possessor himself departed from its vital principles.

There was perfect consistency in the refusal of the Jesuits to permit their members the acceptance of ecclesiastical dignities; for these might have involved the fulfilment of duties, or the forming of relations, over which the society could no longer exercise control. In the earlier days of Jesuitism this rule was most strictly observed: when the bishopric of Trieste was proposed to Jay, he neither would nor dared to accept it; and on the retraction of the proposal, in consequence of a letter from Ignatius, by Ferdinand I who had offered it, the general caused solemn masses to be said in thanksgiving and *Te Deum* to be sung.⁴

A second effectual distinction is, that the order of Jesuits emancipated itself from the more ascetic and cumbrous forms of monastic devotion. The members severally were also enjoined to avoid excess in their religious exercises: they were not to weaken themselves by fasting, vigils, or castigations, or to abstract more time than was strictly needful from the service of mankind. In labor, also, moderation was commanded, "the spirited steed must have the curb rather than the spur, and no man should load himself so heavily with his weapons that he cannot wield them to advantage." On no account was any member of the society to labor until the elasticity of his mind became endangered by his toils.⁵

Thus the society, regarding its members as its own exclu-

⁴ Extract from the "*Liber memorialis* of Ludovicus Gonsalvus": "*Quod desistente rege, S. Ignatius indixerit missas et 'Te Deum laudamus,' in gra-*

tiarum actionem." — "*Commentarius prævius,*" in "*AA. SS. Julii 7,*" n. 412.

⁵ "*Constitutiones,*" v. 3, 1. "*Epistola Ignatii ad Fratres qui sunt in Hispania.*" "*Corpus Institutorum,*" ii. 540.

sive property, was desirous of seeing them attain to the highest culture of their energies, physical and mental—but ever in accordance with its first great principle of obedience.

This careful development of the individual was, in fact, indispensable to the performance of the duties assigned him—those of the pulpit, that is, of the school and the confessional: to the two latter in particular the Jesuits devoted themselves with a zeal more peculiarly their own.

The instruction of youth had been hitherto left to those men, who after long study of profane literature, had turned their attention to theological subjects, which they treated in a manner never very acceptable to the court of Rome, and eventually altogether reprobated by it. The Jesuits took upon themselves to expel these men from their office, and to occupy it in their stead. They began by the closest observance of a carefully considered system, dividing the schools into classes, and pursuing in these a method strictly uniform, from the earnest principles of learning to the highest degree of science. They paid great attention to the moral culture, and formed their pupils to good character and correct manners; they were favored by the civil power, and finally their instructions were given gratis. Whenever a prince or city had founded one of their colleges, no private person needed further to incur expense for the education of his children. They were expressly forbidden to ask or accept remuneration or reward; as were their sermons and masses, so was their instruction altogether gratuitous. There was not even the usual box for offerings in their churches. As men are constituted, this of itself must have aided to make the Jesuits popular, the rather as they taught with great ability and equal zeal. “Not only were the poor assisted by this practice,” says Orlandini, “it was a solace to the rich also.”⁶ He remarks further on the extraordinary success of their efforts, “many are now shining in the purple of the hierarchy,” he declares, “whom we had but lately on the benches of our schools, others are engaged in the government of states and cities. We have trained up bishops and their counsellors, nay, other spiritual communities have been filled from our schools.” The most re-

⁶ Orlandinus, lib. vi. 70. A comparison might be made with the conventual schools of the Protestants, in which the religious tendency was also fully

predominant. See Sturm, in Ruhkopf, “Geschichte des Schulwesens,” p. 378. The points of difference must, of course, be also considered.

markable talents among these pupils were appropriated by the order whenever that was possible, as may well be supposed, and the society had in fact formed itself into a body of instructors of all ages, that, extending over every Catholic country, acquired an amount of influence altogether incalculable. From the Jesuits education received that tone of religion by which it has since been marked, and was impressed by a strict unity of character, whether as regards method, doctrine, or discipline.

But how predominant was the ascendancy assured to them by the address with which they gained possession of the confessional, and the direction of consciences! No age of the world has been more accessible than was the period of their commencement to such influence as they exercised; but perhaps none has more needed it. Their code of laws enjoins the Jesuits "to pursue one uniform method in their manner of giving absolution, to exercise themselves in cases of conscience, to adopt a short and rapid mode of interrogating their penitents, and to have the examples of the saints, their words and other helps, ever ready for every sort of sin";⁷ rules which are obviously well calculated to meet the wants of mankind. But the extraordinary success obtained by the society, and which involved a real diffusion of their peculiar modes of thinking, was further promoted by another essential adjunct.

This was the very remarkable little manual of spiritual exercises which Ignatius, I will not say originated, but which he certainly worked out in a most peculiar manner.⁸ By this his first disciples were attracted, and it was equally efficacious with later ones; among his followers generally it ever maintained the highest authority, and served more than all else to make them his own; its utility was progressive and powerful, the more so perhaps because it was recommended for occasional study only; and as a resource in moments of inward distress and spiritual craving.

It is not a book of doctrine, but rather a guide to self-contemplation, "the longings of the soul," says Ignatius, "are not to be appeased by a cloud of acquirements; by intuitive perception of things sacred alone can it be satisfied."⁹

⁷ "Regula Sacerdotum." §§ 8, 10, 11.

⁸ For, after all that has been written on either side, it is manifest that Ignatius had a similar work, by Garcia de Cisneros, in view; the most peculiar part of it seems, nevertheless, to

have been entirely his own. "Comm. præv." n. 64.

⁹ "Non enim abundantia scientiæ, sed sensus et gustus rerum interior desiderium animæ replere solet." (See the text.)

It is the guidance of this perception that he proposes to himself; the spiritual adviser intimates the subjects to be reflected on; the neophyte has only to follow them out. His thoughts are to be fixed on them before retiring to rest, and immediately on awaking; he must abstract himself with determination from all other objects of thought, windows and doors must be closed, kneeling or prostrate on the earth, he must continue his task of self-examination.

He begins by a deep consciousness of sin, he reflects that for one single crime the angels were cast into hell, while for him, who has committed so many, the saints are ever interceding. The heavens, with their stars, animals, and all plants of the earth, minister to his good. That he may now be freed from his guilt, and may not be condemned to eternal damnation, he calls on the crucified Redeemer, he receives his replies, there is between them a dialogue as of a friend with his friend, a servant with his master.

He next seeks edification from profound reflections on the events of sacred history: "I see," he exclaims, "how the three persons of the Godhead look down upon the whole earth, which they behold filled with men condemned to hell; they resolve that the second person shall, for their redemption, assume the nature of man. I survey the whole wide circuit of the globe, and in one corner I discern the hut of the Virgin Mary, whence proceeds salvation." He proceeds from step to step through the sacred histories, he represents to himself the different events in all the fulness of their details, and according to the categories of their import; the religious fancy, freed from the trammels of the letter, is allowed the utmost scope for expansion, the disciple imagines himself to touch the garments, to kiss the footsteps of the sacred personages; in this excitement of the imagination, in the full conviction how great is the blessedness of a soul replete with divine grace and virtues, he returns to the consideration of his own condition; if his position in life be still undecided, he must choose it now, in accordance with the wants and wishes of his heart, whilst he has one only aim in view, that of becoming consecrated to the glory of God, in whose presence, and in that of all the saints, he believes himself to stand. If his choice be already made, he then reviews his manner of life, his daily walk and conversation, the ordering of his household, his need-

ful expenditure, what he has to give to the poor, on all which he reflects in the frame of mind that he will desire to have always maintained, when arrived at the hour of his death; having no other object before him than such as may tend to the glory of God and his own salvation.

Thirty days are devoted to these exercises; reflections on sacred history, on his own personal circumstances, prayers and resolutions occupy the hours, and alternate with each other. The soul is kept in ceaseless excitement and activity, occupied with itself; finally, when the individual represents to himself the provident care of God, "who in all his creatures effectually works for the good of man," he once more believes himself to be standing before the Lord and his saints, he beseeches the Almighty to permit the dedication of his service and adoration to himself. He offers up his whole being, freedom, memory, understanding, will; thus does he conclude with him the covenant of love. "Love consists in the community of all faculties and possessions." In return for this its devotion, God imparts his grace to the soul.

It will suffice for our purpose to have given a rapid glance at this extraordinary book. In its general tenor, its various propositions, and their manner of connection, there is a certain persuasiveness that does certainly excite the spirit, but restrains it at the same time within most narrow limits. Admirably calculated for its peculiar aim, that of contemplation guided by the fancy, it is all the more successful from its being the result of Loyola's own experiences. He has here recorded all the most remarkable phenomena of his religious awakening and spiritual progress, from their first commencement to the year 1548, when he received the sanction of the Pope. It has been said that the Jesuits profited by the experience of the Protestants, and in some few particulars this may have happened; but on the whole, they present a very strong contrast to each other. In this work at least, Ignatius has opposed to the discursive, logical, and very close method of the Protestants (a method by its very nature polemical), one of his own which is entirely different, being short, intuitive, calculated for awakening the imaginative faculties and prompting to instant resolve.

And in this manner did those visionary elements that had characterized his commencement, condense themselves at length

to an extraordinary force of practical influence. Never wholly freed from the military habits of his early days, Loyola formed his society into a sort of religious standing army; selected carefully man by man, enrolled under the influence of the religious fantasy, each one trained for the especial service he was intended to perform, and commanded by himself: such were the cohorts that he dedicated to the service of the Pope. He lived to see their ascendancy over the greater portion of the earth's surface.

At the period of his death, the company of Ignatius numbered thirteen provinces, exclusive of the Roman.¹ A mere glance will serve to show where the strength of the order lay; the majority of these provinces, seven, namely, belonged to the western peninsula and its colonies. In Castile there were ten colleges. Aragon and Andalusia had each five. Portugal had gone beyond even this: houses were established there both for professed members and novices. Over the colonies of Portugal the Company of Jesus exercised almost absolute mastery. Twenty-eight members of the order were occupied in Brazil, while in East India, from Goa to Japan, not less than a hundred were employed. An attempt on Ethiopia was also made from this quarter, and a Provincial was sent thither, the success of the enterprise not being doubted. All these provinces of Spanish and Portuguese languages and manners were directed by one commissary general, Francesco Borgia. The nation that had given birth to the founder, was also that where his influence was most immediately and firmly established. But the effect produced in Italy was very little inferior. There were three provinces of the Italian tongue: first, the Roman, under the immediate direction of the general; this comprised Naples; it was furnished with houses for novices and professed; two colleges within the city, the "Collegium Romanum" and "Collegium Germanicum," namely: the last erected for Germans only, by the advice of Cardinal Morone, but not with any great effect. Second, the Sicilian, containing four colleges completed and two begun. The first Jesuits had been introduced into Sicily by the viceroy della Vega;² Messina and Palermo had vied with each other in establishing colleges, and from these it was

¹ In the year 1556. Sacchinus, "Historia Societatis Jesu," p. ii., sive Lainius, from the beginning.

² Ribadencira, "Vita Ignatii," n. 293.

that the others afterward arose. The third Italian province comprehended all the north of Italy, and contained ten colleges. The order was not equally successful in other countries, where it was either opposed by Protestantism, or by a strong tendency to Protestant opinion. In France they had but one college actually in operation; and though two provinces were counted in Germany, both were as yet in their infancy. The first was to comprise Vienna, Prague, and Ingolstadt, but its condition was extremely precarious; the second was intended to include the Netherlands, but Philip II had not yet assured a legal existence to the Jesuits in that part of his dominions.

This great and rapid success was a guarantee of the power to be attained by the order. The position it had secured in those purely Catholic countries, the two peninsulas, was a circumstance of the utmost importance.

Conclusion

Thus we perceive, that while the tenets of Protestantism were enlarging their influence over the minds of men on the one hand, a new impulse had on the other been received by Catholicism, and was acting vigorously in Rome, and the court of its pontiff more especially. This last, equally with its opponent, had taken rise from the spirit of worldliness pervading the Church; or rather from the necessity of a change that this corrupt spirit had forced on the general perception.

These impulses had at first displayed a tendency toward approximation. There was a certain period during which Germany had not entirely resolved on casting off the hierarchy; there was also a moment when Italy seemed approaching toward a national modification of that hierarchy. That moment passed away.

The Protestants, guided by Scripture, retraced their steps with ever-increasing firmness, toward the primitive forms of *Christian faith and life*. The Catholics, on the contrary, held fast by the ecclesiastical institutions, as these had been consolidated in the course of a century, and determined only on renovating all, and infusing increased energy, a more rigid severity, and deeper earnestness of purpose into each. On the one hand there rose up Calvinism, its spirit far more anti-

Catholic than that of Lutheranism; on the other, whatever could but recall the idea of the Protestant doctrines was confronted by unflinching opposition, and repelled with determined hostility.

Thus rise two neighboring and kindred springs on the summit of the mountain, but each seeks its path to the valleys in an opposite direction, and their waters are separated forever.

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CHOICE EXAMPLES OF PALEOGRAPHY.

Fac-similes from Rare and Curious Manuscripts of the
Middle Ages.

TITLE-PAGE OF ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE TO TITUS.

From a Greek manuscript, written about 550.

The page reproduced here is the superscription, or title, of St. Paul's Epistle to Titus, and reads, "Epistle of Paul, Apostle, to Titus, ordained first Bishop of the Cretans, written from Nicopolis in Macedonia." The manuscript itself is perhaps as perfect an example of uncial writing as can be found, as well as one of the most ancient. It was copied, we are told, from a manuscript executed by the hand of the "holy Pamphilus" (see foot of the fac-simile), and was deposited in the library of Cæsarea in Palestine (see *ibid.*), whence it found its way through many vicissitudes to France.



ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΑΠΟΪΤΟΛΟΥ
ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΙΤΟΝ
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ΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΑΠΟ ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ
ΤΗΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑΣ, ΣΤΙΧ' 92



ΕΓΡΑΨΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΕΘΕΜΗΝ..

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΕΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΑΔΗΤΙ
ΓΡΑΦΟ ΤΗΣ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΣ
ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΥ.....

BOOK III

THE POPES ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE sixteenth century is distinguished from all others by the number of religious systems produced in its course. Even to the present day are these affecting us; the various opinions taking their birth at that period have formed the medium in which we still "live, move, and have our being."

If we seek to ascertain the precise moment when the separation between Catholics and Protestants was completed, we shall find that it was not strictly coincident with the first appearance of the reformers, for opinions did not immediately assume a fixed character, and, for a certain time, there was rational ground of hope that a compromise between the conflicting doctrines might be effected. It was not until the year 1552 that all prospect of this kind was utterly destroyed, and that the three great forms of Christianity in the West were separated forever.

Now indeed did the wide divergence of all become apparent. Lutheranism assumed a severity, an exclusiveness, an asceticism hitherto unknown to its habits. The Calvinists departed from it in the most essential doctrines, though Calvin himself had in earlier times been considered a Lutheran; while, in hostile contrast to both, Catholicism invested herself with those forms that still distinguish her practice. Each of these theological systems sought eagerly to establish itself in the position it had assumed, each labored to displace its rivals and to subjugate the world.

On the first glance it might seem that Catholicism, seeking only to renew existing institutions, would have found less difficulty than its opponents in pressing forward and securing the

ascendancy, but the advantage it possessed was in a manner rendered nugatory by many opposing influences. No less than its rivals had Catholicism to contend with the various impulses then affecting the world: eagerness for temporal advancement, profane learning, and heterodox opinions in religion. It was not unlike a principle of fermentation, of which it may still be questioned whether it can seize and assimilate the elements surrounding it, or must itself be overmastered by them.

The first important obstacle was presented by the popes themselves, their personal character and the policy they pursued.

It will have become obvious to the reader, that a temper of mind in direct contrast with their spiritual character had taken firm hold on the heads of the Church, and had elicited that opposition from which Protestantism had received so mighty an impetus.

The question now was, whether the zeal for ecclesiastical innovation just arisen in the Church would overcome and transform this temper, and to what extent.

To me it appears that the antagonism of these two principles, the conflict between the policy, whether active or passive, hitherto prevailing and now become inveterate, and the necessity acknowledged for a complete internal reform, is that which constitutes the paramount interest in the history of the popes next following.

Section I.—Paul III

It is an error prevalent in our times, that we attach undue importance to the purposes and influence of governments, princes, and other eminent persons; their memory is frequently loaded with the sins of the multitude, as frequently they have credit for performing what in fact proceeded from the general effort of the community.

The Catholic movement, considered in the preceding book, took its rise under Paul III; but we should mistake if we ascribed its origin to that pope. He perceived its importance to the Roman See, and not only permitted it to take its course, but in many ways promoted its success. Still we may declare without hesitation that his own feelings were at no time in sympathy with the earnest sincerity of its spirit.

Alexander Farnese (this was the name of Paul III) was

quite as worldly in character as any of his predecessors. Born in the year 1468, his education was completed within the fifteenth century. He studied under Pomponius Lætus at Rome, and in the gardens of Lorenzo de' Medici at Florence; thus imbued with the love of art and elegant literature proper to his period, he did not escape the contagion of its morals. His mother found it needful on a certain occasion to permit his remaining for a time in the restraint of the castle Saint Angelo. The future pontiff seized a moment when the attention of his guard was attracted by the procession of the Corpus Christi, and, lowering himself from the walls by a rope, he succeeded in making his escape. He acknowledged a son and daughter, both illegitimate; but no great offence was taken at such affairs in that day, and they were not suffered to impede his fortunes; we thus find him a cardinal while still very young. His hereditary estates were situated at Bolsena, and he there constructed a villa so inviting to the elegant tastes of Pope Leo X that he honored the cardinal by more than one visit to it. The Farnese palace also, one of the finest in Rome, was commenced during his cardinalate; but these occupations were by no means the principal interests of his life, he had much higher ambitions, and from the first had fixed his thoughts on the supreme dignity.

It is entirely characteristic of Farnese that he sought to attain this eminence by means of a complete neutrality. The French and Imperial factions then divided Italy, Rome, and the college of cardinals. He conducted himself with so deliberate a caution, with so fortunate a circumspection, that no one could say to which of these parties he most inclined. He was on the point of being elected pope, even at the death of Leo, and again at that of Adrian, and he could not live in charity with the memory of Clement VII, whom he accused of occupying the papal chair for twelve years, during which it ought to have been his own. At length, in October, 1534, the fortieth year of his cardinalate and the sixty-seventh year of his life, he attained the end so long desired, and ascended the papal throne.¹

¹ Onuphrius Panvinius: "Vita Pauli III": In the year 1538, Marc Antonio Contarini made a report to the Venetian senate on the court of the pontiff. Unfortunately, I have not found this work either in the archives of Venice or elsewhere. In a MS. concerning the

Turkish war, with the title, "Tre Libri delli Commentari della Guerra, 1537-8-9," now in my possession, I find a short extract therefrom, whence I have derived the notices given in the text. "Of the state of the court, he affirmed, that for a long time the prelates had not led

He was now to feel all the weight of those contentions so profoundly agitating the world, the strife of those two great parties between which he was himself to hold so important a place; the necessity for opposing the Protestants, at the same time that he was drawn into secret connection with them by their political position; the wish he could not but feel from the situation of his Italian principality to weaken the preponderance of Spain, and the great danger involved in every attempt to do so; the pressing need of reform, and the mortifying restrictions with which this seemed to threaten the papal power.

The mode in which his character develops itself in the turmoil of these contradictory demands is entirely worthy of notice.

The habits of Paul III were easy, magnificent and liberal; rarely has a pope been so much beloved in Rome as he was. There was an elevation of mind in his choice of the distinguished men we have before alluded to for the sacred college, and that even without their knowledge; how well does this contrast with the littleness of personal consideration by which such appointments had usually been made. Nor was he content with merely appointing them, he granted to all an unwonted degree of liberty; he endured contradiction in the consistory, and encouraged unrestricted discussion.

But thus leaving due liberty to others, and according to every man the advantages incident to his position, he would allow no one of his prerogatives to fall into disuse or be neglected. Certain remonstrances being addressed to him by the Emperor on his having advanced two of his grandsons to the cardinalate at too early an age, he replied that he would do as his predecessors had done, that examples might be cited of infants in the cradle becoming cardinals. The partiality he displayed for his family was beyond what had been customary even in the head of the Church,² and his resolution to raise his house to the

such reformed lives; that the cardinals had more liberty to give their opinions, than for many years past; the Pope was so far from complaining of this, that he did his best to promote it; from all which one might hope now to see greater reforms. He considered that among the cardinals were men of such high eminence, that by the common opinion the world had nothing to equal them."

² Soriano, 1535: "He is Roman of blood, and of very high spirit, sensi-

tive to injuries done him, and greatly disposed to exalt his own people." Varchi ("Istoric Fiorentine," p. 636) declares of the Pope's principal secretary, Messer Ambrogio, "that he could have whatever he desired, and desired to have whatever he could." Among other gifts, he once received sixty washing-basins, with their ewers. "How comes it," asked some one about the court, "that with so many washing-basins, Messer Ambrogio cannot keep clean hands?"

princely dignity, as other popes had done, was early made manifest.

Not that he sacrificed every other consideration to this purpose, as did Alexander VI; this could not be alleged against him; he labored earnestly, on the contrary, for the promotion of peace between France and Spain, and for the suppression of the Protestants; he strove anxiously to subjugate the Turks, and to advance the reformation of the Church; but also, and together with all these cares, he had it much at heart to exalt his own house.

Proposing to himself so many conflicting purposes, whether for the public service or his own private affairs, this pontiff was necessarily forced on a policy in the utmost degree circumspect, watchful, and temporizing, so much always depending on the favorable moment, the happy combination of circumstances. These he was compelled to prepare and mature by degrees most cautiously calculated, and when the decisive moment had arrived, it was to be seized with the utmost promptitude, and made to yield the largest possible amount of profit.

The various ambassadors found it difficult to treat with him. They were surprised to see, that though betraying no want of courage, he was ever reluctant to decide. His object was to entangle others, and to gain some promise that should fetter them, some assurance that could not be recalled; but never would he utter a word that could pledge himself. This disposition was obvious, even in minor affairs; he was disinclined either to refuse or to promise anything, but seemed always anxious to keep his hands free up to the last moment. How much more, then, in circumstances of difficulty! It would occasionally happen, that he would himself suggest some means of escape from an evil, some expedient against a danger; but if anyone sought to act on this, the Pope at once drew back, he desired to remain always master of his own proceedings.⁸

⁸ In the "Lettres et Mémoires d'Etat, par Guill. Ribier, Paris, 1666, are found numerous specimens of his negotiations and their character, from 1537 to 1540, and from 1547 to 1549 in the despatches of the French ambassadors. Matteo Dandolo describes them minutely in a MS. now in my possession. "Relatione di Roma, 1551, d. 20 Junii, in Senatu." "To negotiate with Pope Paul was ever thought difficult by all men, because he was very slow in

speech, not wishing to utter a word that was not most select and elegant, whether in the vulgar tongue, or in Latin or Greek; for he professed them all three, and soon discovered in me what little I knew of them, and being very old, he spoke in low tones, and was very prolix; he would not refuse what was asked from him; but neither would he that the man who negotiated with him should be sure that he had had the 'yes,' rather than the 'no'

Paul III belonged, as we have said, to the classic school of which we have spoken before, and was studious of elegance in expression, as well in Latin as Italian. His words were selected and weighed, with reference to their form, as well as import; they were then delivered in low tones, and with the most cautious deliberation.

It was not easy for a man to be sure of the terms on which he stood with Pope Paul. Many people thought it safer to infer the very opposite from what his words would imply; but this was not, perhaps, always advisable. Those who observed him most nearly, remarked, that when his hopes of any project were at the highest, he usually abstained from all mention of the subject, or of any person or thing that could lead to it.⁴ Thus much was manifest to all, that he never abandoned a purpose, when once he had fixed his mind on it; he trusted to carry all his undertakings to a prosperous issue, if not immediately, yet at some future time, by some change of measures, or under altered circumstances.

It was perfectly consistent with the habits of a mind so constituted, with forethought so closely calculating, with a disposition so warily to guard all points, and secretly to ponder on all purposes, that Paul should take the heavenly as well as the earthly influences into his reckoning. The influence of the stars on human actions was rarely questioned in those times, and this pontiff held no important sitting of his consistory, undertook no journey, without selecting that day when the aspect of the constellations was most favorable.⁵ An alliance with France was impeded by the weighty fact, that no conformity could be discovered between the nativity of her monarch and that of the Pope. Paul would seem to have felt himself to be surrounded by mutually opposing agencies, not only of this world below, but also of that above, whose part in his affairs he sought to ascertain from the configurations of the stars. His hope was to propitiate both, to mitigate their evil influences, to derive profit from their favorable conjunctures, and dexterously

from his holiness: he would always be on the vantage ground of being able to grant or to refuse, wherefore he was always most slow to resolve when he chose to deny."

⁴ Remarks of the Cardinals Carpi and Margareta, "who are the persons," says Mendoza, "most familiar with his disposition."

⁵ Mendoza: "The matter has come to this, that very few cardinals will transact business, were it but to buy a load of wood, except through some astrologer or wizard." As regards the Pope also, we find the most unquestionable particulars related.

to steer his bark to port between the rocks that menaced from every side.

Let us see by what means he sought this end; whether he found them adequate to his purposes, or not; whether he did indeed raise himself above the conflicting forces of the world, or whether he were swallowed up in the vortex.

In the early part of his pontificate he did, in effect, succeed in forming an alliance with Charles V and the Venetians, against the Turks. With great earnestness did he exhort the Venetians to this enterprise, and hopes were again felt that the boundaries of Christendom might be extended to Constantinople.

There was nevertheless, a formidable obstacle to this undertaking in the war that had again been declared between Charles V and Francis I. The Pope made every possible effort to bring about a reconciliation; the conference held between these two sovereigns at Nice was entirely of his arrangement, he himself proceeding to join it, and the Venetian ambassador, who was present, can find no words sufficiently strong for the eulogy of his zeal, and of the patience he displayed on that occasion. It was not, however, without the utmost assiduity on his part that matters were brought to bear; the last moment was approaching—for he had threatened to depart⁶—when at length the princes came to an understanding, which seemed afterward to grow into a sort of intimacy.

Thus actively employed for the public welfare, the Pope did not forget those of his own family; men observed, that if possible, he always combined the two interests, and made the one advance the other. Thus, from the Turkish war he took occasion to appropriate Camerino. It was on the point of being incorporated with Urbino; the last Verana, heiress of Camerino, having married Guidobaldo II, who had entered on the government of Urbino, in the year 1538.⁷ The Pope, however, declared that Camerino could not descend in the female line. The Venetians were in justice bound to support the duke, whose ancestors had constantly lived under their protection, and served in their armies, and they made an urgent and spirited appeal in his behalf, but were deterred from doing more by the

⁶ "Relatione del C. M. Nicolo Tiepolo del Convento di Nizza." Infor-

mat. Politiche, vi. (Library of Berlin). There exists also an old impression.

⁷ Adriani, "Istorie," 58, H.

fear of war. They reflected, that if the Pope should call the Emperor to his aid, that monarch would have so much the less power to make head against the Turks; or if France came to his assistance, the peace of Italy would be endangered, and their own position become more isolated,⁸ and less advantageous. These things all considered, they left the duke to his fate, and he was compelled to resign Camerino, which the Pope conferred on his grandson Ottavio. Already was the house of Farnese advancing in splendor and power. How useful to Paul had been the conference at Nice! even while it was yet in progress, his son, Pier Luigi, obtained Novara, with its territories, from the Emperor, who also gave his solemn promise to marry his natural daughter, Margaret, on the death of Alessandro de' Medici, to Ottavio Farnese. The Pope may be fully believed, when he affirms that he did not on that account ally himself exclusively with the imperial party. On the contrary, he desired to form an equally close connection with Francis I. Nor did the French King seem averse to this proposal, but promised him the hand of a prince of the blood—the Duke of Vêndome—for his grand-daughter Vittoria.⁹

In this relationship to the two most exalted houses of the world, Paul found extreme satisfaction; he was fully sensible to the honor he derived from it, and even alluded to it in the consistory. The position of peace-maker, too, that he now occupied between those great powers, was equally flattering to his ambition, as spiritual chief of the Church.

But the further progress of these affairs was not altogether so fortunate. No advantage whatever could be gained over the Ottomans; on the contrary, it was Venice who was compelled to accept a peace on very unfavorable terms. The promise given by Francis at Nice was afterward recalled; and though Paul did not abandon the hope of eventually effecting a family alliance with the house of Valois, the negotiations were tediously protracted. It is true, that the good understanding brought about by the Pope between the Emperor and King,

⁸ The deliberations are to be found in the before-mentioned Commentary on the Turkish War, which thus acquires a peculiar interest.

⁹ Grignan, ambassadeur du roi de France à Rome, au Connétable. Ribier, i. p. 251: "Monseigneur, his said holiness has a marvellous wish for the Vendome marriage, for he has declared

himself entirely to me, saying, that because she is his only niece, and so greatly beloved by him, he desires nothing on earth, after the good of Christendom, more than to see his said niece married in France, of which the said King had talked to him at Nice, and you, Monseigneur, afterward spoke to him of it."

seemed, for some time, to become even more perfect, insomuch, indeed, that Paul had well-nigh felt his jealousy awakened, and complained that they neglected him who had been the cause of this concord.¹⁰ But this state of things did not long endure; contests ensued, the war was recommenced, and the Pope then raised his thoughts to new designs.

In earlier times he had openly asserted among his friends, and even declared to the Emperor, that Milan belonged to the French, and ought of right to be restored to them.¹ Gradually, however, this opinion was abandoned; and we presently meet with a proposal from Cardinal Carpi (who was more in his confidence than any other member of the Sacred College) to Charles V, of which the purport was altogether of a different character, and pointed to opposite conclusions.²

“The Emperor,” he now declares, “should not think of being either count, duke, or prince, he should be emperor only. He should not possess numerous provinces, but rather great vassals. His prosperity has decreased since he took possession of Milan—not that we counsel him to restore it to Francis, whose thirst for territorial acquisitions this would only serve to stimulate, but neither is it advisable that he should retain it.”³ “If the Emperor has enemies, it is because he is suspected of a desire to appropriate foreign dominions. Let him remove this suspicion; let him place Milan in the rule of some duke of its own, and Francis will then find no more adherents. The Emperor, on the contrary, will have all Germany and Italy on his part; he may carry his banners among the most remote nations, and will associate his name [this is the expression] with immortality.”

But if Charles must neither keep the duchy nor resign it to the French, to whom then must he transfer it? Paul thought the dilemma might be well escaped by according it to his grandson and the son-in-law of the Emperor, Octavio Farnese. This

¹⁰ Grignan, March 7, 1539. Ribier, i. 406. Le Cardinal de Boulogne au Roi, April 20, 1539. Ibid. 445. The Pope said to him—“qu’il estoit fort estonné, veu la peine et travail qu’il avoit pris pour vous appointer, vous et l’empereur, que vous le laissiez ainsi arriere.”

¹ M. A. Contarini confirmed this in his report.

² Discorso del Revmo. Cle. di Carpi, del 1543 (perhaps rather a year earlier), a Carlo V. Cesare, del modo del dominare.”—Bibl. Corsini. n. 443.

³ “Se la M. V. dello stato di Milano le usasse cortesia, non tanto si spengerebbe quanto si accenderebbe la sete sua; si che è meglio di armarsi di quel ducato contra di lui.—V. M. ha da esser certa, che, non per affettione che altri abbia a questo re, ma per interesse particolare, e la Germania e l’Italia, sinche da tal sospetto non saranno liberate, sono per sostentare ad ogni lor potere la potentia di Francia.” (See the text.)

he had already hinted in earlier missions. At a new conference held with Charles at Busseto, he proposed it in form. Negotiations on the subject proceeded to some extent, and the pontiff entertained the most lively hopes. The Marchese di Vasto, governor of Milan, whom Paul had gained to his wishes, being somewhat credulous and fond of display, appeared one day with well-prepared words to conduct Margaret, as his future sovereign, to Milan. I find, however, that the negotiation was broken off in consequence of certain exorbitant demands on the part of the Emperor.⁴ It is nevertheless difficult to believe that any consideration, however tempting, could induce Charles to resign a principality so important and so well situated, to any foreign influence.

The house of Farnese was indeed becoming sufficiently formidable to the Emperor, even without this addition to their power and importance. Of the Italian provinces over which Charles governed, or wherein he held the ascendancy, there was not one in which the existing government had not been founded, or at least maintained, by force. Throughout the land, from Milan to Naples, in Florence, in Genoa, in Sienna, everywhere in short, were to be found numbers of disaffected persons, belonging to different vanquished parties; Rome and Venice were full of emigrants. The Farnese were not prevented by their close connection with the Emperor from allying themselves with these parties; subdued indeed, but still formidable from the importance of their chiefs, their wealth and numbers. At the head of the victors stood the Emperor; the vanquished sought refuge with the Pope. These last were bound together by ties innumerable, they were always closely connected with France, either openly or secretly, and were incessantly occupied with new plans and undertakings; these sometimes related to Sienna, sometimes to Genoa, at other times to Lucca. How eagerly did Paul seek to obtain footing in Florence! But in

⁴ Pallavicini directly denies these transactions. There is, indeed, room to doubt their having occurred, from what is said by Muratori (*"Annali d' Italia,"* x. 2, 51). His authority is that of historians who may have written from hearsay; but a letter from Girolamo Guicciardini to Cosmo de' Medici, Cremona, June 26, 1543, in the *Archivio Mediceo* at Florence, is decisive. Granvella has also spoken of it. "His majesty was not ill-disposed, if, on his part, the Pope fulfilled

those large offers made by the Duke of Castro at Genoa." I do not know what these offers may have been, but, in any case, they were too large for the Pope. According to Gosselini, secretary to Ferrante Gonzaga, the Emperor feared, "that once his back was turned, the Farnesi would bethink themselves of seizing it." Very circumstantial and amusing particulars on this head are to be found in a Neapolitan biography of Vasto, not yet printed, and now in the Chigi library at Rome.

the young Duke Cosmo, he met the very man best fitted to oppose him. With a proud self-reliance does Cosmo express himself on the subject.⁵ "The Pope," says he, "who has succeeded in so many undertakings, has now no wish more eager than that of doing something in Florence as well; he would fain estrange this city from the Emperor, but this is a hope that he shall carry with him into his grave."

The Emperor and Pope still stood opposed to each other in a certain point of view, as heads of rival factions; if Charles had married his daughter into the family of the Pope, this was only to keep the latter in check, and as he has said himself, to maintain the existing state of things in Italy. Paul on his side, desired to avail himself of his alliance with the Emperor, to abstract if possible some portion of the imperial power to himself; he would fain have derived advantage from the protection of the Emperor, and at the same time have exalted his house by aid of the Emperor's opponents. There was still a Guelfic and a Ghibelline party, in fact if not in name; the last as usual adhering to the Emperor, and the first to the Pope.

Notwithstanding these elements of discord, we find amicable relations existing between the two leaders in the year 1545. Margaret having the hope of soon presenting a descendant of the Cæsar to the family of Paul, the feelings of the Farnesi were again turned toward the Emperor. Cardinal Alessandro Farnese repaired to meet Charles at Worms, and this was one of the most important embassies ever despatched by Paul III: the cardinal once more succeeded in appeasing the displeasure of Charles; in regard to some of the charges brought against his brothers and himself he set up a sufficient justification; for others, he begged forgiveness, and promised that all would conduct themselves in future as became obedient servants and sons of his majesty. To this Charles replied, that on their doing so, he would treat them as his own children. All which being settled, they next proceeded to the discussion of important matters. They talked of the war with the Protestants, and decided on the immediate convocation of the council. Should the Emperor resolve to take up arms against the Protestants, the Pope would engage to support him with all the power he

⁵ A Letter of Cosmo, also of the year 1537, and found in Medicean Archives: "Al papa non è restato altra voglia in

questo mondo se non disporre di questo stato e levarlo dalla divotione dell' imperatore," etc.

could muster, bring all his treasures to aid, and even, "were it necessary, his very crown should be sold in the service."⁶

And in effect, the council was opened in that same year, a circumstance to which we first find a satisfactory explanation in the arrangements just described. In 1546, war also commenced; the Pope and the Emperor united their power to annul the league of Smalcald, which was equally hostile to the temporal claims of the one as to the spiritual authority of the other. Paul contributed on this occasion both troops and money.

It was the Emperor's purpose to carry on warlike measures at the same time that he employed peaceful negotiations; while he should punish and curb the disobedience of the Protestants by war, he desired that the council should determine ecclesiastical disputes, and should above all establish such reforms as might render submission in some degree possible on the part of the Protestants.

The success of the warlike operations exceeded all anticipation; the position of the Emperor seemed at first utterly desperate, but under the most perilous circumstances, he maintained his firmness; and the autumn of 1546 saw North Germany entirely at his mercy. Cities and princes now emulously proffered submission; the moment seemed to have come, when, the Protestant party in Germany being entirely subjugated, the whole north of Europe might again be made Catholic.

In this crisis what did the Pope?

He recalled his troops from the imperial army, and transferred the council, now on the point of completing its mission, and exercising its powers of pacification, from Trent, where, at the request of the Germans, it was established, to his own second capital, Bologna; alleging as the pretext for this step, that some contagious disease had broken out in the former city.

There is no doubt as to his motives for these proceedings. The ecclesiastical duties of the popedom were again in direct collision with its political interests. All Protestant Germany

⁶Respecting this embassy we have authentic information from Granvella himself: "Dispaccio di Monsignor di Cortona al Duca di Fiorenza Vormatia, 29 Maggio, 1545": (Granvella) "mi concludo in somma ch'el cardinale era venuto per giustificarsi d'alcune calunnie, e supplica S. M. che quando non potesse interamente discolpare l'attioni

passate di Nro. Signore sue e di sua casa, ella si degnasse rimetterle e non ne tener conto.—Expose di più, in caso che S. M. si risolvesse di sbattere per via d'arme, perche ger giustitia non si vedeva quasi modo alcuno, li Luterni, S. Beatitudine concorrerà con ogni somma di denari."

really subjugated by the Emperor, and entirely obedient to his behests, seemed by no means desirable in the eyes of the Pope; his astute calculations had taught him to look for something wholly different—that Charles might gain certain successes, whence advantage would accrue to the Catholic Church; this he had hoped and expected; but he also believed, as he admits himself,⁷ that the Emperor would fall into difficulties innumerable, and be surrounded by such perplexities as would leave him, Paul, at perfect liberty for the pursuance of his own projects. Fortune mocked at all these deeply pondered plans: he had now to fear, and France pointed out the fact to his notice, that the imperial predominance would be extended to Italy also, and make itself felt in his spiritual affairs as well as those temporal.

Nor was this all; the council also occasioned him increasing anxiety: it had long oppressed him,⁸ and he had more than once bethought him of means by which to dissolve it. The victories of Charles were constantly adding to the boldness of the imperialist bishops, who now proposed measures of unusual audacity. Under the title of “*censuræ*,” the Spanish prelates brought forward certain articles tending in their collective form to a circumscription of the papal dignity. The Reformation, by which Rome had so long been held in fear, seemed now indeed to have become inevitable.

Strangely do the words sound that relate the following facts, yet are they perfectly true. At the moment when all North Germany was trembling at the prospect of restoration to the papal authority, at that moment the Pope was, and felt himself, an ally of the Protestants! His joy at the progress made by the elector John Frederic against Duke Maurice, was manifest; he wished nothing more ardently, than that the former might be equally able to hold out against the Emperor. Francis I was at this time using his utmost efforts to combine the whole world in a league against Charles; and the Pope exhorted him earnestly “to succor those who were still holding out against the Emperor, and were not yet overborne.”⁹ Once more it seemed

⁷ “Charles Cl. de Guise, au Roy, 31 Oct., 1547” (Ribier, ii. p. 75); written after an audience of the Pope. Paul declares the motives that led him to take part in the German war: “Also, to speak frankly, it would be better to put impediments in the Emperor’s way at such points as that he shall not be able to get through with success.”

⁸ “Du Mortier, au Roy, 26 Avril, 1547:” “I assure you, Sire, that when the council was at Trent, it was a burden that oppressed him greatly.”

⁹ “*Le même, au même*,” Ribier, i. 637: “His holiness hears that the Duke of Saxony is very strong, whereat he is greatly content, as thinking that the common enemy will be thereby re-

probable to him that Charles might fall upon still greater difficulties, and have his hands occupied for a long time. "He believes this," says the ambassador of France, "because he wishes it."

But his hopes were again disappointed, the Emperor's good fortune baffled all his calculations: Charles was victorious at Mühlberg, and carried off the two Protestant leaders prisoners. He could now direct his attention more closely than ever to his Italian designs.

It will be readily understood that the Emperor was deeply irritated by the proceedings of Paul—he saw through their motives most clearly. "The purpose of his holiness," writes he to his ambassador, "has from the first been to entangle us in this enterprise, and then to leave us in our embarrassment."¹⁰ That the Pope should recall his troops was a matter of no great moment; irregularly paid, and therefore undisciplined and disorderly, they were good for very little—but the transfer of the council was indeed of importance.

And here we cannot but remark how wonderfully the Protestants were aided on this occasion, as before, by those dissensions between the papacy and the empire, arising from the political position of the former. By this council the means were presented of compelling the Protestants to submission, but the council itself had divided (the imperialist prelates remaining at Trent): thus, no decrees of universally binding validity being any longer possible, it was manifest that no recusant could be forced to give in his adhesion. The Emperor had to endure that the most essential part of his purpose should be rendered nugatory by the defection of his ally. Not only did he continue to insist on the recall of the council to Trent, but even gave it to be understood that he would repair to Rome, and hold the council there himself.

In this emergency Paul at once resolved on his path. "The Emperor is mighty," he remarked; "but we also can effect

strained from his enterprises, and he knows well that it would be useful to aid those in secret who resist him, saying that you could not spend money to better purpose."

¹⁰"Copia de la Carta que S. M. scribio a Don Diego de Mendoza, a 11 de Hebrero, 1547, ads: "Quanto mas yva el dicho (prospero suceso) adelante, mas nos confirmavamos en creher que

fuese verdad lo que antes se havia savido de la intention y inclinacion de S. S. y lo que se dezia (es) que su fin havia sido por embarçar nos en lo que estavamos y dexarnos en ello con sus fines, diseños y platicas, pero que, aunque pesasse a S. S. y a otros, esperavamos con la ayuda de N. S., aunque sin la de S. S., guiar esta impresa a buen camino." (See the text.)

something, and still have some friends." The long talked of connection with France was now formed, by the affiancing of Orazio Farnese to a natural daughter of Henry II. Great efforts were made to include the Venetians in a general league: the exiles of the different countries at once aroused themselves to action. Disturbances broke out in Naples precisely at this critical moment, and a Neapolitan delegate presented himself to implore the pontiff's protection for his vassals in that country, while more than one of the cardinals recommended his acceding to their prayer.

And now again the Italian factions stood face to face, and with hostility all the more declared and decided from the fact that their respective leaders were openly at variance. On the one side were the governors of Milan and Naples, the Medici in Florence, the house of Doria in Genoa: the centre of this party may be found in Don Diego Mendoza, imperial ambassador to the Roman Court. On the other side were the Pope and the Farnesi, the exiles and the malcontents, with a newly organized Orsini party, the adherents of France. That portion of the council remaining in Trent took part with the imperialists, while the members who had withdrawn to Bologna held fast to the pontiff.

The hatred borne by each of these parties toward the other was suddenly manifested by a deed of violence.

The close intimacy at one time subsisting between the Pope and Emperor had emboldened Paul to invest his son Pier Luigi with the cities of Parma and Placentia, to be held as a dukedom in fief of the holy see;—not that he could proceed to this step with the reckless boldness of an Alexander or a Leo; he offered compensation to the Church by the cession of Camerino and Nepi, seeking to prove that the "Camera Apostolica" would suffer no loss by that transaction. To this effect he calculated the cost of defending those frontier towns, the sums to be disbursed by Pier Luigi in this behalf, and the revenue to be derived by the Church from her newly annexed territory. It was, however, only while in private conference with each cardinal that he could bring any one of them to his opinion—even then he totally failed with many: some remonstrated openly, others purposely abstained from attending the consistory called to arrange the affair, and Caraffa, in par-

ticular, was seen on that day to make a solemn visit to the Seven Churches.¹ The Emperor, also, was dissatisfied with this project of exchange; or, if the dukedom was to be transferred, he would have preferred to see it in the hands of his son-in-law Ottavio,² to whom Camerino also belonged. He permitted the transfer to proceed, because the friendship of the Pope was at that moment needful to him; but he never concurred in it heartily; he knew Pier Luigi too well; all the cords of those secret associations which constituted the opposing power so formidable to the Emperor's ascendancy in Italy, were held by this son of the Pope. There was no doubt of his being aware of Fiesco's conspiracy; it was he who was believed to have saved Pietro Strozzi, the powerful chief of the Florentine exiles, by facilitating his escape across the Po, after an unsuccessful attack on Milan, and when the life of Strozzi hung on the turn of the moment; he was even suspected of a long-meditated intention of seizing the Milanese for himself.³

One day the Pope, who still believed that he was in the guardianship of favoring stars, and hoped to conjure whatever storms were threatening, repaired to the audience with feelings more than commonly cheerful, he enumerated the prosperous events of his life, and compared himself with the Emperor Tiberius. On that same day, his son, the possessor of his acquisitions, and the heir of his good-fortune, fell a victim to the violence of their common enemies. Pier Luigi was attacked by conspirators at Placentia, and assassinated.⁴

The duke, who ruled his people with all the depotism proper to those times, and who sought more particularly to keep the nobles in subjection, had rendered himself obnoxious to the Ghibellines of Placentia by various acts of violence; it was by them that his assassination was perpetrated; but there can be no doubt that the general belief of the day was well founded, and this accused Ferrante Gonzaga, governor of Milan, of participation in the deed.⁵ Gonzaga's biographer, at that time his

¹ Bromato, "Vita di Paolo IV.," ii. 222.

² The negotiations for this affair are to be found in the Letter of Mendoza, dated November 29, 1547. The Pope says, "he had granted the fief to Pier Luigi, because the cardinals preferred this; and because he had himself but short time to live, as was clear from his failing health."

³ Gossellini, "Vita di Ferr. Gonzaga," p. 20. Segni, "Storie Fiorentine," p. 292.

⁴ "Mendoza, al Emperador," September 18, 1547: [He wasted the greater part of the time (on that day), in relating his felicities, and in comparing himself to the Emperor Tiberius.]

⁵ "We have ascertained Ferrante to be the author," declares the Pope in the consistory. "Extrait du Consistoire

confidential secretary, and who seeks to exculpate him from the charge, declares that the intention was not to kill Pietro Luigi, but to take him prisoner.⁶ I find in certain manuscripts intimations yet more significant of the Emperor himself having been in the secret of this design. I am reluctant to believe this without further evidence; but thus much is certain, the imperial troops at once took possession of Placentia, asserting the rights of the empire to that city as its fief. This was a kind of retaliation on the Pope for his defection at the war of Smalcald.

There is no parallel for the state of affairs that now ensued.

An expression was reported as proceeding from the cardinal Alessandro Farnese, to the effect that he could free himself from his difficulties only by the death of certain imperial ministers, that he could not bring this about by force, and must have recourse to stratagem. Thus warned, the persons threatened were seeking to secure themselves from poison, when two or three Corsican bravoës were arrested in Milan; and these men, whether with truth or falsely I do not determine, confessed that they were hired by the connections of Paul to assassinate Ferrante Gonzaga. Be this as it may, Gonzaga was exasperated anew; he declared that he must secure his own life as best he might, that nothing remained to him but to rid himself of some two or three of his enemies, either by his own hand or that of another.⁷ Mendoza believes that there was a purpose entertained in Rome, of destroying all the Spaniards found there; the populace were to be secretly incited to this, and when the deed was done it was to be excused on the plea that their fury could not be controlled.

No means of reconciliation seemed to present themselves; there had been a wish to employ the daughter of the Emperor as mediatrix, but Margaret had never cordially attached herself to the Farnese family; her husband, who was much younger than herself, she utterly contemned, and exposed his evil qualities to the ambassadors without reserve; she declared herself ready, "rather to cut off her child's head, than to ask anything of her father that might be displeasing to him."

tenu par N. S. Père." in a despatch from "Morvillier, Venise, 7 Sept. 1547;" Ribier, ii. p. 61.

⁶Gosselini, p. 45: "Neither the Emperor nor Don Fernando, men of noble natures, ever would consent to the death of the Duke Pier Luigi Farnese, but did all in their power to save

him, giving special orders to the conspirators, that they should keep him alive, but a prisoner."

⁷"Mendoza al Emperador:" "Don Hernando procurara de asegurar su vida come mejor pudiere, hechando a parte dos o tres estos o por su mano o por mano de otros." (See the text.)

The correspondence of Mendoza with his court lies before me; it would be difficult to find anything that might be fairly compared with these letters, for the deeply rooted hatred they display, felt alike on both sides, each seeking to conceal his feelings from the other, but neither succeeding; one perceives in each, a sense of superiority that has steeped itself in bitterness, a contempt that is yet on its guard, a mistrust such as men feel toward some notoriously inveterate malefactor.

If the Pope sought aid or refuge in this state of things, there was no country whence he could hope to find either, save France alone.

We find him accordingly employed through long hours with Cardinals Guise and Farnese, and the French ambassador, discussing the relations of the papal see to France. He had "read in old books," he said, "and heard from others during his cardinalate, that the holy see was always pre-eminent in might and prosperity while attached to France; but on the contrary, it ever sustained losses when this alliance had ceased; he had made experience of that truth since his own accession to the papal throne, and he could not forgive his predecessors Leo and Clement; he could not forgive himself, for the favor that had been shown to the Emperor; now, at all events, he was fully determined to unite himself forever with France. He hoped yet to live till he saw the papal court devotedly attached to the French King, whom he would seek to make the greatest prince in the world. His own house should be connected with that of France by indissoluble ties."⁸

His intention was to form a league with France, Switzerland, and Venice, at first defensive only, but of which he remarked himself that it was "the door to an offensive alliance."⁹ The French calculated that their friends, once united, would secure to them as important a territory in Italy as that possessed by the Emperor. The whole Orsini party was again ready to devote itself with life and property to the King of France. The Farnesi thought that in the Milanese they could

⁸ "Guise, au Roy, 31 Oct. 1547," Ribier, ii. 75.

⁹ "Guise, au Roy, 11 Nov. 1547," Ribier, ii. 81: "Sire, il semble au pape, à ce qu'il m'a dit, qu'il doit commencer à vous faire déclaration de son amitié par vous présenter luy et toute sa maison: et pour ce qu'ils n'auroient puis-

sance de vous faire service, ny vous aider à offenser, si vous premièrement vous ne les aidez à défendre, il luy a semblé devoir commencer par la ligne défensive, laquelle il dit estre la vraye porte de l'offensive." The whole correspondence relates to this topic.

at the least count on Cremona and Pavia; the Neapolitan exiles promised to bring 15,000 men into the field, and at once to deliver up Aversa and Naples. Into all these plans the Pope entered with great eagerness, he was the first to inform the French ambassador of a design upon Genoa. To make himself master of Naples, he would not have shrunk from a league with Algiers or the Grand Turk himself. Edward VI had just ascended the throne of England, and in that country the helm of state was directed by a government decidedly Protestant; none the less did Paul advise Henry II to make peace with England, "that he might be at liberty," says the Pope, "to accomplish other designs for the interests of Christendom."¹⁰

But violent as was the Pope's hostility to the Emperor, close as was his connection with France, and important as were the plans he proposed to adopt, yet the treaty was never completed, nor could he bring himself to resolve on taking the final step.

The Venetians were utterly astounded. "How," say they, "the Pope is assailed in his dignity, injured in his nearest kindred, the best possessions of his house are torn from his grasp! it should be his part to seize on every alliance and on all terms; yet, after so many offences and insults, we still see him irresolute and wavering."

Great personal injuries for the most part rouse men to extreme resolves; there are nevertheless certain natures, which still deliberate, however deeply offended, not because they are less prone to avenge themselves than others, but because, though the desire for vengeance is strong, the consciousness that their opponent is the more powerful is yet stronger. The prudence that weighs all consequence overpowers their resentment. Great reverses do not stimulate such men, on the contrary, they render them spiritless, feeble, and vacillating.

The Emperor was too powerful to feel any serious apprehension of the Farnesi; he went on his way without giving himself further trouble concerning them. He protested solemnly against the sittings of the council in Bologna, declaring beforehand that every act which might be passed there was null and void. In the year 1548, he published the "Interim"

¹⁰ "François de Rohan, au Roy, 24 Feb. 1548": Ribier, ii. 117: "S. S. m'a commandé de vous faire entendre et conseiller de sa part, de regarder les moyens que vous pouvez tenir, pour vous mettre en paix pour quelque

temps avec les Anglais, afin que n'estant en tant d'endroits empesché vous puissiez plus facilement exécuter vos desseins et enterprises pour le bien public de la Chrestienté." (See the text.)

in Germany. Paul found it intolerable, as was natural, that the Emperor should prescribe a rule of faith; but however earnestly he complained of this, or of church property being left in the hands of its present (Protestant) possessors, the Emperor remained utterly immovable, though Cardinal Farnese declared that in the "Interim" he could point out some seven or eight heresies.¹ In the affair of Placentia, again, Charles would abate no hair's breadth of his pretensions. The Pope demanded immediate restitution of that city; the Emperor maintained his claim to it in right of the empire. Paul appealed to the treaty of 1521, wherein Placentia was guaranteed to the papal chair. The Emperor drew attention to the word "Investiture," by which he declared that the empire had reserved its sovereign rights. Paul replied that the word was not used in its feudal import on that occasion. The Emperor did not continue the discussion of rights, but declared that his conscience would not permit him to resign the city.² Very willingly would the Pope have taken up arms at that moment. Gladly would he have united himself with France, and called his adherents into action. The intrigues of these last did indeed make themselves felt at Naples, Genoa, Sienna, Placentia, and even in Orbitello. Fain would Paul have revenged himself by some unexpected onslaught; but on the other hand, there ever rose before him the formidable power of the Emperor, whose influence he dreaded, more especially in ecclesiastical affairs. He was even beset by apprehensions lest a council should be called, not only inimical to his interests, but that might even proceed to his deposition. We are assured by Mendoza, that the attempted assassination of Ferrante Gonzaga by those Corsican bravoës before named, had alarmed him to excess.

Whatever may have been the truth as regards these things, it is certain that he remained inactive, and concealed his rage. The Farnesi were not altogether dissatisfied at seeing Charles take possession of Sienna; they hoped to have it ceded to them-

¹ "Hazer intendere a V. M. como en el Interim ay 7 o 8 heregias:" "Mendoza, 10 Juni, 1548." In the letters of the Commendator Annibal Caro, scritte al nome del Cl. Farnese, which are also composed with great reserve, will be found, i. 65, another letter respecting the Interim, to Cardinal Sfondrato, wherein it is said—"The Emperor has

caused a scandal in Christendom, and might have been better employed."

² "Lettere del Cardinal Farnese scritte al Vescovo di Fano, Nuntio all' Imperatore Carlo:" "Informazioni Politiche, xix., together with certain instructions from the Pope and Farnese, throw light on these transactions, of which I can only intimate the most striking features.

selves in compensation for their losses. The most singular proposals were made respecting this city. "If the Emperor agrees to this," said they to Mendoza, "the Pope must re-establish the council in Trent, and not only proceed in other respects according to the Emperor's desires (as for example by acknowledging his right to Burgundy), but also declare Charles his successor on the papal throne. For," say they, "the climate of Germany is cold, that of Italy is warm; and, for a man who suffers from the gout as the Emperor does, warm countries are more healthful."³ I will not maintain that these absurdities were uttered in earnest, for the old Pope was firmly persuaded that he should outlive the Emperor; but all this serves to show on how doubtful a path the policy of the Farnesi was conducting them, how widely they were departing from the established order of things.

The French meanwhile did not fail to perceive these movements, and the papal negotiations with the Emperor. A letter is extant from the constable Montmorency, wherein he speaks with the utmost indignation of their practices, using the most unqualified terms as to the dissimulations, lies, and villainous tricks practised in Rome against the King of France.⁴

At length, that he might not lose all his labor, but might gain at least one firm point in the midst of these struggles, the Pope resolved, since Placentia was refused, not to the claims of his house only, but to those of the Church as well, that the duchy should at once be restored to the latter. It was the first time that Paul had conceived any project adverse to the interests of his grandsons, but he felt no doubt of their acquiescence, having always believed himself to exercise an absolute authority over them, and frequently alluding in terms of praise and self-gratulation to their ready obedience. There was, however, a material change of circumstances on this occasion, for whereas he had hitherto been acting constantly with a view to their obvious interests, he was now proposing a measure directly at variance with them.⁵ In the first in-

³ Cardinal Gambarà made this proposal to Mendoza, at a private meeting in a church. He said, at least, that "he had written something of the kind to the Pope, who had not taken it ill."

⁴ "Le connestable, au Roy, 1 Sept. 1548" (Ribier, ii. 155): "Le pape avec ses ministres vous ont jusques-icy usé de toutes dissimulations, lesquelles ils

ont depuis quelque temps voulu couvrir de pur mensonge, pour en former une vraye meschanceté, puisqu'il faut que je l'appelle ainsi." (See the text.)

⁵ Dandalo also asserts his positive determination: "His holiness was entirely determined to restore Parma to the Church."

stance they attempted to divert him from his purpose. They caused it to be notified to his holiness, that the day fixed for holding the consistory was an unlucky one, being St. Roque's day. Next they represented that the exchange he contemplated, of Camerino for Placentia, "would not result to the advantage of the Church." These efforts failing, they retorted on him the arguments he had himself used on a former occasion; but with all this, they could not prevent the fulfilment of his purpose, and at best effected but a short delay. The Governor of Parma, Camillo Orsino, was finally commanded by Paul III to hold that city in the name of the Church, and to deliver it to no other hands. After this declaration, which left no room for doubt or hope, the Farnesi restrained themselves no longer. They would on no consideration permit themselves to be despoiled of a dukedom which placed them on a level with the independent sovereigns of Italy. In despite of the pontiff, Ottavio made an attempt to get Parma into his hands by force or stratagem. The prudence and determination of Camillo defeated his purpose, but how painful must have been the feelings of Paul when this attempt was reported to him! That it should be reserved for him in his old age to see his grandsons rebelling against him; that those toward whom he had felt so partial an affection, and on whose account he had incurred the reproaches of the world, should now become his enemies, this was bitter indeed. Even the failure of his enterprise did not deter Ottavio from his purpose. He wrote in plain terms to the Pope, that if Parma were not given into his possession, he would conclude a peace with Ferrante Gonzaga, and seek to make himself master of it by aid of the imperial troops; and in effect, his negotiations with that mortal enemy of his house, had already proceeded to some extent; a courier had been despatched with definite proposals to the Emperor.⁶ Loudly did the Pope complain that he was betrayed by his own kindred, whose conduct was such as must bring him to his grave. Above all he was most deeply wounded by a report which prevailed, to the effect that he had himself a secret understanding with Ottavio, in whose enterprise he was taking a part directly opposed to the spirit of his professions. To the Cardinal Este he declared that no event of his life had given

⁶Gossellini, "Vita di Ferr. Gonzaga," p. 65.

him so much pain as this, not even the seizure of Placentia, not even the death of his son Pier Luigi; but that he would not leave the world any doubt as to his real sentiments.⁷ His only consolation was, that at least the Cardinal Alessandro Farnese was innocent, and devoted to his interests. Gradually he awoke to the conviction that he also, the man in whom he trusted implicitly, and to whose hands was committed the whole conduct of affairs, was but too well acquainted with these transactions, and but too readily consenting to them. This discovery broke his heart. On the day of All Souls (November 2, 1549) he made it known to the Venetian ambassador in bitter grief of heart. The day following, seeking relief for his troubled thoughts, he went to his vigna on Monte Cavallo, but the repose he hoped for was not to be found. He caused the Cardinal Alessandro to be summoned to his presence; one word led to another, till the pontiff became violently enraged; he tore his nephew's cap from his hand, and dashed it to the ground.⁸ The court was already anticipating a change, and it was generally believed that the cardinal would be removed from the administration. But the event terminated differently. So violent an agitation of mind at the advanced age of eighty-three, cast the Pope himself to the earth. He fell ill immediately, and expired in a few days (on the tenth of November, 1549).

All classes of the people crowded to pay respect to his remains and to kiss the foot of their departed sovereign. He was as much beloved as his grandsons were hated; the manner of his death also, which was manifestly caused by those for whose welfare he had been so constantly solicitous, awakened universal compassion.

This pontiff was distinguished by many and varied talents; he possessed extraordinary sagacity, his position was one of supreme elevation; but how impotent, how insignificant does

⁷ "Hippolyt, Cardinal de Ferrare, au Roy, 22 Oct. 1549," Ribier, ii. p. 248: "S. S. m'a asseuré n'avoir en sa vie eu chose, dont elle ait tant receu d'ennuy, pour l'opinion qu'elle craint, qu'on veuille prendre que cecy ait esté de son consentement."

⁸ Dandolo: "Il Revmo. Farnese si risolsse di non voler che casa sua restasse priva di Roma e se ne messe alla forte.—S. S. accortasi di questa contrapoperatione del Revmo. Farnese me la

comunicò il dì de' morti, in gran parte con grandissima amaritudine, et il dì dietro la mattina per tempo se ne andò alla sua vigna Monte Cavallo per cercar transtullo, dove si incolerò per tal causa con esso Revmo. Farnese." (See the text.) "Internally he was found in the most healthy state, and as one likely to live some years; but there were three drops of coagulated blood in his heart, judged to have been caused by the movements of anger."

even the most exalted of mortals appear, when placed in contrast with the grand and ceaseless course of events. In all that he proposes or can effect he is limited and held back by the span of time, which bounds his view, and which yet, with its transitory interests, is to him as the weight of eternity; he is besides fettered by the personal considerations incident to his position; these occupy his every hour occasionally perhaps, to his comfort and enjoyment, but more frequently to his sorrow and regret; thus is he but too often overborne by his cares. He departs, but the destinies of humanity make no pause, they move on to their completion.

Section II.—Julius III—Marcellus II

A group of cardinals had assembled around the altar of the chapel during the conclave; they were talking of the difficulties that presented themselves in the choice of a pope. "Take me," said one of the number, Cardinal Monte, "and the next day I will choose you for my favorites and intimates from the whole college of cardinals." "What say you? Shall we really elect him?" inquired another, Sfondrato, as they were about to separate.¹ Monte was considered irascible and impetuous, in many other respects too he was an unlikely choice. "Few bets would be taken on his chance," says a writer of the day. It nevertheless did so happen that he was elected (on the seventh of February, 1550). He had formerly been chamberlain to Julius II, and in memory of that sovereign he took the name of Julius III.

Duke Cosmo had largely contributed to this election; and when it became known at the imperial court, every face was lighted up with joy. For to the high pre-eminence of power and fortune, to which the Emperor had attained, was now to be added the ascent of the papal throne by a man whom he might firmly calculate on finding devoted to his interests. It now seemed probable that public affairs would take the course he should best like to give them.

The Emperor still adhered firmly to his wish for the re-

¹ Dandolo, "Relatione," 1551: "Questo Revmo. di Monte se ben subito in consideratione di ogn' uno, ma all' incontro ogn' uno parlava tante della sua

colera e subitezza che ne passò mai che di pochissima scommessa." (See the text.)

establishment of the council at Trent, still hoping to compel the attendance of the Protestants and their submission to its authority. The new Pope assented cordially to that proposal. He set forth the difficulties that were in fact inseparable from the whole affair, but was extremely solicitous to prevent his caution from being considered a mere subterfuge; he made repeated declarations that this was not the case, and affirmed that having acted through his whole life without dissimulation, he would continue to do so. He decreed the reassemblage of the council at Trent, and fixed the period in the spring of 1551, intimating that he did so "without compact or condition."²

The assent of the Pope was then fully secured, but there was still much to be achieved.

At the instance of Julius, a decree of the Sacred College had reinstated Ottavio Farnese in the possession of Parma; the Emperor was not averse to this, negotiations had been for some time in progress, and there was good hope of a fair understanding between them. But Charles could not resolve on resigning Placentia also, and even retained such places as Gonzaga had seized in the territory of Parma. Thus Ottavio continued to maintain himself in the attitude of war.³ So many injuries had been committed, so many offences offered by each to the other, that return to mutual confidence was impossible. The death of Paul had doubtless deprived his grandsons of an important support, but it had also given them freedom. No longer compelled to act in accordance with the general interest, or with that of the Church, their measures might now be calculated exclusively with regard to their own advantage. We still find Ottavio possessed by feelings of bitter hatred. He insists that his enemies are seeking to force Parma from "his grasp, and even to rid their hands of his own life," but he declares "that they shall succeed neither in the one nor the other."⁴

It was in this conviction and in such temper that he turned himself to Henry II, who accepted his proposals gladly.

² "Lettere del Nunzio Pighino, 12 e 15 Aug. 1550," *Inform. Polit.* xix.

³ Gossellini, "Vita di Ferr. Gonzaga," and the justification of Gonzaga, from the accusation of having caused the war (in the third book) give an authentic explanation to this turn of affairs.

⁴ "Lettere delli Signori Farnesiani per lo negotio di Parma," *Informatt. Pol.* xix. The above is from a letter of Ottavio to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Parma, March 24, 1551.

Italy and Germany were filled with malcontents. What the Emperor had already effected, whether in religious or political affairs, with what it was still expected he would do, had raised him up innumerable enemies. Henry II determined to carry forward the anti-Austrian purposes of his father; he gave a truce to his wars with England, formed an alliance with Ottavio, and took the garrison of Parma into his pay. French troops soon appeared in Mirandola also, and the banners of France were seen to wave in the very heart of Italy.

Pope Julius adhered steadily to the Emperor in this new complication of affairs. He thought it intolerable "that a miserable worm, Ottavio Farnese, should presume to contend with an emperor and a pope." "It is our will," he declares to his nuncio, "to embark in the same ship with his imperial majesty, and to intrust ourselves to the same fortune. To him who has the power and the wisdom we leave the determination of the course."⁵ The desire of the Emperor was, that measures should be adopted for the immediate and forcible expulsion of the French and their adherents. The imperial and papal troops united, soon took the field, an important fortress of the Parmegiano fell into their hands, they laid the whole region in ruins, and invested Mirandola on all sides.

It was not, however, in these partial hostilities that the power could be found to suppress those agitations that had indeed originated here, but were now felt throughout Europe. Troops were in action on every frontier where the dominions of France met those of the Emperor. War had broken out by land and sea. The German Protestants had at length allied themselves with the French, and the weight they cast into the scale was something very different from that of the Italians. From this union there resulted an assault more determined than any that Charles had ever before sustained; the French were in force on the Rhine, the elector Maurice appeared in the Tyrol. The veteran conqueror, who had taken up his position on the mountain region between Italy and Germany, for the purpose of holding both in allegiance, suddenly found his post one of the utmost jeopardy—his enemies were victorious, and himself on the point of becoming a prisoner.

⁵ Julius Papa III. *Manu propria*. *Istruzione per voi Monsignor d' Imola con l'Imperatore. L'ultimo di Marzo.*" *Informatt. Pol.* xii. He gives the cause of this close union: "Not for any hu-

man affection, but because we see that our cause is one with his imperial majesty's, more especially in affairs of religion."

The affairs of Italy were instantly affected by this state of things. "Never could we have believed," said the Pope, "that God would so visit us."⁶ He was compelled to make a truce with the enemies in April, 1552.

Mischances sometimes occur that seem not wholly unwelcome to the man they affect; they give pause to a course of action no longer in harmony with his inclinations, they provide him with a legitimate cause, or at least afford an obvious excuse, for departing from it.

It would almost appear that Julius felt his tribulation to be of this character; the sight of his states filled with troops, and his treasury drained of its resources, had already become oppressive and painful to him; nor did he always think himself well treated by the imperial ministers.⁷ The council, too, was presenting him with matter for serious uneasiness. Since the appearance of the German deputies, to whom promises of reformation had been given, the proceedings had assumed a bolder aspect. Even so early as January, 1552, Pope Julius complained that efforts were making to despoil him of his authority; the Spanish bishops sought to reduce the chapters to a state of servile subjection on the one hand, while they desired to deprive the holy see of the presentation to benefices on the other. But he affirmed his resolve to endure no invasion of his rights; under the title of an abuse, he would not permit those prerogatives to be torn from him that were no abuse, but an essential attribute of his legitimate power.⁸ Affairs standing thus, the attack of the Protestants, by which the council was broken up, could not have been altogether displeasing to the Pope. He lost no time in decreeing the suspension of the assembly, and thus freed himself from disputes and pretensions innumerable.

From that time Julius III never applied himself earnestly to political affairs. It is true that the people of Sienna, whose townsman he was by the mother's side, accused him of supporting Duke Cosmo in his attacks on their freedom; but the falsehood of this accusation was proved by a subsequent

⁶ Al Cl. Crescentino, April 13, 1552.

⁷ "Lettera del Papa a Mendoza, 26th Dec. 1551," *Informatt. Politiche*, xix.: "Be it said without pride, we do not stand in need of counsel; we might even help others in that respect: assistance indeed we might require."

⁸ "Al Cardinal Crescentino, 16th Jan. 1552:" "It never shall happen, we will never endure it, we will rather set the whole world in ruin."

judicial inquiry. It was rather Cosmo who had cause for complaint, the Pope having taken no steps to prevent the Florentine exiles—the most inveterate enemies of this his ally—from assembling and arming themselves within the States of the Church.

The villa of "Papa Giulio," at the Porta del Popolo, is still visited by the stranger. Restored to the presence of those times, he ascends the spacious steps to the gallery, whence he overlooks the whole extent of Rome, from Monte Mario, with all the windings of the Tiber. The building of this palace, the laying out of these gardens, were the daily occupation and continual delight of Pope Julius. The plan was designed by himself, but was never completed; every day brought with it some new suggestion or caprice, which the architects must at once set themselves to realize.⁹ Here the pontiff passed his days, forgetting all the rest of the world. He had promoted the advancement of his connections to a very fair extent: Duke Cosmo had conferred on them the domains of Monte Sansovino, which was the cradle of their race; the Emperor had invested them with Novara; and he had himself bestowed on them the dignities of the ecclesiastical States and Camerino. A certain favorite he had made cardinal, in fulfilment of a promise. This was a young man who had caught the Pope's attention in Parma, when, being but a child, he was seized by an ape, and displayed so much courage, that Julius, pleased with his conduct, adopted and brought him up, always showing him great affection; but unhappily this constituted his only merit.

The pontiff desired to forward the interests of his family, and those of his favorite; but he was not inclined to involve himself in dangerous perplexities on their account. The pleasant and blameless life of his villa was that which, as we have said, was best suited to him. He gave entertainments, which he enlivened with proverbial and other modes of expression, that sometimes mingled blushes with the smiles of his guests. In the important affairs of the Church and State he took no other share than was absolutely inevitable.

Under such circumstances, it is manifest that neither Church nor State could greatly prosper. The discord between the

⁹Vasari. Boissard describes their extent at that time: "It occupies nearly

all the heights that stretch from the city to the Milvian bridge." He cele-

two great Catholic powers became ever more and more dangerous and threatening; the German Protestants had recovered themselves effectually from the defeat of 1547, and now displayed a more imposing aspect than they had ever before assumed. Of the Catholic reformation so often looked for, there could now be no further hope; the fact would not permit concealment—the prospects of the Roman Church were, in all directions, ambiguous and gloomy.

But if, as we have seen, there had arisen in the bosom of that Church a more severe spirit of action, a feeling intensely reprobating the whole life and conduct of so many of her chiefs, would not this at length affect the choice of the pontiff? So much was always dependent on the personal character of the pope! for this cause it was that the supreme dignity was made elective; since thus it might be hoped that a man truly representing the prevalent spirit of the Church would be placed at the head of her government.

The more strictly religious party possessed no preponderating influence in the Church until after the death of Julius III. The pontiff had frequently felt himself restrained, and his undignified demeanor reproved, by the presence of Cardinal Marcello Cervini. It was on this prelate that the choice fell. He ascended the papal seat on the eleventh of April, 1555, as Marcellus II.

The whole life of the new pontiff had been active, and free from the shadow of reproach; that reform in the Church, of which others only talked, he had exemplified in his own person. "I had prayed," says a contemporary, "that a pope might be granted to us by whom those words of fair import, church, council, reform, might be raised from the contempt into which they had fallen: by this election my hopes received fulfilment, my wish seemed to have become a reality."¹⁰ "The opinion," says another, "entertained of this Pope's worth and incomparable wisdom, inspired the world with hope. If ever it be possible for the Church to extinguish heresy, to reform abuse, and compel purity of life, to heal its divisions, and once again be united, it is by Marcellus that this will be

brates their splendor, and gives us some of their inscriptions; for example: "Let it be lawful that virtuous delights be enjoyed by the virtuous." And especially: "In the neighboring temple, let thanks be given to God and St. Andrew, and let them [visitors]

pray for abundant health and eternal life to Julius III, Pontifex Maximus, to Baldwin, his brother, and to their whole family." Julius died on March 23, 1555.

¹⁰ "Seripando al Vescovo di Fiescole," "Lettere di Principi," iii. 162.

brought about."¹ Thus it was that Marcellus commenced his reign. All his acts were in the same spirit. He would not permit his kindred to approach the capital; he made various retrenchments in the expenditure of the court; and is said to have prepared a memorial of the different ameliorations that he proposed to effect in the ecclesiastical institutions. His first effort was to restore divine worship to its due solemnity; all his thoughts were of reform, and the council needful to that effect.² In political affairs he determined on a neutrality, by which the Emperor was perfectly satisfied. "But the world," as his contemporaries remark, "was not worthy of him." They apply to the pontiff those words of Virgil relating to another Marcellus: "Fate permitted the world to have sight of him only." On the twenty-second day of his pontificate he died.

We can say nothing of the results produced by so short an administration. But even this commencement, this election even, suffices to show the spirit that was beginning to prevail. It continued predominant in the next conclave, and was exemplified in the choice of the most rigid among all the cardinals. Giovanni Pietro Caraffa came forth from that assembly as pope, on the twenty-third of May, 1555.

Section III—Paul IV

Frequent mention has already been made of this pontiff, who is that same Caraffa, the founder of the Theatines, the restorer of the Inquisition, and the speaker who so essentially contributed to the confirmation of the ancient doctrines in the council of Trent. If there were a party whose purpose it was to reinstate Catholicism in all its strictness, not only was it a member, but a founder and chief of that party who now ascended the papal throne. Paul IV had already completed his seventy-ninth year, but his deep-set eyes still retained all the fire of youth: he was extremely tall and thin, walked with rapid steps, and seemed all nerve and muscle. His personal habits were subjected to no rule or order; frequently did he pass the night in study, and sleep in the day—woe then to the servant who should enter the apartment before his

¹ "Lettere di Principi," iii. 141. The editor is here speaking in his own person.

² "Petri Polidori de Vita Marcelli Commentarius," 1744, p. 119.

bell had rung. In all things it was his custom to follow the impulse of the moment;¹ but this impulse was regulated by a mood of mind formed in the practice of a long life, and become a second nature. He seemed to acknowledge no other duty, no other occupation, than the restoration of the Catholic faith to all its primitive authority. Characters of this description arise from time to time, and are occasionally to be seen even in the present day. Their perceptions of life and the world are gained from a single point of view; the peculiar disposition of their mind is so powerful that all their opinions are tinctured and governed by it; indefatigable speakers, their manner derives a certain freshness from the earnestness of their souls, and the system of thought that, as by a kind of fatality, informs and rules their whole being, is poured forth in a stream inexhaustible. How powerfully do such men act on all around them, when placed in a position wherein their activity is in perfect harmony with their views and sentiments, wherein the power to act is associated with the will! What might men not expect from Paul IV, whose views and opinions had never endured either concession or compromise, but were ever carried out eagerly to their utmost consequences, now that he was raised to the supreme dignity!² He was himself amazed at having reached this point—he who had in no manner conciliated a single member of the conclave, and from whom nothing was to be expected but the extreme of severity. He believed that his election had been determined, not by the cardinals, but by God himself, who had chosen him for the accomplishment of his own purposes.³

“We do promise and swear,” says he in the bull that he published of his accession to the holy see, “to make it our first care that the reform of the universal Church, and of the

¹“*Relazione di M. Bernardo Navagero (che fu poi cardinale) alla Serma. Repca. di Venetia, tornando di Roma Ambasciatore appresso del Pontefice Paolo IV, 1558:*” in many Italian libraries, and in the *Informationi Politiche* in Berlin: “The complexion of this pontiff is adust and choleric; he has incredible gravity and grandeur in all his actions, and seems really born to command.”

²It will be readily believed that his character did not secure the approbation of all the world. Aretino’s “*Capitolo al Re di Francia*” describes him thus: “*Caraffa, the lazy hypocrite,*

who makes a matter of conscience about peppering a thistle.”

³“*Relazione del Cimo. M. Aluise Mocenigo K, ritornato dalla Corte di Roma, 1560*” (Arch. Venez.): “Fu eletto pontefice contra il parer e credere di ogn’ uno e forse anco di se stesso, come S. S. propria mi disse poco inanzi morisse, che non avea mai compiaciuto ad alcuno e che se un cardinale gli avea domandato qualche gratia gli avea sempre riposto alla riversa, nè mai compiaciutolo, onde disse: io non so come mi habbiano eletto papa, e concludo che Iddio faccia li pontefici.” (See the text.)

Roman Court, be at once entered on." The day of his coronation was signalized by the promulgation of edicts respecting monasteries and the religious orders. He sent two monks from Monte Cassino into Spain, with command to re-establish the discipline of the convents which had become lax and neglected. He appointed a congregation for the promotion of reforms in general; this consisted of three classes, in each of which were eight cardinals, fifteen prelates, and fifty learned men of differing ranks.

The articles to be discussed by them, in relation to the appointments to clerical offices and collation to benefices, were submitted to the universities. It is manifest that the new pope proceeded with great earnestness in the work of reform.⁴ The spiritual tendency which had hitherto affected the lower ranks of the hierarchy only, now seemed to gain possession of the papal throne itself, and promised to assume the exclusive guidance of all affairs during the pontificate of Paul IV.

But now came the question of what part he would take in relation to the general movements of the political world.

The principal direction once given to a government, and which has gradually identified itself with its very existence, is not readily susceptible of change.

A desire to deliver themselves from the heavy preponderance of Spain must ever have been uppermost in the minds of the popes; and at the accession of Paul the moment seemed to have come when his wish appeared to be within the possibility of realization. The war proceeding, as we have seen, from the movements of the Farnesi, was the most unfortunate one ever undertaken by Charles V. He was closely pressed in the Netherlands; Germany had deserted his interests; Italy was no longer faithful to him; he could not rely even on the houses of Este and Gonzaga; he was himself ill, and weary of life. I question whether any pontiff, not immediately attached to the imperial party, could have found strength to withstand the temptations presented by this state of things.

In the case of Paul IV they were more than commonly powerful. Born in the year 1476, he had seen his native Italy in all the unrestrained freedom of her fifteenth century, and his very soul clung to this remembrance. He would sometimes

⁴ Bromato, "Vita di Paolo IV.," lib. ix. § ii. § xvii. (ii. 224, 289).

compare the Italy of that period to a well-tuned instrument of four strings—these last being formed by Naples, Milan, Venice, and the States of the Church. He would then utter maledictions on the memory of Alfonso and Louis the Moor: “Lost and unhallowed souls,” as he said, “whose discords had disturbed that harmony.”⁵ That from their time the Spaniard should have become master in the land, was a thought that he could in no way learn to bear. The house of Caraffa, whence he derived his birth, was attached to the French party, and had frequently taken arms against the Castilians and Catalonians. In 1528 they again joined the French; and it was Giovanni Pietro Caraffa who advised Paul III to seize Naples in 1547. To this party spirit came other causes in aid: Caraffa had constantly affirmed that Charles favored the Protestants from jealousy of the Pope, and that “the successes of those heretics were attributable to no other than the Emperor.”⁶ Charles knew Caraffa well, he once expelled him from the council formed for the administration of affairs in Naples, and would never permit him to hold peaceful possession of his ecclesiastical employments within that kingdom; he had, moreover, made earnest remonstrance against Caraffa’s declamations in the consistory. All these things, as may readily be supposed, did but increase the virulence of the Pope’s enmity. He detested the Emperor as Neapolitan and as Italian, as Catholic and as pope: there existed in his soul no other passions than that for reform of the Church and his hatred of Charles.

The first act of Paul was to lighten various imposts, and to permit the importation of corn. A statue was erected to him for these benefits, and it was not without a certain sense of self-complacency that he viewed this—while in the midst of his splendid court, and surrounded by a glittering body of Neapolitan nobles, proffering him the most obsequious obedience—he received the homage of ambassadors who came crowding from all countries to his presence. But scarcely had he felt himself well-seated on the pontifical chair, than he commenced a series of disputes with the Emperor. That monarch had complained to the cardinals of his party, that a pope so

⁵ “Who first spoiled that noble instrument Italy.”—Navagero.

⁶ “Memoriale dato a Annibale Rucellai, Sept. 1555” (Informatt. Pol.

tom. xxiv.) “He freely called his imperial majesty a favorer of schismatics and heretics.”

inimical to himself had been chosen; his adherents held suspicious meetings; some of them even carried off certain ships from Civita Vecchia, that had previously been taken from them by the French.⁷ The Pope at once breathed fire and flames. Such of his vassals, and the cardinals, as were imperialists, he arrested instantly, confiscating the whole property of those who fled. Nor was this enough. That alliance with France which Paul III never could resolve on completing, was entered into with little hesitation by Paul IV. He declared that the Emperor designed to "finish him by a sort of mental fever," but that he, Paul, was "determined on open fight. With the help of France he would yet free this poor Italy from the tyrannies of Spain, and did not despair of seeing two French princes ruling in Naples and Milan." He would sit for long hours over the black thick fiery wine of Naples, his usual drink (it was of a sort called mangiaguerra, champ-the-war)⁸ and pour forth torrents of stormy eloquence, against those schismatics and heretics, those accursed of God, that evil generation of Jews and Moors, that scum of the world, and other titles equally complimentary, bestowed with unsparing liberality on everything Spanish;⁹ but he consoled himself with the promise, "thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder, the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under foot." The time was now come when the Emperor Charles and King Philip should receive the punishment due to their iniquities. He, the Pope, would inflict it, and would free Italy from their grasp. If others would not listen to nor support him, the future world should at least have to tell, how an old Italian, so near to his grave, and who should rather have been employed in preparing for it, had entertained these lofty purposes. We will not enter into the details of the negotiations which he carried on under

⁷ "Istruzioni e Lettere di Monsignor della Casa a nome del Cl. Carraffa, dove si contiene il principio della rottura della guerra fra Papa Paolo IV. e l'Imperatore Carlo V., 1555." Also in the *Informatt. Polit.* xxiv.

⁸ Navagero: "His custom is to eat twice a day, he must be served very delicately; and in the beginning of his pontificate, twenty-five dishes were not sufficient for his table: he drinks much more than he eats; his wine being strong and brisk—it is a black wine, grown in the kingdom of Naples, that they call 'champ-the-war,' and is so thick that one may almost cut it. After his meals he drinks malmsey, and this

his people call 'washing his teeth.' He used to eat in public like other popes, till his last indisposition, which was considered mortal—once he had lost his appetite. He often spent three hours at table in talk of various matters, according to the occasion, and in the heat of this he sometimes uttered things of secrecy and importance."

⁹ Navagero: "Deploping the misfortune of Italy, compelled to serve a race so abject and vile." The despatches of the French ambassadors are full of these outbreaks; those, for example, of De Lansac and D'Avançon, in Ribier, ii. 610-618.

the influence of these feelings. When the French concluded a truce with Spain,¹⁰ unmindful of an agreement that they had entered into with himself, he sent his nephew, Carlo Caraffa, to France, where the different parties contending for power in that country were gradually gained over to his interests. The Montmorencies and the Guises, the wife of the French King and his mistress, were equally won to aid the pontiff in promoting a new outbreak of hostilities.¹ Paul secured a vigorous Italian ally also in the person of the Duke of Ferrara; nothing less was talked of than completely revolutionizing Italy. Neapolitan and Florentine exiles filled the Curia; their restoration to their homes seemed now approaching; the papal fiscal instituted a legal process against the Emperor Charles and King Philip, in which the excommunication of those princes, and the release of their subjects from their oath of allegiance, was roundly threatened. The Florentines always declared that they held positive evidence of a design to include the house of Medici in the downfall of the Spanish power.² Active preparations were everywhere made for war, and the whole character of the century seemed about to suffer change, and become matter of question.

But meanwhile how different a position was this pontificate assuming from that which it had been expected to take up! All purposes of reform were set aside for the struggles of war, and these last entailed consequences of a totally opposite character.

The pontiff, who as cardinal, had most sternly opposed the abuses of nepotism, and had denounced them, even to his own peril, was now seen to abandon himself entirely to this weakness. His nephew, Carlo Caraffa, who had passed his whole life amidst the excesses and license of camps,³ was now raised to the rank of cardinal, though Paul himself had often declared of him, that "his arm was dyed in blood to the elbow." Carlo

¹⁰The account of the incredulity expressed by the Caraffas, when this truce was first named to them, as given by Navagero, is extremely characteristic: "Asking the Pope and Cardinal Caraffa if they had received intelligence of the truce, they looked at each other laughing, as if they would say, as indeed the pontiff openly said to me afterward, that there was but slight hope of that; yet the next day came the news, which so annoyed the Pope and cardinal

(though it confronted all Rome), that they could not conceal their rage, and Paul said, "This truce will be the ruin of the world."

¹Rabutin, "Mémoires," "Collect. Univers.," tom. xxxviii. Especially "Mémoires," Villars, ib. tom. xxxv. 277.

²Gussoni, "Relatione di Toscana."

³Babon, in Ribier, ii. 745. Villars, p. 255.

had found means to gain over his superannuated relative; he contrived to be occasionally surprised by him in seeming prayer before the crucifix, and apparently suffering agonies of remorse,⁴ but still further was the uncle propitiated by the virulent enmity of his nephew to the Spaniards; this was their true bond of union. Carlo Caraffa had taken military service with the Emperor in Germany, but complained that he had met with neglect only as his reward. A prisoner, from whom he expected a large ransom, had been taken from him, nor had he been suffered to hold possession of a priory belonging to the order of Malta, to which he had been nominated. All these things had awakened his hatred and made him thirst for vengeance. This state of feeling, Paul allowed to stand in the place of all the virtues Carlo wanted; he could find no words eloquent enough to praise him, declaring that the papal seat had never possessed a more efficient servant; he made over to him the greater part, not only of the civil, but even of the ecclesiastical administration, and was perfectly satisfied that he should be regarded as the author of whatever acts of favor were received from the court.

On his other nephews the pontiff would not for some time bestow a glance of kindness; it was not until they had evinced their participation in his anti-Spanish mania, that they were received to his grace.⁵ Never could anyone have anticipated what he next did. Declaring that the Colonnas, "those incorrigible rebels against God and the Church," however frequently deprived of their castles, had always managed to regain them, he now resolved that this should be amended; he would give those fortresses to vassals who would know how to hold them. Thereupon he divided the possessions of the house of Colonna among his nephews, making the elder Duke of Palliano and the younger Marquis of Montebello. The cardinals remained silent when he announced these purposes in their assembly; they bent down their heads and fixed their eyes to the earth. The Caraffas now indulged in the most ambitious projects: the daughters of their family should marry into that of the French King, or at least into the ducal house of Ferrara; the sons thought of

⁴ Bromato.

⁵ "Extract from the trial of Cardinal Caraffa. The Duke of Palliano also deposes, that until he declared against

the imperialists, the Pope never showed him a fair countenance, or viewed him with a good eye."

nothing less than the possession of Sienna. To one who spoke jestingly concerning the jewelled cap of a child of their house, the mother of the nephews replied, "We should rather be talking of crowns than caps."⁶

And indeed everything was now depending on the events of the war which then broke out, but which certainly assumed no very promising aspect even from the commencement.

On that act of the fiscal before alluded to, the Duke of Alva had pressed forward from the Neapolitan territory into the States of the Church. He was accompanied by the Roman vassals, whose confederates also aroused themselves. The papal garrison was driven out of Nettuno, and the troops of the Colonnas recalled. Alva seized Frosinone, Anagni, Tivoli in the mountains, and Ostia on the sea. Rome was thus invested on both sides.

The Pope had first placed his reliance on his Romans, and reviewed them in person. They marched from the Campofiore, three hundred and forty columns armed with harquebuses, two hundred and fifty with pikes. In each rank stood nine men admirably appointed, presenting a most imposing aspect, and commanded by officers who were exclusively of noble birth. These troops passed before the castle of St. Angelo, which saluted them with its artillery, to the piazza of St. Peter, where the pontiff had stationed himself at a window with his nephews, and as each caporion and standard-bearer passed, his holiness bestowed his blessing.⁷ All this made a very fair show, but these were not the men by whom the city was to be defended. When the Spaniards had approached near the walls, a false alarm, occasioned by a small body of horse, was sufficient to throw them into such perfect confusion, that not one man was found remaining by his colors. The Pope saw that he must seek elsewhere for effectual aid, and after a time Pietro Strozzi brought him the troops that were serving before Sienna. With these he succeeded in recovering Tivoli and Ostia, thus averting the most imminent danger.

But what a war was this!

There are moments in the history of the world when it would seem that the actions of men are influenced by motives

⁶Bromato, ix. 16; ii. 286: literally: "This is no time to talk of caps, but of crowns."

⁷"Diario di Cola Calleine Romano del rione di Trastevere dall' anno 1521 sino all' anno 1562," MS.

in direct opposition to the principles and ideas that usually govern their lives and conduct.

The Duke of Alva might, in the first instance, have conquered Rome with very little difficulty; but his uncle, Cardinal Giacomo, reminded him of the unhappy end to which all had come who had taken part in the conquest under Bourbon Alva, being a good Catholic, conducted the war with the utmost discretion; he fought the Pope, but did not cease to pay him reverence; he would fain take the sword from his holiness, but had no desire for the renown of a Roman conqueror. His soldiers complained that they were led against a mere vapor, a mist and smoke that annoyed them, but which they could neither lay hold on nor stifle at its source.

And who were those by whom the Pope was defended against such good Catholics? The most effective among them were Germans, and Protestants to a man! They amused themselves with the saintly images on the highways, they laughed at the mass in the churches, were utterly regardless of the fast days, and did things innumerable, for which, at any other time, the Pope would have punished them with death.⁸ I even find that Carlo Caraffa established a very close intimacy with that great Protestant leader, the margrave Albert of Brandenburg.

Contradictions more perfect, a contrast more complete, than that displayed by these circumstances, could be scarcely imagined. On the one side we have the most fervent spirit of Catholicism, which was at least exemplified in the leader (how different were his proceedings from those of the old Bourbon times!); on the other, was that secular tendency of the popedom, by which even Paul IV, however earnestly condemning it, was seized and borne forward. Thus, it came to pass that the followers of his faith were attacking him, while it was by heretics and seceders that he found himself defended! But the first preserved their allegiance, even while opposing his power; the latter displayed their hostility to and contempt for his person even while in arms to protect him.

It was not until the French auxiliaries crossed the Alps that the contest really began; these consisted of ten thousand

⁸ Navagero: "The Germans were considered the best disciplined and most serviceable troops—the Gascons were most insolent; they committed

offences against female honor, and were great plunderers. The injured publicly cursed him who was the cause of these disorders."

foot and a less numerous, but very brilliant body of cavalry. Their leader would most willingly have directed his force against Milan, which he believed to be unprepared for defence, but he was unable to resist the impulse by which the Caraffas forced him toward Naples. The latter were fully confident of finding numberless adherents in their own country, they counted on the assistance of the exiles, and hoped for the rising of their party; if not throughout the kingdom, yet certainly in the Abruzzi and round Aquila and Montorio, where their ancestors had always exercised an important influence, both on the paternal and maternal side.

It was manifest that affairs must now arrive at a crisis, in whatever manner this might terminate. The papal power had been too often excited into hostility against the Spanish predominance, not eventually to burst forth without restraint.

The Pope and his nephews were determined that matters should proceed to extremity, not only had Caraffa accepted the aid of the Protestants, he had even made proposals to Solyman I. These were to the effect that the Turkish sovereign should abstain from prosecuting his wars in Hungary, and throw himself with all his force on the two Sicilies.⁹ Thus was a pontiff entreating the help of infidels against a Catholic monarch.

In April, 1557, the papal troops crossed the Neapolitan frontier, Holy Thursday was signalized by the conquest and atrocious pillage of Compli, which was full of treasure, in part belonging to the town, but also much was there beside that had been carried thither for safety. This done, Guise also crossed the Tronto, and besieged Civitella.

But he found the kingdom fully prepared to baffle his efforts. Alva knew well that there would be no insurrection among the people, so long as he should retain the upper hand in the country; he had received a large grant of money from a parliament of the barons. Queen Bona of Poland, of the ancient family of Aragon, and a bitter enemy of the French, who had shortly before arrived in her duchy of Bari, with much treasure, supplied him with half a million of scudi. The ecclesiastical revenues that should have been sent to Rome he poured into

⁹ His confessions in Bromato, "Vita di Paolo IV.," tom. ii. p. 369. Bromato also gives us good information respecting the war; which he takes often word for word—a fact he does not con-

ceal—from a voluminous MS. by Nores, which treats circumstantially of this war, and is to be found in many Italian libraries.

his military chest instead, and even seized the gold and silver of the churches, with the bells of the city of Benevento, all which he appropriated to his own purposes.¹⁰ Thus furnished, he proceeded to fortify the towns of the Neapolitan frontier, as also those of the Roman territory that still remained in his hands. His army was composed in the usual manner of Germans, Spaniards, and Italians, but was an extremely formidable one. He also raised Neapolitan centuries under the command of the native nobles. Civitella was bravely defended by Count Santafiore, who had succeeded in rousing the inhabitants to active co-operation, and even to repel an attempt made to take the place by storm.

While the kingdom of Naples thus held firmly to King Philip, and displayed only devotion to his service, the assailants, on the contrary, were weakened by animosities and dissensions. French and Italians, Guise and Montebello, all were in the utmost discord. Guise complained that the Pope did not perform his part in the contract between them, and neglected to send him the promised supplies. When the Duke of Alva appeared with his army in the Abruzzi, toward the middle of May, Guise found it advisable to raise the siege, and retreat across the Tronto; operations were then again transferred to the Roman territories. And now was seen a war in which both sides advanced and then retreated; invested towns only to resign them, made great movements, in short, but on one occasion only did they come to a serious engagement.

Marc Antonio Colonna made demonstrations against Paliano, which had been taken from him by the Pope; seeing which, Giulio Orsino hurried to its relief with provisions and troops; 3,000 Swiss had arrived in Rome under the command of a colonel from Unterwalden. The Pope received them with great delight, decorated their officers with gold chains and knightly titles, and declared that this was a legion of angels sent by God for his behoof. These were the troops that, together with a few companies of Italian cavalry and infantry, marched under the command of Giulio Orsino. They were met by the forces of Marc Antonio Colonna, and once more ensued

¹⁰ Giannone, "Istoria di Napoli," lib. xxxiii. c. 1. Gosselini and Mambrino Roseo, "Delle Historie del Mondo," lib. vii., who give a minute account of

this war, with other writers, agree in attributing to Ferrante Gonzaga a large share in the most able measures taken by Alva.

one of those bold battles in the manner of the Italian wars of 1494-1531, the papal troops against those of the empire, a Colonna opposing an Orsino; the German lanzknechts, under their distinguished leaders, Caspar von Feltz and Hans Walther, stood face to face, as they so often had done, with their ancient antagonists the Swiss. Once again the combatants on either side arrayed themselves for a cause in which neither felt the slightest interest, but for which they none the less fought with determined bravery.¹ Hans Walther at length, "tall and strong," say the Spaniards, "as a giant," threw himself into the midst of a Swiss company. With a pistol in one hand and his naked sword in the other, he rushed upon the standard-bearer, whom he brought down, shooting him in the side, at the same moment that he dealt him a fatal blow on the head. The whole troop fell upon him, but his lanzknechts were already at hand for his support. The Swiss were completely broken and dispersed, their banners, on which had been inscribed in large letters, "Defenders of the faith and of the Holy See," were trampled in the dust, and of the eleven captains that went forth, their commander led two only back to Rome.

While this miniature war was in progress here, the great armies were in action on the frontier of the Netherlands. The battle of St. Quintin ensued, wherein the Spaniards gained a complete victory. In France men even wondered that they did not at once press forward to Paris, which at that moment they might certainly have taken.²

Hereupon Henry II writes to Guise, "I hope," he remarks, "that the Pope will do as much for me in my need as I did for him in his straits."³ So little could Paul now hope from the aid of the French, that it was he on the contrary who was called on to help them. Guise declared, "that no chains would now avail to keep him in Italy,"⁴ and he instantly hurried with all his forces to the aid of his embarrassed sovereign.

No force remaining that could oppose an obstacle to the imperialists and troops of Colonna, they advanced toward Rome, whose inhabitants once more saw themselves threatened with conquest and plunder. Their condition was all the more des-

¹ I find the details of this little encounter in Cabrera, "Don Felipe Segundo," lib. iii. p. 189.

² Monluc, "Mémoires," p. 116.

³ "Le Roy à Mons. de Guise," in Ribier, ii. p. 750.

⁴ "Lettera del Duca di Palliano al Cl. Caraffa," Informatt. Polit. xxii.

perate from the fact that they had little less to fear from their defenders than from their enemies. During many nights they were compelled to keep lights burning in every window, and through all the streets. A skirmishing party of Spaniards which had reached the gates was frightened back by this demonstration, which was, however, a mere precaution against the papal troops; everyone murmured. The Romans wished their Pope in his grave a thousand times, and demanded that the Spanish army should be admitted by a formal capitulation.

So far did Paul IV permit his affairs to come. It was not until every enterprise had completely failed, till his allies were beaten, his States for the greater part invested by the enemy, and his capital a second time menaced with ruin, that he would bend himself to treat for peace.

This was accorded by the Spaniards in the same spirit by which they had been actuated throughout the war. They restored all such fortresses and cities of the Church as had been taken, and even promised compensation for Palliano, which the Caraffas had lost.⁵ Alva came to Rome; with the most profound reverence did he now kiss the foot of his conquered enemy, the sworn adversary of his King and nation. He was heard to say that never had he feared the face of man as he did that of the pontiff.

This peace seemed in every way favorable to the papal interest; it was nevertheless utterly fatal to all the projects hitherto cherished by the popedom. Any further attempt to throw off the Spanish yoke must now be abandoned, and accordingly, none such has ever (in the old sense and manner) been again brought forward. The influence of the Spaniards in Milan and Naples had proved unassailable. Their allies were more than ever powerful. There had been hope among the Caraffas of expelling Duke Cosmo from Florence; but this prince had not only held firm his grasp, but had seized on Sienna likewise, and was now the possessor of an important sovereignty. By the restitution of Placentia, the Farnesi had been gained over to Philip II. Marc Antonio Colonna had made himself a brilliant reputation, and had fully restored the ancient lustre of his family. For the pontiff there was nothing left but to resign

⁵A convention was made between Carlo Caraffa and the Duke of Alva, regarding Palliano, and this was kept

secret; not from the public only, but from the Pope himself.—Bromato, ii. 385.

himself to this position of affairs. Bitter as was this necessity to Paul IV, he yet felt that he must submit; with what feelings it is not difficult to imagine. Philip II being on some occasion called his friend, "Yes," he replied, "my friend who kept me beleaguered, and who thought to have my soul!" It is true that in the presence of strangers he compared Philip to the prodigal son of the gospel, but in the circle of his intimates he took care to mark his estimation of those pontiffs who had designed to raise the kings of France to the imperial throne,⁶ for others he had no praise. His sentiments were what they had always been, but the force of circumstances controlled him. There was nothing more to be hoped for, still less to be undertaken; he dared not even bemoan himself, unless in the closest secrecy.

When once an event is indeed accomplished, it is altogether useless for a man to struggle against its consequences. Even Paul IV felt this, and after a certain time his thoughts took another direction; he experienced a reaction which was of most effective importance, whether as regarded his own administration, or the general transformation brought about in the papal position and system.

Other pontiffs had promoted and favored their nephews from family affection, or mere selfish ambition to raise the house they sprang from; the nepotism of Paul had a totally different origin: his nephews were favored because they assisted his efforts against Spain, and because in this contest he considered them his natural allies; that once over, the utility of the nephews was at an end. It is only by success that a man is maintained in a position of great eminence, more especially if it be not acquired in a manner altogether legitimate. Cardinal Caraffa had undertaken an embassy to King Philip, principally to promote the interests of his own house, for which he desired to receive the compensation promised in lieu of Palliano. He returned without having accomplished any material purpose, and from that time the Pope became ever colder and colder toward him. The cardinal soon perceived that he could no longer decide, as he had hitherto done, who should or should not be about the

⁶ "L'Evesque d'Angoulesme au Roy, 11 Juin, 1558," Ribier, ii. 745. The Pope has said: "That you, sire, must not degenerate from your predecessors, who were always conservators and defend-

ers of the holy see; while King Philip, on the contrary, was descended of a race who desired to destroy and confound it utterly."

person of his uncle; he could no more exclude those who were inimical to himself, and rumors reached the pontiff, by which his unfavorable impressions of former days were revived; a serious illness once seized the cardinal, and on this occasion his uncle paid him a visit unexpectedly, when he found certain persons with him whose reputation was of the worst possible character. "Old people," said Paul, "are mistrustful, and I there saw things that opened a wide field before me." It is obvious that only very slight provocation was needed to arouse the storm within him, and this was presented by an occurrence otherwise of little importance. In the new year's night of 1559, there was a tumult in the streets, during which the young Cardinal Monte, that favorite of Pope Julius before mentioned, drew his sword. This was related to the pontiff the very next morning, and he felt greatly offended with the Cardinal Caraffa for not naming the circumstance to himself. He waited some days, but finding no word said, he then expressed his displeasure. The court, ever delighted with change, caught eagerly at this mark of disgrace. The Florentine ambassador, on whom the Caraffas had inflicted mortifications innumerable, now made his way to the presence, and uttered the most bitter complaints. The Marchese della Valle, one of the pontiff's family, but who had never been allowed access to him, found means to get a note placed in his breviary, in which certain of his nephew's misdeeds were described; "if his holiness should desire further explanations," said this paper, "he has but to sign his name." The Pope gave the required signature, and the promised information did not fail to appear. Thus, well provided with causes for resentment, Paul appeared on the ninth of January at the assembly of the Inquisition. He first spoke of that nocturnal riot, reproved Cardinal Monte with extreme severity, and repeatedly thundered forth "Reform! Reform!" The cardinals, usually so silent, had this time the courage to speak. "Holy father," said Cardinal Pacheco, interrupting the sovereign, "reform must first of all begin among ourselves!" The Pope was silenced; those words struck him to the heart; the half-formed convictions that had been gradually gaining power within him, were at once changed to palpable certainty; he said nothing more of Cardinal Monte's offences, but shut himself up in his apartment, burning with

rage, and thinking only of his nephews. Giving immediate directions that no order proceeding from Cardinal Caraffa should be complied with, he sent to demand that minister's papers. Cardinal Vitellozzo Vitelli, who was believed to be in possession of all the Caraffa secrets, was immediately summoned, and compelled to swear that he would disclose all he knew. Camillo Orsino was called from his palace in the Campagna, for the same purpose. Those of the more austere party, who had long remarked the proceedings of the nephews with disapproval, now made themselves heard. The old Theatine, Don Geremia, who was held to be a saint, passed long hours with his holiness, who was made acquainted with circumstances that he had never suspected, and which equally excited his detestation and horror. He fell into a state of pitiable agitation, could neither eat nor sleep, and passed ten days consumed by fever, resulting from distress of mind. At length he was resolved; and then was seen to occur an event forever memorable, a pope, with self-inflicted violence, tearing asunder the ties that bound him to his kindred. On the twenty-seventh of January a consistory was summoned, wherein the evil lives of his nephews were denounced with passionate emotion by the grieving pontiff, who called God and the world to bear witness that he had never known of these misdoings, but had been constantly deceived by those around him. He deprived the accused of all their offices, and condemned them to banishment, together with their families. The mother of the nephews, seventy years old, bent with age, and sinking beneath her infirmities, entreated for them, throwing herself at the Pope's feet as he entered the palace; but, though she was herself blameless, he passed her by with harsh words. The young Marchesa Montebello arrived in Rome from Naples at this time; she found her palace closed against her, at the inns they refused to receive her, she went from door to door in the rainy night, and could find no shelter, until in a remote quarter, to which no order had been sent, an innkeeper was found who permitted her to take refuge beneath his roof. Cardinal Caraffa vainly offered to constitute himself the Pope's prisoner, and required to have his conduct investigated. Paul commanded the Swiss guard to repel not himself only, but all who, having been in his service, should venture to approach the palace. He made but one ex-

ception; this was in favor of the young man, the son of Montorio, whom he loved greatly, and made cardinal in his eighteenth year; this youth he permitted to remain about his person, and take part in his devotional exercises; but he was never allowed to name his banished family, still less to implore their forgiveness; he dared not even hold the slightest intercourse with his father. The misfortunes of his house affected him all the more painfully from this restraint, and the suffering that he was not permitted to express in words, was yet manifest in his face, and legible in his whole person.⁷

And would it not be supposed that occurrences of this character must react on the mind of the pontiff?

He proceeded as though nothing had happened. Immediately after having pronounced sentence against his kindred with stormy eloquence in the consistory, he betook himself to other business, and while most of the cardinals were paralyzed by fear and astonishment, the pontiff betrayed no emotion. The foreign ambassadors were amazed by this coolness of demeanor. "In the midst of changes so unexpected and so complete," they remarked, "surrounded by ministers and servants all new and strange, he maintains himself steadfastly, unbending and imperturbable; he feels no compassion, and seems not even to retain a remembrance of his ruined house." Henceforth it was to a totally different passion that he surrendered the guidance of his life.

This change was most certainly of the highest importance, and of ever memorable effect. His hatred to the Spaniards, and the hope of becoming the liberator of Italy, had hurried even Paul IV into designs and practices utterly worldly; these had led him to the endowment of his kinsmen with the lands of the Church, and had caused the elevation of a mere soldier to the administration even of ecclesiastical affairs. They had plunged him into deadly feuds and sanguinary hostilities. Events had compelled him to abandon that hope, to suppress that hatred, and then were his eyes gradually opened to the reprehensible conduct of those about him. Against these of-

⁷Much valuable information as to these events may be found in Pallavicini, still more in Bromato. In the Berlin "Informationi" there is also, vol. viii., a "Diario d'alcune attioni più notabili nel Pontificato di Paolo IV.

l'anno 1558, sino alla sua morte" (beginning from September 10, 1558). This was not known to either of the above writers; it was composed from personal observation, and has supplied me with much information altogether new.

fenders, after a painful combat with himself, his stern justice prevailed, he shook them off, and from that hour his early plans of reformation were resumed, he began to reign in the manner that had at first been expected from him. And now, with that impetuous energy which he had previously displayed in his enmities, and in the conduct of his wars, he turned to the reform of the State, and above all to that of the Church.

All secular offices, from the highest to the lowest, were transferred to other hands. The existing podestas and governors lost their places, and the manner in which this was effected was occasionally very singular. In Perugia, for example, the newly appointed governor arrived in the night; without waiting for daylight, he caused the anziani to be called together, produced his credentials, and commanded them forthwith to arrest their former governor, who was present. From time immemorial, there had been no pope who governed without nepotism: Paul IV now showed this example. The places hitherto monopolized by his kinsmen were bestowed on Cardinal Carpi, Camillo Orsino who had held so extensive a power under Paul III, and others. Nor were the persons only changed, the whole system and character of the administration were changed also. Important sums were economized, and taxes to a proportional amount were remitted; the pontiff established a chest, of which he only held the key, for the purpose of receiving all complaints that any man should desire to make; he demanded a daily report from the governor. The public business in general was conducted with great circumspection; nor were any of the old abuses permitted to remain.

Amidst all the commotions prevailing through the early part of his pontificate, Paul IV had never lost sight of his reforming projects; he now resumed them with earnest zeal and undivided attention. A more severe discipline was introduced into the churches: he forbade all begging; even the collection of alms for masses, hitherto made by the clergy, was discontinued; and such pictures as were not, by their subjects, appropriate to the Church, he removed. A medal was struck in his honor, representing Christ driving the money-changers from the temple. All monks who had deserted their monasteries were expelled from the city and States of the Church; the court was enjoined to keep the regular fasts, and all were com-

manded to solemnize Easter by receiving the Lord's Supper. The cardinals were even compelled to occasional preaching, and Paul himself preached! Many abuses that had been profitable to the Curia he did his best to set aside. Of marriage dispensations, or of the resources they furnished to the treasury, he would not even hear mention. A host of places that, up to his time, had been constantly sold, even those of the clerks of the chamber⁸ (*chiericati di camera*), he would now have disposed of according to merit only. Still more rigidly did he insist on the worth and clerical endowments of all on whom he bestowed the purely ecclesiastical employments. He would no longer endure those compacts by which one man had hitherto been allowed to enjoy the revenues of an office, while he made over its duties to another, by whom, for some mean hire, they were performed, well or ill, as might chance. He had also formed the design of reinstating the bishops in many rights which had been wrongfully withheld from them; and considered it highly culpable that everything should be absorbed by Rome which could in any way be made to yield either profit or influence.⁹

Nor were the reforms of Paul confined to the mere abolition of abuses. Not content with a negative effect only, he proceeded to practical amendments. The services of the Church were performed with increased pomp; it is to him we are indebted for the rich ornaments of the Sistine chapel, and for the solemn representation of the holy sepulchre.¹⁰ There is an ideal of the modern Catholic service of the altar, full of dignity, devotion, and splendor: this it was that floated before the eyes of Paul, and which he would fain have realized.

He permitted no day to pass over, as he boasts, without the promulgation of some edict tending to restore the Church to its original purity. Many of his decrees present the outlines of those ordinances which were afterward sanctioned by the Council of Trent.¹

⁸ Caracciolo, "Vita di Paolo IV.," MS., alludes particularly to these. The Pope said "that such employments of justice and government should be given to those who would perform the duties, and not be sold to people who would only want to get back their money from them."

⁹ Bromato, ii. 483.

¹⁰ Mocenigo, "Relatione di 1560": "This pontiff proceeded so gravely

and with so much dignity in the divine services that he seemed a worthy vicar of Christ; in matters of religion, also, greater diligence could not be desired."

¹ Mocenigo: Pope Paul was continually making some new reform, and always said he had others prepared, so that there would be little opportunity and still less necessity for holding a council.

In the course now adopted, Paul displayed, as might have been expected, all that inflexibility of nature peculiar to him.

Above all other institutions, he favored that of the Inquisition, which he had himself re-established. The days appointed for the "segnatura" and the consistory he would often suffer to pass unnoticed; but never did he miss the Thursday, which was that set apart for the congregation of the Inquisition, and when it assembled before him. The powers of this office he desired to see exercised with the utmost rigor. He subjected new classes of offence to its jurisdiction, and conferred on it the barbarous prerogative of applying torture for the detection of accomplices. He permitted no respect of persons; the most distinguished nobles were summoned before this tribunal, and cardinals, such as Morone and Foscherari, were now thrown into prison, because certain doubts had occurred to him as to the soundness of their opinions, although these very men had been formerly appointed to examine the contents, and decide the orthodoxy, of important books—the "Spiritual Exercises" of Loyola, for example. It was Paul IV by whom the festival of St. Domenico was established, in honor of that great inquisitor.

Thus did a rigid austerity and earnest zeal for the restoration of primitive habits become the prevailing tendency of the popedom.

Paul IV seemed almost to have forgotten that he had ever pursued other purposes than those that now occupied him; the memory of past times seemed extinguished; he lived and moved in his reforms and his Inquisition, gave laws, imprisoned, excommunicated, and held *autos-da-fê*; these occupations filled up his life. At length, when laid prostrate by disease, such as would have caused death even to a younger man, he called his cardinals about him, commended his soul to their prayers, and the holy see with the Inquisition, to their earnest care. Once more would he fain have collected his energies: he sought to raise himself, but the disease prevailed; his strength had failed him—he fell back and expired (August 18, A.D. 1559).

In one respect, at least, are these determined and passionate characters more fortunate than men of feebler mould; they are, perhaps, blinded by the force of their feelings—the violence of their prejudices, but they are also steeled by this force; this violence it is that renders them invincible.

The Roman people did not forget what they had suffered under Paul IV so readily as he had done—they could not forgive him the war he had brought on the State; nor, though they abhorred his nephews, did their disgrace suffice to the resentment of the multitude. On his death being made known, large crowds assembled in the capital, and resolved that, as he had not deserved well either of Rome, or of the world, so would they destroy his monuments. Others attacked the buildings of the Inquisition, set fire to them, and roughly handled the servants of the holy office; they even threatened to burn the Dominican convent of Maria alla Minerva. The Colonnas, the Orsini, Cesarini, Massimi, and other nobles whom Paul had mortally offended, took part in these tumults. The statue that had been erected to this Pope was torn from its pedestal, broken to pieces, and the head, bearing the triple crown, was dragged through the streets.²

It would, nevertheless, have been fortunate for the papal see had it met with no more serious reaction against the enterprises of Paul IV than was intimated by this outbreak.

Section IV.—Remarks on the Progress of Protestantism During the Pontificate of Paul IV

It will have become obvious to the reader that the earlier dissensions between the papacy and the imperial or Spanish power, had contributed more than any other external cause to the establishment of Protestantism in Germany. Yet a second breach was not avoided, and this produced results still more comprehensive and important.

The recall of the papal troops from the imperial army by Paul III, and his transfer of the council from Trent to Bologna, may be considered as the preliminary steps. Their importance was at once made evident: there was no impediment to the subjugation of the Protestants so effectual as that presented by the policy, active and passive, of Paul III at that period.

²Mocenigo: "Viddi il popolo correr in furia verso la casa di Ripetta deputata per le cose dell' Inquisitione, metter a sacco tutta la robba ch' era dentro, sì di vittualie come d'altra robba, che la maggior parte era del Revmo. Cl. Alessandrino sommo Inquisitore, trattar male con bastonate e ferite tutti i ministri dell' Inquisitione, levar le scritture gettandole a refuso per la

strada, e finalmente poner foco in quella casa. I frati di S. Domenico erano in tant' odio a quel popolo che in ogni modo volevan abbruciar il monastero della Minerva." (See the text.) He goes on to declare that the nobles were principally to blame in this affair, and says that similar outbreaks occurred in Perugia.

The great and permanent results of these measures were, however, not obvious until after the death of the pontiff. That connection with France, into which he led his nephews, occasioned a universal war; and in this the German Protestants not only achieved that memorable victory by which they secured themselves forever from the Pope, Emperor, and council, but also gained important progress for their opinions by the contact into which the Protestant soldiers, who fought on both sides, were forced with those of France and the Netherlands. This contact caused the extensive acceptance of the new doctrines in those countries, their introduction being favored by the prevalence of a confusion, occasioned by the war, which rendered vigilant precaution impossible.

Paul IV ascended the papal throne. It was for him to have taken a clear view of things as existing before his eyes, and, above all, his first efforts should have been turned to the restoration of peace: but with all the blindness of passion, he plunged himself into the tumult, and it thus came to pass that he, the most furious of zealots, was in fact a more effectual promoter of that Protestantism, which he so abhorred and persecuted, than any one of his predecessors.

Let us examine the influence of his conduct on England alone.

The first victory gained by the new opinions in that country was for a long time incomplete: nothing further was required than a retrogression of the government, and the presence of a Catholic sovereign would at once have determined the Parliament to subject the national church once more to the dominion of the Pope—but then the latter must proceed cautiously; he must not wage open war with those innovations that had arisen from the present and recent state of things. This had been at once perceived by Julius III. His first nuncio having instantly remarked the potency of those interests that were connected with the confiscated property of the Church,¹ he magnanimously resolved to make no effort for its restitution. Indeed, the legate was not permitted to land on the English soil until he had given satisfactory assurances in this respect. It was to these declarations that his extensive influence was

¹ "Lettere di Mr. Henrico, Nov. 1553," in a MS. entitled "Lettere e Negotiati di Polo," in which there is

much besides of importance to this history. See also Pallavicini as to this matter, xiii. 9, 411.

attributable—to them was he indebted for the principal part of his success.² This legate, with whom we are already acquainted, was Reginald Pole—the man, above all others, best fitted to labor successfully for the restoration of Catholicism in England—a native of the country, of high rank, acceptable equally to the Queen, the nobles, and the people; moderate, intelligent, and raised far above all suspicion of sordid or unworthy purposes. Affairs proceeded most prosperously, as might have been expected from such guidance. The accession of Paul IV to the papal throne was followed by the arrival of English ambassadors, who assured him of that nation's obedience.

Thus Paul had not to acquire the allegiance of England, he had merely to retain it. Let us see by what measures he sought to effect this.

First, he declared the restitution of all church property to be an indispensable duty, the neglect of which entails everlasting damnation; he next attempted to re-establish the tax called "Peter's pence."³ But, apart from these ill-considered measures, could he have adopted any method better calculated to prevent the return of the English to the Catholic pale than the indulgence of his rancorous hostility to Philip II, who, if a Spanish prince, was also King of England? In the battle of St. Quintin, so influential in Italy as well as France, English soldiers assisted to gain the victory. Finally, he persecuted Cardinal Pole, whom he never could endure, deprived him of his dignity as legate, an office that no man had ever borne with greater advantage to the Holy See, and appointed an aged inefficient monk to succeed him, whose principal recommendation was that he shared the prejudices of the pontiff.⁴ Had it been the purpose of Paul to impede the work of restoration, he could not have adopted more effectual measures.

There can be no wonder that the opposing tendencies should immediately act with renewed violence on the unexpected death of the Queen and cardinal. This result was powerfully accelerated by the religious persecutions, which Pole had condemned, but which his bigoted antagonists approved and promoted.

²He did not hesitate to acknowledge the right of those in possession.—"Letteræ Dispensatoriæ Clis. Poli." "Concilia M. Britanniaë," iv. 112.

³He was exclusively occupied with these ideas. He published his bull.

"Rescissio Alienationum" (Bullarium iv. 4, 319), in which he annulled all alienation of church property without any exception.

⁴Godwin's "Annales Angliæ," etc., p. 456.

Once more had the Pope an opportunity of deciding the question whether England should be Catholic or Protestant, and this decision demanded all the more serious consideration from the fact that it must inevitably affect Scotland also. In that country likewise the religious parties were in fierce contest, and accordingly as matters should be regulated in England would assuredly be the future condition of Scotland.

How significant then was the fact that Elizabeth showed herself by no means decidedly Protestant in the beginning of her reign,⁵ and that she caused her accession to be instantly notified to the Pope. There were even negotiations in progress for her marriage with Philip II, and the world of that day believed this event very probable. One would have thought that no state of things could be more satisfactory to the pontiff.

But Paul was incapable of moderation; he returned a repulsive and contemptuous reply to the ambassador of Elizabeth: "First of all," said he, "she must submit her claims to the decision of our judgment."

We are not to believe the pontiff moved to this entirely by his sense of what was due to the dignity of the Apostolic See—other motives were in action. The French desired to prevent this marriage from national jealousy, and contrived to persuade Paul, through the pious Theatines, that Elizabeth was entirely Protestant at heart, and that no good could result from such a marriage.⁶ The Guises were particularly interested for the success of this affair. Should the claims of Elizabeth be rejected by the Holy See, the next title to the English crown would be possessed by their sister's daughter, Mary Stuart, dauphiness of France and Queen of Scotland. Could her right be established the Guises might hope to rule in her name over all the three kingdoms. And, in fact, that princess did assume the English arms. She dated her edicts with the year of her reign over England and Ireland, while preparations for war were commenced in the Scottish ports.⁷

Thus, had Elizabeth not been disposed to the opinions of the Protestants, the force of circumstances would have com-

⁵ Nares, also, in his "Memoirs of Burleigh," considers her religious principles "at first liable to some doubts."

⁶ Private narrative of Thuanus.

⁷ In Forbes's "Transactions" there

is a "Responsio ad Petitiones D. Glacion. et Episc. Aquilani," by Cecil, which sets forth all these motives in the most lively manner.

pelled her to adopt that party. This she did with the most decided resolution, and succeeded in obtaining a Parliament having a Protestant majority,⁸ by which all those changes that constitute the essential character of the English Church were in a few months effected.

The influence of this turn of things necessarily affected Scotland also. In that country the French-Catholic interest was resisted by a party that was at once Protestant and national; Elizabeth lost no time in allying herself with this, and was even exhorted to the measure by the Spanish ambassador himself.⁹ The treaty of Berwick, which she concluded with the Scottish opposition, gave the predominance in Scotland to the Protestants. Before Mary Stuart could land in her own kingdom, she was compelled not only to renounce her claim to the crown of England, but even to ratify the acts of a Parliament guided by Protestant influence, and one of which forbade the performance of mass under penalty of death.

To a reaction against the designs of France then, which the proceedings of the Pope had favored and promoted, was in a great measure to be attributed the triumph gained to Protestantism in Great Britain, and by which its ascendancy there was secured forever.

There is no doubt that the inward impulses of those who held Protestant opinions had their origin in causes much more deeply seated than any connected with political movements, but for the most part the outbreak, progress, and decision of the religious struggle very closely coincided with the various contingencies of politics.

In Germany, also, a measure adopted by Paul IV was in one respect of peculiar importance; incited by his old aversion to the house of Austria, he had opposed the transfer of the imperial crown, which obliged Ferdinand I to be more attentive than he had hitherto been to the maintenance of friendly relations with his Protestant allies; the affairs of Germany were thenceforward governed by a union of the moderate princes belonging to both confessions, and under their influence it was that the transference of ecclesiastical foundations

⁸Neal, "History of the Puritans," i. 126: "The court took such measures about elections as seldom fail of success."

⁹Camden, "Rerum Anglicarum Annales," p. 37.

in Lower Germany to Protestant administrations was eventually accomplished.

We are warranted in declaring that the Popedom seemed destined to suffer no injury, to which it had not itself conduced in one way or another by its tendency to interference in political affairs.

And now, if we survey the world from the heights of Rome, how enormous were the losses sustained by the Catholic faith! Scandinavia and Great Britain had wholly departed; Germany was almost entirely Protestant; Poland and Hungary were in fierce tumult of opinion; in Geneva was to be found as important a central point for the schismatics of the Latin nations and of the West as was Wittenberg for those of Germanic race and the East, while numbers were already gathering beneath the banners of Protestantism in France and the Netherlands.

Only one hope now remained to the Catholic confession. The symptoms of dissent that had appeared in Spain and Italy had been totally suppressed, and a restorative strictness had become manifest in all ecclesiastical institutions. The administration of Paul had been doubtless most injurious from its secular policy, but it had at least achieved the introduction of a determined spirit of reform into the court and palace. The question now was, would this have force to maintain itself there; and, in that case, would it then proceed to pervade and unite the whole Catholic world?

Section V.—Pius IV

We are told that Alessandro Farnese, making one at a banquet of cardinals, gave a wreath to a boy who possessed the art of improvisation to the lyre, desiring him to offer it to that one among them who should one day be pope. The boy, Silvio Antoniano, afterward a distinguished man, and himself a cardinal, went instantly to Giovanni Angelo Medici; and, first singing his praises, presented to him the wreath. This Medici was the successor of Paul, and took the name of Pius IV.¹

¹ Nicius Erythræus relates this anecdote in the article on Antoniano, "Pinnacotheca," p. 37. Mazzuchelli also has

it. The election took place on December 26, 1559.

He was of mean birth. His father Bernardino had settled in Milan, where he had acquired a small property by government contracts.² The sons had nevertheless to do the best they could for their own support: the elder, Giangiacomo, betook himself to the trade of arms, and at first entered the service of a nobleman: the second, Giovan Angelo, devoted himself to study, but with very slender means. The origin of their prosperity was as follows: Giangiacomo, naturally reckless and enterprising, had rendered himself useful to the then rulers of Milan by ridding them of one of the Visconti family, called Monsignorino, who was their rival; but no sooner was this murder accomplished than those who devised it were anxious to be delivered from the tool they had employed. To this end they sent the young man to the castle of Mus, on the lake of Como, with a letter to the governor containing orders for his own immediate death; but Giangiacomo felt suspicions of evil, opened the letter, saw what was prepared for him, and at once resolved on the measures to be taken. He gathered a number of trusty comrades, gained admission to the castle by means of the letter he bore, and succeeded in taking possession of it. From that time he assumed the position of an independent prince. Secure in his fortress, he kept the Milanese, Swiss, and Venetians, who were his neighbors, in perpetual activity by his ceaseless incursions. After a time, he took the white cross and entered the imperial service. He received the title of Marchese di Marignano, served as chief of artillery in the war against the Lutherans, and commanded the Emperor's forces at Sienna.³ His shrewdness was not inferior to his daring; his undertakings were invariably successful, but he was altogether without pity; many a wretched peasant, who was attempting to carry provisions into Sienna, did he destroy with his iron staff. Scarcely was there a tree far and near on which he had not caused some one of them to be hanged. It was computed that he had put to death at least five thousand men. He took Sienna, and founded a considerable house.

The advance of his brother, Giovan Angelo, had kept pace with his own. This last took the degree of doctor-in-law, and

²Hieronymo Soranzo, "Relatione di Roma"; "Bernardino, the father of his holiness, was considered an excellent man, and very industrious; though poor and of low condition he came to

Milan, and set himself to farming the taxes."

³Ripamonte, "Historia Urbis Mediolani." "Natalis Comes Hist."

gained some reputation as a jurist; he then purchased an office in Rome, and rapidly acquired the confidence of Paul III. When the Marchese di Marignano, his brother, was married to an Orsina, the sister of Pier Luigi Farnese's wife,⁴ he was himself made cardinal. After this we find him in the administration of papal cities, charged with the conduct of political negotiations, and more than once intrusted with the commissariat of papal armies. Cardinal Medici ever proved himself discreet, intelligent, and kindly disposed; but Paul IV detested him, and once burst into violent invectives against him in full consistory. Medici then thought it best to leave Rome, and resided sometimes at the baths of Pisa, sometimes in Milan, where he raised many splendid buildings, beguiling his exile by literary occupations, and by the exercise of a beneficence so magnificent as to procure him the name of "Father of the Poor." It was very probably the extreme contrast he exhibited to Paul IV that principally contributed to his election.

This contrast was indeed more than commonly striking.

Paul IV was a Neapolitan, highly born, of the anti-Austrian faction, a zealot, a monk, and an inquisitor. Pius IV was the son of a Milanese tax-gatherer, firmly attached to the house of Austria, by his brother and some other German connections; a lawyer, a man of the world, and fond of enjoyment. Paul IV stood aloof and inaccessible, never deposing his majesty for even the least dignified occasions. Pius was all cordiality and condescension. He was seen daily in the streets on foot or on horseback, and sometimes almost without attendants; he conversed freely with all. The Venetian despatches make us perfectly acquainted with him.⁵ The ambassadors find him writing or transacting business in a large cool room; he rises and walks with them up and down this hall; or he is perhaps about to visit the Belvedere; he seats himself without laying the stick from his hand, hears what they have to say, and continues his walk in their company. While

⁴Soranzo: "Nato, 1499, took his degree of doctor, 1525, vivendo in studio così strettamente che il Pasqua suo medico, che stava con lui a dozana, l'accommodò un gran tempo del suo servitore e di qualche altra cosa necessaria. Del 1527 comprò un protonotariato. Servendo il Cl. Farnese [Ripamonte mentions his good understanding with Paul III] colla più assidua

diligenza, s'andò mettendo in anzi: ebbe diversi impieghi, dove acquistò nome di persona integra e giusta e di natura officiosa." The marriage of the marquis follows, with the promise of a cardinalate to himself.

⁵"Ragguagli dell' Ambasciatore Veneto da Roma, 1561." By Marco Antonio Amulio (Mula, *Informatt. Pol.*, xxxvii.

treating them with this pleasant intimacy, however, he desired to meet respect and politeness in return. The clever expedients occasionally proposed to him by the Venetians were sure to elicit his smiles and praises; but all his fidelity to the Austrian cause could not prevent him from disliking the formal imperious manners of the Spanish envoy Vargas. Unwilling to be encumbered with details, which instantly wearied him, his attention was readily given to the really important matter, and while this was kept in view he was always good-tempered and most easy to deal with. On such occasions he would pour forth a thousand friendly protestations; declare himself to be by nature a lover of justice, and to hate bad men with all his heart; that he would not willingly restrict the freedom of any man, would fain show kindness and good-will toward all, but most especially was resolved to labor heartily for the good of the Church, and trusted in God that he might accomplish something useful to its interests. How easily can we bring him before us; a portly old man, still active enough to reach his country-house before sunrise. His countenance was cheerful, his eyes were bright and keen; lively conversation, the pleasures of the table, and perhaps a harmless jest—these were his recreations: recovering once from an illness that had been thought dangerous, he mounted his horse at the first possible moment, rode away to a house where he had dwelt in his cardinalate, and stepping firmly up and down the stairs, “No, no,” he exclaims, “we don’t mean to die just yet!”

But this pontiff, so joyous, of so worldly a temperament—was he precisely the head of the Church required under the difficult circumstances of the moment? Was it not to be feared that he would depart from the course so lately entered on by his predecessor? I will not say that his character might not have led him to do this, yet in fact the event was not so.

He had certainly no love for the Inquisition in his heart. The monkish severity of its proceedings was most uncongenial to his nature; he seldom or never appeared in the congregation, but neither did he seek to lessen the power of its officers. He declared himself to understand nothing of the matter, said that he was no theologian, and permitted them to exercise all the influence they possessed under Paul IV.⁶

⁶Soranzo: “It is well known that the pontiff dislikes the great severity with which the inquisitors handle those accused. He makes it known that it

He made a fearful example of the nephews of his predecessor. The atrocities committed by the Duke of Palliano, even after his fall, among others that of murdering his wife in a fit of jealousy, facilitated the efforts of their enemies, who thirsted for revenge; a criminal process was commenced against them, and they were accused of the most detestable crimes; robberies, forgeries, and assassinations, together with the most tyrannical abuse of the powers intrusted to them, and the most systematic duplicity practised against their aged uncle, the late pontiff. Their defence is still extant, and is not altogether without an appearance of justification.⁷ But their accusers prevailed. The Pope caused all the evidence to be read before him; with this he was occupied in the consistory from early morning till late at night, when the accused were condemned, and received sentence of death. These were the cardinal and the Duke of Palliano, with Count Aliffe and Leonardo di Cardine, two of their nearest connections. Montebello and some others had before taken flight. The cardinal had perhaps expected banishment, but had never thought of death. He received the announcement of his sentence in the morning before he had risen: when it was no longer possible to doubt the fact, he buried his face in the bed-clothes for a time, then raising his head he clasped his hands together, uttering those words that, while sounding like resignation, are in fact but the expression of the deepest despair from the lips of an Italian: "Bene! Paziienza"—"It is well! let us take patience!" His usual confessor was not permitted to attend him, but to the one accorded he had as may be imagined much to say, and his confession continued a long time. "Make an end, Monsignore," exclaimed an officer of police, "we have other affairs to settle."

And so perished the nephews of Paul IV. They were the last who aspired to independent principalities, and excited general commotions for the furtherance of their own purposes in politics. From the time of Sixtus IV we have Girolamo

would better please him were they rather to proceed with gentlemanly courtesy than monkish harshness; yet he either will not or dare not oppose their decisions."

⁷ Bromato gives particular details of these events, which he takes principally from Nares. In the *Informatt* we

also find the letters of Mula; for example, July 19, 1560: The occurrence of the death of the Caraffas, with the declaration, and the manner in which they died. "La Morte de Cl. Caraffa" (Library at Venice, vi. n. 39) is the MS. that Bromato had before him, in addition to that of Nares.

Riario, Cæsar Borgia, Lorenzo de' Medici, Pier Luigi Farnese, and the Caraffas, who, as we said, were the last. The kindred of popes have made themselves conspicuous in later times, but in a totally different manner. The old forms of nepotism have appeared no more.

How could Pius IV, for example, have conferred on his own family a power, for the exercise of which he had so heavily visited the Caraffas? He was, besides, disposed by the peculiar activity of his character to the retention of affairs in his own hands; all important business was carefully examined by himself; he weighed the evidence, and determined by his own judgment. He was considered to rely too little rather than too much on the aid of others. This disposition was, perhaps, confirmed by the fact that of his two nephews, the one, Federigo Borromeo, whom he might have wished to advance, died young; the other, Carlo Borromeo, was not the man for worldly aggrandizement, and would never have accepted it. This last, indeed, regarded his connection with the pontiff, and the contact into which it brought him with the most weighty affairs of the government, not as involving the right to any personal advantage or indulgence, but rather as imposing duties that demanded his most assiduous care. To these, then, did he devote himself with equal modesty and perseverance; earnestly were his best energies applied to the administration of the state; he gave audience with the most unwearied patience. It was for the more effectual performance of his duties that he called around him that "collegium" of eight learned men, whence was afterward formed the important institution of the "Consulta." He lent valuable aid to the Pope, and is that same Borromeo who was afterward canonized. No life could be more noble and blameless than was that of this cardinal. "In so far as we know," says Geronimo Soranzo, "he is without spot or blemish, so religious a life and so pure an example, leave the most exacting nothing to demand. It is greatly to his praise that in the bloom of youth, nephew to a Pope whose favor he entirely possessed, and living in a court where every kind of pleasure invites him to its enjoyment, he yet leads so exemplary a life." His recreation was to gather round him in the evenings a few learned and distinguished men; with these he would at first discuss profane literature, but from

Epictetus and the Stoics, whom Borromeo, then young, did not despise, the conversation even in those, his leisure moments, soon turned to theological subjects.⁸ If a fault could be found in him, it was not of deficiency in uprightness of purpose, or steadiness of application, but perhaps in some degree as regarded his talents. His servants indeed thought it a defect that they could no longer count on those rich marks of favor which were conferred in former times by the papal nephews.

And thus did the qualities of the nephew make amends for whatsoever might be thought wanting by the more severely disposed in the character of the uncle. In any case, all things proceeded in their established course; affairs spiritual and temporal were conducted with good order and due attention to the interests of the Church, nor was the work of reform neglected. Pius admonished the bishops publicly to reside in their dioceses, and some were seen at once to kiss his foot and take their leave. Ideas that have once become widely prevalent assume an irresistible force of coercion. The seriousness of spirit now prevailing in religious matters had gained the mastery in Rome, and the Pope himself could no longer depart from its dictates.

But if the somewhat worldly dispositions of Pius IV were not permitted to impede the restoration of strict discipline to the ecclesiastical habits, it is certain that they contributed infinitely toward the composing of that discord, and the removal of those animosities by which the Catholic world had been so long afflicted.

It had been the full conviction of Paul IV that a pope was created for the subjugation of emperors and kings; thus it was that he plunged himself into so many wars and enmities. Pius perceived the error of this notion all the more clearly because it was committed by his immediate predecessor, and one to whom he felt that he was in many ways directly contrasted. "Thereby did we lose England," would he say—"England that we might have retained with perfect ease, had Cardinal Pole been supported in his measures; thus too has Scotland been torn from us; for during the wars excited by

⁸ These are the "Noctes Vaticanæ," mentioned by Glussianus, "Vita Caroli Borromei," i. iv. 22.

these severe proceedings the doctrines of Germany made their way into France." He, on the contrary, was desirous of peace above all things; even with the Protestants he would not willingly have war. An ambassador from Savoy came soliciting his aid for an attack on Geneva. He repeatedly interrupted his speech: "What sort of times are these," said he, "for making such proposals?" He declared that nothing was so needful to him as peace.⁹ Fain would he have been on good terms with all the world. He dispensed his ecclesiastical favors liberally; and when compelled to refuse anything, always did so with gentleness and consideration. It was his conviction that the authority of the papacy could no longer subsist without the support of the temporal sovereigns, and this he did not seek to conceal.

In the latter part of the pontificate of Paul IV, a council was again universally demanded; and it is certain that Pius IV would have found it very difficult to resist this call. He could not urge the pretext of war, as had previously been done, since peace was at length established throughout Europe. A general council was indeed imperatively needful to his own interests, for the French were threatening to convoke a national council, which might possibly have led to a schism. But, apart from all this, my own impression is, that he honestly desired this measure. Let us hear what he says himself of the matter: "We desire this council," he declares, "we wish it earnestly, and we would have it to be universal. Were it otherwise, we could throw obstacles before the world that might hinder it for years, but we desire on the contrary to remove all hinderances. Let what requires reformation be reformed, even though it be our own person and our own affairs. If we have any other thought than to do God service, then may God visit us accordingly." He sometimes complained that the sovereigns did not duly support him in so great an undertaking. One morning the Venetian ambassador found him still in bed, disabled by gout, but deeply cogitating this momentous affair. "Our intentions are upright," he remarked to the ambassador, "but we are alone." "I could not but com-

⁹Mula, February 14, 1561. Pius requested him to say, "That we desire to remain at peace; we have no idea of these fancies of the Duke of Savoy;

this is no time for an undertaking against Geneva, or for the appointment of generals; write that we are determined to remain at peace."

passionate him," observes the Venetian, "seeing him thus in his bed, and hearing him complain that he was alone to bear so heavy a burden;" the affair was nevertheless making progress. On January 18, 1562, so many bishops and delegates had assembled in Trent, that the twice-interrupted council could for the third time be opened. Pius IV had the most important share in bringing this about.

"Without doubt," says Girolamo Soranzo, who does not usually take part with this pontiff, "his holiness has in this matter given proof of all the zeal that was to be expected from so exalted a pastor; he has neglected nothing that could forward so holy and so needful a work."

Section VI.—Later Sitzings of the Council of Trent

How materially had the state of the world altered since the first sittings of this council! No more had the Pope now to fear lest a mighty emperor should avail himself of its powers to render himself lord paramount over the Holy See. Ferdinand I was entirely divested of influence in Italy, nor was any important error as to essential points of doctrine to be apprehended.¹ These dogmas, retaining the form they had received from the first sittings of the council, though not yet entirely developed, had become predominant throughout the greater part of the Catholic world. To reunite the Protestants with the Church was no longer a thing that could be brought into question. In Germany they had now gained a position wholly unassailable. In the north their ideas as to ecclesiastical affairs had entered even into the civil policy; a change that was in process of accomplishment in England also. When the Pope declared that the present council was but a continuation of the former one, he had in fact abandoned all hope that the event would verify his assertion, although he had succeeded in silencing the dissentient voices; for how in fact was it possible that the free Protestants should acquiesce in a council which, in its earlier edicts, had condemned the

¹ It was thus that Ferdinand I considered the matter. "Litteræ ad Legatos, 12 Aug. 1562," in Le Plat, "Monum. ad Hist. Conc. Tridentini," v. p. 452: "For to what end shall we dis-

cuss those dogmas, respecting which there is now no dissension among Catholics, whether princes or private individuals?"

most essential articles of their creed?² Thus, the influence of the council was limited from its commencement to the now greatly contracted circle of the Catholic nations. Its purposes must be confined to the arrangements of disputes between these last and the supreme ecclesiastical authority, to the precise determination of such tenets as were not distinctly settled; and, but this most especially was its great end, to the completion of that reform in the Church which had already commenced, and to the setting forth rules of discipline that should possess universal authority.

These duties were closely limited, yet their fulfilment was surrounded by various difficulties, and there soon arose among the assembled fathers most animated controversies and disputes.

Whether the residence of bishops in their dioceses were by divine command, or prescribed simply by human authority, was a question mooted by the Spaniards; though this might seem but an idle discussion, since all agreed on the fact that residence was imperative. The Spaniards, however, further maintained the episcopal authority to be no mere emanation from that of the pontiff, but to have its origin immediately from divine appointment. Hereby they struck at the very heart's core of the whole ecclesiastical system; for by the admission of this principle, that independence of the subordinate grades in the hierarchy, which the popes had so earnestly labored to subdue, must necessarily have been restored.

Already had the council fallen into eager disputes on this topic, when the imperial ambassadors arrived. Most especially remarkable are the articles of their proposing. One of them is to the effect that, "The Pope, following the example of Christ, should humble himself, and submit to a reform in his own person, his state, and curia. The council must reform the appointment of cardinals, as well as the conclave." "How is it possible that the cardinals should choose a good pope," inquired Ferdinand, "seeing that they are not good themselves?" For the reform that should satisfy him, he desired

² The principal argument urged by the Protestants in their protest: "*Causæ cur Electores Principes alique Augustanæ confessioni adjuncti status recusant adire concilium.*"—Le Plat, iv. p. 57. They remark, in the first proclamation,

those alarming words: "*Omni suspensione sublata.*" They recall to mind the condemnation formerly passed on their most essential doctrines, and enlarge at great length on "What will lie concealed beneath that confirmation."

to have the resolutions proposed by the Council of Constance (but which had not received effect) as the basis; the plan to be prepared by deputations from the different countries. But, besides this, he demanded also the cup for the laity, the marriage of priests, the remission of the fasts for some of his subjects, the establishment of schools for the poor, the purification of the breviary, legends, and homilies; more intelligible catechisms, the use of German in Church singing, and the reform of the monasteries; the last for this special reason, "that their great wealth might no longer be expended in so profligate a manner."³ Most important proposals these, without doubt, and such as, being conceded to, must have led to a thorough change in the whole system of the Church. The Emperor urged the consideration of them, in repeated letters.

Finally, the Cardinal of Lorraine appeared with the French prelates, and cordially supported the German propositions. He also demanded, most especially, that the cup should be conceded to the laity. He required the administration of all sacraments in the mother tongue, that the mass should be accompanied by preaching and instruction, and that the psalms might be allowed to be sung in the French language in full congregation; concessions from all which the most desirable results were anticipated. "We are fully assured," said the King, "that the accordance of the cup to the laity will restore quiet to many troubled consciences, will recall to the Church whole provinces now severed from her communion, and be to us an effective assistance in appeasing the troubles of our kingdom."⁴ But the French were, moreover, desirous again to bring forward the decrees of the Council of Basle; and by these it was determined, that the authority of the Pope is subordinate to that of a council.

It is true that the Spaniards would in no wise support these demands of the Germans and French; the accordance of the cup to the laity, and the marriage of priests, were altogether

³ Pallavicini has almost entirely overlooked these requirements, xvii. 1, 6. They are not to his mind, indeed they never have been made known in their proper form. They lie before us in three extracts. The first I find in P. Sarpi, lib. vi. p. 325; also, with no other variation than that they are in Latin, in Rinaldus and Goldast. The second is in Bartholomæus de Martyribus, and is somewhat more extensive. The third

has been taken by Schelhorn from the papers of Staphylus. They do not strictly agree. I should think the original might be found in Vienna, and it would certainly be a remarkable document. I have adhered to the extract in Schelhorn. Le Plat gives them all, together with the reply.

⁴ "Mémoire baillé à M. le Cl. de Lorraine, quand il est parti pour aller au concile de Trent."—Le Plat, iv. 562.

abhorrent in their eyes, and condemned without remission. No agreement could possibly be arrived at in the council, as regarded these points; all that could be gained was, the reference of such proposals to the pontiff, who was to decide on the expediency of granting them. There were certain matters, nevertheless, as to which all three nations concurred in opposition to the claims of the Curia. All found it insufferable that the legates alone should have the right of proposing resolutions; and not this only, but that these legates should further require the approbation of the Pope for every decree, and suffer none to pass but at his good pleasure. This seemed to all an affront to the dignity of the council. "If things are to proceed thus," said Ferdinand, "there will be two councils; one at Trent, the other, which is indeed the true one, in Rome."

Had the votes been taken by nations, what extraordinary decrees might there not, in this state of opinions, have emanated from this assembly!

But since this was not done, the three nations still remained in a minority, even when their forces were united; for the Italians were more numerous than all the rest put together, and they supported the Curia, on which they were for the most part dependent, with but little regard to the question of right or wrong. This awakened much bitterness of feeling. The French amused themselves with a story of how the Holy Spirit had come to Trent in a cloak-bag. The Italians spoke of Spanish leprosy, and French diseases, by which all the faithful were infected, one after another. The Bishop of Cadiz declared, that there had been bishops of great fame, nay, excellent fathers of the Church, who had been appointed by no pope; on which the Italians burst forth in unanimous vociferations, demanded his instant expulsion, and even spoke of anathema and heresy. The "heresy" was sent them back, with interest, by the Spaniards.⁵ Parties would frequently assemble in the streets, shouting each its watchword of "Spain! Spain!" "Italy! Italy!" and blood was seen to flow on the ground that had been consecrated to the establishment of peace.

⁵ Pallavicini, xv. v. 5. Paleotto, Acta: "Alii prælati ingeminabant, clamantes, 'Exeat, exeat'; et alii, 'Anathema sit, ad quos Granatensis conversus respon-

dit, 'Anathema vos estis.'"—Mendham, "Memoirs of the Council of Trent," p. 251.

For ten months it was found impossible even to proceed to a session. But could this be wondered at? or is it surprising that the first legate should dissuade the Pope from going to Bologna, on the ground of the remarks that all would make, if, in spite of his presence, the council could still be conducted to no satisfactory end, but must after all be dissolved?⁶ Yet a dissolution, nay, even a suspension, or a mere translation, which had often been thought of, would have been extremely dangerous. In Rome they dared hope for nothing but evil; a council was there considered much too violent a remedy for the grievously debilitated constitution of the Church, and all feared that ruin must ensue, both for Italy and the hierarchy. "In the beginning of the year 1563," says Girolamo Soranzo, "and but a few days before my departure, Cardinal Carpi, dean of the college, and a man of great foresight, assured me, that in the last illness he had suffered, his prayers had been constantly that God would grant him permission to die, and not survive to see the downfall and burial of Rome. Other distinguished cardinals equally bemoan their evil destiny, and clearly perceive that no hope of escape remains to them, unless the hand of God should be mercifully extended for their protection."⁷ All the misfortunes that had ever been anticipated from a council by his predecessors, were now believed by Pius IV to hang over his own head.

The persuasion that in seasons of difficulty, and, above all, in cases of grave errors in the Church, an assembly of her principal shepherds will avail to remove all evil, is at once consoling and sublime. "Let its deliberations proceed," says Augustine, "without presumption or envy, and in Catholic peace. Having profited by wider experience, let the concealed be made obvious, and let all that was shut up be brought to the light of day." But, even in the earliest councils, this ideal was far from being realized. It demanded an uprightness of purpose, a freedom from all extraneous influences—a

⁶ "Lettere del Cle. di Mantua, Legato al Concilio di Trento, scritta al Papa Pio IV. li. 15 Gen. 1563": "Quando si avesse da dissolversi questo concilio, per causa d' altri e non nostra, mia piacerea più che Vra. Beatitudine fusse restata a Roma."

⁷ "Li Cardinali di maggior autorità deploravano con tutti a tutte l'ore la loro miseria, la quale stimano tanto

maggiore che vedono e conoscono assai chiaro, non esservi rimedio alcuno se non quello che piacesse dare al Sr. Dio con la sua santissima mano." Soranzo himself adds, "It must needs be feared, most serene prince, that our poor Italy, afflicted by so many curses, will have to suffer from this also, and so do all wise men see and know."

purity of soul, in short, that man has not yet obtained. Still less could these now be hoped for, when the Church was involved in so many contradictory relations with the State. If, notwithstanding their imperfections, general councils had still retained the respect of nations, and were still looked to with hope, and demanded as remedial, this must be attributed to the necessity existing for imposing some restraint on the papal influence; but the present state of affairs seemed confirmatory of what the pontiffs had constantly maintained: namely, that in times of great perplexity, church councils tended rather to increase than remove the evil. All Italy took part in the fears of the Curia. "The council," said the Italians, "will either be continued, or it will be dissolved. In the first case—and more especially if the Pope should die pending its duration—the ultramontanes will arrange the conclave according to their own interests, and to the disadvantage of Italy; they will lay so many restrictions on the pontiff, that he will be little more than the mere bishop of Rome; under pretence of reforms, they will render all offices worthless, and ruin the whole Curia. On the other hand, should the council be dissolved without having produced any good effect, even the most orthodox would receive great offence, while those whose faith is wavering will stand in peril of being utterly lost."

That any essential change could be produced in the opinions of the council itself, seemed, as matters now stood, altogether impossible. The legates, guided by the Pope, with the Italians who were closely bound to him, were confronted by the prelates of France, Spain, and Germany, who, on their side, were led, each by the ambassador of his sovereign. What arrangement of differences—what middle term, could be devised? There seemed none: even in February of 1563 the state of things appeared to be desperate, the most vehement contentions prevailed, each party obstinately adhering to the opinions it had adopted.

But when all these affairs were examined with more earnest attention, there appeared the possibility of an escape from the labyrinth.

The discordant opinions only met and combated in Trent; their origin and guides were in Rome, and at the courts of the respective sovereigns. If these dissensions could ever be

healed, it must be by proceeding to their sources. Pius IV had declared that the papacy could no longer support itself without the aid of the temporal princes: it was now the moment to act upon the principle thus laid down. The Pope had once thought of receiving the demands of the different courts himself, and granting them without the intervention of the council; but this would have been a half-measure only. The best thing now to be done was to bring the council to a close, in concert with the other great powers: no other resource presented itself.

Pius IV determined to attempt this. The most able and statesmanlike of his cardinals, Morone, gave him effectual aid.

In the first instance, Ferdinand I must be gained—this was of the highest importance, for not only had the French concurred with him in opinion, as before related, but he had, also, much influence with Philip of Spain, his nephew, who deferred to him on most occasions.

Cardinal Morone had been chosen president of the council, but well assured that nothing effectual could be accomplished in Trent, he proceeded to Inspruck, in April, 1563, permitting no other prelate to accompany him, for the purpose of meeting the Emperor, who was in that city. He found Ferdinand highly offended—in extreme discontent, fully persuaded that no serious intentions of reform were entertained in Rome, and resolved in the first place to procure perfect freedom for the council.⁸

An extraordinary exercise of address, or, as we should now say, of “diplomatic skill,” was required on the part of the legate, in order to propitiate the irritated monarch.⁹

The Emperor was, above all, offended because his own project of reform had been set aside, and had not even been made the subject of serious discussion; but Morone found means to persuade him that there were very sufficient reasons why the formal discussion of his plan had been deferred, but that, in fact, its more important points had not only been considered

⁸ To this place belongs also the “Relatione in scr. fatta dal Comendone ai Sri. Legati del Concilio sopra le cose ritratte dall’ imperatore, 19 Feb. 1563”: “They seem to think that they shall find ways and means to have more influence and authority in this council, so as to secure all their desires conjointly with the French.”

⁹ The most important paper I have found in regard to the Council of Trent is Morone’s “Report of his Legation”: it is brief but conclusive. Neither Sarpi nor even Pallavicini has noticed it. “Relatione sommaria del Cl. Morone sopra la Legatione sua.” *Bibl. Altieri*, in Roma, vii. f. 3.

but even adopted. Next, Ferdinand complained that the council was led by Rome, the legates proceeding entirely according to the instructions received from the pontiff. To this Morone replied, and the fact was incontrovertible, that the ambassadors from all the courts received their instructions from home, and were constantly furnished by their sovereigns with new suggestions.

The cardinal had long possessed the confidence of the house of Austria, and he so contrived as to get over this delicate negotiation very happily—he smoothed away the unfavorable impressions that Ferdinand had received, and applied himself skilfully to the effecting a compromise on those points which were most eagerly contested by the prelates in council. He was resolved never to permit the essential authority of the Pope to be in any wise diminished; the principal object was, as he tells us himself, “to hit upon such expedients as that Ferdinand might consider himself satisfied without really compromising the power either of pope or legate.”¹⁰

The first point in dispute was, that exclusive right of presenting resolutions, which, being vested in the legates, was maintained to be an infringement on the liberty of the council. Here Morone remarked, that the right to the initiative, if possessed by the prelates generally, would be frequently used in opposition to the interest of princes: of this fact he had no difficulty in convincing the Emperor, for would not the bishops, once possessed of this privilege, be very prone to use it for the purpose of proposing resolutions inimical to the existing rights of States? thus infinite confusion might arise from such a concession. It was needful, nevertheless, to meet the wishes of the temporal princes in some way, and the expedient adopted for this purpose is sufficiently remarkable. The cardinal promised that he would himself propose whatever the ambassadors should suggest to him from their sovereigns; or, on his failing to do so, they should then have the right of proposing for themselves. This compromise was significant of the spirit that now began to prevail in the council: the legates agreed to renounce the initiative in a case supposed, but rather

¹⁰ “Fu necessario trovare temperamento tale, che paresse all’ imperatore di essere in alcuno modo soddisfatto, et insieme non si pregiudicasse all’ auto-

rità del papa nè de’ legati, ma restasse il concilio nel suo possesso.” (See the text.)

in favor of the ambassadors, than in that of the fathers in council.¹ It follows, then, that to the sovereigns only was accorded a portion of that authority hitherto enjoyed exclusively by the pontiffs: to the council no benefit whatever accrued.

The demand, that the committees wherein the decrees were prepared should be permitted to assemble according to their several nations, was the second question to be mooted. To this Morone replied that the practice had always been so; but that, since the Emperor desired it, a more rigid attention should be given to this rule, which should for the future be established as invariable.

Then came the third point—reform: and here the Emperor conceded that the expression “Reform of the Head,” as also that old question of the Sorbonne, as to whether Pope or council were superior, should be avoided; in return for which, the cardinal promised a searching reform through every department; and in the plan drawn up to this intent even the conclave was included.

These more important points once arranged, the secondary questions were soon agreed on; many demands at first made by Ferdinand were withdrawn, and his ambassadors were enjoined to maintain a good understanding with the papal legates. Having successfully accomplished his mission, Morone again traversed the Alps. “When people became fully aware of the Emperor’s friendly dispositions,” says he, “and of the concord established between his ambassadors and those of the Pope, the council presently changed its aspect, and was much more easily managed.”

Other circumstances contributed to this result.

The French and Spaniards had fallen into dissensions about the right of their respective ambassadors to precedence in the council: thus they no longer continued to act in concert.

Special negotiations had also been entered into with each of these powers.

¹ “Summarium eorum quæ dicuntur Acta inter Cæsaream Majestatem et Illustrissimum Cardinalem Moronum,” in the “Acts of Torellus”; also, in Salig, “Geschichte des tridentinischen Conciliums,” iii. A. 292; where this is expressed as follows: “His majesty reserves to himself to cause the proposal

of measures, either by the said legates, or, if they feel aggrieved by this, through his own servants.” I confess that I should not have inferred such a negotiation as Morone describes, from these words, although it may be implied in them.

A cordial understanding with the Pope was most essential to Philip II, whose authority in Spain, being founded in a great measure on ecclesiastical interests, it was his policy to keep these carefully in his hands. This fact was perfectly well known to the Court of Rome, and the nuncio from Madrid often said that a friendly termination of the council was quite as desirable for the King of Spain as for the Pope. The burdens imposed on church property had already been brought into question by the Spanish prelates in Trent, but the sums furnished by ecclesiastical foundations formed an important portion of the public revenue, and the King, much alarmed, requested the Pope to forbid these offensive discourses.² Could he then be desirous of procuring for his prelates the right of proposing resolutions? He was anxious, on the contrary, to restrict the privileges they already possessed. The pontiff complained of the vehement opposition he had continually to endure from the Spanish bishops, and Philip promised to adopt such means as should keep them within the limits of obedience: suffice it to say, that the Pope and King became assured that their interests were absolutely identical. Other negotiations must also have taken place: the Pope threw himself wholly into the arms of the King, who promised, on his part, that whatever difficulty should assail the pontiff, he, Philip, would come to his aid with the whole force of his kingdom.

The French also were in the meanwhile approaching more cordially to the Pope. The Guises, whose powerful influence prevailed equally in the Council at Trent as in their government at home, had in both places adopted a policy that was decidedly and increasingly Catholic. It was wholly attributable to the compliant dispositions of Cardinal de Guise, that after ten months of delay and eight adjournments, the council did at length hold a session. In addition to this an alliance of the closest character was proposed by his eminence. He desired to form a congress of the leading Catholic sovereigns, the Pope, the Emperor, and the Kings of France and Spain.³ For the better discussion of this project he proceeded himself to Rome, and the Pope could find no words sufficiently eloquent to praise "his Christian zeal for the service of God and the public tranquillity,

² Paolo Tiepolo, "Dispaccio di Spagna, 4th Dec. 1562."

³ "Instruzione data a Mons. Carlo Visconti, mandato da Papa Pio IV. al

Re catt. per le cose del concilio di Trento (ultimo Ottobre, 1563)," *Bibl. Barb.* 3007.

not in matters touching this council only, but also in others affecting the common weal." ⁴ The proposed congress would have been exceedingly agreeable to the Pope, who sent ambassadors on the subject to both Emperor and King.

It was therefore rather at the respective courts, and by means of political negotiations, than at Trent, and by the assembled fathers, that all discords were eventually composed, and all obstacles to a peaceful close of the council removed. Cardinal Morone, to whom this was principally attributable, had besides found means to conciliate the prelates individually, bestowing on each all the deference, praise, and favor that he desired and thought his due. ⁵ His proceedings furnish a striking example of the much that may be effected by an able and skilful man, even under the most difficult circumstances; when he has thoroughly mastered the position of affairs, and proposes to himself such an aim only as is compatible with that position. To him more than to any other man is the Catholic Church indebted for the peaceful termination of the council.

The path was now freed from its encumbrances; there now only remained, as he has himself remarked, to contend with those difficulties that were inseparable from the nature of the subject.

The first that presented itself was the old controversy as to the divine right of bishops, and that of the necessity of their residence. Long did the Spaniards remain immovably fixed in the defence of their tenets; even so late as July, 1563, they maintained them to be as infallible as the ten commandments. The Archbishop of Granada desired that all books upholding contrary doctrines should be prohibited. ⁶ They consented, nevertheless, that these their favorite tenets should be omitted from the decree that was at length drawn up, a form being adopted that left them a pretext for defending the same at any future time. Lainez makes this ambiguity of the decree a special subject of eulogy. ⁷

No very dissimilar course of proceeding was that adopted

⁴ "Il beneficio universale." "Lettera di Papa Pio IV. 20 Ottobre, 1563."

⁵ I have not yet seen the life of Ayala by Villaneuva, in which, as I find, there must be some account of this; but the assertion of Morone himself is quite sufficient. "The prelates," says

he, "being caressed, praised, flattered, and favored, became more tractable."

⁶ "Scrittura nelle Lettere e Memorie del Nuncio Visconti," ii. 174.

⁷ "Ejus verba in utramque partem pie satis posse exponi;" Paleotto, in Mendham's "Memoirs of the Council of Trent," p. 262.

in regard to the next point in dispute, the initiative namely, *proponentibus legatis*. The Pope announced that everyone should be free to ask and to say whatever, by the decrees of ancient councils, it had been permitted to ask and to say, but he carefully abstained from using the word "propose."⁸ Thus an expedient was formed by which the Spaniards were contented, although the Pope had not in fact made the slightest concession.

The difficulties arising from political considerations thus removed, the questions that had caused so much bitterness and wrangling were treated, not so much in the hope of deciding them, as with a view to evade their spirit by some dexterous compromise.

The less weighty matters were very easily accommodated in this disposition of the council, and its proceedings had on no occasion made more rapid progress. The important tenets respecting clerical ordination, the sacrament of marriage, indulgences, purgatory, the adoration of saints, and in fact all the principal measures of reform adopted by the assembly, were decided on in the last three sessions of the latter half of the year 1563. The congregations, as well on the one side as the other, were composed of different nations, the project of reform being discussed in five separate assemblies, one French, which met at the house of Cardinal de Guise, one Spanish, at that of the Archbishop of Granada, and three Italian.⁹

The questions were for the most part agreed upon with little difficulty; two only presented an exception, the first was the exemption of chapters, the second the plurality of benefices; and as regarded both these, private interest took a large share in the contest.

The first of these questions more particularly affected Spain, where the chapters had already lost some portion of the extraordinary immunities they had once enjoyed. These they sought eagerly to regain, while Philip was as eagerly bent on restricting them still further; holding the nomination of bishops himself, he had a personal interest in the extension of episcopal authority. But the Pope took part with the chapters, because

⁸ Pallavicini, xxiii. 6, 5.

⁹ The best accounts touching this matter are to be found where one would scarcely think of seeking them—in

Baini, "Vita di Palestrina," i. 199; they are from authentic letters. The "Diary of Servantio," used by Mendham (p. 304), also names it.

the influence he exercised over the Spanish Church would have been materially diminished by the absolute subjection of chapters to the bishop. Again then were these two powerful interests brought into direct collision, and it became a question which was to command the majority. The Spanish King was exceedingly strong in the council, a delegate had been sent by the chapters to watch over their rights, but his ambassador had found means to exclude him. Philip had so extensive a church patronage at his disposal, that all wished to keep on good terms with him; hence it resulted that opinions were not favorable to the chapters when the votes were taken orally, but the device adopted by the papal legates for escape from that dilemma also is worthy of remark. They resolved that the votes should on this occasion be given in writing. For though the voices, pronouncing in the presence of so many adherents of Philip were restrained by considerations for him, the written opinions being for the legates' hands only, were freed from that influence, and this contrivance did in fact recover an important majority for the papal wishes, and the chapters. Thus supported, and by the intervention of Cardinal de Guise they proceeded to further negotiations with the Spanish prelates, who contented themselves eventually with a much less important extension of their powers than they had hoped to obtain.¹⁰

The second article, regarding plurality of benefices, was yet more important to the Curia; a reform in the institution of cardinals had been talked of from time immemorial, and many thought the degeneracy of that body the primary cause of all abuses. In their hands was accumulated a vast number of benefices, and the intention was to restrict the cardinals in that matter by the most stringent laws. It will be readily believed that on this point the Curia would be most sensitive; they dreaded the slightest innovation in such a direction, and shrank from even deliberating upon the question; very peculiar is here also the expedient contrived by Morone for evading the subject so feared. He mingled the reform of the cardinals with the articles respecting the bishops. "Few perceived the importance

¹⁰ Sarpi, viii. 816, is not very distinct on this subject. The authentic explanation of Morone is extremely valuable. The affair of the canons and their exemptions was at first carried in favor of the ultramontane party, but the votes being afterward taken in writing, which

was not customary, opinions changed, and the contrary prevailed; at length the decrees were issued as they exist, by means of Lorraine, who had returned from Rome, full of devotion to his holiness and to the purposes of the council.

of this proceeding," as he remarks himself, "and so the rocks and shoals were all avoided.

Pius IV having thus successfully accomplished the preservation of the Roman Court in the form it had hitherto maintained, did not evince any great rigor as regarded the proposed reformation of the temporal sovereigns; he permitted this subject to drop, in compliance with the suggestions of Ferdinand.¹

The proceedings were in fact such as those of a mere friendly conference might have been, while questions of subordinate interest were left to be formed into general decrees by the divines; the more important affairs were discussed by the courts. Couriers were incessantly flying in all directions, and one concession was required by another.

And now the most earnest desire of the Pope was to bring the convocation to an early close. For some time the Spaniards were unwilling to accede to this; they were not satisfied with the reforms that had been effected, and the envoy of Philip even made a demonstration of protesting; but the Pope declared his readiness to call a new synod in case of need,² and all perceived the great inconvenience that would be caused by protracting the proceedings till a vacancy of the papal throne might occur while the council was still sitting; and as, besides, everyone felt tired and longed to return home, even the Spaniards at length resigned their objections.

The spirit of opposition was essentially overcome. Even to the last, the council evinced an extreme subserviency. It even condescended to solicit from the Pope a confirmation of its edicts, and expressly declared that all canons of reform, whatever might be implied in their words, were prepared with the perfect understanding that no portion of them should be construed to affect the dignity of the Holy See.³ How far was the Council of Trent from renewing the demands of Constance or Basle to superiority over the papal power! In the proclamations by which the sittings were closed, and which were prepared by Cardinal de Guise, the universal bishopric of the Pope was distinctly recognized.

Thus prosperous was the conclusion; the council so eagerly

¹ That a searching reform of the Curia, the cardinals, and the conclave did not take place, is in close connection with the omission of that intended for the sovereigns. Extracts from the corre-

spondence of the legates, in Pallavicini, xxiii. 7, 4.

² Pallavicini, xxiv. 8, 5.

³ Sessio xxv. c. xxi.

demanded and so long evaded; twice dissolved, and agitated by so many political tempests; which had even in its third assembly been assailed by dangers so imminent, now closed amidst the universal accord of the Catholic world. It will be readily comprehended that the prelates, as they came together for the last time on the fourth of December, 1563, should feel themselves affected by emotions of gladness. Former antagonists were now seen offering mutual gratulation, and tears were observed in the eyes of many among those aged men.

But seeing, as we have shown, that this happy result had been secured only by the utmost pliancy, the most astute contrivance, the most dexterous policy, may we not inquire if the efficiency of the council had not been impaired thereby?

The Council of Trent, if not more important than all other general assemblies of the Church, is indubitably more so than any that have been called in later times.

Its importance is comprised in two momentous periods:—

The first, to which we have already alluded, was during the war of Smalkalde, when the tenets of Rome, after many fluctuations, became separated forever from the Protestant opinions. From the doctrine of justification as then set forth, arose the whole system of dogmatic theology, as it is professed even to the present day by the Catholic Church.

In the second, which we have been just considering, and after the conferences of Cardinal Morone with Ferdinand in the summer and autumn of 1563, the hierarchy was established anew, theoretically by the decrees respecting clerical ordination, and practically by the resolutions touching measures of reform.

These reforms were most important at the moment, nor have they ever yet lost their efficacy.

For the faithful were again subjected to the uncompromising severity of church discipline, and even in extreme cases, to the sword of excommunication. Seminaries were established, wherein the youth preparing for the Church were carefully trained in habits of austerity and the fear of God. Parishes were regulated anew, preaching and the administration of the sacraments were subjected to fixed ordinances, and the cooperation of the conventual clergy was regulated by determined laws. The most rigid performance of their duties was enjoined on the bishops, more especially of that involving the supervision

of the clergy, according to their different grades of consecration. It was besides of the most essential efficacy that these prelates had solemnly bound themselves, by a particular "confession of faith," subscribed and sworn to by each, in a compact of obedience to the ordinances of Trent, and of absolute subjection to the Pope.

And this was the result of the council by which it had unquestionably been contemplated to restrict the authority of the pontiff. An object far from being obtained, that authority having in effect received extent and confirmation from the acts of the assembly. Reserving to himself the exclusive right of interpreting the decrees of Trent, the Pope held the power of prescribing the rule of faith and life. Discipline was restored, but all the faculties of directing it were centred in Rome.

But the close circumscription of her limits was now also perceived and acknowledged by the Catholic Church. On the East and the Greek confession she now resigned all claim; while she drove Protestantism from her borders with anathemas innumerable. In the bosom of the earlier Catholicism, a certain element of the Protestant creed was included, this was now cast forth for ever; but if the Catholic profession had received limitations, it had also concentrated its forces, and braced all its energies well together.

Results so effectual were achieved by the concurrence and aid of the great Catholic sovereigns only, and it is in this alliance of the Church with monarchies, that one of the primary conditions to her subsequent development will be found. This is in some degree analogous with the tendency of Protestantism to combine the episcopal and sovereign rights. It was only by degrees that this displayed itself among Catholics. There is manifestly involved in it a possibility of new divisions, but of such a result there was then no immediate apprehension. The decrees of the council were readily admitted in one province after another. It is the having effected these things that has procured for Pius IV an important station in the history of the world. He was the first pontiff by whom that tendency of the hierarchy to oppose itself to the temporal sovereigns, was deliberately and purposely abandoned.

Having secured this important result, Pius now believed that the labors of his life were brought to a close. On the dispersion

of the council it is remarked, that the tension of his mind was relaxed. It was thought that he became negligent of religious services, and devoted himself too earnestly to the pleasures of the table. He increased the splendor of his court, gave rich entertainments, and erected magnificent buildings. The more zealously disposed perceived a difference between himself and his predecessor, of which they loudly complained.⁴

Not that any reaction of the general feeling was likely to ensue; a tendency had displayed itself in Catholicism that was no longer to be repressed or turned aside.

When once the spirit is fully aroused, there is no presuming to prescribe the path it shall pursue; a very trifling violation of its dictates on the part of those who should represent it in its utmost force, is productive of the most extraordinary symptoms.

It was thus that the spirit of rigid Catholicism, which had gained possession of the age, became instantly perilous to the existence of Pius IV.

There lived in Rome a certain Benedetto Accolti, catholic to enthusiasm, who was constantly speaking of a mystery intrusted to him by God himself, and which he was to make known. In proof that he was declaring the truth only, he offered to walk unhurt in presence of the assembled people, through a burning pile that was to be prepared on the Piazza Navona.

His mystery was this:—he believed himself to have received a revelation, to the effect that the Greek and Roman churches were about to be united, and that this combined Catholic Church would then subdue the Turks and all heretics; that the pontiff would be a holy man, would attain universal monarchy, and restore truth and justice to the human race. By these ideas he was possessed to fanaticism. He was now convinced, however, that Pius IV, whose worldly living and being were infinitely remote from his ideal of holiness, was not formed to carry out this divine mission, and that he, Benedetto Accolti, was selected by God to deliver Christendom from so unsuitable a chief.

He conceived the design of putting the Pope to death, and found an associate whom he made his own by the promise of

⁴ Paolo Tiepolo: "After this (the council) was at an end, freed from great anxiety, and rendered bold in his confirmed authority, he began to act more freely according to his inclina-

tions, so that one clearly saw in him the mind of a prince assured of his own affair, rather than that of a pontiff regardful of the welfare of others." Panvinius makes the same remark.

rewards from God himself, as well as from their future holy sovereign. One day they set forward on their purpose, and soon perceived the pontiff approaching. He was in the midst of a procession, within reach of their hands—tranquil, free from suspicion, and without defence.

But instead of rushing on the sovereign, Accolti began to tremble and changed color. The solemnity of attendance on the person of a pope has something too imposing to fail of impressing so fanatical a Catholic as was this man. The Pope passed on his way.

Accolti had, however, been meanwhile remarked by others. The companion whom he had gained over, Antonio Canossa, was not a person of firm resolution—at one moment he would suffer himself to be persuaded into a second attempt, at the next he felt tempted himself to denounce their intended crime. Neither of them preserved a perfect silence, and they were at length arrested and condemned to death.⁵

This will serve to show what feelings were astir in those agitated times. Pius IV had done much for the reconstruction of the Church; yet were there many to whom all seemed insufficient, and whose views went much further than anything that had yet been accomplished. Pius died on the ninth of December, 1565.

Section VII.—Pius V

The partisans of a more rigid system in the Church had now secured a great and almost unhopèd-for advantage: a pope was elected whom they might safely consider one of themselves, this was Pius V.

I will not repeat the more or less credible stories related of his election by the book on the conclaves, and by some of the histories of his time. We have a letter from Carlo Borromeo, which sufficiently informs us on this point: "I was determined," says he (and the large share he had in the election is well known), "to consider nothing so much as religion and

⁵ I take these notices, which I have not found elsewhere, from a MS. of the Corsini library in Rome, No. 674, with the title of "Antonio Canossa": "This

is my deposition of the cause for which I die; your holiness will deign to send it to my father and mother."

purity of faith, I was well acquainted with the piety, irreproachable life, and devout spirit of the Cardinal of Alessandria, afterward Pius V; I thought none could more fitly administer the Christian commonwealth, and used my best efforts in his favor.”¹ In a man of so entirely spiritual a character as that possessed by Carlo Borromeo, no other motives could be supposed. Philip of Spain, who had been won over to the interest of the same cardinal by his ambassador, sent his express thanks to Borromeo for having promoted the election.² Pius V was precisely the man then believed to be required. The adherents of Paul IV, who had kept themselves retired during the last pontificate, considered themselves most fortunate: “To Rome, to Rome!” writes one of them to another: “come confidently and at once, but with all modesty; God has awakened up for us our fourth Paul again!”

Michele Ghislieri, now Pius V, was of humble extraction; he was born at Bosco, near Alessandria, in 1504, and entered a convent of Dominicans at the age of fourteen. Here he resigned himself, body and spirit, to the devotion and monastic poverty enjoined by his order. Of the alms he gathered, he did not retain so much for himself as would have bought him a cloak for the winter, and against the heats of summer he thought severity of abstinence the best preservative. Though confessor to the Governor of Milan, he always travelled on foot with his wallet on his back. When he taught, his instructions were given with zeal and precision: when, as prior, it was his office to administer the affairs of a monastery, he did this with the utmost rigor and frugality—more than one house was freed from debt by his government. The formation of his character was effected during those years when the strife between Protestant innovation and the ancient doctrines had extended into Italy: he took earnest part with those who upheld the established creed in its most rigid acceptation, and of strictly disputed points maintained by him in Parma during the year 1543, the

¹ Clis. Borromeus, Henrico Clis. Infanti Portugalliae, Romæ, d. 26 Feb. 1566. Giussiani, “Vita C. Borromei,” p. 62. Compare with Ripamonti, “Historia Urbis Mediolani,” lib. xii. p. 814.

² I find this in a despatch of Soranzo, ambassador in Spain. “The qualities of his holiness, while yet cardinal, were not known to this most serene king; but the said commendator (Luigi Reques-

sens, Comm. maggior) always praised him highly, declaring that he well deserved the pontificate; so that his majesty was moved to give orders that he should be supported with all his power.” Thus the story related by Oltrocchi, in his remarks on Giussano, falls to the ground. The election took place January 8, 1566.

greater part related to the papal authority, and were opposed to the new opinions. He was early invested with the office of inquisitor, and was called on to perform his duties in places of peculiar danger, as were Como and Bergamo for example.³ In these cities an intercourse with Germans and Swiss was not to be avoided: he was also appointed to the Valteline, which, as belonging to the Grisons, was in like manner infested by heretics. In this employment he displayed the obstinacy and the courage of a zealot. On entering the city of Como, he was sometimes received with volleys of stones; to save his life he was frequently compelled to steal away like an outlaw, and conceal himself by night in the huts of the peasantry: but he suffered no personal danger to deter him from his purposes. On one occasion the Conte della Trinita threatened to have him thrown into a well. "As to that, it shall be as God pleases," was the Dominican's reply. Thus did he take eager part in the contest of intellectual and political powers then existing in Italy; and as the side he had chosen was victorious, he, too, advanced in importance. Being appointed commissary of the Inquisition in Rome, he was soon remarked by Paul IV, who declared Fra Michele an eminent servant of God, and worthy of higher honors. He promoted him to the bishopric of Nepi, and, by way of placing "a chain round his foot," as Michele himself tells us, "that he might not again creep back to the repose of his cloister,"⁴ in 1557 he nominated him cardinal. In this new dignity Ghislieri continued, as ever, poor, austere, and unpretending. He told his household that they must fancy themselves living in a monastery: for himself, his sole interest was still centred in devotional exercise and the business of the Inquisition.

In a man of this character, Philip of Spain, Cardinal Borromeo, and all the more rigid party, believed they had found the salvation of the Church. The people of Rome were not so perfectly satisfied. Pius was told this, and he remarked in reply: "All the more shall they lament for me when I am dead."

³ Paolo Tiepolo, "Relazione di Roma in Tempo di Pio IV. et V.": "In Bergamo was taken from him by force a certain principal heretic, Giorgio Mondaga, whom he had thrown into the prisons of the convent of St. Domenico, then used for criminals, and whom he and his monks strove to keep, to their own great peril. In the same city he

afterward labored to institute a process against the then bishop of Bergamo."

⁴ Catena, "Vita di Pio V.," whence we draw most of our information, has this also. It was related by Pius himself to the Venetian ambassadors, Mich. Serviano and Paul Tiepolo, as they tell us (October 2, 1568).

He maintained all the monastic severity of his life even when Pope: his fasts were kept with the same rigor and punctuality; he permitted himself no garment of finer texture ⁵ than his wont—heard mass every day and frequently said it himself. Yet was he careful that his private devotions should offer no impediment to his public duties, and, though rising with the first light of day, he would not indulge himself with the customary siesta. Could any doubt exist as to the reality of his religious feelings, we may consider this proved by what he has himself declared of the papacy: it was not conducive to his advance in piety, as he complains, and the progress of his soul toward salvation and the joys of paradise was impeded by its duties, to his infinite lamentation. “But for the support of prayer, he believed the weight of that burden would be more than he could endure.” He enjoyed the happiness of a fervent devotion to his last hour—it was the only kind of happiness of which he was capable, but he found it perfect. The warmth of his devotion often brought tears to his eyes, and he constantly arose from his knees with the persuasion that his prayers had been heard. When the people beheld him in the processions, barefoot, and with uncovered head, his face beaming with unaffected piety, and his long white beard sweeping his breast, they were excited to enthusiastic reverence; they believed so pious a pope had never before existed, and stories were current among them of his having converted Protestants by the mere aspect of his countenance. Pius was, moreover, kindly and affable; his manner toward his old servants was extremely cordial. How admirable, too, was the remark with which he received that Conte della Trinita, who, after having threatened to drown him, was now sent ambassador to his court. “See, now,” he exclaimed, when he recognized his old enemy, “thus it is that God helps the innocent:” in no other way did he show the count that the past was remembered. He had always been exceedingly charitable, and now kept a list of the poor in Rome, whom he regularly assisted in accordance with their station.

Humble, resigned, and child-like are men of this character, in their ordinary state; but when irritated or wounded, they kindle into violent anger, and their resentment is implacable.

⁵ Catena, Tiepolo: “Nor has he even left off the coarse shirt that he began to wear when he became a monk. He per-

forms his devotions most devoutly, and frequently with tears.”

An adherence to their own modes of thought and proceeding appears to them the most imperative duty, and they are exasperated by its neglect. Pius V felt an immovable conviction, that the path he had chosen was the only right one; its having conducted him to the papal throne gave him so complete a self-reliance, that doubt or fear as to the consequences of his own actions was a pain unknown to his experience.

It follows, that his adhesion to his own opinions was most obstinate; the most cogent reasons availed nothing toward making him retract or alter them. Easily provoked by contradiction, he would redden deeply on being opposed, and break forth into expressions of the utmost violence.⁶ But slightly acquainted with the affairs of the world, or with politics, and suffering his judgment to be warped by accidental and secondary circumstances, it was extremely difficult to bring matters of business well through with him.

It is true that he did not permit himself to act on his first impressions, as regarded individuals, and those with whom he came into contact; but having once made up his mind about any man, whether for good or evil, nothing could afterward shake his opinion.⁷ He was, nevertheless, more disposed to think people deteriorated, than that they became better, and there were few whom he did not regard with suspicion.

Never would he mitigate a penal sentence; this was constantly remarked of him; rather would he express the wish that the punishment had been more severe!

He was not satisfied to see the Inquisition visiting offences of recent date, but caused it to inquire into such as were of ten or twenty years' standing.

If there were any town wherein few punishments were inflicted, he did not believe the place any the better for that, but ascribed the fact to the negligence of the officials.

The severity with which he insisted on the maintenance of church discipline is entirely characteristic. "We forbid," says he, in one of his bulls, "that any physician, attending a patient

⁶ "Informatione di Pio V." (Bibl. Ambrosiana at Milan, F. D. 181): "His holiness is naturally cheerful and kindly (though sometimes accidentally seeming otherwise), so that he readily enters into pleasant talk with Mr. Cirillo, his house-steward, and he, being a prudent as well as polished man, delights his

holiness, while he gains advantages both for himself and others."

⁷ "Informatione di Pio V.:" "It is more difficult to free him from a bad impression than a good one; especially with regard to people of whom he knows but little."

confined to his bed, should visit him longer than three days, without receiving a certificate that the sick person has confessed his sins anew." ⁸ A second bull sets forth the punishments for violation of the Sabbath, and for blasphemy. These were fines for the rich; but, "for the common man, who cannot pay, he shall stand before the church-door, for one whole day, with his hands tied behind his back, for the first offence; for the second, he shall be whipped through the city; but his tongue, for the third, shall be bored through, and he shall be sent to the galleys."

This was the general spirit of his ordinances. How frequently did it become necessary to remind him, that he had to govern mere men, and not angels! ⁹

To defer to the secular powers was now acknowledged to be most needful; but no consideration of this kind was permitted to affect the severities of Pius V. The princes of Europe had constantly complained of the bull, "In Cœnâ Domini." This he not only proclaimed anew, but even rendered it more onerous, by adding special clauses of his own, wherein there was a disposition shown to refuse the temporal sovereign all right of imposing new taxes.

It will be manifest, that proceedings so violent were calculated to produce reactions, and so it happened; not merely because the demands made by a man of so rigid an austerity never can be complied with by the generality of mankind, but also because, in this case, a deliberate resistance was provoked, and various misunderstandings arose. Even Philip of Spain, though usually so devout, was once moved to warn the pontiff, that he would do well to avoid the trial of what a prince was capable of doing when driven to the last extremity.

Pius V, on his part, felt this very deeply. He was sometimes most unhappy in his high station, and declared himself "weary of living." He complained, that the having acted without respect to persons had made him enemies, and that he had never been free from vexations and persecutions since he had ascended the papal throne.

⁸ "Supra gregem dominicum," Bull. iv. ii. p. 218.

⁹ In the Informationi, for example, is found an epistle to the holy father, expatiating largely on this subject, and exhorting him to endure the Jews and

courtesans. The Caporioni entreated the Pope at least to tolerate these last; but Pius replied, that "rather than connive at what was wrong he would leave Rome himself."

But, however this may have been, and though Pius V could no more give satisfaction to the whole world than other men, it is yet certain that his demeanor and habits did exercise incalculable influence over his contemporaries, and the general development of his Church. After so long a train of circumstances—all concurring to call forth and promote a more spiritual tendency—after so many resolutions had been adopted, to make this tendency universally dominant, there needed a pope of this character, in order to secure that it should not only be widely proclaimed, but also practically enforced. To this effect, the zeal and example of Pius V were alike efficacious.

That reformation of the court, so often promised, was at length commenced in fact and reality, if not in the forms at first proposed. The expenditure of the papal household was greatly reduced. Pius V required little for his own wants, and was accustomed to say, that “he who would govern others must begin by ruling himself.” For such of his servants as he believed to have served him truly throughout his life, not from hope of reward, but affection, he provided well; but his dependents generally were held within closer limits than had ever been known under any other pope. He made his nephew, Bonelli, cardinal, but only because he was told that this was expedient to his maintaining a more confidential intercourse with the temporal princes. He would, however, confer on him only a very moderate endowment; and when the new cardinal once invited his father to Rome, Pius commanded that he should quit the city again, not that same night only, but that very hour. The rest of his relations he would never raise above the middle station; and woe to that one among them whom he detected in any offence, for the least falsehood, never would he forgive him—he was driven without mercy from the pontiff’s presence. How different was all this from that favoritism of nephews which had, for centuries, formed so significant a fact in the papal histories! In one of his most severely energetic bulls, Pius V forbade any future alienation of church property, under whatever title, or with whatever pretext; he even declared everyone to be excommunicated who should even counsel such an act, and made all the cardinals subscribe this edict.¹⁰ He proceeded zeal-

¹⁰ “*Prohibitio alienandi et infeudandi civitates et loca S. R. E.: Ad. monet nos; 1567, 29 Mart.*”

ously to the removal of all abuses. Few dispensations were granted by him, still fewer compositions; even such indulgences as had been issued by his predecessors were partially recalled. His auditor-general was commanded to proceed against all bishops and archbishops who should neglect to reside in their dioceses, and to report the refractory to himself in order to their instant deposition.¹ He enjoined all parish priests to remain in their parishes, under heavy penalties for disobedience, or for the neglect of divine service, recalling whatever dispensations had been granted to them in this behalf.² Not less earnest were his labors for the restoration of conventual order and discipline. To all monasteries he confirmed, on the one hand, their exemption from taxes and other burdens, as, for example, that of quartering troops; he would not permit their tranquillity to be disturbed: but, on the other hand, he forbade monks to receive confessions without examination by, and permission from, the bishops: this examination might be repeated by every new bishop.³ He commanded both monks and nuns to remain in the strictest seclusion. This was not universally commended. The orders complained that he enforced on them rules of more stringent severity than those to which they had bound themselves. Some fell into a sort of desperation; others fled their cloisters.⁴

These regulations were first enforced in Rome; but afterward throughout the States of the Church. He bound the secular as well as the ecclesiastical authorities to the observance of his religious ordinances,⁵ while he himself provided for a rigorous and impartial administration of justice.⁶ Not content with earnestly enforcing on all magistrates a strict attention to their duties, he held himself a public sitting with the cardinals, on the last Wednesday in every month, when any person, who might consider himself aggrieved by the ordinary tribunals, was

¹ "Cum alias, 1566, 10 Junii." Bull. iv. ii. 303.

² "Cupientes, 1568, 8 Julii." Bull. iv. iii. 24.

³ "Romani, 1571, 6 Aug." Bull. iv. iii. 177.

⁴ Tiepolo: "Always proceeding in extremes, he sometimes fell into a greater evil, while seeking to avoid a smaller one."

⁵ Bull. iv. iii. 284.

⁶ "Informazione della qualità di Pio V., e delle cose che da quelle depen-

dono" (Berlin Library): "He confers favors without that respect of persons, which might sometimes be necessary for weighty causes; nor will he change one tittle in affairs of justice, even though other popes have given the example, and it may be done without causing scandal." Soriano says that he granted no favor without an admonition, "which appears to me precisely the fashion of a confessor, who reproves the penitent severely when about to bestow absolution."

at liberty to make his plaint to the sovereign in person. Besides all this, he gave audience with the most indefatigable assiduity. He remained seated for this purpose, from the first hours of morning, nor was anyone refused admission to his presence. The consequence of all these efforts was, in fact, an entire reform of external life in Rome. We have a remark of Paolo Tiepolo to this effect. "In Rome," says he, "matters proceed in a fashion very unlike what we have hitherto seen. Men here have become a great deal better—or at least they have put on the appearance of being so.

Something similar was, more or less, to be seen over all Italy. Church discipline had been rendered more strict, in most places, by the promulgation of the decrees of the council; and the pontiff received a readiness of obedience such as none of his predecessors had enjoyed for a long period.

Duke Cosmo of Florence gave up to him, without hesitation, whosoever had been condemned by the Inquisition. Carnesecchi, another of the men of letters who had participated in those early movements toward Protestantism, which we have described as made in Italy, had hitherto remained uninjured. But neither his personal credit, the position of his family, nor his connection with the reigning house itself, could longer save him. He was given up bound to the Roman inquisition, and suffered death at the stake. Cosmo was entirely devoted to the Pope; he assisted him in all his enterprises, and did not hesitate to admit all his spiritual claims. Pius was moved by this to crown him grand duke of Tuscany. The right of the Papal See to take such a step was very doubtful, and the immoral character of Cosmo caused it to be seen with just resentment; but the obedience he displayed toward the Holy See, and the severity of ecclesiastical regulation that he enforced throughout his dominions, were merits that stood above all others in the eyes of the Pope.

Those ancient rivals of the Medici, the Farnese, now emulated their proceedings in this particular; even Ottavio Farnese made it his glory to show that every papal command found unquestioning obedience at his hands.

Not altogether so friendly were the terms on which the Pope stood with the Venetians. They were not sufficiently virulent against the Turks, they were less favorable toward monastic

bodies, and, above all, less cordial to the Inquisition than Pius would have had them be. He nevertheless took great pains to avoid a rupture with them. "The republic," he declared to be "firmly seated in the faith—ever had she maintained herself most Catholic—she alone had been exempt from the incursions of barbarians, the honor of Italy reposed on her head;" and he declared that "he loved her." The Venetians, too, conceded more to him than they had ever done to any other pontiff. The unhappy Guido Zanetti of Fano, whose religious opinions had become suspected, and who had fled to Padua, they resigned into his hands, a thing never before recorded in their annals. The clergy of their city had previously troubled themselves but little with strict ecclesiastical discipline—they were now brought into very tolerable order. The churches of Verona, being placed under the guidance of Matteo Giberti, became models of discipline. Giberti was held up as affording an example of what the life of a true bishop should be;⁷ his plans and regulations have been accepted as exemplars by the whole Catholic world, and many of them were adopted by the Council of Trent. Carlo Borromeo caused his portrait to be taken, and had it hung in his cabinet, that he might have constantly before his eyes the face of him whose life and conduct he so greatly venerated.

Still more effectual was the influence exercised by Carlo Borromeo himself. From his numerous dignities and offices, that of grand penitentiary among others, and as chief of the cardinals nominated by his uncle, he might have held the most brilliant position in Rome; but he resigned these advantages, and refused all, to devote himself to his duties as Archbishop of Milan. These he performed, not with energy and conscience only, but with a sort of passion. He was incessantly occupied in the pastoral visitation of his diocese, which he traversed in every direction; there was no village, however remote, that he had not visited two or three times; the highest mountains, the most secluded valleys, all were alike known and cared for. He was usually preceded by a "*Visitator*," whose report he then took with him, examining and verifying all with his own eyes; all punishments were adjudged by himself, all improvements pro-

⁷ "Petri Francisci Zini, boni pastoris, exemplum ac specimen singulare ex Jo. Matthæo Giberto episcopo expressum

atque propositum." Written in 1536, and originally intended for England.—"*Opera Giberti*," p. 252.

ceeded under his own directions.⁸ His clergy was instructed to pursue similar methods. Six provincial councils were held under his presidency. In addition to all this he performed the usual clerical functions with indefatigable zeal. He preached and read mass, passed whole days in administering the Lord's Supper, ordaining priests, presiding at the profession of nuns, and consecrating altars. The consecration of an altar was a ceremony of eight hours' duration, and he is said to have consecrated three hundred. It is true that many of his arrangements relate to matters merely external, such as the restoration of buildings, harmonizing of the ritual, exposition and adoration of the host, etc. The most efficient result of his labors was perhaps the severity of discipline to which he held his clergy, and which they, in their turn, enforced on the people.

Nor was he unacquainted with the best modes of procuring obedience for his ordinances. In the Swiss districts of his diocese it was his custom to visit all places of ancient and venerated sanctity; to the people he would distribute gifts; those of better station were invited to his table. He was prepared on the other hand, with measures suitable to the refractory; passing on a certain occasion through the Val Camonica, the peasantry stationed themselves along the road to receive his blessing; but they had not for a long time paid their tithes, and the archbishop passed along without moving a hand or turning his eyes on one of them; the people, shocked and terrified by this privation, were glad to return to their accustomed duty.⁹ He nevertheless did sometimes meet with a more obstinate and rancorous opposition. He had resolved to reform the order of Umiliati, whose members had entered it only to expend the great wealth of the order in a life of licentiousness.¹⁰ These men were so exasperated by his purpose of reforming them, that they made an attempt to destroy him; a shot was fired at him when he was praying in his chapel. But no event of his life was more useful to his influence than this attack; the people considered

⁸ Glussianus, "De Vita et Rebus gestis S. Caroli Borromæi Mediol.," p. 112, is very explicit in regard to the "ritus visitationis" and all such matters.

⁹ Ripamonte, "Historia Urbis Mediolani," in Grævius, ii. i. p. 864. Ripamonte has also dedicated all the second part of his history, lib. xii. xvii. to St. Charles Borromeo.

¹⁰ They had altogether ninety-four houses, of which each could accommodate a hundred men; but the brethren were so few that two would occupy a whole house; the order was suppressed, and their riches were divided between the endowments of Borromeo and the society of Jesuits.

his escape a miracle, and from that time it was that they first began to regard him with veneration.

This feeling increased from day to day, as constant proofs of his excellence were seen. His zeal was as pure and unsullied by worldly motive as it was warm and persistent. When the plague raged in Milan, in that hour of utmost peril, his solicitude for the temporal and eternal welfare of those committed to his care was incessant, and his conduct marked an utter disregard for his own life; no one act of this excellent archbishop but proved his piety, and under his governance the city of Milan assumed a new aspect. "How shall I find words sufficient to praise thee, most beautiful city!" exclaims Gabriel Paleotto toward the close of the archbishop's administration; "thy sanctity and religion excite my veneration; in thee I behold a second Jerusalem!" However we may suppose the Milanese nobility led by policy to praise their spiritual chief, we cannot believe exclamations so enthusiastic to have been without cause. The Duke of Savoy also offered a solemn congratulation to Borromeo on the success of his exertions. It was now the care of the latter to secure the future stability of his regulations; to this end a congregation was established, whose office it was to maintain the uniformity of the ritual. A particular order of regular clergy, called Oblati, devoted themselves wholly to the service of the archbishop and his church, the Barnabites received new rules, and from that time their labors have been consecrated to assisting the bishops in the cure of souls; first, in that diocese, and afterward wherever their order made a home.¹ These regulations were a repetition of those established in Rome, but on a smaller scale. A *Collegium Helveticum* was also founded in Milan, intended to promote the restoration of Catholicism in Switzerland, as the *Collegium Germanicum* of Rome was erected in that city for the same purpose as regarded Germany. All this could only corroborate and confirm the dignity and consideration of the Pope, since Borromeo, who never received a papal brief but with uncovered head, would infallibly communicate his own reverential devotedness to his Church.

Pius V had meanwhile acquired an unusual degree of in-

¹ Ripamonte, 857. He calls the first founders, Beccaria, Ferrara, and Mo-

rigia: Giussano, p. 442, gives the usual names.

fluence in Naples also; in the earliest days of his pontificate he had summoned to his presence Tomaso Orfino da Foligno, whom he had sent on a visitation of reform to the Roman churches. This mission being accomplished, he had nominated Orfino to the bishopric of Strongoli, and despatched him with the same view to Naples. Amidst a great concourse of that devout people the new bishop completed his visitation in the capital, and afterward proceeded through a great part of the kingdom.

It is true that the Pope had, not unfrequently, disputes with the different authorities in Naples as well as in Milan. The King was aggrieved by the bull "In Cœnâ Domini"; the Pope would not hear mention of the "Exequatur Regium." The former accused the ecclesiastical functionaries of doing too much; the latter thought the royal officers did too little. Extreme dissatisfaction often prevailed, as we have said, at the Court of Madrid, and the King's confessor made bitter complaints, but no positive quarrel ensued. Either sovereign attributed the principal blame to the officers and advisers of the other; they remained personally on very friendly terms.

When Philip on a certain occasion was ill, the Pope raised his hands to Heaven, imploring God to deliver him from that malady: the aged pontiff prayed that the Almighty would take some years from his own life and add them to that of the King, on whose existence so much more depended than on his own.

And it was entirely in the spirit of the new ecclesiastical regulations that Spain was now governed. Philip had for a moment hesitated whether to permit the entire recognition of the edicts issued by the Council of Trent or not. Gladly would he have limited the papal power, so far as regarded its right to make concessions at variance with those edicts; but the religious character of his monarchy was opposed to all attempts of this kind; he perceived that even the semblance of any serious difference with the Holy See must be carefully eschewed, if he would remain secure in the allegiance due to himself. The decrees of the council were therefore promulgated through the dominions of Philip, and the consequent regulations were strictly enforced. Here the principles of the rigidly Catholic party obtained the ascendancy. Carranza, Archbishop of To-

ledo and the first ecclesiastic in Spain, was himself given over to the mercies of the Inquisition, spite of his many claims to exemption; one of the members of the Council of Trent, he had also contributed more than any other person, Pole only excepted, to the restoration of Catholicism in England, under Queen Mary. "I have no other object in life," he says of himself, "than that of suppressing heresy, and my efforts have received the divine aid; I have converted many who had departed from the faith; the bodies of certain men who were leaders in heretical opinions I have caused to be dug up and burnt; I have been called Chief Defender of the Faith, whether by Catholics or Protestants." But all these claims to reverence, all these unquestionable proofs of Catholicism, were not permitted to avail him against the claims of the Inquisition. Sixteen articles were discovered in his works, intimating an approximation toward Protestant opinion, especially in regard to justification; he suffered a long imprisonment in Spain, and underwent all the torments of a protracted trial; he was finally taken to Rome. Thus removed from the grasp of his personal enemies, he appeared to be receiving a great favor, but even in Rome he could not escape: the Inquisition condemned him to death.²

If such were the modes of procedure toward a person of so exalted a character, and in a case so doubtful, it will be obvious that little hope would remain for those whose heterodoxy admitted of no question, and whose station was less distinguished. Instances of such were still occasionally found in Spain, and all the relentless cruelty with which the traces of Judaic and Mahometan tenets had formerly been hunted down, was now turned against the Protestant opinions. One *auto-da-fé* followed close upon another, till every germ of the hated belief was extirpated. From the year 1570, few besides foreigners were brought before the Court of Inquisition as guilty of Protestantism.³

The Spanish government was not favorable to the Society of Jesus. Its members were said to be for the most part aliens to the pure blood of Spain, Jewish Christians, who were suspected of nourishing projects of revenge, to be taken at some

² Llorente has devoted three long chapters of his "History of the Inquisition" to the circumstance of Carranza's trial.—"Hist. de l'Inquisition," vol. iii. 183-315.

³ M'Crie's "History of the Progress and Suppression of the Inquisition in Spain," p. 336.

future time, for all the miseries their unhappy race had been made to endure. The Jesuits were on the contrary all-powerful in Portugal, where they had made their rule absolute under the name of King Sebastian. Being also in the highest favor at Rome under Pius V, they made their influence in that country subservient to the views of the Curia.

Thus did the pontiff rule both peninsulas with an authority more unlimited than had been known for long periods by his predecessors; the decrees of the Council of Trent were in practical activity through all Catholic countries. Every bishop subscribed the "*professio fidei*," wherein the substance of those dogmatic decisions promulgated by the council was contained, and Pius published the Roman catechism, in certain parts of which these same propositions are more diffusely expressed. All breviaries, not expressly issued by the Papal See, or which had not been in use upward of two hundred years, were abolished, and a new one was composed on the model of that used in the earliest periods by the principal churches of Rome. This the pontiff desired to see adopted universally.⁴ A new missal was also prepared, "according to the rule and ritual of the holy fathers,"⁵ and appointed for general use. The ecclesiastical seminaries received numerous pupils, monastic institutions were effectually reformed, and the Court of Inquisition devoted itself with untiring vigilance and merciless severity, to guard the unity and inviolability of the faith.

Governed by ordinances thus uniform, a strict alliance ensued between all these countries and States. This position of things was further promoted by the circumstance that France, involved in civil wars, had either renounced her former hostility to Spain, or was unable to give it effect. A second consequence also resulted from the troubles in France. From the events of any given period, certain political convictions of general influence are always elicited, which convictions then became a practical and motive power throughout the world over which they extend. Thus the Catholic sovereigns now believed themselves assured, that any change in the religion of a country involved the danger of destruction to the State. Pius IV had said that the Church could not support herself without the aid of the

⁴"Be those removed that are of doubtful and unknown origin."—"Quoniam nobis: 9 Julii, 1568."

⁵"Collated with all the oldest MSS. in our Vatican Library, and with other uncorrupted MSS. from all quarters."

temporal princes, and these last were now persuaded that union with the Church was equally requisite to their security. Pius V. did not fail to preach this doctrine continually in their ears, and in effect he lived to see all southern Christendom gathered around him for the purposes of a common enterprise.

The Ottoman power was still making rapid progress. Its ascendancy was secured in the Mediterranean, and its various attempts, first upon Malta, and next on Cyprus, rendered obvious the fact, that it was earnestly bent on the subjugation of the yet unconquered islands. Italy herself was menaced from Hungary and Greece. After long efforts, Pius succeeded in awakening the Catholic sovereigns to the perception that there was indeed imminent danger. The idea of a league between these princes was suggested to the Pope by the attack on Cyprus; this he proposed to Venice on the one hand, and to Spain on the other.⁶ "When I received permission to negotiate with him on that subject," says the Venetian ambassador, "and communicated my instructions to that effect, he raised his hands to heaven, offering thanks to God, and promising that his every thought, and all the force he could command, should be devoted to that purpose."

Infinite were the troubles and labors required from the pontiff before he could remove the difficulties impeding the union of the two maritime powers: he contrived to associate with them the other States of Italy, and although in the beginning he had neither money, ships, nor arms, he yet found means to reinforce the fleet with some few papal galleys. He also contributed to the selection of Don John of Austria as leader, and managed to stimulate alike his ambition and religious ardor. From all this resulted a battle, the most successful in which Christendom had ever engaged with the Turks, that of Lepanto. The pontiff's mind was so intensely absorbed by the enterprise, that on the day of the engagement, he believed himself to witness the victory in a kind of trance. The achievement of this triumph inspired him with the most lofty self-confidence and the boldest prospects. In a few years he believed that the Ottoman power would be utterly subdued.

⁶ Soriano: "Having received the resolution, I went instantly to seek audience, though it was night, the hour inconvenient, and his holiness wearied by the events of the day, arising out of the

coronation of the Duke of Florence, and the imperial ambassador's protest (against it). But when I had made known my business, his holiness was mightily rejoiced."

It would have been well if his energies had always been devoted to works so unquestionably legitimate, but this was not the fact; so exclusive, so imperious were his religious feelings, that he bore the very bitterest hatred to all who would not accept his tenets. And how strange a contradiction! the religion of meekness and humility is made the implacable persecutor of innocence and piety! But Pius V, born under the wings of the Inquisition, and reared in its principles, was incapable of perceiving this discrepancy; seeking with inexhaustible zeal to extirpate every trace of dissent that might yet lurk in Catholic countries, he persecuted with a yet more savage fury the avowed Protestants, who were either freed from his yoke or still engaged in the struggle. Not content with despatching such military forces as his utmost efforts could command, in aid of the French Catholics, he accompanied this with the monstrous and unheard-of injunction⁷ to their leader, Count Santafore, to "take no Huguenot prisoner, but instantly to kill everyone that should fall into his hands." When trouble arose in the Netherlands, Philip of Spain was at first undetermined as to the manner in which he should treat those provinces. Pius recommended an armed intervention, "for," said he, "if you negotiate without the eloquence of arms, you must receive laws; with arms in your hands, it is by yourself that they are imposed." The sanguinary measures of Alva were so acceptable to the Pope, that he sent him the consecrated hat and sword as marks of his approval. There is no proof that he was aware of the preparations for the massacre of St. Bartholomew, but he did things that leave no doubt of his approving it as cordially as did his successor.

How wonderful is this union of upright purpose, elevation of mind, austerity toward himself, and devout religious feeling, with morose bigotry, rancorous hatred, and sanguinary eagerness in persecution!

Such were the dispositions in which Pius IV lived and died.⁸ When he felt that death was approaching, he once more visited the seven churches, "in order," as he said, "to take leave of those holy places." Thrice did he kiss the lowest step of the Scala Santa. He had promised at one time not only to expend

⁷ Catena, "Vita di Pio V.," p. 85: "He complained of the count for not having obeyed his command to slay in-

stantly whatever heretic fell into his hands."

⁸ He died on May 1, 1572.

the whole treasure of the Church, the very chalices and crosses included, on an expedition against England, but even to appear himself at the head of the army. Certain fugitive Catholics from England presenting themselves on his way, he declared that "fain would he pour forth his own blood for their sakes." The principal subject of his last words was the league, for the prosperous continuation of which he had made all possible preparations; the last coins he sent from his hand were destined for this purpose. His fancy was haunted to the last moment by visions of his different undertakings. He had no doubt of their success, believing that, of the very stones, God would, if needful, raise up the man demanded for so sacred a work.⁹

His loss was felt more immediately than he had himself anticipated; but also, there was a unity established; a force called into existence, by whose inherent power, the course into which he had directed the nations would inevitably be confirmed and maintained.

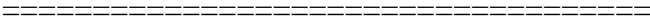
⁹ "Informatione dell' infirmità de Pio V.:" "Having in his chamber a casket containing 13,000 scudi, intended for alms to be distributed by his own hand,

he sent for the treasurer to the Camera, two days before his death, bidding him take them, for they would be useful to the league."

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If every American does his or her best for America and for Humanity we shall become, and remain, the Grandest of Nations – admired by all and feared by none, our strength being our Wisdom and kindness.

Knowledge knows no race, sex, boundary or nationality; what mankind knows has been gathered from every field plowed by the thoughts of man. There is no reason to envy a learned person or a scholarly institution, learning is available to all who seek it in earnest, and it is to be had cheaply enough for all.

To study and plow deeper the rut one is in does not lead to an elevation of intelligence, quite the contrary! To read widely, savor the thoughts, and blind beliefs, of others will make it impossible to return again to that narrowness that did dominate the view of the uninformed.

To prove a thing wrong that had been believed will elevate the mind more than a new fact learned.

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BOOK IV

STATE AND COURT—TIMES OF GREGORY XIII AND SIXTUS V

WITH renewed and concentrated forces did Catholicism now advance to confront the Protestant faith.

Comparing these two mighty antagonists, we perceive that Catholicism possessed an immense advantage, inasmuch as that all its movements were directed by a common chief, and tended toward a common centre.

And not only could the popes combine the strength of other Catholic powers for one common effort, but they had also dominions of their own sufficiently extensive and powerful to contribute largely toward a successful result.

It is in a new aspect that we are henceforth to consider the States of the Church.

This sovereignty had been founded by the struggles of different pontiffs to exalt their families to princely dignity, or to secure paramount influence for themselves among the temporal powers, those of the Italian States more particularly. In neither of these purposes did they succeed to the extent of their wishes, and the renewal of these struggles had now become altogether impossible. The alienation of church property was forbidden by a special law, while the Spaniards were now too powerful in Italy to leave hope of a successful competition with them. The temporal sovereignty had on the other hand become auxiliary to the Church, and the financial resources presented by the former were of the utmost importance to the general development and welfare; but, before proceeding further, it will be needful to examine more closely the administration of the Papal See, in that form which it gradually assumed during the course of the sixteenth century.

Section I.—Administration of the States of the Church

A finely situated, rich, and noble territory had fallen to the lot of the popes.

The writers of the sixteenth century can find no words that suffice them to extol its fertility. How fair are the plains around Bologna and through Romagna! How brightly does a rich productiveness combine with beauty adown the slopes of the Apennines! "We travelled," say the Venetian ambassadors in 1522, "from Macerata to Tolentino, through a district of surpassing loveliness. Hills and valleys were clothed with grain through an extent of thirty miles; nothing less rich might be seen. Uncultivated land we could not find for the breadth of a foot. We thought it impossible to gather so vast a quantity of corn, how then shall it be consumed?" In Romagna 40,000 stara of corn were yearly produced beyond what was required for consumption; for this there was a great demand, and after supplying the mountain districts about Urbino, Tuscany, and Bologna, 35,000 stara were sometimes exported by sea. On the one coast, Venice was supplied from Romagna and the March,¹ whilst Genoa on the other, and sometimes even Naples, were provided for by the territory of Viterbo and the Patrimony (of St. Peter). In one of his bulls for 1566, Pius V exalts the divine favor, by whose permission it is that Rome, who was formerly not able to subsist without foreign corn, had now not only abundance for herself, but could also come in aid of her neighbors, and even of foreigners, by land and sea, with the produce of her own Campagna.² In the year 1589, the exports of corn from the States of the Church were estimated at the annual value of five hundred thousand scudi.³ The various districts were also famed, each for its peculiar production; as Perugia for hemp; Faenza for flax; Viterbo for both;⁴ Cesena for its

¹ Badoer, "Relatione," 1591. The friendship of Romagna for Venice was based on the recollection of "what an excellent city it was to sell your corn and wine in, your fruits, your nuts, and many another commodity, for which one brings back good money."

² "Jurisdictio consulum artis agriculturæ urbis, 9 Sept. 1566:" "Bullar. Cocquel." iv. ii. 314.

³ Giovanni Gritti, "Relatione," 1589: "Romagna and the March alone have sometimes 60,000 rubbia of wheat and more than 30,000 rubbia of other grain.

The Roman Campagna and the transalpine states supply food almost every year to Genoa and other surrounding places: it is said that in return for the grains of the ecclesiastical states there go at least 500,000 scudi into the country; they, on their part, have little need of foreign goods, except some few things of small value and importance, wares for the apothecary and grocer, with stuffs for the dress of the nobles and great personages."

⁴ "Voyage de Montaigne," ii. 488.

wine, which was exported; Rimini for its oil; Bologna for woad; San Lorenzo for manna. The vintage of Montefiascone was known and esteemed the world over. In the Campagna was then produced a breed of horses but little inferior to those of Naples. Around Nettuno and Terracina there was excellent hunting, especially of the wild boar. There were lakes abounding in fish. They had besides salt-works, alum-works, and marble quarries. In a word, the country supplied whatever could be desired for the enjoyment of life in the richest profusion.

This fine territory was equally well situated for general intercourse with the world. Ancona possessed a flourishing trade. "It is a beautiful place," say those same ambassadors of 1522, "full of merchants, principally Greeks and Turks; we were assured that of these, some had transacted business in preceding years to the amount of five hundred thousand ducats." In the year 1549, we find two hundred Greek families settled there as merchants, and who had a church of their own. The harbor was full of caravels from the Levant. There were Armenians, Turks, Florentines, Lucchese, Venetians, and Jews from East and West. The wares exposed by the dealers consisted of silks, wool, leather, Flemish lead and cloths. Luxury increased, house-rent became high, physicians and schoolmasters were more numerous, and better paid than at any previous time.⁵

It is not however so much on the commercial readiness and activity of the papal subjects as on their bravery, that writers of the period love to dwell. Not unfrequently are the inhabitants of each district set before us, distinguished by the varying shades of their military character. The people of Perugia are "steady soldiers"; those of Romagna, "brave but improvident." The inhabitants of Spoleto are fertile in expedients and the arts of strategy; those of Bologna full of courage, but difficult to hold in discipline; the men of the March are given to plunder; the people of Faenza surpass all others in firmness when charged in battle, or in the sustained pursuit of the retreating enemy. The Forlivese excel in the execution of difficult manœuvres; the dwellers of Fermo in the use of the lance.⁶ The whole population, says one of the Venetians before referred

⁵ Saracini, "Notizie storiche della Città d'Ancona," Roma, 1675, p. 362.

⁶ Landi, "Questiones Forcianaë," Ne-

apoli, 1536; a book filled with minute and remarkable notices of the state of Italy at that time.

to, is apt for the uses of war, and martial by nature. No sooner do they leave their homes than they are fitted for any mode of service. They are equally good in sieges as in the open field, and bear with little difficulty the toils and privations of a campaign.⁷ Venice ever drew her best troops from the March and from Romagna; therefore it was that the republic always prized so highly the good-will of the dukes of Urbino; we constantly find officers from that district in their service. It was said of this country, that captains for all the princes in the world might be found in it. The fact was frequently alluded to, that from these lands had gone forth that company of St. George, with whose aid Alberic of Barbiano had extirpated the hordes of foreign mercenaries, and restored the fame of Italian arms. It was still the same race of men as that whence had proceeded the legions who of old had so largely contributed to the establishment of the Roman Empire.⁸ They have not indeed continued to merit these emphatic encomiums through all periods of their history, yet the last great military leader, by whom these men were employed beyond their own frontiers, is known to have preferred them to any other of his Italian troops, nay, even to a considerable part of his French soldiery.

These rich and populous territories, with their brave inhabitants, were now subjected to the peaceful and spiritual government of the popes. It is for us to examine the basis and organization of this ecclesiastical state as it developed its resources under their rule.

It was founded, as were most of the Italian sovereignties, on the more or less rigid limitation of that independence to which the municipalities had, in the course of the century, almost everywhere attained.

Even during the fifteenth century, the priors of Viterbo, seated on their stone seats before the door of the town-hall, received the oath of the podestà, sent them by the pontiff or his representative.⁹

When the city of Fano placed itself under the immediate

⁷ Soriano, 1570: "As to the soldiers, it is generally believed that those of the Papal States are the best in Italy, or, indeed, in all Europe."

⁸ Lorenzo Priuli, "Relatione," 1586: "The state abounds with the necessaries of life, so that it can supply its neighbors; it has also wealth of warlike

men." He specifies the families of Genga, Carpagna, and Malatesta. "They all seem born for war, and are quickly brought together by the beat of the drum."

⁹ Feliciano Bussi, "Istoria di Viterbo," p. 59.

sovereignty of the Papal See, in 1463, it made certain conditions: first, that "to all future time" the city should hold "immediately" of the papal throne; next that it should select its own podestà, whose appointment should need no further confirmation, and that for twenty years it should be subjected to no new impost; finally, it stipulated for all benefits arising from the sale of salt, with various other immunities.¹⁰

A prince, so arbitrary as was Cæsar Borgia, could yet not avoid the grant of certain privileges to the cities constituting his principality. Thus he resigned revenues to the town of Sinigaglia, which till then had invariably been claimed by the sovereign.¹

How much more, then, would these concessions be expected from Julius II, whose ambition it was to present himself as a liberator from tyranny. He reminded the Perugians himself that the best years of his youth had been passed within their walls. When he drove Baglione from Perugia, he did not refuse to recall the exiles or to reinstate the peaceful magistrates, "the *priori*"; he conferred increased emoluments on the professors of the university, and invaded no one of the ancient immunities of the city: for a long time it paid a few thousand ducats only as a recognition of his sovereignty; and, even under Clement VII, I find a calculation of how many troops Perugia could bring into the field, precisely as though it had been a completely free municipality.²

Nor was Bologna more closely restricted. Together with the forms of municipal independence, it retained many of the essential attributes: the administration of the town revenues was entirely in its own hands, it maintained troops of its own, and the papal legate received a salary from the city.

The towns of Romagna were seized by Julius II during the Venetian war; but he did not annex a single one to the pontificate without first consenting to restrictive conditions, or conferring new and fixed rights; these stipulations were always referred to in later times. The political relation with the Church into which they had entered by these treaties received the title of "Ecclesiastical Freedom."³

¹⁰ Amiani, "Memorie istoriche della Città di Fano."

¹ Siena, "Storia di Sinigaglia," App. n. 6.

² Suriano, "Relatione di Fiorenza," 1533.

³ Rainaldus alludes to this, but very briefly. Touching Ravenna, see "Hieronymi Rubei Historiarum Ravennatum," lib. viii. p. 660.

Thus constituted, the State as a whole bore a certain resemblance to that of Venice. In each, the political power had at one time resided in the commune, and this had for the most part subjected other smaller communities over which it held sway. In the Venetian States these paramount municipalities had submitted themselves under conditions strictly defined, and without resigning the whole of their independence to the control of the nobility of Venice. In the States of the Church these same municipalities became subject to the commonwealth of the Curia; for as in Venice it was the nobility that formed the commonwealth, so in Rome this was represented by the court. The dignity of the prelacy was not indeed absolutely indispensable as a qualification, even for the supreme powers of the municipalities, during the first half of this century; secular vice-legates were frequent in Perugia, while in Romagna it seemed to be almost an established rule that a lay president should direct the administration. It would sometimes happen that laymen would acquire an almost unlimited power and influence, as did Jacopo Salviati under Clement VII, but in such cases they were ever connected in some manner with the Curia; they belonged in one way or another to the Pope, and were thus members of that corporation.

At this period the towns would seem to have had no liking for secular governors; they preferred and requested to be ruled by prelates, as holding it more honorable to obey an ecclesiastic of high rank. Compared with a German principality, and its carefully organized system of well-defined grades, the Italian looks at first sight little better than a mere anarchy; but in point of fact the partition of rights and privileges was quite as clearly understood, and as rigidly adhered to in the latter as in the former. The supreme authorities of a city, for example, were held in check by the nobles, the nobles by the burghers (*cittadini*), the subjugated commune kept jealous watch over the acts of its superior, and the rural populations over the towns. It is a striking fact that the establishment of provincial governments was in no one instance adopted in Italy; certain provincial assemblies were indeed held in the Papal States, and even received the imposing name of "parliament," but there must have been something adverse to institutions of this character in the manners or modes of thought of Italians, since no one of them ever attained to effectual or enduring influence.

From what has been said, it will be obvious that if the municipal constitution had acquired that complete development of which it was susceptible, and toward which it seemed to tend (by the limitation which on the one hand it imposed on the governing authority, and that presented to the powers of the communes, and the multitude of individual privileges on the other), it would then have exhibited the principle of stability in its most significant aspect; a political system, based on prerogatives clearly defined, and on checks that were reciprocally effectual.

Considerable progress toward a constitution of this character was made by the Venetian States, and certain steps, but much less decided ones, were taken in the same direction by those of the Church.

This difference was inevitable from the diversity of origin in each government. In Venice the reins were held by a corporation, self-governing and hereditary, which considered the supreme power as its legitimate property. The Roman Curia, on the contrary, was in continual fluctuation, every new conclave infusing new elements, the compatriots of each successive pope invariably obtained a large portion of the public business. Among the Venetians, appointments to office proceeded from the corporation itself; in Rome they were to be gained only from the favor of the Pope. The rulers of Venice were held to their duties by rigorous laws, close inspection, and regard to the honor of their body. The Roman authorities were rather incited by hope of promotion than restrained by fear of punishment; both depending principally on the favor and goodwill of the pontiff, they thus enjoyed a more extensive freedom of action.

We shall proceed to show that the papal government had from the first secured to itself a larger degree of authority.

Of this fact we find convincing proof by a comparison of the concessions made to the municipalities they conquered, by Rome and Venice respectively; a favorable opportunity for such comparison presents itself in the case of Faenza. This city, which had capitulated to Venice some years before its surrender to the ecclesiastical State, had made conditions with each government.⁴ It had, for example, demanded from both

⁴ "Historie di Faenza, fatica di Giulio Cesare Tonduzzi," Faenza, 1675, contains, p. 562, the capitulations concluded

with the Venetians in 1501, and those agreed to by Julius II in 1510.

that no new impost should ever be laid on them, but with consent of the majority in the great Council of Faenza. To this the Venetians agreed without reserve; whereas the pontiff added the significant clause, "unless it shall appear to him advisable to do otherwise for good and sufficient causes." I will not multiply instances; a similar state of matters prevailing throughout; one other fact in proof shall suffice. The Venetians had assented without hesitation to the demand that all criminal judgments should be referred to the podestà and his court (Curia). The Pope confirms this privilege in its general import, but makes the important exception, "In cases of high-treason or of similar crimes, circulated to cause popular irritation, the authority of the governor shall step in." It is obvious then that the papal government assumed from the very outset a much more effective exercise of the sovereign authority than did that of Venice.⁵

But it must also be admitted that this extension of the ecclesiastical powers was greatly facilitated by the municipalities themselves.

In these subjugated towns, and in that day, the middle classes, the burghers, traders, and artisans, while their gains sufficed to procure them the means of life, remained peaceable and obedient; but the patricians, the nobles in whom the municipal authority was vested, were in perpetual commotion and tumult; they practised no arts, they paid little attention to agriculture, had no disposition to intellectual improvement, and did not greatly care even for skill in arms; they were wholly devoted to the pursuit of their particular feuds and enmities. The old factions of Guelfs and Ghibellines were still in existence, they had been revived by the late wars, in which victory was sometimes with one and sometimes with the other; all the families belonging to these two parties were well known, with the side they adopted. In Faenza, Ravenna, and Forli, the Ghibellines had the upper hand, in Rimini the Guelfs were the stronger. But in all these towns the weaker party still maintained itself alive. In Cesena and Imola they were nearly bal-

⁵ Its mode of employing this authority may be gathered from Paul III, who tells us in 1547 that "those who have newly attained the papacy have come to it poor, loaded with the promises they have made, and compelled to large ex-

penses before they can assure themselves in the lands of the Church. Their outlay is for some years beyond their profits."—The Cardinal de Guise to the King of France, in Ribier, ii. 77.

anced. Among these then, even in times of external peace, a secret warfare was incessantly proceeding; each man was specially occupied in seeking to depress his opponent of the adverse faction, and to cast him into the shade.⁶ The leaders had always adherents from the lowest classes at their command; wild, determined bravoës, of fierce and wandering habits, who were ever prepared with offers of service to those whom they knew to be in fear of enemies, or to have injuries demanding vengeance; these men were always ready to commit murder for a sum of money.

The result of these incessant feuds was, that the cities became less vigilant in the maintenance of their rights, for as each party distrusted the other, so neither would permit authority to rest in its opponent's hands. On the arrival of the president or legate in the province, the question was not whether the municipal rights would be respected, but rather which party would be favored by the new functionary. It would be difficult to describe the exultation of the successful party, or the dismay of its rivals, when this was ascertained. Infinite prudence was required on the part of the legate, the most influential men were ready to attach themselves to his side, they did their utmost to render themselves acceptable to him, affected earnest zeal for the interest of the State, and acquiesced in all the plans he might propose for its advantage; but all this was frequently for no other purpose than that of placing themselves well with the governor, and by gaining his confidence, become all the better enabled to persecute the party they abhorred.⁷

The position of the provincial barons was somewhat different. They were for the most part very poor, but ambitious, and liberal to prodigality, usually keeping open house, although it was known that their expenditure largely exceeded their income, and this without exception. They had always adherents in the towns, and sometimes employed these men for the most

⁶ "Relatione della Romagna" (Bibl. Alt.): "The nobles have numerous dependents, of whom they avail themselves in the councils to obtain offices, either for themselves or others; also to further their own purposes and hinder their neighbors'; these aid them even in their suits before the tribunals, or bear witness for them, and take part in their quarrels, or procure them revenge;

some too, about Ravenna, Imola, and Faenza, are in the practice of smuggling grain."

⁷ "Relatione di Monsre. Revmo. Giov. P. Ghisilieri, al P. Gregorio XIII., tornando egli dal presidentato di Romagna." From Tonduzzi ("Historie di Faenza," p. 673) we see that Ghisilieri went into the province in 1578.

illegal purposes; but their principal care was to preserve a perfect understanding with their peasantry, in whose hands remained the greater part of the soil, which constituted all their wealth. The advantages of high birth, and the prerogatives of gentle blood, were sufficiently appreciated on the one part, and held in profound reverence on the other, through all the lands of the south; but distinction of ranks was not marked in the same manner as in northern countries, presenting no obstacle to a close personal intimacy. The peasants lived with their barons in a sort of fraternal subordination, nor could it easily be told whether the peasantry were more ready to offer service and obedience, or the barons to render aid and protection; their connection had a character that was even patriarchal.⁸ One cause for this probably was, that the baron abstained from giving his peasantry any cause for appeal to the state authorities, being but little disposed to regard with reverence the feudal supremacy of the Papal See; as to the peasants, they considered this supremacy, and the legate's claim to jurisdiction (not in cases of appeal only, but also in the first instance), by no means as claims of right, but rather as the consequence of an unfortunate political conjuncture, that would soon pass away.

There were also found in certain districts, more especially in Romagna, independent communities of peasants.⁹ These were large clans, descending from a common stock; lords in their own villages, generally half-savage, all well armed, and especially practised in the use of the arquebus, they may perhaps be best compared with the free Greek and Slavonian communities, who had preserved their privileges among the Venetians; or with those of Candia, the Morea, and Dalmatia, who had regained their lost independence from the Turks. In the States of the Church these peasants also adhered to one or other of the different factions; thus, the Cavina clan, with the Scardocci and Solaroli, were Ghibellines; the Manbelli, Cerroni, and Serra were Guelphs. In the district of the Serra clan there was a hill, which served as an asylum for those who had committed any offence. The most important of these clans was the Cerroni, whose numbers had extended across the fron-

⁸ "Relazione della Romagna:" "Each bending to the humor of the other."

⁹ The peasants also sometimes freed themselves from the yoke of the towns (see Ghisilieri), "withdrawing as a body

from those cities, they govern themselves by separate laws, under a president chosen by themselves, and who has power to decide in all their affairs."

tier into the Florentine territory; they were divided into two branches, the Rinaldi and Ravagli, between whom, spite of their common origin, there existed a bitter feud. They maintained a sort of hereditary connection with many among the noblest families of the towns, and also with certain eminent jurists, by whom the faction was supported in all questions with the laws. Throughout Romagna, there was no single family, however distinguished, that might not have been injured by these banded peasants. The Venetians took care to have always an interest in one or other of their chiefs, for the purpose of securing their aid in case of war.

If these populations, as we have before remarked, had been well united, the Roman prelates would have found it difficult to assert their authority, but in their dissensions the government found its strength. To this effect a president of Romagna, writing to Gregory XIII, expresses himself, as I find, in his report: "Very difficult is the task of governing, when the people hold themselves too closely together; let them be disunited, and the mastery is then easily gained."¹⁰ There was, besides, another circumstance acting in favor of government. This was the formation of a party consisting of those peaceable men of the middle classes who desired to live tranquilly, and were not attached to either faction. In Fano this party entered into an association called the "Holy Union," compelled to this, as the record of their institution sets forth, "because all the town is become full of robbers and murderers, so that, not only are those in jeopardy who join themselves to the several feuds, but also those who would fain eat their bread in the sweat of their brow." They bound themselves, by an oath in the Church, as brethren for life and death, to maintain the tranquillity of the town, and to exterminate those who sought to disturb it.¹ They were favored by the government, from whom they received permission to carry arms, and we find them throughout Romagna under the name of the *Pacifici*. From this body was gradually constituted a kind of plebeian magistracy. Adherents of government might also be found among

¹⁰ Ghisilieri: "Siccome il popolo disunito facilmente si domina, così difficilmente si regge quando è troppo unito." (See the text.)

¹ They were not unlike the Hermandad. Amiani, "Memorie di Fano," ii.

146, gives us their formula founded on the text: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." From this their name in other towns may have been derived.

the free peasants; the Manbelli, for example, attached themselves to the court of the legate; they arrested banditti, and acted as wardens of the frontiers, a service that procured them increased estimation among the neighboring clans.² Local jealousies, the contests arising between cities and the surrounding villages, with various other internal differences, all contributed to increase the power of the government.

Here, then, in place of that respect for law, good order, and stability, which, judging from its theory only, we should have expected this constitution of the State to produce, we find the turbulent strife of factions, intervention of the government so long as these remained at variance, reaction and opposition of the municipalities when they are again united; violence acting in support of the law, violence opposed to the law; every man trying to what extent he might rebel with impunity.

Immediately after the accession of Leo X, the Florentines, who had obtained a large share in the administration, exercised the rights of the Curia with the most oppressive violence. Deputations from the cities were seen to arrive in Rome, one after another, entreating relief from their burdens. Ravenna declared itself prepared to surrender to the Turks, rather than endure the continuance of such a system.³ During vacancies of the pontificate, it frequently happened that the ancient feudal lords would return to power, and were not expelled by the new Pope without considerable difficulty. The cities, on the other hand, dreaded the being alienated from the Papal See. A cardinal, a connection of the Pope, or perhaps some neighboring prince, would occasionally offer a sum of money to the "*camera*," for the right of governing one or other of these towns. Aware of this, the towns, on their part, had agents and envoys at Rome, whose office it was to discover all projects of this sort on the instant of their formation, and to interpose for their defeat; in this they were most frequently successful; they were, however, sometimes compelled to em-

² According to the "Relazione della Romagna," they also called themselves "men of Sciato," from their dwelling-place. "Men," says the same, "who made themselves much respected, they are Guelfs, and the Court of Romagna found them very useful, particularly in capturing banditti, and preventing the cattle from being carried off from the mountains."

³ Marino Zorzi, "Relazione of 1517": "The country of Romagna is in great commotion, little justice is done there: I who speak, have seen as many as ten deputations going to Cardinal Medici, lamenting the state of things there; and, above all, loudly bewailing the lawless conduct of their rulers."

ploy force against the papal authorities, and even against the pontiff's troops. In the history of nearly all these towns are found instances of very determined insubordination. It once happened in Faenza that the citizens had a regular battle with the Swiss guards of Leo X. This was in the summer of 1521. They fought furiously in the streets, and the Swiss had succeeded in gathering themselves into one body on the market-place (piazza); but the townsmen having barricaded all the avenues leading from it, the Swiss were content to depart quietly, since they could do so unmolested, when one of the barriers had been removed. The anniversary of this day was long afterward celebrated in Faenza with religious solemnities and rejoicings.⁴ Jesi, again, though by no means a town of importance, had yet courage to attack the vice-governor in his palace, on the twenty-fifth of November, 1528. He had demanded certain marks of honor, which the inhabitants refused. The peasants united themselves to the citizens, they took into their pay a hundred Albanians who chanced to be in the neighborhood, and drove the vice-governor, with his followers, from the town. The chronicler of Jesi, in other respects a most devout Catholic, relates this fact with infinite complacency. "My native town," says he, "now seeing herself restored to her primitive freedom, resolved solemnly to celebrate the anniversary of this day, at the public expense."⁵

But other results were sure to proceed from these acts of violence; new oppressions for example, punishments, and closer restrictions. All such occasions were gladly seized by the government, as affording a pretext for depriving the towns that still retained any efficient part of their ancient independence, of its last traces, and reducing them to entire subjection.

Of this we have remarkable examples in the histories of Ancona and Perugia.

From Ancona the pontiffs received a very small annual tribute only, as a mere recognition of their sovereignty. The insufficiency of this became all the more apparent as the town advanced in riches and prosperity. The revenues of Ancona were estimated by the court at 50,000 scudi, and it was found to be intolerable that the local nobility should divide so large

⁴ Tonduzzi, "Historie di Faenza," p.

antichissima Città di Jesi"; Jesi, 1744, p. 256.

⁵ Baldassini, "Memorie istoriche dell'

a sum among themselves. It chanced that the city not only refused the payment of new imposts, but also took forcible possession of a castle to which it had claims. This occasioned a violent misunderstanding. The mode of asserting their rights sometimes adopted by governments in that day is worthy of notice. The papal officers drove off the cattle from the march of Ancona, by the way of levying the new taxes. This they called making reprisals.

But Clement VII was not content with these "reprisals." He waited only for a favorable opportunity to make himself really master of Ancona, and this he made no scruple of employing artifice to bring about.

Declaring that the Turkish power, emboldened by its recent successes in Egypt and Rhodes, and the extent of its influence in the Mediterranean, might be daily expected to attack Italy, he caused a fortress to be erected in Ancona. Many Turkish ships were constantly at anchor off Ancona, and the pontiff expressed extreme apprehension for its safety, defenceless as it was alleging this as the only motive for raising the fortress. He sent Antonio Sangallo to construct the works, which proceeded with excessive rapidity, and a small garrison soon after appeared to take possession. This was the moment that Clement had awaited: matters having arrived so far, the governor of the march, Monsignore Bernardino della Barba, who, though a priest, was a man of martial character, arrived before Ancona one morning in September of 1562, with an imposing force which the jealousy of the neighboring cities had supplied to him. Having seized one of the gates, he marched to the market-place and drew up his troops before the palace. Suspecting no evil, the Anziani, but recently chosen by lot, were peaceably abiding here, with the badges of the supreme dignity around them; Della Barba entered with his escort of officers, and with little ceremony informed them that "the Pope had determined to take the uncontrolled government of Ancona into his own hands." There was no possibility of opposing effectual resistance, for though the younger nobles hastily gathered a few bands of devoted adherents from the neighboring villages, the elders, perceiving that the papal troops were prepared by their new fortifications for every emergency, refused to expose the city to devastation and ruin: they submitted, therefore, to what they saw was unavoidable.

The Anziani vacated the palace, and immediately after appeared the new legate, Benedetto degli Accolti, from whom the *Camera Apostolica* had received promise of twenty thousand scudi annually for the right of government in Ancona.

And now its position was changed entirely: all arms were required to be surrendered, and sixty-four of the principal nobles were banished; the magistracy was placed in different hands; portions of the administration were intrusted to persons who were not noble, and to the inhabitants of the districts surrounding. The old statutes were no longer suffered to form the rule of government.

Woe to him who ventured to deviate from the new regulations. Some of the principal nobles incurred the suspicion of conspiracy—they were instantly seized, condemned, and beheaded. On the following day a carpet was spread in the market-place; on this were laid the bodies, each with a burning torch beside it; and thus they remained through the whole day.

The inhabitants of Ancona were indeed relieved by Paul III from some portion of the severe restrictions they at first suffered, but their subjection was none the less complete; their former independence he was by no means inclined to restore.⁶

This pontiff was, in fact, more disposed to fix than to remove the fetters of the conquered cities in most instances, as for example in that of Perugia, for whose subjugation he employed that same Bernardino della Barba.

The price of salt being doubled by Paul III, the people of Perugia declared that they were justified by their privileges in refusing to pay it. For this the Pope excommunicated them; and the citizens assembling in the churches, elected a magistracy of "twenty-five defenders." They laid the keys of their town before a crucifix in the market-place, and both sides took up arms.

A general commotion was excited by the revolt of so important a city, and very grave consequences would doubtless have ensued had there been war in any other part of Italy; but as all was tranquil, the assistance on which the inhabitants had calculated from surrounding States, could not be rendered.

Accordingly, when Pier Luigi Farnese appeared before the

* Saracinelli, "Notizie storiche della Città d' Ancona," Roma, 1675, ii. xi. p. 335.

town with an army of 10,000 Italians and 3,000 Spaniards, Perugia, though possessing considerable power, had yet not wherewith to oppose a force so considerable. The government of the twenty-five, too, was rather distinguished by violence and tyranny than by prudence and careful measures for the defence of the town; they did not even provide money to pay the troops brought to their aid by a member of the Baglione family. Ascanio Colonna, who also resisted the same impost, was their only ally, and he confined himself to driving off cattle from the domains of the Church, nor could he be prevailed on to afford a more effectual assistance.

Thus Perugia, after a brief enjoyment of liberty, was again reduced to subjection, and surrendered on the third of June, 1540. Clothed in long mourning dresses, with ropes round their necks, the deputies of the city presented themselves beneath the portico of St. Peter, and kneeling at the feet of the pontiff, entreated his pardon.

This was not refused; but their liberties were entirely destroyed, and all their rights and privileges repealed.

And now Bernardino della Barba arrived in Perugia, and dealt with that city as he had done with Ancona. The inhabitants were compelled to deliver up their arms; the chains with which they had been accustomed to close their streets were taken away; the houses of the "twenty-five," who had themselves escaped in time, were razed to the ground, and on the site of that inhabited by the Baglioni a fortress was constructed. The citizens were obliged to pay the expense of all. A chief magistrate was now appointed, whose name sufficiently denotes the character of his duties; he was called "the conservator of ecclesiastical obedience." The ancient title of "prior" was, indeed, restored to the functionary by a subsequent pontiff, but the restitution of its former powers did not accompany it.⁷

By the same force that had subjugated Perugia, Ascanio Colonna was also put down and expelled from all his strongholds.

These repeated and successful achievements effected an immense augmentation of the papal authority in the States of the

⁷ Mariotti, "Memorie istoriche civili ed ecclesiastiche della Città di Perugia e suo contado," Perugia, 1806, gives us

authentic and minute accounts of these events, vol. i. p. 113-160, and again refers to them on p. 634.

Church—neither city nor baron dared now presume to oppose it. The independent municipalities had submitted one after another, and the Roman Court had at length drawn the entire resources of the country into its own hands, to be disposed of for the furtherance of its own purposes.

Let us now examine the manner in which these resources were administered.

Section II.—Finances

In the first instance we must proceed to make ourselves acquainted with the system of the papal finances, and the rather as this system is important, not only as regards the Roman States, but also because of the example furnished by it to all Europe.

We have first to observe that the system of exchanges adopted in the Middle Ages originated chiefly in the nature of the papal revenues, which, due from all parts of the world, were to be transmitted to the Curia from every separate country: but it is equally worthy of remark, that the system of national debt by which we are even now enveloped, and which maintains so important an influence on the operations of commerce, was first fully developed in the States of the Church.

There has doubtless been justice in the complaints raised against the exactions of Rome during the fifteenth century, but it is also true that of the proceeds a small part only passed into the hands of the Pope. Pius II enjoyed the obedience of all Europe, yet he once suffered so extreme a dearth of money that he was forced to restrict his household and himself to one meal a day! The 200,000 ducats required for the Turkish war that he was meditating had to be borrowed; and those petty expedients, adopted by many popes, of demanding from a prince, a bishop, or a grand-master, who might have some cause before the court, the gift of a gold cup filled with ducats, or a present of rich furs,¹ only show the depressed and wretched condition of their resources.

There is no doubt that money reached the court, if not in

¹ Voigt, "Voices from Rome respecting the papal court in the fifteenth century," in F. von Raumer's "Historischen Taschenbuch for 1833," contains numerous remarks on this subject. Whoever has access to the work, "Si-

lesia vor und seit dem Jahre 1740," will find there, ii. 483, a satire of the fifteenth century, not badly done, on this monstrous system of present-making: "The passion of our lord the Pope, according to the mark of gold and silver."

those extravagant sums that many have believed, yet to a very considerable extent; but, arrived so far, it was at once dispersed through channels innumerable. A large portion, for example, was absorbed by the revenues of those offices, which it had long been the practice to dispose of by sale. The income of these offices was principally derived from perquisites and fees, and but slight restraint was imposed on the exactions of those who had purchased them. The price at which each of these appointments was resold as it became vacant, was all that recurred to the papal coffers.

If then the pontiff desired to undertake any costly enterprise, he was compelled to find some extraordinary expedient for procuring the means; jubilees and indulgences were thus most welcome auxiliaries; incited by these, the piety of the faithful secured him an ample resource. He had also another mode of gaining supplies at his need. He had but to create new offices, when the sale of these was sure to afford him a respectable amount. This was an extraordinary sort of loan, and one for which the Church paid heavy interest, which had to be provided for by an increase of the imposts. The practice had long prevailed; an authentic register existing in the house of Chigi enumerates nearly six hundred and fifty salable offices, of which the income amounted to about one hundred thousand scudi.² These were for the most part, procurators, registrars, abbreviators, correctors, notaries, secretaries, nay, even messengers and doorkeepers, whose increased numbers were continually raising the expense of a bull or brief. It was indeed for that very purpose that their offices took the particular form assigned them, as to the duties connected with each, these were little or nothing.

It will be readily imagined that succeeding popes, involved as they were in the politics of Europe, would eagerly have recourse to so convenient a method of replenishing their coffers. Sixtus IV, proceeding by the advice of his prothonotary, Sinolfo, founded whole colleges, the places in which he sold for a few hundred ducats each; most curious are the titles that some of them bore. There was the college, for example, "of the hun-

² "Gli ufficii piu antichi," MS. Bibliotheca Chigi, No. ii. 50. There are 651 offices and 98,340 scudi, before the creation of Sixtus IV. So little truth is

there in the assertion of Onuphrius Panvinius, that Sixtus IV was the first pontiff who sold them.

dred Janissaries, " who were nominated for 100,000 ducats, and whose appointments were then paid from the profits arising on bulls and the proceeds of the first-fruits (annates).³ " Notariats " and " prothonotariats," the office of procurator to the " camera " ; everything, in short, was sold under Sixtus IV, who carried this system to such an extent that he has frequently been called its founder, nor indeed was it completely organized until his time. A new college of twenty-six secretaries, with a complement of other officers, was founded by Innocent VIII for 60,000 scudi; the embarrassments of this pontiff were such that he was compelled to give even the papal tiara as security. Alexander VI named eighty writers of briefs, each of whom paid 750 scudi for his place; Julius II added one hundred " writers of archives " at the same price.

Meanwhile the sources whence all these hundreds of officers drew their emoluments were not inexhaustible. We have seen how almost all Christian States made efforts, and very frequently successful efforts, to limit the encroachments of the Papal Court. This happened, too, precisely when the popes had been led into a vast expenditure by the magnitude of their undertakings.

This disposition of other countries made the circumstance of their obtaining so great an extension of their own territories extremely fortunate; for though their government was in the first instance very mild, they nevertheless drew large sums from these sources, and we cannot be surprised at finding this income administered in the same manner as the ecclesiastical funds.

When Julius II secured the salaries of the above-mentioned " writers," by an assignation on the annates, he added a further security charged on the customs and exchequer. He also instituted a college of 141 presidents of the Annona, all of whom were paid from the public chest; he made the surplus revenue of the country serve as a basis for contracting loans. The most distinguishing characteristic of this pope in the eyes of foreign powers was that he could raise what money he pleased; that was, in a certain measure, the foundation of his policy.

Still more urgent were the demands of Leo X than those

³ There were also Stradiotes and Mamelukes, who were, however, afterward suppressed. " Cautioners, without whom no papers were considered com-

plete." Onuphrius Panvinius. According to the register (" Ufficii Antichi "), this creation appears to have brought only 40,000 ducats.

of Julius had been; he was equally involved in war, was much less provident, and more dependent on the political aid of his family, which last required to be paid for. "That the Pope should ever keep a thousand ducats together was a thing as impossibile," says Francesco Vettori of this pontiff, "as that a stone should of its own will take to flying through the air." He has been reproached with having spent the revenues of three popes: that of his predecessor, from whom he inherited a considerable treasure, his own, and that of his successor, to whom he bequeathed a mass of debt. Not content with selling existing offices, his extraordinary nomination of cardinals brought him in important sums; and having once got on the beaten path of establishing offices for no other purpose than to sell them, he proceeded along it with the most pertinacious boldness. More than 1,200 of these appointments were created by him alone,⁴ the one point in which all these *portionarii*, *scudieri*, *cavalieri di S. Pietro*, and whatever other strange name they bore, agreed, was this, that all paid a sum of money for their offices, and drew the interest of it for life by virtue of these titles. Their appointment had no other signification. Some slight prerogative was sometimes conferred in addition to the interest. It was, in fact, a kind of life annuity; from such sales Leo is said to have drawn 900,000 scudi.

The interest was indeed extremely high, amounting annually to an eighth of the capital,⁵ which was to a certain extent provided for by a slight increase of ecclesiastical dues, but the larger portion came from the newly conquered provinces. This latter part of the general sum proceeded, first from the surplus funds of the municipal administrations, which were paid into the coffers of the State, next from the alum works, and then from the salt trade. The remainder was supplied by the Roman custom-house. The number of salable appointments was increased by Leo to 2,150, the annual income of which was estimated at 320,000 scudi, and was a burden both on Church and State.

But however blamable this prodigality might in itself have

⁴ "Sommaro di la Relation di M. Minio, 1520." "He never has ready money; he is too liberal, and cannot keep any; then the Florentines, who either are or pretend to be his relations, will not leave him a penny, and those Florentines are greatly detested at court,

for in every man's business shall come the hand of a Florentine."

⁵ The 612 *portionarii di ripa*—added to the college of presidents—paid 286,200 ducats, receiving yearly 38,816. The 400 cavaliers of St. Peter paid 400,000, and annually received 50,610 ducats.

been, yet Leo was undoubtedly confirmed in it, by perceiving that for the time its effects were rather beneficial than injurious. If Rome at this period acquired so unusual an elevation and prosperity, it must be attributed principally to the monetary system we have described. In no city could the capitalist of that day invest his money to so much advantage; the number of new appointments, the vacancies and reappointments, kept up a continual movement in the Curia; so that each man could easily find his opportunity for advancement.

By these operations the necessity for imposing new taxes was also avoided. The States of the Church were unquestionably less burdened with imposts at that moment than any other; and Rome, as compared with other cities, was equally fortunate as to amount of taxation. It had long before been represented to the Romans, that, whereas other cities were loaded by their lords with heavy loans and vexatious imposts, they on their parts were rather made rich by their sovereign the Pope. A secretary of Clement VII who wrote an account of the conclave by which that pontiff was elected, expresses his surprise that the Roman people were not more devoted to the Holy See, the lightness of their burdens considered. "From Terracina to Placentia," he exclaims, "the Church is in possession of a broad and fair portion of Italy, her dominion extends far and wide, yet all those flourishing lands and rich cities, which under any other sovereign would be burdened for the support of large armies, pay no more to the popes than just so much as will meet the expense of their own administration."⁶

But this state of things could last only, as is evident, so long as there was surplus money in the public coffers. Leo himself did not succeed in funding all his loans; he had borrowed 32,000 scudi from Aluise Gaddi, and 200,000 from Bernardo Bini. Salviati, Ridolfi, and others, of his servants and connections, had done their utmost to procure him money; their hopes of repayment and of future rewards were founded

⁶ Vianesius Albergatus, "Commentarii Rerum sui temporis" (the description of the conclave rather): "opulentissimi populi et ditissimæ urbes, quæ, si alterius ditionis essent, suis vectigalibus vel magnos exercitus alere possent, Romano pontifici vix tantum tributum pendunt, quantum in prætorum magistratuumque expensam sufficere queat" (see text). In the "Relation of Zorzi,"

1517, the united revenues of Perugia, Spoleto, the March and Romagna, are set down at 120,000 ducats, after a calculation by Francesco Armellino. The half of this went into the papal treasury. "Di quel somma la mità è per terra per pagar i legati et altri officii, e altra mità ha il papa." Unfortunately there are numerous errors in the copy of this report as given by Sanuto.

on his known liberality, and on his comparatively early years. By his sudden death they were all utterly ruined.

The financial operations of Leo X left his dominions in a state of exhaustion, the consequences of which were very soon felt by his successor.

The universal hatred drawn upon himself by the unlucky Adrian, was indeed caused in a great measure by the direct taxes he was compelled to impose. He found himself in the most urgent need, and laid the tax of half a ducat on each hearth;⁷ this was not much, but was most unpopular with the Romans, to whom demands of this character were almost unknown.

Neither could Clement VII avoid the imposition of new taxes; he chose indirect ones: yet much complaint arose against Cardinal Armellino, who was believed to have invented them. The increased duties levied at the city gates, on articles of daily necessity, occasioned great dissatisfaction, but all were obliged to endure them.⁸ Affairs were indeed in such a condition that much more important supplies than these were demanded, and could not be dispensed with.

Up to this time, loans had been raised under the form of salable offices; an approximation to the system of direct loans was first made by Clement VII on the decisive occasion of his armament against Charles V in 1526.

In the method by offices, the capital was lost on the death of the purchaser, unless his family could make interest to recover it from the treasury; but Clement now raised a capital of 200,000 ducats, which did not yield so high an interest as the places, though still a large one, ten per cent. namely; but which continued the property of the heirs. This is a *monte non vacabile*, the *monte della fede*. The interest was charged on the customs, and was further secured by a provision that each creditor should receive a share in the direction of the *dogana* (customs). The old form was not however entirely abandoned, these *monti* being also incorporated as were colleges. There were certain contractors for the loan, who paid the sum

⁷ "Hieronymo Negro a Marc Antonio Micheli, 7 April, 1523," "Lettere di Principi," i. p. 114.

⁸ Foscari, "Relatione," 1526: "There is some murmuring in Rome on account of Cardinal Armellino, who has devised

new schemes for raising money: he has made new taxes, so that if a man do but bring a few thrushes or other eatables for sale, he must pay something: this tax brings in 2,500 ducats."

required to the treasury, and then divided it in shares among the members of the college.

And now are we to say that these creditors of the State, in so far as they had a lien on the general income, or the produce of the common labor, had also an indirect share in the government? It was certainly so understood in Rome, and without the form of such a participation, no man would lend his money.

But this, as we shall see, was the commencement of widely extensive financial operations.

These were entered into with a certain moderation by Paul III. He contented himself with diminishing the interest of the *monti* established by Clement, and being successful in making new assignments of it, he increased the capital by nearly one-half. He establish no new *monti*, but for this moderation he was amply indemnified by the creation of 600 new places. The measures by which this pontiff rendered himself memorable in the history of papal finance, were of a somewhat different character.

The commotions occasioned by his increase of the price of salt, we have already noticed. This source of income he relinquished; but in its stead he imposed the direct tax of the *sussidio*, solemnly promising, however, that it should not be permanent. It is this impost that was levied in so many of the southern States at that time. In Spain it was called the *servicio*, in Naples the *donativo*, in Milan the *mensuale*, and in other places it was known under different titles. It was originally introduced into the States of the Church for three years only, and was fixed at 300,000 scudi. The contribution of each province was determined in Rome; the provincial parliaments then assembled to divide this sum among the several towns, and the local governments again apportioned it between themselves, and the surrounding districts. No one was exempt. All the lay subjects of the Roman Church, whatever their privileges and immunities, marquises, barons, feudal tenants, and public officers not excepted, are enjoined by the bull for this tax to contribute their share of the burden.⁹

Payment was nevertheless not made without urgent remon-

⁹ Bullar. In the year 1537 he declares to the French ambassador, "the scantiness of the Church's revenues, as well

State as city, for she has not 40,000 crowns a year really disposable."

strance, more especially when it was found that this *sussidio* was continually renewed from one period of three years to another; it was indeed never formally repealed, but neither was it ever perfectly collected.¹⁰ Bologna had been rated at 30,000 scudi, but her inhabitants had the foresight to compound for perpetual freedom from this impost by the payment of one large sum. Parma and Placentia were alienated, and did not pay; of what took place in other cities, that of Fano will afford us an example: this town refused for some time to pay the share apportioned to it, under pretext of being rated too highly, and Paul agreed for once to remit the arrears, but on condition that the full amount should be applied to repair the defences of the city. Subsequently too they were always allowed a third of their contingent for the same purpose. The descendants of these men nevertheless continued to declare that they were rated too highly; the rural populations also uttered incessant outcries on the large share the towns imposed on their shoulders; these last sought to emancipate themselves from the rule of the town council; and as this body asserted its supremacy, they would fain have had recourse to the protection of the Duke of Urbino. But we should be led too far from our subject were we to pursue these local disputes into their details; what we have said will suffice to explain the fact, that little more than half of the sum fixed on for the *sussidio* was ever realized.¹ In the year 1560, the whole proceeds did not surpass 165,000 scudi.

But, notwithstanding all these things, the income of the Roman States was largely increased by this pontiff. Under Julius II the revenues were valued at 350,000 scudi; under Leo, at 420,000; under Clement VII, in the year 1526, at 500,000; immediately after the death of Paul III, we gather, from authentic statements procured from the Roman treasury by the Venetian ambassador, Dandolo, that the amount had risen to 706,473 scudi.

His successors were, nevertheless, but slightly benefited by

¹⁰ Bullar, "Decens esse censemus," September 5, 1543; Bullar, "Cocq." iv. i. 225.

¹ Bull of Paul IV, "Cupientes Indemnitati," April 15, 1559; Bullar, "Cocq." iv. i. 225: "Because of the various exceptions, privileges, and immunities from the payment of the subsidy, granted to divers communities,

cities, universities, and individuals, as also to lands, towns, and other places in our ecclesiastical territories; and because of the many remissions and donations made from the said subsidy, we have had brought to our treasury but barely half the gross sum of the 300,000 crowns demanded."

this rise. Julius III, in one of his instructions, complains that his predecessor had alienated the entire revenue. He must certainly have meant to except the subsidy, which being, nominally at least, to be paid but for three years, could not of course be alienated; but he furthermore bewails, that a floating debt of 500,000 scudi had also been bequeathed to him by the same pontiff.²

But as Julian III was not withheld by this state of his affairs from plunging into wars with the French and the Farnesi; the utmost embarrassment was inevitable, whether for himself or the State. The imperialists paid him what, for those times, was a very large sum; but his letters are, nevertheless, filled with complaints. "He had hoped to receive 100,000 crowns from Ancona, and has not received half as many pence. Instead of 120,000 scudi from Bologna he has had 50,000 only. The money-changers of Genoa and Lucca had made promises, but had withdrawn them before they were well spoken. Whoever possessed a groat (carline) kept it safe in his fingers, and would hear nothing of speculating with it."³

The Pope, desiring to keep an army on foot, was compelled to the adoption of more effectual measures, and resolved on founding a new *monte*. The manner in which he proceeded on this occasion became the model which has been almost invariably pursued in later times.

A new impost of two carlines was laid on every rubbio of flour, and this produced him, when all deductions had been made, the sum of 30,000 scudi, which was appropriated to the payment of interest on a capital raised forthwith: thus did he originate the *monte della farina*. It will be remarked, that this operation is closely analogous to the measures of finance adopted in earlier times. New ecclesiastical offices had on previous occasions been created, and their salaries made payable on the increasing revenues of the Curia, merely that they might be sold to procure the sum required by the demand of the moment. On this occasion the revenues of the State were increased by a new tax; but this was employed solely as interest for a large capital that could not otherwise have been raised. This practice has been continued by all succeeding

² "Instruzione per voi Monsignore d' Imola, ultimo di Marzo, 1551," Inform. Polit. tom. xii.

³ "Il Papa, a Giovamb. di Monte, a April, 1552."

pontiffs. These *monti* were sometimes *non vacabili*, like the Clementine; at other times they were *vacabili*, the interest ceasing, that is, on the death of the lender, but then the percentage was much higher, and the collegiate character of the *monte* brought the plan nearer to that of salable offices. Paul IV established the *monte novennale de' frati*, founding it on a tax which he imposed on the regular monastic orders. Pius IV levied half a farthing (a quattrino) on every pound of meat, applying the produce to the foundation of the *monte pio non vacabile*, which brought him in about 170,000 scudi. Pius V added a second quattrino on the pound of meat, and on this he established the *monte lega*.

The general importance of the Roman States becomes intelligible to our perceptions in proportion as we keep the development of this system clearly in view: by what class of necessities were the popes compelled to a mode of raising loans that burdened their territories with so direct a weight of imposts? We reply, that these necessities arose chiefly from the demands of Catholicism. The time had passed by when the purposes of the popes could be purely political; those of an ecclesiastical character could alone be now attempted, with any hope of success. The desire to come in aid of Catholic sovereigns, in their struggle with the Protestants, or in their undertakings against the Turks, was now almost invariably the immediate inducement to new financial operations. The *monte lega* received that name from Pius V, because the capital derived from it was applied to the war against the Turks, undertaken by that pontiff in his "league" with Spain and Venice. This becomes ever more and more observable; the Papal States were affected in their finances by almost every commotion arising in Europe. There were few of these occasions when the popes could escape the necessity of exacting new efforts from their own subjects for the maintenance of ecclesiastical interests. Thus was the possession of extensive dominions of vital importance to the ecclesiastical prosperity of the popes.

Not that they were content with the produce of their *monti*; they still continued the former practices. New offices, or *cavaliariate*, were still created, with more or less of privilege attached; whether it was that the salaries were provided for as before, by new imposts, or that the depression which then took

place in the value of money caused larger amounts to be paid into the treasury. ⁴

It resulted from this, that the revenues of the papacy, excepting only a short period of diminution, occasioned by the war under Paul IV, were continually rising in nominal value; even during his life they increased again to 700,000 scudi. Under Pius they were estimated at 898,482 scudi. Paul Tiepolo is surprised to find them, after an absence of five years, augmented by 200,000 scudi, and risen to an amount of 1,100,000 scudi. Yet the popes did not, in effect, receive a larger income. This, though an extraordinary circumstance, was yet a necessary consequence of the system; for, as the taxes increased so did the alienations. Julius III is said to have alienated 54,000; Paul IV, 45,960; and Pius IV, who found all means good that gave him money, is calculated to have disposed of 182,550 scudi. This latter pontiff increased the number of salable offices to 3,500, and this did not include the *monti*, which were not considered to belong to the offices. ⁵ He raised the amount of the alienated funds to 450,000 scudi, and this now increased continually. In the year 1576 it was 530,000 scudi; the increase of the revenue had been also large, but the half of its total amount was, nevertheless, absorbed by these alienations. ⁶ The registers of the papal revenues present an extraordinary aspect in these times. The contracts made with the farmers of the revenue were generally for a period of nine years; after specifying, article by article, the sums these men had agreed to pay, the registers also state what portion of each is alienated. In 1576, and the following years, the Roman customs, for example, brought in the considerable amount of 133,000 scudi, but of this 111,170 were alienated; other deductions having also to be made, the treasury received in effect 13,000 only. There were some taxes, as on corn, meat, and wine, of which the whole were swallowed up by the *monti*. From many provincial chests, called treasuries, which had also to provide for the exigencies of the provinces, not one sixpence reached the papal coffers;

⁴ Thus about 1580 many of these "luoghi di monte" stood at 100, instead of 130; the interest of the "vacabili" was reduced from 14 to 9, so that on the whole a great saving was effected.

⁵ "Lista degli Uffici della Corte Romana, 1560," Bibl. Chigi, N. ii. 50. Many other separate lists of different years.

⁶ Tiepolo calculates that in addition to 100,000 scudi for salaries, 270,000 were expended on fortifications and offices of legates; the Pope had 200,000 left. He tells us that of 1,800,000 received under pretext of the Turkish war, 340,000 only were applied to that purpose.

the March and Camerino may serve as examples of this fact, yet the *sussidio* was often applied to the same purpose; nay, so heavy were the incumbrances laid on the alum-works of Tolfa, which had usually been a valuable source of income, that their accounts displayed a deficiency of 2,000 scudi.⁷

The personal expenses of the pontiff and those of his court, were principally charged on the dataria, which had two distinct sources of income; the one was more strictly ecclesiastical, as arising from compositions, fixed payments for which the datary permitted *regresses*, "reservations," and various other clerical irregularities, in the course of translation from one benefice to another. The rigid severity of Paul IV had greatly diminished this source of profit, but its value was gradually restored. The other part of the dataria's income proceeded from the appointments to vacant *cavaliere*, salable offices, and places in the *monti vacabili*, it increased as the number of these appointments was augmented, and was, as is obvious, of a more secular nature than the portion first described.⁸ About the year 1570, however, both united did but just suffice to meet the daily expenses of the papal household.

The position of things had become greatly changed by these financial proceedings of the Roman States, which, from having been famed as the least burdened in Italy, was now more heavily taxed than most of them.⁹ Loud complaints were heard from all quarters; of the ancient municipal independence scarcely anything remained; the administration gradually became more uniform. In former times the rights of government had frequently been ceded to some favorite cardinal, or other prelate, who made no inconsiderable profit from them. The compatriots of popes, as, for example, the Florentines under the Medici, the Neapolitans under Paul IV, and the Milanese under Pius IV, had in turn held possession of the best places. Pius V put an end to this practice. The governments thus committed to favorites had not been adminis-

⁷ For example, "Entrata della Reverenda Camera Apostolica sotto il Pontificato di N. S. Gregorio XIII., fata nell' Anno 1576." MS. Gothana, No. 219.

⁸ According to Mocenigo, 1570, the dataria had at one time yielded between 10,000 and 14,000 ducats per month. Under Paul IV the proceeds fell to 3,000 or 4,000 ducats.

⁹ Paolo Tiepolo, "Relazione di Roma in tempo di Pio IV. e Pio V.," already remarks: "The incumbrances of the Papal States are nearly insupportable, being aggravated by various causes; no further alienation of Church revenues is possible; for all certain sources are already alienated, and no one would advance money on those that are uncertain."

tered by them, but had always been deputed to some doctor of laws, chosen for that purpose;¹⁰ these doctors, Pius V himself appointed, appropriating to the treasury those advantages that had previously accrued to the favorites. Everything proceeded more tranquilly and with better order; in earlier times a militia had been established, and 16,000 men enrolled. Pius IV had besides maintained a body of light cavalry. Pius V dispensed with both; the cavalry he disbanded, and suffered the militia to fall into disuse; his whole armed force amounted to less than 500 men, of whom 350, principally Swiss, were in Rome. Had there not been still some need of protection along the coast from the incursions of the Turks, the people might have forgotten the use of arms. This population, once so warlike, seemed now disposed to live in undisturbed peace. The popes desired to rule their territory like a large domain, applying a certain portion of its rents to the expenses of their household, but disposing of the largest part in the service of the Church exclusively.

In the pursuit of this design also, we shall see that they encountered no slight difficulty.

¹⁰ Tiepolo, *ibid.*: "Some legations or governments were valued at 3,000, 4,000, or perhaps 7,000 or more scudi per annum; but almost all those appointed to

them were glad to receive the money, and made a doctor perform the duties of the office.

THE TIMES OF GREGORY XIII AND SIXTUS IV

Section III.—Gregory XIII

GREGORY XIII, Hugo Buoncompagno of Bologna, who had raised himself to eminence as a jurist and in the civil service, was cheerful and lively in disposition. He had never married, but before the assumption of any clerical dignity he had a son born to him, of whom we shall hear further. Later in life his habits became serious and regular; not that he was at any time particularly scrupulous; on the contrary, he displayed a certain dislike of all sanctimonious acerbity, and seemed more disposed to take Pius IV as an example than his more immediate predecessor.¹ But in this pontiff was exemplified the force of public opinion; a hundred years earlier, he would have governed at the most as did Innocent VIII. It was now on the contrary made obvious, that even a man of his dispositions could no longer resist the rigidly ecclesiastical tendency of the times.

This tendency was maintained by a party in the court, whose first object was to prevent it from declining. Jesuits, Theatines, and their adherents, were its members; those more conspicuously active were Monsignori Frumento and Corniglia, with the bold and fearless preacher Francesco Toledo, and the datary Contarelli. Their influence over the Pope was acquired all the more readily and preserved the more securely, from the fact that they all acted in concert. They represented to him that the high consideration enjoyed by his predecessor had arisen principally from the severity of his personal character and conduct; in all the letters that they read aloud to him, the memory of Paul's holy life and virtues with the fame of his reforms, was the subject principally dwelt on; whatever was not to this effect they passed over. By thus

¹ His reign was expected to be different from that of his predecessor; "of a more conciliating and milder charac-

ter." "Commentarii de rebus Gregorii XIII." (MS. Bibl. Alb.)

proceeding, they gave to the ambition of Gregory XIII a character most thoroughly spiritual.²

He had it greatly at heart to promote the son we have mentioned, and to raise him to princely dignity. But at the first act of favor he showed him, the naming him *castellan* of St. Angelo and *gonfaloniere* of the Church, these rigorous counsellors alarmed the conscience of the Pope; and during the jubilee of 1575, they would not permit him to suffer the presence of Giacomo (his son) in Rome. When this was over, they did indeed allow him to return, but only because the disappointment of the aspiring young man was injuriously affecting his health. Gregory then caused him to marry, and induced the republic of Venice to enrol him among its *nobili*,³ he also prevailed on the King of Spain to nominate him general of his *hommes d'armes*, not, however, relaxing the close restraint in which he held him. But on a certain occasion the young man attempted the liberation of a college friend who had been arrested, when his father again sent him into exile, and was about to deprive him of all his offices; this was prevented only by the young wife, who threw herself at the pontiff's feet, and at length obtained her husband's pardon. The time for more ambitious hopes was however long since past.⁴ Giacomo Buoncompagno had never any very serious influence with his father until the life of the latter was drawing to a close, nor even then was it unlimited in state affairs of moment.⁵ If any one requested his intercession in these matters, his reply was to shrug his shoulders, as one who would say, "how hopeless is the case!"

Being thus rigid in regard to his son, it will be manifest

² "Relatione della corte di Roma a tempo di Gregorio XIII." (Bibl. Corsini, 714), February 20, 1574, is full of instruction on this subject. Of the Pope's character the author says, "he has never been either scrupulous or dissolute, and regards all misconduct with displeasure."

³ They were not a little puzzled for a description of his origin on this occasion, and it is thought creditable to Venetian address that he was called simply "Signor Buoncompagno, nearly related to his holiness." The evasion was invented by Cardinal Comò. The affair being in discussion, the ambassador asked the minister if Giacomo should be called the son of his holiness. "His excellency then making many excuses for his holiness, to whom this son

was born before he had taken orders, suggested that the youth might be called 'Sr. Giacomo Boncompagno of Bologna, closely connected with his holiness.'"

⁴ Antonio Tiepolo, "Dispacci, Agosto, Sett. 1576." In the year 1583, March 29, one of these papers remarks that Signor Giacomo is not permitted to interfere in matters of state.

⁵ It is only in the latter part of the life of Gregory that this opinion of him is correct; it has, however, taken firm hold, and I find it again, for example, in the "Memoirs" of Richelieu: "He was a mild-tempered and benevolent prince, and better as a man than as pope." It will be seen that this was only partially true.

that he was little likely to favor more distant relations. It is true that he did raise two of his nephews to the cardinalate (and Pius V had done as much), but when a third, encouraged by their promotion, came to court with the hope of equal fortune, he was refused an audience, and commanded to quit Rome within two days. The brother of Gregory had left his home, and was on the road to see and enjoy the honor that had visited his family, but arrived at Orvieto, he was met by a papal messenger, who desired him to return. Tears rose to the old man's eyes, and he was tempted to go yet a little further toward Rome; but, receiving a second intimation to desist, he obeyed it and returned to Bologna.⁶

These things suffice to show that this pontiff is not chargeable with nepotism, or the advancing his own family to the offence of the laws. On one occasion, when a newly appointed cardinal declared that he should be ever grateful "to the family and nephews of his holiness," Gregory struck the arms of the chair he sat on with both hands, exclaiming, "Be thankful rather to God, and to the Holy See!"

To this extent was he already influenced, by the serious tendency of the time. Not only did he seek to equal the piety of demeanor⁷ so lauded in Pius V, he even desired to surpass it; in the early years of his pontificate he read mass three times a week, never omitting to do so on the Sundays: his life and deportment were not only irreproachable but even exemplary.

There were certain duties of the papal office that no pontiff ever performed with more zeal and propriety than Gregory XIII. He had a list of all those men, of whatever country, who were proper to the office of bishop; evinced an accurate knowledge of the character and qualifications of all who were proposed to his acceptance, and exercised the most anxious care in the nomination to these important offices.

His most earnest endeavors were especially given to the securing a strict system of ecclesiastical education. His liberality

⁶ The good man complained that the election of his brother was more injurious than useful to him, since it compelled him to an expenditure which was beyond the allowance that Gregory granted him.

⁷ "Seconda Relatione dell' Ambasciatore di Roma Cimò. M. Paolo Tiepolo, Cavre, 3 Maggio 1576:" "In religion

he tries not to imitate only, but to go beyond Pius V; he usually says three masses in the week. He has taken great care of the churches, not only adorning them with new buildings, but he fills them also by a large concourse of priests at the performance of divine service."

in assisting the progress of Jesuit colleges was almost without bounds. He made rich presents to the house of the "professed" in Rome, caused whole streets to be closed up, purchased many buildings, and assigned a large income, to aid the completion of the college in that form which we see it bear even to our days. Twenty lecture-rooms, with 360 cells for students, are enumerated in this building, which was called "the Seminary of all Nations." Even on its first foundation, measures were taken to make it clear that this college was meant to embrace the whole world—twenty-five speeches being pronounced in as many different languages, each accompanied by a Latin interpretation.⁸ The *Collegium Germanicum*, which had been founded some years before, was falling into decay from want of means; to this, also, Gregory gave a palace, that of St. Apollinare, and added the revenues of San Stefano on Monte Celio, together with the sum of 10,000 scudi, charged on the *Camera Apostolica*. He may indeed be regarded as the true founder of this institution, whence, year after year since his time, a whole host of champions for the Catholic faith has been poured into Germany. He found means to erect and endow an English college in Rome; he assisted those of Vienna and Grätz from his private purse; and there was not, perhaps, a single Jesuit school in the world which he did not in some way contribute to support. Following the counsels of the Bishop of Sitia, he also established a Greek college, into which boys from thirteen to sixteen were admitted. And not only were they received from countries already under Christian rule, as Corfu and Candia, but also from Constantinople, Salonichi, and the Morea. They had Greek instructors, and were clothed in the Kaftan and Venetian *barret*; they were upheld in all Greek customs, and never permitted to forget that it was in their native country they were preparing to act. They retained their own rites⁹ as well as language, and their religious education was conducted according to those doctrines of the council, and in those principles, whereon the Greek and Latin churches were of one accord.

The reform of the calendar, accomplished by Pope Gregory XIII, was another proof of that assiduous care which he ex-

⁸ "Dispaccio Donato, 13 Genn. 1582."
⁹ "Dispaccio Antonio Tiepolo, 16 Marzo, 1577:" "So that when grown

up they may declare the truth to their Greek countrymen with affectionate zeal."

tended over the whole Catholic world. This had been greatly desired by the Council of Trent, and it was rendered imperatively necessary by the displacement of the high festivals of the Church from that relation to particular seasons of the year which had been imposed on them by the decrees of councils. All Catholic nations took part in this reform.

A Calabrian, else little known, Luigi Lilio, has gained himself immortal renown by the suggestion of the most efficient method for overcoming the difficulty. All the universities, among them the Spanish—those of Salamanca and Alcala—were consulted as to his proposed plan; favorable opinions came from all quarters. A commission was then appointed in Rome (its most active and learned member being the German Clavius).¹⁰ By this body it was minutely examined and finally decided on. The learned Cardinal Sirleto had exercised the most important influence over the whole affair; it was conducted with a certain degree of mystery, the calendar being concealed from all, even from the ambassadors, until it had received the approval of the different courts;¹ Gregory then proclaimed it with great solemnity, vaunting this reform as a proof of God's illimitable grace toward his Church.²

The labors of this pontiff were, however, not always of so peaceable a character; could he have decided the question, that "league" by which the battle of Lepanto had been gained, would never have been dissolved; and it was a source of grief to him when the Venetians made peace with the Turks, and when Philip of Spain afterward agreed to a truce with them. A wide field was afforded to his exertions by the disturbances in France and the Netherlands, as also by the collision of parties in Germany. He was inexhaustible in expedients for the destruction of Protestantism; and the insurrections that Elizabeth had to contend with in Ireland were almost all excited or encouraged by Rome. The Pope made no secret of his desire to bring about a general combination against England: year after year was this subject pressed by his nuncios on Philip II and the house of Guise. A connected history of all these labors and projects would be no uninteresting occupation for him who

¹⁰ Erythræus: "Wherein Christopher Clavius obtained the chief place."

¹ "Dispaccio Donato, 20 Dec. 1581;"

² 2 Giugno, 1582." He praises the cardinal as "a man of really great learning."

² Bull of February 13, 1582, 12.—Bullar, "Cocq." iv. 4, 10.

should undertake it: they were for the most part unknown to those whose destruction they were intended to accomplish, but did at length produce the great enterprise of the Armada. With the most eager zeal were all the proceedings forwarded by Gregory, and it was to his connection with the Guises that the French league, so dangerous to Henry III and IV, is indebted for its origin.

We have seen that this pontiff did not load the State too heavily for the benefit of his family, as so many of his predecessors had done, but the comprehensive and costly works in which he constantly engaged compelled him to lay his hand with equal weight on the public revenues. Even for the expedition of Stukeley, though comparatively insignificant, and which terminated so unhappily in Africa, he expended a very large sum. To Charles IX he once sent 400,000 ducats, the proceeds of a direct impost levied on the towns of the Roman States; he also frequently aided the Emperor and the grand-master of Malta with sums of money. His pacific enterprises equally demanded extensive funds: he is computed to have spent two millions on the support of young men in the pursuit of their studies.⁸ How heavy, then, must needs have been the cost of those twenty-two Jesuit colleges which owed their origin to his munificence.

When we consider the financial condition of the State, which, spite of its increasing income, had never presented a disposable surplus, it becomes obvious that he must often have suffered considerable embarrassment.

The Venetians attempted to persuade him into granting them a loan very soon after his accession to the see. Gregory listened to the representations of the ambassador with increasing attention; but having arrived at the drift of his proposals, he at once interrupted him. "What do I hear, my lord ambassador?" he exclaimed; "the congregation sits every day to devise means of raising money, but never does one man among them contrive any available expedient for doing so."⁴

The mode in which Gregory should administer the re-

⁸ Calculation of Baronius. Possevinus in Ciaconius, "*Vitæ Pontificum*," iv. 37. Lorenzo Priuli considers him to have expended 200,000 scudi annually on works of piety. On this subject the extracts given by Cocquelinus at the close

of Maffei's "*Annals*," from the report of cardinals Como and Muscotti, are most authentic and copious.

⁴ "*Dispaccio*, 14 Marzo, 1573:" "It is a congregation deputed for the raising of money."

sources of the State was now a question of paramount importance. The evil of alienations had at length become clearly apparent to all; new imposts were considered impolitic and highly censured—the doubtful, nay, the pernicious consequences of such a system were clearly perceived and fully appreciated. Gregory imposed on the congregation the task of procuring him money, but they were to make no ecclesiastical concessions, lay on no new taxes, and permit the sale of no church revenues.

How, then, were they to proceed? The means devised, in reply to this question, were sufficiently remarkable, as were also the results eventually produced by them.

Gregory XIII was not to be restrained from the pursuit of what he considered a right, and he believed himself to have discovered that many prerogatives of the ecclesiastical principality yet remained to be put in force; these he thought had only to be asserted in order to their supplying him with new sources of income.⁵ It was not in his character to respect the privileges that might stand in his way: thus, among others, he abolished, without hesitation, that possessed by the Venetians, of exporting corn from the March and Ravenna, under certain favorable conditions, declaring that it was fair to make foreigners pay equal duty with the natives.⁶ Since the Venetians did not instantly comply, he caused their magazines in Ravenna to be opened by force, the contents to be sold by auction, and the owners imprisoned. This was but a small affair, it is true, but served to intimate the path he intended to pursue. His next step was of much more lasting importance: believing that a crowd of abuses existed among the possessions of the aristocracy in his own territories, he decided that the reform of these would be highly beneficial to his treasury. His secretary of the *Camera*, Rudolfo Bonfigliuolo, proposed a comprehensive renewal and extension of feudal rights, which had hitherto scarcely been thought of; he affirmed that a large part of the estates and castles held by the barons of the State had lapsed to the sovereign, either by failure in the direct line of succession, or because the dues to which they were liable had

⁵ Maffei, "Annali di Gregorio XIII.," i. p. 104. He calculates that the States of the Church had a clear income of 160,000 scudi only.

⁶ "Dispaccio Antonio Tiepolo, 12 April, 1577."

not been paid.⁷ The Pope had already acquired some domains that had either lapsed or were purchased, and nothing could be more agreeable to him than to continue doing so. He at once set earnestly to work. From the Isei of Cesena he wrested Castelnuovo in the hills of Romagna, and from the Sassatelli of Imola he gained Coreana. Lonzano, seated on its beautiful hill, and Savignano in the plain, were taken from the Rangoni of Modena. Alberto Pio resigned Bertinoro, to escape the process preparing against him by the treasury; but this did not suffice, and he was divested of Verrucchio and other places. Seeing this, he tendered his arrears of rent on every festival of St. Peter, but they were never afterward accepted. All this occurred in Romagna alone, and the other provinces did not fare better. It was not only to estates on which the feudal services remained unpaid that the court asserted a claim, there were other domains which had originally been mortgaged to certain barons, but this so long since that the mode of their tenure had been forgotten; the property had descended from hand to hand as freehold, and had often largely increased in value. The Pope and his secretaries now chose to redeem the mortgages; in this manner they gained possession of Sitiano, a castle that had been pledged for 14,000 scudi; that sum they laid down, but it was greatly below the value of the property, which, being considered freehold, had received extensive improvement.

Gregory congratulated himself continually on these proceedings; he believed he had established a new claim to the favor of heaven with every addition, were it only of ten scudi, that he succeeded in adding to the income of the Church, provided it were done without new imposts. He calculated with infinite pleasure that he should soon have made an addition of 100,000 scudi to the revenues of the State, and all by legitimate proceedings. How greatly would his means for proceeding against infidels and heretics be thus increased! His measures were, for the most part, much approved by the court. "This Pope is called the 'vigilant'" (Gregorius signifies vigilant), says the Cardinal of Como; "by his vigilance will

⁷ "Dispaccio A. Tiepolo, 12 Genn. 1579:" "The commissary of the Camera seeks diligently for all writings that may enable him to recover whatever

has been given in pledge by former popes; and, perceiving that his holiness encourages this, he is disposed to excuse no one."

he recover his own." ⁸ But the feeling of the provinces on this subject was altogether different from that of the court; on the aristocracy the impression produced was most unfavorable.

Estates that had long been considered their own, and held by the most legitimate claims, were now torn from the best families of the land; a like calamity was impending over others, daily search among old papers was made in Rome, new claims were continually founded on them, no man could believe himself secure, and many resolved to defend their property by force of arms, rather than resign it to the commissioners of the treasurer. One of these feudal tenants told Gregory to his face, "If a thing is lost, it is lost; but there is always a satisfaction in arming one's self for the defence of one's own."

But from all this there arose the most violent fermentation, the influence of the barons on the peasantry and on the *nobili* of the neighboring towns, awakened extreme indignation throughout the country at the pontiff's new measures.

In addition to these unpopular proceedings, came the fact that certain towns had suffered heavy losses by other injudicious expedients of the Pope. He had, for example, raised the port-dues of Ancona, believing that these would fall, not upon the country, but the foreign merchant. An injury was nevertheless inflicted on that city from which it has never recovered. Its commerce suddenly departed, nor could the removal of the obnoxious impost avail to bring it back; even the restoration of their ancient privileges to the Ragusans, did not suffice to make up the loss.

Equally unexpected and peculiar were the consequences that ensued from the policy that Gregory had adopted.

In all countries (but more especially in one of so pacific a character as that now displayed by the Papal States) obedience to the government is based on voluntary subordination. In the Roman territories, the elements of dissension were neither destroyed nor removed, they were simply concealed by the mantle of authority extending over them; accordingly, the principle of subordination being disturbed on one point, these all pressed forward together and burst into open conflict. The land seemed

⁸ "Dispaccio, 21 Ott. 1581:" "It is many years since the Church has had a pontiff of this name, 'Gregory,' which, according to its Greek etymology, means 'vigilant.' This, then, being 'Gregory,'

is 'Vigilant,' he determines to watch and recover what is due to the see, and thinks he has done good service when he has got back anything, however small."

suddenly to remember how warlike, how well skilled in arms, and how unfettered in its parties it had remained for whole centuries. It began to feel contempt for this government of priests and men of law, and returned to the condition most natural to it.

It is true that no direct opposition was offered to the government, no general revolt ensued; but the old feuds reappeared in every part of the country.

Once again was the whole of Romagna divided by these factions; in Ravenna the Rasponi and the Leonardi were arrayed against each other; in Rimini, the Ricciardelli and the Tignoli; in Cesena, the Venturelli and the Bottini; in Furli, the Numai and the Sirugli; in Imola, the Vicini and the Sassatelli. The first named of these families were Ghibellines, the others Guelphs; however completely the interests originally connected with these appellations had altered, the names still survived. These parties often held possession of different quarters of the city, and different churches; they were distinguished by slight signs, as for example, that the Guelphs wore the feather on the right side of his hat, the Ghibelline on the left.⁹ These divisions reigned even in the smallest villages; a man would not have spared the life of his brother, had he belonged to the opposite faction; and some were known who had destroyed their wives, that they might be at liberty to marry into families of their own party. In these disorders, the "Pacific" could avail nothing; and their influence was all the more completely lost, from the fact that favoritism had placed unsuitable members among their body. The factions took the administration of justice into their own hands; certain persons who had been condemned by the tribunals, they declared innocent, and liberated them by breaking open their prisons; their enemies on the contrary they sought in the same place and by the same means, but it was to place their heads around the fountains, where, on the day following their capture, they were frequently to be seen.¹⁰

Public authority being thus enfeebled, troops of bandits as-

⁹ The "Relatione di Romagna" describes the difference as existing "in the cutting of their clothes, mode of wearing the belt, the feather, tassel, or flower worn on the cap or at the ear."

¹⁰ In the MS. "Sixtus V. Pontifex Max." (Altieri Library in Rome) this state of things is minutely described. (See App. No. 52.)

sembled in the March, the Campagna, and indeed all the provinces; these outlaws very soon amounting to small armies.

At the head of these bands were Alfonso Piccolomini, Roberto Malatesta, and other young men of the most illustrious families; Piccolomini seized the Town-house of Monte Abbado, had all his enemies hunted out, and put them to death before the eyes of their mothers and wives; nine of the name of Gabuzio were thus destroyed, Piccolomini's followers dancing in the market-place while the execution was proceeding. He marched through the country as lord of the land: an attack of ague seized him, but was not suffered to impede his progress; when the fever-fit came on, he would cause himself to be carried in a litter at the head of his troops. He sent a message to the inhabitants of Corneto, advising them to make good speed with their harvest, because he meant himself to come and burn the crops of his enemy Latino Orsino. In his personal conduct, Piccolomini affected to deal with a certain sort of honor; he would take the letters of a courier, but the gold borne by him would remain untouched; to the rapacious brutality of his followers, however, he set no bounds; from all sides messengers were sent by the different cities to Rome, entreating protection.¹ The Pope increased his military forces, and invested Cardinal Sforza with powers for the repression of this violence, surpassing any that had ever been conferred since the time of Cardinal Alborno. Not only was he empowered to proceed without respect to privileges, by whomever or however possessed; but he was also at liberty to act without regard to any forms of law, without even the ceremony of a trial, *manu regiâ*.² Giacomo Buoncompagno took the field, and they did certainly succeed in dispersing these bands, and in clearing the country; but no sooner were their backs turned, than the outlaws instantly sprang up as actively as ever in their rear, and all the previous disorders recommenced.

That these evils should thus become incurable, is attributable to a particular circumstance that must be related.

¹ "Dispacci Donato," of 1582, throughout.

² Brief for Sforza, given in the "Dispacci": He has every sort of power, authority, and absolute discretion against bandits of whatsoever kind, with their favorers, receivers, or followers; also against communities, universities,

and cities, domains and castles, barons and dukes of whatsoever pre-eminence; against persons in any authority, and that without form of process, to punish them all and each, with royal power, as well in their property as in their persons."

Pope Gregory XIII, who is so frequently described as good-natured to excess, had yet asserted his ecclesiastical as well as secular rights with extremity of rigor,³ and in doing this he regarded no man's interest or feelings. He spared neither the Emperor nor the King of Spain, and to his more immediate neighbors he showed as little deference. With Venice he was involved in disputes interminable; some regarded the affair of Aquileja, some the visitation of their churches, and various other points. The ambassadors can find no words to describe the heat with which he spoke of these matters, the acerbity that he displayed on their being even alluded to. With Tuscany and Naples affairs were not more peaceably arranged, nor did Ferrara find greater favor. Parma had but lately lost large sums of money in legal disputes with the pontiff. It thus happened that all his neighbors exulted at seeing the Pope involved in perplexities so painful, and gave a ready asylum to his outlaws, who took the first opportunity of returning to their country. It was in vain that Gregory entreated them to discontinue this connivance; they chose to consider it extraordinary that Rome should treat all other States with indifference and contempt, but should nevertheless set up a claim to service and respect at the hands of all.⁴

Thus it came to pass that Gregory could never make himself master of these bandits. The taxes remained unpaid, and the *sussidio* could not be collected; a feeling of discontent took possession of the whole country; even cardinals were mooting the question whether it would not be advisable to attach themselves to some other State.

The further prosecution of the measures suggested by the secretary of the *Camera* was out of the question in this position of things; in December, 1581, the Venetian ambassador made it publicly known that his holiness had commanded the discontinuance of all proceedings in the confiscation of lands.

Perhaps even more painful was the necessity to which the

³ So early as 1576 Paolo Tiepolo remarks this: "The more he seeks to acquire the name of a just man, the less is he likely to retain that of a gracious prince, conferring fewer especial favors than any pontiff for many years past; besides this, he does not succeed in winning those around him, partly because he has a natural incapacity for express-

ing himself, and because of the very few words he uses on all occasions—thus he gains but little personal attachment."
⁴ "Dispaccio Donato, 10 Sett. 1581:"
 "It is a strange thing, that giving satisfaction to no one, he should yet desire every sort of obsequiousness from all others in matters touching the State."

pontiff was also reduced, of permitting Piccolomini to appear in the capital, and present a petition for pardon.⁵ A deep shudder passed over him as he read the long list of murders and other atrocities that he was called on to forgive, and he laid the paper from his hand; but he was assured that one of three things must happen, either his son Giacomo would receive his death from the hand of Piccolomini, or he must himself condemn Piccolomini to death, or resolve on granting him a pardon. The father confessors of St. John Lateran declared, that though they dared not violate the secrets of the confessional, yet thus much they were permitted to say, a great calamity was impending, and unless something were speedily done, would inevitably ensue: Piccolomini was besides publicly favored by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and was at that moment lodged in the Medici palace. Seeing all these things, the pontiff at last submitted, but with a deeply mortified spirit, and the brief of absolution received his signature.

This did not, however, suffice to restore tranquillity to the country; his own capital was filled with the outlaws, and matters got to such a pass that the city magistracy of the *conservators* was compelled to act in aid of the Pope's police, which could not secure obedience. A pardon being offered to a certain bandit called Marianazzo, he refused it, declaring that his life "was more secure while remaining an outlaw, to say nothing of the increased advantage!"⁶

Worn out and weary of life, the aged pontiff raised his hands to heaven and cried, "Thou wilt arise, O Lord, and have mercy upon Zion!"

Section IV.—Sixtus V

It would sometimes seem that even in confusion itself there exists some occult force, by which the man capable of steering through its mazes is formed and brought forward.

Hereditary principalities or aristocracies transmit their power from generation to generation throughout the world, but the

⁵ Donato, April 9th, 1583: "The desire to save expense and secure Signor Giacomo's safety, with that of escaping the disturbances daily arising between him and Florence, has led his holiness to this decision."

⁶ That living as an outlaw turned to better account, and was of greater security. Gregory XIII reigned from May 13, 1572, to April 10, 1585.

sovereignty of the Church has this peculiarity, that its throne may be attained by men from the lowest ranks of society. It was from a station among the most humble that a pope now appeared, by whom those qualities, intellectual and moral, demanded for the suppression of the prevalent disorders, were possessed in their highest perfection.

When the provinces of Illyria and Dalmatia first became a prey to the successful armies of the Ottomans, many of their inhabitants fled into Italy. Arriving in melancholy groups, they might be seen seated on the sea-shore, and raising their hands imploringly toward heaven; among these fugitives would most probably have been found a Sclavonian by birth, named Zanetto Peretti; this was the ancestor of Sixtus V. Sharing the frequent lot of exiles, neither Zanetto nor his descendants, who had settled in Montalto, could boast of any great prosperity in the country of their adoption. Peretto Peretti, the father of the future pope, was driven by his debts from Montalto, and it was only by marriage that he was enabled to rent a garden at Grotto a Mare, near Fermo; the place was a remarkable one: amidst the plants of the garden were seen the ruins of a temple to Cupra, the Etruscan Juno; rich fruits of the South grew up around it, for the climate of Fermo is milder and more beneficent than that of any other district in the March. Here a son was born to Peretti, on the eighteenth of December, 1521; but a short time before this birth, the father had been consoled by the voice of a divinity, which, speaking to him in a dream, as he bemoaned his many privations, assured him that a son should be granted to him, by whom his house should be raised to high fortunes. On this hope he seized with all the eagerness of a visionary temperament, further excited by want, and naturally disposed to mysticism. He named the boy Felix.¹

¹ Tepesti, "Storia della Vita e Geste di Sisto V.," 1754, has given the archives of Montalto, as authority for the origin of his hero. The "Vita Sixti V.," *ipsius manu emendata*, is also authentic. MS. of the Altieri Library in Rome. Sixtus was born while his father cultivated the garden of Ludovico Vecchio of Fermo, and his mother gave aid to the domestic duties of Diana, a very virtuous matron and the housekeeper of Ludovico. This Diana, when in extreme old age, was witness to the pontificate of Sixtus: "The feeble old woman desired to be

carried to Rome, that she might offer veneration to him, now at the summit of all greatness, but whom she had nurtured on mean fare in her house, where he was born, he being the son of her gardener." Further: "The people of Piceno relate that the boy tended sheep, and he does not conceal, but rather boasts that this was so." In the "Ambrosiana," R. 124, there is, F. Radice dell' Origine di Sisto V., an information, dated Rome, May 4, 1585, but it is not of great importance.

That the family was not in prosperous circumstances, appears from what is related, among other things, of the child falling into a pond, when his aunt, "who was washing clothes at this pond," drew him out; it is certain that he was employed to watch the fruit, and even to attend swine. His father was not able to spare even the five bajocchi (three-pence) demanded monthly by the nearest schoolmaster; thus Felix had to learn his letters from the primers that other boys left lying beside him as they passed through the fields in their way to and from school. There was happily one member of the family who had entered the Church, Fra Salvatore, a Franciscan; this relative at length permitted himself to be prevailed on to pay the schoolmaster. Felix could then go to receive instruction with the other boys; he had a piece of bread for his dinner, and this he ate at mid-day by the side of a stream, which supplied him with drink for his meal. These depressed circumstances did not prevent the hopes of the father from being shared by the son. In his twelfth year he entered the order of the Franciscans, for the Council of Trent had not then forbidden the vows to be taken thus early, but did not resign his name of good omen, and continued to be called Felix.

Fra Salvatore kept him in very strict order, joining the authority of an uncle to that of a father; but he sent him to school. The young Felix passed long evenings in conning his lessons, without supper, and with no better light than that afforded by the lantern hung up at the crossing of the streets; and when this failed him, he would go to the lamp that burnt before the host in some Church. He was not remarked for any particular tendency to religious devotion, or profound researches in science; we find only that he made rapid progress, as well at the school of Fermo, as at the universities of Ferrara and Bologna. His particular talent seemed rather for dialectics, and he became a perfect master of that monkish accomplishment, the dexterous handling of theological subtleties. At the general convention of the Franciscans, in the year 1549, which commenced with an exhibition of skill in literary disputation, he was opposed to a certain Thelesian, Antonio Persico of Calabria, who was at that time in high repute at Perugia; on this occasion he acquitted himself with a presence of mind and intelligence, that first procured him notice and a certain degree

of distinction;² from this time Cardinal Pio of Carpi, protector of the order, took a decided interest in his fortunes.

But it is to another circumstance that his progress is principally to be attributed.

In the year 1552, he was appointed Lent preacher in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Rome, and his sermons were very well received; his style was found to be animated, copious, fluent, and free from meretricious ornament; his matter was well arranged, his manner impressive, his utterance clear and agreeable. While preaching to a full congregation, he one day came to that pause in the sermon, customary among Italian preachers; and when he had reposed for a time, he took up the memorials, which are usually prayers and intercessions only: while reading these, he perceived a paper lying sealed in the pulpit, and containing matter of a totally different character; all the main points of the sermons hitherto preached by Peretti, especially those touching the doctrine of predestination, were here set down, and opposite to each were written in large letters the words, "Thou liest." The preacher could not wholly conceal his amazement, he hurried to a conclusion, and instantly on reaching home despatched the paper to the Inquisition.³ Very shortly afterward the grand inquisitor, Michele Ghislieri, entered his room; the most searching examination ensued: in later times Peretti often described the terror caused him by the aspect of this man, with his stern brow, deep-set eyes, and strongly-marked features; but he did not lose his presence of mind, answered satisfactorily, and betrayed weakness on no point whatever. When, therefore, Ghislieri saw that there was no shadow of suspicion, that the friar was not only guiltless, but also well versed in the Catholic doctrines, and firmly fixed in the faith, he became a totally different person, embraced Peretti with tears, and was his second patron.

From that time Fra Felice attached himself with a firm hold

² "Sixtus V. Pontifex Maximus," MS. of the Altieri Library: "Persico, with high reputation among scholars, was teaching philosophy at Perugia after the principles of Thelesius; he brought forward a doctrine then new, which he marvelously illustrated by the light of his genius. Then Montalto defended positions from universal theology, inscribed to the Cardinal of Carpi, and this to the admiration of all who heard him."

³ Relation taken from the same MS.:

"Jam priorem orationis partem exegerat cum oblatum libellum resignat, ac tacitus, ut populo summam exponat, legere incipit. Quotquot ad eam diem catholicæ fidei dogmata Montaltus pro concione affirmarat, ordine collecta continebat singulisque id tantum addebat, literis grandioribus, 'Mentiris.' Complicatum diligenter libellum, sed ita ut consternationis manifestus multis esset, ad pectus dimittit, orationemque brevi præcione paucis absolvit." (See text.)

to the severe party just then beginning to gain ascendancy in the Church; with Ignazio, Felino, and Filippo Neri, all of whom received the title of saints, he maintained the most intimate intercourse. It was of particular advantage to him that he was driven out of Venice by the intrigues of his brethren, for having attempted to reform the order. This greatly enhanced his credit with the representatives of the more rigid opinions, then fast acquiring the predominance. He was presented to Paul IV, and sometimes called to give an opinion in cases of difficulty. At the Council of Trent he labored with the other theologians, and was consultor to the Inquisition. He had a considerable share in the condemnation of Archbishop Carranza, patiently submitting to the labor of seeking through the Protestant writers for all those passages which Carranza was accused of embodying in his works. He gained the entire confidence of Pius V, who appointed him vicar-general of the Franciscans, with the express understanding that his authority extended to the reformation of the order. This, Peretti carried into execution with a high hand. The principal offices of the order had hitherto been controlled by the commissaries-general. These functionaries he deposed, restored the primitive constitution according to which the supreme power was vested in the provincials, and made the most rigorous visitations. The expectations of Pius were not only fulfilled, they were surpassed. He considered his inclination for Peretti as an inspiration from above; refused all credence to the calumnies by which his favorite was persecuted, bestowed on him the bishopric of St. Agatha, and in the year 1570 exalted him to the College of Cardinals.

The bishopric of Fermo was also conferred on the successful monk. Robed in the purple of the Church, Felix Peretti returned to the abode of his fathers; to that place where he had once guarded the fruit-trees and followed the swine; yet were neither the predictions of his father nor his own hopes entirely accomplished.

The various artifices employed by Cardinal Montalto, so was Peretti now called, to obtain the papal tiara, have been described and repeated, much and often. The affected humility of his deportment; how he tottered along leaning on his stick, bent to the earth, and coughing at every step; but to him who reflects,

no evidence will be requisite to prove that in all this there is but little truth. It is not by such means that the highest dignities are won.

Montalto kept guard over his own interests by a life of tranquil frugality and industrious seclusion. His recreations were, the planting of vines and other trees in his gardens near the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, which are still visited by the stranger, and doing such service as he could to his native town. His hours of labor he devoted to the works of St. Ambrose; an edition of which he published in the year 1580. He bestowed great pains on this work, but has not always been sufficiently conscientious in adhering to the meaning of his author. In other respects his character does not appear to have been so guileless as it is occasionally represented. So early as 1574, he is described as learned and prudent, but also crafty and malignant.⁴ He was doubtless gifted with remarkable self-control. When his nephew, the husband of Vittorie Accorambuona, was assassinated, he was himself the person who requested the Pope to discontinue the investigation. This quality, which was admired by all, very probably contributed to his election; when, having been put in nomination, principally by the intrigues of the conclave, in 1585, he was nevertheless elected. The authentic narrative of the proceedings assures us also that his comparatively vigorous years were taken into account, he being then sixty-four, and possessing a firm and healthy constitution; for all were persuaded that a man of un-

⁴ A discourse concerning those who are eligible to the papacy under Gregory XIII, speaks thus of Montalto: "His character, considered to be ferocious, arrogant, and imperious, is but little calculated to win regard." Here we see that the dispositions he displayed as pope, were already obvious in the cardinal. Gregory XIII often remarked to those of his immediate circle, that they should beware of that great charnel-box of a gray friar. The author of "Sixtus V. P. M." makes Farnese observe, on seeing Peretti between the two Dominicans, Trani and Justinian, who also entertained hopes of ascending the papal throne: "That Picenian pack-horse will take a magnificent spring some day, if ever he can shake off those two sacks of coals that he carries so awkwardly one on each side." He further added that it was precisely this conviction, by which the daughter of Accorambuona was induced to marry Montalto's nephew. The grand duke Francis of

Tuscany had also a large share in determining the election of Peretti. In a despatch from the Florentine ambassador, Alberti, of May 11, 1585 (Roma, Filza, n. 36), is this remark: "Your highness alone will enjoy the fruit of this work (the election), and so is it right, since it is your own; in case of war, you and no other will have the friendship of the pontiff." In another Florentine despatch occurs the following: "The Pope replied that the grand duke had cause to wish him well, being like the husbandman, who, when he has planted a tree, rejoices to see it thrive and live long, adding, that his highness alone had conducted this matter, under God, and that he, the Pope, knew well in what gratitude he was bound to him by this, though he could not speak to many on that subject." It is obvious that much was here behind the scenes of which we know little or nothing. The election took place on April 24, 1585.

impaired energies, whether physical or mental, was imperatively demanded by the circumstances of the times.

And thus did Fra Felice see himself at the summit of his wishes. It was doubtless with a feeling of proud satisfaction that he beheld the accomplishment of desires so noble and so legitimate. Every incident of his life in which he had ever believed himself to perceive an intimation of his exalted destiny, now recurred to his thoughts. The words he chose for his motto were these: "Thou, O God, hast been my defender, even from my mother's womb."

In all his undertakings he believed himself, from this time, to possess the immediate favor of God. At his first accession to the throne, he announced his determination to exterminate all the bandits and evil-doers. He was persuaded that in the event of his own powers failing, God would send him legions of angels for so good a work.⁵

To this difficult enterprise he at once addressed himself with deliberate judgment and inflexible resolution.

Section V.—Extirpation of the Banditti

The memory of Gregory XIII was regarded with intense dislike by his successor. Pope Sixtus departed instantly from the measures of the previous pontiff. He disbanded the greater part of the troops, and reduced the number of *sbirri* by one-half. He determined, on the other hand, to visit with relentless severity whatever criminals should fall into his hands.

A prohibition had for some time existed against carrying short weapons, and more especially a particular kind of rifle. Four young men of Cora, nearly related to each other, were nevertheless taken with arms of this description about them. The day following was that of the coronation, and an occasion so auspicious was seized by their friends for entreating their pardon from the pontiff. "While I live," replied Sixtus, "every criminal must die."¹ That very day the four young

⁵"Dispaccio, Priuli, Maggio 11, 1585:" Speech of Sixtus in the Consistory: "He named two things that engaged his attention, the administration of justice and the securing abundance for his people; and to these he had resolved to give his utmost care, trusting that God would send him legions of angels, if his own strength and the aid of others

should not suffice, to punish the malefactors and reprobates. He exhorted the cardinals not to use their privileges for the shelter of criminals, and spoke very bitterly of his predecessor's inconsiderate proceedings."

¹"Se vivo, facinorosis moriendum esse."

men were seen hanging on one gallows near the bridge of St. Angelo.

A youth of the Trastevere was condemned to death for having offered resistance to the *sbirri*, who were proceeding to take his ass from him. On sight of the poor boy led weeping to the place where he was to die for so venial an offence, all were moved to pity. His youth was represented to the Pope, who is said to have replied, "I will add a few years of my own life to lengthen his," and he caused the sentence to be executed.

The rigor of these first acts of the pontiff impressed all with terror; immediate obedience was secured by it to the commands he next sent forth.

Barons and communes were enjoined to clear their castles and towns of banditti; the losses sustained by the bands of outlaws were at once to be made good by the noble or commune within whose jurisdiction they might take place.²

It had been customary to set a price on the head of a bandit; Sixtus now decreed that this should no longer be paid by the public treasury, but by the relations of the outlaw; or, if these were too poor, by the commune wherein he was born.

It is manifest that his purpose in this proceeding was to engage the interests of the barons, the municipalities, and even the kinsmen of the outlaws on the side of his wishes; he made an effort to enlist that of the banditti themselves in the same cause, promising to any one of them who should deliver up a comrade, living or dead, not his own pardon only, but also that of some of his friends whom he was at liberty to name, with a sum of money in addition.

When these commands had been carried into effect, and certain examples of their rigorous enforcement had been exhibited, the condition of the outlaws was presently seen to assume a very different character.

It happened fortunately for the purpose of Sixtus, that pursuit had from the beginning been successfully directed against some of the most formidable chiefs of large bands.

He declared that sleep had forsaken his eyes, because the priest Guercino, who called himself King of the Campagna, was still continuing his depredations, and had just committed new deeds of violence. This man had laid his commands on

² Bull. t. iv. p. iv. p. 137. Bando, in *Tempesti*, i. ix. 14.

the subjects of the Bishop of Viterbo to pay no further obedience to their lord; Sixtus prayed, as we are told by Galesinus, "that God would be pleased to deliver the Church from that robber"; and the following morning intelligence arrived that Guercino was taken. A gilded crown was placed on the severed head, which was instantly set up on the castle of St. Angelo. The man who brought it received its price of 2,000 scudi, and the people applauded his holiness for so effectual a mode of administering justice.

Spite of all these severities, another leader of outlaws, called Della Fara, had the boldness to present himself one night at the Porta Salara; he called up the watchmen, declared his name, and desired them to present a greeting on his part to the Pope and the Governor. Hearing this, Sixtus sent an order to those of the outlaw's own family, commanding them to find and bring him in, under pain of suffering death themselves. In less than a month from the date of this order, the head of Della Fara took its place beside that of Guercino.

It was on some occasions rather cruelty than justice that was now employed against the bandits.

Some thirty of them had intrenched themselves on a hill at no great distance from Urbino. The duke caused mules laden with provisions to be driven near their hold; the robbers did not fail to plunder this rich train; but the food had been poisoned, and they all died together. "When intelligence of this was carried to Sixtus V," says one of his historians, "the Pope received thereby an infinite contentment."³

In the capital, a father and son were led to death, though they persisted in declaring their innocence; the mother presented herself, entreating for a postponement only of the execution, when she could bring proof of innocence both for her husband and son: this the Senator refused to grant. "Since you thirst for blood," she exclaimed, "I will give you enough of it!" Saying which, she threw herself from the window of the Capitol. The victims meanwhile arrived at the place of execution, neither could endure to see the other suffer, each implored permission to die first; seized with compassion, the people called aloud for mercy, while the savage executioner reproached them for causing useless delay.

³ "Memorie del Ponteficato di Sisto V.:" "Ragguagliato Sisto ne prese gran contento."

The ordinances of Sixtus permitted no respect of persons; a member of one of the first families in Bologna, Giovanni Count Pepoli, was known to have taken part in the excesses committed by the outlaws; he was strangled in prison, his estates and every other species of property being confiscated. No day passed without an execution: over all parts of the country, in wood and field, stakes were erected, on each of which stood the head of an outlaw. The Pope awarded praises only to those among his legates and governors who supplied him largely with these terrible trophies, his demand was ever for heads: there is a sort of oriental barbarism in this mode of administering justice.

Such of the outlaws as escaped the officers of the pontiff, were destroyed by their own comrades. The promises of forgiveness and reward before alluded to had carried dissension into their bands; none dared trust even his nearest connection—they fell by the hands of each other.⁴

In this manner, and before the year had come to an end, the disturbances that had so harassed the Roman States, if not extinguished at the source, were yet suppressed at the outbreak; intelligence was received in the year 1586, that Montebandano and Arara, the two last leaders of the bandits, had been put to death.

It was matter of great pride and rejoicing to the Pope, when ambassadors now arriving at his court, assured him that “in every part of his States through which their road had led, they had travelled through a land blessed with peace and security.”⁵

Section VI.—Leading Characteristics of the Administration

It was not only to the absence of vigilant control that those disorders against which the pontiff contended owed their birth, there were others also; and it is principally to his measures with regard to these, that the decided success of his efforts must be attributed. It has been common to regard Sixtus V

⁴ “Disp.,” Priuli, so early as June 29, 1585, says “The new brief has caused the banditti to fall upon each other.”

⁵ “Vita Sixti V.,” i. m. em.: “Such is the peace and tranquillity, that in this great city, in this assemblage of nations, this vast concourse of strangers

and travellers, among all these wealthy and magnificent nobles, there is no one who needs endure injury or offence, however feeble his condition, however abject his state.” According to Gualterius, “Vita Sixti V.,” the latter applied the text: “The wicked fleeth, though no man pursueth.”

as the sole founder of that judicial system by which the Ecclesiastical States are governed; laws and institutions are ascribed to him that were in fact existing long before his day. He is extolled as an incomparable master of finance, a statesman, wholly free from prejudice, and an enlightened restorer of antiquity. This arises from the fact that his natural qualities were such as readily impress themselves on the memory of man, and dispose him to the credence of fabulous and hyperbolic narrations.

We are not then to believe all that we find related of this pontiff's regulations. It is nevertheless perfectly true, that his administration was an extremely remarkable one.

It was in certain particulars directly opposed to that of his predecessor. Gregory XIII was severe and energetic, but not clear-sighted in his general measures; individual cases of disobedience he readily overlooked. The attacks he made upon so many different interests on the one hand, with the unexampled impunity that he permitted to various offences on the other, gave rise to those miserable perplexities that he lived to bewail. Sixtus, on the contrary, was implacable toward individual cases of crime. His laws were enforced with a rigor that bordered on cruelty; but the character of his regulations generally was mild, conciliatory, almost indulgent. Under Gregory, the obedient were not rewarded, nor were the refractory punished. Under Sixtus, the insubordinate had everything to fear, but whoever sought to gain his approbation might safely depend on receiving proofs of his favor. This mode of proceeding was admirably calculated for the promotion of his purposes.

We have seen the many inquietudes suffered by Gregory from the claims he sought to enforce on his neighbors regarding ecclesiastical affairs; these Sixtus would in no case pursue. He declared that it was incumbent on the head of the Church to uphold and extend the privileges of the temporal powers. In accordance with this principle, he restored the Milanese to their place in the Rota, of which Gregory had sought to deprive them. When the Venetians succeeded in bringing to light a brief by which their claims were definitively established in the affair of Aquileja, they did not themselves experience a more decided satisfaction than was evinced by the Pope. He determined on suppressing the clause so

much complained of in the bull "In Cœnâ Domini." The Congregation taking cognizance of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in foreign countries, from whose interposition it was that the greater part of the disputes between the Papal See and its neighbors had originated, Sixtus abolished entirely.¹ There is doubtless a certain magnanimity in the voluntary cession of contested rights; in the pontiff's case this course of proceeding was instantly productive of effects the most satisfactory. He received an autograph letter from the King of Spain, who informed him that he had commanded his ministers in Milan and Naples to receive the papal ordinances with obedience no less implicit than that paid to his own. This moved the Pope even to tears, "That the most exalted monarch of the world should," as he said, "so honor a poor monk." The Tuscan State declared itself devoted to the Church. Venice expressed entire satisfaction. These powers now adopted a different line of policy. The outlaws who had found refuge within their frontiers were given up to the Pope. Venice prohibited their return into the Papal States, and forbade such of her ships as should touch the Roman coasts to receive them on board. This delighted the Pope. He declared that, to use his own words, "He would think of Venice for this some other day; he would suffer himself to be flayed alive for the republic, and would shed his blood for her." The bandits now found aid and refuge from no quarter, so that he no longer found it difficult to master them completely.

The unpopular measures by which Gregory had sought to enrich the treasury were wholly abandoned by Sixtus. He did not fail to punish the rebellious feudatories, but as earnestly set himself to conciliate and attach the great body of the nobles. Pope Gregory had deprived the Colonna family of its fortresses; Sixtus, on the contrary, made them advances of money, and assisted them to regulate the expenditure of their households.² Those ancient enemies, the Colonna and the Orsino, he united by marriages between their respective houses, and with his own. He gave one of his grand-nieces to the Constable Marc Antonio

¹ Lorenzo Priuli, "Relatione," 1586: "This is a pontiff who does not so readily embark in quarrels with princes; to avoid them he has abolished the congregation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction [in another place he says this was chiefly from consideration for

Spain], thinking that so he shall the more easily bring affairs to a conclusion, or in any case shall suffer less indignity when matters are treated secretly and by himself alone."

² "Dispaccio degli Ambasciatori straordinari, 19 Ott., 25 Nov. 1585."

Colonna, and another to the Duke Virginio Orsino. The dower bestowed with each was of equal value, and their husbands received similar marks of favor. Their claims to precedence he adjusted by according it to the elder of either house. Highly exalted was the position now taken up by Donna Camilla, the pontiff's sister, surrounded as she was by her children, her noble sons-in-law and grand-daughters so magnificently allied.

The Pope derived extreme gratification from the power he possessed of conferring benefits and privileges.

He proved himself more particularly a good and open-handed fellow-countryman to the people of the March. He restored many of their ancient immunities to the inhabitants of Ancona. In Macerata he instituted a supreme court of justice for the whole province. The college of advocates in that district he distinguished by the grant of new privileges. Fermo he erected into an archbishopric, and Tolentino into a bishopric. The little village of Montalto, where his ancestors had first taken up their abode, he raised by a special bull to the rank of an episcopal city; "for here," said he, "did our race take its fortunate origin." During his cardinalate he had established a school of science there, and he now founded a "college of Montalto" in the University of Bologna, for fifty students from the March; Montalto holding presentations for eight, and even the little Grotto a Mare receiving the right to send two.³

Loreto also he resolved to elevate into a city. Fontana pointed out to him the difficulties that opposed this plan: "Give yourself no uneasiness about it, Fontana," said the Pope, "the execution of this project will not cost me so much as the resolving on it has done." Portions of land were bought from the people of Recana, valleys were filled up, hills levelled, and lines of streets marked out. The communes of the March were encouraged to build houses; Cardinal Gallo appointed new civic authorities for the holy chapel; by all which, the patriotism of Sixtus and his devotion to the Blessed Virgin were equally satisfied.

³ He included even the neighboring villages as part of Montalto—"Vita Sixti V." ipsius manu emendata. "Porcula, Patringoro, and Mintenoro, being respectively but about a bow-shot from Montalto, and being all connected with it by interests of trade, by fre-

quent intermarriages, and by some community in their lands, were beloved and aided by Sixtus, as portions of his native place; thus he bestowed favors on all in common, hoping they might one day draw together into one city."

His solicitude was extended in different degrees to the several cities of all the provinces; he made arrangements for preventing the increase of their debts, and for the control and limitation of their mortgages and alienations; he caused a strict inquiry to be made into the management of their finances, and made regulations of various character, but all conducing to restore the lost importance and well-being of the communes.⁴

Agriculture was equally indebted to the cares of Sixtus V: he undertook to drain the Chiana (swamp or pool) of Orvieto and the Pontine marshes, which last he visited in person. The river Sixtus (Fiume Sisto), which, until the time of Pius VI, was the best attempt made for draining the Pontine marshes, was cut across them by his command.

Neither was he negligent with regard to manufactures: a certain Peter of Valencia, a Roman citizen, had offered his services for the establishment of a silk manufacture. The thorough-going measures by which Sixtus attempted to forward his plans are extremely characteristic of that pontiff. He commanded that mulberry-trees should be planted throughout the States of the Church, in all gardens and vineyards, in every field and wood, over all hills, and in every valley—wherever no corn was growing, these trees were to find place; for it was fixed that five of them should be planted on every rubbio of land, and the communes were threatened with heavy fines in case of neglect.⁵ The woollen manufactures, also, he sought earnestly to promote, “in order,” as he says, “that the poor may have some means of earning their bread.” To the first person who undertook this business he advanced funds from the treasury, accepting a certain number of pieces of cloth in return.

But we must not attribute dispositions of this kind to Sixtus alone; this would be unjust to his predecessors. Agriculture and manufactures were favored by Pius V and Gregory XIII

⁴ Gualterius: “Five members of the apostolic chamber were sent to examine into the condition of the universities, with power to reform and reorganize.” The “Memorie,” also, give evidence that these measures were of great utility. These arrangements were the commencement of a better state of things among the communes of the Ecclesiastical States, which recovered the more readily because Clement VIII continued these judicious measures.

⁵ “Cum sicut accepimus, 28 Maji,

1586,” Bull. Coeq. iv. 4, 218: “The art of making glass, and of working in silk and wool, with the culture of silk-worms, were either brought into the city, or extended by him; but to promote the silk trade, he ordered mulberry-trees to be planted throughout the States. A certain Jew, called Main, produced two cocoons from the worm in each year, and promised to make great improvements in the manufacture; to him, therefore, he accorded large privileges.”

also. It was not so much by the adoption of new paths that Sixtus distinguished himself from earlier pontiffs, as by the energy and decision with which he pursued those on which they had already entered. Therefore it is that his actions have remained fixed in the memory of mankind.

Neither is it to him that the "congregations" of cardinals are wholly indebted for their origin—the seven most important, those for the Inquisition, namely, the Index, the affairs of councils, of the bishops, the monastic orders, the *segnatura*, and the *consulta*, were already in existence. Nor were affairs of State left altogether unprovided for by these earlier congregations, the two last-named having cognizance of judicial and administrative affairs. Sixtus added eight new congregations to these, of which two only were for ecclesiastical matters—one relating to the erection of new bishoprics, the other charged with the renewal and maintenance of church usages:⁶ the remaining six received the management of various departments in the government, as the inspection of roads, the repeal of oppressive imposts, the building of ships of war, the corn-laws (*Annona*), the Vatican press, and the Roman university.⁷ The Pope's disregard of all system in these arrangements is most obvious—partial and transient interests are placed on a level with those most permanent and general; his plans were nevertheless carried well out, and his regulations have, with very slight changes, been persisted in for centuries.

With regard to the personal character of the cardinals, he fixed a very high standard. "Men of true distinction, of morals most exemplary, their words oracles, their whole being a model and rule of life and faith to all who behold them; the salt of the earth, the light set upon a candlestick."⁸ Such was the cardinal in the theory of Sixtus: in his practice these demands were not always strictly adhered to. 'He had, for example, nothing better to plead in behalf of Gallo, whom he had raised to that dignity, than that he was his servant, for whom he had many reasons to feel regard, and who had once received him

⁶ "Congregation of sacred rites and ecclesiastical ceremonies, holding cognizance also of the erection of new cathedrals."

⁷ "Sopra alla grascia et annona—sopra alla fabbrica armamento e mantenimento delle galere—sopra gli aggravi del popolo—sopra le strade,

acque, ponti e confini—sopra alla stamperia Vaticana [he gave the first manager of the ecclesiastical press a residence in the Vatican, and 20,000 scudi for ten years]—sopra l'università dello studio Romano." (See text.)

⁸ Bulla, "Postquam verus ille; 3 Dec. 1586." Bullar. M. iv. iv. 279.

very hospitably when on a journey.⁹ He nevertheless established a rule even in this department of his government, which if it has not been adhered to invariably, has yet much affected the subsequent practice; he limited, namely, the number of cardinals to seventy. "As Moses," he remarks, "chose seventy elders from among the whole nation, to take counsel with them."

This pontiff has also received the credit of having abolished nepotism; but, considering the question more closely, we find that this was not done by him. The habit of unduly exalting the pontifical house had greatly declined under Pius IV, Pius V, and Gregory XIII; the favors bestowed on the papal nephews had sunk to insignificance. Pius V more especially deserves commendation in this particular, since he forbade the alienation of church property by an express law. The earlier forms of nepotism were then extinct before the times of Sixtus V, but among the popes of the succeeding century it reappeared under a different form. There were always two favored nephews or kinsmen, of whom one, raised to the cardinalate, acquired the supreme administration of affairs, ecclesiastical and political; the other, remaining in a secular station, was married into some illustrious family, was endowed with lands and "luoghi di monte," established a *majorat*, and became the founder of a princely house. If we now ask by whom this mode of nepotism was introduced, we shall find that though its rise was gradual, yet it grew to maturity under Sixtus V. Cardinal Montalto, whom the Pope loved so tenderly that he even put a restraint on the impetuosity of his temper in his favor, gained admission to the *consulta*, and a share at least in the administration of foreign affairs: his brother Michele became a marquis, and founded a wealthy house.

We are yet not to conclude that Sixtus thus introduced a system of governing by nepotism. The marquis possessed no influence whatever, the cardinal none over essential interests.¹⁰ To have allowed them any, would have been wholly at variance

⁹ Though Sixtus could endure no other form of contradiction, he could not escape that from the pulpit. The Jesuit Francis Toledo said, with regard to this, in one of his sermons, that a ruler sinned who bestowed a public office as reward for private services: "not because a man is a good carver or cup-bearer can we prudently com-

mit to him the charge of a bishopric or a cardinalate." It was precisely a cook that Cardinal Gallo had been. ("Memorie della Vita di Sisto V.")
¹⁰ Bentivoglio, "Memorie," p. 90: "There was scarcely a single person who had any participation in the government."

with the pontiff's mode of thinking. There was something cordial and confiding in the favors he bestowed, and they procured him the good-will not of individuals only, but of the public also. The helm of government was, however, in no case resigned to another hand; he was himself sole ruler. He appeared to regard the "congregations" with very high consideration, and pressed the members to give their free unfettered opinions; but whenever any one of them did so, he became irritated and impatient.¹ Obstinate did he persist in the execution of his own will. "With him," says Cardinal Gritti, "no man has a voice, even in counsel—how much less then in decision?"² His personal and provincial attachments were never permitted to interfere with his general government, which was invariably rigid, thorough-going, and above all arbitrary.

These characteristics were exhibited in no department more strikingly than in that of finance.

Section VII.—Finances

The Chigi family in Rome are in possession of a small memorandum-book, kept by Sixtus in his own handwriting while yet but a poor monk.¹ With the utmost interest does the reader turn over the leaves of this document, wherein he has noted all the important interests of his life: the places he preached in during Lent, the commissions he received and executed, the books that he possessed, in what manner they were bound, whether singly or together, are here noted down; finally, all the details of his small monkish housekeeping are given with the utmost exactitude. We read in these pages how Fra Felice bought twelve sheep of his brother-in-law Baptista; how he paid first twelve florins, and afterward two florins and twenty bolognins for these sheep, so that they became his own property; how the brother-in-law kept them, receiving half the profits, as was the custom of Montalto, with many other matters of like character. We perceive with how

¹ Gualterius: "Although he referred affairs to the congregations and others, he yet had cognizance of all himself, and took part in the execution. With great zeal did he investigate the proceedings of all magistrates, whether in the city or the provinces, likewise the

conduct of all others who had rule, throughout the Apostolic See."

² Gritti, "Relatione," "Not only is there no one who decides for him, but there is scarcely anyone whom he will even consult."

¹ Sisto V.

close an economy he guarded his small savings, how minutely he kept account of them, and how at length they amounted to some hundred florins; all these details one follows with interest and sympathy, remarking throughout, the same economical exactitude which this Franciscan afterward brought to bear on the government of the Papal States. His frugality is a quality for which he gives himself due praise in every bull that affords him opportunity for introducing the subject; and even in many of his inscriptions; it is certain that no pope, either before or after him, administered the revenues of the Church with so good an effect.

The treasury was utterly exhausted when Sixtus V ascended the papal chair, and he complains bitterly of Pope Gregory, whom he accuses of having spent the treasures of his predecessor and his successor, as well as his own:² he conceived so bad an opinion of this pontiff, that he ordered masses to be said for his soul, having seen him in a dream enduring the torments of the other world. The revenues of the State were found to be anticipated up to the following October.

All the more earnestly did he set himself to the task of replenishing the public coffers, and in this he succeeded beyond his expectations. In April, 1586, at the close of the first year of his pontificate, he had already gathered 1,000,000 scudi in gold. To this he added a second million in November of 1587, and in the April following a third. Thus an amount of more than 4,500,000 of silver scudi was laid up by the early part of 1588. When Sixtus had got together 1,000,000, he deposited it in the castle of St. Angelo, dedicating it, as he says, "to the Holy Virgin, the mother of God, and to the holy apostles Peter and Paul." In this bull he tells us that he "not only surveyed the billows on which the little bark of St. Peter was now sometimes tossing, but also the storms that are threatening from the distance. Implacable is the hatred of the heretics; the faithful are menaced by the power of the Turk, Assur, the scourge of God's wrath." The Almighty, in whom he trusted, had taught him that "even by night also shall the

²"Vita e Successi del Cardinal di Santaseverina," MS. Bibl. Alb.: "When I spoke to him of the colleges of the neophytes and Armenians, both needing aid, he replied angrily, that there was no money in the castle

and no revenue, for the last Pope had squandered his income as well as that left by Pius V; he bewailed aloud that evil state wherein he had found the Apostolic See."

father of the family be watchful, and shall follow that example given by the patriarchs of the Old Testament, who had ever large treasures stored in the temple of the Lord."

He decided, as is well known, on what contingencies those were, that would make it lawful to have recourse to this fund. They were the following: a war undertaken for the conquest of the Holy Land, or for a general campaign against the Turks; the occurrence of famine or pestilence; manifest danger of losing any province of Catholic Christendom; hostile invasion of the Ecclesiastical States; or the attempt to recover a city belonging to the Papal See. He bound his successors, as they would shun the wrath of Almighty God, and of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, to confine themselves within the limits thus assigned them.³

The merit of this arrangement we leave for the moment unquestioned, to inquire by what means the pontiff contrived to amass a treasure so astonishing for the times he lived in.

The direct revenues of the Papal See could not account for it; these, as Sixtus himself informs us, were not in their net product more than 200,000 scudi a year.⁴

The savings of the Pope were considerable, but not equal to this amount. His retrenchments were certainly very close, the expenses of his table being reduced to six pauls a day (nearly three shillings of our present money). He abolished many useless offices of the court, and disbanded a part of the troops. But we have the authority of the Venetian Delfino for the fact that all this did not lessen the expenditure of the *Camera* by more than 150,000 scudi; and we learn, besides, from Sixtus himself, that his reduction of expense was to the amount of 146,000 scudi only.⁵

We find then that with all his economy and by his own showing the net revenue was increased to 350,000 scudi, and no more. This would scarcely suffice for the buildings he was engaged in; what then would it do toward the amassing of so enormous a treasure?

The extraordinary system of finance established in the States

³ "Ad Clavum," April 21, 1586, Cocq. iv. iv. 206.

⁴ "Dispaccio Gritti, 7 Giugno, 1586." The Pope blames Henry III, because, with an income of 3,000,000, he saves nothing. Bringing forward his own ex-

ample, who has no more than 200,000 scudi, when the interest on debts contracted by earlier popes, and other incidental expenses are paid.

⁵ "Dispaccio Badoer, 2 Giugno, 1589."

of the Church has been already considered; we have seen the continued increase of imposts and burdens of all sorts, without any corresponding increase of the real income; we have observed the multiplicity of loans by the sale of offices and by *monti*, with the ever-augmenting incumbrances laid on the State for the necessities of the Church. The many evils inseparable from this system are manifest, and, hearing the eulogies so liberally bestowed on Sixtus V, we at once infer that he found means to remedy those evils. What then is our amazement, when we find that he pursued the same course in a manner the most reckless; nay, that he even gave to this system so fixed a character as to render all future control or remedy impossible!

In the sale of offices it was that Sixtus found one chief source of his treasures. He raised in the first instance the prices of many that had been obtained by purchase only from periods long before his own. Thus the office of treasurer to the *Camera*, of which the price till now had been 15,000 scudi, he sold for 50,000 to one of the Giustiniani family; and, having raised him to the College of Cardinals, he sold it again to a Pepoli for 72,000 scudi. This second purchaser being also invested with the purple, Sixtus appropriated one-half the income of the office, namely 5,000 scudi, to a *monte*; and thus mulcted, he sold it once more for 50,000 golden scudi. In the next place he began to sell certain employments that up to his time had always been conferred gratuitously; as, for example, the notariates, the office of fiscal, with those of commissary-general, solicitor to the *Camera*, and advocate of the poor: for all these he now obtained considerable sums; as 30,000 scudi for a notariate, 20,000 for a commissariat-general, etc. Finally, he created a multitude of new offices, many of them very important ones, as were those of treasurer to the *dataria*, prefect of the prisons, etc., and some others. Of his invention are, besides, the "twenty-four referendaries," from which, as from notariates in the principal cities of the State, and from "200 cavalierates," he derived very large sums of money.

When all these means are taken into account, the mode by which Sixtus amassed his treasure is no longer problematical. The sale of offices is computed to have brought him 608,510 golden scudi, and 401,805 silver scudi, making together nearly

a million and a half of silver scudi; ⁶ but if this sale of places had before caused undue pressure on the State, from their involving, as we have shown, a share in the rights of government under plea of a loan, which rights were most rigorously enforced against the tax-payer, while the duties of these offices were never performed, how greatly was this evil now augmented! Offices were, in fact, considered as property conferring certain rights, rather than as an obligation demanding labor.

In addition to all this, an extraordinary increase was made by Pope Sixtus in the number of the *monti*; of these he founded three *non vacabili*, and eight *vacabili*, more than any one of his predecessors.

The *monti* were always secured, as we have seen, on new taxes; to this expedient Sixtus was at first most reluctant to have recourse, but he could devise no other. When he brought forward in the consistory his project of an investment of treasure for the Church, Cardinal Farnese opposed the idea, by observing that his grandfather Paul III had thought of this plan, but had resigned it on perceiving that it could not be accomplished without imposing new taxes. The Pope turned on him fiercely; the intimation that a previous pontiff had been wiser than himself put him in a fury. "That," he retorted, "was because there were certain great spendthrifts under Paul III, who by the blessing of God are not permitted to exist in our times." Farnese reddened and made no reply,⁷ but the result showed that he was right.

In the year 1587, Sixtus would no longer endure restraint from considerations of this kind: he laid heavy imposts on the most indispensable articles of daily use, such as firewood, and the wine sold by retail in the wine-shops of the city, as also on the most toilsome occupations, that of towing barges up the Tiber by means of buffaloes or horses, for example: with the money thus gained he established *monti*. He debased the coinage, and a small money-changing trade having arisen

⁶ "Calculation of the Roman Finances under Clement VIII," in a detailed MS. of the Bibl. Barberini in Rome.

⁷ Changing countenance as Farnese spoke, the Pope replied angrily, "There is no marvel, Monsignore, if in the time of your grandfather the ordinary receipts and revenues were insufficient to found a treasure for the Church, because

in that day there were many and great squanderers [*scialaquatori*, a word he was very fond of using], but we have, thank God, none of them in our times." He remarked bitterly on the multitude of sons, daughters, and nephews of all kinds surrounding Paul III. At all this Farnese colored somewhat, and remained silent.

from this fact, he turned even that circumstance to account, by selling permission to those who stationed themselves at the corners of the streets with a view to such traffic.⁸ His attachment to the March did not prevent him from burdening the trade of Ancona by a duty of two per cent. on her imports. Even the manufactures, which were but just commencing their existence, he compelled to afford him at least an indirect advantage.⁹ In these and similar operations his principal adviser was one Lopez, a Portuguese Jew, who had fled his country from fear of the Inquisition, and having gained the confidence of the datary and of Signora Camilla, at length obtained that of the pontiff himself. The mode in which Cardinal Farnese had been silenced, rendered the whole college very cautious in their opposition of the Pope; when the wine-tax just referred to was discussed in the consistory, Albano of Bergamo remarked, "Whatever pleases your holiness, I approve; but should this impost displease your holiness, I shall approve still more."

By all these means so many new sources of income were rendered available, that the pontiff was enabled to take up a loan of 2,500,000 scudi (or to be exact 2,424,725), and pay interest thereon.

It must be admitted, however, that in this system of finance there is something exceedingly difficult to comprehend.

The country was most oppressively burdened by these taxes and by the multitude of places. Of the latter the salaries were made to depend on perquisites and fees, which must of necessity embarrass the course of justice and the administration. The taxes were imposed on the trade of the country, wholesale and retail, and could not but seriously impair its activity. And to what end was all this suffering inflicted?

If we add the proceeds of the *monti* to those of the offices, we shall find that the whole sum thus produced to the *Camera* was about equal to the treasure shut up by Sixtus in the castle of St. Angelo—4,500,000 scudi, and very little more. All the undertakings for which this Pope has been so highly praised

⁸ For an old Giulio, besides ten bajocchi of the coin of Sixtus, a premium of from four to six quatrini was demanded.

⁹ Here we have an eloquent example of his administration: He exacted that no silk or wool, raw or woven, should be sold without permission from offi-

cers appointed by him, nor come into the market without their license: this prevented fraud; but, better still, it aided the treasury, because the fees on licenses and stamps brought large sums to the purse of the pontiff. This was but little likely to promote the welfare of trade.

might very well have been accomplished with the amount of his savings.

To collect and hoard superfluous revenues is a proceeding sufficiently intelligible: to raise a loan for some present necessity is also easily comprehended, and in the course of things; but to borrow money and impose heavy imposts, merely for the purpose of locking up the proceeds in a fortress, as a treasure for some future contingency, this is altogether foreign to the general practice of governments. Such was nevertheless the process which has gained the admiration of the world for the government of Sixtus V.

There was doubtless much tyranny and many unpopular characteristics in the administration of Gregory XIII. The reaction of these was most pernicious; but I am decidedly of opinion that if he had succeeded in rendering the papal treasury independent of new loans and imposts for the future, the result would have been highly beneficial to the Roman States, and would probably have rendered their progress much more prosperous.

But the energy required to carry the views of Gregory into all their consequences, was not fully possessed by that pontiff; it was more especially wanting in the last year of his life.

This practical force it was, this power of executing what he willed, that characterized Sixtus V. His accumulation of treasure by means of loans, imposts, and venal offices, did but add burden to burden; nor shall we fail to perceive the consequence, but the world was dazzled by his success, which, for the moment, did certainly give the Papal See increased importance. For the States surrounding those of the Church were in most cases always pressed for money, and the possession of wealth inspiring the pontiffs with a more perfect confidence in themselves, procured for them a more influential position in the eyes of their neighbors.

This mode of administering the State was indeed an essential part of the Catholic system of those times. Gathering all the financial strength of the realm into the hands of the ecclesiastical chief, it first rendered him the complete and exclusive organ of spiritual influence. For to what purpose could all this treasure be applied, if not to the defence and extension of the Catholic faith?

And in projects having these ends in view did Sixtus live, move, and have his being. His enterprises were sometimes directed against the East and the Turks, but more frequently against the West and the Protestants. Between these two confessions, the Catholic and Protestant, a war broke out, in which the pontiffs took most earnest part and interest.

This war we shall treat of in the following book: for the present let us remain a little longer with Rome herself, which now made her influence once more felt by the whole world.

Section VIII.—The Public Works of Sixtus V

Even in her external form, the city now assumed for the third time the aspect of capital of the world.

The splendor and extent of ancient Rome are familiar to all; its ruins and its history have alike contributed to bring it clearly before our eyes: these have been zealously explored, nor would the Rome of the Middle Ages less richly repay our diligence. This too was a noble city. The majesty of her basilicas, the divine worship ever proceeding in her grottoes and catacombs, the patriarchial temples of her pontiffs, preserving as they did the most revered monuments of early Christianity, all aided to render her august and imposing. The palace of the Cæsars, still magnificent, and then possessed by the German kings, with the many fortresses erected by independent races, as if in defiance of those numerous powers by which they were surrounded, added further to the interest awakened.

But during the absence of the popes at Avignon, this Rome of the Middle Ages had fallen into decay, equally with the long-ruined Rome of antiquity.

In the year 1443, when Eugenius IV returned to Rome, the city was become a mere dwelling of herdsmen; her inhabitants were in no way distinguished from the peasants and shepherds of the surrounding country. The hills had been long abandoned, and the dwellings were gathered together in the levels along the windings of the Tiber: no pavements were found in the narrow streets, and these were darkened by projecting balconies and by the buttresses that served to prop one house against another. Cattle wandered about as in a

village. From San Silvestro to the Porta del Popolo all was garden and marsh, the resort of wild-ducks. The very memory of antiquity was fast sinking; the capital had become "the hill of goats," the Forum Romanum was "the cow's field." To the few monuments yet remaining the people attached the most absurd legends. The church of St. Peter was on the point of falling to pieces.

When Nicholas at length regained the allegiance of all Christendom, and had become enriched by the offerings of those pilgrims who had flocked to Rome for the jubilee, he determined to adorn the city with buildings that should compel all to acknowledge her as the capital of the world.

To effect this was, however, no work for the life of one man; the popes succeeding him, also labored at it for centuries.

Their exertions are sufficiently described by their respective biographers, and I do not repeat the details; the most effective and remarkable laborers, not as to the consequences only, but also as to the contrasts they presented, were Julius II and that Sixtus whose pontificate we are now considering.

When Sixtus IV had built the simple but substantial bridge of Travertine which bears his name, thus forming a more convenient communication between the two shores of the Tiber, the inhabitants began to build on either bank with considerable activity. The lower city, which had now withdrawn to these banks of the river, was entirely restored under Julius II. Not content with his enterprise of St. Peter's church on the southern side, which was rising in great majesty under his direction, Julius also restored the palace of the Vatican, and across the declivity that separated the old buildings from the villa of Innocent VIII, called the Belvedere, he laid the foundation of the Loggie, one of the most admirably conceived works in existence. At no great distance from these erections, his kinsmen of the Riario family and his treasurer, Agostini Chigi, were all building palaces of great beauty, each in emulation of the other. Of these, the Farnesina, that of Chigi, is unquestionably the superior, admirable for the perfection of its plan and the grace of its construction, but most of all for the rich decorations it received from the hand of Raphael. To the north of the Tiber, Julius also displayed his munificence by completing the Cancellaria with its fine court (*cortile*), which from the purity

and harmony of its proportions is considered the most beautiful in the world. The example he gave was eagerly followed by his cardinals and nobles; among them Farnese, the magnificent entrance of whose palace has gained it the reputation of being the finest in Rome; and Francesco del Rio, who boasted of his house that "it should last till a tortoise had completed the tour of the globe." The Medici meanwhile filled their dwellings with the most varied treasures of art and literature; while the Orsini dorned their palace on the Campofiore with painting and sculpture both within and without.¹ The remains of that magnificent period, when the noble works of antiquity were so boldly rivalled, do not receive all the attention they merit, from the stranger who passes them in his walks around the Campofiori and across the Piazza Farnese. The genius, emulation, and fertility of spirit characterizing this bright epoch produced a general prosperity in the city. In proportion with the increase of the people, buildings were erected on the Campo Marzo, and around the mausoleum of Augustus. These were further extended under Leo X. Julius had previously constructed the Lungara on the southern shore, and opposite to the Strada Giulia on the northern bank. The inscription still remains wherein the conservators boast that Julius had traced out and given to the public these new streets, "in proportion with the majesty of his newly acquired dominions."

The plague and the sack of the city occasioned a large decrease of the population; which again suffered during the troubles under Paul IV. It did not recover from these injuries until some time after, when an increase of the inhabitants was seen to accompany the return of the Catholic world to its allegiance.

The reoccupation of the deserted hills had been contemplated by Pius IV. The palace of the conservators on the Monte Capitolino was founded by him; and it was for the same pontiff that Michael Angelo erected the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, on the Viminal, with a portion from the ruins of the Baths of Dioclesian, and on a small part of their site. The Porta Pia, on the Quirinal, still bears his name and

¹ See "Opusculum de Mirabilibus novæ et veteris Urbis Romæ, editum a Francisco Albertino," 1515; more es-

pecially the second part, "De novâ urbe."

inscription;² additions were made to the same quarter by Gregory XIII.

But these were all vain labors only, so long as the hills remained destitute of water.

And here it was that Sixtus V achieved a well-merited glory. He has distinguished himself from all other pontiffs, and rivalled the ancient Cæsars, by supplying the city with pure streams of water, brought into it by means of colossal aqueducts. This he did, as he tells us himself, "that these hills, adorned in early Christian times with basilicas, renowned for the salubrity of their air, the pleasantness of their situation, and the beauty of their prospects, might again become inhabited by man." "Therefore," he adds, "we have suffered ourselves to be alarmed by no difficulty, and deterred by no cost." He did in fact declare to the architects from the first commencement, that he desired to produce a work whose magnificence might compete with the glories of imperial Rome. He brought the Aqua Martia from the Agro Colonna, a distance of two-and-twenty miles, to Rome; and this in defiance of all obstacles, carrying it partly underground and partly on lofty arches. How great was the satisfaction with which Sixtus beheld the first stream of this water pouring its bright wealth into his own vine-garden (*vigna*)! still further did he then bear it onward to Santa Susanna, on the Quirinal. From his own name he called it the "Acqua Felice," and it was with no little self-complacency that he placed a statue by the fountain, representing Moses, who brings water, streaming from the rock, at the touch of his staff.³

Not only the immediate neighborhood, but the whole city, drew at once great advantage from that aqueduct. Twenty-seven fountains were supplied by the Acqua Felice, which gives 20,537 cubic metres of water every twenty-four hours.

From this time, building on the hills was resumed with great activity, which Sixtus further stimulated by the grant of special privileges. He levelled the ground about the Trinità de Monti, and laid the foundation of the steps descending

²Luigi Contarini, "Antichità di Roma," bestows high praise on the efforts of Pius IV: "Had he lived four years longer," he remarks. "Rome would have been another city as to its buildings."

³We have stanzas by Tasso, "All'

Acqua Felice di Roma" ("Rime,") ii. 311, describing how the water at first flows along a gloomy path, and then bursts joyously forth to the light of day to look on Rome as Augustus beheld it.

to the Piazza di Spagna, which offer the most direct line of communication between that height and the lower city.⁴ Along the summit he laid out the Via Felice and the Borgo Felice, opening streets that even to our day continue to be the great thoroughfares from all directions to Santa Maria Maggiore. It was his purpose to connect all the other basilicas by spacious avenues with this church. The poets boast that Rome had nearly doubled her extent, and was again resuming her old abodes.

These fine constructions on the heights were not the only works by which Sixtus distinguished himself from earlier popes. His designs were, in some respects, directly opposed to the purposes and ideas of his predecessors.

Under Leo X, the ruins of ancient Rome were regarded with a species of religious veneration. The presence of a divine genius was hailed in these relics with rapturous delight; with a ready ear did that sovereign listen to him who exhorted to the preservation of "the all that yet remains to us of our city; that ancient mother of the greatness and renown of Italy."⁵

Distant as earth from heaven were all the ideas of Sixtus from these modes of view and feeling; for the beauties of antiquity this Franciscan had neither comprehension nor sympathy. The Septizonium of Severus, a most extraordinary work, could find no favor in his eyes, though surviving the storms of so many centuries. He demolished it entirely, and carried off a part of its columns for the church of St. Peter.⁶

⁴ Gualterius: "That he might form a more convenient road from the lower part of the city to the Pincian mount, and between that and the Esquiline, he lowered the Pincian hill before the Church of the Most Holy Trinity, so that carriages might pass; he built steps also, convenient as well as beautiful, which lead to the Pincian hill and to that church, where there is a most pleasant and fair prospect."

⁵ Passages from Castiglione's well-known letter to Leo X, "Lettere di Castiglione," Padova, 1796, p. 149. But I can find no intimation here of a plan for excavating the ancient city; rather it seems to me that this is the preface to a description of Rome, with a plan, reference being frequently made both to the plan and description. It is highly probable that the works of Raphael himself were to be introduced by this preface, an opinion that is strengthened by the similarity of cer-

tain expressions in this letter with those of the well-known epigram on the death of Raphael: "vedendo quasi il cadavero di quella nobil patria così miseramente lacerato;" "urbis lacerum ferro igni annisque cadaver ad vitam revocas." This certainly does intimate a restoration, but in idea only, in a description, not more; an opinion not essentially at variance with those before expressed—it is rather confirmatory of them. I think we may conclude that the work with which Raphael occupied the latter part of his life was far advanced, since a dedication of it was already composed in his name. What a name to add to the list of describers of cities (astyographers)! These papers, with the plan, may have fallen into the hands of Fulvius, who probably took an active part in the researches.

⁶ Gualterius: "Above all he caused the Septizonium of Severus to be demolished, to the infinite grief of the

His rage for destruction seemed equal to his zeal in building, and great fears were entertained that he would go beyond all bounds of moderation in both. Let us hear what Cardinal Santa Severina relates as to this matter—were it not the testimony of an eye-witness, we should find it incredible: “When it was perceived,” he tells us, “that the Pope seemed resolving on the utter destruction of the Roman antiquities, there came to me one day a number of the Roman nobles, who entreated me to dissuade his holiness with all my power from so extravagant a design.” They addressed their petition to that cardinal, who was then, without doubt, himself considered as a confirmed zealot. Cardinal Colonna united his prayers to theirs. The Pope replied that he would “clear away the ugly antiquities,” but would restore all others that required restoration. And now for an instance of those he found “ugly.” That tomb of Cecilia Metella, which was even then one of the most valuable relics of the republican times, and a monument of admirable sublimity—this it was among his purposes to destroy! How much may not have perished beneath his hand!

He could not persuade himself to endure the Laocoon and the Apollo Belvedere in the Vatican without great difficulty, and would not suffer those ancient statues with which the Roman citizens had enriched the Capitol to retain their places. He threatened to destroy the Capitol itself if they were not removed. These were a Jupiter Tonans between Apollo and Minerva; the two first-named were in fact removed, and the Minerva was permitted to remain only because Sixtus had contrived to invest her with the character of Rome,⁷ and Rome christianized, by taking the spear of the goddess from her hand and replacing it with a gigantic cross.

The columns of Trajan and of Antonine he restored in the same spirit, removing the urn which was believed to contain the ashes of the Emperor from the former, which he dedicated to St. Paul. The column of Antonine was in like manner assigned to St. Peter, and from that time the statues of the two apostles have stood confronting each other on that airy

Romans, using its columns and marbles for his works; and in many places of the city might excavations be seen where he had extracted various marbles.”

⁷ Passage from the life of Sixtus V, *ipsius manu emendata*, given in Bunsen's “Description of Rome,” i. p. 702.

elevation, overlooking the dwellings of men. The pontiff thought that he had thus secured a triumph for Christianity over paganism.⁸

He had set his heart on erecting the obelisk before the church of St. Peter, principally because "he desired to see the monuments of unbelief subjected to the cross on the very spot where the Christians had formerly suffered the bitter death of crucifixion."⁹

This was indeed a magnificent design, but his mode of conducting it was highly characteristic, evincing a singular mixture of despotism, grandeur, pomp, and bigotry.

He threatened to punish the architect, Domenico Fontana, who had worked his way up under his own eyes from the condition of a mason's apprentice, should the enterprise fail, or the obelisk sustain injury.

The task was one of exceeding difficulty: to lift this monument from its base near the sacristy of the old church of St. Peter, lower it to a horizontal position, remove it to the place assigned, and fix it on a new basis.

The work was undertaken with a consciousness in those concerned, that their enterprise was one which would be famed throughout all ages. The men employed, 900 in number, began by hearing mass, confessing and receiving the sacrament. They then entered the enclosure set apart for their labors, the master placing himself on a raised platform. The obelisk was defended by straw mats and a casing of planks firmly secured by strong iron bands. The monstrous machine which was to upheave it with thick ropes, received motion from thirty-five windlasses, each worked by two horses and ten men. When all was ready, the signal was given by sound of trumpet. The first turn proved the efficacy of the means employed. The obelisk was lifted from the base on which it had rested during 1,500 years. At the twelfth turn it had risen two palms and three-quarters, where it was held fast. The architect saw the ponderous mass (weighing, with its defences, more than 1,000,000 Roman pounds) in his power. This took place, as

⁸ This at least is the opinion of J. P. Maffei, among others, "Historiarum ab excessu Gregorii XIII." lib. i. p. 5.
⁹ Sixti V., i. m. c.: "Ut ubi grassatum olim supplicis, in Christianos et passim fixæ cruce, in quas innoxia

natio sublata teterrimis cruciatibus necaretur, ibi supposita cruce, et in crucis versa honorem cultumque ipsa impietatis monumenta cernerentur." (See text.)

was carefully recorded, on April 30, 1586, at the twentieth hour (about three in the afternoon). A salute was fired from the castle St. Angelo. All the bells of the city pealed forth, and the workmen carried their master round the enclosure in triumph, uttering joyous and reiterated acclamations.

Seven days were suffered to elapse, when the obelisk was lowered to the desired level with similar skill. It was then conveyed on rollers to its new destination; but it was not till the hot months had passed that they ventured to attempt the re-erection.

The day chosen by Sixtus for this undertaking was September 10th, a Wednesday (which he had always found to be a fortunate day), and that immediately preceding the festival of the Elevation of the Cross, to which the obelisk was to be dedicated. The workmen again commenced their labors by commending themselves to God, all falling on their knees as they entered the enclosure. Fontana had profited by the description given in Ammianus Marcellinus of the last raising of an obelisk for making his arrangements, and was, besides, provided with a force of 140 horses. It was considered peculiarly fortunate that the sky chanced to be clouded that day: all succeeded perfectly. The obelisk was moved by three great efforts, and an hour before sunset it was seen to sink upon its pedestal, formed by the backs of four bronze lions that seem to support it. The exulting cries of the people filled the air, and the satisfaction of the pontiff was complete. This work, which so many of his predecessors had desired to perform, and which so many writers had recommended, he had now accomplished. He notes in his diary that he has achieved the most difficult enterprise conceivable by the mind of man. He struck medals in commemoration of this event, received poems of congratulation in every language, and sent official announcements of his success to foreign powers.¹⁰

¹⁰ The despatches of Gritti of May 3 and 10, July 12, and October 11, allude to this elevation of the obelisk. The effect is well described in the "Vita Sixti V.," *ipsius manu emendata*: He held the eyes of the whole city fixed on the spectacle of a new thing, or rather one repeated after a lapse of more than 1,500 years; when either he raised the mass, after wrenching it from its site by the force of thirty-five captans, or that he slowly suffered it to

fall while thus suspended, and extended it along the ground on a huge tray formed of beams to receive it. Then on cylinders, wooden columns rounded and smooth, it was dragged along by four windlasses over the line which had been built and elevated to the level of the base whereon it was to stand; and lastly, being again set up and poised exactly, it was fixed on the place newly assigned it."

The inscription he affixed has a strange effect ; he boasts of having wrested the monument from the emperors Augustus and Tiberius, to consecrate it to the holy cross ; and a cross was erected on the obelisk, enclosing within it a piece of the supposed true cross. This proceeding is an eloquent expression of his whole mode of thought. The very monuments of paganism were to be made ministers to the glory of the cross.

Sixtus devoted himself with his whole spirit to his architectural undertakings. A herd-boy, brought up among fields and gardens, for him the city had peculiar attractions. He would not hear mention of a villa residence ; his best pleasure, as he declares himself, was " to see many roofs." He doubtless meant that his highest satisfaction was derived from the progress of his buildings.

Many thousand hands were kept constantly employed, nor did any difficulty deter him from his purpose.

The cupola of St. Peter's was still wanting, and the architects required ten years for its completion. Sixtus was willing to give the money, but he also desired to gratify his eyes by the completed building. He set 600 men to work, allowing no intermission even at night. In twenty-two months the whole was finished, the leaden covering to the roof alone excepted ; this he did not live to see.

The arbitrary and impetuous character of the pontiff was manifest even in labors of this kind. He demolished without remorse the remains of the papal *patriarchium*, which were by no means inconsiderable, and were singularly interesting. These antiquities were connected with the dignity of his own office, but he destroyed them nevertheless to erect his palace of the Lateran on their site ; a building not at all wanted, and which excites a very equivocal interest, solely as one of the earliest examples of the uniform regularity of modern architecture.

How complete was the revolution which then took place in the relations of the age to antiquity ! As in former times men emulated the ancients, so did they now ; but their earlier efforts were directed toward an approach to their beauty and grace of form ; now they sought only to vie with, or exceed them, in extent and magnitude. Formerly the slightest trace of the antique spirit was revered in however trifling a monument ;

now the disposition seemed rather to destroy these traces. One sole idea held predominance among the men of this day; they would acknowledge no other. It was the same that had gained ascendancy in the Church—the same that had succeeded in making the State a mere instrument of the Church. This ruling idea of modern Catholicism had penetrated throughout the being of society, and pervaded its most diversified institutions.

Section IX.—General Change in the Intellectual Tendency of the Age

It is not to be supposed that the Pope alone was subjected to the dominion of the spirit we have seen to prevail; toward the close of the sixteenth century, a tendency became obvious in every manifestation of intellect directly opposed to that which had marked its commencement.

Highly significant of this change is the fact that the study of the ancients, which in the first part of the century had been a primary condition to all knowledge, had now greatly declined. Another Aldus Minutius had indeed appeared in Rome, and was professor of eloquence; but neither for his Greek nor Latin did he find admirers. At the hour of his lectures he might be seen pacing up and down before the portal of the university with one or two hearers, the only persons in whom he found congeniality of sentiment or pursuit. How rapid a progress was made by the study of Greek in the early part of this century! yet there did not exist at its conclusion one single Hellenist of reputation in all Italy.

Not that I would assert this change to be altogether symptomatic of decline; it was in a certain sense connected with the necessary progress of science and literature.

For if in earlier times all science had been immediately derived from the ancients, this was now no longer possible. How enormous was the mass of knowledge brought together by Ulises Aldrovandi, for example; during the labors of his long life and extensive travels, in comparison with anything that could be possessed by the ancients! In the construction of his museum he had labored to produce completeness, and wherever the natural object was unattainable, had supplied its place by drawings, carefully appending to each specimen an elaborate

description. How far, too, had the knowledge of geography extended beyond what had even been imagined by those best informed in the ancient world! A more profound and searching spirit of investigation had arisen; mathematicians had in earlier days sought only to fill up the chasms left by the ancients; as for example, Commandin, who, believing he had discovered that Archimedes had either read or written some treatise on gravitation, which was afterward lost, was led by this supposition, himself to investigate the subject. But by this very process men were conducted to more extensive observations; even while seeking to pursue the light offered by the ancients, the mind of the student became freed from their tutelage. Discoveries were made that led beyond the circle prescribed by them, and these again opened new paths to further inquiries.

More especially did the study of nature attract zealous and self-relying students. For a moment men wavered between an acquiescence in the mysteries attributed to natural phenomena and the bold, deep-searching examination of those phenomena; but the love of science soon prevailed. An attempt was already made to produce a rational classification of the vegetable kingdom. In Padua, the science of anatomy was zealously pursued; and a professor of that university was called "the Columbus of the human body!" Inquirers marched boldly forward in all directions, and knowledge was no longer restricted to the works of the ancients.

It followed, if I am not mistaken, as a matter of course, that antiquity, being no longer studied with so exclusive an attention as regarded the subject, could no longer exert its earlier influence with reference to form.

Writers of learned works began now to think principally of accumulating material. In the beginning of the century, Cortesius had embodied the essence of the scholastic philosophy, spite of the intractable nature of his subject, in a well-written classical work, full of wit and spirit. But at this time, the subject of mythology, well calculated to call forth and to repay the most genial and imaginative treatment, was handled by Natal Conti in a dull and uninviting quarto. This author also wrote a history composed almost entirely of sentences quoted directly from the ancients; the passages whence he has borrowed being

cited; but he does not possess one qualification for giving a genuine description; a mere heaping together of the bare facts seemed sufficient for his contemporaries. We may safely affirm that a work like the *Annals of Baronius*, so entirely destitute of form—written in Latin, yet without one trace of beauty or elegance, even in detached phrases—could not have been thought of at the commencement of the century.

Nor was this departure from the track of the ancients, in science, in form, and in expression, the only change; others took place in all the social habits of the nation; changes by which an incalculable influence was exercised both on literature and art.

Republican and independent Italy, on whose peculiar circumstances the early development of her people, intellectual and social, had depended, was now no more; all the freedom and simplicity of intercourse proper to the earlier days had departed. It is worthy of note that titles came into use at this time. As early as the year 1520, it was remarked with disgust that all desired to be called "Sir": this was attributed to the influence of the Spaniards. About the year 1550, the old forms of address, so noble in their simplicity, were encumbered, whether in speech or writing, by ponderous epithets of honor; at the end of the century duke and marquis were titles everywhere prevailing; all wished to possess them, every man would fain be "Excellency." Nor are we permitted to consider this a mere trifle; even in the present day, when this system of titles is become old and familiar, they still have their effect; how much more then when all were new? In every other respect also, society became more rigid, stiff, and exclusive; the cheerful easy tone of manner, the frank intercourse of earlier times were gone forever.

Be the cause of this where it may—whether a change incident to the nature of the human mind—thus much is manifest, that so early as the middle of the century a different spirit pervaded all productions; new wants were making themselves felt in the external forms, as in the living essence of society.

We find evidence of this change in many striking phenomena, and perhaps one of the most remarkable is the remodelling of Bojardo's "*Orlando Innamorato*," by Berni. It is the same work, and yet altogether different; all the freshness and charm

of the original have disappeared. On a more rigid examination, we shall find that Berni has invariably displaced the individual to substitute the universal; he has obliterated the unfettered expression of a lovely and most vivid nature, for the conventional decorums then and now demanded by Italian manners.¹ His success was perfect, the manufacture he presented was received with incredible approbation, and entirely superseded the original poem. How rapidly too, for it was not yet fifty years since Bojardo had first published his work.

This essential change, this infusion of a different spirit, may be traced through most of the productions of that period.

If the longer poems of Alamanni and Bernardo Tasso are tedious and uninviting, this does not proceed entirely from the absence of talent, in the case of the latter more especially. But the very conception of these works is cold. In compliance with the demands of a public that was certainly not very virtuous, but had put on manners of serious sedateness, both these writers chose immaculate heroes. Bernardo Tasso selected Amadis, of whom the younger Tasso says, "Dante would have retracted his unfavorable opinion of chivalric romance, had he known the Amadis of Gaul or of Greece; characters so full of nobleness and constancy." The hero of Alamanni was Giron le Courtoys, the mirror of all knightly virtues. His express purpose was to show youth by this example, how hunger and night-watching, cold and heat, were to be endured; how arms should be borne; how justice and piety were best to be exemplified; how enemies were to be forgiven, and mercy extended to all. Proceeding with this their moral and didactic aim, entirely after the manner of Berni, and intentionally divesting the fable of its poetic basis, the result they have gained is a work of infinite prolixity and insipid dulness.

The nation would seem, if we may venture on the expression, to have worked out and used up the whole amount of the poetical conceptions, descending to it from its by-gone history, and from the ideas proper to the Middle Ages; it had even lost the power of comprehending them. Something new was sought for, but the creative genius would not come forth, nor did the life of the day present any fresh material. Up to the middle of

¹ In the Academical Treatise before alluded to, I have endeavored to pursue this subject in a more detailed form.

the century, Italian prose, though from its nature didactic, was yet imaginative, life-like, flexible, and graceful. Gradually prose also became rigid and cold.

And as with poetry, so was it with art. She lost the inspiration derived from her connection with religion, and soon after that which had informed her more profane efforts. Some few traces of it yet lingered in the Venetian school alone. How entirely had the disciples of Raphael, with one exception only, degenerated from their master. While they sought to imitate him, they lost themselves in artificial beauties, theatrical attitudes, and affected graces. Their works sufficiently show in how total an absence of feeling and with how feeble a sense of beauty they were conceived. With the scholars of Michael Angelo it fared no better. Art no longer comprehended her object; the ideas that she had formerly taxed her powers to clothe with form were now abandoned. There remained to her only the externals of method.

In this state of things, when antiquity was deserted; when its forms were no longer imitated; when its science was left in the background, and far overpassed; when the old national poetry and all religious modes of conception were despised and rejected by literature and art, the resuscitation of the Church commenced. It obtained the mastery over the minds of men, either with their consent or in spite of their resistance, producing a radical change in the whole being and system of art and of literature.

Its influence was equally obvious in science, but if I am not mistaken, the effect was in this case of a totally different character from that exercised over art.

Philosophy, and indeed all science, now passed through a very important epoch. Having restored the genuine Aristotle, men soon began to set themselves wholly free from his authority in matters of philosophy, as had happened in other branches of knowledge and with other ancient writers, and proceeded to the unfettered investigation of the most recondite and highest problems. But from the very nature of things it was impossible that the Church could favor this freedom of inquiry, she lost no time in laying down first principles in a manner that permitted no doubt. The adherents of Aristotle had not unfrequently expressed opinions, such as the Church had never sanc-

tioned, and which were derived from the light of nature only; might not something similar be apprehended from those who set themselves to oppose that philosopher? for their purpose was, as one of them expressed it, to compare the tenets of former teachers, with the original handwriting of God, the world and nature. This was a project of which it was difficult to determine the probable result; but whether discoveries or errors ensued, they could not fail to be deeply perilous; the Church, consequently, extinguished this evil in the germ. Telesius did not suffer his speculations to pass beyond the domain of physical science; he was nevertheless confined through his whole life to his small native town. Campanella was subjected to torture, and compelled to live in exile. The most profound thinker of all, Giordano Bruno, a true philosopher, after many persecutions and long wanderings, was at last seized by the Inquisition, was sent to Rome, imprisoned and condemned to the flames, "not only," as the legal record sets forth, "because himself a heretic, but as a dangerous heresiarch, who had written things affecting religion, and unseemly."² How could men find courage for earnest investigation with such examples before them? One only of those who ventured on innovations found favor with Rome, and he did so, because his attacks on Aristotle were confined to the accusation that his principles were opposed to the Church and to Christianity. This was Francesco Patrizi. He believed himself to have discovered a genuine philosophical tradition, descending from the pretended Hermes Trismegistus, and which he traced through all succeed-

²In a Venetian MS. now in the Archives of Vienna, under the Rubric Roma, Espositioni, 1592, will be found the original of a protocol respecting the surrender of Giordano Bruno. There appeared before the college the vicar of the patriarch, the father inquisitor, and Tommaso Morosini, the assistant of the Inquisition. The vicar stating that there had been arrested within the last few days, and was then in the prison of the Inquisition, a certain Giordano Bruno of Nola, accused not of heresy only, but also as an heresiarch, he having written various books wherein he spoke in terms of praise of the English queen and other principal heretics; and also had said divers things concerning religion, which were not becoming, even though he spoke philosophically; that this man was besides an apostate, having been a Dominican friar, but had lived many years in Geneva and in England: of these things he had also

been accused in Naples and other places; that his arrest being communicated to the authorities in Rome, the most illustrious cardinal Santa Severina had written and commanded that he should be sent to Rome by the first safe opportunity. Such an opportunity these officers now had. To this application they received no immediate reply; and, in the afternoon, the father inquisitor again appeared; but the Savi replied that the matter was of weight, and demanded reflection; that the affairs of the state were pressing and numerous, so that they had not yet been able to come to any decision. The inquisitor was very earnest for their reply, because the boat was about to depart. But this time it had to go without the prisoner, whether his being afterward surrendered was in consequence of further application I have not been able to ascertain.

ing ages. This tradition contradicted the views of Aristotle, and gave a clearer explanation of the Trinity than was to be found even in the Mosaic records. Patrizi was anxious to restore it, and to substitute its tenets for those of the Aristotelian philosophy. In all the dedications of his works he alludes to this purpose, and insists on the utility and necessity of its execution. His mind was peculiarly constituted; he was not without critical discernment, but evinces this quality, rather in what he has rejected than in what he adopts. He was invited to Rome, and maintained himself there in high credit, not by the influence of his works, which was extremely insignificant, but because the peculiarities of his opinions and the tendency of his labors were in harmony with the views of the Church.

The investigation of physics and natural history was at that time almost inseparably connected with philosophical inquiry. The whole system of ideas as previously accepted was called in question; there was indeed among the Italians of that period an earnest tendency toward the vigorous pursuit of truth, a zeal for progress, a noble loftiness of anticipation. Who shall say to what glorious results this might have led? But the Church set up a barrier which they must not overpass; woe to him who should be found beyond it!

That the restoration of Catholicism produced unfavorable effects on science it is impossible to deny. Poetry and art on the contrary received benefit from its renovation; a living subject, a prolific material was needful to them, and this they once more received from the Church.

Of the dominion exercised by the regenerated spirit of religion over the minds of men, we have an example in Torquato Tasso. His father Bernardo, had chosen a hero of blameless moral character; he took a step further in the same direction. The crusades had been selected as the subject of a poem by another writer of that day, on the ground that "it is better to handle a true argument in a Christian fashion, than to seek a little Christian fame from an argument without truth." Torquato Tasso did likewise. He sought his hero not in fable, but history, and Christian History. Godfrey is more than Æneas, he is like a saint satiated with the world and with its passing glories. The work would nevertheless have been very tedious and dry, had the poet contented himself with the mere represen-

tation of such a personage ; but Tasso seized on all the resources offered by the sentimental and enthusiastic portion of religious feeling ; this harmonized most happily with the fairy world, whose rainbow tints he has wrought into the fabric of his poem. The work is perhaps occasionally somewhat prolix, the effect is not always fully made out, yet on the whole it is replete with feeling and fancy, national spirit, and truth of character. The love and admiration of his countrymen were secured by it to the author, and have been continued to his memory even down to our own days. But what a contrast does he present to Ariosto ! At an earlier period the art of poetry had fallen off from the Church. Religion, now rising in the might of her renovated empire, subjected poetry once more to her allegiance.

At no great distance from Ferrara, where Tasso composed his poem, at Bologna namely, there soon after arose the school of the Caracci, the origin of which marks a general revolution in painting.

When we ask whence this change proceeded, we are assured that it was due to the anatomical studies of the Bolognese academy—to their eclectic imitation, and their learned style of art. There was, unquestionably, great merit in the zeal with which they sought, in their manner, to approach the truth of nature : but the subjects they selected, and the spirit in which these were treated, appear to me no less important.

The most earnest efforts of Ludovico Caracci were devoted to a realization of the ideal of Christ. He is not always successful ; but in the Calling of St. Matthew he has indeed most happily presented the mild and serious man, full of truth and fervor, of grace and majesty. This, as is well known, has become the model of many succeeding painters. He has doubtless imitated earlier masters, but in a manner entirely characteristic of himself. The Transfiguration of Raphael was evidently in his mind ; but even while appropriating this, he infuses his own idea, and the hand of Christ is raised toward Moses as in the act of teaching. The master-piece of Agostino Caracci is without doubt his St. Jerome. The old man is on the very point of death : he has lost all power of movement, but aspires with his last breath in fervent longing toward the host about to be presented to him. The Ecce Homo of Annibale Caracci in the Borghese palace, with its deep shadows, its delicate, transparent

skin and tearful eyes, is the ideal of Ludovico, but raised to a more exalted sublimity. Admirably is this exemplified, once more, in the Dead Christ; the rigidity of death has not concealed the grandeur and freedom of conception that distinguish this fine work; the tragical event just completed is expressed as it was conceived—with new and characteristic feeling. The lunettes of the Doria palace present us with landscapes rendered eloquently vivid by the simple expression of human events in the sacred histories.

These masters, then, though not refusing profane subjects, yet devoted themselves with peculiar earnestness to sacred ones; they are not indebted wholly to their technical and external merits for the rank they maintain; this is secured to them principally by the fact that they once more caught the full inspiration of their subject—the religious representations they set before us had once more significance to themselves.

Their pupils are distinguished by a similar tendency. That ideal of St. Jerome, which Agostino Caracci had originated, was elaborated by Dominichino with such felicitous industry, that in variety of grouping and perfection of expression he has perhaps gone beyond his master. His head of St. Nilus appears to me a noble work, from its mingled expression, suffering, and reflection. His Sibyls, too, how youthful and innocent, yet how profoundly meditative! Dominichino delighted in contrasting the joys of heaven with the sufferings of earth, as we find them in his Madonna del Rosario—the Divine Mother, rich in grace and beauty, as opposed to the feeble and wretched mortal.

Guido Reni, also, has occasionally presented us with this contrast: the Virgin, radiant with immortal beauty, is placed together with monkish saints attenuated by fast and vigil. Guido displays vigorous force of conception and originality of manner. How sublime is his Judith, exulting in the deed she has accomplished, and glowing with gratitude for the aid bestowed by heaven! Who but will remember his Madonnas—exalted—wrapt in the ecstasy of their devotion? Even in his saints he embodies an ideal of enthusiastic reverie.

Certain other characteristics of this tendency in art remain to be described, but of less attractive quality. The invention of these painters is occasionally deformed by a fantastic incon-

gruity. In the fine group of the Holy Family, for example, is found a St. John ceremoniously kissing the foot of the Divine Infant, or the apostles are brought in to condole with the Virgin, and are deliberately preparing to wipe away their tears. The horrible, too, is expressed with needless frequency, and without the slightest mitigation. We have the St. Agnes of Dominichino, with the blood starting beneath the sword! Guido has set the Slaughter of the Innocents before us in all its atrocity—the women with their mouths all open pouring forth shriek on shriek—the savage executioners whose hands are dyed with the blood of their victims!

Religion had resumed her empire over the minds of men, but the mode of her influence was no longer that of earlier times: in the older periods her external manifestations were pure and simple; in this later epoch they became fantastic, forced, and conventional.

The talents of Guercino are admitted and admired by all, but what a St. John is that of the Sciarra gallery—those large muscular arms, those bare gigantic knees—that face too, inspired without doubt, but darkened by a gloom that makes it difficult to decide whether the inspiration be not rather of earth than heaven. His St. Thomas lays so heavy a hand on the wounds of Christ, that we fancy the Redeemer suffering from so rude a touch. Guercino has depicted Peter Martyr at the very moment when the sword cleaves his head. By the side of the Duke of Aquitaine, whom St. Bernard is investing with the cowl, stands a monk, busily occupied with the conversion of a squire belonging to the duke, and the spectator is inexorably consigned to a scene of premeditated devotion.

This is not the place to inquire how far the limits of art were overstepped by this mode of treating the subject—now extravagantly ideal, now unnaturally hard; it will suffice to say, that over the restored art of painting the Church acquired complete dominion; by the inspiration of poetry, and the principles of a positive religion, she doubtless infused new life into it, but she also imposed on it a character essentially ecclesiastical, sacerdotal, and dogmatic.

This was effected with greater ease in architecture, which was more immediately vowed to her service. I am not certain that anyone has investigated the progress of modern architect-

ure, from the imitation of antiquity to the canon devised by Barozzi for the construction of churches, and which has been observed in Rome and through all Catholic countries to the present day. Here, too, the lightness and cheerful freedom distinguishing the early part of the century were abandoned for pompous solemnity and religious magnificence.

As regarded one art only, did the question long remain doubtful whether or not it could be made subservient to the purposes of the Church.

This was music, which toward the middle of the sixteenth century had become lost in the most artificial intricacies. Variations, imitations, proportions, and fugues formed the reputation of composers; the meaning of the words was no more regarded. Masses of that period may be found in great number, of which the themes are furnished by well-known profane melodies. The human voice was treated as a mere instrument.³

We cannot be surprised that the Council of Trent should take offence at the introduction of music thus arranged in the churches. In consequence of the discussion there commenced, Pius IV appointed a commission to inquire into the subject, and to settle definitely whether music should be admitted to the divine service, or banished from it entirely. The decision was very doubtful. The Church required that the words sung should be intelligible, and that the musical expression should be in harmony with the sense. The professors of music asserted that this was unattainable, according to the rules of their art. Cardinal Borromeo was in the commission, and the known rigor of that eminent churchman rendered an adverse decision extremely probable.

Happily the right man once more presented himself, and he appeared at the right moment.

Among the Roman composers of that day was Pier-Luigi Palestrina. This master was married, and the severity of Paul IV had driven him on that account from the papal chapel. After his expulsion he lived retired and forgotten, in a wretched hut among the vine-grounds of Monte Celio. But his was a spirit that could to yield to adverse fortune. Even in this abandonment he devoted himself to his art with a singleness of purpose

³ Giuseppe Baini, "Memorie storico-critiche della Vita e delle Opere di Giovanni Pier-Luigi di Palestrina, Roma,

1828," supplies the information of which I have made use.

that secured the originality of his conceptions, and the free action of that creative force with which he was endowed. It was here that he wrote the "Improperie" which to this day ennoble the solemnities of Good Friday in the Sistine Chapel. The profound significance of a scriptural text, its symbolic import, its power to move the soul, and its application to religion, have perhaps in no instance been more truly appreciated by any composer.

If the experiment, whether his method were applicable to the grand and comprehensive purposes of the mass, could be successfully made by any man, that man was Palestrina; to him accordingly the commission intrusted it.

Deeply conscious that on this trial was now depending the life or death of the grand music of the mass, it was with earnest tension of all his powers that the composer proceeded to his task. The words "O Lord, open thou mine eyes," were found written on his manuscript.

His success was not immediate; the first two attempts failed. At length, however, the happy moment arrived, and the mass known as "the mass of Pope Marcellus" was completed. All expectation was far surpassed by this composition. Full of simple melody, it will yet bear comparison in rich variety with any work preceding it. Choruses separate and again blend. The meaning of the words received the most eloquent expression. The Kyrie is all submission, the Agnus humility, the Credo majesty. Pope Pius IV, before whom it was performed, was enchanted. He compared it with those heavenly melodies that St. John may have heard in his ecstatic trance.

The question was set at rest forever by this one great example; a path was opened, pursuing which, works the most beautiful and most touching, even to those who are not of the Romish creed, have been produced. Who can listen to them without enthusiasm? Nature herself seems to have acquired voice and utterance; it is as if the elements spoke; and the tones breathing through universal life, poured forth in blended harmony of adoration; now undulating, like the waves of the sea, now rising in songs of triumph to the skies. Amidst the consenting sympathies of creation, the soul is borne upward to the region of religious entrancement.

It was precisely this art, at one time alienated more com-

pletely perhaps than any other from the Church and her service, that was now to become one of her most efficient handmaids. Few things could more effectually promote the interests of Catholicism. Even in its dogmas, the Church, if we are not mistaken, had embodied some portion of that enthusiasm and reverie which form the leading characteristic of its devotional books. Spiritual sentimentality and rapture were favorite subjects for poetry and painting. Music, more direct, more penetrating, more resistless than any other exposition, or any other art, now embodied the prevailing tendency, in language more pure and appropriate, fascinating and subjecting the minds of men.

Section X.—The Curia

While all the elements of social life and of intellectual activity were seized and transformed by the ecclesiastical spirit, the Court of Rome, in which these varying elements met, was also greatly changed.

This change was remarked under Paul IV, and it was essentially promoted by the example of Pius V. Under Gregory XIII it became palpable to all. "Several pontiffs in succession have been men of blameless lives," says Paolo Tiepolo in 1576, "and this has contributed immeasurably to the welfare of the Church; for all other men have become better, or at least have assumed the appearance of being so. Cardinals and prelates attend diligently at the mass; their households are careful to avoid whatever might give offence. The whole city has indeed put off its former recklessness of manner. People are all much more Christian-like in life and habit than they formerly were. It may even be safely affirmed, that in matters of religion, Rome is not far from as high a degree of perfection as human nature is permitted to attain."

Nor are we by any means to conclude that the court was composed of demure hypocrites or feigned puritans. It was formed, on the contrary, of distinguished men; but these men had in a high degree assimilated themselves to the rigorous tone of manner and opinion prevailing in the Church.

If we represent to ourselves the Papal Court as it existed under Sixtus V, we find many among its cardinals who had taken a considerable share in the politics of the world. Gallio

of Como had conducted the affairs of state as prime minister during two pontificates, and possessed the art of governing by address and pliancy. He was now distinguished by the ecclesiastical endowments his large revenues enabled him to establish. Rusticucci, powerful under Pius V, was not without influence under Sixtus; laborious in his habits, of penetrating mind, and endowed with cordial kindness of heart, he was, perhaps, rendered more circumspect and irreproachable in his life, by the hope he entertained of the papal throne. Salviati had gained reputation by his conscientious government of Bologna; simple and blameless, his manners were not merely serious, they were austere. Santorio, Cardinal of Santa Severina, the man of the Inquisition, long commanding influence on all questions of ecclesiastical polity, inflexible in opinion, rigorous to his servants, severe even toward his own family, still more so toward others, harshly cold and inaccessible to all. In contrast with him stood Mandrucci, always deep in the counsels and secrets of Austria, whether of the German or Spanish lines, and called the Cato of the college; but with reference to his learning and unclouded virtues only, not to any censoriousness or arrogance, for he was modesty itself. Sirleto also was still living; beyond question the most profoundly skilled in science, and the most accomplished linguist of all the cardinals of his time. Muret calls him a living library; yet, when he rose from his books, he would gather around him the poor boys who were carrying a few fagots of wood to the market, give them religious instruction, and then buy their wood. He was, indeed, a most kindly and compassionate man.¹ The example of Carlo Borromeo, who was afterward canonized, could not fail to produce effects of great utility. Federigo Borromeo was by nature impetuous and irritable; but, influenced by his uncle, he led a religious life, and did not permit the mortifications that he frequently experienced to deprive him of his self-command. But he who most resembled the excellent Archbishop of Milan, was Agostino Valiere, a man whose nature was pure and noble, as his learning was extraordinary. Following implicitly the plan prescribed by his conscience, he had now

¹ Ciaconius, "Vitæ Papatum," iii. p. 978. He also gives the epitaph of Sirleto, where he is described as the "patron of the learned and the poor."

Cardella, in his "Memorie storiche de' Cardinali," has nothing more than the notices of Ciaconius translated into Italian.

arrived at extreme old age, and presented a true type of a bishop of the primitive Church.

The remainder of the prelates were careful to regulate their lives by the pattern they received from the cardinals, whose associates they were in the congregation, and whose seats they were one day to occupy.

There were also two men who distinguished themselves highly among the members of the supreme tribunal, the *Auditori di Rota*. These were Mantica and Arigone, men of equal talent, but of characters entirely opposite. Mantica lived only among books and legal documents; his works on jurisprudence were of authority in the forum and the schools; his manners and address were unstudied and abrupt. Arigone, on the contrary, devoted less time to books than to the world, the court, and public affairs. He was remarkable for the acuteness of his judgment and the flexibility of his character; but neither of these men yielded to the other in efforts to maintain a high reputation for purity and sanctity of life. Among the bishops about the court, those who had been much employed in legations were especially noticed; as, for example, Torres, who had taken active part in concluding the league that Pius V formed with Spain and Venice against the Turks; Malaspina, who had carefully watched over the interests of Catholicism in Germany and the North; Bolognetti, to whom had been intrusted the arduous visitation of the Venetian churches: all men whose talents and zeal for religion had procured them distinction. Men of learning held a very eminent place in the Roman Court: Bellarmine, professor, grammarian, and the most powerful controversialist of the Catholic Church, whose memory is held in reverence for the apostolic purity of his life. Another Jesuit, Maffei, who wrote a history of the Portuguese conquests in India, with particular reference to the effect produced by them on the diffusion of Christianity through the South and East. He is also the author of a life of Loyola, every phrase labored with the most deliberate prolixity and most studied elegance.² Distinguished foreigners were also to be found here; as the German Clavius, who combined profound learning with purity of life, and was the object of universal respect; or Muret, a Frenchman, and the best Latinist of his day. He passed a large

² "Vita J. P. Maffeji," Serassio Auctore. In the edition of Maffei's Works, Berg. 1747.

part of his life in expounding the Pandects; which he did in an original and classic manner. Muret was famed for wit as well as eloquence; yet, in his old age, he took orders, read mass every day, and devoted the close of his existence to the study of theology. Here also was the Spanish canonist, Azpilcueta, whose "*responsa*" were received as oracles, not in Rome only, but throughout the Catholic world. Pope Gregory would sometimes pass hours in conversation with Azpilcueta, pausing to talk with him before the door of his house, while, at the same time, the Spaniard humbly performed the lowest offices in the hospitals.

But, among these remarkable personages, few acquired so deep and extensive an influence as Filippo Neri, founder of the congregation of the Oratory. This eminent confessor and guide of souls, was of cheerful temper and playful manners; rigid in essentials, he was most indulgent in matters of mere form; it was not his custom to command, but only to advise, or, perhaps, to request. Agreeable and easy of access, he did not lecture or harangue—he conversed. He possessed a penetration that enabled him to discriminate the peculiar bent of every mind. His oratory grew up gradually from visits paid him by young men, whose attachment to his person and teaching made them desire to live with him as his disciples. The most renowned among these is the annalist of the Church, Cæsar Baronius. Perceiving his talents, Filippo Neri induced him to give lectures on ecclesiastical history in the Oratory.³ For this occupation, Baronius showed but little inclination in the first instance, but he none the less applied himself to it during thirty years; and even when called to the College of Cardinals, he rose constantly before daylight to continue his labors. His meals were taken regularly at the same table with his whole household: humility and piety were displayed in his every action. Baronius was bound in the closest friendship with Tarugi, who was of great eminence as a preacher and confessor in the College of Cardinals, as in the Oratory. This intimacy made the happiness of these eminent men; the life of Tarugi being equally pure and irreproachable with that of his friend; death only interrupted this affection, and they were buried side by side. Silvio Antoniano was also a disciple of Filippo Neri. His early disposi-

: ³ Gallonius, "Vita Phil. Nerii, Mog. 1602," p. 163.

tions were rather toward poetry and literature; he distinguished himself in both; and when he was afterward intrusted with the preparation of papal briefs, they were composed in a manner unusually skilful and elegant. He too was remarkable for kindness of heart, modest affability of demeanor, pure truthfulness, and exalted piety.

All who rose to eminence in the Papal Court at this time, whether in the State, the law, poetry, or art, exhibited the same characteristics.

How widely does all this differ from the Curia of the earlier part of the century! Then the cardinals lived in continual contest with the popes, who on their parts buckled on the sword, and banished from their court and person whatever could remind them of their Christian vocation. How still, how cloister-like, were now the lives of the cardinals. The failure of Cardinal Tosco, who was once on the point of being elected pope, was principally occasioned by his use of certain proverbs, current in Lombardy, but which were found offensive by the delicacy of Rome; so exclusive was the tendency of the public mind, so sensitive were now its ideas of decorum.

We are nevertheless compelled to admit that a different aspect of things, and one much less consonant to our notions of right, was exhibited in social habits, no less than in art and literature. Miracles, which had not for a long time been heard of, were revived. An image of the Virgin began to speak in the church of San Silvestro, and this event produced so powerful an impression upon the people that the region around the church, hitherto neglected and desolate, was presented covered with dwellings. In the Rione de' Monti, a miraculous image of the Virgin appeared in a haystack; and the people of the district considered this so especial a token of divine favor that they rose in arms to prevent its removal. Similar wonders appeared at Narni, Todi, San Severino, and other parts of the Ecclesiastical States, whence they gradually extended over all Catholic countries. The pontiffs also resumed the practice of canonization, which had been suffered to fall into disuse. Nor were all confessors so judicious and moderate as Filippo Neri; hollow unprofitable works of sanctity were encouraged, and fantastic superstitions were mingled with the representation of things sacred and divine.

There would be consolation in the belief that together with these mistaken ideas the majority had acquired a sincere devotion to the precepts of religion.

But from the very nature of this court it resulted inevitably that the most eager struggle after worldly greatness was mingled with the general effort to promote religious interests.

The Curia was not an ecclesiastical institution only, it was a political government also, and had indirectly to rule a large part of the world in addition to its own State. In proportion as men acquired part in the exercise of this power, they also acquired consideration, riches, influence, and whatever else can best excite the wish of man. Human nature could not so entirely change as that men should limit themselves to spiritual weapons alone in their efforts to attain the great prizes of social life and of the State. Matters proceeded in Rome as in other courts, but with very peculiar modifications imposed by the nature of the arena.

The population of Rome was then more fluctuating than that of any city in the world. Under Leo X it had risen to more than 80,000 souls. The severe measures of Paul drove so many to flight, that in his pontificate it sank to 45,000. In a few years after his death it was found to be increased to 70,000; and under Sixtus V it rose to more than 100,000; the most peculiar circumstance was that the fixed residents bore no proportion to these numbers. To few of its inhabitants was the city a home, their abode in it was rather a long sojourn than a permanent citizenship. It might be said to resemble a fair or diet, having no stability or fixed continuance, no connecting links of family or kindred. Many were there simply because no road to preferment was open to them in the land of their birth; wounded pride drove one man thither, boundless ambition impelled another, some came believing they found more liberty in Rome than elsewhere. But the grand object of all was to advance their own interest in their own manner.

These varying classes did not become amalgamated into one body, the different races were still so distinct that the diversities of national and provincial character were clearly perceptible. The courteous and observant Lombard was readily distinguished from the Genoese, who expected to accomplish all things by his money. Nor was it difficult to discover the Venetian, ever

occupied in seeking to penetrate the secrets of others. The frugal and talkative Florentine met here with the sagacious Romagnese, whose eyes were ever bent with instinctive prudence on the path by which his interests might best be secured. The ceremonious and exacting Neapolitan came, together with the simply mannered native of the North, remarked for his love of comfort; even the learned German Clavius was the subject of many a jest, provoked by the abundance of his two substantial breakfasts. The Frenchman kept himself much apart, and relinquished his national habits with more difficulty than any others. The Spaniard, full of personal pretence and projects of ambition, stalked onward, wrapping his cloak about him, and casting looks of scorn on all the rest.

In this court there was no position so eminent, but the most obscure individual might aspire to hold it. People delighted to recall the words of John XXIII, who, being asked why he was going to Rome, said "he meant to be pope," and pope he became. It was from a station among the humblest that Pius V and Sixtus V had been exalted to the supreme dignity. Each man believed himself capable of all, and hoped for everything.

It was a remark frequently made in those days, and a perfectly just one, that there was a sort of republicanism in the character of the prelacy and Curia; this consisted in the circumstance that all might aspire to all; examples were continually presented of men whose origin was most obscure, attaining to positions of the first eminence. The constitution of this republic was nevertheless very singular; to the undisputed rights of the many stood opposed the absolute power of one, from whose arbitrary decision it was that all promotion and every advantage must be derived. And who was this one? It was he who, by some combination, on which it was impossible to calculate, had come forth as victor from the conflict of election. Of small importance hitherto, he was suddenly invested with the supreme authority. Persuaded that he had been raised by the Holy Spirit to this height of dignity, he was but slightly tempted to dissemble his disposition and inclination; thus the pontificate usually commenced with a complete change in all public offices. Legates and governors of provinces were removed. There were certain appointments in the capital that fell as matters of course to the nephews or other kinsmen of the reigning pope; for even when nepotism was under restraint, as was the case in the times

we are describing, there was no pontiff who did not promote his immediate confidants and old adherents; he would naturally feel indisposed to resign the society of those with whom he had previously been passing his life. The secretary who had long served the cardinal Montalto, was most acceptable to that prelate when he became Sixtus V. The adherents of their opinions also were sure to be brought forward by each new pope. Thus did every accession to the papal chair cause a perfect change in all prospects and expectations; in the approaches to power, and in ecclesiastical no less than in temporal dignity. Commendone compares the state of things appearing on a new pontificate, to "a city in which the palace of the sovereign had been transferred to a new site, and all the streets turned toward this new centre. How many abodes must be demolished? How often must the road be carried through a palace; new passages are opened, and thoroughfares hitherto unfrequented are enlivened by the crowd." The alterations taking place on these occasions, and the degree of stability possessed by the new arrangements, are not unaptly typified by this description.

But from these peculiarities there necessarily resulted a consequence very singular in its character.

From the fact that a pope attained the sovereignty when much older than other monarchs, these mutations were so frequent that a new change might at any moment be expected. The government might be instantly placed in other hands. This made people live as in a perpetual game of chance, wherein nothing could be calculated, but everything might be hoped for.

To attain promotion, to gain advancement, as everyone desired and trusted to do, this would depend on the degree of personal favor that each could command; but where all personal influence was in so perpetual a fluctuation, the calculations of ambition must necessarily assume a similar character, and sometimes employ very extraordinary devices.

Among our manuscript collections we find a multitude of regulations for the conduct of those who are sent to the Papal Court.⁴ The varying modes in which each man pursues fort-

⁴For instance: "Instructions to Cardinal Medici on the manner in which he must guide himself in the Court of Rome;" "Warnings to Cardinal Montalto as to how he may best govern as cardinal and as nephew of the Pope;" "Advice political and most useful for

conduct in the Court of Rome." Seventy-eight maxims of very questionable morality. "Inform." xxv. The most important of all is the "Discourse on the Court of Rome, with its portrait, by Commendone"; Codd. Rang. 18; this last is at Vienna.

une present us with a subject not unworthy of observation. Inexhaustible is the plasticity of human nature; the more rigid the limits by which it is restrained, so much the more unexpected are the forms into which it throws itself.

It is manifest that all could not pursue the same path. The man who possessed nothing must be content to forward himself by rendering service to him who had means. A liberal domestication in the houses of princes, secular or temporal, was still accepted by literary men. Whoever was compelled to adopt this mode of life, must then make it his first object to ingratiate himself with the head of the house, to gain merit in his eyes, to penetrate his secrets, and in some way to render himself indispensable to his lord. For this all indignities must be endured; no injustice must be resented. For who could say how soon a change in the papacy might cause the star of his master to rise in the ascendant, and its lustre to be poured on the servant? Fortune ebbs and flows; the man remains the same.

Or to some of those aspirants, the possession of a subordinate office was perhaps the object of desire. From this they might advance to better employments by the exercise of zeal and activity. It was, nevertheless, in Rome as elsewhere, and in those times as in all others, a very critical and dangerous thing to be compelled to consider interest in the first place, and honor only in the second.

Much more favorable was the position of those who had the means of life. The *monti*, in which they purchased shares, gave them a certain income every month. They bought a place by means of which they immediately entered the prelacy; not only attaining an independence, but also acquiring an opportunity for the brilliant display of their talents. To him that hath, it shall be given. At the Roman Court the possession of property was doubly advantageous; for since this possession reverted to the treasury, the Pope himself had an interest in granting promotions.

This state of things did not demand servility of attachment to any one great man; on the contrary, too earnestly declared an adherence might prove an impediment to promotion, if fortune should not happen to be favorable. The grand essential was to beware of making enemies, to give no offence. This precaution was to be departed from in no circumstance of social

intercourse, however slight or trivial. It was essential, for example, to offer no man more honor than he was strictly entitled to claim; equality of deportment toward persons of different degrees would be inequality, and might produce an unfavorable impression. Even of the absent, nothing but good was to be spoken, not only because words once uttered are beyond our control, and we know not whither they are borne, but also because few love too keen an observer. If a man possess extended acquirements, let him be moderate in displaying them; and above all, let him never permit them to become tedious. It is not prudent to be the bearer of bad news; the unpleasant impression they make recoils on him who brings them; but in regard to this, there is an error to be avoided—that of maintaining a silence so rigid as would make its motive apparent.

The elevation to higher dignities, even to that of cardinal, conferred no exemption from these observances; they were to be fulfilled with increased caution in his own sphere. Who could venture to betray a conviction that one member of the Sacred College was less worthy than another to ascend the papal throne? There was none so obscure that the choice might not fall on him.

It was above all important that a cardinal should cultivate the good-will of the reigning pontiff. Fortune and dignity, universal deference and obsequiousness, follow him who has gained this. But more than ever must he be cautious while seeking it; profound silence was to be maintained with regard to the personal interests of the pope, but these must nevertheless be secretly penetrated, and the conduct governed accordingly. It was permitted occasionally to magnify the kinsmen of the pontiff, their fidelity and talents might be lauded; this was for the most part an acceptable subject. To arrive at the secrets of the papal family, it was expedient to employ the monks; these men, availing themselves of religious duties as their pretext, contrive to penetrate further than is possible to any other class of the community.

Ambassadors are imperatively called on by the rapid vicissitudes and extensive importance of personal relations, for the most vigilant watchfulness. Like a skilful pilot, the envoy is attentive to mark from what quarter blows the wind; he must spare no cost to assure himself of those who possess good in-

formation, certain that his utmost expenditure would be largely repaid by one single piece of intelligence that enabled him to seize the moment favorable to his negotiation. If he had to present a request to the pontiff, he made incredible efforts imperceptibly to interweave some point that the pope himself desired to carry, with the business he was laboring to promote. Most of all did he seek to gain the favorite nephew or other kinsman to his wishes, by persuading him that more permanent and more important advantages, whether of riches or greatness, were to be obtained from his court than from any other. Neither must he neglect to secure the good-will of the cardinals. He would not promise the papacy to any, but all were to be allured by the hope of it. He displayed devotion to none; but even for those most inimical to his purposes, he would occasionally perform some act of favor. He resembled the falconer, who shows the piece of meat to the hawk, but gives it him in small quantities only; and that morsel by morsel.

Thus did they live, and such was the policy of the Ecclesiastical Court. Cardinals, ambassadors, prelates, princes, those who were the known possessors of power, and those who exercised it in secret. Full of ceremony, of which Rome was the classic soil, of submissive subordination, and reverential observance; but egotists to the very core, all eagerly seeking to attain some object, to accomplish some purpose, to achieve some advantage over his neighbor.

Strange that the struggle for what all desire—power, honor, riches, enjoyment—elsewhere the fruitful source of rancorous feuds, should here assume the aspect of a courteous anxiety to serve. Here every man flattered the hope of his rival, conscious that he nourished something similar, for the purpose of arriving at the possession of what he also is seeking to obtain. Here self-denial was full of eagerness to enjoy, and passion stole onward with cautious footstep.

We have seen the dignity, the seriousness, the religious zeal prevailing in the Roman Court, we have also remarked its worldly aspect, ambition, avarice, dissimulation, and craft.

If it were our purpose to pronounce the eulogy of the Papal See, we should have insisted on the first only of the two elements composing it. Were we disposed to inveigh against it, we should have displayed only the second; but whoever will

raise himself to the level, whence a clear and unprejudiced view can be obtained, will arrive at an exact perception of the whole subject; he will see both these elements, but he will also perceive that both are rendered inevitable by the nature of man and the condition of things.

The period of the world's history that we have just been considering, was one wherein the prevalent mode of opinion made pressing demand for external propriety, purity of life, and religious fervor. This state of public feeling coincided with the principle of the court, whose position, as regards the rest of the world, is determined by these qualities. It followed of necessity that power and eminence were most certainly secured by men whose characters were in accordance with this demand. Were it otherwise, public opinion would not only be untrue to itself, it would destroy its own existence. But that the advantages of fortune should happen to be so immediately consequent on the possession of spiritual qualities, is indeed the most seductive allurements that could be offered by the spirit of this world.

We cannot doubt the sincerity of these qualities and sentiments, not unfrequently described by our observant and discreet authorities, but there were doubtless many by whom the mere appearance of these qualities was adopted for the furtherance of their fortunes; while in others the worldly tendency may have insinuated itself together with those of more lofty import, and veiled in the dim uncertainty of motives imperfectly developed.

The process we have seen taking place in art and literature may be traced also in the Curia. Here also a desertion from what the Church demands was most apparent; there was a laxity approaching to paganism in the modes of thought prevailing. But the march of events reawakened the principle of the Church, aroused the energies of society as with a new breath of life, and imparted an altered tone to the existence of the times. How broad is the difference between Ariosto and Tasso, Giulio Romano and Guercino, Pomponazzo and Patrizi! A vast epoch lies between them. They have, nevertheless, something in common, and the later is linked by certain points of contact with the earlier. With its ancient forms the Curia also retained many component parts of its old nature, yet this did not prevent it from

being animated by a new spirit. What could not be wholly transferred and assimilated to itself, was at least urged forward by the force of the impulse which that spirit communicated.

While occupied in contemplation of these commingling elements, I recall to mind a scene of nature, that may serve to bring this state of things more vividly before us by the kind of similitude it presents.

At Terni, the Nera is seen tranquilly approaching through wood and field; it proceeds across the distant valley in calm, unruffled course. From the other side comes rushing the Velino; pressed between opposing rocks, it foams onward with resistless speed, till at length its mass of waters are dashed down headlong in magnificent falls that sparkle and glitter with a myriad changing hues. These reach the peaceful Nera; they at once communicate their own wild commotion, raging and foaming; the mingled waters then rush forward on their eager and hurried course.

It was thus that the whole being of society, all literature, and every art, received a new impulse from the reawakened spirit of the Catholic Church. The Curia was at once devout and restless, spiritual and warlike: on the one side replete with dignity, pomp, and ceremony; on the other, unparalleled for calculating subtlety and insatiable love of power: its piety and ambition, reposing on the idea of an exclusive orthodoxy, coincide, and act in harmony for the production of one end—universal domination. The Roman Church once more binds on her armor for the conquest of the world.

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HISTORY OF THE POPES

THEIR CHURCH AND STATE

BY

LEOPOLD VON RANKE

Translated by E. FOWLER

WITH A SPECIAL INTRODUCTION BY

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FAMOUS PAINTINGS FROM THE PARIS SALON.

RETURN OF THE MISSIONARY.

Photogravure from the original painting by A. Frappa, exhibited in the Paris Salon of 1889.



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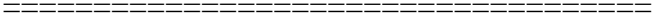
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THE HISTORY OF THE POPES

BOOKS V, VI, AND VII

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES

BOOK V

COUNTER-REFORMATION

FIRST PERIOD, 1563-1589

IN the history of a nation or power, there is no problem more difficult than that of appreciating correctly the connection of its particular relations with those of the world in general.

It is true that the individual life of a nation is determined by causes peculiar to itself, inherent in its nature, and displaying a characteristic consistency through all ages. But each community is subjected to the action of general influences, by which its progress is powerfully affected.

On this conflict of forces, it is, that the character presented by modern Europe may be said to have its basis. Nations and States are separated eternally, on certain points of their existence, but at the same time are knit together in indissoluble community. There is no national history of which universal history does not form an important portion. So necessary in itself, so all-embracing, is the consecutive series of events through a lapse of ages, that even the most powerful of States appears but as a member of the universal commonwealth, involved in and ruled by its destinies. Whoever has earnestly sought to comprehend the history of any people as a whole, to contemplate its progress without prejudice or illusion, will have experienced the difficulties arising from this cause. In the several crises of a nation's progressive existence we discern the different currents that form the sum of human destiny.

The difficulty is doubled when, as sometimes occurs, a great movement, agitating the whole world, is originated by an individual power, which then constitutes itself the special representative of the principle actuating that movement. The power thus in action takes then so influential a part in the collective operations of the century, it enters into relations so intimate with all the powers of the world, that its history, in a certain sense, expands into universal history. Such was the epoch upon which the papacy entered at the close of the Council of Trent.

Convulsed to its centre, endangered in the very groundwork of its being, it had not only maintained itself, but found means to gain renewed force. In the two Southern peninsulas, all influences hostile to its ascendancy had been promptly expelled, all the elements of thought and action had been once more gathered to itself, and pervaded by its own spirit. It now conceived the idea of subduing the revolted in all other parts of the world. Rome once more became a conquering power, projects were formed and enterprises engaged in, recalling those proceeding from the Seven Hills in ancient times and during the Middle Ages.

The history of the renovated popedom would be but imperfectly understood, did we limit our attention to its centre only. Its essential importance is best perceived by observing its operations on the world in general.

Let us begin by taking a review of the strength and position of its opponents.

Section I.—State of Protestantism about the Year 1563

On the north of the Alps and Pyrenees the opinions of Protestantism had made vigorous and unceasing progress, up to the time when the Council of Trent closed its last sittings; they extended their dominion far and wide over the Germanic and Slavonic nations.

Among the Scandinavian races, the tenets of the Protestants had established themselves all the more immutably from the fact that their introduction was coincident with that of new dynasties and with the consequent remodelling of all political institutions. They were received with delight from the very first, as if they bore in their nature some natural affinity with the

national disposition. Bugenhagen, the founder of Lutheranism in Denmark, can find no words that suffice to depict the enthusiasm with which his sermons were listened to: "Even on work-days" (*Werkeltags*), as he expresses it, "from the first gleam of day the people were eagerly waiting, and on holidays they were in attendance through the whole day."¹ Protestant tenets had now made their way to the most remote countries. It is not known by what agency the Faro Islands were rendered Protestant, so easily was the change effected.² In Iceland the last representatives of Catholicism had disappeared by the year 1552, and a Lutheran bishopric was founded at Wyborg in the year 1554. The Swedish governors were accompanied by Lutheran preachers to the most distant shores of Lapland. Gustavus Vasa exhorts his heirs, in his will, made in 1560, to hold fast by the evangelical doctrines, to inculcate the same on their most remote successors, and to admit no false teachers. He makes this almost a condition to the inheritance of the crown.³

On the opposite coast of the Baltic also were Lutheran opinions predominant; at least, among such of the inhabitants as used the Germanic tongue. Prussia had given the first example of secularizing church property on a grand scale; this was followed by Livonia, in 1561; the first condition made by the province on its submission to Poland was that it should be at liberty to abide by the Confession of Augsburg. The connection of the Jagellon kings with countries whose adherence to their rule was secured only by the maintenance of Protestant principles, was a check on those princes, which prevented their opposing any determined resistance to the progress of Lutheran tenets. The more important cities of Prussian Poland were confirmed in the exercise of their religion, according to the Lutheran ritual, by express charters granted in the years 1557 and 1558. The smaller towns received privileges yet more explicit some short time after, they being more exposed to attacks from the powerful bishops.⁴ A large body of the nobles in Poland proper had been won over to the Protestant confession, which they found more in harmony with that feeling of independence,

¹ "Narrative of D. Pomerani," 1539; Sabb. p. visit., in Müller's "Entdecktem Staatscabinet, 4te Eröffn." p. 365.

² Münter, "Kirchengeschichte von Dänemark," iii. 529.

³ "Testamentum religiosum Gustavi

I.," in Baaz, "Inventarium Ecclesie Suegoth.," p. 282.

⁴ Lengnich, "Account of the religious changes in Prussia," prefixed to the fourth part of the "Geschichte der Preussischen Lande," § 20.

awakened and maintained by the constitution of their States. "A Polish noble is not subject to the king—shall he then be subject to the pope?" was the question they asked. Things went so far in this country that Protestants gained possession of episcopal sees; and, under Sigismund Augustus, they had even obtained the majority in the Senate. That sovereign was undoubtedly Catholic; he heard mass daily and a Catholic sermon every Sunday; he even joined the singers of his choir in the "Benedictus." He confessed regularly, and received the sacrament in one kind; but the creeds that might be prevalent in his court or kingdom seemed but little to disturb his quiet, nor did he show any disposition to embitter the close of his life by a contest with opinions making so vigorous a progress.⁵

An attempt at opposition of this kind had certainly produced no very encouraging results in the neighboring dominions of Hungary. The Diet had constantly refused to pass the resolutions unfavorable to Protestant opinions that were pressed on it from time to time by Ferdinand I. In the year 1554 a Lutheran was elected palatine of the empire, and concessions were soon afterward extorted in favor of the Helvetic Confession in the valley of Erlau. Transylvania was altogether separated from the Catholic Church, the ecclesiastical possessions in that country were confiscated by a formal decree of the Diet, and the princes even appropriated the greater part of the tithes.

We next come to Germany, where the new form of the Church had taken its origin from the peculiar constitution of the national mind, had maintained itself through long and perilous wars, had achieved a legal existence in the empire, and was now in the act of occupying the various territories that divide the country. Already had this process been in great measure accomplished. In North Germany, where the Protestant tenets had taken rise, they were entirely paramount; they had gained permanent ascendancy in those districts of Southern Germany wherein they had been early introduced, and had besides extended their influence far and wide beyond these limits.

The bishops vainly set themselves to oppose their progress in Franconia. In Würzburg and Bamberg, the greater part of

⁵ "Relatione di Polonia del Vescovo di Camerino," about 1555. A MS. of the Chigi Library: "Many of these [people of the court] are at liberty to do as they please, for all see that his

Majesty is too benignant, and will suffer none to be molested. I could wish that he were more severe in matters of religion."

the nobility, and even the episcopal authorities, had passed over to the reformed Church; the majority of the magistrates and burghers of the towns, with the whole mass of the people, held similar opinions. In the bishopric of Bamberg we find the name of a Lutheran preacher in almost every parish.⁶ A Protestant spirit predominated in the government, which was principally in the hands of the estates—bodies corporate, regularly constituted, and possessing the right of imposing taxes—nearly all offices of the law courts were in like manner held by Protestants, and it was observed that their decisions were very commonly adverse to Catholic interests.⁷ The bishops retained very little influence, even those who, “with old German and Frankish fidelity,” still honored the secular princes in their persons, could no longer endure to see them robed in their clerical ornaments and crowned with the mitre.

No less energetic were the proceedings of Protestantism in Bavaria. Here, too, the new faith had been adopted by a large body of the nobles: a considerable number of the towns was equally inclined toward these doctrines. In the assembly of his States, for example, of the year 1556, the duke was compelled to make concessions which had elsewhere led to the exclusive adoption of the Confession of Augsburg, and which here also promised the same result. The duke himself was not so decidedly opposed to the new doctrines, but that he would occasionally listen to a Protestant sermon.⁸

Far more than this had been gained in Austria. The nobility of that country pursued their studies at Wittenberg, the colleges of the country were filled with Protestants, and it was calculated that not more than a thirtieth part of the population remained Catholic. A national constitution was gradually formed, which was based on the principles of Protestantism.

Enclosed between Bavaria and Austria, the archbishops of Saltzburg had been unable to maintain their territories in obedience to the Catholic rule. They did not as yet endure the presence of Lutheran preachers, but the disposition of the people was none the less explicitly declared. Mass was no longer attended in the capital, nor were fasts solemnized or festivals

⁶ Jäck has occupied himself much with this matter in the second and third volumes of his “History of Bamberg.”

⁷ Gropp, “Dissertatio de Statu Re-

ligionis” in “Franconia Lutheranism infecta,” *Scriptores Wirceb.* i. p. 42.

⁸ Sitzinger in Strobel’s “Beritage zur Literatur,” i. 313.

observed; those whose dwellings were too far removed from the preachers of the Austrian localities bordering their country, remained at home, reading for their edification from the homilies and scriptural commentaries of Spangenberg. This did not satisfy the people of the hill-country. In Rauris, and the Gastein, in St. Veit, Tamsweg, and Radstadt, the inhabitants loudly demanded the sacramental cup; this being refused, they abandoned the Lord's Supper altogether. They no longer sent their children to school; and, on one occasion a peasant rose up in the church and called aloud to the priest, "Thou liest." The country people began to preach to each other.⁹ We need feel no surprise if the privation of all worship in accordance with their newly adopted convictions should give rise to notions the most visionary and fantastic, among the inhabitants of those Alpine solitudes.

Advantageously contrasted with this state of things is that which presents itself as existing in the territories of the ecclesiastical electors on the Rhine. Here the nobles possessed independence, which enabled them to secure a degree of religious liberty for their vassals beyond what could have been granted by a spiritual prince. The Rhenish nobles had early received the Protestant doctrines, and permitted the spiritual sovereign to make no encroachments, even of a religious character, on their domains. In all the towns there now existed a Protestant party. In Cologne its activity was displayed by reiterated petitions. It became so powerful in Treves as to send for a Protestant preacher from Geneva, and maintain him in defiance of the Elector. In Aix-la-Chapelle the Lutheran party made direct efforts to obtain the supremacy. The citizens of Mayence did not scruple to send their children to Protestant schools, those of Nuremberg, for example. Commendone, who was in Germany in 1561, can find no words to describe the servility of the prelates to the Lutheran princes, and the concessions they made to Protestantism.¹⁰ He thought he could perceive that there were Protestants of the most violent opinions even in the privy councils,¹ and expresses amazement that time should have done so little in aid of Catholicism.

⁹ Extract from a Report of the Canon Wilh. von Trautmansdorf of the year 1555, in Zauner's "Chronicle of Salzburg," vi. 327.

¹⁰ Gratiani, "Vie de Commendon," p. 116.

¹ The most furious heretics are among them; it appears to me that time has brought no amelioration—Commendone, "Relatione dello State della Religione in Germania," MS. Vallicelli.

In a similar manner affairs proceeded throughout Westphalia. On St. Peter's day the country people were engaged with the labors of their harvest; the fast-days commanded by the canon were no longer observed. In Paderborn, the town-council watched, with a kind of jealousy, over its Protestant confession. More than one bishop of Münster was disposed to the new creed; and the priests were, for the most part, publicly married. Duke William of Cleves adhered, on the whole, to the Catholic faith, but in his private chapel he received the Lord's Supper in both kinds. The greater part of his council were avowed Protestants; nor did the evangelical form of worship experience any effectual hinderance in his dominions.²

We have said enough to show that Protestantism had gained a decided ascendancy through Germany, from the east to the west and from the north to the south. The nobles had from the first enrolled themselves in its ranks; the public functionaries, already numerous and highly respected, were trained up in the new creed; the common people would hear no more of certain articles once insisted on as matters of faith—the fires of purgatory, for example—nor of certain ceremonies, as pilgrimages; no convent could maintain itself, and none dared to exhibit the relics of saints. A Venetian ambassador calculated, in the year 1558, that a tenth part only of the German people still adhered to the ancient religion.

The losses sustained by the Catholic Church in riches and power were no less important than those suffered by her spiritual influence. The canons in nearly all the bishoprics were either attached to the reformed tenets or were but lukewarm and indifferent Catholics. What should prevent them from proposing Protestant bishops, should the doing so appear to them advantageous in other respects? It was without doubt decreed by the Treaty of Augsburg that a spiritual prince should lose both his rank and revenues on departing from the Catholic faith, but this ordinance was not believed capable of restraining a chapter which had become Protestant from electing a Protestant bishop. All that could be insisted on was that the benefice should

² Tempesti, "Vita di Sisto V.;" from the "Anonimo di Campidoglio," i. xxiii.: "For many years he communicated in both kinds, but his chaplain had induced him to receive the sacrament in his private chapel, so as not to scandalize his subjects." In a letter

given in Niesert's "Müntersche Urkundensammlung," i. xxi., the same thing is said of the Bishop of Münster and the Court of Cleves. W. von Kettler says: "Bishop William imbibed a semi-Lutheran religion in the Court of Cleves."

not be made hereditary. It thus happened that a prince of Brandenburg obtained the archbishopric of Magdeburg, a prince of Lauenburg that of Bremen, and a prince of Brunswick that of Halberstadt. The bishopric of Lubeck, also, with those of Verden and Minden, fell into the hands of Protestants, as did the abbey of Quedlinburg.³

The confiscation of church property proceeded with proportionate rapidity. How important were the losses sustained, for example, in very few years, by the bishopric of Augsburg! All the convents of Würtemberg were wrested from it in the year 1557. These were followed in 1558 by the convents and parishes of the county of Oettingen. After the Peace of Augsburg the Protestants gained an equality with their rivals of the ancient faith in Dünkelsbühl and Donauwerth; in Nördlingen and Memmingen they acquired the supremacy. The convents of these towns, and among them the rich preceptory of St. Anthony in Memmingen, with the parochial benefices, were then irretrievably lost.⁴

In addition to this came the circumstance that the prospects of Catholicism were by no means encouraging as regarded the future.

Protestant opinions were predominant in the universities and other schools: the old champions of Catholicism, who had taken the field against Luther, and distinguished themselves in religious controversy, were dead or far advanced in years, and no young men competent to occupy their places had arisen. Twenty years had elapsed since any student in the University of Vienna had taken priests' orders. Even in Ingolstadt, which was so pre-eminently Catholic, no qualified candidates of the faculty of theology presented themselves for those important offices that hitherto had always been filled by ecclesiastics.⁵ The city of Cologne established a school with endowments, but when all the arrangements were completed it appeared that the new regent was a Protestant.⁶ A university was founded by Cardinal Otto Truchsess in his town of Dillingen, for the express purpose of opposing resistance to the Protestant opinions. It

³ See also my "History Pol. Zeitschrift," i. ii. 269 et seq.

⁴ Placidus Braun, "Geschichte der Bischöfe von Augsburg," band iii. 533, 535, et seq., on this point from authentic sources.

⁵ Agricola, "Historia Provinciæ So-

cietatis Jesu Germaniæ superioris," i. p. 29.

⁶ Orlandinus, "Historia Societatis Jesu," tom. i. lib. xvi. n. 25: "Hujus novæ bursæ regens, quem primum præfecerant, Jacobus Lichius, Lutheranus tandem apparuit."

flourished for some years under the care of certain eminent Spanish theologians, but when these had departed no learned Catholic could be found to take their places, which were at once occupied by Protestants. At this period the teachers in Germany were Protestant with very few exceptions: all the youth of the country sat at their feet, and imbibed hatred of the pope with the first rudiments of learning.

Such was the state of things in the North and East of Europe—Catholicism was utterly banished from many places, it was subdued and despoiled in all; and while endeavoring to defend itself in these regions, still more formidable enemies were pressing forward to assail it in the West and South.

For the Calvinistic modes of belief were without doubt more decidedly opposed to the Roman tenets than were the doctrines of Luther; and it was precisely at the period we are now contemplating that Calvinism took possession of the minds of men with irresistible force.

It had arisen on the borders of Italy, Germany, and France, and had extended in all directions. Toward the east, in Germany, Hungary, and Poland, it constituted a subordinate but very important element of the Protestant movement. In Western Europe it had already raised itself to independent power.

As the Scandinavian kingdoms had become Lutheran, so had the British people become Calvinists; but in Britain the new Church had assumed two distinct forms. In Scotland it had attained power in opposition to the government, and was poor, popular, and democratic, but so much the more irresistible was the fervor which it inspired. In England it had risen to pre-eminence in alliance with the existing government; there it was rich, monarchical, and magnificent, but was content with mere forbearance from opposition to its ritual. The former naturally approximated more closely to the model of the Genevan Church, and was infinitely more in accordance with the spirit of Calvin.

The French had embraced the tenets of their countryman, Calvin, with all their characteristic vivacity. In defiance of persecution the French churches were soon regulated according to the Protestant forms of Geneva. They held a synod as early as the year 1559. In 1561 the Venetian ambassador Micheli found no province free from Protestantism; three-fourths of the king-

dom were filled with it—Brittany and Normandy, Gascony and Languedoc, Poitou, Touraine, Provence and Dauphiny. “In many of these provinces,” he remarks, “meetings are held, sermons are preached, and rules of life are adopted entirely according to the example of Geneva, and without any regard to the royal prohibition. Everyone has embraced these opinions, and what is most remarkable, even the clerical body, not only priests, monks, and nuns—very few of the convents have escaped the infection—but even the bishops and many of the most distinguished prelates.” “Your highness,” he observes to the doge, “may be assured that, excepting the common people, who still zealously frequent the churches, all have fallen away. The nobles most especially, the men under forty almost without exception; for although many of them still go to mass, that is only from regard to appearance and through fear; when they are certain of being unobserved they shun both mass and church.” When Micheli arrived in Geneva he was informed that immediately after the death of Francis II fifty preachers from that city had proceeded to different towns of France. He was astonished at the respect in which Calvin was held, and the large amount of money poured in upon him for the benefit of the thousands who had taken refuge in Geneva.⁷ He considered it indispensable that religious freedom, at least an “*interim*,” as he expressed it, should be accorded to the French Protestants, if they would avoid the universal effusion of blood. His report was, in fact, soon followed by the Edict of 1562. This granted to Protestantism a legal and acknowledged existence, and is the basis of the privileges it has since enjoyed in France. All these changes on every side—in Germany, France, and England—could not fail to affect the Netherlands also. The German influence had first prevailed in that country, and one of the most powerful motives by which Charles V was induced to the war of Smalkald was that the sympathy excited by the German Protestants in the Netherlands increased the difficulty of governing that province, which formed so important a part of

⁷ Micheli, “*Relazione delle Cose di Francia l'anno 1561*”: “When it was seen that by imprisonment, torture, and burning, no amendment was produced, but rather greater disorders, it was resolved to proceed no more against anyone, excepting those who went about preaching, misleading, and publicly holding assemblies; all others

were suffered to live: a great number were liberated from the prisons of Paris and other parts of the kingdom, who then continued in the unrestrained exercise of their religion, talking to all, and boasting that they had gained their cause against the papists—so they called, and still call, their adversaries.”

his dominions. By subduing the German princes he prevented, at the same time, an insurrection among his Netherlanders.⁸ Yet all his laws, though enforced with excessive rigor (it was calculated at the time that, up to the year 1562, 36,000 Protestants, men and women, had been put to death),⁹ were insufficient to impede the progress of the Protestant opinions. The only result was that they gradually took the direction of French Calvinism rather than that of German Lutheranism. Here, too, in defiance of persecution, a formal confession was adopted. In the year 1561, churches were established after the model of Geneva, and by connecting themselves with the local authorities and their adherents, the Protestants obtained a political basis, from which they might hope, not only safety for the future, but a certain importance in the State.

Under these circumstances new energies were awakened in the earlier oppositions to the faith of Rome. In the year 1562 the Moravian brethren were formally acknowledged by Maximilian II, and they availed themselves of this fortunate circumstance to elect a large number of new pastors in their synods—some accounts say 188.¹⁰ In the year 1561 the Duke of Savoy saw himself compelled to accord new privileges even to the poor communities of Waldenses in the mountains.¹ To the most remote and neglected corner of Europe Protestant doctrines had extended their life-inspiring power. How immeasurable an empire had they conquered within the space of forty years! From Iceland even to the Pyrenees—from Finland to the summits of the Italian Alps. Even on the southern side of these last mountains, opinions analogous to Protestantism had, as we have seen, once prevailed—they embraced the whole territory of the Latin Church. A large majority of the upper classes, and of the men most active in public life, were attached to them: whole nations were devoted with enthusiasm to these tenets, which had entirely changed

⁸ A view, taken by the Florentine resident, then at the imperial court, and resting as I think on good grounds.

⁹ In a report relating to Spain, apparently by Paolo Tiepolo, now in the Venetian Archives, we find "a large portion of those Low Countries is ruined and corrupted by these new opinions; and by all the efforts that have been made, by the many deaths inflicted on many thousands of men

(for I am told by eminent persons of those countries that more than 36,000 men and women have suffered death at the hands of justice in little more than seven years), not only is no remedy found for this evil, but on the contrary," etc.

¹⁰ "Regenvolscii Ecclesie Slavonicæ," i. p. 63.

¹ Leger, "Histoire des Eglises Vauvoises," ii. p. 38, gives the treaty.

the constitution of States.² This is all the more extraordinary because the Protestant creed was by no means a mere negation of the papacy—a simple renunciation. It was in the highest degree positive, a renovation of Christian sentiments and principles, that govern human life even to the most profound recesses of the soul.

Section II.—Resources possessed by the Papacy for active Conflict

The papacy and Catholicism had long maintained themselves against these advances of their enemy, in an attitude of defence, it is true, but passive only; upon the whole they were compelled to endure them.

Affairs now assumed a different aspect.

We have considered that internal development by which Catholicism began the work of her own restoration. It may be affirmed generally that a vital and active force was again manifested, that the Church had regenerated her creed in the spirit of the age, and had established reforms in accordance with the demands of the times. The religious tendencies which had appeared in Southern Europe, were not suffered to become hostile to herself, she adopted them, and gained the mastery of their movements; thus she renewed her powers, and infused fresh vigor into her system. The Protestant spirit alone had hitherto filled the theatre of the world with results that held the minds of men enthralled; another spirit, equally deserving of esteem perhaps, if regarded from an elevated point of view, though of decidedly opposite character, now entered the lists, displaying similar power to make the minds of men its own, and to kindle them into activity.

The influence of the restored Catholic system was first established in the two Southern peninsulas, but this was not

²The loss was thus regarded in Rome itself. Tiepolo, "Relatione di Pio IV. e V.": "Speaking only of those nations of Europe which not only used to obey the Pope, but followed in everything the rites and customs of the Roman Church, celebrating public worship in the Latin tongue, it is known that England, Scotland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and all the countries of the North are alienated; Germany is almost wholly lost, Bo-

hemia and Poland are deeply infected; the Low Countries of Flanders are so much corrupted that all the Duke of Alba's efforts will scarcely restore them to their original health. Finally, France, by means of these evil humors, is filled with confusion; so that there seems to remain in health, and firm to the Pope, only Spain and Italy, with some few islands, and those countries possessed by your serenity in Dalmatia and Greece."

accomplished without extreme severities. The Spanish Inquisition received the aid of that lately revived in Rome; every movement of Protestantism was violently suppressed. But at the same time those tendencies of the inward life which renovated Catholicism claimed and enchained as her own, were peculiarly powerful in those countries. The sovereigns also attached themselves to the interests of the Church.

It was of the highest importance that Philip II, the most powerful of all, adhered so decidedly to the popedom; with the pride of a Spaniard, by whom unimpeachable Catholicism was regarded as the sign of a purer blood and more noble descent, he rejected every adverse opinion: the character of his policy was, however, not wholly governed by mere personal feeling. From remote times, and more especially since the regulations established by Isabella, the kingly dignity in Spain had assumed an ecclesiastical character; in every province the royal authority was strengthened by the addition of spiritual power; deprived of the Inquisition, it would not have sufficed to govern the kingdom. Even in his American possessions, the King appeared above all in the light of a disseminator of the Christian and Catholic faith. This was the bond by which all his territories were united in obedience to his rule; he could not have abandoned it, without incurring real danger. The extension of Huguenot opinions in the South of France caused the utmost alarm in Spain; the Inquisition believed itself bound to redoubled vigilance. "I assure your highness," observes the Venetian ambassador to his sovereign, on August 25, 1562, "that no great religious movement is to be desired for this country, there are many of the people that long for a change of religion."¹ The papal nuncio considered the result of the council then assembled of equal importance to the royal as to the papal authority. "For the obedience paid to the King," he remarks, "and his whole government, depend on the Inquisition; should this lose its authority, insurrections would immediately follow."

The power possessed by Philip in the Netherlands secured to the southern system an immediate influence over the whole of Europe; but besides this, all was far from being lost in other

¹ "Dispaccio Soranzo, Perpignan, 28 Maggio:" "There are many Huguenots in this province [Spain] who scarcely dare show themselves, because

of the severe measures taken against them; but it is suspected that they think of combining, there being many of them throughout Spain."

countries. The Emperor, the Kings of France and Poland, with the Duke of Bavaria, still adhered to the Catholic Church. On all sides there were spiritual princes whose expiring zeal might be reanimated; there were also many places where Protestant opinions had not yet made their way among the mass of the people. The majority of the peasantry throughout France, Poland, and even Hungary² still remained Catholic. Paris, which even in those days exercised a powerful influence over the other French towns, had not yet been affected by the new doctrines. In England a great part of the nobility and commons were still Catholic; and in Ireland the whole of the ancient native population remained in the old faith. Protestantism had gained no admission into the Tyrolese or Swiss Alps, nor had it made any great progress among the peasantry of Bavaria. Canisius compared the Tyrolese and Bavarians with the two tribes of Israel, "who alone remained faithful to the Lord." The internal causes on which this pertinacity, this immovable attachment to tradition, among nations so dissimilar, was founded, might well repay a more minute examination. A similar constancy was exhibited in the Walloon provinces of the Netherlands.

And now the papacy resumed a position in which it could once more gain the mastery of all these inclinations, and bind them indissolubly to itself. Although it had experienced great changes, it still possessed the inestimable advantage of having all the externals of the past and the habit of obedience on its side. In the council so prosperously concluded, the popes had even gained an accession of that authority which it had been the purpose of the temporal powers to restrict, and had strengthened their influence over the national churches; they had, moreover, abandoned that temporal policy by which they had formerly involved Italy and all Europe in confusion. They attached themselves to Spain with perfect confidence and without any reservations, fully returning the devotion evinced by that kingdom to the Roman Church. The Italian principality, the enlarged dominions of the pontiff, contributed eminently to the success of his ecclesiastical enterprises; while the interests of

²If it were not, in this case, mere ignorance, as Lazarus Schwendi asserts: "In Hungary all is confusion and misery; the majority are Hugue-

nots, but the people are in the last extremity of ignorance."—"Schwendi au Prince d'Orange," Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, i. p. 288.

the universal Catholic Church were for some time essentially promoted by the overplus of its revenues.

Thus strengthened internally, thus supported by powerful adherents, and by the idea of which they were the representatives, the popes exchanged the defensive position, with which they had hitherto been forced to content themselves, for that of assailants. The attack that resulted, its progress and consequences, it is the principal object of this work to consider.

A boundless scene opens before us, the action is proceeding in many places at the same time, and we are called on to direct our attention to the most varying and widely separated quarters of the world.

Religious activity is intimately connected with political impulses; combinations are formed which embrace the whole world, and under whose influence the struggle for mastery succeeds or fails: we shall fix our attention the more earnestly on the great events of general politics, because they often coincide exactly with the results of the religious conflict.

But we must not confine ourselves to generalities; if the conquests of the sword require some native sympathies with the victor on the part of the conquered for their achievement, still more indispensable are these sympathies to the conquest of opinion. We must examine the interests of the several countries to their utmost depths, in order to a full comprehension of those internal movements by which the designs of Rome were facilitated.

There is here presented to us so great an abundance and variety of events and modes of life, that we have to fear the impossibility of comprehending the whole under one view. The state of things before us has its basis fixed on kindred principles, and occasionally exhibits great crises, but it also presents an infinite multiplicity of phenomena.

Let us begin with Germany, where the papacy suffered its first great losses, and where the most important events of the conflict between the two principles again took place. Eminent service was here rendered to the Church of Rome by the Society of Jesuits, which united worldly prudence with religious zeal, and was deeply imbued with the spirit of modern Catholicism. Let us first endeavor to gain a clear perception of the effective power possessed by this order.

Section III.—The First Jesuit Schools in Germany

At the Diet of Augsburg, in the year 1550, Ferdinand I was accompanied by his confessor, Bishop Urban of Laibach. This prelate was one of the few who had never allowed themselves to be shaken in their faith. In his own country he frequently ascended the pulpit, and exhorted the people in the dialect of their province to remain steadfast to the creed of their fathers, preaching to them of the one fold under the one shepherd.¹ The Jesuit Le Jay was at Augsburg on the same occasion, and excited attention by certain conversions. Bishop Urban made his acquaintance, and heard from him for the first time of the colleges established by the Jesuits in different universities. Seeing the decay into which Catholic theology had fallen in Germany, the bishop advised his sovereign to found a similar college in Vienna, and the Emperor received this suggestion very cordially. In a letter that he sent to Ignatius on the subject he declares his conviction that the only means by which the declining tenets of Catholicism could be restored in Germany was to supply the youth of the country with learned and pious Catholic teachers.² The preliminaries were easily arranged; in the year 1551 thirteen Jesuits, among whom was Le Jay himself, arrived in Vienna, where Ferdinand immediately granted them a residence, chapel, and pension; he soon after incorporated them with the university, and even intrusted to them the superintendence of that establishment.

It was about this time that they rose into consideration at Cologne, where they had already lived for some years, but with so little success that they had been obliged to dwell apart. In the year 1556 the endowed school, previously mentioned as governed by a Protestant regent, afforded them the opportunity of acquiring a better position; for since there was a party in the city whose most earnest desire it was that the university should remain Catholic, the patrons of the Jesuits finally saw their counsels prevail, and the establishment was committed to the care of that order. Their principal supporters were the prior of the Carthusians, the provincial of the Carmelites, and especially Dr. Johann Gropper, who some-

¹ Valvassor, "Ehre des Herzogthums Krain," Theil ii. buch vii. p. 433.

² Printed in Socher, "Historia Provinciæ Austriæ Societatis Jesu," i. 21.

times gave an entertainment, to which he invited the most influential citizens, that he might find opportunity for promoting the cause he had most at heart, after the good old German fashion, over a glass of wine. Fortunately for the Jesuits, one of their order was a native of Cologne, Johann Rhetius, a man of patrician family, to whom the endowed school might more especially be intrusted. But this was not done without strict limitations: the Jesuits were expressly forbidden to establish in the school those monastic habits of life which were usual in their colleges.³

They gained firm footing in Ingolstadt also about the same time; their previous efforts had been rendered useless, principally by the opposition of the younger members of the university, who would not permit any privileged school to interfere with the private instruction they were in the habit of giving; but in the year 1556, when the duke, as we have said, had been forced into large concessions in favor of the Protestants, his Catholic counsellors declared it to be imperatively necessary that effectual measures should be taken for upholding the ancient faith. The most active among these were the chancellor Wiguleus Hund, who proceeded as zealously in the maintenance of the ancient Church as he had previously done in the investigation of her primitive history, and the duke's private secretary, Heinrich Schwigger. By their efforts the Jesuits were recalled, and eighteen of them entered Ingolstadt on St. Willibald's day, July 7, 1556, having selected that day because St. Willibald was regarded as the first bishop of the diocese. They found many obstacles opposed to them, both in the city and university, but they gradually overcame them all by favor of the same persons to whom they owed their recall.

From these three metropolitan establishments the Jesuits now extended themselves in all directions.

From Vienna they proceeded to erect colleges of their order throughout the dominions of Austria. In 1556 the Emperor settled them in Prague, where he founded a school, principally for the education of the young nobility. To this he sent his own pages, and the order received countenance and support from the Catholic part of the Bohemian nobles, more espe-

³ Sacchinus, "Hist. Societatis Jesu," pars ii. lib. i. n. 103.

cially from the houses of Rosenberg and Lobkowitz. One of the most distinguished men in Hungary at that time was Nicolaus Olahus, Archbishop of Gran, of Wallachian extraction, as his name implies. His father Stoia, in an excess of terror at the murder of a Waiwode of his family, had dedicated him to the Church, and his progress in this career had been most auspicious. He had already occupied the important office of private secretary under the last native kings, and had subsequently risen still higher in the service of the Austrian party. Contemplating the general decay of Catholicism in Hungary, he was convinced that the last hope for its restoration was in confirming the hold it retained on the common people, who had not entirely abandoned the ancient creed. Teachers of Catholic principles were required to effect this, and with the purpose of forming such teachers, he established a college of Jesuits at Tyrnau in the year 1561, assigning them a pension from his own revenues to which the Emperor Ferdinand added the grant of an abbey. At the period when the Jesuits arrived, an assembly of the clergy of the diocese had just been convened, their first efforts were devoted to the attempt of reclaiming these Hungarian priests and pastors from the heterodox tenets to which they were inclining. About this time they were summoned into Moravia also. Wilhelm Prussinowski, Bishop of Olmütz, who had become acquainted with the order during his studies in Italy, invited them to his bishopric. Hurtado Perez, a Spaniard, was the first rector in Olmütz; we soon after find them in like manner settled at Brünn.

From Cologne the society spread over the whole of the Rhenish provinces. In Treves, as we have before related, Protestantism had found adherents, and caused some fermentation. Johann von Stein, the archbishop, determined to inflict slight punishments only on the refractory, and to repress innovations chiefly by argument. He invited the two principals of the Jesuit school at Cologne to Coblenz, when he informed them that he desired to have the aid of members of their order "to maintain," as he expresses it, "the flock committed to him in their duty, rather by admonition and friendly instruction than by weapons or menaces." He applied to Rome, also, and very soon came to an arrangement with that court; no

long time elapsed before six Jesuits arrived in his diocese from Rome; others were sent from Cologne. On February 3, 1561, they opened their college with great solemnity, and undertook to preach during the fasts of the Lent then approaching.⁴

About the same time Peter Echter and Simon Bagen, two privy counsellors of the elector Daniel of Mayence, were also persuaded that the admission of the Jesuits presented the only means of restoring the decayed university of their city. The canons and feudatories did their best to oppose this idea, but in despite of their efforts a college for the society was established at Mayence, and a preparatory school at Aschaffenburg.

The order continued to advance up the Rhine: they were most especially desirous of obtaining a seat at Spire, not only because many eminent men were included among the assessors of the Supreme Court (*Kammergericht*), over whom it would be of the utmost advantage to obtain influence, but also because they should be there in the immediate neighborhood of the Heidelberg University (which at that time enjoyed a high reputation for its Protestant professors), and could the more effectually oppose its influence. Gradually the establishment they wished for in Spire was effected.⁵

Permitting no loss of time, they also tried their fortune along the Main. Although Frankfort was entirely Protestant, they had yet hope of accomplishing something during the fair. The attempt was not to be made without danger, and, to avoid discovery, they were compelled to change their lodgings every night. At Würzburg they were much more secure, and even received a cordial welcome.⁶ The admonition addressed by the Emperor Ferdinand to the bishops at the Diet of 1559, exhorting them at length to exert their utmost power for the maintenance of the Catholic Church, appeared to produce its effect, and contributed largely to this brilliant progress of the society in the ecclesiastical principalities. From Würzburg they spread throughout Franconia.

The Tyrol had, meanwhile, been opened to them from

⁴ Browerus, "Annales Trevirenses," tom. ii. lib. xxi. 106-125.

⁵ Neuser, for example, in his celebrated letters to the Turkish Emperor, describes himself as a teacher and preacher at Heidelberg, "to which place the most

learned men of the whole German nation now resort." Arnold, "Ketzerhist.," ii. 1133.

⁶ Gropp, "Würzburgische Chronik der letzteren Zeiten," th. i. p. 237.

another quarter. By the desire of the daughters of Ferdinand, they settled themselves at Innsbruck, and soon after at Halle, in the same district. In Bavaria they continued to make progress. At Munich, where they arrived in 1559, they were even better satisfied than at Ingolstadt, and declared that city to be the Rome of Germany. Already the order had planted a new and large colony at no great distance from Ingolstadt. Anxious to restore his University of Dillingen to its original destination, Cardinal Truchsess also resolved to dismiss all the professors who still taught there, and intrust that establishment to the care of the Jesuits. A formal agreement was accordingly made at Botzen, between German and Italian commissioners on the part of the cardinal and the order respectively. In 1563 the Jesuits arrived in Dillingen and took possession of the professors' chairs. They relate with much complacency, that the cardinal, on returning from a journey shortly after their arrival, and making a solemn entry into Dillingen, distinguished them above all those who had gone forth to receive him, offered them his hand to kiss, greeted them as his brethren, visited their cells in person, and dined with them: he promoted their wishes to the utmost of his power, and soon established a mission in Augsburg for members of the order.⁷

This was a most remarkable progress to have been made by the society in so short a time. In the year 1551 they had no settled position in Germany: in 1566, their institutions held possession of Bavaria and the Tyrol, Franconia and Swabia, a large part of the Rhenish provinces and Austria. They had penetrated, also, into Hungary, Bohemia, and Moravia. The effect of their exertions soon became perceptible. So early as the year 1561 the papal nuncio declares that "they are winning many souls, and doing great service to the Holy See." This was the first effectual counteraction of Protestant labors, the first enduring impression made against them in Germany.

The efforts of the Jesuits were above all, directed toward the universities. Their ambition was to rival the fame of those of the Protestants. The education of that day was a learned one merely, and was based exclusively on the study of the ancient languages. This the Jesuits prosecuted with earnest zeal, and in certain of their schools they had very

⁷ Sacchinus, pars ii. lib. viii. n. 108.

soon professors who might claim a place with the restorers of classical learning. Nor did they neglect the cultivation of the exact sciences. At Cologne, Franz Koster lectured on astronomy in a manner at once agreeable and instructive. But their principal object was still theological discipline, as will be readily comprehended. The Jesuits lectured with the utmost diligence, even during the holidays, reviving the practice of disputations, without which they declared all instruction to be dead. These disputations, which they held in public, were conducted with dignity and decorum, were rich in matter, and altogether the most brilliant that had ever been witnessed. In Ingolstadt they soon persuaded themselves that their progress in theology was such as would enable the university to compete successfully with any other in Germany. Ingolstadt now acquired an influence among Catholics similar to that possessed among Protestants by Wittenberg and Geneva.

With equal industry and care did the society proceed in the conduct of the Latin schools. It was an essential maxim with Lainez that good teachers should be supplied to the lower grammatical classes. He was convinced that first impressions are of the utmost importance to the whole future life of the man, and sought with a discriminating judgment for men who, having once accepted this subordinate office in teaching, would consent to devote themselves to it for their whole lives; since it is only with time that so difficult an occupation can be learned, or the authority proper to a teacher fully acquired. Here also the Jesuits succeeded to admiration. It was found that young people gained more with them in six months than with other teachers in two years; even Protestants removed their children from distant schools, to place them under the care of the Jesuits.

They next established schools for the poor, arranged modes of instruction adapted to children, and enforced the practice of catechising. Canisius prepared his catechism, which satisfied the wants of the learners by its well-connected questions and apposite replies.

This instruction was imparted entirely in the spirit of that fanciful devotion which had characterized the Jesuits from their earliest establishment. The first rector in Vienna was a Spaniard, named Juan Victoria; a man who had signalized his

entrance into the society by walking along the Corso of Rome during the festivities of the carnival, clothed in sackcloth, and scourging himself as he walked, till the blood streamed from him on all sides. The children educated in the Jesuit schools of Vienna were soon distinguished by their steadfast refusal of such food as was forbidden on fast-days, while their parents ate without scruple. In Cologne it was again become an honor to wear the rosary. Relics were once more held up to public reverence in Treves, where for many years no one had ventured to exhibit them. In the year 1560 the youth of Ingolstadt belonging to the Jesuit school walked two and two on a pilgrimage to Eichstadt, in order to be strengthened for their confirmation, "by the dew that dropped from the tomb of Saint Walpurgis." The modes of thought and feeling thus implanted in the schools were propagated by means of preaching and confession through the whole population.

We have here a case for which the history of the world could probably not produce a parallel.

When any new intellectual movement has exercised its influence on mankind, this has always been effected by great and imposing personal qualities, or by the overpowering force of new ideas; but in this case the effect was accomplished without any extraordinary display of mental effort. The Jesuits may have been learned and pious in their way, but none will assert that their science was the product of a free exercise of mind, or that their piety arose from the depth and ingenuousness of a single heart. They had learning enough to acquire reputation, to awaken confidence, to train and attach scholars; to more than this they did not aspire. Their piety not only sufficed to secure them from all reproach on the point of morals; it was positively conspicuous, and thus was liable to no question: this was enough for them. Neither their piety nor their learning disposed them to seek untrodden or undefined paths; but in one respect they were indeed remarkably distinguished—the severity of their method. With them all was nicely calculated, every movement and action had its definite end and aim; such a combination of learning sufficing to its purpose with unwearying zeal, of studies and persuasion, of pomp and asceticism, of widely extended influence and unity in the governing principle and intention, has never been ex-

hibited in the world before or since. At once diligent and visionary, worldly-wise, yet full of enthusiasm; well-bred men and attractive companions; disregarding their personal interests, but laboring for the advancement of each other. We cannot wonder that they were successful.

Another consideration connects itself with this subject in the mind of a German observer. In Germany the papal theology had fallen, as we have said, into almost entire decay. The Jesuits arose to revive it. Who were the Jesuits that first appeared there? They were Spaniards, Italians, and Flemings. The name of their order remained long unknown; they were called the Spanish priests. They took possession of the professors' chairs, and found scholars who attached themselves to their doctrines. From the Germans the society received nothing; its tenets and constitution were completely formed before arriving in Germany. The progress of the order in that country may be generally regarded as a new exertion of influence by the Romance portion of Europe over the Germanic people. The Germans were conquered on their own soil, in their very home; a portion of their country was torn from their hands; and this effect was without doubt produced because the German theologians had never arrived at any clear understanding among themselves, and were not sufficiently magnanimous to endure minor differences in each other. Extreme points of doctrine were insisted on, antagonists assailed each other with reckless violence, so that those who were not wholly fixed in opinion were perplexed and rendered more than ever wavering. A path was thus opened to these foreigners, who gained the mastery of men's minds by a system of belief most carefully constructed, finished in its most minute details, and leaving no shadow of cause for doubt.

Section IV.—Beginning of the Counter-Reformation in Germany

Possessing all the advantages we have described, it is yet obvious that the Jesuits could not have succeeded to so great an extent, had they not been aided by the secular arm and favored by the princes of the empire. For as with political questions, so had it happened with those of a theological nat-

ure. No measure had yet been brought into effect by which the constitution of the empire, in its character essentially hierarchical, could be placed in harmony with the new circumstances of religion. The only result of the Peace of Augsburg, as it was at first understood and subsequently expounded, was a new extension of the temporal sovereignty. The different provinces also required a high degree of independence in affairs of religion. The creed adopted by the prince, and the understanding between him and his estates, thenceforth decided the ecclesiastical position to be assumed by the country.

This would seem to be an arrangement expressly devised for the benefit of Protestantism. It nevertheless tended almost exclusively to the promotion of Catholicism. The former was already established before it had come into effect; the latter commenced its restoration only on receiving this support.

This occurred first in Bavaria; and the manner in which it took place there well deserves especial attention, from the immense influence it exercised.

The Bavarian Diet presents us during some time with a series of disputes between the sovereign and his estates. The duke was in perpetual need of money, loaded with debt, obliged to impose new taxes, and frequently compelled to seek assistance from his estates. In return for these subsidies the estates required concessions, principally of a religious kind. A state of affairs, similar to that which had long prevailed in Austria, seemed impending in Bavaria: a legitimate opposition of the estates to the sovereign, based at once on religion and on privileges, unless the latter should himself become a convert to Protestantism.

It was without question this position of things by which, as we have related, the introduction of the Jesuits was chiefly caused. It may, possibly, be true that their doctrines produced an impression on the mind of Duke Albert V, who declared, at a later period, that all he had ever known of God's laws had been imparted to him by Hoffaüs and Canisius, both Jesuits. There was, nevertheless, another cause in operation. Pius IV not only called the attention of Albert to the fact that each religious concession would diminish the obedience of his subjects¹—which was not to be denied, as German principalities

¹ "Legationes Papparum ad Duces Bavarie," MS. of the library at Munich,

Prima Legatio, 1563: "But if his illustrious Highness should grant the use of

were then situated—but he enforced the effects of his admonition by marks of favor, abandoning to the duke one-tenth of the property of his clergy. This not only rendered Albert V less dependent on his estates, but also showed him what advantages he might expect from a connection with the Church of Rome.

Then came the question, whether the duke would have power to set aside the religious opposition already organized in his estates?

On this task he entered at a Diet assembled at Ingolstadt in the year 1563. The prelates were already well disposed to his views, and he next tried his influence on the towns. Whether it were that the doctrines of reviving Catholicism and the activity of the Jesuits, who insinuated themselves everywhere, had gained influence in the cities—especially with the leading members of their assemblies—or that other considerations prevailed, suffice it to say that on this occasion the cities did not renew those demands for religious concessions, which they had hitherto always urged with great eagerness; but proceeded to grant supplies without making conditions for new privileges. The only opposition now remaining came from the nobles; that body left the Diet in discontent, nay, much exasperated; menaces, uttered by various noblemen, were repeated to the duke.² The most distinguished among them, the Count of Ortenburg, whose claim to hold his county immediately of the empire the duke contested, at length resolved to introduce the evangelical confession into that territory without further delay; but in doing so he placed weapons dangerous to himself and his order in the hands of the duke, the rather, as in one of the castles seized by Albert, a correspondence between the Bavarian nobles was discovered, containing severe and offensive remarks on the sovereign describing him as a hardened Pharaoh, and his Council as sanguinary enemies of the poor Christians.

Other expressions found in these letters were believed to intimate the existence of a conspiracy, and furnished Albert with a pretext for calling his refractory nobles to account.³ He inflicted a punishment on them that cannot be called rigorous,

the cup without the authority of the Apostolic See, he would himself lose much of his power over his subjects." At the Diet it was asserted that the prince had suffered himself to be dazzled by the tenth ("decimatio") granted him.

² Private notices respecting the violent and unbecoming expressions used in Freiberg, "Geschichte der bayerischen Landstände," ii. 352.

³ Huschberg, "Geschichte des Hauses Ortenburg," s. 390.

but it sufficed to his purpose. Every nobleman compromised was excluded from the Bavarian Diet; and as these members had formed the only opposition remaining, the duke was, by their absence, rendered absolute master of his estates, among whom there has never since been any question agitated concerning religion.

The importance of this measure was instantly manifest. Duke Albert had long urged the Pope and Council with great importunity for a grant of the cup to the laity; he seemed to consider the whole happiness of his territories to depend on this concession. In April of the year 1564 he finally received this grant. The result seems scarcely credible. He did not even suffer the fact of its being sent him to be made known! The position of his affairs had changed. A privilege departing from the strict tenor of Catholicism now appeared to the duke injurious rather than advantageous. Certain communes of Lower Bavaria, which repeated their former demands for the cup with clamorous violence, he even compelled to silence by main force.⁴

In a short time there was no prince in Germany more decidedly Catholic than Duke Albert, and he then proceeded with the most earnest zeal to make his whole territory Catholic also.

The professors of Ingolstadt were compelled to subscribe the confession of faith published in pursuance of the decree issued by the Council of Trent. The officers of the ducal government were obliged to pledge themselves by oath to a confession of unquestionable Catholicism; whoever refused this was dismissed from his employment. Duke Albert would not endure the Protestant creed even among the common people. In the first instance he sent certain Jesuits into Lower Bavaria to convert the inhabitants; and not only the preachers, but every other person who persisted in retaining the evangelical faith, were constrained to sell their property and quit the country.⁵ The same means were afterward adopted in all other parts of the dukedom. No magistrate would have ventured to tolerate Protestants; he who should have done so would have incurred severe punishment.

⁴ Adlzreitter, "Annales Boicæ Gentis," ii. xi. n. 22: "Albert would not

have that indulgence made a matter of public right."

⁵ Agricola, Ps. i. Dec. iii. 116-120.

But with this restoration of Catholicism, all its modern forms were brought from Italy into Germany. An index of prohibited books was prepared; they were sought through the libraries, and burnt in large numbers; those of rigidly Catholic character were, on the contrary, highly favored. The duke left nothing undone to encourage the authors of such books. He caused the "History of the Saints," by Surius, to be translated into German, and printed at his own cost. The utmost veneration was shown toward relics; and St. Benno, of whom in another part of Germany (Meissen) no one would longer hear mention, was solemnly declared the patron saint of Bavaria. Architecture and music, in the taste of the restored Church, were introduced at Munich. Above all, the Jesuit institutions were promoted; for by their agency it was that the youth of Bavaria were to be educated in a spirit of strict orthodoxy.

The Jesuits, on their part, could not sufficiently praise the duke; according to them he was a second Josias, a new Theodosius.

One question only remained to be considered.

As that extension of temporal authority, derived by the Protestant princes from their influence over religious affairs, increased, so much the more oppressive would it have seemed if the Catholic sovereigns had suffered restriction from the restored authority of the ecclesiastical power.

But for this, also a remedy was provided. The popes clearly perceived that they could not succeed in upholding their decaying influence, or in regaining it when lost, without aid from the temporal sovereigns: they cherished no illusion on this subject, and made it their whole policy to preserve a strict alliance with the princes of Europe.

To the first nuncio whom Gregory XIII sent into Bavaria, he gave instructions wherein this conviction is expressed without any circumlocution. "The most ardent wish of his holiness," it declares, "is to restore the decayed discipline of the Church; but he sees that to attain so important an end, he must unite himself with temporal sovereigns: by their piety, religion has been upheld; by their assistance alone, could church discipline and good order be restored."⁶

⁶ Legatio Gregorii XIII., 1573: "His holiness is intent upon the considera-

tion of how the discipline of the church, now almost destroyed in Germany, can

The Pope accordingly made over to the duke his authority for stimulating the exertions of the negligent bishops for carrying into effect the decrees of a synod that had been held at Saltzburg, and for constraining the Bishop of Ratisbon and his chapter to erect a seminary: in a word, he confided to him a sort of spiritual supervision, and took counsel with him as to whether it might not be advisable to found seminaries for the conventual clergy, such as were already established for the secular members of the hierarchy. To all this the duke assented very willingly; he stipulated only that the bishops should respect the rights of the sovereign, whether those descending from earlier periods or the privileges but newly acquired, and that the clergy should be kept in discipline and subordination by their superiors. Edicts are extant in which the prince treats the convents as property of the treasury (*Kammergub*), and subjects them to secular administration.

In the course of the Reformation, certain clerical attributes had been appropriated by the Protestant princes; the same thing was now done by the Catholic sovereigns. What occurred in the first case in opposition to the papacy, was here accomplished in concert with it. If Protestant rulers established their younger sons as administrators-extraordinary in the neighboring evangelical bishoprics, so in those that had remained Catholic the sons of Catholic princes received immediate investiture of the episcopal dignity. Gregory had promised Duke Albert, from the very first, to neglect nothing that might be of advantage either to himself or his sons. Two of these sons were very soon installed in the most important benefices, and one of them gradually rose to the highest dignities of the empire.⁷

In addition to all this, Bavaria gained great and real importance in consequence of the position she assumed. Be-

by any means be re-established: he perceives that his predecessors have neglected this, or have not sufficiently labored therein, and have not deserved so well of the Christian commonwealth as it was meet they should have done. He has most wisely decided, that for so great a work he must secure the co-operation of the Catholic sovereigns." The ambassador, Bartolomeo, Count of Porzia, distinctly promises: "Suam sanctitatem nihil unquam prætermissuram esse, quou est e re sua (ducis Bavariz) aut filiorum." (See text.)

⁷ Even Pius V allowed his rigorous principles to bend in favor of the Bavarian duke, Tiepolo, "Relatione di Pio IV. e V.": "Of the other secular princes of Germany, scarcely one seems truly Catholic, excepting the Duke of Bavaria; wherefore, on his account, the Pope has permitted his son to hold the bishopric of Friesingen, though he is still far from the age prescribed by the Council; a thing that he has never conceded to any other person."

coming the champion of a great principle, which was in the act of acquiring new power, she was long regarded by the less powerful German princes of the Catholic faith as their leader.

And the duke now labored zealously for the restoration of the ancient Church in every portion of territory that owned his rule. The Count of Haag had tolerated Protestantism in his domains, but no sooner had this county fallen into the duke's hands than he expelled the Protestants and reinstated the creed and ritual of Catholicism. In the battle of Moncontour the margrave Philibert of Baden-Baden had remained dead on the field; his son Philip, then ten years old, was brought up in Munich under the guardianship of Duke Albert, and, as a matter of course, in the Catholic faith. But the duke would not wait for what the young margrave might decide on when arrived at an age to govern; he instantly despatched his high-steward Count Schwartzenberg, and the Jesuit George Schorich, who had already acted together in the conversion of Lower Bavaria, into the territories of Baden, with commission to restore that country to Catholicism by similar means. It is true that the Protestant inhabitants opposed imperial decrees to these attempts, but those edicts were not regarded; the plenipotentiaries proceeded, as the historian of the Jesuits complacently declares, "to set the minds and ears of the simple multitude free for the reception of the heavenly doctrines"; that is to say, they removed the Protestant preachers, compelled the monks who had not remained strictly orthodox to abjure all dissenting tenets, placed Catholic teachers in all the schools—primary and superior, and banished the laity who would not obey the orders imposed on them. In two years—1570, 1571—the whole territory was again rendered Catholic.⁸

While these things were taking place in the secular principalities, similar events occurred by a necessity still more inevitable in the ecclesiastical sovereignties.

The spiritual princes of Germany were at one time more especially distinguished by their ecclesiastical than by their secular character, and the popes lost not a moment in extend-

⁸ Sacchinus, pars iii. lib. vi. n. 88, lib. vii. n. 67; Agricola, i. iv. 17, 18. The Pope duly valued the duke on that account. In the relation of the embassy, we are told that he sees with profound joy, that by the labor and industry of

your illustrious serenity, the March of Baden is brought back to the Catholic faith, and the margrave educated therein; also that your great care has restored the County of Haag, which had shamefully fallen away from the Church.

ing over the episcopal office in Germany that increase of power accorded to them by the Council of Trent.

First, Canisius was sent to the different ecclesiastical courts with copies of these edicts: he conveyed them to Mayence, Treves, Cologne, Osnaburg, and Würzburg,⁹ and with infinite address he contrived to give meaning and effect to the official respect and courtesy with which he was received. The matter was afterward discussed in the Diet held at Augsburg in the year 1566.

Pope Pius V had feared that Protestantism would then make new demands and obtain new concessions. He had already instructed his nuncio, in case of urgency, to put forward a protest, threatening the Emperor and princes with deprivation of all their rights; he even thought that the moment for this step had arrived;¹⁰ but the nuncio, who had a nearer view of things, did not consider this advisable; he saw that there was nothing more to fear. The Protestants were divided, the Catholics held together. The latter frequently assembled at the house of the nuncio to hold council on the measures to be taken in common. The blameless life of Canisius, his unquestionable orthodoxy, and his prudence procured him great influence in these meetings, wherein it was decided that no concession should be accorded. This Diet was, on the contrary, the first in which the Catholic princes opposed an effectual resistance to the Protestant demands. The Pope's exhortations found attentive listeners; in a special assembly of the ecclesiastical princes, the decrees of the Council of Trent were provisionally accepted.

A new life may be said to have commenced from this moment in the Catholic Church of Germany. These decrees were gradually published in the provincial synods; seminaries were erected in the episcopal sees; the first who complied with the rule to that effect being, so far as I can ascertain, the Bishop of Eichstädt, who founded the Willibald College (*Collegium Willibaldinum*).¹ The *professio fidei* was subscribed by persons of all classes. It is a very important fact that the universities were also compelled to subscribe it; a regulation proposed by Lainez, approved by the Pope, and now carried into effect in

⁹ "Maderus de Vita P. Canisii," lib. ii. c. ii.; Sacchini, iii. ii. 22.

¹⁰ Catena, "Vita di Pio V.": p. 40, gives an extract from the instruction;

Gratiani, "Vita Commendoni," lib. iii. c. ii.

¹ Falkenstein, "Nordgauische Alterthümer," i. 222.

Germany, principally by the zeal of Canisius: not only were no appointments made, but no degree was conferred, even in the faculty of medicine, until the *professio fidei* had first been subscribed. The first university into which this rule was introduced was, so far as I can discover, that of Dillingen; the others gradually followed. The most rigid visitation of the churches commenced, and the bishops, who had hitherto been extremely negligent, now displayed the utmost zeal and devotion.

Among the most zealous of these prelates, Jacob von Eltz, Elector of Treves from 1567 to 1581, more especially distinguished himself. He had been educated in the ancient discipline of Louvain, and had long devoted his literary labors to Catholicism; he had compiled a martyrology and composed a book of prayers. In the time of his predecessor he had taken a very active part in the introduction of the Jesuits into Treves, and on his own accession to the government he had committed the visitation of his diocese to their society. Even schoolmasters were compelled to subscribe the *professio fidei*; strict discipline and subordination were enforced upon the clergy by the severe and methodical system of the Jesuits; parish priests were required to present a monthly report to the dean, who, on his part, was to report every three months to the archbishop; whoever refused obedience to these mandates was instantly removed. Extracts from the edicts of the Council of Trent were printed for the clergy of the diocese, and distributed for the general information and guidance; a new edition of the Missal was also published for the purpose of abolishing all diversities in the ritual. The ecclesiastical tribunal received a new and vigorous organization, principally by the agency of Batholomew Bodeghem, of Delft. The greatest happiness of the archbishop was to find someone desirous of abjuring Protestantism; on such a person he never failed to bestow the blessing of readmission with his own hand.²

The prince-bishops were further prompted to the duties of their office by other motives besides those proceeding from their connection with Rome. The spiritual princes were instigated to restore their subjects to the Catholic faith by causes similar to those affecting the secular sovereigns: nay, it was

² Browerus, "Annales Trevirenses," ii. xxii. 25, is on these points our principal authority.

even more imperative on them to do so, since a population inclined to Protestantism would necessarily oppose a more earnest resistance to their rule on account of their ecclesiastical character.

And precisely in the ecclesiastical city of Treves it is that this momentous portion of the German history opens to our view. The archbishops of Treves, like other spiritual princes, had long been at variance with their capital. In the sixteenth century, Protestantism added a new element of discord; a stubborn resistance was opposed to the ecclesiastical tribunal in particular; Jacob von Eltz was at length compelled to a formal siege of the city, and having subdued it by force of arms he brought forward an edict of the Emperor in favor of his claims, and by these means reduced the citizens to obedience, both spiritual and temporal.

Another measure taken by the archbishop was productive of very extensive effects; in the year 1572 he decreed the irrevocable exclusion of all Protestants from his court. This more particularly affected the provincial nobility, whose hopes of advancement were generally fixed on the court. The nobles thus saw their prospects destroyed, and more than one of them may probably have been induced by this circumstance to return to the ancient religion.

A neighbor of Jacob von Eltz, Daniel Brendel, Elector of Mayence, was also a very good Catholic. He revived the procession of the Corpus Christi, in opposition to the advice of all about him, and even officiated himself in the ceremony. He would on no account have neglected vespers, and from the affairs brought before him he invariably selected those of a spiritual character for his first attention. The Jesuits bestow high praise on this prince for the favors they received at his hands; and he sent several pupils to the *Collegium Germanicum* in Rome.³ But he was not prepared to go to the extremities practised by Jacob von Eltz. His religious zeal was mingled with a certain character of irony. On establishing the Jesuits in his electorate he was opposed by remonstrance from some of his feudal tenants. "How!" said he, "you endure me, who fall so far short of my duty, and you will not tolerate the Jesuits,

³ Serarius, "Moguntiacarum Rerum Libri V.;" in the section relating to

Daniel, especially cap. viii. xi. xxii. xxiii.

who perform theirs so perfectly!"⁴ The answer he returned to the Jesuits when they urged him to the complete extirpation of Protestantism has not been reported to us; but we know that he continued to suffer Lutherans and Calvinists to retain a permanent residence both in the city and at court; and in some places he even tolerated the evangelical ritual.⁵ But this probably may have been only because he did not believe himself strong enough to suppress it. In a more remote part of his dominions, where no powerful and warlike neighbors, such as the counts-palatine of the Rhine, were near to hold him in check, he proceeded to very decisive measures. The restoration of Catholicism in Eichsfeld was his work. There also the Protestant creed had gained firm hold by favor of the nobles, and had even made its way into Heiligenstadt, notwithstanding the presence of the chapter which held the patronage of all the livings; a Lutheran preacher was settled there, and the communion was administered in both kinds. On one occasion only twelve citizens of any consideration received the sacrament at Easter according to the Catholic forms.⁶ Things were in this position when in the year 1574 the archbishop appeared personally at Eichsfeld, accompanied by two Jesuits, for the purpose of holding a visitation of the churches. He proceeded to no act of violence, but took measures that proved entirely effectual. He removed the Protestant preachers from Heiligenstadt, and founded a college of Jesuits there. He dismissed no member from the Council, but he prevented the admission of Protestants for the future by making a slight addition to the oath taken by the councillors; in virtue of which they bound themselves to obey his grace the elector, whether in spiritual or temporal matters. But the most essential change made by Daniel Brendel was the appointment of Leopold von Stralendorf, a most zealous Catholic, to the office of high bailiff. This functionary did not scruple to enforce the milder measures of his master in a spirit of excessive rigor, adopted on his own responsibility; and in a consistent administration of twenty-six years, he restored the Catholic faith to its supremacy in town and country. Disre-

⁴ Valerandus Sartorius in Serarius, p. 921.

⁵ The complaint of Robert Turner, who looked for a Boniface, and found

a "principem politicum" only. In Serarius, p. 947.

⁶ Johann Woolf, "Geschichte und Beschreibung von Heiligenstadt," p. 59.

garding the remonstrances of the nobles he expelled the Protestant preachers from the territory, and appointed pupils from the new Jesuit college in that place.

Another ecclesiastical prince had already given the example of similar proceedings in that part of the country.

In the diocese of Fulda the evangelical forms of worship had been tolerated by six abbots in succession; and the young abbot, Balthazar von Dernbach, surnamed Gravel, had promised, at his election in the year 1570, to allow the continuance of this practice; but whether it was that the favor shown him by the Papal Court had inflamed his ambition, or that he considered the restoration of Catholicism likely to increase his very insignificant authority, or that his convictions had indeed become decidedly changed, certain it is that he gradually displayed, not only aversion, but even hostility to the Protestant tenets. He first called in the Jesuits, not that he was acquainted with the order, nor had he ever seen one of its colleges; he knew them by common report only, and by the accounts he had received from a few students of the College of Treves; but his purpose may perhaps have been confirmed by the recommendations of Daniel Brendel. The Jesuits accepted his invitation very cordially; Mayence and Treves combined to establish a colony in Fulda; the abbot built them a house and school and granted them a pension. He himself, being still extremely ignorant, accepted instruction at their hands.⁷

The first result of these proceedings on the part of the abbot was a dispute with his chapter, which possessed the right to a voice in such matters, and which entirely disapproved the introduction of the Jesuits. He soon after attacked the city also, having found a favorable occasion for doing so.

The parish priest of Fulda, who had hitherto preached evangelical doctrines, returned to Catholicism. He recommenced the use of Latin in the rite of baptism, and the administration of the Lord's Supper in one kind only. The inhabitants, long accustomed to the reformed ritual, did not willingly consent to abandon it and demanded the removal of the priest. Their request, as may be supposed, received no attention. Not only

⁷ Reiffenberg, "Historia Societatis Jesu ad Rhenum inferiorem," i. vi. ii., who makes an addition in this passage to the notices of Sacchinus (iii. vii. 68), from a treatise drawn up for him by the

Jesuit Feurer. On the Protestant side, complaints of the city of Fulda, and of the knights of that diocese, in Lehmann, "De Pace Religionis," ii. ix. 257.

was the Catholic ritual strictly observed in the cathedral, but the Protestant preachers were expelled one after another from the remaining churches also, and Jesuits appointed in their place. The abbot had already dismissed his Protestant councillors and officers, to replace them by others of the Catholic creed.

It was in vain that the nobles remonstrated. The abbot assumed an appearance of surprise, and observed that he hoped they did not mean to dictate the measures which he should pursue for the government of the land committed by God to his rule. Some of the more powerful princes of the empire sent embassies to dissuade him from these innovations, and to request the dismissal of the Jesuits: but he remained immovable; nay, he further proceeded to menaces against the knights of his dominions, who asserted a sort of claim to hold immediately of the Emperor, which was a privilege that would have been much restricted had the ecclesiastical sovereign been able to enforce obedience in matters of religion.

It was thus that Catholicism, which might have been thought conquered, once more arose in Germany with renewed strength. The most varied motives contributed to this result. The revival of church discipline by the edicts of the Council of Trent largely contributed, but motives of internal policy were more active than all others, since it was obvious that a sovereign would be much more powerful if his subjects were attached to his own creed. It is true that the restoration of the Church had at first included separate points only, but these soon presented a boundless prospect to the spirit of reform. That no more effectual resistance was offered to the proceedings of the spiritual princes must in itself have been of infinite moment. At the Peace of Augsburg an attempt had been made to secure the Protestant communities inhabiting ecclesiastical territories, by an express declaration of the Emperor; the spiritual sovereigns now refused to acknowledge this declaration, and would in no case be restricted by it. The imperial power was neither sufficiently strong nor sufficiently resolute to come to any effectual decision regarding it, still less to make it respected. Even in the diets of the empire there was not the energy or the unanimity that would have been required to procure the adoption of measures in its favor. The most important changes occurred without a word of remark, almost without observation; they were not

even mentioned by the historians of the period, but passed as things inevitable and that could not be otherwise.

Section V.—Troubles in the Netherlands and in France

While the efforts of Catholicism were producing results so important and extensive in Germany, they were put forth with equal vigor in the Netherlands and in France, though in a manner entirely different.

The principal distinction was that a powerful central authority existed in each of these last-named countries, which took immediate part in every movement, assumed the guidance of all religious enterprises, and was itself directly affected by any opposition offered to a religious undertaking.

There was, consequently, more unity in the different relations of the States, a more perfect combination of means, and more effectual energy of action.

The many and varied measures taken by Philip to enforce obedience in the Netherlands at the beginning of his reign are well known: he was compelled to abandon most of them, one after another, but he clung with stubborn tenacity and inflexible rigor to all that had been framed for the maintenance of Catholicism and religious uniformity.

By the institution of new bishoprics and archbishoprics he completely remodelled the ecclesiastical constitution of the country. In these proceedings he would permit himself to be checked by no remonstrance or appeal to the rights which he was unquestionably invading.

These bishoprics acquired redoubled importance from the increased severity enforced on the discipline of the Church by the Council of Trent. Philip II had adopted the decrees of the Council after a short deliberation, and had then proclaimed them in the Netherlands. The daily life of the people, who had hitherto found means to avoid any violent restraints, was now to be placed under the most rigorous supervision, and subjected to the minute observance of forms from which they had believed themselves about to be entirely emancipated.

In addition to this came the penal laws, of which so many had been issued against the Netherlands under the preceding government; and the zeal of the inquisitors, whom the newly

CHOICE EXAMPLES OF PALEOGRAPHY.

Fac-similes from Rare and Curious Manuscripts of the
Middle Ages.

PAGE FROM A PREFACE BY ST. JEROME.

Latin uncial manuscript of the Seventh Century.

The three lines in vermilion which mark the beginning of the page reproduced are said by cenobite savants to be a certain mark of great antiquity. The page is the beginning of St. Jerome's preface to his Latin rendering of the four Evangelists, which was addressed to Pope Damasus, to whom St. Jerome was at one time secretary. The script of the work is a Roman uncial, but is subsequent to the era in which this kind of writing was at its best.

BEATOPAPAEDAMA
SOHERONIMUS.
NOUUMOPUSFA
CEREMECOCIS EX
UETERIUTPOSTEX
EMPLARIASCRIB
TURARUMTOTO
ORBEDISPERSA
QUASIQUIDAMAR
BITERSEDEAM·ET
QUIAINTERSEUA
RIANT QUAESENTIL
LAQUAECUMCRE
CACONSENTIANTUE
RITATEDECERNA
PIUSLABOR·SED
PERICULOSAPRE
SUMTIO·IUDICARE
DECETERIS IPSUM
ABOMNIBUSIU
DICANDUM SENIS
MUTARELINQUAM

ETCANESCENTEM
MUNDUMADINITIA
REIRAHERE PAR
UULORUM QUIS
ENIMDOCTUSPARI
TERUELINDOCTUS
CUMINMANUS UO
LUMENADSUMSE
RIT ETASALIBAQUA
SEMEL·INBIBIT UI
DERITDISCREPARE
QUODLECTITAT NON
STATIMERUMPAT
INUOCEM MEFA
SARUM·MECLA
MANS ESSESACRI
LECUM QUIAUDE
AMALIQUIDINUE
TERIBUSLIBRISAD
DERE MUTARE
CORRIGERE·ADUER
SUSQUAM INUIDIAM

erected tribunal of Rome was daily stimulating to increased activity.

The people of the Netherlands left no means untried that might induce the King to moderate his rigor; and he did appear at times to be more leniently disposed. Count Egmont thought he had received assurance of this during his sojourn in Spain; it was, nevertheless, scarcely to be hoped for. We have already observed that the authority of Philip throughout his dominions reposed on a religious basis. Had he made concessions to the inhabitants of the Netherlands, they would have been demanded in Spain, where he could not possibly have granted them. He, too, was subjected—a fact we must not refuse to acknowledge—to the pressure of an inevitable necessity. This was, besides, the period when the accession and first measures of Pius V were exciting increased zeal through all Catholic Christendom. Philip II felt an unusual inclination toward this pontiff, and gave an attentive ear to his exhortations. The attack of the Turks on Malta had just been repulsed, and the more bigoted party, enemies to the Protestant Netherlanders, may have availed themselves of the impression produced by this victory, as the Prince of Orange suspected, to lead the King into some violent resolution.¹ Let it suffice to say that toward the end of the year 1565 an edict was promulgated surpassing all preceding ones in severity.

The penal enactments—the decrees of the council, and those of the provincial synods held subsequently—were to be enforced without remission; the inquisitors alone were to take cognizance of religious offences, all civil authorities being enjoined to render them assistance; a commissioner was appointed to watch over the execution of this edict, with orders to give in a report every three months.²

The effect of these decrees was manifestly to introduce a spiritual domination, if not exactly similar to that of Spain, yet, at least, resembling the rule of Italy.

Among the first results that ensued was that the people took up arms; the destruction of images began, and the whole country was in the wildest commotion. There was a moment when the authorities seemed about to yield; but, as is usual in such

¹ The prince entertained suspicions of Granvella. See his letters in the "Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau," i. 289.

² Strada, after a formula of December 18, 1565, lib. iv. p. 94.

cases, acts of violence defeated the end proposed by them. The moderate and peaceable inhabitants were alarmed, and gave assistance to the government. Victory remained with the Governess of the Netherlands, and having taken possession of the rebellious towns, she found herself in a position to impose an oath on the public officers, and even on the feudatories of the King, by which they formally pledged themselves to the maintenance of the Catholic faith and to an armed resistance to heretics.³

Even this did not suffice to Philip II. It was that unhappy moment when the catastrophe of his son Don Carlos occurred; he was more than usually severe and unbending. The Pope repeated his exhortations that no concession to the disadvantage of Catholicism should be made; and Philip assured his holiness that he would not suffer a single root of the noxious plant to remain in the Netherlands; either he would uphold the Catholic faith in all its purity, or would consent to lose those provinces altogether.⁴ For the better fulfilment of these intentions he sent his best general, the Duke of Alva, with a formidable army, into the Netherlands, even after the troubles had been allayed.

Let us examine the moving principle by which the proceedings of Alva were regulated.

The duke was convinced that all might be arranged in a country disturbed by revolutionary movements, when once the chiefs had been disposed of. That Charles V, after so many important victories, had been very nearly driven from the German Empire, he attributed to the forbearance of that monarch, who had spared his enemies when they had fallen into his hands. Frequent reference has been made to the alliance entered into between the French and Spaniards at the Congress of Bayonne, and to the measures concerted there; but of all that has been said of this Convention, thus much only is certain, that the Duke of Alva exhorted the French Queen to disembarass herself of the Huguenot leaders, by whatever means she could find. What he then advised, he now made no scruple of putting in practice. Philip had intrusted him with some blank warrants bearing the royal signature. The first use he made of them was to arrest

³ Brandt, "Histoire de la Réformation des Pays-Bas," i. 156.

⁴ Cavalli, "Dispaccio di Spagna, 7 Aug. 1567": "The King replied that as to matters of religion his holiness might be of good courage; for either he would

lose those States, or preserve in them the true Catholic religion; nor would he endure that there should remain one root of that evil plant if all he could do would uproot it."

Egmont and Horn, whom he assumed to have been implicated in the recent insurrections. "May it please your sacred Catholic Majesty," thus begins the letter which he wrote to the King on this occasion, and which seems to imply that he had no express command for the arrest of the counts, "on my arrival in Brussels I procured the necessary information from the proper quarter, and thereupon secured the person of Count Egmont. I have also caused Count Horn and some others to be imprisoned.⁵ It will, perhaps, be asked, why he sentenced these prisoners a year afterward to be executed? It was not because he had received proof of their guilt from the trial; the blame attached to them was rather that of not having prevented the disturbances than of having caused them; nor was it by command of the King, who rather left it to Alva to decide on the execution, or not, as he should consider expedient. The cause of their death was as follows: A small body of Protestants had made an incursion into the country. They had effected nothing of moment, but had gained some little advantage at Heiligerlee; and the Duke of Arenberg, a general of high reputation in the royal army, had been left dead on the field. In his letters to the King, Alva said that he had perceived the people to be thrown into a ferment by this mischance; that they were becoming bold; and he considered it expedient to show that he was in no wise afraid of them. He wished also to deprive them of any wish they might have to excite new commotions with a view to rescue the prisoners; and had, therefore, resolved on permitting the execution to proceed immediately. And thus did these noble men lose their lives, though no guilt worthy of death could be found in them; their sole crime consisted in the defence of the ancient liberties of their country. They were sacrificed, not to any principle of justice, but rather to the momentary considerations of a cruel policy. The duke remembered Charles V, whose errors he was determined to avoid.⁶

⁵ "Dispaccio di Cavalli, 16 Sett." The late governess complained to the King of the arrests, when Philip replied that he had not commanded them. In proof of this he showed her the letter he had received from Alva. The passage adduced to prove his assertion is before us; it was thus: "Sacra cattolica Maestà, da poi ch' io gionsi in Brusselles, pigliai le information da chi dovea delle cose di qua, onde poi mi son assicurato del conte di Agmon e fatto ritener il conte

d'Orno, con alquanti altri." (See text.) "It will be well that your Majesty, for good reasons, should do as much for Montigny [who was then in Spain], and the groom of his chamber." Thereupon followed the arrest of Montigny.

⁶ Cavalli, July 3, 1568, gives this despatch also in the extract. It is, if possible, still more remarkable than that before cited: "There has arrived here the account of the execution in Flanders of those poor noblemen who were

We see that Alva was cruel from principle. Who could hope for mercy from the fearful tribunal that he erected, under the name of "Council of Disturbances"? He ruled the provinces by arrests and executions; he razed the houses of the condemned to the ground, and confiscated their property. He pursued his ecclesiastical designs together with his political purposes. The ancient power of the estates was reduced to a mere name, Spanish troops occupied the country, and a citadel was erected in the most important mercantile city. The duke insisted with obstinate despotism on the exaction of the most odious taxes; and in Spain, whence also he drew large sums, people asked, with surprise, what he could do with all the money. It is, however, true that the country was obedient; no malcontent ventured to move; every trace of Protestantism disappeared; and those who had been driven into neighboring districts remained perfectly still.

"Monsignore," said a member of Philip's Council to the papal nuncio during these events, "are you now satisfied with the proceedings of the King?" "Perfectly satisfied," replied the nuncio, with a smile.

Alva himself believed he had performed a master-stroke, and it was not without contempt that he regarded the French Government, which had not been able to make itself master in its own territory.

After the rapid progress made by Protestantism in France, a violent reaction took place in the year 1562, more especially in the capital.

The close connection of Protestantism with the court faction had unquestionably been the circumstance most injurious to its influence. For a certain period the whole population seemed inclined toward the Protestant confession; but when its adherents, hurried on by their connection with some of the leaders of faction, took up arms, and committed those acts of violence

prisoners, according to what the Duke of Alva says (who had authority from his Majesty to execute them or not, as he thought best): the people were somewhat excited, and were exulting in the defeat of those Spaniards, and the death of Arenberg; he thought it time therefore to show that he did not fear them in any manner; and by this terror

to remove all hope from those who might have moved for the liberation of the prisoners, and also to avoid falling into the error of the Emperor Charles, who, by sparing the Elector of Saxony and the landgrave, caused a new conspiracy, by which his Majesty was driven with little dignity from Germany, and almost from the empire."

that are inseparable from a state of warfare, they lost their advantage in public opinion. "What kind of religion is this?" men asked. "Where has Christ commanded the pillage of our neighbor and the shedding of his blood?" When the city of Paris at length found it needful to assume an attitude of defence against the attacks of Condé, who appeared as the leader of the Huguenots, all public bodies displayed a disposition adverse to Protestantism; the population of the city capable of bearing arms was organized as a military body, and the officers appointed to command this force were required above all things to be Catholics. The members of the university and of the Parliament, with the very numerous class of advocates, were compelled to subscribe a confession of faith, the articles of which were purely Catholic.

It was under the influence of this change in public opinion that the Jesuits established themselves in France. Their commencement was on a very small scale; they had to content themselves with colleges thrown open to them by a few ecclesiastical dignitaries, their partisans, in Billon and Tournon, places remote from the centre of the kingdom, and where nothing effectual could be accomplished. In the larger towns, more particularly in Paris, they at first encountered the most determined opposition; above all from the Sorbonne, the Parliament, and the archbishop, who all believed their own interests liable to be prejudiced by the privileges and character of the order. But they gradually acquired the favor of the more zealous Catholics, and especially of the court, which was unwearied in commending them for "their exemplary lives and pure doctrines, by which many apostates had been brought back to the faith, and East and West induced to acknowledge the presence of the Lord."⁷ Thus at length they succeeded in removing all impediments; and in the year 1564 were admitted to the privilege of teaching. In Lyons they had already made their position secure. They had the good-fortune, whether by their merit or mere chance, to include from the first several men of remarkable talents among their members. To the Huguenot preachers

⁷ In a manuscript in the Berlin Library, MSS. Gall. n. 75, the following document will be found among others: "Délibérations et consultations au parlement de Paris, touchant l'établissement des Jesuites en France." In this

are especially given the messages of the court to the Parliament in favor of the Jesuits; and we are told that . . . they have pierced unyielding and ferocious breasts with the sword of the faith."

they opposed Edmund Augier, who was born in France, but educated in Rome under Ignatius Loyola; and of whom the Protestants themselves are reported to have said that had he not worn Catholic vestments, there would never have existed a more perfect orator. An extraordinary impression was produced both by his preaching and writing. In Lyons, more particularly, the Huguenots were completely defeated, their preachers were exiled, their churches destroyed, and their books burnt. For the Jesuits, on the contrary, in the year 1563, a magnificent college was erected. They had a highly distinguished professor also, Maldonat, whose exposition of the Bible attracted the youth of the country in multitudes, and enchained their attention. From these great cities they extended themselves over the kingdom in all directions; they formed establishments in Toulouse and Bordeaux. Wherever they appeared, the number of Catholic communicants was observed to increase. The catechism of Augier had extraordinary success; within the space of eight years, 38,000 copies of it were sold in Paris alone.⁸

It is possible that the revived popularity of Catholic ideas may have produced an effect on the court, and the rather as it was most decided in the capital. Be this as it may, these ideas acquired a support the more, when in 1568, after long hesitation, the court once again declared itself decidedly Catholic.

This determination proceeded chiefly from the circumstance that Catherine de' Medici felt her power to be more firmly secured since her son had attained his majority. She was no longer compelled to conciliate the Huguenot leaders, as had previously been the case. The example of Alva showed how much could be accomplished by inflexible determination. The Pope continually exhorted her to repress the insolence of the rebels, to arrest their progress, and no longer to endure their existence. At length he accompanied his admonitions by the permission to alienate church property, by which the treasury gained a million and a half of livres.⁹ Accordingly, Catherine de' Medici, following the example given the year before by the Governess of the Netherlands, imposed an oath on the French nobility, by which they bound themselves to abjure every en-

⁸ These notices are found in Orlandinus, and the authors who have continued his work, pars i. lib. vi. n. 30; ii. lib. iv.

84; iii. iii. 169 et seq. Juvencius v. 24, 769, gives a biography of Augier.

⁹ Catena, "Vita di Pio V.," p. 79.

gement contracted without the previous knowledge of the King.¹⁰ She demanded the dismissal of all their magistrates from the cities which were suspected of favoring the new doctrines, and assured Philip II in September of the year 1563, that she would tolerate no other religion but the Catholic.

The resolution thus announced was one that could not be enforced in France without the intervention of arms, and war instantly burst forth.

It was entered on with extraordinary zeal by the Catholic party. At the request of the Pope, Philip of Spain sent the French an auxiliary force of practised troops under experienced leaders. Pius V caused collections to be made in the States of the Church, and gathered contributions from the Italian princes; nay, the holy father himself despatched a small body of troops across the Alps; that same army to whose leader he gave the ferocious command to kill every Huguenot that might fall into his hands, and grant quarter to none.

The Huguenots also drew their forces together; they too were full of religious zeal, and looked on the papal soldiers as the army of antichrist arrayed against them. They too gave no quarter, and were equally provided with foreign aid. They were nevertheless entirely defeated at Moncontour.

With what exultation did Pius V receive the Huguenot standards that were sent him after the battle; how joyfully did he place them in the churches of St. Peter and St. John Lateran! He conceived the most daring hopes. It was at this moment that he pronounced the sentence of excommunication against Queen Elizabeth. He even flattered himself with the hope of leading an expedition against England in person.

So far, he was, however, not permitted to proceed.

As had so frequently occurred before, a revulsion of opinion now took place in the Court of France, and this, though occasioned by trifling circumstances of a personal nature only, yet brought about great changes in matters of the highest importance.

The King became envious of the honor gained by his brother the Duke of Anjou, from the defeat of the Huguenots at Moncontour, where he had commanded the troops; and of

¹⁰ The oath is given by Serranus, "Commentarii de Statu Religionis in Regno Galliarum," iii. 153.

the influence acquired by the duke from the repose he had thus procured to the country. He was confirmed in this feeling by those around him, who were equally jealous of Anjou's followers, and who feared lest power should go hand in hand with the honor they had acquired. Not only were the advantages gained followed up with the utmost indifference, and after long delay; but in opposition to the high Catholic party led by Anjou, another and more moderate party appeared at court; which adopted a line of policy altogether different, made peace with the Huguenots, and invited the Protestant leaders to the court. In the year 1569, the French, in alliance with Spain and the Pope, had sought to overthrow the Queen of England; in the summer of 1572, we see them in league with that Queen to wrest the Netherlands from Spain.

Meanwhile, these changes were too sudden and too imperfectly matured, to have consistency or duration. The most violent explosion followed, and affairs resumed their previous direction.

There can be no doubt that Catherine de' Medici, while entering with a certain degree of warmth and earnestness into the policy and plans of the dominant party, which favored her interests, so far as they appeared likely to assist in placing her youngest son Alençon on the English throne, was yet concerting the measures requisite for executing a stroke of policy directly opposed to them. She did her utmost to draw the Huguenots to Paris; numerous as they were, they were there surrounded and held in check by a population far more numerous, in a state of military organization, and easily excited to fanaticism. She had previously given a very significant intimation to the Pope of her purpose in this proceeding, but had she still felt wavering, the occurrences of the moment were such as must at once have determined her. The Huguenots were on the point of gaining over the King himself; they were apparently supplanting the authority of the Queen-mother, and in this danger she hesitated no longer; with the irresistible and magic power that she exercised over her children, she aroused all the latent fanaticism of the King; it cost her but a word to make the people take to arms; that word she spoke. Of the eminent Huguenots, each one was pointed out to his personal enemy, and given over to his vengeance. Catherine had declared

herself to wish for the death of six men only; the death of these alone would she take upon her conscience. The number massacred was fifty thousand.¹

Thus, all that the Spaniards had perpetrated in the Netherlands was exceeded by the French. What the first brought about gradually, with deliberate calculation, and with a certain observance of legal forms, the latter accomplished in the heat of passion, in defiance of all forms of law, and by the aid of a populace roused to a fury of fanaticism. The result appeared to be the same. Not one leader was left whose name might serve as a point round which the scattered Huguenots could gather; many fled, a large number surrendered; place after place returned to attendance on the mass, the preachers were silenced. With pleasure Philip II saw himself imitated and surpassed; he offered Charles IX, who had now for the first time earned a right to be called the most Christian King, to assist the completion of his undertaking by the power of his arms. Pope Gregory XIII celebrated this great event by a solemn procession to the church of San Luigi. The Venetians, who seemed to have no particular interest in the matter, expressed in official despatches to their ambassador, their satisfaction at "this favor of God."

But can it be possible that crimes of a character so sanguinary can ever succeed? Are they not in too flagrant opposition to the more profound mysteries of human events, to the undefined, yet inviolable and ever active principles that govern the order of nature? Men may blind themselves for a time, but they cannot disturb the moral laws on which their existence reposes; these rule with a necessity inevitable as that which regulates the course of the stars.

Section VI.—Resistance of the Protestants in the Netherlands, France, and Germany

Macchiavel advises his prince to execute the cruelties he shall deem necessary in rapid succession, but gradually to permit more lenient measures to follow.

It would almost seem that the Spaniards had sought to follow this advice to the letter, in their government of the Netherlands.

¹ For the sake of brevity, I here refer the reader to my dissertation on the

Massacre of St. Bartholomew in the "Histor. Polit. Zeitschrift," ii. iii.

They appeared to be themselves at length of opinion that property enough had been confiscated, heads enough struck off, and that the time for mercy had arrived. In the year 1572 the Venetian ambassador at Madrid declares his conviction that the Prince of Orange would obtain his pardon if he would ask for it. The King received the deputies of the Netherlands very favorably, when they arrived with a petition for the repeal of the impost of the tenth penny, and even thanked them for their pains. He had determined to recall the Duke of Alva, and to replace him by a more clement governor.

But it was now too late. Immediately after the conclusion of that treaty between France and England, which had preceded the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the insurrection broke out. Alva had believed his work at an end, but the struggle was in fact only then beginning. He defeated the enemy whenever he met them in the open field, but in the towns of Holland and Zealand, where the religious excitement had been most profound, and where Protestantism had attained to a more effectual organization, he encountered a force of resistance that he could not overcome.

In Haarlem, when all means of supporting life were consumed, even to the grass growing between the stones, the inhabitants resolved to cut their way through the besiegers with their wives and children. The dissensions prevailing in their garrison compelled them at last to surrender, but they had shown that the Spaniards might be resisted. The people of Alkmar declared themselves for the Prince of Orange at the moment when the enemy appeared before their gates: their defence was heroic as their resolution, not a man would leave his post, however severely wounded; before the walls of Alkmar the Spaniards received their first effectual repulse. The country breathed again, and new courage entered the hearts of the people.

The men of Leyden declared, that rather than yield they would devour their left arms to enable themselves to continue the defence with their right. They took the bold resolution of breaking down their dams and calling on the waves of the North Sea to expel the besiegers. Their misery had reached its utmost extremity, when a northwest wind, setting in at the critical moment, laid the country under water to the depth of several feet, and drove the enemy from their borders.

The French Protestants had also regained their courage; no sooner did they perceive that their government, notwithstanding the savage massacre it had committed, displayed irresolution, procrastinated and adopted contradictory measures, than they again took arms and soon burst forth anew. La Rochelle and Sancerre defended themselves as Leyden and Alkmar had done—the preachers of peace were heard exhorting men to arms—women shared in the combat with their husbands and brothers. It was the heroic age of Protestantism in Western Europe.

The acts of cruelty, committed or sanctioned by the most powerful princes, were met by a resistance proceeding from various nameless points, but which had its secret origin in the most profound religious convictions, and which no amount of force could overcome.

It is not our purpose at this time to give the details and follow the vicissitudes of the wars in France and the Netherlands—this would lead us too far from our principal object—they are besides to be found in many other books; it must suffice to say that the Protestants maintained their ground.

In the year 1573, and again in the following years, the French Government was repeatedly compelled to enter into negotiations, from which the Huguenots gained a renewal of former concessions.

In the Netherlands the power of the government had fallen to ruin in the year 1576; the Spanish troops not receiving their regular pay, were in open insurrection, and all the provinces had united against them, those which had hitherto maintained their allegiance with those which had revolted, the districts remaining in a great measure Catholic, with those entirely Protestant. The States-General took the government into their own hands, appointed captains-general, governors, and magistrates, and garrisoned the fortified places with their own troops in place of the King's.¹ The Treaty of Ghent was concluded, by which provinces pledged themselves to expel the Spaniards and keep them out of the country. Philip of Spain sent his brother, who might be considered a Netherlander and fellow-countryman, to govern them as Charles V had done: but Don John was not even acknowledged until he had promised to fulfil the prin-

¹ This turn of affairs is made particularly intelligible in Tassis, iii. 15-19.

cipal conditions laid before him; he was compelled to accept the Treaty of Ghent, and to dismiss the Spanish troops; and no sooner did he make the first movement to free himself from the restraint that fettered him, than all parties rose against him. He was declared an enemy of the country, and the chiefs of the provinces called another prince of his house to take his place.

The principle of local government now obtained supremacy over the monarchical power, the native authority was victorious over the Spanish rule.

From this state of things various consequences necessarily arose. The Northern provinces, which had conducted the opposition, and thereby rendered the existing circumstances possible, at once acquired a natural preponderance in all that related to the war and the government; it thus followed that the reformed religion was propagated through the whole extent of the Netherlands. It was received in Mechlin, Brussels, and Ypres. The people of Antwerp divided their churches between the two confessions, and the Catholics were occasionally compelled to content themselves with the choirs of those churches which they had so lately held in sole possession. In Ghent the Protestant tendency was mingled with a civil commotion, and obtained entire supremacy. The Treaty of Ghent had guaranteed the maintenance of the Catholic Church in its former condition, but the States-General now issued an edict by which equal liberty was secured to both confessions. Thenceforth Protestant opinions made rapid advance, even in those provinces that were principally Catholic, and there seemed good cause for the expectation that they would eventually become predominant throughout the country.

How changed was the position now held by the Prince of Orange. He had but lately been an exile, whose best hope was to obtain pardon; he was now possessed of a well-established power in the northern provinces, was sheriff (*Ruwart*) of Brabant, all-powerful in the Assembly of the States, and acknowledged as their chief and leader by a great religious and political party, which was making rapid progress. He was besides in close alliance with all the Protestants of Europe, and more especially with his neighbors the Germans.

The aggressions of the Catholics were resisted in Germany

also with a force on the Protestant part which seemed to promise the most important results.

The effects of this resistance were apparent in the general transactions of the empire, in the assemblies of the electors, and in the imperial diets, although there the German system of conducting affairs prevented any adequate results from appearing. They were most sensibly felt, as had been the aggressions that had called forth the resistance, in the several territories and distinct sovereignties into which Germany was divided.

It was in the spiritual principalities, as we have seen, that the question was most earnestly debated. There was scarcely one wherein the prince had not attempted to restore Catholicism to its ancient supremacy. The Protestants, who felt their own strength, retorted with efforts equally comprehensive, and labored with equal energy to bring the ecclesiastical sovereignties themselves to their own opinions.

In the year 1577 Gebhard Truchsess ascended the archiepiscopal chair of Cologne. This was to be ascribed in great measure to the influence possessed by Count Nuenar over the chapter, and perfectly well did that powerful Protestant know who it was that he recommended. It is certain that Gebhard's acquaintance with Agnes von Mansfeld, which is said to have influenced his decision, was not required to determine him against the Catholics. Even at his solemn entry into Cologne, when the clergy met him in procession, he did not alight from his horse, as was the established custom, to kiss the cross. He appeared in the church in a military dress, nor would he consent to perform high mass. He attached himself from the very first to the Prince of Orange, and his principal counsellors were Calvinists.² Further, he did not scruple to mortgage land in order to raise troops; was careful to secure the attachment of the nobles, and favored certain of the guilds of Cologne, which had begun to oppose themselves to Catholic usages; all circumstances tending to show the existence of that purpose which he afterward manifested openly—of converting his spiritual sovereignty into a secular electorate.

Gebhard Truchsess still conformed, occasionally at least, and in externals, to the Catholic faith. The adjacent bishoprics of

² Maffei, "Annali di Gregorio XIII.," t. i. p. 331.

Westphalia and Lower Saxony, on the contrary, fell, as we have already observed, immediately into the hands of Protestants. The elevation of Duke Henry of Saxe-Lauenburg was most especially important. He had been elected while yet very young, and, though a firm Lutheran, to the archbishopric of Bremen; some time after to the bishopric of Osnaburg, and, in 1577, to that of Paderborn.³ Even in Münster, a large party, including all the younger members of the chapter, was attached to his interests, and but for the direct intervention of Gregory XIII, who declared a resignation actually made to be null and void, he would have been elevated to that see also, spite of all efforts made to prevent it by the rigidly Catholic party. Indeed, these last were still unable to prevail so far as to secure the election of any other bishop.

It is obvious that a powerful impulse must have been given to Protestant opinions in Rhenish Westphalia—where they had before been widely propagated—by the disposition on the part of the ecclesiastical chiefs. There needed only some fortunate combination of circumstances, some well-directed stroke, to secure the decided predominance of Protestantism in that district.

All Germany would have felt the influence of this event. The same contingencies were probable in regard to the bishoprics of Upper Germany, as those we have seen occurring in the lower part of the empire; and, even in the territories where the restoration had begun, resistance to its efforts was far from being suppressed.

How keenly was this truth experienced by the Abbot Balthasar of Fulda! When it was seen that the intercessions of neighboring princes, and the complaints laid before the diet, produced no effect, but that the abbot persisted, in disregard of all, to complete his restoration of the Catholic faith, and went about enforcing his regulations throughout the abbacy, he was one day encountered at Hamelberg, whither he had gone in the summer of 1576, for the promotion of these very purposes, was assailed by his nobles with arms in their hands, and imprisoned in his own house. Finding that all measures were taken to oppose him, that his neighbors beheld his embarrassment with satisfaction, and that the Bishop of Würzburg was

³ Hamelmann, "Oldenburgisches Chronikon," s. 436.

even assisting his enemies, he resigned himself, perforce, to the abdication of the government, and was deprived of his dominions.⁴

In Bavaria also, Duke Albert found his purposes still far from being accomplished. He complained to the Pope that his nobility would rather forego the sacrament altogether than receive it in one kind.

But it was of much higher importance that Protestantism was making continual progress in the Austrian provinces, and was gradually acquiring an acknowledged and legalized existence. Under the wisely conducted government of Maximilian II, it not only gained a fixed position in Austria proper, both east and west of the Ens, but had also extended throughout the neighboring districts. That Emperor had scarcely redeemed the County of Glatz from the Dukes of Bavaria, who had held it in mortgage (1567), before the nobles, public officers, towns, and finally the larger part of the people went over to the evangelical confession. Hans von Pubschütz, the captain-general established a Protestant consistory by his own authority; and, upheld by this, he sometimes proceeded further than the Emperor would have desired. Gradually, the estates there also obtained a high degree of power and independence. This was altogether the most prosperous epoch of the county; the mines were thriving, the towns were rich and flourishing, the nobles well educated and orderly, waste lands were reclaimed in all directions, and villages were established among them.⁵ The Church of Albendorf, to which, in the present day, thousands of pilgrims annually proceed for the purpose of kissing an old image of the Virgin, was at that time occupied by Protestant preachers during sixty years.⁶ Some time later, only nine Catholic burghers were counted in the capital, while there were three hundred of the evangelical faith. We cannot be surprised that Pope Pius V should feel inexpressible aversion to the Emperor Maximilian. On one occasion, when the conversation

⁴Schannat, "Historia Fuldensis," pars iii. p. 268. A letter from the abbot to Pope Gregory, dated August 1, 1576, is particularly remarkable. Schannat gives it from the Archives of the Vatican. "Clamantes," he says of the threats of his enemies, "calling out, that unless I consent to transfer my authority to the bishop, they will destroy me as they would a mad-dog, and then

turn the princes of Saxony and Hesse upon my flock."

⁵Joseph Kögler's "Chronik von Glatz," bd. i. heft ii. p. 72. The author was a Catholic parish priest; his work is very sensible and useful.

⁶From 1563 to 1623, "Documentirte Beschreibung von Albendorf" (an earlier printed fragment of the same chronicle), p. 36.

turned on the war that sovereign was engaged in with the Turks, Pius declared outright that he knew not to which side he least wished the victory.⁷ Protestantism continued under these circumstances to make progress even in the interior provinces of Austria, over which the Emperor did not exercise immediate control. In the year 1568 twenty-four evangelical pastors were already counted in Carinthia; and in 1571 the capital of Styria had only one Catholic in its Council. Not that the evangelical doctrines found a support in this country from the Archduke Charles, its governor; on the contrary, this prince introduced the Jesuits, and promoted their efforts to the utmost of his power, but Protestant opinions prevailed in the estates.⁸ In the diets, where religious affairs were mingled with the administration of government and the defence of the country, they had the upper hand; for every concession they made in political matters, they demanded religious immunities in return. At the Diet of Bruck on the Muhr, held in 1578, the archduke was compelled to accord the free exercise of the evangelical religion, not only in the domains of the nobles and landed proprietors, where he could not have prevented it, but also in the four important towns of Grätz, Judenburg, Klagenfurt, and Laibach.⁹ Thereupon the Protestant institutions were regularly organized in those provinces as in the imperial territories. A Protestant administration of the churches was established; a regular system of preaching and schools arranged, on the model of that prevailing in Würtemberg. In some instances, as at St. Veit, Catholics were excluded from the municipal elections,¹⁰ and were no longer admitted to provincial offices. Under favor of these circumstances, Protestantism first gained the ascendancy in a country so closely neighboring to Italy. The impulse given by the Jesuits was here counteracted by the most steadfast opposition.

In all the provinces of Austria, of the German, Slavonic, and Hungarian tongues, with the single exception of the Tyrol, Protestantism was in 1578 the predominant religion.

⁷ Tiepolo, "Relazione di Pio IV. e V.," he further adds, "Speaking of the death of the Spanish prince, the Pope said he had heard of it with great regret, because it would grieve him to see the dominions of the Catholic King fall into the hands of the Germans."

⁸ Socher, "Historia Societatis Jesu Provinciae Austriae," i. iv. 166, 184; v. 33.

⁹ Supplication to his imp. Rom. Maj. and intercession of the three principalities and the State, in Lehmann, "De Pace Religionis," p. 461; a document which serves to correct the statement made by Khevenhiller, "Ann. Ferdinandeï," i. 6.

¹⁰ Hermann, in the "Kärntnerischen Zeitschrift," v. p. 189.

It thus becomes evident that throughout Germany the progress made by Catholicism was met by successful opposition and equal progress on the part of the Protestants.

Section VII.—Contrasts exhibited in Other Parts of Europe

The epoch we are considering is indeed a most remarkable one; the two great religious tendencies are seen once more in active conflict, with equal hope of obtaining the ascendancy.

As compared with former times, the position of things had materially changed: at an earlier period each party had been willing to treat with the other; reconciliation had been attempted in Germany; a way seemed prepared for it in France; it was demanded in the Netherlands; nor did it appear to be impracticable, since toleration was in some places practised. But the spirit of opposition had now assumed a more hostile and threatening aspect. Throughout Europe the antagonist principles were, so to speak, now provoking each other to the combat. We shall be amply repaid by a slight review of the general state of things as existing in the year 1578-9.

Let us commence in the East, and with Poland.

Here, also, the Jesuits had made their way, under sanction of the bishops, who sought in them for support to their own power. In the year 1569 a college was founded for them in Braunsberg, by Cardinal Hosius, Bishop of Ermeland. They settled themselves in Pultusk and Posen likewise—at each place with the aid of the bishop. The Lutherans of Lithuania proposed to establish a university on their own principles, and the Bishop Valerian of Wilna, considering it highly essential to counteract the effect of this, erected a Jesuit school in his diocese. He was old and failing, and desired to mark his last days by this meritorious action. The first members of the society arrived in his see in the year 1570.¹

Here, as in other places, the first result of these efforts merely was that Protestants took measures to maintain their influence. In the convocation diet of 1573 they carried a resolution by virtue of which all men were secured from offence or injury on account of religious opinions.²

¹ Sacchinus, "Historia Societatis Jesu," p. ii. lib. viii. 114; p. iii. lib. i. 112; lib. vi. 103-108.

² Fredro, "Henricus I. rex Polonorum," p. 114.

The bishops were compelled to submit: the example of the troubles in the Netherlands was brought forward to prove to them the dangers that might arise from their refusal. The succeeding kings of Poland were also compelled to promise the maintenance of this resolution. In the year 1579 the payment of tithes to the clergy was suspended, and the nuncio declared that 1,200 parish priests were rendered destitute by this regulation. A high court of judicature was established in the same year, composed of laity and clergy in equal numbers, and which took cognizance even of ecclesiastical disputes. The utmost surprise was expressed in Rome that the Polish clergy should endure a tribunal so constituted.

The contest was equally animated in Sweden as in Poland, and was accompanied by very peculiar circumstances—these had immediate reference to the person of the sovereign, who was indeed the object of the struggle.

In all the sons of Gustavus Vasa—"the brood of King Gustavus," as the Swedes called them—there was a very unusual mixture of deep reflection with impetuous wilfulness, of devotional feeling with excessive violence.

The most highly cultivated of these princes was John, the second son of Gustavus. He had married a Catholic princess, Catherine of Poland, who had shared his prison, in the rigorous solitude of which he had received consolation from a Catholic priest; thus these religious disputes awakened his particular interest. The Swedish prince had studied the fathers to gain a clearer comprehension of the state of the Church from the earliest times: he looked favorably on all books treating of a possible reconciliation between the two confessions, and his attention was continually occupied by questions connected with this subject. When he became king he made, in fact, certain approaches toward the Church of Rome; he published a liturgy on the model of that sanctioned by the Council of Trent, and in which the Swedish divines perceived with amazement that not only the usages, but even some of the distinguishing doctrines of the Roman Church, were included.* As the intercession of the Pope, as well with the Catholic princes in general, on account of the Russian war, as with the Spanish Court in par-

* They are all to be found in the "Judicium Prædicatorum Holmenss. de pub.

licata Liturgia," in Baaz, "Inventarium Ecclesiarum Sueogoth," p. 393.

ticular, with regard to the maternal inheritance of his wife, was likely to be essential to the interests of the Swedish monarch, he did not hesitate to send one of his nobles as ambassador to Rome; he even permitted some few Jesuits from the Netherlands to settle in Stockholm, where he committed an important institution for the education of youth to their charge.

These proceedings naturally excited very sanguine hopes in Rome; and Antonio Possevin, one of the most clever men in the Society of Jesus, was selected to make a strenuous effort for the conversion of King John.

In the year 1578 Possevin arrived in Sweden; the King was not disposed to give way on all points; he demanded that marriage should be conceded to the priests, that the sacramental cup should be granted to the laity, that mass should be performed in the language of the country, that the Church should abandon all its claims to confiscated property, and make other concessions of similar character. Possevin was not authorized to decide on these questions; he promised only to lay the King's demands before the Apostolic See, and then hastened to insist on the dogmatical points of controversy. In regard to these he had much more success. After some few interviews, and a certain time for reflection, the King declared himself resolved to make the *professio fidei* according to the formula of the Council of Trent. This profession of faith he did in fact subscribe, and then confessed. Possevin once more inquired if he submitted to the judgment of the Pope in regard to the sacrament in one kind? John replied that he did so, when the Jesuit solemnly granted him absolution.

It would almost appear that this absolution was the King's most immediate object and principal wish. He had caused his brother to be put to death; it is true that the estates had previously approved that measure, still it was the death of a brother, and was accompanied by circumstances of extreme violence: the absolution he had received seemed to give peace to his mind. Possevin prayed to God that he might be permitted to turn the heart of this prince. John arose and threw himself into the arms of his confessor. "As I embrace thee," he exclaimed, "even so do I embrace the Catholic faith now and forever." He then received the sacrament according to the Catholic ritual.

Having thus successfully accomplished his task, Possevin re-

turned to Rome, and communicated the result to the Pope: he also imparted it, under the seal of secrecy, to the most powerful Catholic sovereigns. There now remained only to take into consideration those demands of the Swedish King on which he made the restoration of Catholicism in his dominions principally to depend. Possevin had great address, was very eloquent, and possessed considerable talent for negotiation, but he had too easily persuaded himself that his end was attained. The account he gave induced Pope Gregory to believe that no concessions were necessary. He therefore demanded, on the contrary, that the King should declare himself freely and unconditionally a Catholic. Charged with letters to that effect, and with indulgences for all who would return to the Roman Church, the Jesuit departed on his second journey.

But the opposite party had meanwhile not remained inactive; Protestant princes had sent warning letters to the King, for intelligence of his proceedings had spread through all Europe. Chytræus had dedicated his work on the Confession of Augsburg to the Swedish sovereign, and had thereby produced a certain impression on that learned prince. The Protestants did not again lose sight of him.

Possevin now arrived, no more as on the previous occasion in the usual dress of civilians, but in the proper costume of his order, and bringing with him a large number of Catholic books. His very appearance seemed instantly to make an unfavorable impression. He hesitated a moment to produce the papal reply, but seeing at length that he must not venture further delay, he laid it before the King in an audience that lasted two hours. Who can penetrate the secret movements of a wavering and unsettled mind? The monarch's self-esteem was perhaps wounded by so positive a refusal of his demands, he was doubtless convinced that nothing was to be accomplished in Sweden without the concessions he had required, and felt no disposition to abdicate his crown for the sake of religion. Enough—the audience was decisive—from that hour the King betrayed coldness and aversion toward the envoy of the pontiff. He required his Jesuit schoolmen to receive the sacrament in both kinds, and to read mass in the Swedish tongue; as they did not obey him, which indeed they could not, he refused to continue the provision he had allowed them. They left Stockholm very soon

after, and their departure was doubtless not caused wholly by the plague, as they desired to have it believed. The Protestant nobles, with the King's younger brother, Charles of Sudermania, who was disposed to Calvinism, and the ambassadors of Lubeck, neglected no means that might increase this growing aversion. The sole remaining hope and stay of the Catholics was now the Queen, and after her death the heir to the throne. For that time the sovereign power in Sweden continued essentially Protestant.⁴

In England the government became daily more and more firmly attached to the reformed opinions, under Queen Elizabeth. But in that kingdom there existed assailable points of a different kind; the country was filled with Catholics; not only did the Irish population adhere steadfastly to the ancient faith and ritual, but in England also there was probably one-half of the people, if not—as some have asserted—a larger proportion, still attached to Catholicism. It has always occasioned surprise that the English Catholics should have submitted to the Protestant laws of Elizabeth, which they did at least during the first fifteen years of her reign. They took the oath required from them, although it was in direct opposition to the papal authority; they attended the Protestant churches, and thought they had done quite enough if, in going and returning, they kept together and avoided the society of the Protestants.⁵

A firm conviction was nevertheless maintained in Rome of their secret attachment; all were persuaded that nothing more than opportunity or some slight advantage was required to inflame all the Catholics of the kingdom, and rouse them to resistance. Pius V had already expressed a wish that he could shed his blood in an expedition against England. The hope

⁴ In the whole of this account, I confine myself to the reports of the Jesuits (which, so far as I can discover, were never used before), as they may be found at length in Sacchinus, "Hist. Societatis Jesu," etc., pars iv. lib. vi. n. 64-76, and lib. vii. n. 83-111. I am anxious to know whether the continuation of Thierner's "Schweden und seine Stellung zum heiligen Stuhl," will really communicate anything new that may be worthy of notice. This work, filled as it is with coarse invectives, has hitherto excited pity rather than attention; we must hope that "they know not what they do."

⁵ "Relazione del presente Stato d'Inghilterra, cavata da una lettera scritta

di Londra," etc., Rome, 1590 (printed pamphlet), agrees entirely on this subject with a passage of Ribadaneira, "De Schismate," which Hallam has already quoted ("Constitutional History of England," i. p. 162), and is without doubt the original source: "They have permitted themselves to take impious oaths against the authority of the Apostolic See; and this with little or no scruple of conscience. And then they all go commonly to the synagogues of the heretics, and to their preachings, taking with them their children and families. They consider it distinction enough if they go to church before the heretics, and do not leave it in their company."

and thought of such an enterprise were never abandoned by Gregory XIII, who was much disposed to employ the martial spirit and exalted station of Don John of Austria for its accomplishment. To this effect he despatched his nuncio Sega, who had been with Don John in the Netherlands, into Spain, with the hope of inducing Philip II to concur in his undertaking.

But it happened that, sometimes from the King's disinclination to forward the ambitious views of his brother, sometimes from his objection to being involved in new political embarrassments, and sometimes from other obstacles, the whole affair came to nothing; these vast plans had to be resigned, and their projectors were forced to content themselves with less magnificent enterprises.

Pope Gregory next fixed his attention on Ireland. It was represented to him that there was no people more strictly and steadily Catholic than the Irish, but that the nation was tyrannously maltreated by the English Government; that the people were despoiled, disunited, wilfully kept in a state of barbarism, and oppressed in their religious convictions; that they were thus at every moment prepared for war, and wanted nothing more than the aid of a small body of troops; with 5,000 men Ireland might be conquered, since there was not a fortress in the country that could hold out more than four days.⁶ The Pope was easily persuaded to believe these assertions. There was then living in Rome an English refugee, named Thomas Stukely, an adventurer by nature, but possessing in a remarkable degree the art of gaining access to the great, and of winning their confidence. The Pope had appointed him his chamberlain, had created him Marquis of Leinster, and now expended 40,000 scudi to furnish him with ships and men. On the French coast Stukely was to be joined by Geraldine, an Irish exile, commanding a small body of troops which he had got together, also at the Pope's expense. Philip of Spain had no wish to engage in war, but he was glad to give Elizabeth occupation at home, and therefore contributed a sum of money toward

⁶ "Discorso sopra il Regno d' Irlanda e della Gente che bisogneria per conquistarlo, fatto a Gregorio XIII." Library at Vienna, Fugger, MSS. The government of the Queen is declared to be a tyranny: "Leaving the authority to English ministers, who practise every art of tyranny in that Kingdom to enrich themselves; as, for example,

transporting all the commodities of the country into England; taxing the people in violation of their ancient laws and privileges; and fomenting wars and factions among the natives of the country; the English not wishing that the inhabitants should learn the difference between living in freedom and in servitude."

this enterprise.⁷ Stukely, however, most unexpectedly allowed himself to be persuaded to take part in the expedition of King Sebastian to Africa, with the force destined for Ireland, and he lost his life in that service. Geraldine was thus left to make the attempt alone; he landed in June, 1579, and at first gained some advantages, having seized the fort commanding the harbor of Limerick. The Earl of Desmond was also in arms against the Queen, and the whole island was thrown into commotion. But one misfortune soon followed another, the most serious being the death of Geraldine himself, who was killed in a skirmish. After this the Earl of Desmond could no longer hold out, the supplies sent by the Pope were insufficient, the money expected did not arrive, and the English remained victorious. They punished the insurgents with fearful cruelty: men and women were driven into barns and burnt to death, children were strangled, all Munster was laid waste, and English colonists took possession of the devastated province.

If Catholicism were ever again to raise its head in the dominions of Elizabeth, it was in England itself that the attempt must be made; but this could manifestly not be done until the political relations of Europe should be altered. And if the Pope desired to secure that the English Catholics should continue attached to the faith, if he wished to find them Catholic when the time for active exertion should arrive, it was indispensable that spiritual aid should be supplied to them.

William Allen first conceived the idea of collecting into one body the young English Catholics, who were sent to the Continent for the prosecution of their studies, and, chiefly by the aid of Pope Gregory, he founded a college for them at Douay. But this did not seem sufficient to the Pope; he wished to provide a retreat for these young men beneath his own eye, and where they might be more secure and more tranquil than at Douay, in the turbulent Netherlands; he therefore established an English college in Rome, endowed it with a rich abbey, and placed it, in the year 1579, under the care of the Jesuits.⁸

No student was admitted into this college until he had first

⁷ Twenty thousand scudi, according to the nuncio Sega, in his "Relatione compendiosa" (MS. of the Berlin Library): "He also made grants to the Baron d'Acres, to Signor Carlo Buono, and other English noblemen then in Madrid, whom he urged to go on this expedi-

tion, together with Bishop Lionese of Ireland."

⁸ The accounts of the Jesuits in Sacchini, part iv. 6; lib. vii. 10-30, may be here compared with Camden's "Statements," "Rerum Britannicæ," tom. i. p. 315.

pledged himself to return to England on the completion of his studies, and there preach the faith of the Roman Church. They were prepared for that purpose exclusively. Excited to religious enthusiasm by the spiritual exercises of Ignatius, the missionaries sent by Pope Gregory the Great for the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons were placed before them as models for their imitation.

Some of the older students soon entered on this career. In the year 1580 two English Jesuits, Persons and Campian, returned to their native country; constantly pursued, compelled to adopt feigned names, and to assume various disguises, they yet succeeded in reaching the capital, where they separated, the one travelling through the northern, the other through the southern, counties. They usually took up their abode in the dwellings of the Catholic nobles. Their coming was always announced, but the precaution was constantly taken of receiving them as strangers. A chapel had meanwhile been prepared in the most retired part of the house, into which they were conducted, and where the members of the family were assembled to receive their benediction. The missionary rarely prolonged his stay beyond one night. The evening of his arrival was employed in religious preparation and confession; on the following morning, mass was read, the sacrament administered, and a sermon preached. All the Catholics who were in the neighborhood attended, and the number was sometimes very great. The religion that for 900 years had ruled supreme over the island was thus once more inculcated, with the added charm of mystery and novelty. Secret synods were held, a printing-press was set up, first in a village near London, and afterward in a lonely house in a neighboring wood: Catholic books once more appeared, written with all the readiness and ability derived from constant practice in controversy, and sometimes with much elegance; the impression these works produced was strengthened by the impenetrable secrecy of their origin. The immediate result of these proceedings was, that the Catholics ceased to attend the Protestant service, and to observe the ecclesiastical edicts of the Queen; and that the opposite party insisted on their opinions with increased violence, while persecution became more severe and oppressive.⁹

⁹ See Campiani, "Vita et Martyrium"; Ingoldstadii, 1584; also Sacchinus.

Wherever the principle of Catholic restoration had not strength enough to acquire the ascendancy, its effect was to exasperate both parties, and to render them more implacable.

An example of this was afforded by Switzerland, although each canton had long possessed the right of self-government in religious affairs, and the dissensions arising from time to time, in regard to the terms of the confederation, and the interpretation of the clauses concerning religion, in the "covenant of public peace" (*Landfriedens*), were very nearly set at rest.¹⁰

But the Jesuits found their way into that country also; at the instance of a colonel in the Swiss Guard of Rome, they presented themselves in Lucerne in the year 1574, where they met with a cordial reception and zealous support, more especially from the family of Pfyffer.¹ Ludwig Pfyffer alone appeared to have expended 30,000 gulden toward the erection of a Jesuits' college. Philip of Spain and the Guises are also said to have contributed money for that purpose, and the Pope did not fail to display his unwearied generosity toward institutions of this character by furnishing the means for procuring a library. The people of Lucerne were greatly rejoiced at these things; they sent an express memorial to the general of the order, entreating that he would not deprive them of those fathers of the society already in their city. "They were most anxious to see their youth brought up in sound learning, and above all in piety and a Christian life." They promised him, in return, to spare neither pains nor labor, neither life nor means, to serve the society in everything they should desire.²

An opportunity was soon presented them of proving their renewed zeal for Catholicism in a matter of some consequence.

The city of Geneva had placed itself under the special protection of Berne, and now endeavored to draw Soleure and Freiburg into the same alliance. These towns had most commonly adhered to Berne in political affairs, though not in religious matters. With respect to Soleure the attempt succeeded—a Catholic city received the very centre of Western Protestantism into its

¹⁰ The most important was doubtless that relating to the fate of the evangelical party settled in Locarno, respecting which F. Meyer made a report in 1836, prepared from original documents. The Protestant cantons assented to that interpretation of the disputed article which favored the Catholics, and al-

lowed that the evangelical party should be compelled to quit their country. They had completely disappeared from the canton in the year 1580.

¹ Agricola, 177.

² "Literæ Lucernensium ad Everardum Mercurianum," in Sacchinus, "Historia Societatis Jesu," iv. v. 145.

protection. Gregory XIII was alarmed, and turned his best efforts to withhold at least Freiburg from the league. Lucerne then came to his assistance. An embassy from that canton joined its labors to those of the papal nuncio, and the people of Freiburg not only declined the proposed alliance, but even invited the Jesuits to their city, where, with the assistance of Gregory, they established a college.

The effects of Carlo Borromeo's exertions also began to make themselves apparent. His influence had extended particularly to the Wald cantons. Melchior Lussi, Landamman of Unterwalden, was esteemed the especial friend of the archbishop. Borromeo first sent Capuchins into the country, and these friars produced great impression on the people of the mountain districts, by the rigor and simplicity of their lives; they were followed by the pupils of the Helvetic college, which the archbishop had founded for that express purpose.

Traces of their influence were soon to be discovered in all public affairs. In the autumn of 1579 the Catholic cantons concluded a treaty with the Bishop of Basle, in which they engaged, not only to protect him in religious matters, but also promised to bring back "to the true Catholic faith," if occasion should serve, whoever among his subjects had gone over to the Protestant opinions. This engagement was evidently calculated to arouse the evangelical inhabitants of the cantons, and accordingly dissensions became more decided and bitter than they had been for a long time. A papal nuncio arrived, who was received in the Catholic cantons with every possible mark of reverence, while in those of the Protestants he was contemned and insulted.

Section VIII.—Crisis in the Netherlands

The general state of things in Europe was at that time as we are about to describe. Restored Catholicism, under the form it had assumed in Italy and Spain, had made an extensive inroad upon the rest of Europe. It had gained important conquests in Germany, and had made considerable advances in other countries, but in all it had encountered determined opposition. In France the Protestants were secured by extensive privileges and by the strength of their position—military and political. In the Netherlands they held the supremacy. They were trium-

phant in England, Scotland, and the North. In Poland they had extorted stringent laws in their own favor, and had gained extensive influence in the general affairs of the kingdom. Throughout the territories of Austria they confronted the government, armed with the ancient immunities of the provincial States. In Lower Germany the ecclesiastical institutions seemed to be on the point of suffering material change.

In this position of affairs, vast importance was attached to the issue of the struggle in the Netherlands, where the people were continually resorting to arms.

It was impossible that Philip II could intend to repeat those measures which had already suffered so signal a failure; he was not, indeed, in a condition to do so. It was his good-fortune to receive the assistance of friends who presented themselves spontaneously. Protestantism, also, was arrested in its progress by an obstacle at once unexpected and insurmountable. We shall be well repaid for devoting a short time to the consideration of this important event.

In the first place, it was by no means agreeable to all parties in the provinces, that the Prince of Orange should possess so large an extent of power—least of all was this satisfactory to the Walloon nobility.

Under the government of the King, these nobles had ever been the first to take horse in all wars, most especially in those with France; it thus happened that the leaders of note, whom the people were accustomed to follow, had acquired a certain independence and authority. Under the government of the States, the nobles found themselves, on the contrary, placed in the background; their pay was irregular; the army of the States consisted principally of Dutch, English, and Germans, who, being undoubted Protestants, enjoyed the largest share of confidence.

When the Walloons acceded to the Treaty of Ghent, they had hoped to obtain a leading influence in the general affairs of the country, but the result was altogether contrary—power fell almost exclusively into the hands of the Prince of Orange and his friends of Holland and Zealand.

But the personal disaffection thus occasioned was not all—religious animosities combined with it.

Whatever may have been the cause, the fact is certain, that

in the Walloon provinces but little sympathy was ever excited toward the Protestant movements.

In these districts the new bishops, almost all men of great practical ability, had been peaceably installed. The see of Arras was held by François de Richardot, who had eagerly imbibed the principles of Catholic restoration in the Council of Trent, and who was the subject of incessant praises, for the elegance and learning that he united with force and solidity in his preaching, as well as for the zeal, tempered by acquaintance with the world, evinced in his life.¹ The Bishop of Namur was Antoine Havet, a Dominican, endowed, perhaps, with less worldly prudence, but also a member of the Council, and equally zealous for the promulgation of its edicts and the enforcement of their spirit.² The see of St. Omer was occupied by Gerard de Hamericourt, one of the richest prelates in all the provinces, and who was also Abbot of St. Bertin. His ambition was to promote the education of the youth in his diocese: he founded many schools, and was the first who founded a college for the Jesuits in the Netherlands, supported by fixed revenues. Under these and other heads of the Church, Artois, Hainault, and Namur remained in peace, while all the other provinces were exposed to the wild turbulence of the iconoclastic riots,³ and in consequence, these districts had not been so heavily visited by the reaction under Alva.⁴ The decrees of the Council of Trent were discussed with but short delay in the provincial councils and diocesan synods, and their provisions were at once enforced. The influence of the Jesuits extended rapidly from St. Omer, and still more effectually from Douay. Philip II had established a university at Douay in order that such of his subjects as spoke the French language might have opportunity for study without leaving their country. This was in furtherance of that strict ecclesiastical constitution which it was the purpose of Philip to introduce throughout his dominions. Not far from Douay stood the Benedictine abbey of Anchin. At the time when the fury

¹ Gazette, "Histoire Ecclesiastique des Pays-Bas," p. 143, describes him as "subtle and solid in doctrine, forceful in reasoning, rich in matter, polished in language, and grave in manner; but, above all, the excellent piety and virtue that shone in his life gave effectual persuasion to his words."

² Havensius, "De Ereptione Novorum Episcopatum in Belgio," p. 50.

³ Hopper, "Recueil et Mémorial des Troubles des Pays-Bas," 93, 98.

⁴ According to "Viglii Commentarius Rerum actarum super impositione Decimi Denarii," in Papendrecht, "Analec-ta," i. l. 292, the tenth penny was imposed on them with the assurance that it should not be rigidly exacted.

of the iconoclasts was raging in almost every other part of the Netherlands, the abbot, John Lentaillieur, was there engaged with his monks in the practice of the spiritual exercises of Ignatius Loyola: inflamed by the enthusiasm excited by these exercises, he determined to institute a college of Jesuits in the new university, and endow it from the revenues of his abbey. It was opened accordingly in the year 1568, immediately obtained a certain independence of the university authorities, and rapidly acquired unusual prosperity. Eight years afterward, the flourishing state of this university, even as regarded literary study, was principally attributed to the Jesuits. Not only was their college filled with pious and diligent young men, but the other colleges also had greatly profited by the emulation it excited. Already was the whole university supplied with theologians from this college, and the provinces of Artois and Hainault received numerous priests from the same source.⁵ It gradually became the central point of modern Catholicism for all the surrounding country. In the year 1578 the Walloon provinces were considered among their contemporaries to be, according to their own expression, in the highest degree Catholic.⁶

But this religious organization was endangered no less than the political claims of the provinces by the increasing predominance of Lutheran opinions.

At Ghent the form assumed by Protestantism was such as in the present day we should call revolutionary. There the ancient liberties which had been crushed by Charles V in 1539, had never been forgotten. The atrocities of Alva had excited peculiar exasperation in that city. The populace was fierce and ungovernable, much inclined to image-breaking, and violently enraged against the priests. Two daring leaders of the people, Imbize and Ryhove, availed themselves of these tumultuary feelings. Imbize conceived the idea of establishing a republic, and fancied that Ghent would become a new Rome. They commenced their proceedings at the moment when their Governor, Arschot, was holding a meeting with certain bishops and Cath-

⁵ "Testimonium Thomæ Stapletoni" (rector of the university) of the year 1576, in Sacchinus, iv. iv. 124: "Artois and Hainault have had many pastors from that college of the fathers, and our university has received from it many excellent and learned divines." Still higher eulogies follow, but may be omitted,

and the rather as Stapleton was himself a Jesuit.

⁶ Michiel, "Relatione di Francia": "The count (the Governor of Hainault) is most Catholic, as is all that region, together with the district of Artois, which is adjacent to it."

olic leaders of the neighboring towns, whom they took prisoners, together with himself. They next restored the ancient constitution, with modifications, as will be readily supposed, which secured to themselves the possession of power. They laid hands on the property of the Church, abolished the bishopric, and confiscated the abbeys. The hospitals and monasteries they converted into barracks, and finally they endeavored to introduce a similar order of things among their neighbors by force of arms.⁷

Now it happened that some of the leaders taken prisoners with the Governor, belonged to the Walloon provinces, where the troops of Ghent were already making incursions. All who were disposed to the Protestant opinions began to arouse themselves, and the democratic passions of the people were called in aid of the religious excitement, as had been done in Ghent. In Arras a tumult was raised against the Senate. Even from Douay the Jesuits were expelled in a commotion of the people, spite of the efforts made by the Council; and although not compelled to absent themselves more than fourteen days, yet the circumstance was one of great importance. In St. Omer they maintained their ground only by the special protection of the Council.

The civic magistracy, the provincial nobility, and the clergy were all at the same time endangered and oppressed. They saw themselves menaced by a revolution equally destructive with that which had just occurred in Ghent; it is therefore not surprising if in this peril they should have recourse to every possible means of defence. They first sent their troops into the territory of Ghent, which they cruelly devastated, and then looked around for some alliance from which they might derive a more certain security than was afforded by their connection with the general union of the Netherlands.

Don John of Austria was not backward in turning this disposition of mind to his own purposes.

If we consider the conduct and measures of Don John in the Netherlands from a general point of view only, we are almost inclined to think that they produced no results; that his existence passed away without leaving a trace, as it had done without satisfaction to himself. But if we examine more closely what his position was, what his actions were, and what con-

⁷ Van der Vynkt's "Geschichte der Niederlande," *bd. ii. buch v. abschnitt 2.* This section may perhaps be consid-

ered the most important part of the whole work.

sequences resulted from his measures, we shall find that to him above all other persons must be attributed the settlement of the Spanish Netherlands. Don John endeavored for some time to abide by the terms of the Treaty of Ghent, but the independent position assumed by the States, with that held by the Prince of Orange, who was much more powerful than himself—the Viceroy—and the suspicions entertained by each party against the other, made an open rupture inevitable; he therefore resolved to begin the war. This was doubtless in opposition to the will of his brother, but it was unavoidable. There were no other means by which he could hope to secure a single province to the sovereignty of Spain; but by adopting this method he succeeded. He retained possession of Luxembourg, he invested Namur, and the battle of Gemblours made him master of Louvain and Limburg. If the King desired to recover his power in the Netherlands, that was not to be effected by treating with the States-General, which was manifestly impracticable; it could only be done by a gradual subjugation of the separate districts; either by terms of convention or force of arms. This system Don John adopted, and it soon laid open to him the most cheering prospects. He succeeded in reviving the old attachment of the Walloon provinces to the Burgundian race, and had the good-fortune to gain over to his party two men of great power and influence, Pardieu de la Motte, Governor of Gravelines, and Matthieu Moulart, Bishop of Arras.⁸

These were the men who, after the early death of Don John, conducted the negotiations on which everything depended, with great zeal and successful skill.

De la Motte availed himself of the increasing hatred against the Protestants. He effected the removal of many garrisons belonging to the States from the fortresses they occupied, solely on the ground that they might be Protestant, and contrived that a decree should be issued, in the month of November, by the nobles of Artois excluding all who professed the reformed opinions from that province; which decree was at once carried into execution. After this commencement, Matthieu Moulart turned all his efforts to the effecting a reconciliation with Philip.

⁸ That they were gained over during the life of Don John appears from the two passages following; 1st, Strada, ii. l. p. 19: "Pardieu de la Motte had not only signified to Don John that he

would resume his allegiance to the King, but promised to bring over all he could with him;" 2d, Tassis: "The Bishop of Arras, who was reconciled to the King in the time of Don John."

He began by imploring the assistance of God in a solemn procession, which he conducted through the whole city; and it was, in fact, a very difficult enterprise that he had undertaken; for among other things, he had occasionally to bring about a coalition between men whose claims were directly opposed to each other. He proved himself to be shrewd, conciliating, and indefatigable, and his endeavors were entirely successful.

Alexander Farnese, the successor of Don John, possessed the inestimable gift of persuading, attaching, and inspiring lasting confidence. He was assisted by François de Richardot, nephew of the bishop; "a man," says Cabrera, "of keen penetration and sound judgment in various affairs, and experienced in all; he was capable of conducting every sort of business, be its nature what it might." Sarrazin, Abbot of St. Vaast, was also his zealous supporter. Of him the same Cabrera says, "He was a great politician, with an appearance of tranquil indifference; very ambitious under a show of extreme humility, and was skilled to maintain himself in the good opinion of all."⁹

We do not follow the whole course of the negotiations till they gradually attained their end.

It must suffice to say that on the part of the provinces the interests of self-preservation and of religion pointed to the King; while on the part of Philip II nothing was omitted that priestly influence and dexterous negotiation, combined with the returning favor of the sovereign, could effect. In April, 1579, Emanuel de Montigny—whom the Walloon forces acknowledged as their leader—entered the service of the King. He was followed by Count de Lalaing, without whom Hainault could never have been won. At length, on May 17, 1579, the treaty was concluded in the camp of Maestricht. But to what conditions was the King compelled to submit! It was a restoration of his authority, but was effected only under the strictest limitations. He not only promised to dismiss all foreigners from his army, and to employ troops raised in the Netherlands alone, but he agreed to confirm all those in their places who had acquired office during the troubles. The inhabitants even pledged themselves to receive no garrison of which information had not previously been given to the estates of the country; two-thirds of the Council of State were to consist of men who had been impli-

⁹ Cabrera, "Felipe Segundo," p. 1021.

cated in the disturbances. The remaining articles were all in a similar spirit.¹⁰ The provinces acquired a degree of independence exceeding anything that they had ever before possessed.

This event involved a turn of affairs that was of universal importance. Throughout the west of Europe, all attempts hitherto made for the maintenance or restoration of Catholicism had been by open force; and, under this pretext, the sovereign power had labored to complete the destruction of all provincial freedom. But monarchy was now compelled to adopt a different course. If kings desired to reinstate Catholicism, and to uphold their own authority, they must take their measures in firm alliance with constitutional assemblies, and in coalition with public immunities.

We have seen that the royal power was closely restricted; but, spite of all the limits imposed, it had yet obtained important advantages. Those provinces on which the might of the house of Burgundy had been founded, had returned to their allegiance. Alexander Farnese continued the war with the Walloon troops; and, though making slow progress, he still advanced. In 1580 he gained possession of Courtray; in 1581, of Tournay; and in 1582 he took Oudenarde.

But these events did not bring affairs to a complete decision. The union of the Catholic provinces with the King was perhaps the very cause which compelled the northern districts, all exclusively Protestant, not only to form a closer confederation among themselves, but eventually to declare an absolute renunciation of the royal authority.

We will here take a rapid glance at the general history of the Netherlands. A contest of long standing subsisted in all the provinces between the provincial rights and the sovereign prerogative. In the time of Alva, princely power had obtained a preponderance more decided than it had ever before possessed, but which it could not even then long maintain. The Treaty of Ghent demonstrated the complete superiority acquired by the popular bodies over the government. The northern provinces possessed no advantages over those of the south in this respect; had they been of one opinion in religion, they would have constituted one general republic of the Netherlands; but they were

¹⁰ Tassis gives this treaty at full length, lib. v. 394-405.

separated, as we have seen, by a difference of faith. From this circumstance, it followed, first, that the Catholics returned to the protection of the King, with whom they pledged themselves, above all, to the maintenance of the Catholic religion; and a second result was that the Protestants, after long persevering in the struggle, at length cast aside the very name of subjection, and entirely renounced their allegiance to the King. We give the name of the subject provinces to the first of these parties, and designate the last as the republic; but we must not suppose the essential difference between them to have been so great as these names would imply; for the subjected provinces asserted all their rights and the privileges of their estates with the most spirited tenacity, while the republican provinces could not dispense with an institution (the stadtholdership) which was closely analogous to that of royalty. The most important distinction consisted in their religion.

It was by this that the true principles of the contest were brought out, and that events were matured and advanced to their consummation.

Philip II had just at this period completed the conquest of Portugal; and at the moment when he was stimulated by the achievement of this great success to the undertaking of new enterprises, the Walloon States at length agreed to the return of the Spanish troops.

Count de Lalaing was gained over to the Spanish side, and with him his wife, who had been an active opponent of the Spaniards, and to whom their expulsion was principally ascribed. The whole body of the Walloon nobility followed their example. Men persuaded themselves that a renewal of Alva's despotism and violence was no more to be dreaded. The Spanish-Italian army, already withdrawn once, then brought back, and again expelled, returned once more to the country. With the troops of the Netherlands alone, the war must have been indefinitely protracted; the superior force and discipline of the Spanish veterans brought the conflict to a crisis.

As in Germany the colonies of Jesuits, composed of Spaniards, Italians, and some few Netherlanders, had restored Catholicism by the zealous inculcation of its dogmas, and by carefully arranged education, so now in the Netherlands an Italico-Spanish army appeared to unite with the Walloon

Catholics for the reinstatement of the Roman supremacy by force of arms.

At this point of the history we are treating, it is impossible to avoid some slight description of the war; in its course the destinies of religion were also involved.

In July, 1583, the port and town of Dunkirk were taken in six days. They were followed by Nieuport and the whole coast, even to Ostend, Dixmunde, and Furnes.

The character of the war was at once made manifest. In everything relating to politics the Spaniards displayed forbearance; but in all that pertained to religion they were inexorable. It was not to be thought of that the Protestants should be allowed a church; they were refused even the right of private worship; all the preachers taken were instantly hanged. The war was conducted with full consciousness and fixed design, as a war of religion; and, in a certain sense, this was indeed the most prudent system, the existing state of things considered. A complete subjugation of the Protestants could never have been effected but by so decided a mode of proceeding: whatever elements of Catholicism the provinces contained, were aroused to activity, and excited to aid the Spanish cause; and, accordingly, their co-operation was offered spontaneously. The Bailliu Servaes of Steeland delivered the district of Waes to the royalists. Hulst and Axel surrendered; and Alexander Farnese soon found himself sufficiently powerful to prepare for attack on the more important cities. He was already master of the country and the coast; the cities soon followed. In the month of April, Ypres surrendered, immediately afterward Bruges, and finally Ghent, where Imbize himself took part with the reconciliation party. The conditions granted to the communes, in their political character, were very favorable. Their immunities were for the most part respected, but the Protestants were expelled without mercy. The principal condition in every case was that the Catholic clergy should be reinstated and the churches restored to the Catholic worship.

But with all that had been effected, nothing permanent seemed to be gained, no security was possessed while the Prince of Orange survived; his existence gave force and consistency to the opposition, and prevented hope from expiring even in the vanquished.

The Spaniards had set a price of 25,000 scudi on his head, and amidst the fierce excitement of the period there could not fail to be men whose fanaticism and avarice would prompt them to earn this reward. I do not know that the annals of humanity can furnish a more fearful blasphemy than that found in the papers of the Biscayan Jaureguy, who was taken in attempting the life of the prince. He carried about him, as a kind of amulet, prayers in which he besought the merciful Godhead, who appeared to men in the person of Christ, to aid in the completion of the murder, and in which he promised a portion of the reward to the divine persons in the event of his enterprise being accomplished. To the Mother of God at Bayonne he would give a robe, a lamp, and a crown; to the Mother of God at Aranzosu, a crown; and to the Lord Jesus himself, a rich curtain!¹ This fanatic was fortunately seized, but another was already preparing to imitate him. At the moment when the outlawry (of the prince) was proclaimed in Maestricht, a Burgundian, named Balthaser Gerard, felt himself inspired by the wish to carry the ban of the empire into execution.² The hopes he entertained of earthly happiness and glory if he succeeded, or of the fame of a martyr in the event of failure, were confirmed by a Jesuit of Treves, and thoughts of these things would not suffer him to rest day or night until he set about the accomplishment of the crime. He represented himself to the prince as a refugee, and having thus gained admittance, he found a favorable opportunity in July, 1584, and killed the prince at one shot. He was taken, but all the tortures inflicted on him failed to extort a sigh from his lips, he persisted in declaring that if the deed were not done he would yet do it. Whilst Gerard was expiring at Delft, amidst the execrations of the people, the canons of Herzogenbusch performed a solemn Te Deum in celebration of his act.

¹ Contemporary copy of a vow and of certain prayers, found in the form of an amulet upon Jaureguy, in the Collection of Lord Francis Egerton. "A vos Señor Jesus Christo, redemptor y salvador del mundo, criador del cielo y de la tierra, os ofrezco, siendo os servido librarne con vida despues de haver efectuado mi deseo, un belo murico." (See text.) And so it proceeds.

² Borgognone, "Inf. Polit." xii. "Account of the death of William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, and of the torments endured by that most generous youth, Balthasar Gerard," contains circumstances differing from the usual ac-

counts: "Gerard, whose mother is from Besançon, was about twenty-eight years old, and was a youth of no less learning than eloquence [he had entertained this design for six years and a half]: The opportunity then offering of taking letters to Nassau from the Duke of Alençon (to whom he was gentleman of the household) on July 7th, an hour and a half after dinner, and the prince just rising from table, he fired an arquebuse loaded with three balls, struck him under the left breast, and made a wound two inches broad, by which he killed him."

The passions of both parties were in fierce commotion, but the impulse communicated to the Catholics was the stronger—it accomplished its purpose and bore off the victory.

Had the prince lived, he would doubtless have found means, as he had promised, to relieve Antwerp, which was already besieged; but no one could now be found to occupy his place.

The measures adopted for the reduction of Antwerp were so comprehensive in their character that all other towns in Brabant were directly menaced by them. The Prince of Parma cut off supplies of provisions from all; Brussels was the first to surrender; that city, accustomed to abundance, was no sooner threatened by want, than discords arose, and soon led to its being surrendered; next fell Mechlin, and at length, on the failure of a last attempt to cut through the dams and procure the means of existence by land, Antwerp also was compelled to yield.

The conditions imposed on the cities of Brabant, as on those of Flanders, were particularly mild; Brussels was exempted from the payment of contributions; Antwerp received a promise that no Spanish garrison should be placed in the city, and that the citadel should not be repaired. One condition was indeed permitted to take the place of all others, the restoration namely of all churches and chapels, with the reinstatement of all the exiled clergy, secular and monastic; on this the King insisted with inflexible firmness; he declared that it must be the first and last stipulation of every agreement; the only favor he could be persuaded to grant was that the inhabitants of all towns should be allowed two years either to change their religion or to sell their possessions and quit the Spanish dominions.

How completely had the times changed their aspect! At one period Philip himself had hesitated to grant the Jesuits a fixed establishment in the Netherlands, and they had often since those days, been menaced, attacked, and expelled. The events of this war led to their immediate return, and that under the decided protection of the government. The Farnesi, moreover, were especial patrons of the order. Alexander had a Jesuit for his confessor; he beheld in the society the most efficient instrument for restoring the half Protestant country he had conquered to the Catholic Church, and thus completing the

principal purpose of the war.³ The first city they re-entered was Courtray, the first that had been taken. The parish priest of the town, Jean David, had become acquainted with the Jesuits during his exile at Douay, he now returned to Courtray, but his first step was to join the order. In his farewell sermon to his parishioners, he exhorted them no longer to deprive themselves of the spiritual aid to be derived from that society, and they were readily persuaded into following his advice; instantly afterward the aged John Montagna, who had first established the Jesuits in Tournay, whence he had more than once been compelled to fly, returned to fix their company in that town, where they acquired a permanent residence. On the surrender of Ypres and Bruges, the Jesuits entered those cities also, and the King willingly bestowed on them certain convents which had been deserted during the troubles. In Ghent, the house of the great demagogue Imbize, whence had originated so much mischief to Catholicism, was fitted up for their reception. When the people of Antwerp surrendered, they tried to obtain a promise that those monastic orders only which had existed in the time of Charles V should be reinstated; but this was not conceded to them; they were compelled to admit the Jesuits again, and to restore the buildings before possessed by the order. One of the Jesuit historians relates these facts with infinite complacency, and points it out as a special mark of the divine approval, that the society received back property unencumbered, which they had left loaded with debt; it had passed in the meantime through many different hands, but was nevertheless restored to them without hesitation or inquiry. Brussels did not escape the general destiny; the Town Council declared its assent to their establishment, the Prince of Parma assigned them a pension from the royal treasure, and in that city also the Jesuits assumed an advantageous position. The Prince had already solemnly conferred on them the right to hold real property under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and freely to avail themselves in those provinces, of the privileges they held from the Apostolic See.

³ Sacchinus (pars v. lib. iv. n. 58): "It was the opinion of Alexander and his advisers that the society should be instantly settled in every city recovered from the heretics, as a means to secure the public tranquillity, and, at the same time, to promote the piety of individu-

als." According to the *Imago Primi Seculi*, this was also the will of the King, "who had recently laid his commands on the general of the order to fill all the chief cities of Belgium with the members." Assertions sufficiently borne out by the facts.

Nor was the patronage of the prince confined to the order of Jesuits; in the year 1585 a small number of Capuchins arrived in the Netherlands, and on addressing a special letter to the Pope, the prince obtained permission for their fixed residence in that country. He then bought them a house in Antwerp; they produced a powerful effect even on the different religious communities, insomuch that the Pope found it needful to restrain the other Franciscans from adopting the reformed rule of the Capuchins.

The most important consequences gradually resulted from all these arrangements; they transformed Belgium, which had previously been half Protestant, into one of the most decidedly Catholic countries in the world. It is also unquestionable that they contributed, at least in the commencement, to the re-establishment of the royal authority.

As one of the results of these changes, the opinion that only one religion ought to be tolerated in a State became more and more firmly established. This is one of the principal maxims in the political system of Justus Lipsius. In affairs of religion, he declares, neither favor nor indulgence is permissible; the true mercy is to be merciless; to save many, we must not scruple to remove one here and there out of the way.

This is a principle that has been received in no country with a more cordial acceptance than in Germany.

Section IX.—Progress of the Counter-Reformation in Germany

The Netherlands being still a circle of the German Empire, it followed of necessity that the events occurring in the former country would be extremely influential on the affairs of Germany. The disputes in Cologne were brought to a decision as one of the first and most immediate consequences of the change in the Netherlands.

The Spaniards had not yet returned, still less had the Catholics achieved their great triumphs, when the Elector Truchsess, of Cologne, determined to adopt the reformed religion, and to marry, without, on that account, resigning his archbishopric. This occurred in November, 1582. He had the greater part of the nobility on his side; the counts of Nuenar, Solms, Wittgenstein, Wied, and Nassau, with the whole duchy of Westphalia,

all professing the evangelical opinions. With the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other, the Elector entered Bonn, while Casimir of the Palatinate took the field in considerable force to reduce the city of Cologne, the chapter, and the remaining officers of the archbishopric who were opposed to the Elector Truchsess.

In all the transactions of those times we find this Casimir of the Palatinate always ready to mount his horse or draw his sword, and always followed by martial bands, disposed to Protestantism, but he rarely seemed to effect anything important. He did not carry on the war with the earnest purpose demanded by a contest for religion, because he had always some interest of his own before his eyes; nor did he display the science and energy distinguishing those who appeared against him. In the case we are considering, he did indeed lay waste the plain country of his opponents, but he accomplished nothing in promotion of the general interests;¹ he achieved no conquests, nor did he succeed in obtaining more efficient assistance among the Protestant powers of Germany.

The Catholic powers, on the contrary, gathered all their forces together. Pope Gregory would not permit the business to be subjected to the delays remarked in every proceeding of the Curia; he considered that the urgency of the case made a simple consistory of the cardinals sufficient to decide an affair of so much importance as the despoiling an elector of the empire of his archiepiscopal dignity.² His nuncio, Malaspina, had already hurried to Cologne, where, with the special aid of the learned members of the chapter, he not only succeeded in excluding all the less firmly Catholic members from that body, but also in raising to the archiepiscopal throne a prince of the only house still remaining thoroughly Catholic, Duke Ernest of Bavaria, Bishop of Freisingen.³ Thereupon a German Catholic army appeared in the field, which the Duke of Bavaria had collected, with aid of subsidies from the Pope. The Emperor lost no time in threatening the count palatine Casimir with ban and double ban (*acht und aberacht*); he sent besides admonitory letters to the troops of Casimir, which eventually caused the

¹ Isselt, "Historia Belli Coloniensis," p. 1092: "That whole summer he did nothing worthy of such an army."

² Maffei, "Annali di Gregorio XIII.," ii. xii. 8.

³ Letter from Malaspina to Duke William of Bavaria, in "Adlzreiter," ii. xii. 595: "What we desired," he here remarks, "that we obtained."

army of the palatinate to disperse. When affairs had reached this point, the Spaniards also appeared. They had taken Zutphen in the summer of 1583; they now marched 3,500 Belgian veterans into the archbishopric. To enemies so numerous, Gebhard Truchsess was compelled to yield; his troops would not act in opposition to the imperial mandate; his principal fortress surrendered to the united Spanish and Bavarian forces, and he was himself obliged to seek refuge with the Prince of Orange, at whose side he had hoped to stand forward as a defender of Protestantism.

It will be readily perceived that this event must have contributed largely toward the complete re-establishment of Catholicism in the country. From the first outbreak of the disturbances, the clergy of the diocese had suspended all disputes existing among themselves; the nuncio removed all suspected members, and a Jesuit college was established amidst the very tumult of arms, so that when victory was gained, nothing more was required than to continue the course already entered on. The Catholic clergy had been driven from Westphalia by Gebhard Truchsess—they now returned with other fugitives, and were held in great honor.⁴ The Protestant canons continued in exclusion from their prebends, and, contrary to all precedent, they no longer received their revenues. It is true that the papal nuncios were compelled to proceed with great caution and gentleness, even as regarded Catholics, a fact of which Pope Sixtus was well aware, and he commanded the legate by no means to press forward the reforms he might find needful, until he should be certain that all were disposed to receive them. But by this discreet mode of approach, it was that the nuncio imperceptibly reached his end. The canons, however illustrious their birth, at length began again to perform their clerical duties in the cathedral. The Council of Cologne, which was opposed by a Protestant party in the city, supported the Catholic opinions with their utmost power.

The effects of this great revolution could not fail to be felt in all the remaining Ecclesiastical States, and they were further heightened in the neighborhood of Cologne by a particular accident. Henry of Saxe-Lauenburg, Bishop of Paderborn and

⁴ "The elector Ernest," says Khevenhiller, "has re-established both the Catholic religion and the temporal gov-

ernment in harmony with ancient usages."

Osnabrück, Archbishop of Bremen, left his palace of Vöhrde one Sunday in April, and proceeded to church; on the way back his horse fell with him, and although still young, in perfect health, and receiving, as it appeared, no serious injury from the fall, he yet died in consequence before the end of the month. It was believed that this prince would have followed the example of Gebhard Truchsess, had the latter been more fortunate. The elections that followed his death were greatly to the advantage of Catholicism. The new bishop of Osnabrück did not refuse to subscribe the *professio fidei*,⁵ and the new bishop of Paderborn, Theodore von Fürstenberg, was a most bigoted Catholic; even as canon he had opposed his predecessor, and so early as the year 1580 he effected the passing of a statute to the effect that Catholics only should for the future be received into the chapter.⁶ He had also procured the admittance of a few Jesuits, whom he had suffered to preach in the cathedral, and to whom he had confided the upper classes of the gymnasium; the latter with the condition that they should not wear the dress of their order. How much more easily could he now promote the views of his party, being himself in possession of the bishopric! The Jesuits no longer found it needful to conceal their presence, the gymnasium was made over to them without reserve, and they were not only permitted to preach but to catechize. They found abundant occupation. The Town Council was entirely Protestant, and there were very few Catholics among the burghers; in the country around, things were much the same. The Jesuits compared Paderborn to a barren field, demanding infinite labor and yielding no return. We shall, nevertheless, have occasion to show hereafter that in the beginning of the seventeenth century their industry had penetrated this stubborn soil.

In Münster also the death of Henry Saxe-Lauenburg occasioned important changes. No election had hitherto been made in this see, where the younger members supported Prince Henry,

⁵ According to Strunck, "Annales Paderbornensis," p. 514, Bernard von Waldeck had in earlier times been disposed to Protestantism: during the troubles in Cologne he had remained neuter, and now he adopted the Catholic confession. Chytraeus (Saxonia, 812) does not contradict this.

⁶ Bessen, "Geschichte von Paderborn," ii. 123. In Reiffenberg, "Historia Provinciæ ad Rhenum Inferiorem,"

lib. viii. c. i. p. 185, may be found a letter from Pope Gregory XIII: "dilectis filiis canonicis et capitulo ecclesiæ Paderbornensis," February 6, 1584, wherein he praises this spirit of opposition: "It is right that it should be thus: the more violently you are attacked, the more vigorous must be your resistance: the Pope himself bears the fathers of the Society of Jesus in his heart."

while the elder opposed him; but Duke Ernest of Bavaria, Elector of Cologne and Bishop of Liège, was now chosen Bishop of Münster also. This election was secured principally by the influence of Dean Raesfeld, the most zealous Catholic in the diocese, who further bequeathed 12,000 rix-dollars from his own revenues for the establishment of a Jesuits' college in Münster, and died soon after making his will. The first members of the order arrived in 1587. They met determined opposition from the canons, the preachers, and the citizens; but were supported by the council and the prince: their schools soon gave proof of their extraordinary merit as instructors; and in the third year of their labors they are said to have counted 1,000 scholars. In that same year, 1590, they acquired complete independence from a voluntary grant of church property conferred on them by the prince.⁷

The Elector Ernest also held the bishopric of Hildesheim. It is true that his power was much more closely restricted in that diocese; he was, nevertheless, able to promote the introduction of the Jesuits; the first who entered Hildesheim was John Hammer, a native of the town, and brought up in the Lutheran faith (his father was still living), but actuated by all the zeal of a new convert. His preaching was remarkable for clearness and force; he effected several brilliant conversions, and eventually made good his position. In the year 1590 the Jesuits obtained a residence and pension in Hildesheim.

We cannot fail to observe that the attachment of the house of Bavaria to the Catholic faith was of the first importance, even as regarded Lower Germany, where in so many dioceses at once, a Bavarian prince appears as its most earnest defender.

We are, nevertheless, not to imagine that this prince was very zealous or very devout in his personal conduct. He had natural children; and it was at one time believed that he would end by adopting a similar course to that taken by Gebhard Truchsess. The caution with which Pope Sixtus treated the Elector Ernest is sufficiently remarkable. He carefully abstained from showing the prince that his irregularities were known to him, perfectly as he was acquainted with them; for otherwise admonitions and exhortations would have been necessary, and

⁷ Sacchinus, pars v. lib. viii. n. 83-91. Reiffenberg, "Historia Provinciæ ad Rhenum Inferiorem," i. ix. vi.

these might have driven the self-willed Ernest to resolutions by no means desirable.⁸

It was, indeed, long before affairs in Germany could be treated as those of the Netherlands had been; they required the most delicate regard to various personal feelings and interests.

Duke William of Cleves conformed in externals to the Catholic confession, but his policy was altogether Protestant. He readily accorded protection and shelter to the Protestant exiles, and excluded his son, John William, who was a zealous Catholic, from all participation in public affairs. The Court of Rome might easily have been tempted to display resentment and disapprobation of these proceedings, and to favor the opposition of John William to his father; but Sixtus V was much too prudent to suffer this. He would not even allow the nuncio to hold a conference with the prince, until the latter pressed so earnestly for the interview that it could no longer be avoided without offence. The meeting then took place at Düsseldorf, but the prince was, above all things, exhorted to patience. Sixtus would not permit John William to be invested with the order of the Golden Fleece, for that might awaken suspicion. He further refrained from interceding directly with the father in favor of the son; any connection of the latter with Rome might occasion displeasure; he ventured only so far as to procure the mediation of the Emperor, and thus endeavored to obtain for the prince a position more suitable to his birth. He directed his nuncio to act with regard to certain things as though he did not perceive them; and this considerate forbearance on the part of an authority that had not ceased to be acknowledged, produced its natural effect: the nuncio gradually obtained influence; and when the Protestants applied to the diet for certain concessions, it was principally in consequence of his representations that they were not granted.⁹

Thus, throughout a great part of Lower Germany Catholicism, if not immediately restored, was yet maintained in the hour of danger; confirmed and strengthened, it acquired a degree of preponderance that in the course of time might be matured into absolute supremacy.

⁸ Tempesti, "Vita di Sisto V.," tom. i. p. 354.

⁹ Tempesti, "Vita di Sisto V.," tom. i. p. 359.

In Upper Germany a similar train of circumstances immediately ensued.

We have alluded to the position of the Franconian bishoprics. A bishop of determined character might easily have conceived the idea of availing himself of this state of things for the attainment of hereditary sovereignty.

It was probably some consideration of this kind by which Julius Echter, of Mespelbronn, was led to hesitate for some time as to the line of policy he should pursue when, in the year 1573, while still very young, and naturally enterprising, he was elected Bishop of Würzburg.

He took an active part in the expulsion of the Abbot of Fulda; and it could not have been any very decided disposition to Catholicism that brought the chapter and States of Fulda into connection with Julius, since it was the determination of their abbot to restore Catholicism that formed their principal complaint against him; and the bishop had a misunderstanding with Rome in consequence of that affair. Gregory XIII imposed his commands on him to restore Fulda, at the time when Gebhard Truchsess proclaimed his revolt. In effect, Julius prepared to make an application to the Elector of Saxony, and to call on the head of the Lutherans for aid against the Pope. He was in the most intimate connection with Truchsess; and the latter, at least, conceived hope that the Bishop of Würzburg would follow his example. The ambassador of Henry Saxe-Lauenburg, Archbishop of Bremen, announced this expectation to his master with great satisfaction.¹⁰

Under these circumstances it would be difficult to say what the course of Bishop Julius would have been had Truchsess been able to maintain his hold on Cologne; but when the latter failed so completely, Julius Echter not only resigned all thought of imitating him, but was careful to pursue a totally opposite plan.

Is it to be believed that his utmost wish and purpose was to become absolute master in his episcopal domains? or had

¹⁰ Letter of Hermann von der Decken (for Becken must be a false reading), dated December 6, 1582, in Schmidt-Phiseldeck, "Historischen Miscellaneen," i. 25: "On the statements and solicitations of the legate, the bishop of Würzburg required time for consideration; he then ordered his horses and retinue to be prepared, resolving to ride

at once to the lord Elector of Saxony, and complain of such unheard-of impertinence on the part of the Pope, also to ask advice, aid, and consolation. The lord Elector (of Cologne) has great hope of the most reverend bishops, and believes that their princely graces will revolt from the Pope."

he indeed a profound conviction in his heart that the Catholic faith was the true one? He was a pupil of the Jesuits, had been educated in the *Collegium Romanum*. Suffice it to say that in the year 1584 he resolved on making a visitation of the churches in a spirit so rigidly Catholic that nothing like it had before been seen in Germany; this he carried into effect in person, and with all the energy of a determined will.

Accompanied by a certain number of Jesuits, Bishop Julius travelled through the whole of his dominions. He began with Gmünden, thence proceeded to Arnstein, Werneck, Hassfurt, and so on from district to district. In each town he summoned the burgomaster and council to his presence, and declared to all his determination that the errors of Protestantism should be rooted from the land. The preachers were removed, and their places filled by the pupils of the Jesuits. If any public officer refused to attend the Catholic worship, he was dismissed without mercy; orthodox candidates were ready to fill the place he vacated. Even private individuals were required to take part in the Catholic service—they had to choose between expatriation and the mass. Whoever regarded the religion of his prince as an abomination, was declared incapable of retaining part or lot in his territory.¹ It was in vain that the neighboring princes remonstrated against these proceedings, Bishop Julius replied to all, that it was not what he was doing that disturbed his conscience, but that he had not begun to do it much earlier. He was most zealously supported by the Jesuits, among whom Father Gerhard Weller was particularly remarked; alone, on foot, and without even a change of clothing, he went about preaching from town to town. In one year (1586) fourteen cities and market-towns, upward of 200 villages, and not less than 62,000 souls, were brought back to Catholicism. The capital of the see was the only town still alienated from the Church, and this the bishop undertook to recover in March, 1587. He caused the Town Council to appear before him, and appointed a commissioner for each quarter and parish, by whom every citizen was to be separately interrogated. This investigation showed that one-half of the inhabitants held Prot-

¹ Biography of Bishop Julius in Gropp's "Chronik von Würzburg," p. 335: "They were desired to give up their offices, and seek their living out of the diocese." I have already used this bi-

ography, and with it, particularly, "Christophori Mariani Augustani *Encænna et Tricennalia Juliana*," in Gropp's "Scriptt. Wirceb." tom. I.

estant opinions, but many were feeble and unsettled in their faith; these readily yielded, and the solemn communion appointed for the celebration of Easter in the cathedral, and at which the bishop himself officiated, was numerously attended. Some held out longer, and a few chose rather to sell their possessions and abandon their country than resign their faith: among these exiles were four members of the Town Council.

The nearest ecclesiastical neighbor of Würzburg, Ernest von Mengersdorf, Bishop of Bamberg, felt himself especially called on to imitate the example thus set by Bishop Julius. There is a well-known hill called Gösweinstein, which rises above the valley of Muggendorf, and to which, even in our own days, pilgrims resort from all the surrounding villages, gaining the summit by steep and lonely paths, conducting through majestic woods and wild ravines. An ancient sanctuary of the Trinity existed in this place, but at the time we are speaking of, it was neglected and decayed. In the year 1587 the Bishop of Bamberg chanced to visit the sanctuary, and took its condition greatly to heart. Incited by the example of his neighbor, he declared that he also would "recover his subjects to the holy Catholic faith—no danger should deter him from performing this his duty." We shall have occasion to observe the zeal with which his successor proceeded on the path he marked out.

While measures were thus but in the first stage of preparation at Bamberg, Bishop Julius was effecting a thorough transformation in the religious affairs of Würzburg. All the old ordinances were revived, devotional exercises in honor of the Mother of God were renewed, brotherhoods of the "Assumption of the Virgin," the "Birth of the Virgin," and many other denominations were again formed. Pilgrimages were undertaken, new modes of devotion were invented, the streets were filled with processions, and the whole country was admonished by church bells at the stated hour for the Ave Maria.² Relics were once more collected, and laid with great reverence in pompous shrines. The monasteries were reoccupied, new churches were built in all parts of the diocese. Bishop Julius

² "*Julii episcopi statuta ruralia*," Gropp, "*Scriptt.*" tom. i. His idea is, that the religious movement, which proceeds from the supreme head of the

Church of God, communicates itself downward to every member of the body. See p. 444, *de capitulis ruralibus*.

is said to have laid the foundation of 300, which the traveller may still distinguish by their tall and pointed spires. The change thus wrought in a very few years was observed with astonishment. "What but lately," exclaims one of the bishop's eulogists, "would have been called superstitious—nay, even contemptible—is now considered holy; what was formerly accounted a gospel, is now declared to be mere deceit."

Results so important had not been expected even in Rome. The enterprise of Bishop Julius had been for some time in progress before intelligence of it reached Pope Sixtus V. On the close of the autumn holidays in 1586, Acquaviva, general of the Jesuits, appeared before him, and announced the new conquests achieved by his order. Sixtus was in raptures; he hastened to express his acknowledgments to the bishop, and conferred on him the right of nominating to benefices, even during those months reserved to the Papal See, declaring that Bishop Julius would best know whom to reward by their possession.

But the joy of Pope Sixtus in Acquaviva's report was greatly increased by the receipt of similar intelligence from the Austrian provinces, and more especially from Styria.

Changes were seen to commence in Styria during that very year when the estates of the province acquired so large an extent of privilege from the edicts of the diet held at Bruck, that their position might be compared with that of the Austrian estates, which had also their council for religious affairs, their superintendents, their synods, and a constitution almost republican.

At the very moment when Rudolph II received the oath of allegiance from his subjects, the great difference between himself and his father became apparent to all. He performed the various acts of devotion with the most rigorous exactitude, and his people beheld him with astonishment attending in processions, even during the most severe winter, with uncovered head, and bearing a lighted torch in his hand.

This disposition of the sovereign, and the favor he showed toward the Jesuits, soon caused great anxiety, and in accordance with the spirit of the times occasioned a violent counter-

movement. No regular church was allowed to the Protestants in Vienna, but they used the Landhaus for their public worship, and the preacher Joshua Opitz, a follower of Flaccius, there inveighed against the Jesuits with all the vehemence peculiar to his sect. Whilst he systematically "thundered against the priests and all the abominations of popery," he awakened not only conviction, but violent rage in the minds of his hearers, so that on leaving the church they felt, as a contemporary of Opitz declares, "inclined to tear the papists to pieces with their hands."³ The consequence of this was that the Emperor resolved to prohibit their assemblies in the Landhaus. While this affair was in discussion, and the arguments on both sides were proceeding with passionate eagerness, the nobility, to whom the Landhaus belonged, broke forth into expressions of menace; and while things were thus disturbed the festival of the Corpus Christi arrived. It was the year 1578. The Emperor was resolved to celebrate the feast with the utmost solemnity; after he had heard mass in the cathedral, he walked forth with the procession, which was the first that had been seen for a long time. The host was carried through the streets by a long train of priests, monks, friars, and members of guilds, with the Emperor and princes in the midst of them. It was soon manifest that the city was in excessive commotion; when the procession arrived in the peasants' market, it became necessary to remove a few stalls, in order to make it a passage; nothing more was required to create a general tumult, cries arose on all sides of "To arms! we are betrayed!" The choral followers and priests abandoned the host, the halberdiers and horse-guards dispersed in all directions, Rudolph found himself in the midst of an enraged multitude; he feared an attack upon his person, and laid his hand on his sword; the princes closed round him with drawn weapons, and prepared to defend their sovereign.⁴ It will be readily believed that this occurrence produced a very painful impression on a prince of so much gravity, and so firmly attached to the Spanish dignity and stateliness. The papal nuncio profited by the occasion; he pointed out the danger arising to the person of the Emperor from this state of public

³ Dr. George Eder, who, be it observed, was an adversary: extract from his "Warnungsschrift" in Raupach, "Evangel. Oestreich," ii. 286.

⁴ Maffei, "Annali di Gregorio XIII." tom. i. p. 281, 385, written without doubt from the reports of the nuncio.

feeling, and declared that God himself had given him a warning, in that commotion, to delay no longer the fulfilment of the promises he had made to the Pope. The Spanish ambassador supported the legate; Magius, the provincial of the Jesuits, had frequently counselled Rudolph to adopt decisive measures, and his advice now received attention. On June 21st the Emperor issued an order to Opitz and his assistants, whether in church or school, to leave the city that very day "while the sun was shining," and to depart, within fourteen days, from the hereditary dominions of Austria. Rudolph expected an insurrection of the people, and had a body of trustworthy men prepared under arms for a case of emergency. But how could anyone venture to oppose himself to the sovereign, while he had the letter of the law on his side? The people contented themselves with conducting the exiles on their way with demonstrations of regret and compassion.⁵

From that day there commenced a Catholic reaction in Austria, which acquired force and efficiency from year to year.

In the first place it was determined to expel Protestantism from the imperial cities. The towns east of the Ens, which had separated from the estates of the knights and nobles twenty years before, could offer no resistance, the reformed clergy were removed, and their places filled by Catholic priests; private persons were subjected to a close examination. A formula, according to which the suspected were interrogated, has come into our possession. "Dost thou believe," inquires one of its articles, "that everything is true which the Church of Rome has laid down as the rule of life and doctrine?" "Dost thou believe," adds another, "that the Pope is the head of the one sole apostolic Church?" No doubt was to be endured.⁶ The Protestants were expelled from all offices of state; none were admitted to the class of burghers who did not declare themselves Catholic. In the universities, that of Vienna not excepted, all who applied for a doctor's degree were first required to subscribe the *professio fidei*. A new regulation for schools was promulgated, which prescribed Catholic formularies, fasts, worship according to the Catholic ritual, and the

⁵ Sacchinus, pars iv. lib. vi. n. 78: "It shames me to declare the numbers that escorted the departing exiles, sacrilegious as they were and worthy of all execration, and what marks of kind-

ness were bestowed on them; this very fact showing the magnitude of the evil."

⁶ Papal, Austrian, and Bavarian articles of Confession of Faith in Raupach.

exclusive use of the catechism arranged by Canisius. In Vienna, all Protestant books were taken away from the booksellers' shops, and were carried in heaps to the episcopal court. Search was made at the custom-houses along the river, all packages were examined, and books or pictures not considered purely Catholic were confiscated.⁷

With all these severities, the object of the rulers was not yet attained. It is true that in Lower Austria thirteen cities and markets were in a short time restored to the Catholic ritual, and the crown lands and mortgaged property were again in Catholic hands; but the nobility still offered effectual opposition, the towns on the west of the Ens were in close alliance with them, and were too strong to be successfully assailed.⁸

Many of these measures had nevertheless, as will be readily understood, a general effect from which none could wholly withdraw himself; in Styria they were especially influential, and produced an immediate return to Catholic opinions.

The Archduke Charles had been compelled to make concessions to his Protestant subjects, at the very moment when in other places the Catholic reaction was proceeding so prosperously. The members of his house found it difficult to pardon him for this. His brother-in-law, Duke Albert of Bavaria, exhorted him to remember that the terms of the Treaty of Augsburg empowered him to enforce upon his subjects the adoption of the religion professed by himself. He advised the archduke to take three measures: first, to appoint Catholics only to every office about the court, and above all, to the Privy Council; secondly, to separate the different estates at the diet, since he could more easily deal with each singly; and thirdly, to establish a good understanding with the Pope, and to request that a nuncio might reside at his court. Gregory XIII was indeed ready of his own accord to offer assistance. He knew that want of money had been the principal inducement to the archduke's compliance with the demands of his Protestant subjects; he therefore took the best means for rendering him independent of them by transmitting him funds, to the amount, a very large one for those times, of 40,000 scudi. He further deposited a still more important sum in Venice,

⁷ Khevenhiller, "Ferd. Jahrb." i. 90.
Hansitz, "Germania Sacra," i. 632.

⁸ Raupach, "Kleine Nachlese Evang. Oestreich," iv. p. 17.

which was to be at the disposal of the archduke, in the event of disorders arising in the Austrian territories as a consequence of his efforts for the restoration of Catholicism.

Thus encouraged by example, exhortation, and substantial aid, the Archduke Charles assumed from the year 1580 a much more resolved and imposing attitude.

In that year he affixed an explanation to the concessions he had previously granted, which was in fact tantamount to their revocation. The estates presented the most humble prayers at the footstool of their sovereign, and it seemed for a moment that the urgency of their entreaties was about to prevail,⁹ but upon the whole he remained firm; the measures announced were persisted in, and the expulsion of the reformed preachers commenced in the archducal territories.

The year 1584 brought affairs to a decision. In that year the papal nuncio Malaspina made his appearance in the diet. He had succeeded in separating the prelates from the secular estates with which they had always before taken part, and in forming between them, the ministers of the duke, and the leading Catholics in the country, a strict alliance, of which he was himself the centre. The whole dukedom had hitherto seemed to be Protestant, but Malaspina found means to gather a strong Catholic party round the prince, and, supported by this, the resolutions of the archduke became immutable. He persisted in his determination to root the Protestant opinions from his territories, declaring that the treaty of Augsburg accorded him rights, even over the nobles, beyond any that he had hitherto exercised, and a more obstinate resistance would but induce him to put those rights in force; he should then see who would venture to show himself rebellious. Menacing as was the tenor of these declarations against the Protestants, yet such was the state of affairs, that they produced him results equally favorable with those he had formerly derived from his concessions. There were various considerations which made it impossible for the estates to refuse the supplies he demanded; they were therefore all conceded.¹⁰

⁹ "According to his inborn, benevolent, patriotic, and princely German disposition," says the supplication of the three States.

¹⁰ Valvassor, "Ehre des Herzogthums Krain," contains authentic and detailed

information on all these affairs. But Maffei, "Annali di Gregorio XIII." lib. ix. c. xx., lib. xiii. c. i. gives an extremely valuable account. He had, without doubt, the report of the nuncio before him.

Thenceforward the counter-reformation made progress throughout the archducal territories. The parishes and town councils were filled with Catholics. No citizen ventured to attend any but a Catholic church, or to send his children to any but the Catholic schools.

The change was not effected peaceably in every instance. The Catholic pastors and the commissioners of the archduke were sometimes met with insult and driven from the place. The archduke himself was once in some danger when hunting, in consequence of a rumor having spread in the neighborhood that a pastor of that district had been taken prisoner. The peasants rushed to their arms, and the poor persecuted preacher was himself obliged to step forward among them for the purpose of protecting his ungracious sovereign from their rage.¹ In defiance of these indications of popular feeling, the changes nevertheless proceeded. The most coercive measures were adopted. A papal historian recapitulates them in few words: "Exile," he says, "confiscation, and severe chastisement for all who proved refractory." The ecclesiastical princes who had possessions in those districts lent their aid to the temporal authorities. The Archbishop of Cologne, who was also Bishop of Freisingen, changed the council of his town of Lack, and subjected the Protestant burghers to fines and imprisonment. The Bishop of Brixen determined to make a direct transfer of the lands in his lordship of Veldes. Similar dispositions were evident in all the Austrian possessions. Although the Tyrol had remained Catholic, the Archduke Ferdinand thought proper to enforce the most rigid subordination on his clergy, and the regular attendance of all classes at the sacrament. Sunday schools were established for the common people, and Cardinal Andreas, the son of Ferdinand, caused catechisms to be printed, which he distributed to the youth of the schools and to the uneducated classes of all ages.² Nor were these mild measures permitted to suffice in such districts as had received the Protestant doctrines. In the margraviate of Burgau, although but a recent acquisition, and in the bailiwick of Schwaben, although the jurisdiction was matter of dispute, the same coercive measures were adopted as had been pursued by the Archduke Charles in Styria.

¹ Khevenhiller, "Annales Ferdinandei II." p. 523.

² Puteo in Tempesti, "Vita di Sisto V." tom. i. p. 375.

For all these things Pope Sixtus could find no eulogies that seemed to him sufficient. He extolled the Austrian princes as the firmest pillars of Christendom. To the Archduke Charles more particularly he sent the most obliging letters.³ The acquisition of a countship, which just then lapsed to the archduke as feudal lord, was considered by the court at Grätz to be a recompense sent directly by heaven for all the service he had rendered to Christendom.

The Catholic confession owed its return to supremacy in the Netherlands principally to the fact that it had accommodated itself to existing privileges; but in Germany that was by no means the case. On the contrary, the respective sovereigns of that country extended their power and importance in proportion with their success in promoting Catholic restoration. The intimacy of this connection between the ecclesiastical and political interests, and the extent to which it proceeded, are most remarkably exemplified by Wolf Dietrich von Raittenau, Archbishop of Salzburg.

The archbishops of former days, who had lived amid the tumults of the Reformation, contented themselves with an occasional edict, promulgated to oppose innovations; with the menace of a punishment or an attempt at conversion; but all; as Archbishop Jacob says, by mild, paternal, and truthful means.⁴

Very different was the disposition of the young Archbishop Wolf Dietrich von Raittenau, when he ascended to the archiepiscopal throne of Salzburg in 1587. He had been educated in the *Collegium Germanicum* in Rome, and was thoroughly imbued with the principles of Catholic restoration. He had seen the brilliant commencement of the administration of Sixtus V, and had conceived extreme admiration for that pontiff. His zeal was further stimulated by the elevation of his uncle Cardinal Altemps, in whose house in Rome he had been brought up, to the purple. In the year 1588, on returning from a journey which had taken him back to the Papal Court, he proceeded to the execution of the designs formed under the

³ Extract from the Briefs, in Tempesti, i. 203.

⁴ It is true that a more severe edict

was issued in the name of Jacob, but not until he had been obliged to commit the administration to a coadjutor.

impressions received there. All the citizens of his capital were instantly called on to make public profession of the Catholic faith. Many evinced great reluctance, and he allowed them a few weeks for reflection. Then, on September 3, 1588, he commanded them to depart within one month from the city and diocese. That one month only, and, after pressing entreaties the delay of a month longer, was allowed these recusants for the purpose of selling their property. Of this they were required to present an inventory to the archbishop, who would then permit them to sell it to such persons only as were approved by himself.⁵ Very few could resolve on deserting their faith, and those who did so were compelled to do public penance in the church with lighted tapers in their hands. The greater number, including many of the most wealthy burghers, preferred to leave their country. The loss of these citizens occasioned no regret to the prince, who believed he had discovered various means of maintaining the splendor of the archbishopric. He had already much increased the taxes, had raised the tolls and duties, imposed new burdens on the salt of Hallein and Schellenberg, converted the contributions in aid of the Turkish war into a regular land tax, and introduced duties on wine, with an income tax and legacy duty. He was entirely regardless of established immunities and vested rights. The dean of the diocese was said to have committed suicide in a fit of despair, at seeing the chapter deprived of its privileges. The principal object of the archbishop's enactments respecting the preparation of salt, and the whole business of mining, was the destruction of the independence enjoyed by the works before his time, and their subjection to the absolute control of his treasury. Throughout Germany no similar example of a regularly organized fiscal system was presented during that century. The young archbishop had brought the ideas of an Italian principality with him across the Alps. The art of raising money appeared to him the most important talent of a statesman, the highest problem of political economy. He had taken Sixtus V as his model; like him he desired to have an obedient, thoroughly Catholic, tribute-paying State in his hands. The expatriation of the principal citizens from Saltzburg was even

⁵ Edict relative to the Reformation in Göckingk, "Vollkommene Emigrationsgeschichte von denen aus dem Erzbist-

hum Saltzburg vertriebenen Lutheranern," i. p. 88.

a source of satisfaction to the archbishop, because he considered them rebels. He ordered their deserted houses to be taken down, and palaces in the Roman style to be erected on their sites.⁶

Wolf Dietrich was above all things delighted with splendor. He never refused knightly entertainment to any foreigner, and on one occasion appeared at the diet with a train of 400 persons. In the year 1588 he was but twenty-nine years of age; buoyant of spirit and full of ambition, he had already fixed his eyes and hopes on the highest ecclesiastical dignities.

The process adopted in the spiritual and secular principalities was repeated, wherever circumstances rendered it practicable, in the cities also. The Lutheran burghers of Gmünden made bitter complaints because they had been struck off the roll of candidates for the Town Council. In Biberach the council appointed by the commissary of Charles V, on the occasion of the Interim, still maintained its ground; the whole town was Protestant, the council alone was Catholic, and carefully excluded every Protestant.⁷ Heavy oppressions were endured by those of the reformed faith in Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle. The members of the Council of Cologne declared that they had promised the Emperor and the Elector to tolerate no other religion than the Catholic, and they sometimes punished the attendance on a Protestant sermon with fines and imprisonment.⁸ In Augsburg, also, the Catholics gained the upper hand; disturbances occurred on the introduction of the new calendar, and in the year 1586 the evangelical superintendent was expelled the city, eleven clergymen at one time, and a large number of the more determined citizens were also driven forth soon after. Something very similar occurred from similar causes in Ratisbon during the year 1587. Many other towns began to claim the right of reforming their religious institutions: nay, certain counts, nobles, and knights of the empire who had been converted by some Jesuit, believed themselves entitled to

⁶ Zauner's "Saltzburger Chronik," siebenter Theil, is our most important authority on this subject. This part of the chronicle was itself constructed after a

contemporary biography of the archbishop.

⁷ Lehmann, "De Pace Religionis, ii. pp. 268, 480.

⁸ Lehmann, 436, 270.

assert a similar right, and each resolved to restore Catholicism in his small domain.

It was an immeasurable reaction. The Protestant doctrines were now repulsed with an energy equal to that with which they had formerly advanced. Preaching and the inculcation of Catholic doctrines contributed their share to the production of this result, but much more was accomplished by political measures, especial ordinances, and open force.

As the Italian Protestants had formerly fled across the Alps, and sought refuge in Switzerland and Germany, so now were seen far more numerous bodies of German fugitives seeking refuge in the northern and eastern districts, from the oppressions that assailed them in the west and south. The Belgians in like manner retreated to Holland. It was a mighty triumph of Catholicism, which now extended its victories from land to land.

The progress and extension of this triumph were most especially promoted by the nuncios, who at that time began to reside regularly in Germany.

A memoir of the nuncio Minuccio Minucci, dated 1588, is still extant, and we gain from it a clear perception of the views entertained and acted upon in those times.⁹

A particular attention was given to the subject of education; it was greatly regretted that the Catholic universities were not better endowed, to the end that they might attract distinguished teachers. Ingolstadt was the only one possessed of means sufficiently ample; as things were, everything depended on the Jesuit seminaries. It was the wish of Minuccio Minucci, that in these schools there should not be so much attention given to producing great scholars, or profound theologians, as good and effective preachers; a man of moderate acquirements, who did not aspire to the summit of learning, or seek to become renowned, was in his opinion the most extensively useful teacher and most profitable servant of the Church. He recommended that this principle should be acted on in the different institutions for German Catholics in Italy. In the *Collegium Germanicum*, there had originally been a distinction made in the treatment of young men from noble families and

⁹ "Discorso del molto illustre e revmo. Monsignor Minuccio Minucci, sopra il

modo di restituire la Cattolica religione in Alemagna, 1588," MS. Barb.

those of the middle classes. Minucci disapproved of the departure from this custom, which not only made the nobles averse to go thither, but had also the effect of awakening an ambition in the middle class, which could never afterward be satisfied, and of causing an eagerness for high places, prejudicial to the careful performance of duty in the more humble offices. An attempt was moreover then made to attract a third or intermediate class to the colleges, the sons of superior public officers namely, to whom, according to the common course of things, the principal share in the administration of their native provinces would at some future period be confided. Arrangements had already been made in Perugia and Bologna by Gregory XIII, for the reception of these students. We may here perceive that the distinctions of rank still prevailing in German society were already well defined, even in those days.

The principal dependence of the Church was always on the nobles, and to them the nuncio particularly attributed the maintenance of Catholicism in Germany; for to this class the most valuable ecclesiastical appointments and benefices belonged as their exclusive right: they defended it in consequence as their hereditary property. It was for this reason that they now opposed the introduction of religious freedom into the dioceses;¹⁰ they feared the great number of Protestant princes, who would in that case engross all the benefices. These nobles must be carefully protected and conciliated; they were by no means to be annoyed by the laws against plurality of benefices: in their favor it was decided that there was a certain utility in the change from one residence to another, which tended to unite the nobility of different provinces for the defence of the Church. No attempt ought to be made for the appointment of men from the burgher class to the higher ecclesiastical benefices; a few learned men in a chapter were very useful, as was seen in Cologne; but to carry this practice further would ultimately ruin the German Church.

The question next arose of how far it might be possible to reclaim to the Catholic faith such districts as had become entirely Protestant.

¹⁰ Especially in Upper Germany: "The example of the suppression of the others [of Lower Germany] warned the nobles to be more careful in defence of these, and in this the heretics agreed with the Catholics, both parties perceiving that

by the occupation of the princes, themselves and their posterity are deprived of the hope of extracting that profit from the benefices which they may expect from them so long as the canons retain the right of free election."

The nuncio was far from recommending open violence; he considered the Protestant princes much too powerful to be coerced, but he suggested other means by which he thought the end desired might eventually be attained.

He maintained that it was above all things essential to preserve a good understanding between the Catholic sovereigns, particularly between Bavaria and Austria. The Treaty of Landsberg was still in existence; he advised that this should be renewed and extended; Philip of Spain he thought might also be advantageously included in that league.

And might it not be possible to win back some of the Protestant princes? The Elector Augustus of Saxony had long been thought to evince a disposition friendly to Catholicism; an attempt had from time to time been made on this sovereign, principally by the intervention of Bavaria; but the utmost caution had been required in these proceedings (the wife of the Elector, Anne of Denmark, being firmly attached to the Lutheran doctrines), and they had never produced any useful effect. Anne died in the year 1585, and the day of her death was not only one of deliverance for the oppressed Calvinists, but also afforded to the Catholics an opportunity of again approaching the Elector. It would seem that Bavaria, which had before labored in this cause, was now making arrangements for a further effort, and Pope Sixtus V held himself ready to forward absolution for the Elector to Germany.¹ But before anything could be effected, Augustus himself expired. The Catholics

¹ As early as 1574, Duke Albert of Bavaria was encouraged by Gregory XIII to attempt the renewal of the negotiations once opened with the Elector of Saxony, for the introduction of the Catholic faith into his dominions, seeing that he was harassing and driving out the Calvinists. The Pope thought it advisable to send an agent to the Court of Saxony; but this Duke Albert opposed, saying the matter would then become known to the Elector's councillors: "And what could then be expected, but the ruin of the project?" He goes on to say: "Here it is judged that art will be required; so that, while seemingly occupied with some other business, the erring [prince] may be piously circumvented; if his wife learn the attempt, she, the more vehement from her weaker sex, will beset him with importunate counsels."—"Legationes Paparum ad Duces Bavarie," MS. in the Library of Munich. Minucci informs us that the first overtures were made to Augustus in the days of Pius V.

The whole passage is remarkable: "Even from the times of Pope Pius V, of blessed memory, Duke Albert of Bavaria, who lives in heaven, labored hard with Duke Augustus of Saxony, now dead, and brought things so far that there was good hope of success. But it pleased God to call him away, and no one remained to think or speak of so great a work till the days of Gregory, of glorious memory, when Father Possevin set himself to work upon those foundations; and, finally, in the present most fortunate pontificate of Sixtus, the wife of the said Duke Augustus being dead, there were those who thought the occasion favorable for again attempting the conversion of that prince. But divine providence did not grant him time to await the benediction which his holiness was preparing to bestow upon him, sending it by means of Duke William of Bavaria, even to his own house." We hence discover how early that line [of the Saxon princes] was practised upon.

had, however, other princes in view. It was thought that Louis, count-palatine of Neuburg, displayed indifference to all proposals of hostility to Catholicism, and was particularly forbearing toward the Catholic priests who were occasionally found in his dominions. William IV of Hesse, also a pacific and learned prince, was observed to accept occasionally the dedication of Catholic books; to these sovereigns particular attention was directed, nor were the higher members of the German nobility in the northern districts left out of consideration; hopes were especially entertained of Heinrich Ranzau.

The results of these purposes and endeavors were indeed remote, and could perhaps not be safely calculated on; but there were other projects, the execution of which depended more on their own determination and force of will.

The nuncio affirmed that the greater number of the assessors in the supreme court of the empire (*Kammergericht*) were even yet disposed to Protestantism. There still survived men of that earlier period, when Protestants, either concealed or openly professed, sat in the councils of most sovereigns, even in those of Catholic countries. The nuncio thought this circumstance well calculated to "drive the Catholics to despair," and was urgent in his entreaties for a remedy. He believed that it would not be difficult to compel the assessors of Catholic countries to make a profession of faith, while all newly appointed members might be required to take an oath that they would either not change their religion, or would resign their offices. He maintained that the preponderance in the *Kammergericht* belonged of right to the Catholics.

The nuncio did not yet abandon the hope of retrieving the lost bishoprics—he believed this might be done without using violence, if existing rights were efficiently asserted. These bishoprics had not yet wholly broken off all connection with Rome; the ancient right of the Curia to fill up the benefices which became vacant during the reserved months was not absolutely denied. The Protestant bishops themselves still believed that their nomination required to be confirmed by the sanction of the Pope, and Henry of Saxe-Lauenburg had an agent at Rome to procure this confirmation in his case. If the Papal See had not yet derived all the advantage from this differential feeling that might have been drawn from it, that was

the consequence of a practice on the part of the Emperor, who supplied the place of the papal sanction by a dispensation (*Indulto*) from himself. The appointments to the vacant benefices made in Rome always came too late, or some error of form was discovered in them, so that the chapters were always legally free to make their own choice. Minucci now earnestly pressed the Emperor to abstain from granting dispensations; and in the state of feeling then prevalent at the imperial court, he readily obtained a promise to that effect. Duke William of Bavaria had already proposed confiding the nomination to benefices, either to the nuncio or to some trustworthy German bishop. Minucci was of opinion that a *dataria* should be established in Rome expressly for Germany; that a list of noble Catholics, properly qualified, should be kept there; which list could easily be prepared and duly rectified, as changes should occur, by means of the nuncio or the Jesuits; all vacancies could then be filled without delay, in accordance with the guide and standard thus obtained. No chapter would venture to reject the candidates legally nominated by Rome, and the Curia would acquire great consideration and a large extent of influence from this measure.

We cannot fail to perceive that the complete restoration of the Church to its former authority was sought for with constancy of will and great energy. To conciliate the nobles, to allure the higher classes of the citizens into the Roman interest, to educate the youth under the influence of Rome, to regain the ancient power over the bishoprics, even over those that had become Protestant, to recover supremacy in the *Kammergericht*, to convert powerful princes of the empire, and to secure to the leading Catholic sovereigns a voice in the affairs of the German confederation; such, and so numerous, were the projects to be undertaken at one and the same time.

And we are not to believe that these suggestions and counsels were treated with neglect; at the moment when they were laid before the authorities in Rome, preparations were made in Germany for carrying them into effect.

The efficiency and good order of the *Kammergericht* depended in a great measure on the yearly visitations which were made during the sittings of the diet by seven estates of the empire in rotation. In these visitations the majority had

for the most part been Catholic; but in the year 1588, it was Protestant—the Protestant archbishop of Magdeburg, among others, was to take share in it. The Catholic party resolved that this should not be permitted; and when the Elector of Mayence proceeded to summon the estates, the Emperor, of his own authority, commanded him to postpone the visitation for that year. But the omission of one year availed nothing—the order of succession remained as before. A Protestant Archbishop of Magdeburg was long to be feared: it thus happened that the prorogation was repeated from year to year, the ultimate consequence being that no regular visitation was ever held again; an omission from which that noble institution of the highest tribunal in the empire suffered irreparable injury.² Complaints soon arose that unlearned Catholics were preferred in that body to learned Protestants. The Emperor also desisted from granting the *Indulto*. In the year 1588 Minucci advised that attempts should be made for the conversion of Protestant princes; and in the year 1590 one had already been gained over; this was Jacob of Baden, who takes the first place in a long series.

Section X.—The League

The great movement thus engrossing Germany and the Netherlands extended its influence over France also, with irresistible force. The affairs of the Netherlands had, for a long period of time, been intimately connected with those of France. The French Protestants had frequently given assistance to those of the Netherlands, and the latter were equally ready to lend their aid to the Protestants of France. The ruin of Protestantism in the Belgic provinces was an immediate injury to the French Huguenots.

But in addition to this came the fact that in France, as well as other countries, the tendency toward a restoration of Catholicism was constantly gaining extension of influence and increase of power.

The first appearance of the Jesuits has been already noticed,

² Minucci had besides written to Rome especially on the subject of the Kammergericht; and there is cause for believing that his representations occasioned the inhibition. He regarded the Protestant majority with detestation, as

we have said, "that the heretics should have the superior power and the larger number of votes in that Senate, is no other than a reduction of the German Catholics to despair."

and from that time they had continued to make progress: they were more especially patronized, as will be readily supposed, by the house of Lorraine. Cardinal Guise established a school for them in 1574 at Pont-à-Mousson, which was frequented by the princes of his house. The duke erected a college at Eu in Normandy, which was at the same time intended for the reception of fugitives from England.

They had besides many other patrons—sometimes it was a cardinal, a bishop, or an abbot—sometimes a prince or high officer of the State, who took upon himself the cost of a new establishment. In a short time they had settled themselves at Rouen, Verdun, Dijon, Bourges, and Nevers, while their missionaries traversed the kingdom in all directions.

But they found auxiliaries in France, with whose aid they had been obliged to dispense in Germany.

The cardinal of Lorraine had brought a few Capuchin friars with him from the Council of Trent, and had assigned them an abode in his palace at Meudon; but on his death they departed, the order being at that time restricted to Italy by its statutes. In the year 1573, the chapter-general sent a few of the brethren across the mountains for the purpose of first trying the ground. They were so well received that on their return they promised "the richest harvest," and the Pope did not hesitate to remove the restriction confining them to Italy. The first colony of Capuchins took their way across the Alps in the year 1574; they were conducted by Fra Pacifico di San Gervaso, who had been permitted to select his associates according to his own judgment.

These Capuchins were all Italians, and they naturally attached themselves in the first instance to their own country-people.

They were joyfully received by Queen Catherine, who instantly founded a monastery for them in Paris. So early as the year 1575 they had gained a settlement in Lyons also, where they received the support of certain Italian money-changers, at the recommendation of the Queen.

From these central points they soon extended themselves into the country, from Paris to Caen and Rouen, from Lyons to Marseilles, where Queen Catherine bought them ground for building. In 1582 they formed a new colony in Toulouse,

and in 1585 another in Verdun: they very soon succeeded in making the most brilliant conversions, as for example in 1587, that of Henry Joyeuse, one of the first men of his day in France.¹

These religious movements produced a more powerful effect in France, at least in one respect, than they had even done in Germany, since they gave rise to institutions, imitated, it is true, from existing ones, but with forms entirely peculiar. Jean de la Barriere, who had obtained the Cistercian abbey of the Fenillans, near Toulouse, at the age of nineteen, by favor of the strange abuses that had become prevalent in the Church of France, now caused himself to be consecrated regular abbot (in 1577), and received novices, with whom he endeavored, not only to renew, but even to exceed, the austerities practised by the original institution of Citeaux. Solitude, silence, and abstemiousness were carried to the utmost extremity. These monks never left their convent except for the purpose of preaching in the neighboring districts: within their walls they wore no shoes, and no covering for the head; they abstained, not only from meat and wine, but even from eggs and fish, living on bread and water, the utmost addition being a few vegetables.² These severities did not fail to excite reverence and call forth imitation. Don Jean de la Barriere was in a short time invited to the court at Vincennes. He traversed a large part of France with sixty-two companions, never permitting the slightest interruption to the ascetic practices of the convent. His institute was shortly afterward confirmed by the Pope, and extended its influence throughout the kingdom.

The whole body of the secular clergy seemed also to be inspired by a new zeal, and although holding their appointments in perfect freedom from all responsibility, the parish priests once more applied themselves sedulously to the care of souls. In the year 1570 the bishops not only demanded the adoption of the decrees promulgated by the Council of Trent, but even required the abrogation of the concordat to which they owed their own existence. These propositions they renewed from time to time with increased urgency.³

¹ Boverno, "Annali dei frati Capuccini," i. 546; ii. 45, f.

² Felibien, "Histoire de Paris," tom. ii. p. 1158.

³ "Remontrance de l'Assemblée gén-

érale du Clergé de France, convoquée en la Ville de Melun, faite au Roi Henri III. le 3 Juillet, 1570. Recueil des Actes du Clergé," tom. xiv. Thuanus also gives an extract.

Who shall attempt accurately to define all the causes by which the religious feelings of the period were induced to take this direction? We can be certain of the facts only, and these show that a very important change became manifest about the year 1580. A Venetian writer asserts that the number of Protestants had diminished by seventy per cent., and that the mass of the people had again become decidedly Catholic. Novelty and the energy of impulse were now acting on the side of Catholicism.⁴

But under these circumstances the Catholic spirit assumed a new position in regard to the regal authority.

The court was living in a state of continual self-contradiction; Henry III was unquestionably a good Catholic; no one could expect favor at his hands who did not attend the mass; he would not suffer Protestants to hold the magistracy in any town of his kingdom; but notwithstanding all this, he continued now as in former times to dispose of ecclesiastical appointments in accordance with the exigencies of court favor, and without the slightest regard either to worth or talent; neither did he cease to appropriate and squander the property of the Church. He delighted in processions, practised various devotional exercises, and spared himself no penance; but this did not prevent him from leading the most disgraceful life, or from permitting others to lead it also—an abandoned licentiousness was the fixed habit of the court; the profligate excesses committed during the carnival provoked the anger of the preachers, some of the courtiers were refused Christian burial on account of the circumstances attending their death, and the expressions uttered by them in their last moments: this happened even in the case of the King's especial favorites.

Thus, the rigid spirit of Catholicism prevailing, though favored in many ways by the court, was yet in effect and essentially in direct opposition to it.

The King, moreover, persevered in the old system of politics, which was manifested principally in his hostility to Spain. At any other time this would have signified nothing; but at the

⁴ Lorenzo Priuli, "Relatione di Franza, 5 Giugno, 1582": "We have cause for surprise, humanly speaking, that things are not in a worse condition than they are; for, by the grace of God, in despite of the little regard that has been

and is paid to the matter, the number of the Huguenots has diminished by seventy per cent., while the Catholics show the utmost zeal and fervor in all affairs of religion."

moment we are treating of, the religious principle, even in France, was more powerful than regard for national interests; as the Huguenots felt bound to the Protestants of the Netherlands, so did the Catholics consider themselves the natural allies of Philip II and Farnese. The Jesuits, who had performed so many services for the Spanish power in the Netherlands, could not look on without alarm, when it became obvious to them that the enemies they had combated there were receiving aid and support in France.

To this cause of uneasiness was added the death of the Duke of Alençon, which took place in 1584, and as the King had no heir, nor any hope of one, Henry of Navarre became the next expectant of the crown.

The fear of future evil has perhaps more influence over the minds of men than a misfortune actually present; the prospect of Henry's accession caused the utmost agitation among the French Catholics,⁵ and above all, as was natural, in the Guises, the old antagonists of Navarre, who feared the influence he must acquire even as heir to the throne—how much more then the power he would exercise as king. We cannot be surprised that they should look to Philip of Spain for support.

And nothing could be more welcome to that monarch in the general state of his policy at that moment. He was not withheld by any scruple from entering into a formal treaty with the subjects of a foreign prince.

The principal question remaining was, whether Rome, where the union of princes with the Church had been so much talked of, would sanction the insurrection of powerful vassals against their sovereign.

And it cannot be denied that this sanction was accorded. There were some of the Guise party whose consciences were uneasy at the step about to be taken; the Jesuit Matthieu therefore proceeded to Rome for the purpose of obtaining a declaration from the Pope, by which their scruples might be set at rest. On hearing the representations of Matthieu, Gregory declared that he fully approved the intention of the French princes

⁵ A document was at that time published in Rome, showing how desirable it was that a Guise should succeed to the throne: "Of the inclination of the Catholics toward the house of Guise, and of the benefit to be derived by Christiani-

ty and the Catholic King from the succession of one of those princes." This paper was sent to Spain: it was ascribed to Cardinal Este. "Dispaccio Veneto, 1584, 1mo Decbr."

to take up arms against heretics, and that he removed every scruple they might entertain on the subject. He had no doubt but that the King would himself approve their purpose; but even if he should not do so, they must nevertheless proceed with their plans, and pursue them till they achieved the grand object of exterminating the heretics.⁶ The process against Henry of Navarre had been already commenced; before its conclusion Sixtus V had ascended the papal throne, and he pronounced sentence of excommunication against Navarre and Condé. By this act he gave a more effectual assistance to the purposes of the League than he could have afforded by any other mode of co-operation.⁷

The Guises had already taken arms, and labored to get as many provinces and fortified towns as they possibly could into their own hands.

At the first movement they made themselves masters of many important places, as Verdun, Toul, Lyons, Bourges, Orleans, and Mezieres, without drawing a sword. To avoid the appearance of being vanquished by force, the King then recurred to a method he had already adopted, and declared their cause his own. But in order to be admitted to their alliance, he was obliged to ratify and extend the conquest of the League by formal treaty, and saw himself obliged to surrender Burgundy, Champagne, a great part of Picardy, and many fortified places in other parts of the kingdom, to the possession of the Guise party.⁸

These things being arranged, the King and the Guises proceeded to prosecute the war against the Protestants in common. But with how great a difference! The King took half-measures only, and all were utterly ineffectual. The Catholics even suspected him of wishing success to the Protestant arms, that so he might seem to be compelled by the menacing aspect of their force to conclude a peace disadvantageous to the Catholic interest. Guise on the contrary took an oath, that should God grant him victory, he would not dismount from his

⁶ "Claude Matthieu au duc de Nevers, 11 Févr. 1585." This is perhaps the most important piece of information given in the whole fourth volume of Capefigue, "Réforme," etc. p. 173.

⁷ Maffei, "Historiarum ab Excessu Gregorii XIII." lib. i. p. 10: "He allowed himself to be induced by the re-

peated prayers of the Leaguers, and by the advice and entreaty of King Philip, to assail the Huguenots and their chiefs with divine arms."

⁸ Reflections of Cardinal Ossat on the effects of the League in France: "Life of Cardinal Ossat," i. 44.

horse until he had established the Catholic religion in France forever. With his own troops, and not those of the King, he surprised the Germans at Auneau, when they were marching to the assistance of the Huguenots, whose best hopes were placed on their aid, and annihilated them completely.

The Pope compared him with Judas Maccabeus. He was indeed a man whose grandeur of character commanded the passionate homage of the people, and he became the idol of all Catholics.

The King was on the contrary in a position of the utmost difficulty; he did not know what to do, nor even what to desire. The papal ambassador, Morosini, declared that he seemed to consist as it were of two persons: he wished for the downfall of the Huguenots, and dreaded it quite as much; he feared the defeat of the Catholics, and yet desired it: such was the effect of this mental discord, that he no longer dared to follow his own inclinations, and could not even trust his own thoughts.⁹

This was a state of mind which inevitably deprived him of the confidence of all, and could not but tend to utter ruin.

The Catholics firmly believed that the very man who had placed himself at their head was secretly opposed to them. Every transient occasion of intercourse with the adherents of Navarre, every mark of favor, however trifling, bestowed on a Protestant was counted against him; all maintained that the most Christian King himself was the principal hindrance to a complete restoration of Catholicism, and they detested the King's favorites, and above all the Duke d'Epemon, with hatred all the more bitter, because Henry set him up in opposition to the Guises, and intrusted to him the most important governments of the realm.

Under these circumstances there was formed by the side of the league of the princes an alliance, whose members were of the burgher class, but whose object was equally the support of Catholicism. In every town the populace was acted on by preachers, who combined a furious opposition to the government with a vehement zeal for religion. In Paris things were carried still further; the project of a popular union for the

⁹ "Dispaccio Morosini," in *Tempesti*, "Vita di Sisto V." p. 346: "The King, though he is so great a monarch, is as poor as great; and in proportion as he is poor is he prodigal. He displays ex-

traordinary piety, and yet he abominates the sacred league: he is in arms against the heretics, and is yet jealous of the Catholic triumphs."

defence of the Catholic faith was there formed, the first movers being three preachers and an influential citizen.¹⁰ They bound themselves by oath in the first instance, to shed the last drop of their blood in this cause. Each then named a few trusty friends, and the first meeting was held at the cell of a monk in the Sorbonne. They soon perceived the possibility of comprising the whole city in their union; a small number was selected to form a committee, and conduct the movement; these men were empowered to levy money in any case demanding it. A member was appointed as superintendent for each of the sixteen quarters of the city; the enrolling of members proceeded rapidly, and with the utmost secrecy. On those newly entered a discussion was first held in the committee, and if they were not approved, no further communication was made to them. They had agents in all the colleges, one for the audit-office, one for the procurators of the court, one for the clerks, one for the greffiers, etc. In a short time the whole city, which had before received a Catholic military organization, was comprehended in this more secret and more effective league; but not satisfied with Paris, its branches were sent forth to Orleans, Lyons, Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Rouen, where associations were also formed, which despatched their delegates to the confederates in Paris. All then solemnly pledged themselves to labor for the removal of government abuses, and above all, to endure the presence of no Huguenot in France.

This is the compact known as the League of the Sixteen. When its members found themselves arrived at a certain degree of strength, they gave notice to the Guises; and Mayenne, the brother of the duke, came with the most profound secrecy to Paris, when the union between the princes and the citizens was completed.¹

Henry III already felt the ground trembling beneath his feet.

¹⁰ The *Anonymo Capitolino*, on the "Life of Sixtus V.," has some original notices on this subject. He calls the founder, Carlo Ottomani, "an honorable citizen," who first communicated his plans to the preachers. At their very first assembly, Ottomani proposed an alliance with the princes; in the second meeting, it was resolved to nominate sixteen persons, one for each quarter, "to whom should be reported by trusty persons, whatever was said or done in them relating to public affairs." In the third meeting, which took place on

Candlemas day, a council of ten persons was named, with the right of raising contributions, and a deputation to the Duke de Guise was at once agreed on. This account makes important additions to all we find regarding this matter in Cayet, from Manaut and Maheutre, and in Poulain, De Thou, and Davila.

¹ In the palace of Rens, behind the Church of St. Augustine, they all swore to maintain their league, which was not only defensive, but absolute.—Anon. Capit.

The proceedings of his enemies were reported to him from day to day. In the Sorbonne they had become so bold as to propose the question whether it were permitted to withdraw allegiance from a prince who neglects to perform his duty; and to this question a reply was returned in the affirmative by a council of from thirty to forty doctors. The King was excessively irritated; he threatened to do as Pope Sixtus had done, and chain the refractory preachers to the galleys; but he did not possess the energy of the pontiff, and contented himself with ordering the advance of the Swiss who were in his service to the neighborhood of the capital.

Alarmed by the menace implied in this movement, the citizens sent to Guise entreating him to come and protect them. The King caused it to be intimated to him that a compliance with this request would be viewed unfavorably; but the duke appeared in Paris nevertheless.

Everything now seemed ready for a great explosion.

The King commanded the Swiss to enter Paris, when it instantly burst forth. The city was immediately barricaded, the Swiss were driven back, and the Louvre was menaced. The King had no alternative but flight.²

The Duke of Guise had before been master of a large portion of France; he was now in possession of Paris. The Bastille, the Arsenal, the Hôtel de Ville, and all the surrounding places fell into his hands. The King was completely overpowered. He was very soon compelled to pronounce an interdict against the Protestant religion, and to resign various fortified places to the Guises, in addition to those they already held. The Duke of Guise might now be considered as lord of half France, and Henry III gave him legal authority over the other half, by conferring on him the dignity of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The States were convoked, and there could be no doubt but that Catholic opinions would predominate in that assembly. The most decisive measures were to be expected from it, ruinous for the Huguenots, and entirely to the advantage of the Catholic party.

² Maffei blames Guise for having suffered this: "Satisfied with the mere show of empty popularity and ill-

omened power, he permitted Henry to depart in safety."

Section XI.—Savoy and Switzerland

It will be readily perceived that the preponderance of Catholicism in the mighty realm of France would inevitably produce a corresponding effect on the neighboring kingdoms and communities.

The Catholic cantons of Switzerland attached themselves more closely than ever to the ecclesiastical principle and to the Spanish alliance.

The establishment of a permanent "nunciature" was productive of the most remarkable effects in Switzerland as well as in Germany.

In the year 1586, and immediately after the adoption of this measure, the Catholic cantons united to form the Golden or Borromean League, in which they bound themselves and their descendants forever, "to live and die in the true, undoubted, ancient, apostolic Roman Catholic faith."¹ Thereupon they received the host from the hand of the nuncio.

If the party by which the administrative power was seized at Mühlhausen in the year 1587 had gone over to the Catholic creed, as they seemed on the point of doing, and if they had done so at the right moment, they would have been supported without doubt by the Catholics: conferences had already been held on the subject at the house of the nuncio in Lucerne; but the people of Mühlhausen deliberated too long. The Protestants, on the contrary, pressed forward their expedition with the utmost promptitude, and re-established the old government, which was upon the whole favorable to themselves.²

It was, however, at this moment that the three forest cantons, in concert with Zug, Lucerne, and Freiburg, took a new and most important step. After long negotiations, they concluded a treaty with Spain on May 12, 1587, in which they promised to maintain perpetual friendship with the King, conceded to him the right of raising recruits in their territories, and of marching his troops through their mountains; Philip, on his side, making corresponding concessions to them. But

¹ "Their eternal posterity." This is the expression used in the records of the League.—Lauffer, "Beschreibung Helvetischer Geschichte," *bd. x. s. 331.*

² The importance of the Mühlhausen

affair, as regarded religion, is made very evident by the narrative of the Anonymo Capitol., founded on the reports of the nuncio, to which we shall again refer in examining Tempesti.

the most important part of their mutual engagement was that each promised to aid the other with the utmost extent of his powers, in the event of either being involved in war on account of the holy apostolic religion.³ And in this treaty the six cantons made no exception; not even in favor of the confederated cantons; on the contrary, it was against them in particular that this part of the treaty must have been arranged, seeing that there was no other power with which there was any probability of their being involved in a war from motives of religion.

Here also then, how much more powerful was the influence of religious feeling than that of national attachment! A community of faith now united the ancient Switzer with the house of Austria! The Confederation became for the moment a secondary consideration.

It was most fortunate that no cause for immediate hostilities arose. The influence of this league was therefore confined in the first instance to Geneva.

Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, a prince whose whole life had been marked by restless ambition, had often evinced a desire to seize the first favorable occasion for regaining possession of Geneva, regarding himself as the legitimate sovereign of that city; but his purposes had hitherto been always defeated by opposition from the Swiss and French, from both of whom the Genevese received protection.

But circumstances were now altered; under the influence of Guise, Henry III promised in the summer of 1588 that he would no longer impede any enterprise undertaken against Geneva.

Receiving this intimation, the duke prepared himself for the attack. The Genevese did not lose their courage, and made occasional incursions on the ducal territories. But, on this occasion, Berne afforded them but very insufficient aid. The Catholic party had insinuated their partisans into the very midst of this city, closely interwoven as it was with Protestant interests; there was a faction there which would not have been unwilling to see Geneva fall into the hands of the duke.⁴ It

³"Traité d'alliance faite entre Philippe II." etc. Dumont, "Corps Diplomatique," vol. i. p. 459.

⁴The fifth article of the treaty leaves no doubt on the subject, even though the judicial evidence of guilt on the part of Wattenwyl is involved to a cer-

tain extent in obscurity. Extracts from contemporary pamphlets, and from the acts of the Council of Berne, are to be found in Gelzer, "Die drei letzten Jahrhunderte der Schweizergeschichte," bd. i. p. 128, 137.

thus happened that he very soon gained the advantage. He had hitherto held the countships bordering on Geneva under closely limited conditions, imposed on him by former treaties of peace with Berne; he now seized the occasion, and made himself for the first time master in those districts. He expelled the Protestants, whom he had previously been obliged to tolerate, and made the whole country exclusively Catholic. Charles Emanuel had till that time been prohibited from erecting fortresses in that portion of his territories; he then built them in places where he could not only make them serve for defence, but also for harassing Geneva.

But before these affairs had proceeded further, other enterprises had been undertaken, from which consequences of much more extensive importance might be expected, and which seemed not unlikely to produce a complete revolution in all the relations of Europe.

Section XII.—Attack on England

The Netherlands were in great part subdued, and negotiations had already commenced for the voluntary submission of the remainder. In Germany the efforts of Catholicism had prevailed in many districts, and a project was conceived, by which those yet wanting to their triumph might be overcome. In France, the Champion of Catholicism was proceeding on a path that by victories, investment of fortresses, attachment of the people, and legitimate authority seemed inevitably leading him to the possession of exclusive sovereignty. The ancient metropolis of the Protestant faith, the city of Geneva, was no longer protected by her former allies. At this moment the plan was formed of laying the axe to the root of the tree by an attack on England.

The central point of the Protestant power and policy was without doubt in England; the provinces of the Netherlands yet remaining unsubdued, as well as the Huguenots of France, found their principal support in Queen Elizabeth.

But the internal struggle had, as we have seen, already commenced even in England. Swarms of Jesuits and pupils from the seminaries, impelled by religious enthusiasm, sedulously cultivated for this very purpose, and by the desire to revisit their

native country, were constantly pouring into the kingdom; Elizabeth opposing them by the utmost severity of laws enacted to that end. In the year 1582 it was declared high treason to attempt the perversion of one of her subjects from the established religion of the realm to that of Rome.¹ In 1585 she commanded all Jesuits and priests of the seminaries to depart from England within forty days, under pain of being punished as traitors, much in the same manner as so many Catholic princes had dealt with the Protestants in driving them from their several territories.² To this effect she then brought the high court of commission into operation; a tribunal expressly appointed to take cognizance of all offences against the acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, not only in accordance with the usual forms of law, but by all means that could be devised, even to the exaction of a solemn oath; a kind of Protestant Inquisition.³ Elizabeth was nevertheless extremely anxious to avoid the appearance of attacking liberty of conscience. She affirmed that the Jesuits were not seeking the restoration of their religion, but that their purpose was to lead the people to an insurrection against the government, and thus prepare the way for foreign enemies. The missionaries protested "before God and the saints," "before heaven and earth" (as they expressed themselves), that their object was entirely and solely religious, and in nowise regarded the Queen's majesty.⁴ But what understanding could discriminate between these motives? The Queen's inquisitors were not to be satisfied with a simple affirmation. They demanded an explicit declaration, as to whether or not the anathema pronounced against Elizabeth by Pius V were lawful and binding on Englishmen. The prisoners were also required to say what they would do, and to which side they would attach themselves, in the event of the Pope's absolving them from their allegiance, and making an attack on England. The harassed and frightened men saw no means of extricating themselves from such a dilemma. They made an attempt by declaring that they would render unto Cæsar the things which

¹ Camden, "*Rerum Anglicarum Annales regnante Elizabetha*," i. p. 349.

² *Ibid.* p. 396.

³ "As well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as also by witness, and all other means and ways you can devise."—Neal, "*History of the Puritans*," vol. i. p. 414. It might at least have been "lawful means and ways."

⁴ Campiani, "*Vita et Martyrium*," p. 159: "I affirm before God and his angels, before heaven and earth, before the world and this tribunal, that I am not guilty of lese-majesty, nor of sedition, nor of any conspiracy against my country."

were Cæsar's, and unto God the things which were God's; but their judges interpreted this subterfuge itself as a confession. The prisons were accordingly crowded; execution was followed by execution; and Catholicism also had its martyrs. Their number in the reign of Elizabeth has been calculated at 200. The zeal of the missionaries was not subdued by this oppression, as will be readily comprehended. The number of the refractory, the recusants, as they were called, increased with the increasing severity of the laws, and their exasperation increased in like proportion. Pamphlets were circulated even about the court, in which the act of Judith in destroying Holofernes was held up as an example of piety and heroic courage worthy of imitation. The eyes of the greater number were still turned toward the imprisoned Queen of Scotland, who according to the papal decision was the legitimate queen of England. They cherished a constant hope that a general revolution would be brought about by an attack from the Catholic sovereigns. In Italy and Spain the most fearful representations were circulated of cruelties practised on the true believers in England; accounts that could not fail to excite abhorrence in every Catholic heart.⁵

No man took more earnest part in this feeling than Pope Sixtus V. It is doubtless true that he felt a sort of esteem for the personal qualities of Queen Elizabeth: her high and dauntless spirit awakened his admiration, and he even sent her an invitation to return into the bosom of the Catholic Church. How extraordinary a proposition was this! As if the power to choose remained with her: as if all her previous life, all that gave importance to her existence, her position in the world, had not bound her irrevocably to the interests of Protestantism; even though her convictions had not been entirely sincere. Elizabeth replied not a word; but she laughed. When the Pope heard this, he declared that he must then think of means for depriving her of her dominions by force.

Before that time he had but intimated such a design, but in the spring of 1586 he openly proceeded to active measures, and boasted that he would support Philip of Spain in his enterprise

⁵ "Theatre of the cruelties perpetrated by the heretics of our day." It begins with a "special description of the cruelties and atrocities of the English schismatics in the reign of Henry VIII.," and concludes with "a description of the English Inquisition, and of the

Machiavellian acts of cruelty committed by the Calvinistic Protestants in England and Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth." Plates are added, depicting unheard-of tortures, a most horrible sight.

against England with assistance of a very different character from that furnished to Charles V by earlier popes.⁶

In January, 1587, he made loud complaints of the dilatory proceedings of Spain, and insisted on the numerous advantages the King would derive from a victory over England in relation to his future efforts for the perfect subjugation of the Netherlands.⁷

He soon became much irritated by the delays of Spain. When Philip II published a *pragmatica*, imposing restrictions on all ecclesiastical dignitaries, and consequently affecting those claimed by the Roman Curia in his dominions, the Pope burst into a flaming passion. "What," he exclaimed, "can Don Philip conduct himself thus violently against us, while he permits himself to be maltreated by a woman?"⁸

And the King was certainly not spared by Elizabeth; she openly took part with the people of the Netherlands, and her admirals, Drake in particular, made every coast of Europe and America insecure. What Pope Sixtus had uttered, was in fact the question secretly asked by all Catholics—they were astonished at the long endurance of that mighty sovereign, and the many injuries he had suffered without avenging them. The Cortes of Castile exhorted him no longer to defer the exaction of vengeance.

Philip received even personal insults. He was made the subject of mockery in masks and comedies. This was on one occasion reported to him, when the aged monarch, who had always been accustomed to reverence, sprang up from his chair in a state of irritation, such as had never before been seen in him.

In these dispositions were the Pope and King, when they received intelligence that Elizabeth had caused the imprisoned Queen of Scotland to be put to death. This is not the place to inquire into the legal right she may have had for commanding this execution: it must, upon the whole, be regarded as an act of political justice. The first thought of it arose, so far as I can discover, at the time of the massacre of St. Bartholo-

⁶ "Dispaccio Gritti, 31 Maggio, 1586": "The Pope will send him four times as much; he desires that a feint should be made of going to encounter Drake, but that the expedition should then turn toward England."

⁷ "Dispaccio Gritti, 10 Genn., 1587."
⁸ Complaining that the King should let himself be roughly handled by a woman, and yet should brave him (his holiness).

mew. The then Bishop of London, in one of his letters to Lord Burleigh, expressed his fear lest so treacherous a beginning should have its continuation in England. He thinks the ground of this peril to be principally in the Scottish Queen. "The security of the kingdom," he declares, "demands that her head should be cut off."⁹ But how much more powerful had the Catholic party now become in Europe! How much more violent were the excitement and commotion it was now causing in England itself! Mary Stuart maintained at all times a secret correspondence with her cousins the Guises, with the King of Spain, and the Pope; she was in alliance with all the disaffected in England. The Catholic principle, in so far as it was from its nature opposed to the existing government, was represented by Mary Stuart. On the first success of the Catholic party, she would indubitably have been proclaimed Queen of England. This was her position: it resulted from the state of things; but it is also certain that she made no attempt to withdraw from it, and it cost her the forfeit of her life.

But this execution brought the plans of Philip and the Pope to maturity. This was beyond what they could endure. Sixtus filled the consistory with his vociferations against the English Jezebel, who had laid hands on the anointed head of a princess subject to none but Jesus Christ, and, as she had herself acknowledged, to his vicegerent. To show how cordially he approved of the activity displayed by the Catholic opposition in England, he raised William Allen, the first founder of the seminaries, to the dignity of cardinal; an elevation which was regarded, at least in Rome, as a declaration of war against England. A formal treaty was also now concluded between Philip and the Pope¹⁰—Sixtus promising the King 1,000,000 of scudi in aid of the enterprise; but as he was always on his guard, especially where money was the question, he pledged himself to pay it when Philip should have taken possession of an English sea-port. "Let your Majesty no longer delay," he wrote to the King, "for all delay will tend to change a good intention into a bad performance!" Philip called every resource of his

⁹ Edwin Sandys to Lord Burghley, Fulham, September 5, 1572: "The saffie of our quene and realme, yf God wil: furtwith to cutte of the Scottish quenes heade; ipsa est nostri fundi calamitas."—Ellis's "Letters," second series, vol. iii. p. 25.

¹⁰ The original views of the Pope, "Dispaccio Gritti, 27 Guigno, 1587:" "The Pope made a large offer to the King for the expedition, but he wishes to have the nomination of the King, and that the kingdom shall be a fief of the Church."

kingdom into action, and fitted out the Armada called the "Invincible."

And thus the powers of Italy and Spain, from which influence so mighty had gone forth over the whole world, aroused themselves for an attack upon England. The King had caused a collection to be made from the archives of Simancas, of all the claims he possessed to the English throne on the extinction of the line of Stuart. The expedition was associated in his mind with the most brilliant prospects, especially that of universal dominion over the seas.

All things seemed now combining toward one result—the ascendancy of Catholicism in Germany, the renewed attack on the Huguenots in France, the attempt upon Geneva, the enterprise against England. At the same moment a decidedly Catholic sovereign, Sigismund III, succeeded to the crown of Poland (an event of which we shall speak further hereafter), with the prospect of future accession to the throne of Sweden.

But whenever any principle, be it what it may, tends to the establishment of absolute dominion in Europe, there is invariably opposed to it a vigorous resistance, having its origin in the deepest springs of human nature.

Philip found himself confronted in England by the national energies in all the force of their youth, and elevated by the full consciousness of their destiny. The bold corsairs, who had rendered every sea unsafe, gathered around the coasts of their native land. The whole body of the Protestants, even the Puritans, although they had been oppressed as heavily as the Catholics, rallied around the Queen, who now maintained to an admirable degree that masculine courage with which she was endowed, and gave proof of her princely talent of winning, retaining, and controlling the minds of men. The insular position of the country, and even the elements, co-operated to the defence of England. The invincible Armada was annihilated even before the assault had been made: the expedition failed completely.

It is nevertheless evident that the plan, the great purpose itself, was not immediately abandoned.

The Catholics were reminded by the writers of their party that Julius Cæsar, as well as Henry VII, the grandfather of Elizabeth, had both been unfortunate in their first attempts on

England, but had at last become masters of the country—that God often delayed the victory of the faithful. The children of Israel, in the war that they had undertaken by express command of God, with the tribe of Benjamin, were twice beaten with great loss. It was not until the third attack that they gained the victory: “Then, the devouring flames made desolate all the towns and villages of Benjamin—men and cattle were slain by the edge of the sword.” “Therefore,” they exclaimed, “let the English ponder on these things, and not be too much elated because their chastisement is delayed.”¹

Neither had Philip of Spain by any means lost his courage. He proposed to fit out smaller and more easily managed vessels, and with these at once to attempt a landing on the English coast, without waiting in the Channel to be joined by the force of the Netherlands. In the arsenal at Lisbon preparations proceeded with the utmost activity. The King was resolved to stake everything upon the undertaking, even should he be obliged, as he once said at table, to sell the silver candlesticks that stood before him.²

But while this project was occupying his thoughts, other prospects were opened to his view—a new theatre presented itself for the activity of the powers wielded by Roman Catholicism as now represented by Spain and Italy.

Section XIII.—Assassination of Henry III

In a short time after the calamitous dispersion of the Spanish fleet, a reaction took place in France, unlooked for, and, as so frequently has been the case, violent and sanguinary.

At the moment when the Duke of Guise, who ruled the States of Blois at his will, seemed, by virtue of his office of constable, to be on the point of gathering the whole power of the kingdom

¹ “*Andree Philopatri (Parsoni) ad Elizabethæ reginæ Angliæ edictum responsio*,” §§ 146, 147: “No force [he adds] has been repelled by their own courage; but rather by those casualties so common to warfare; the inclemency of weather namely, an insufficient acquaintance with the seas, and perhaps negligence and unskillfulness in some of those engaged; and, finally, by the will of God, who may have been pleased in his mercy to spare the unfruitful tree to the third gospel year.”

² “*Dispacci Gradenigo*, 29 Sett., 1588”: “Although the King has greatly felt this turn of evil fortune, he yet shows himself more than ever resolved to continue the enterprise with all his forces.” “11 Ott.,” “His Majesty is most earnest in thinking of this matter, and is eagerly making preparation for next year.” “1 Nov.,” “These candlesticks shall be sold (the King exclaimed), if there be no other means of raising money.”

into his hands, Henry III caused him to be assassinated. That King, perceiving himself beset and enchained by the Spanish and Catholic party, tore himself at once from their trammels, and placed himself in direct opposition to them.

But the death of Guise did not extinguish his party nor annihilate the League. This latter assumed for the first time a position of undisguised hostility, and allied itself more closely than ever with Spain.

Pope Sixtus was entirely on the side of this party.

The assassination of the duke, whom he loved and admired, and in whom he beheld a pillar of the Church, had already caused him extreme regret and indignation; ¹ he found it an insufferable addition when Cardinal Guise was also murdered. "A cardinal-priest!" he exclaimed in the consistory, "a noble member of the Holy See, without process or judgment, by the secular arm, as if there were no Pope in the world, as if there were no longer any God!" He reproached his legate Morosini for not having instantly excommunicated the King. He ought to have done it even though it had cost him a hundred times his life.²

The King was but slightly disturbed by the Pope's indignation, and could not be induced to give liberty to Cardinal Bourbon, or the Archbishop of Lyons, whom he had also imprisoned. He was continually urged by the Roman Court to declare Henry of Navarre incapable of succeeding to the throne, but instead of doing so he entered into alliance with him.

The Pope then resolved to adopt measures of the uttermost severity; he cited the King to appear in person at the Court of Rome, there to render an account for having murdered a cardinal, and threatened him with excommunication if he failed to release his prisoners within a specified time.

Sixtus declared that he was bound to act thus; should he do otherwise he must answer for it to God as the most useless of pontiffs; but since he had thus fulfilled his duty, he need not

¹ The Pope also complained very particularly that Henry III had contrived to obtain a brief from him which "conceded to him the power of being absolved from any sin whatsoever, if still reserved to the Apostolic See, and with which he now desires to cover the heavy offence that he has committed."
—"Dispaccio Veneto."

² Tempesti, ii. 137, has given the speech of the Pope at full length, with his letter to Morosini: "The cardinal being assassinated [it says] in the very face of your illustrious lordship, you, the legate à latere, how does it happen that you did not instantly publish the interdict? This you should have done, even had it cost you a hundred lives!"

fear the whole world; he made no doubt that Henry III would perish as King Saul had done.³

By the zealous Catholics and the adherents of the League the King was abhorred as a reprobate and outcast, the demonstrations of the Pope confirmed them in their violent opposition, and before it could have been expected, his prediction was fulfilled. On June 23d the *Monitorium* was published in France. On August 1st the King was assassinated by Clement.

The Pope himself was amazed: "In the midst of his army," he exclaimed, "on the point of conquering Paris, in his own Cabinet, he has been struck down by a poor monk, and at one blow." He attributed this to the immediate intervention of God, who thereby testified that he would not abandon France.⁴

How is it that an opinion so erroneous can possibly have gained possession of the minds of men? This conviction prevailed among innumerable Catholics; "It is to the hand of the Almighty alone," wrote Mendoza to Philip, "that we must ascribe this happy event."⁵ In the distant University of Ingolstadt the young Maximilian of Bavaria was then pursuing his studies, and in one of the first letters from his hands remaining to our days he expresses to his mother the joy which he had received from the intelligence that "the King of France had been killed."⁶

This occurrence had nevertheless another and less auspicious aspect; Henry of Navarre, whom the Pope had excommunicated, and whom the Guises so rancorously persecuted, now succeeded to his legitimate rights—a Protestant assumed the title of King of France.

The League, Philip II, and the Pope were resolved that they would not suffer him on any condition to attain to the enjoyment of his kingdom. The Pope sent a new legate to France in the place of Morosini, who appeared to be much too lukewarm. This was Gaetano, who was believed to be disposed to the Spanish party, and the pontiff gave him a sum of money, a thing he had never done before, to be applied as might be most ad-

³ "Dispaccio Veneto, 20 Maggio, 1589:" "The Pope accuses himself of negligence for not having made any remonstrance, or taken other steps, during five months that have elapsed since one cardinal has been assassinated, and another, with an archbishop, kept prisoner; he fears the wrath of God, etc."

⁴ "Dispaccio Veneto, 1 Sett.:" "The

Pope in the consistory declared that the occurrence of the French King's death must be considered to have been at the express will of God, and ought to make all men confident that he would continue to have France in his especial guard."

⁵ "Capefigue," v. 290.

⁶ Wolf, "Maximilian I." th. i. s. 107.

vantageous for the purposes of the League. He was commanded above all things to take care that no other than a Catholic should be King of France. The crown ought without doubt to belong to a prince of the blood, but that was not the only condition to be insisted on; the strict order of hereditary succession had more than once been departed from, but never had a heretic been suffered to succeed; the first essential was that the King should be a good Catholic.⁷

In this disposition of mind the Pope considered it even praiseworthy in the Duke of Savoy that he had taken advantage of the disorders prevailing in France to gain possession of Saluzzo, which then belonged to the French. It was better, Sixtus declared, that the duke should take it than that it should fall into the hands of the heretics.⁸

And now everything depended on securing that the League should be victorious in the conflict with Henry IV.

To this effect a new treaty was concluded between Spain and the Pope. The most zealous of the inquisitors, Cardinal Sanseverina, was intrusted, under the seal of confession, with the arrangement of the terms. The Pope promised to send without fail an army of 15,000 foot and 800 horse into France, and further declared himself ready to furnish subsidies when the King should have penetrated with a powerful army into that kingdom; the papal forces were to be commanded by the Duke of Urbino, a subject of the Pope and an adherent of the King of Spain.⁹

And thus were these Spanish and Italian powers, combined with their adherents in France, prepared in arms to secure the throne of that country to their party forever.

A more attractive prospect could not have been laid open, either to the Spanish sovereign or the Pope. Philip would render himself and his successors forever free from that ancient rivalry by which the efforts of Spain had so long been restricted; the sequel showed how much he had it at heart. For

⁷ "Dispaccio Veneto, 30 Sett." The Pope declares that it does not require that he should be elected of the blood-royal, more than any other family, being what had often happened before; but never a heretic to our holy religion; that Savoy, Lorraine, or even Mayenne, pretended to the crown; but his holiness did not wish to favor one more than another.—Extract from the Instruction in Tempesti, ii. 233.

⁸ The Pope was reproached on that account, but "he justified himself with many reasons, as to the taking of Saluzzo by the said duke, with his participation."—"Dispaccio Veneto."

⁹ Authentic notice in the autobiography of the cardinal, and which has been adopted by Tempesti, ii. 236.

the papal power also it would have been an immense advance to have exercised an active influence in placing a sovereign on the throne of France. Gaetano was accordingly directed to demand the introduction of the Inquisition, and the abolition of the privileges claimed by the Gallican Church; but the most significant of all triumphs would have been the exclusion of a legitimate prince from the throne, on considerations purely religious; the ecclesiastical impulse then pervading the world in all directions, would thereby have achieved complete supremacy.

CLEMENT THE SEVENTH.

Photogravure from the original painting by Titian.



BOOK VI

INTERNAL CONFLICTS, DOCTRINAL AND POLITICAL.—A.D. 1589—1607

THE course now taken by the moral and intellectual development of the century was in a direction totally opposed to that which might have been expected from the characteristics of its commencement.

At that time the restraints of ecclesiastical authority were cast aside, the nations laborēd to separate themselves from their common spiritual chief; in the Court of Rome itself, those principles on which the hierarchy was founded were treated with ridicule and contumely; profane tastes predominated in literature and the arts, while the maxims of a pagan morality were acted on without reserve or concealment.

How entirely was all this now changed! In the name of religion it now was that wars were undertaken, conquests achieved, and States revolutionized. There has been no period in which theologians were more influential than at the close of the sixteenth century. They sat in the councils of kings, and discussed political affairs from the pulpit in the presence of the whole people—they directed schools, controlled the efforts of learning, and governed the whole range of literature. From the confessional they gained opportunity for surprising the secret struggles of the soul with itself, and for giving the decisive bias to all the doubtful questions arising in private life. It may perhaps be affirmed that the eager violence with which they opposed each other, the fact that each of the two great divisions found its antagonist in its own body, was precisely the cause of that comprehensive and pervading influence.

And if this might be said of both parties, it was more particularly true of the Catholics. Among them the ideas and institutions by which the minds of men are more immediately and effectually disciplined and guided were arranged with the

most perfect adaptation to the end proposed ; no man could now exist without a father confessor. Among Catholics, moreover, the clergy, either as associates of some order, or in any case as members of the general hierarchy, constituted a corporation, combined in the strictest subordination, and acting in the most perfect unity of spirit. The head of this hierarchical body, the Pope of Rome, again acquired an influence but little inferior to that which he had possessed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries ; by means of the enterprises which he was continually undertaking for the furtherance of his religious purposes, the Roman pontiff kept the world in perpetual movement.

Under these circumstances the boldest pretensions of the days of Hildebrand were revived—axioms that had hitherto been preserved in the arsenals of the canon law, rather as antiquities than for use, were now brought forth into full effect and activity.

Our European commonwealth has, however, at no time been subjected to the dominion of pure force ; at all periods it has been imbued by the effect of thought and opinion : no enterprise of importance can succeed, no power can rise into universal influence, without immediately suggesting to the minds of men the ideal of a forthcoming advancement of society. From this point proceed theories : these reproduce the moral import and significance of facts, which are then presented in the light of a universal and effectual truth, as deduced from reason or religion, and as a result arrived at by reflection. They thus anticipate, as it were, the completion of the event, which at the same time they most effectually promote.

Let us consider in what manner this took place at the period of which we are treating.

Section I.—Theory of Ecclesiastical Policy

The principle of the Catholic religion is not unfrequently declared to have an especial connection with, and natural inclination toward, the monarchical or aristocratic forms of government. A century like the sixteenth, in which this principle displayed itself in vigorous action and full self-consciousness, is particularly competent to instruct us on this point. As the result of our examination we shall find that the Catholic religion

did in fact adhere to the existing order of things in Italy and Spain; that it further assisted the sovereign power in Germany to establish a new preponderance over the estates of the respective territories; in the Netherlands it promoted the subjugation of the country, and in Upper Germany, as well as in the Walloon provinces, it was upheld by the nobles with peculiar attachment. But if we inquire further, we shall perceive that these were not the only sympathies awakened by the Catholic religion. If we find it maintained by the patricians in Cologne, we see it supported with equal ardor by the populace in the neighboring city of Treves. In the large towns of France it was in every case associated with the claims and struggles of the people. The principal consideration of Catholicism indeed was, where the best support, the most effectual resources were to be found. If the existing authorities were adverse to its influence, Catholicism was very far from sparing them, or even from acknowledging their power: it maintained the Irish nation in its hereditary opposition to the English government. In England itself, Catholicism labored with its utmost force to undermine the allegiance demanded by the Queen, and frequently broke out into active rebellion; finally, its adherents in France were confirmed by their religious advisers in their insurrection against their legitimate sovereigns. The religious principle in general has in fact no inherent predilection for one form of government more than another. During the short period of its renovation, Catholicism evinced the most diversified preferences: first, toward monarchy, for example, in Italy and Spain, and for the confirmation of territorial sovereignty in Germany; next, it lent itself in the Netherlands to the maintenance of the legally constituted aristocratic bodies, and at the close of the century it formed a decided alliance with the democratical tendency. This was the more important, because it now stood forth in the utmost plenitude of its activity, and the movements in which it took part represent the most influential political occurrences of the day. If the popes had succeeded at this juncture, they would have secured a perpetual predominance over the State. They advanced claims, and their adherents propounded opinions and principles, by which kingdoms and states were threatened at once with internal convulsions, and with the loss of their independence.

It was the Jesuits principally who appeared on the arena for the purpose of announcing and defending opinions of this character.

They first laid claim to an unlimited supremacy for the Church over the State.

They were compelled by a sort of necessity to the discussion of this point in England, where the Queen was declared head of the Church by the laws of the land. This declaration was met by the chiefs of the Catholic opposition with the most arrogant pretensions from the other side. William Allen maintained that it was not only the right, but the duty of a people, to refuse allegiance to a prince who had departed from the Catholic Church, more especially when their refusal was further sanctioned by the commands of the Pope.¹ Parsons declares it to be the primary condition of all power in a sovereign, that he should defend and cherish the Roman Catholic faith: he is bound to this by his baptismal vows, and by his coronation-oath; if he refuse to fulfil these conditions, it is blindness to consider him as capable of reigning; it becomes, on the contrary, the duty of his subjects, in such a case, to expel him.² Such opinions are perfectly natural in these authors. They considered the exercise of religion to be the grand purpose and duty of life; they believed the Roman Catholic religion to be the only true one; they concluded that no authority, opposing itself to that religion, could be legitimate, and by consequence they make the existence of a government, and the allegiance accorded it, to depend on the application of its power for the benefit of the Roman Catholic Church.

This was the general tenor of the doctrines now rising into acceptance. The assertions put forward in England during the heat of dispute, were repeated by Cardinal Bellarmine from the solitude of his study, whence he sent them forth in ample treatises, and formed into an elaborate and well-connected system.

¹ In the letter, "Ad persecutores Anglos pro Christianis responsio (1582)," I remark the following passage: "If kings have violated the faith given to God and the people of God, the people on their part are not only permitted but enjoined, at the command of God's vicar, who is certainly the supreme pastor of all nations, to desist, on their side, from keeping faith with such kings."

² "Andræ Philopatri (Personi) ad Elizabethæ reginæ edictum responsio,"

No. 162: "It is not only lawful, but it is even incumbent on all Christians, by the precepts of the divine law, and at the utmost jeopardy of their souls, if they can bring it about." No. 163: "But it is even more imperative—when the matter has been decided by the Church and its supreme director, the Pope of Rome, for it appertains to him, by virtue of his office, to guard the safety of religion and divine worship, and to separate the leprous from the pure, lest the latter be infected."

He grounded his reasonings on the proposition that the Pope is placed over the whole Church as its guardian and chief, by the immediate agency of God himself.³ He is thus endowed with the fulness of spiritual power; to him it is granted that he cannot err; he judges all, and may be judged by no man; there accrues to him accordingly a large amount of secular authority. Bellarmine does not go so far as to attribute a secular power to the Pope as of divine right,⁴ although Sixtus V held this opinion, and was displeased to find it abandoned; but so much the more unhesitatingly does the cardinal invest him indirectly with this power. He compares the secular power to the body, and the spiritual to the soul of man; attributing to the Church a dominion over the State, similar to that which the soul exercises over the body. It is the right and the duty of the spiritual power to impose a curb on the temporal authority whenever the latter opposes an obstacle to the purposes of religion. It is not to be affirmed that the Pope has claim to an immediate influence on the legislation of a State;⁵ but if a law were required for the safety of souls, and the sovereign refused to proclaim it, or should a law be found injurious to the welfare of souls, and the sovereign persisted obstinately in maintaining it, then the Pope has indubitably the right to enact the first and annul the second. With this principle he was enabled to proceed to great lengths; for does not the soul command even the death of the body when this becomes needful? As a general rule, the Pope certainly cannot depose a prince, but should it become needful to the safety of souls, he then possesses the right of changing the government, and of transferring it from one person to another.⁶

³ "Bellarmine de conciliorum autoritate," c. 17: The supreme pontiff is simply and absolutely above the universal Church, and superior to general councils; he is thus subjected to no jurisdiction on earth.

⁴ "Bellarmine de Romano pontifice," v. vi.: "We assert that the pope, as pope, though possessing no mere temporal authority, yet, for the purposes of spiritual good, has supreme power to dispose of the temporal matters of all Christians."

⁵ "Bellarmine de Romano pontifice," v. vi.: "As regards persons, the pope cannot, as pope, ordinarily depose temporal princes, even for a just cause, in the same way that he deposes bishops, that is, as ordinary judge; yet, as supreme spiritual prince, he can

change kingdoms, taking them from one ruler to bestow them on another; if that be needful to the welfare of souls, etc."

⁶ These doctrines are, in fact, nothing more than a revival of those held in the thirteenth century. Thomas Aquinas had already employed that comparison of the soul and body which here performs so conspicuous a part: "The secular power is subordinate to the spiritual, as the body is to the soul." In the "Tractatus de potestate summi pontificis in rebus temporalibus adversus G. Barclajum," Bellarmine brings forward more than seventy writers of different countries, who regard the power of the pope in nearly the same light as himself.

But to these assertions there lay the manifest objection, that the sovereign authority was also based on divine right.

Or if not, then what was its origin, and wherein consisted its inherent import and sanction?

The Jesuits made no scruple of deriving the power of the prince from the people; they blended into one system their doctrine of the papal omnipotence with their theory of the sovereignty of the people. This opinion had already been expressed more or less explicitly by Allen and Parsons, and it lay at the foundation of their tenets. Bellarmine labored to establish it in its utmost extent. He considers that God has not bestowed the temporal power on any one man in particular. It follows, consequently, that he has confided it to the many. Hence the temporal authority resides with the people, and the people confide it sometimes to one, sometimes to many, but always retaining the power of altering the forms of government, of resuming the sovereignty, and of confiding it to new hands. Nor is it to be supposed that these views were peculiar to Bellarmine; they were, in fact, the doctrines prevalent in the Jesuit schools of that period. In a manual for confessors, which was disseminated throughout the Catholic world, and which had been revised by the Master of the Sacred Palace (*Magister Sacri Palatii*), the regal power is considered to be subject to the Pope, not merely as regards the welfare of souls,⁷ but also—and the assertion is made without ceremony—it is declared therein that a sovereign may be deposed by the people for tyranny or neglect of his duties; and that another may be selected by the majority of the nation to fill his place.⁸ Franciscus Suarez, primarius professor of theology at Coimbra, has made it his especial object, in his defence of the Catholic against the Anglican Church, to expound and confirm the doctrines of Bellarmine.⁹ But it is by Mariana that this idea of the sovereignty of the people is most fully elaborated. He has a manifest predilection for the

⁷ Aphorismi confessoriorum ex doctorum sententiis collecti, autore Emanuele Sa, nuper accurate expurgati a Revmo. P. M. sacri palatii, ed. Antv." p. 480. But the author adds, as though he had said too little: "Some able jurists have, nevertheless, thought that the pontiff is endowed with supreme civil power."

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 508 (ed. Colon. p. 313): "Rex potest per rempublicam privari ob tyrannidem, et si non faciat officium suum et cum est aliqua causa justa, et

eligi potest alius a majore parte populi (see text): quidam tamen solum tyrannidem causam putant." Some, however, consider that tyranny is the only cause.

⁹ R. P. Franc. Saurez Granatensis, etc., "defensio fidei Catholicæ et Apostolicæ adversus Anglicanæ sectæ errores, lib. iii., de summi pontificis supra temporales reges excellentia et potestate." It is very evident that Bellarmine's doctrine, of the right of the people to resume the power they have delegated, had excited especial opposition.

subject, and setting forth all the questions that can arise on its different bearings, he decides them without reserve to the advantage of the people, and the prejudice of the princely authority. He has no doubt that a prince may be deposed, nay, put to death, in the event of his actions becoming prejudicial to religion. He pronounces on Jacques Clement, who first took counsel of divines, and then proceeded to assassinate his King, a eulogium replete with pathetic declamation.¹⁰ In this he is at least entirely consistent. The fanaticism of the murderer had without doubt been inflamed by these very doctrines.

For they had, indeed, been propounded in no place with such furious vehemence as in France. Anything more anti-royalist than the diatribes thundered from the pulpit by Jean Boucher it would be impossible to find. It is in the Estates that this preacher considers the public might and majesty to be deposited: to them he attributes the power to bind and to loose; the inalienable sovereignty; the right of jurisdiction over sceptre and realm—for in them is the origin and source of all power; the prince proceeds from the people—not of necessity, or by compulsion, but by free choice. He adopts the views of Bellarmine as to the connection between Church and State, and repeats the illustrative comparison of the body and soul. He declares the free choice of the people to be limited by one condition only—one thing alone is forbidden—to select a heretic sovereign; by doing this, the people would draw down the curse of God on their heads.¹

How extraordinary a combination of spiritual pretensions and democratical ideas; of absolute freedom and complete subjection, contradictory in itself, and utterly anti-national; but which, nevertheless, enchained the minds of men as by an inexplicable spell!

The Sorbonne had, hitherto, defended the royal and national

¹⁰ "Mariana de rege et regis institutione." The following expressions are found among others: "Jacques Clement, having ascertained from divines, whom he had consulted, that a tyrant might be lawfully destroyed, made to himself a mighty name by slaying the King."

¹ Jean Boucher, "Sermons," Paris, 1594, in various places. The following words are found, p. 194: "The Church holds dominion over the kingdoms and States of Christendom; not to usurp direct power, as over its own temporalities; but, without doubt, indirectly to

prevent anything occurring in temporal matters that might be to the prejudice of Christ's kingdom, as was heretofore declared by the similitude of the body and soul." And further: "The difference between the priest and the king renders this matter clear to us, the priest being of God alone, which cannot be said of the king; for, if all kings were dead, the people could easily make themselves others; but if there were no more priests, it would be needful that Jesus Christ should come in person to create new ones."

privileges with the utmost constancy against the pretensions of the ultramontane priesthood. But when, after the assassination of the Guises, these tenets were preached from all the pulpits; when it was proclaimed through the streets, and represented by symbols on the altars and in processions, that Henry III had rendered himself unfit to wear the crown; "the good burghers and inhabitants of the city," as they called themselves, sought for aid, "in the scruples of their conscience," from the theological faculty of the University of Paris, desiring to receive from this body a valid decision in regard to the legitimacy of their opposition to their sovereign. The Sorbonne assembled accordingly on January 7, 1589. Their decision is expressed as follows: "After having heard the mature and unbiased opinions of all the *magistri*; after having examined many and various arguments, taken verbally, for the most part, from the Sacred Scriptures, the canon law, and papal ordinances, it has been declared by the dean of the faculty, without one dissenting voice: first, that the people of this realm are absolved from the oath of allegiance and fidelity given by them to King Henry; further, that this people may combine together without scruple of conscience—may gather forces, arm themselves, and collect money for the defence of the Roman Catholic and apostolic religion against the abominable enterprises of the aforesaid King."² Seventy members of the faculty were assembled on this occasion; of these, the younger more particularly supported the resolutions with the most eager enthusiasm.³

The general assent with which these theories were greeted, is, without doubt, principally attributable to their being at that moment the real expression of the facts—of the phenomena then passing before the eyes of the people. In the French troubles, an alliance had even been entered into between the ecclesiastical and popular oppositions; each advancing from its own side to a junction with the other. The citizens of Paris were confirmed and kept steady in their resistance to their lawful sovereign, by a legate from the Pope. Bellarmine himself was, for a certain period, in the train of the legate. The doc-

² "Responsum facultatis theologice Parisiensis," printed in the "Addition au Journal de Henry III," vol. i. p. 317.

³ Thuanus declares the number of those present to have been sixty only;

and will not affirm their unanimity, although the document alluded to expressly says: "The opinion of all and singular of the masters being heard, who were of the number of seventy, it was concluded, none dissenting."

trines which he had elaborated in his learned solitude, and which he had so successfully, and with so logical a consistency, promulgated, were now embodied and expressed in the event which he witnessed, and which, in some measure, he had contributed to produce.

The state of things here described was further promoted and favored by the fact that Spain assented to these doctrines, and that they were tolerated by a prince so jealous of his power and prerogatives as was Philip II. The Spanish monarchy was, indeed, essentially based on a combination of ecclesiastical attributes. It may be gathered from many passages of Lope de Vega, that it was so understood by the nation, that, in their sovereign, the people loved the majesty of religion, and desired to see it represented in his person; but, in addition to this, comes the circumstance, that Philip was allied, for the furtherance of Catholic restoration, not with the priests only, but also with the revolted people. The inhabitants of Paris reposed a more entire confidence in him than in the French princes, who were chiefs of the League. The Spanish King had, besides, a new support in the doctrines of the Jesuits. At some future time he might have something to fear from this society; but they now upheld his policy by a justification at once religious and legitimate, from which even his consideration and dignity in Spain itself derived important advantages, and which eminently promoted the opening of his path to foreign enterprises. It was to this momentary utility of the Jesuit doctrines, rather than to their general purport and tendency that Philip of Spain gave his attention.⁴

And is not this usually the case with regard to political tenets? Do these tenets arise out of the facts, or are they the originators and creators of events? Are they cherished for their own sakes, or for the utility to which men believe they may be turned?

⁴ Pedro Ribadeneira, in his book against Machiavelli, which was completed and presented to the prince of Spain as early as 1595, repeated them, in a moderated form it is true, still he did repeat them: "Tratado de la religion y virtudes que deve tener el principe Christiano para gobernar y conservar sus estados, contra lo que Nicolo Machiavello y los politicos d'este tiempo enseñan." Anveres, 1597. He

considers princes as servants of the Church, and not her judges; they are armed to punish heretics and other enemies and rebels to the Church, but not to give her laws, or to expound the will of God. He repeats the comparison of body and soul. The kingdom of the earth, as St. Gregory declares, must remain subjected to the kingdom of heaven.

Section II.—Conflict of Opinions

At no time, however, has either a power or a doctrine, least of all a political doctrine, gained pre-eminence in Europe to the extent of obtaining an absolute and undivided sovereignty.

We cannot indeed conceive of any which, when compared with the ideal, and with the highest demands of the human mind, shall not appear contracted, partial, and insufficient.

A firm resistance has at all times arisen against every opinion that has labored to obtain exclusive domination, and this antagonism proceeding from the inexhaustible depths of human life in its congregated masses, has invariably called new and vigorous energies into action.

Perceiving and acknowledging that no power will rise into effectual existence which does not repose on the basis of opinion, we may further assert that in opinion it also finds its limits; that conflict of ideas by which great social results are elaborated, have invariably their completion also in the regions of thought and of conviction.

Thus it now happened, that the idea of a sacerdotal religion, supreme over all other authority, was encountered by a mighty opposition from that national independence which is the proper expression of the secular element in society.

The Germanic institution of monarchy, widely diffused among the nations of Romanic or Latin origin, and deeply rooted among them, has never been disturbed either by the pretensions of the priesthood or by the fiction of the sovereignty of the people, which last has in all cases been eventually proved untenable.

The extraordinary connection into which these two principles had entered at the period we are considering, was opposed by the doctrine of the divine right of monarchy.

It was next assailed by the Protestants, who appear to have been for some time wavering, with all the zealous eagerness of an adversary who sees his opponent venture on a dangerous game, and attempting a path that must lead him to ruin.

God alone, as the Protestants maintained, appoints princes over the human race; he reserves to himself the office of exalting and abasing them; of apportioning and moderating the powers they are called on to exercise. It is true that he no

longer descends from heaven to point out with a visible finger the individual to whom authority shall belong, but by his eternal providence, laws and a settled order of things have been introduced into every kingdom, in accordance with which the ruler is chosen. If a prince attain the command by virtue of these appointed regulations, his right is unquestionable, as though God's voice had said, "This shall be your king." God did indeed of old point out to his people, Moses, the Judges, and the first Kings; but when a fixed order had once been established, those who afterward succeeded to the throne were equally with them the anointed of God.¹

From these principles the Protestants deduced the consequence, that obedience is due even to unjust and culpable princes. They argued that, no man being perfect, so, if it were once permitted to depart from the ordinance of God, men would avail themselves of the slightest defects as a pretext for their deposition of a sovereign. They maintain that even heresy in the monarch did not suffice to absolve his subjects entirely from their allegiance. An impious father was not indeed entitled to obedience from his son, when his commands were in contravention of God's law; but, on all other occasions, the son remains bound to pay him reverence and to continue in subjection.

The effect would have been of much importance had the Protestants alone devised and firmly upheld these opinions; but they became of infinitely greater moment, from the fact that they gained acceptance with a part of the French Catholics, or, rather, that these last arrived at similar conclusions by their own unbiassed reflections.

In despite of the papal excommunication, a band of good Catholics, of no inconsiderable numbers, maintained their allegiance to Henry III, and on his death transferred it to Henry IV. The Jesuits failed to influence this party, which was at no loss for arguments to defend the position it had taken up, without, on that account, departing from Catholicism.

In the first instance, its members labored to define the authority of the clergy and its relation to the secular power, from an opposite point of view to that adopted by the other side. They

¹ "Explicatio controversiarum quæ a nonnullis moventur ex Henrici Borbonii regis in regnum Franciæ constitutione . . . opus . . . a Tossano Ber-

cheto Lingonensi e Gallico in Latinum sermonem conversum." Sedani, 1590, cap. 2.

maintained that the spiritual kingdom is not of this world, and that the power of the clergy relates to spiritual things only; it followed that excommunication, by its very nature, affected the participation in spiritual benefits only, and could in no case deprive a man of his temporal rights. In the case of a king of France, they further declared that he could not even be excluded from the communion of the Church, for this was among the rights that were inalienable from "the banner of the lilies"; how much less allowable, then, is the attempt to deprive him of his inheritance! And where does it stand clearly written that subjects may rebel against their king and resort to arms against him? God has appointed him; therefore it is that he calls himself king by the grace of God. There is but one case in which a subject may lawfully refuse him obedience; namely, if he should command anything running counter to the laws of God.² From this doctrine of divine right, they then concluded that it was not only lawful for them to acknowledge a Protestant king, but even their duty to do so. Such as God has given the king, so must the subject accept him; to obey him is the command of God; no ground can exist that should justify the depriving a sovereign of his right.³ They further declared that their decision was that most advantageous to the Catholic cause: they maintained that Henry IV was judicious, mild, and just; that nothing but good was to be expected from him. Should he be rejected, inferior pretenders to power would rise on every side, and, in the universal discord that would ensue, the Protestant party would find means to acquire complete predominance.⁴

Thus, there arose within the bosom of Catholicism itself an opposition to those pretensions which the papacy had been emboldened, by the Restoration, to put forth; and from the very first it was doubtful whether power would be found in Rome for its suppression. The tenets maintained by this party were not, perhaps, entirely matured; their defenders were less practised than those of the Jesuit pretensions, but they were firmly rooted in the convictions of the European world; the

² I here follow an extract from an anonymous writing which appeared at Paris, in 1588, and which I find in Cayet, "Collection universelle des mémoires," tom. lvi. p. 44.

³ Etienne Pasquier, "Recherches de France," pp. 341-344.

⁴ Exposition in Thuanus, lib. xvii. p. 316: "That the sectaries, on the dissolution of the empire, and on the several parts of the kingdom being divided from the general body, would attain the greater power."

position assumed by those upholding them was in itself entirely just and blameless, and they derived an important advantage from the fact, that the papal doctrines were in close alliance with the Spanish power.

The sovereignty of Philip II seemed daily to become more perilous to the general freedom; it awakened throughout Europe that jealous aversion, which proceeds less from the acts of violence committed, than from the apprehension of such violence, and from that sense of danger to freedom which seizes on the minds of men, although they cannot clearly account to themselves for its presence.

So intimate a connection now subsisted between Rome and Spain, that the opponents of the papal claims were also antagonists to the progress of the Spanish power: they hereby performed an office now become needful to the safety of Europe, and could thus not fail of obtaining approbation and support. A secret sympathy united the nations; determined allies arose unsolicited and from unexpected quarters in aid of that national party of French Roman Catholics; they appeared in Italy itself before the eyes of the Pope, and first of all in Venice.

Some few years previously, in 1582, a change had taken place in Venice, which was effected silently, and was almost overlooked in the history of the republic, but which was nevertheless of powerful influence. Up to that period, all affairs of moment had been confided to a few patricians—men advanced in years, who had been chosen from a small circle of families; but, at the time we are contemplating, a discontented majority in the Senate, consisting principally of the younger members, had instituted a successful struggle for a share in the administration, to which they were beyond doubt entitled by the letter of the constitution.

It is true that even the previous government had ever maintained a zealous guard over the Venetian independence, and had sedulously asserted it on all occasions; but it had always coalesced, so far as was by any means practicable, in the views of the Church and of Spain. The new administration no longer adhered to this policy; they rather evinced an inclination, from the mere spirit of opposition, to throw difficulties in the path of those powers.

In this mode of proceeding, the interests of the Venetians were moreover nearly engaged.

For they remarked with displeasure, on the one hand, that the doctrine of papal omnipotence, and of the blind obedience due to the pontiff, was preached among them also; while, on the other, they anticipated the total destruction of the balance of power in Europe, should the Spaniards succeed in organizing a predominant influence in France. The liberties of Europe seemed hitherto secured by the hostility subsisting between those two countries.

It thus happened, that the course and results of events in France were observed with redoubled strength of interest; and writings in defence of the royal prerogative were seized on with avidity. An extraordinary influence was exercised by a society of statesmen and men of letters, which assembled at the house of Andrea Morosini. Leonardo Donato and Nicolo Contarini, each of whom held afterward the office of doge, were among its members, as was Domenico Molino, subsequently a leading ruler in the republic, with Fra Paolo Sarpi and other distinguished men: all these persons were then of an age at which men are best fitted, not only to assimilate new ideas, but also to retain them with tenacity, and carry them out to their consequences. They were all decided opponents of ecclesiastical pretensions, and of the Spanish ascendancy.⁵ It must always be highly important to the construction and the efficiency of a political system, even when it is based on facts, that men of talent should be found to stand forward as representing it in their own persons, and that they should agree among each other to disseminate its principles, each in his own immediate circle. This is of increased importance in a republic.

Under these circumstances, men did not content themselves with mere thoughts and inclinations. The Venetians had felt confidence in Henry IV from the very commencement of his career; they had believed him capable of reviving the fortunes of France, and restoring the lost balance of power. They were bound by manifold obligations to the Pope, who

⁵ In the "Vita di Fra Paolo Sarpi" (by Fra Fulgentio, but called the "Anonimo,") p. 104, in Griselini's "Memoirs of Fra Paolo," pp. 40, 78, and in various passages of Foscarini, we find notices of this "ridotte Mauroceno." In addition to those before mentioned, Pietro and Giacopo Contarini,

Giacopo Morosini, and Leonardo Mocenigo also belonged to it, though not attending so regularly as the first-named; as did likewise Antonio Quirini, Giacopo Marcello, Marino Zane, and Alessandro Malipiero, who, old as he was, constantly accompanied Fra Paolo home.

had excommunicated Henry, and were encompassed both on land and sea by the Spaniards, who desired to destroy that prince. The extent of their power was not such as to command great influence in the world, yet the Venetians were the first of all the Catholics who had courage to acknowledge Henry of Navarre as King of France. When his accession was notified to them by their ambassador Mocenigo, they at once empowered that functionary to congratulate Henry on the occasion.⁶ Their example did not fail to influence others. Although the grand duke Ferdinand of Tuscany had not courage for a public acknowledgment of the new sovereign, he nevertheless entered into relations of personal friendship with him.⁷ The Protestant prince suddenly beheld himself surrounded by Catholic allies—nay, received into their protection and shielded by them from the supreme head of their own church.

At all times when an important decision is to be made, the public opinion of Europe is invariably declared in a manner that admits of no doubt. Fortunate is he on whose side it takes its stand. Thenceforth his undertakings are accomplished with greatly increased facility. This power now favored the cause of Henry IV. The ideas connected with his name had scarcely found expression; they were nevertheless already so influential as to make it not altogether impossible that the papacy itself might be won over to their side.

Section III.—Latter Times of Sixtus V

We return once again to Sixtus V. His internal administration, with the part he took in the restoration of the Church, has already been considered: we will now give some few words to the description of his policy in general.

In doing this we cannot fail to remark the extraordinary fact that the inexorable justice exercised by this pontiff, the rigid system of finance that he established, and the close exactitude of his domestic economy, were accompanied by the most inexplicable disposition to political plans of fantastic extravagance.

⁶ Andreae Mauroceni "Historiarum Venetarum," lib. xiii. p. 548.

⁷ Galluzzio, "Istoria del Granducato di Toscana," lib. v. (tom. v. p. 78).

What strange ideas were permitted to enter his head!

He flattered himself for a long time that his power would suffice to put an end to the Turkish empire. He formed relations in the East—with the Persians, with certain Arab chiefs, and with the Druses. He fitted out galleys and hoped to obtain others from Spain and Tuscany. He fancied he should thus be enabled to co-operate by sea with Stephen Bathory, King of Poland, who was appointed to make the principal attack by land. For this undertaking Sixtus hoped to combine all the forces of the Northeast and Southwest. He even persuaded himself that Russia would not only enter into alliance with the King of Poland, but would consent to subject herself to his command.

Another time he amused himself with the notion that he could make the conquest of Egypt, either by his own resources or with the aid of Tuscany alone. On this hope he founded the most extensive designs: the formation of a passage to connect the Red Sea with the Mediterranean;¹ the restoration of commerce as pursued by the ancients, and the conquest of the Holy Sepulchre. But supposing these plans should be found not immediately practicable, might not an incursion at least be made into Syria, in order to have the tomb of the Saviour hewn out of the rock by skilful masters in their craft, and brought, carefully wrapped and protected, to Italy? He already entertained the hope of seeing this sanctuary, the most sacred in the world, erected in Montalto. Then would his native province, the March of Ancona, where the Holy House of Loretto was already placed, comprise within its limits both the birth-place and tomb of the Redeemer.

There is yet another idea which I find attributed to Sixtus V, and which exceeds in eccentricity all those we have enumerated. A proposal is declared to have been forwarded to Henry III, after the assassination of the Guises, to the effect that he should acknowledge a nephew of the Pope as his successor to the crown of France. This suggestion is said to have been made by the legate, with the knowledge of the pon-

¹ "Dispaccio Gritti, 23 Agosto, 1587: "The Pope began to talk of the canal that the Kings of Egypt had made to pass from the Red Sea into the Mediterranean." Sometimes he formed the project of attacking Egypt with his own

troops alone. He made known his want of money, which was to be employed in an armament with which he designed to fall on Egypt, and to pay the galleys that should effect this enterprise.

tiff. His holiness had persuaded himself that if this nomination were made with all due solemnity, the King of Spain would bestow the infanta in marriage on the successor so declared; all would be ready to acknowledge a succession thus constituted, and the disturbances would be brought to an end. It has been affirmed that Henry was attracted for a moment by these propositions, and might have yielded his assent, had it not been represented to him how deplorable a reputation for cowardice and want of forethought he would leave behind him by doing so.²

These were plans, or rather—for that word has too definite a meaning—these were fantasies, castles in the air, of the most extraordinary character. How flagrantly are these visions in discord with the stern reality, the rigid practical activity, earnestly pressing forward to its end, by which this pontiff was usually distinguished!

We may nevertheless be permitted to declare that even these had their origin in the exuberance of thoughts too mighty for accomplishment.

The elevation of Rome into the acknowledged metropolis of Christendom, to which, after a certain lapse of years, all nations, even those of America, were to resort—the conversion of ancient monuments into memorials of the subjugation of heathenism by the Christian faith—the accumulation of a treasure, formed of money borrowed and paying interest, as a basis for the secular power of the Papal States—all these are purposes surpassing the limits of the practicable, which found their origin in the ardor of religious enthusiasm, but

² This notice is contained in a "Mémoire du Seigneur de Schomberg, Maréchal de France sous Henri III.," among the Hohendorf MSS. in the Imperial Library of Vienna, No. 114: "Some time after the death of M. de Guise, which happened at Blois, the cardinal-legate, Morosino, proposed on the part of his holiness, that his Majesty should declare the Marquis de Pom [the name is probably misspelt], his nephew, heir to the crown, and cause him to be received as such with the due solemnities. In that case, his holiness was assured that the King of Spain would confer the infanta in marriage on the said marquis; and, this being done, all the troubles of France would find an end. Whereat the King being on the point of letting himself be persuaded, and that by some who

were then about his Majesty, M. de Schomberg parried this blow (rompit ce coup) by such reasons as that it would be the overturning of all order in France; would abolish the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and leave to posterity a certain proof of the cowardice and narrow-mindedness of his Majesty." It is perfectly true, that Schomberg claims the merit of having baffled these projects; but I am not on that account disposed to consider it a mere castle in the air. The Mémoire, which advocates the rights of Henry IV, has all the more appearance of being genuine, from the fact that it lies obscurely mingled up with other papers. It is, however, remarkable that nothing further should have been said on the subject.

which were yet highly influential in determining the restless activity of this pontiff's character.

From youth upward, the life of man, active or passive, is but the reflection of his hopes and wishes. The present, if we may so speak, is compassed round by the future, and the soul resigns itself with unwearied constancy to anticipations of personal happiness. But as life advances, these desires and expectations become attached to more extensive interests; they aspire to the completion of some great object in science, in politics, in the more important general concerns of life; they expand, in a word, into cares for the universal interest. In the case of our Franciscan, the fascination and stimulus of personal hopes had been ever all the more powerful, because he had found himself engaged in a career which opened to him the most exalted prospects: they had accompanied him from step to step, and had sustained his spirit in the extremity of his obscure penury. He had eagerly seized on every word foreboding prosperity, had treasured it in the depths of his heart, and, in the anticipation of success, had connected with each some magnificent design suggested by monkish enthusiasm. At length his utmost hopes were realized; from a beginning the least auspicious, the most hopeless, he had risen to the highest dignity in Christendom—a dignity of which, eminent as it was, he yet entertained a conception exaggerated beyond the reality. He believed himself immediately selected by a special providence for the realization of those ideas that floated before his imagination.

Even when arrived at the possession of supreme power, he retained the habit and faculty of discerning, amid all the complexities of general politics, whatever opportunity might present itself for magnificent enterprises, and employed himself in projects for their execution. But to the charms of power and lasting renown he was profoundly sensible; hence in all his acts we descry an element of a strictly personal character predominant. The lustre surrounding himself he desired to see diffused over all immediately belonging to or connected with him, his family, his birth-place, his native province. This wish was nevertheless invariably subordinate to his interest in the general welfare of Catholic Christendom: his mind was ever accessible to the influence of grand and

elevated ideas. A certain difference is, however, to be remarked. To one portion of his plans he could himself give effectual accomplishment; for the execution of the other, he was compelled to depend on external aid. As a consequence, we perceive that he applied himself to the first with that inexhaustible activity which results from conviction, enthusiasm, and ambition. With regard to the last, on the contrary, he was by no means so earnest, whether because he was by nature distrustful or because the chief part in the execution, and consequently in the gain and glory, had to be resigned to others. If we inquire what he really accomplished, toward the completion of his oriental projects, for example, we perceive that he did no more than form alliances, make exchange of letters, issue admonitions, and take similar steps—all preliminary only. That any measures, effectively adapted to the end he proposed, were ever taken, we cannot perceive. He would form the plan with all the eagerness of an excitable imagination, but since he could not immediately proceed to action, and the accomplishment of the work lay in remote distance, his will was not efficiently exerted, the project by which he had perhaps been considerably occupied was suffered to fall into oblivion, while some other succeeded to its place.

At the moment now in question, the Pope was absorbed by the grandest views connected with the undertaking against Henry IV. He anticipated a decisive victory for strict Catholicism, and hoped to see the universal supremacy of the pontificate fully restored—his whole life for the moment was engrossed by these prospects. He was persuaded that all the Catholic States were entirely agreed on this point, and would turn the whole force of their united powers against the Protestant who laid claim to become king of France.

In this direction of his thoughts, and while thus ardently zealous, he was made acquainted with the fact that a Catholic power—one too with which he had believed himself in particularly good intelligence—Venice, namely—had offered congratulations to that very Protestant. He was profoundly afflicted by this proceeding. For a moment he attempted to restrain the republic from taking further steps; he entreated the Venetians to wait. Time, he assured them, brought forth

marvellous fruits; he had himself learned from the good and venerable Senators to permit their arrival at maturity.³

Notwithstanding this request, the republic persisted, and acknowledged De Maise, the former ambassador of France, after he had received his new credentials as plenipotentiary of Henry IV. Hereupon the Pope proceeded from exhortations to menaces. He declared that he should well know what it behooved him to do, and commanded that the old *monitoria* proclaimed against the Venetians in the time of Julius II should be sought out, and the formula of a new one prepared.

It was yet not without pain and deep regret that he did this; let us listen for a moment to the words of the pontiff, as uttered in conference with the ambassador, whom the Venetians sent to him on this occasion.

“To fall at variance with those whom we do not love,” said the Pope, “that is no such great misfortune; but with those whom one loves, that is indeed a sorrow. Yes! it will cause us much grief”—he laid his hand on his breast—“to break with Venice.

“But Venice has offended us. Navarre! [it was thus he called Henry IV] Navarre is a heretic, excommunicated by the Holy See: and yet Venice, in defiance of all our remonstrances, has acknowledged him.

“Does the Signory make pretension to be the most sovereign power of the earth? Does it belong to Venice to give example to all the rest of the world? There is still a King of Spain—there is still an Emperor.

“Has the republic any fear of Navarre? We will defend her, if it be necessary, with all our force—we have nerve enough.

“Or does the republic propose to inflict some injury on us? God himself would be our defender.

“The republic should prize our friendship beyond that of Navarre; we can do more for her welfare.

“I beseech you to recall at least one step. The Catholic King has recalled many because we desired it, not from fear of us, for our strength, as compared with his, is but as a fly compared with an elephant; but he has done it from love, and be-

³ “9th Sett. 1589:” “That for the love of God they should not proceed so

fast with this Navarre; that they should hold back to see, etc.”

cause it was the Pope who had spoken, the vicegerent of Christ, who prescribes the rule of faith to him, and to all others. Let the Signory do as much: they can easily find some expedient that shall serve as the pretext; that cannot be difficult for them, they have wise and aged men enough, every one of whom would be capable of governing a world."*

But so much was not said without eliciting a reply. The envoy-extraordinary of the Venetians was Leonardo Donato, a member of the society we have described as assembled by Andrea Morosini. He was deeply imbued with the spirit of the ecclesiastical and political opposition, was a man of what would now be called the most consummate skill in diplomacy and had already successfully conducted many difficult and delicate negotiations.

The various motives by which the Venetians were influenced could not well be set forth in Rome; Donato, therefore, gave prominence to those which the Pope had in common with the republic, and which were consequently assured of finding acceptance with his holiness.

Was it not manifest, for example, that the Spanish predominance in the south of Europe became more decided, and more perilous from year to year? The Pope felt this as deeply as any other Italian prince. He could take no step in Italy even at this time, without first obtaining the consent of Spain; what then would be the state of things when the Spaniards should have gained the mastery in France? On this consideration, then, on the necessity for maintaining the balance of power in Europe, and on the means by which it might be restored, Donato principally insisted. He labored to prove that the republic, far from seeking to offend the Pope, had rather arranged her policy with a view to defending and promoting the most important interests of the Papal See.

The Pope listened to his words, but appeared to be utterly immovable—by no means to be convinced. Donato resigned

* The Pope spake for so long a time that the ambassadors said it would have taken them an hour and a half to read it before the Senate, had they written it all down. Among other matters, he continually insisted on the effects of excommunication: "Three have been excommunicated; the late King, the Prince of Condé, and the King of Navarre. Two of them have met with an evil death, the third still vexes us;

and God upholds him for the exercise of our faith; but he also will finish, and will come to a bad end: we need have no doubt concerning him.—December 2d. The Pope published a most solemn jubilee, inviting all to supplicate the Divine Majesty for the peace and extension of the Catholic faith." During this jubilee, Sixtus would see no one, to the end that he "might live to himself and to his devotions."

all hope of accomplishing anything, and requested an audience of leave. This he obtained on December 16, 1589, when the pontiff assumed an appearance of intending to refuse him his blessing.⁵ Yet Sixtus was not so perfectly enslaved but that arguments of sound reason produced their effect. He was self-willed, imperious, and obstinate; yet his convictions were not altogether incapable of change: it was not impossible to lead him into new views of things, and he was in the main good-natured—even while continuing the dispute, and stubbornly defending his position, he felt himself moved in his heart, and even convinced. In the midst of that audience he became suddenly mild and compliant.⁶ “He who has a colleague,” he exclaimed, “has a master. I will speak to the congregation; I will tell them that I have been angry with you, but that you have overcome my resentment.” They waited some days longer, when the Pope declared that he could not approve what the republic had done, but he would refrain from adopting the measures he had contemplated against her. He gave Donato his blessing and embraced him.

This may be called an almost insensible change of mere personal feeling. The most important results were, nevertheless, involved in it. The Pope himself permitted the rigor with which he had persecuted the Protestant King to relax. Neither would he absolutely condemn the Catholic party attached to Henry, and by which his former policy had been opposed. A first step is always important; because the whole tendency of the course pursued is involved in and determined by it. This was instantly perceived on the part of the opposition: it had originally sought only to exculpate itself; it now proceeded to attempt convincing and gaining over the Pope himself.

Monseigneur de Luxembourg soon after appeared in Italy, bearing a charge from the princes of the blood and Catholic peers attached to Henry IV. He was permitted to enter Rome, in January, 1590; and, in spite of the warning representations of the Spaniards, Sixtus granted him an audience. The envoy expatiated particularly on the personal qualities of Henry,

⁵ “Dispaccio Donato:” “Dopo si lungo negotio restando privo d’ogni speranza.”

⁶ Ibid.: “At length, inspired by

God, * * * said he would consent, and that he had permitted himself to be conquered by us.”

placing his courage, magnanimity, and kindness of heart in the most brilliant light. The Pope was quite enchanted with this description. "In good truth," he exclaimed, "it repents me that I have excommunicated him." Luxembourg declared that his lord and King would now render himself worthy of absolution; and, at the feet of his holiness, would return into the bosom of the Catholic Church. "In that case," replied the Pope, "I will embrace and console him."

For already his imagination was powerfully excited, and he at once conceived the boldest hopes from these advances. He suffered himself to believe that the Protestants were prevented from returning to the Catholic Church by political aversion to Spain, rather than by religious convictions in hostility with those of the Roman See; and thought he ought not to repel them.⁷ There was already an English ambassador in Rome—one from Saxony was announced. The pontiff was perfectly ready to hear them. "Would to God," he exclaimed, "they would all come to our feet!"

The extent of the change that had taken place in the convictions of Sixtus V was made manifest by the mode of his proceeding toward Cardinal Morosini, his legate in France. The forbearance of this minister toward Henry III had in earlier days been reprovèd as a crime; and he had returned to Italy, laboring under his sovereign's displeasure. He was now brought into the Consistory by Cardinal Montalto, and Sixtus received him with the declaration that he rejoiced to see a cardinal of his own creation, as was Morosini, obtaining universal approbation.⁸ He was invited to the table of Donna Camilla.

How greatly must this total change have astonished the strict Catholic world! The Pope evinced a favorable disposition toward a Protestant whom he had himself excommuni-

⁷ "Dispaccio Donato, Genn. 13, 1590:" "The Pope is dissatisfied with the opinions of the cardinals and other prelates, who pressed him to dismiss this Monseigneur de Luxembourg, and accuses them of desiring to become his pedants [his teachers, as we should say] in a matter that he had been studying all his life. He added that he would rejoice to see the Queen of England, the Duke of Saxony, and all the others presenting themselves at his feet with good dispositions. That it would displease his holiness were they to go to

other princes [Catholics must here be understood] and hold communication with them; but it consoled him to see them approaching his feet to seek for pardon." These sentiments he repeated in various forms at each audience.

⁸ "He declared himself particularly satisfied that a cardinal created by himself should be so highly appreciated by all. The illustrious cardinal Morosini acquired great credit and renown by the relations he gave as to affairs in France."

cated; and who, according to the ancient ordinances of the Church, had rendered himself incapable even of receiving absolution, by the commission of a double apostasy.

That from all this there should result a reaction, was in the nature of things. The party holding rigid Catholic opinions was not so entirely dependent on the Pope as to make their opposing him out of the question; and the Spanish power supplied them with a support of which they eagerly availed themselves.

The adherents of the League in France accused the Pope of avarice. They asserted that he would not open his purse; but desired to retain all the money he had heaped up in the Castle of St. Angelo for his nephews and other connections. A Jesuit in Spain preached publicly on the deplorable condition of the Church. "It was not the republic of Venice only that favored the heretics; but—hush, hush," he said, placing his finger on his lips, "but even the Pope himself." These words resounded through Italy. Sixtus V had become so sensitive on these subjects that when the general of the Capuchins proclaimed an exhortation to general prayers, "to invoke the favor of God for the affairs of the Church," he considered this as a personal affront, and suspended the Capuchin.

Nor was the effect confined to mere hints and private complaints. On March 22, 1590, the Spanish ambassador appeared in the papal apartments to make a formal protest in the name of his sovereign against the proceedings of the Pope.⁹ There was an opinion, as these things show us, more orthodox, more Catholic, than that of the Pope himself. The Spanish ambassador now appeared in the palace to give this opinion effect and expression before the very face of the pontiff. It was an extraordinary incident: the ambassador knelt on one knee and entreated his holiness for permission to execute the commands of his lord. The Pope requested him to rise, saying it would be heresy to pursue the course he was contem-

⁹ The following questions were laid before the pontiff by the Spanish envoy so early as March 10: "He demanded a reply as to three things; that is, the dismissal of Luxembourg, the excommunication of the cardinals and other prelates adhering to Navarre; and the assurance that he would never render this Navarre eligible to the crown of

France." He had besides given notice of a protest, whereupon the Pope menaced him with excommunication: "He threatens to excommunicate and inflict capital punishment on all who shall dare to attempt what he had intimated, driving him forth, and closing the door in his face."

plating against the vicar of Christ. The ambassador would not suffer himself to be disconcerted. "His holiness," he began, "ought to proclaim the excommunication of all adherents to the King of Navarre without distinction. His holiness should declare that Navarre was incapable of ascending the French throne under every circumstance and for all time. If this were not done, the Catholic King would abandon his allegiance to his holiness, for the majesty of Spain could not permit the cause of Christ to be brought to ruin."¹⁰ Scarcely would the Pope allow him to utter his protest to this extent; he exclaimed that this was not the business of the King. The ambassador rose, then knelt down again, resolved to continue. The Pope called him a stone of offence, and went away. But Olivarez was not yet content and would not permit himself to be baffled; he declared that he would and must complete his protest, should the Pope condemn him to the loss of his head; he knew well that the King would avenge him and bestow the recompense of his fidelity on his children. Sixtus V on the other hand was violently enraged. He maintained that no prince on earth was empowered to dictate to the Pope, who is appointed by God as the superior of every other sovereign; that the proceedings of the ambassador were positively sacrilegious; his instructions authorized him to make protestation only in the event of the pontiff's evincing indifference toward the cause of the League. How did he know that this was the case? Did the ambassador pretend to direct the steps of his holiness?

Catholicism in its genuine forms appeared now to have but one aim—one undivided opinion. It seemed in the road to victory, and on the very point of success; but there were formed unexpectedly within itself two parties—two systems of opinion opposing each other politically and ecclesiastically; the one disposed to make aggressions, the other prepared for resistance. The struggle was commenced by each party exerting its utmost power in the effort to win over the head of the Church to its own side. The one already held possession

¹⁰ "Che S. Sa. dichiari iscomunicati tutti quei che seguitano in Francia il Navarra e tutti gli altri che quovis modo li dessero ajuto, e che dichiari esso Navarra incapace perpetuamente alla corona di Francia: altramente che

il re suo si leverà della obediencia della chiesa, e procurerà che non sia fatta ingiuria alla causa di Christo e che la pietà e la religione sua sia conosciuta." (See text.) But would make his piety and religion known.

of the Pope, and now labored to retain him by menaces, bitterness, and almost by force. Toward the other a secret feeling had disposed him at a very critical moment, and this now sought to secure him entirely for itself: attempts were made to allure him by promises; the most attractive prospects were displayed before him. For the decision of the contest, the question to which party the pontiff should attach himself, was one of the utmost importance.

The demeanor of this Pope, so renowned for active energy and decision of character, was at that moment such as to fill us with amazement.

When letters arrived from Philip II, expressing the determination of that sovereign to uphold the rightful cause and support the League with all the force of his kingdom—nay, with his own blood—the Pope was instantly full of zeal. Never would he expose himself, as he then declared, to the disgrace of not having opposed a heretic like Navarre.¹

He was none the less soon afterward perceived to incline toward the opposite side. When the difficulties in which the affairs of France involved him were represented to the pontiff, he exclaimed, that if Navarre were present, he would entreat him on his knees to become Catholic.

No prince was ever placed in a more extraordinary position with regard to his plenipotentiary than that occupied by Sixtus V in relation to his legate Gaetano, whom he had sent to France during the time of his most intimate alliance with the Spaniards. The pontiff had certainly not yet gone over to the side of the French, but his mind had been rendered irresolute, and he had been brought into a state of neutrality. Without the slightest regard to this change, the legate pursued his original instructions. When Henry IV besieged Paris after the victory of Ivry, it was from the papal legate that he experienced the most effectual resistance. In his presence it was that the magistrates and leaders of the people took an oath never to capitulate or make terms with Navarre. By the dignity attached to his spiritual office, and by a deport-

¹ He declared, even in the Consistory, he had written to the King with his own hand to the effect that he would constantly labor with all his power, spiritual and temporal, to prevent anyone from becoming king of France,

who was not to the entire satisfaction of his Catholic majesty. So early as January, 1590, the ambassadors say: "in his negotiations, the Pope speaks of his designs to one in one sense, and to another in a sense totally different."

ment remarkable for address and firmness, Gaetano succeeded in holding them to their engagements.²

It was, in fact, by the party attached to rigidly orthodox Catholicism that the superiority in strength was finally manifested.

Olivarez compelled the Pope to dismiss Luxembourg, although under the pretext of a pilgrimage to Loretto. Sixtus had intended to select Monsignore Serafino, who was believed to hold French opinions, for a mission to France. Olivarez uttered loud complaints and threatened to appear no more at the audience; the Pope replied that he might depart in God's name. Olivarez, nevertheless, eventually prevailed, and the mission of Serafino was laid aside. There is an invincible force in an orthodox opinion, adhered to with unflinching steadfastness, and more especially when it is advocated by a man of vigorous mind. Olivarez had the congregation which managed affairs connected with France, and which had been constituted in earlier times, in his favor. In July, 1590, negotiations were entered into for a new alliance between Spain and the Pope,³ and his holiness declared that he must do something in favor of the Spaniards.

But it must not be supposed that he had meanwhile abandoned the other party. There was at the papal court, at this very moment, an agent from Lesdiguières, one of the leaders of the Huguenots, an envoy from the Landgrave, and an emissary from England. The imperial ambassador was further alarmed by the approach of the Saxon envoy, whose arrival was expected, and against whose suggestions, which he greatly dreaded, he was already seeking means of defence. The intrigues of Chancellor Crell extended their effect even to Rome.⁴

Thus did the powerful prince of the Church, the sovereign

² "Discours véritable et notable du siège de la ville de Paris en l'an 1590," in Villeroy, "Mémoires d'Etat," tom. ii. p. 417.

³ The King was to furnish 20,000 foot soldiers and 3,000 cavalry; the Pope 15,000 infantry and 2,000 horse. The ambassadors pressed the cardinals for the conclusion and signing of the treaty. ("Disp. 14 July.") The Pope proposed in the congregation the question: "Whether it belong to the pontiff to elect a king of France, failing the princes of the blood." Being exhorted to remain neutral, he commended that advice; but declared that he could not

refrain from doing something. ("Disp. 28 July.") The despatch of July 21st says, in the meantime, "Lesdiguières had sent one of his creatures to treat with his holiness, who talked with the same at great length."

⁴ The fact that the imperial ambassador warned the Pope against Saxon insinuation cannot otherwise be explained. The ambassador of the Emperor prays the Pope to give no ear to the man who is said to have been sent by the Duke of Saxony, in matters likely to be prejudicial to his master and the house of Austria; and this has been promised to him.

who lived in the persuasion that he was invested with a direct authority over the whole earth, and who had amassed a treasure that might well have enabled him to perform some mighty deed, remain undecided and incapable of action when the moment for decision had arrived.

Are we permitted to reproach him with this as a fault? I fear that we should do him injustice. He had seen through the condition of things, he perceived the dangers on both sides, he suffered himself to be subjected to the influence of conflicting opinions. No crisis presented itself by which he might have been compelled to a final decision. The elements that were dividing the world had filled his very soul with the confusion of their conflict, and neither could there obtain the decisive mastery.

It is certain that by this irresolute state of his own spirit, he placed himself in a position wherein it was impossible that he should effectually influence the world. On the contrary; he was himself re-acted on by the forces then agitating society, and this effect was produced in a manner highly peculiar.

Sixtus had succeeded in suppressing the banditti, principally by establishing friendly relations with his neighbors. But since these were now interrupted—since opinions prevailed in Tuscany and Venice which were altogether different from those held in Naples and Milan, and the Pope would declare himself decidedly for neither, he became the object of suspicion, first to one and then to the other of these neighbors, and under favor of this state of things, the banditti once more aroused themselves to activity.

In was in April, 1590, that they appeared again—in the Maremma under Sacripanti; in Romagna they were led by Piccolomini, and Battistella was their chief in the Campagna of Rome. They were amply provided with money, and it is said that they were observed to disburse large numbers of Spanish doubloons. They found adherents principally among the Guelfs, and were already once more traversing the country in regularly organized bands, with banners flying and military music. Nor were the papal troops by any means disposed to offer them battle.⁵ This state of things produced an imme-

⁵ "Disp. 21 July:" "The outlaws commit their ravages up to the very gates of Rome." The despatches of

March 17th, April 7th and 28th, May 12th, and June 2d contain details of these disorders.

diate effect on all the relations of the country. The people of Bologna opposed themselves to the Pope's intention of adding to the Senators of their city with a boldness and independence of action long unthought of.

In this condition, surrounded by so many pressing disquietudes, and without having even attempted to announce a decision, or to adopt a resolution concerning the most important affairs, Pope Sixtus V died, on August 27, 1590.

A storm burst over the Quirinal at the moment when he breathed his last. The ill-taught multitude persuaded themselves that Fra Felice had made a compact with the evil spirit, by whose aid he had risen from step to step, and that the stipulated period having now expired, his soul had been carried away in the tempest. It was in this manner that they signified their discontent at the number of new taxes he had imposed, and expressed those doubts of his perfect orthodoxy which had for some years been frequently agitated. With impetuous fury they tore down the statues that had been erected in his earlier days, and even came to a resolution in the Capitol that no statue should ever again be erected to a pontiff during his lifetime.

Section IV.—Urban VII, Gregory XIV, Innocent IX, and their Conclaves, 1590–1591

The new election was now of redoubled importance. To which of the two principles just commencing their contest the pontiff about to be chosen should attach himself, must principally depend on the personal dispositions of the man selected; and it could not be doubted that his decision would involve consequences which must influence the whole world. The tumult and intriguing strife of the conclave hence assume peculiar importance, and require us to devote a few words to their consideration.

During the first half of the sixteenth century the College of Cardinals was powerfully influenced either by the imperial faction or by that of France. It was even remarked by one of the popes that the cardinals no longer possessed any freedom of election. But from the middle of the century the influence thus exerted by foreign powers had materially declined,

The Curia was left much more to its own decisions; and there arose, from the ferment of its internal agitations, a principle or custom of very singular character.

It was the habit of each pontiff to nominate a number of cardinals, who gathered round his nephews and kinsmen in the next conclave, maintained the family interests of the Pope just deceased, formed a new power, and usually sought to raise one of their own party to the papal throne. It is a remarkable fact that they never succeeded, that the opposition was victorious on every occasion, and in most cases put forward an adversary of the last pope.

I will not attempt any close investigation of this matter. We have testimonies relating to these elections that are not altogether unworthy of credit; but it would be impossible to gain correct and clear views of the personal relations and motives really in action on these occasions: our best efforts could but result in the production of mere shadows.

It must suffice that we direct attention to the principle. At the period in question, the pontiff elected was invariably the antagonist, and never the adherent, of the pope preceding, he was the creature—that is to say, of the last but one. Paul IV was thus advanced to the Papal See by the creatures of Paul III, while Pius IV was elected by the enemies of Paul IV, and the Caraffa family. Borromeo, the nephew of Pius IV, was sufficiently disinterested to give his support to a man of the party opposed to his own, because he considered him to be the most pious and best fitted; but he did this in the face of earnest remonstrance from the creatures of his uncle, who, as the report informs us, “could scarcely believe that they said what they said, or were doing what they did”;¹ and accordingly they sought to turn their compliance to account on the next occasion. They endeavored to make this custom a fixed precedent, to give it the force of an established rule; and the successor of Pius V was in fact selected from the creatures of Pius IV. A similar practice prevailed at the election of Sixtus V, who was elevated from among the adversaries of his predecessor, Gregory XIII.

We are therefore not to be surprised at constantly finding men of opposite characters successively occupying the papal

¹ See Appendix, No. 63.

throne. Each faction was alternately driven from its place by the other.

In virtue of this mode of succession, the opponents of Sixtus V, especially those of his later policy, found a cheering prospect opened before them. Sixtus had raised his nephew to great power, and Montalto now entered the conclave with a train of cardinals devoted to his interests, as numerous as any that had appeared on previous occasions. He was nevertheless compelled to give way. The creatures of Gregory succeeded in electing an opponent of the late pontiff, one who had indeed been especially offended by Sixtus, and was unequivocally attached to the Spanish interests; this was Giovanni Battista Castagna, Urban VII.²

But they were not fortunate in their choice. Urban VII died before he had been crowned, before he had nominated a single prelate, and when he had worn the tiara twelve days only; the contest of election had consequently to be opened anew.

It was decided by the fact that the Spaniards again took the most earnest part in its proceedings. They saw clearly the great importance of the result as regarded the affairs of France, and King Philip resolved on a step for which he was reproached in Rome as for a dangerous innovation, and which his own partisans could excuse only by alleging the difficult circumstances in which he was placed.³ He nominated seven cardinals, from all of whom he hoped to obtain good service, and declared that he would acknowledge no candidate but these. At the head of these nominees stood the name of Madruzzi, and the Spanish cardinals instantly put forth their utmost efforts to carry the election of this their chief. But they were met by an obstinate resistance. The college refused Madruzzi because he was a German, and because it was not to be suffered that the papacy should again fall into the hands of barbarians.⁴ Neither would Montalto permit any one of

² "Conclave di papa Urbano VII.," MS.: "The proceedings of this election were directed by Cardinal Sforza (head of the creatures of Gregory XIII) and the Genoese cardinals." In a despatch from De Maisse, ambassador of France in Venice, and which is given in F. Von Raumer's "Histor. Briefen," i. p. 360, we are told that Colonna, having already placed himself in the pontifical seat, was dragged from it by Cardinal Sforza; but this should scarcely be understood literally.

³ "The great interest that this Catholic King has in this election, and the heavy expenses that he has borne without assistance for the benefit of Christianity, make it incumbent on us to excuse him."

⁴ Cardinal Morosini said: "Italy would fall a prey to barbarians, which would be a shame to all."—"Conclave della sede vacante di Urbano VII."

the remaining nominees to be chosen. He would have vainly attempted to raise one of his own adherents to the papal chair, but he had at least the power of excluding the candidates whom he opposed. The sittings of the conclave were unusually protracted: the banditti were masters of the country; intelligence of property plundered and villages burnt was daily brought to the city; there was even fear of commotions in Rome itself.

There remained but one method of arriving at a conclusion; this was to select from the candidates, the one least objectionable to the kinsmen of Sixtus V. In the Florentine accounts⁸ we are told that the Grand Duke of Tuscany contributed largely to this result; those written by the Romans ascribe it to Cardinal Sforza, the leader of the Gregorian cardinals. Retired within his cell, perhaps because he had been told that it would be for his advantage to remain silent, and suffering at the moment from fever, lived Cardinal Sfondrato, one of the seven. In his favor the different parties agreed, and a family alliance between the houses of Montalto and Sfondrato was at once brought into discussion. Montalto then visited the cardinal in his cell; he found him in prayer before the crucifix, still not entirely free from fever, and informed him that he would be elected on the following morning. When the time arrived, Sfondrato was led to the chapel where the votes were taken, by the cardinals Montalto and Sforza. He was duly elected, and assumed the name of Gregory XIV.⁹

The new pontiff was a man who fasted twice every week, said mass daily, repeated the prescribed number of prayers on his knees, and then devoted an hour to his favorite author, St. Bernard; carefully noting down such passages in the work before him as he found more particularly striking—a man of a spirit most pure and blameless. It was however remarked, half jestingly, that as he had come into the world too early—at seven months—and had not been reared without difficulty, so there was upon the whole too little of the earthly element in his composition. Of the practices and intrigues of the Curia he had never been able to comprehend anything. He took it for granted that the cause upheld by the Spaniards

⁸ Galluzzi, "Storia del Granducato di Toscana," v. 99.

⁹ Tasso has celebrated this accession

to the throne in an admirable canzone, "Da gran lode immortal."

was the cause of the Church; he was a born subject of Philip II, and a man after his own heart. Without any delay he declared himself decidedly in favor of the League.⁵

"Do you," he wrote to the Parisians, "you, who have made so praiseworthy a beginning, continue to persevere; make no halt until you have attained the end of your course. Inspired by God, we have resolved to come to your assistance. First, we send you a subsidy in money, and that indeed beyond our means; next, we despatch our nuncio, Landriano, to France, that by his efforts he may bring back all who have deserted from your banners; and finally we send you, though not without heavily burdening the Church, our dear son and nephew Ercole Sfondrato, Duke of Montemarcano, with cavalry and infantry to defend you by force of arms. Should you require yet more, we will provide you with that also."⁶

In this letter the whole policy of Gregory XIV is expressed. It was, however, extremely effective. The explicit declaration of his intentions, the renewal of excommunication against Henry IV, by which it was accompanied, and lastly the exhortation with which Landriano was charged to all the clergy, nobles, judicial functionaries, and the third estate, to separate themselves, under pain of heavy penalties, from Henry of Bourbon, produced a deep impression.⁷ Many of the followers of Henry, who held rigidly Catholic opinions, were at length perplexed and shaken by this decisive step of the head of their Church; they declared that the Church had a regular succession as well as the kingdom, and that it was no more permitted to change the religion than the dynasty. It was at this time that what was called the third party arose among the adherents of the King. This continually exhorted him to return to the Catholic faith. It remained firm in its allegiance to him on this condition, and with this expectation only, and possessed the more importance because it included the most powerful men among those immediately surrounding the King.

But results of still higher moment were to be expected from

⁵ "Cicarella de Vita Gregorio XIV.," to be found in all the later editions of Platina.

⁶ Gregory XIV: "To my well-beloved sons the councillors of the sixteen quarters of the city of Paris." In Cayet, "Chronologie novenaire," "Mémoires coll. univ." tom. lviii. p. 62.

⁷ Even Cayet remarks this: "The party of the King was free from division until Gregory XIV issued his monitorial bulls; then some wished to form a third party, to consist of the rigid Catholics belonging to the royal party."

the further measures announced by Gregory in the letter just quoted, and which he carried into effect without delay. He sent the Parisians 15,000 scudi every month; he despatched Colonel Lusi into Switzerland to raise troops, and having solemnly committed the standard of the Church to Ercole Sfondrato, as their general, in Santa Maria Maggiore, he sent him to Milan, where his forces were to assemble. The commissary who accompanied him, the Archbishop Matteucci, was largely provided with money.

Under these auspices, Philip II no longer hesitated to take earnest part in the affairs of France. His troops advanced into Brittany, and at the same time possessed themselves of Toulouse and Montpellier. On some provinces he thought he had peculiar claims, in others he was in close confederacy with the leading chiefs; these alliances had been gradually formed by certain Capuchin friars and were kept up by their agency. He was considered in many provinces as "the sole protector of the orthodox faithful against the Huguenots," and was invited in the most pressing terms even to Paris. Meanwhile the Piedmontese attacked Provence, and the papal army united with that of the League at Verdun. It was a general movement of the Spanish and Italian powers for the purpose of drawing France by force into those rigidly Catholic opinions prevailing in Spain and Italy. The treasures accumulated with so much effort by Pope Sixtus, and which he had so jealously guarded, were now converted to the profit of Spain. After Gregory XIV had taken from the castle of St. Angelo those sums to the expenditure of which the late pontiff had not attached conditions, he seized those which had been most strictly tied up. He was of opinion that a more pressing necessity than now assailed the Church could never occur.

The decision with which these measures were entered on, the prudence of the King, the wealth of the pontiff, and the influence exerted on France by their united dignity and authority, made it impossible to calculate the extent to which this two-fold ambition, temporal and spiritual, might have proceeded, and the results that might have ensued; but in the midst of the undertaking Gregory XIV expired. He had possessed the papal chair only ten months and ten days, and yet had effected

alterations of such vast importance. What might not have been the consequence had he retained this power during a course of years? The loss of the pontiff was the heaviest affliction that could possibly have befallen the party of Spain and the League.

It is true that the Spaniards once more carried their measures through the conclave. They had again appointed seven candidates¹⁰ and one of these cardinals, Giovanni Antonio Fachinetto, Innocent IX, was elected. He also appears to have been disposed toward the interests of Spain, so far as can be judged; it is certain that he afforded supplies to the League, and there is a letter still extant, in which he urges Alessandro Farnese to hasten the preparation of his forces, to move forward into France and relieve the city of Rouen—movements which that general then executed with so much ability and success.¹ But the misfortune was that Innocent IX was already very old and failing; he scarcely ever left his couch; even his audiences were given there. From the death-bed of an aged man, who was himself incapable of moving, proceeded exhortations to war, by which France—nay, all Europe—was set in commotion. Two months had scarcely elapsed from the elevation of Innocent IX to the pontifical seat, when he also died.

And thus were the conflicts of election renewed in the conclave for the fourth time. They were now the more important, because these continual changes had enforced the conviction that it was most essential to choose a man of vigorous powers and with a fair chance for length of life. The decision now to be arrived at was one that must influence a considerable period of time. Thus, the proceedings of this conclave were of high and important interest for the history of the whole world.

¹⁰ In the "Histoire des Conclaves," i. 251, it is said that the Spaniards wished to re-establish their reputation; but this is only a mistranslation. In the MS. which forms the groundwork of this book, "Conclave di Innocenzio IX." (Inff. Politt.), we find that they might not lose the authority they had regained,

which is in strict accordance with the state of affairs.

¹ According to Davila "Historia delle guerre civili di Francia," Innocent does not appear to have been so decidedly favorable to the League; but the letter just cited (it is in Cayet, p. 356) removes all doubt.

Section V.—Election and Character of Clement VIII

The prosperous course of Spanish interests in Rome during the last year, had enabled them finally to gain over Montalto himself to their party. His house had acquired possessions in the Neapolitan territory, and while Montalto pledged himself to oppose no further resistance to the will of the King, Philip promised in return that he would not absolutely exclude all the adherents of Sixtus V. They were thus to be henceforward in alliance, and the Spaniards no longer delayed to put forward the man from whose active co-operation they might hope the most effectual aid in the French war.

Among all the cardinals, Santorio, holding the title of Sanseverina, was considered the most zealous. He had sustained many conflicts with the Protestants, even when living at Naples in his youth; and in his autobiography, still extant in MS., he describes the massacre of the Huguenots at Paris as "the renowned day of St. Bartholomew, in the highest degree cheering to Catholics."¹ He had invariably advocated the most violent opinions, was the leading member in the congregation for the management of French affairs, and had long been the soul of the Inquisition. He was in good health, and of tolerably vigorous years.

On this man the Spaniards desired to confer the supreme spiritual dignity—one more devoted to them they could not have found. Olivarez had already arranged all preliminaries,² no doubt of success seemed to remain. Of fifty-two votes he had secured thirty-six—exactly sufficient to decide the choice, for which two-thirds of the whole number were always required. On the first morning after the close of the conclave, the cardinals accordingly proceeded to the formal act of election. Montalto and Madruzzi, the chiefs of the united factions, led Sanseverina from his cell, which was instantly stripped of all it contained by the servants, according to the custom always practised in regard to the cells of the pontiffs elect. Thirty-six cardinals accompanied him to the Pauline chapel. He had

¹ He speaks of a just anger of King Charles IX, of glorious memory, in that celebrated day of St. Bartholomew, most joyful to Catholics. Appendix, No. 64.
² "Conclave di Clemente VIII."

MS.: "The Count of Olivarez, the faithful and inseparable friend of Sanseverina, had arranged everything before leaving Rome for the government of Sicily."

already been entreated to forgive his opponents, and had declared that he would pardon all, and would adopt the name of Clement, as a first intimation of his placable intentions. Empires and nations were then commended to his protection.

But in the selection of this prelate, one circumstance had been left out of view. Sanseverina was reputed to be so rigidly austere that everyone feared him.

It thus happened that many voters had steadily refused to take part with him—as, for example, the younger cardinals: these joined themselves to his ancient personal adversaries, and this party now assembled in the Sistine chapel. There were, it is true, but sixteen persons when all were met together, and they wanted one more vote to secure them the power of exclusion: some of those present then evinced a disposition to submit to their destiny and acknowledge Sanseverina, but the experienced Altemps had sufficient influence to make them still hold out. They relied on his judgment, and believed him to understand the matter better than themselves.

And a similar disinclination was in fact prevailing even among those who had given their word to Sanseverina, but many of whom rejected him in their hearts; they had resigned themselves to the wishes of the King and Montalto, but were only waiting an opportunity to recall their assent. On assembling in the chapel of election, there were symptoms of disquietude and agitation, altogether unusual when the choice had been previously decided. The counting of the votes was commenced, but there was an evident reluctance to bring it to a conclusion. Sanseverina's own countrymen threw obstacles in his way.³ There wanted only some one who would open a way for the expression of the feeling by which so many present were actuated. Ascanio Colonna at length found courage to do this. He belonged to the Roman barons, by whom the inquisitorial severity of Sanseverina was more especially dreaded. He exclaimed, "I see that God will not have Sanseverina, neither will Ascanio Colonna!" He then left the Pauline chapel, and passed over to the opposite party in the Sistine.

By this act the latter gained the victory. A secret scrutiny was accorded. There were many who would never have dared

³ In regard to this matter, we have the accounts contained in printed and MS. conclave, as also that left us by

Severina himself, and which I will give in the appendix. (See No. 64, §§ 1 and 4.)

openly to retract their promised votes, but who were glad to do so in secret, and when assured that their names would be concealed. When the balloting lists were opened, thirty votes only were found for the proposed candidate.

Sanseverina had come to the Vatican assured of his election. He believed himself already in possession of that plenitude of spiritual authority to which he attributed so exalted a significance, and in defence of which he had so earnestly battled: between the prospect of attaining to the fulfilment of his highest wishes, and that of a future perpetually burdened by the sense of rejection: between the condition of ruler and that of servant, he had passed seven hours as between life and death. The decision was at length made known. Bereaved of his hopes, he was sent back to his dismantled cell. "The next night," he tells us in his autobiography, "was, of all the unhappy moments I had ever experienced, the most unhappy; the heavy sorrow of my soul, and my inward anguish, forced from me, incredible to relate, a bloody sweat."

He was sufficiently acquainted with the nature of a conclave to know that he must entertain no further hopes. His friends did indeed once more propose him, but the attempt was utterly vain.

By this event the Spaniards themselves also lost ground. The King had named five candidates, not one of whom could carry his election. They were now compelled to attempt the elevation of a sixth, whom the Spaniards had also nominated, but only as a supernumerary.

This was Cardinal Aldobrandino, an adherent of Sixtus V, whom Philip had rejected the year before, and had now named, rather to oblige his confederate Montalto, than of his own accord. To him they now recurred, as to the only candidate whose election was possible. He was entirely agreeable to Montalto, as may be imagined; and the Spaniards could say nothing in opposition, because he had been nominated by themselves. He was not unwelcome to the rest of the electors, and was indeed generally beloved. Thus Aldobrandino was elected with but little opposition, on January 20, 1592. He assumed the name of Clement VIII.

The conclusion of these conflicts, as regarded the Spaniards, was sufficiently curious. They had labored to win Montalto

to their side, in the hope of thereby securing the election of their own partisan; and now it was in consequence of this very alliance that they were compelled to aid in the elevation of a friend of Montalto, and a creature of Sixtus V, to the papal seat.

It is to be observed, that on this occasion a change in the course of the papal elections was originated, which we cannot consider unimportant. Men of opposite factions had for a long time invariably succeeded each other. Even now the same thing had occurred, the adherents of Sixtus V had been driven three times from the contest, but the victors had possessed only a transitory enjoyment of power, and had not been able to form any new or powerful faction. Deaths, funerals, and new conclaves had rapidly followed each other. The first who once more attained the papal throne, in the full vigor of life, was Clement VIII. The government of which he was the head, was that of the same party by whom the most enduring tenure of power had of late years been held.

Attention was now universally directed to the inquiry of who the new ruler was, and what might be expected from him.

Clement VIII was born in exile.⁴ His father, Salvestro Aldobrandino, of a distinguished Florentine family, but a determined and active antagonist of the Medici, was banished on the ultimate triumph obtained by that house in the year 1531, and compelled to seek his fortune in other lands.⁵ He was a doctor of law, and had previously given lectures at Pisa. We find him, soon after his banishment, in Venice, where he took part in the amelioration of the Venetian statutes, and in an edition of the institutes. We next meet him in Ferrara or Urbino, forming part of the council or tribunal of the duke; but more permanently in the service, first of one and then of another among the cardinals, as whose deputy he was charged with the administration of justice or of the government in one or other of the ecclesiastical cities. He is perhaps most clearly distinguished by the fact, that in this uncertain mode of life he found

⁴ See Appendix, No. 65.

⁵ Varchi, "Storia Fiorentina," iii. 42-61. Mazzuchelli, "Scrittori d'Italia," I. i. 392, gives as usual a most elaborate and instructive article under this name, but it is not complete. Among other omissions, is that of the activity he displayed in Venice, with the description

of which Giovanni Delfino begins his relation, in a manner that leaves no doubt of the fact: "Silvestro Aldobrandino came to this city when driven from Florence in the rebellion; he reformed our statutes and revised the laws and ordinances of the republic." See Appendix, No. 70.

means to educate five excellent sons. The most highly gifted among them was perhaps Giovanni, the eldest, whom they called the charioteer of the family. It was by him that their path was cleared. Entering on the judicial career, he rose from its dignities to that of cardinal in the year 1570. Had longer life been granted to him, it is believed that he might have had well-founded hopes of the tiara. Bernardo gained renown in the possession of arms. Tommaso was an eminent philologist; his translation of Diogenes Laertius has been frequently reprinted. Pietro was reputed to be an excellent practical jurist. The youngest, Ippolito, born at Fano in the year 1536,⁶ was at first the cause of some anxiety to his father, who feared that he should be unable to provide him with an education worthy of his talents; but in the first instance Cardinal Alessandro Farnese took the boy under his protection, and settled on him a yearly allowance from the revenues of his bishopric of Spoleto; the rising fortunes of his brothers were afterward sufficient of themselves to bring him forward. He soon obtained the prelacy, and next succeeded to the office of his eldest brother in the court of the Rota. He was nominated cardinal by Sixtus V, who despatched him on an embassy to Poland. This it was that first brought him into a sort of connection with the house of Austria. All the members of that family considered themselves his debtors, for the address with which he had liberated the Archduke Maximilian from the captivity he had been held in by the Poles—a service, in the performance of which he had used his authority with a prudence and foresight that could not but insure admiration as well as success. When Philip II resolved on naming a cardinal, created by Sixtus, as a supernumerary, it was this circumstance that induced him to prefer Aldobrandino to others. And thus did the son of a homeless fugitive, of whom it was at one moment feared that he must pass his life in the labors of the desk, attain to the highest dignity in Christendom.

There is a monument in the church of Santa Maria alla Minerva in Rome, the inscription on which it is impossible to read without a certain feeling of satisfaction. It is that erected

⁶ In the baptismal register of the cathedral parish of Fano we find the following entry: "On the 4th of March, 1536, a male child of Master

Salvestro's, who was lieutenant here, was baptized; he received the name of Ippolito."

by Salvestro Aldobrandino to the mother of so noble a band of sons, and is inscribed as follows: "To his dear wife Lesa, of the house of Deti, with whom he lived in harmony for seven and thirty years."

The new pontiff brought to his office all that activity peculiar to a family which has contended with difficulties. He held his sittings in the early hours of morning, his audiences in the afternoon;† all reports were received and investigated, all despatches were read and discussed, legal arguments were sought out, early precedents compared. It was no unusual thing for the Pope to display more knowledge of the subject in question than was possessed by the referendaries who laid it before him. He labored with equal assiduity when pope, as when he was auditor of the Rota; his attention was given to the details of internal policy as to those of Europe in general, or to the great interests of the ecclesiastical authority. The question "In what he took pleasure?" was asked: "In everything or nothing," was the reply.⁸

Nor would he permit himself to incur the blame of the slightest negligence in his spiritual duties. Baronius received his confession every evening; he celebrated mass himself every morning at noon. Twelve poor men dined daily in the same room with himself, at least during the early years of his pontificate, and the pleasures of the table were in his case altogether out of the question. On Fridays and Saturdays, moreover, he fasted. When he had labored earnestly through the week, his recreation on the Sunday was to send for certain pious monks, or for the fathers of the Vallicella, and hold discourse with them on the more profound questions of divinity. The reputation for virtue, piety, and an exemplary life that he had always enjoyed, was raised to an extraordinary degree by such modes of proceeding. He knew this, and desired it; for by this reputation his efficiency as sovereign pastor of the Church was increased.

Clement VIII conducted himself on all occasions with en-

† Bentivoglio, "Memorie," i. p. 54, sets before us the whole order of the week.

* "Relatione al card. d'Este," 1599. MS. Fosc. He carried on war like Julius II, he built like Sixtus V, he reformed like Pius V, his conversation, moreover, was seasoned with wit. Then comes the following description: "Of

phlegmatic and sanguine complexion, but withal somewhat choleric; fat, and large in person, of grave and retired habits, and mild, affable manner, slow in movement, circumspect in action, deliberate in execution; he is tenacious of secrets, profound in his designs, and diligent in carrying them to their end." See Appendix, No. 69.

lightened deliberation. He labored willingly, being endowed with one of those natures that derive fresh strength from their toils: but he was careful to regulate the ardor of his pursuits, and to mitigate the severity of his efforts by due exercise.⁹ He would sometimes display great irritation, would become violent, and use bitter words; but if he perceived that the persons before him were rendered silent by the majesty of the papacy, but yet perhaps betrayed dissent and resentment by their looks, he would command himself and seek to remove the painful impression. He desired that nothing should be perceived in him but what was becoming in itself and consonant with the idea of a good, pious, and wise man.¹⁰

Former popes had believed themselves raised above all law, and had endeavored to turn the administration of their high office into a means of mere personal enjoyment; but the spirit of the age would at that time no longer permit this to be done. Personal inclinations must now be kept in subjection. The man was merged in his office; no one could then have either obtained or administered that office without making his conduct conform to the idea entertained of its character.

It is manifest that the strength of the papacy itself was immeasurably increased by this change. Human institutions are strong only so long as their spirit has vital existence, and exhibits its efficacy in those who wield the powers they create.

Section VI.—Absolution of Henry IV

And now the most interesting subject of inquiry to all was, how this pontiff, so remarkable for talent, activity, and force, and withal so blameless in character, would consider and treat the most momentous question of Europe—that of affairs in France.

Would he attach himself unconditionally to Spain, as his immediate predecessors had done? There was nothing in his previous life that imposed on him the necessity for this, neither

⁹ Venier, "Relatione di Roma," 1601: "The gout disturbs him less than formerly, because of his prudent regimen, in which he is very strict, and closely abstains from drinking: this prevents his becoming too fat, to which his complexion inclines him: and, on that account, he takes long walks whenever the

pressure of affairs permits him, making up for the time thus spent by his great capacity." See Appendix, No. 71.

¹⁰ Delfino: "It is well ascertained that his holiness acts on all occasions with great zeal for the honor of God, and with a great desire for the public good."

was he led to it by personal inclination. He did not fail to perceive that the predominance of Spain was becoming oppressive even to the papacy, and would despoil it more especially of its political independence.

Or would he decide for the party of Henry IV? It is true that this prince gave intimations of a disposition to become Catholic, but such a promise was more readily given than fulfilled: he was still a Protestant. Clement VIII feared to be deceived.

We have seen how Sixtus V stood wavering between these two possibilities, and the serious perplexities arising from that cause. The party of the zealots still retained its strength in Rome, and the new Pope durst not expose himself to their animosity and opposition.

He was surrounded by difficulties on every side, and was constantly on his guard, that no word might lay him open to attack, or awaken slumbering enmities. It is only from his acts, from the general tenor of his conduct, that we are enabled gradually to infer his opinions and feelings.

At his accession to power, the Papal See had a legate in France, who was believed to be in the Spanish interests, and an army which had been sent to oppose Henry IV. Rome also paid subsidies to the League. The new Pope could make no change in all these things. Had he withheld his subsidies, withdrawn his troops, or recalled his legate, his reputation for orthodoxy would have been endangered, and he would have exposed himself to more rancorous animosities than Pope Sixtus had experienced. He was, however, far from increasing the efforts made by the papacy for the League, or from giving them a new impulse; on the contrary, he took every favorable opportunity for their gradual diminution and restriction.

But no long time had elapsed before he found himself compelled to a step of a less ambiguous character.

In the year 1592, Cardinal Gondi was despatched into Italy by Henry IV, with instructions to proceed also to Rome. The King was daily becoming more disposed to Catholicism, but his idea on the subject seems rather to have been that of reuniting himself to the Catholic Church by a sort of treaty arranged under the mediation of Venice and Tuscany, than a positive submission. And was not even this very desirable

for the Pope? Was not the return of the King to Catholicism a palpable advantage, under whatever form it might take place? But Clement did not consider it expedient to go into the affair, nor did he consent to receive Cardinal Gondi. The presence of Luxembourg had produced many vexatious consequences to Sixtus V, while no useful result had followed. Remembering this, Clement sent a monk, Fra Franceschi, to Florence, where Gondi had already arrived, to inform the cardinal that he could not be received in Rome. It was perfectly satisfactory to the Pope that the cardinal, and even the grand duke, complained; he desired that his refusal should excite attention, and cause a discussion. This, however, was only one side of the affair; to irritate the King, or to reject all advances toward a reconciliation, could not possibly be the Pope's intention. We find from the Venetian reports, that Fra Franceschi had affixed a remark to his official communication, purporting that he had reason to believe the cardinal might be granted an audience privately, or that he would be received in secret.¹ It would seem, indeed, that Gondi did really proceed to Rome, where the Pope is reported to have told him that he must knock at his door more than once. It is at least certain that an agent of Gondi's appeared in Rome, and after he had been admitted to several conferences, he declared to the Venetian ambassador that "by the blessing of God he had ample reason for hope, and to be satisfied,"² but was not permitted to say more." In a word, the open repulse was accompanied by secret advances and encouragement. Clement VIII did not wish to offend the Spaniards, nor yet to repel the King of France. His conduct was calculated to secure that neither should be done.

A new question, and one of much higher moment, had meanwhile arisen.

In January, 1583, that part of the states of France which adhered to the League, assembled to elect a new King. As the ground for excluding Henry IV lay entirely in the religion he professed, the papal legate exercised an unusual degree of au-

¹ "Dispaccio Donato, 23 Oct. 1592," from a relation made to the Florentine ambassador, Nicolini. The explanation of Fra Franceschi was that he believed the Pope would admit him; but that his holiness wished to put the Catholics out of all doubt, and would not suffer

the shadow of an appearance that he [the pontiff] was receiving an embassy from Navarre.

² *Ibid.* After having allowed the first heat of the pontiff's displeasure to pass away.

thority over the discussions. The legate was still Segá, bishop of Placentia, who had been chosen by Gregory XIV, a man imbued with the opinions prevailing under that pontiff, both as to Spanish and ecclesiastical affairs. Clement considered it expedient to send him particular instructions, and admonished him to be careful that neither violence nor bribery should influence the votes; he also entreated him to be on his guard against all precipitation in so weighty a matter.³

An exhortation of this kind would have been sufficiently significant, if addressed to an ambassador, who considered himself bound to govern his conduct by the slightest intimation from his sovereign, but which was conceived in terms too general to cause this churchman, whose hopes of promotion were rather in the Spanish sovereign than the Pope, to withdraw from a party with which he had always acted, and which he believed to be orthodox. Thus Cardinal Segá made not the slightest change in his line of proceeding on that account. On June 13, 1593, he published a declaration, wherein he called on the estates to elect a king, who should not only be truly Catholic, but also resolved to render useless all the efforts of the heretics and capable of carrying his resolution into effect. He added, that this was what his holiness desired more than any other earthly event.⁴

The general measures of the Pope were of a similar character with this instruction. He adhered for the most part to the rigidly orthodox ecclesiastical party attached to Spain; not, it is true, with the fervor and devotion by which other popes had been distinguished; if he possessed these qualities, they were effectual in secret only; it was enough for him to proceed quietly and without reproach, as the order of public affairs demanded, in adherence to that party which had already been adopted, and which seemed to have the closest analogy with the character of his office. We may, nevertheless, clearly perceive that he had no wish for the perfect estrangement of the opposite party; he was careful, on the contrary, to avoid provoking it to hostilities, and by secret advances and indirect expressions inspired it with the hope of reconciliation, to take

³ Davila has given an extract from this instruction, xiii., p. 810.

⁴ He [the king to be selected] sought to have the courage and other virtues required for successfully repressing and

annihilating all the efforts and evil designs of the heretics. This is what in all the world his holiness most exhorts and desires." (In Cayet, 58, 350.)

place at some future day. He contented the Spaniards, but their rivals were suffered to believe that his actions were not altogether uncontrolled; that their character was indeed determined by deference to the wishes of Spain, and not by any harsher feeling. The indecision of Sixtus arose from the strife of opposite opinions contending within himself, and by which he was prevented from adopting decided measures. Clement respected both sides, and chose his line of policy with the purpose of conciliating both: his proceedings were governed by prudence and circumspection; they resulted from extensive experience and the wish to avoid exciting enmities. But it followed necessarily that he too failed to exercise any decisive influence.

The affairs of France, thus left to themselves, proceeded all the more freely toward the development of their natural impulses.

A circumstance of primary importance was, that the chiefs of the League fell into discord among themselves. The sixteen attached themselves closely to Spain. Mayenne pursued the aims of his personal ambition. The zeal of the sixteen became all the more fiery; they proceeded to the most atrocious crimes against all who were either known or suspected to be deserters from their party; as for example, to the assassination of the president Brisson. For these things, Mayenne thought it requisite to punish them, and caused the most violent of their leaders to be executed. Favored by these dissensions, a mode of thinking of greatly moderated character, both in politics and religion, was observed to prevail in Paris, even so early as the year 1592: it was still Catholic, but was opposed to the course hitherto pursued by the League, and above all, to the sixteen and the Spaniards. A combination was formed, not greatly differing from that of the League itself, but with the purpose of placing all the offices of the city in the hands of moderate men holding its own opinions: this they found means to effect in great measure during the course of that year.⁵ Similar tendencies evinced themselves throughout the kingdom, and powerfully affected the results of the elections for the states; thence it was that all the proposals made by the Spaniards were encountered by so effectual an opposition from

⁵ Cayet (lib. iv. tom. lviii. p. 5) gives the propositions that were made in the first assembly.

that assembly. While bigoted preachers still declared every man excommunicated who did but speak of peace with the "heretic," even though he should attend the mass, the parliament was reminding its members of those essential laws of the realm which excluded foreign princes from the crown; it was manifest that this whole party, which was called the political party, was only waiting the conversion of Henry IV to subject itself to his rule.

Wherein did the difference then consist between them and the Catholic royalists in the camp of Henry? It consisted in this only, that the first, before professing their allegiance, desired to see a step really taken which the last believed they might venture to await; for the Catholic royalists were also of opinion that the King must return to their Church, although they did not consider his right or legitimacy to depend on his doing so. Their antipathy to the Protestants in the immediate circle of the King may also have caused them to insist the more earnestly on this point. The princes of the blood, the most distinguished statesmen, and the principal part of the court, were attached to that "tiers-parti," whose distinctive characteristic was in this demand.⁶

When affairs had assumed this appearance, it became evident to all, and the Protestants themselves did not deny it, that if Henry desired to be king he must become Catholic. We need not investigate the claim of those who assert that they gave the final impulse to that determination. The principal part was effected by the grand combination of circumstances, the necessity of things.⁷ In the completion of the act by which he passed over to Catholicism, Henry associated himself with that national sentiment of the French Catholics, which was represented by the "tiers-parti," and the party called the "political," and which had now the prospect of maintaining the ascendancy in France.

This was in fact merely that "Catholic opposition," which had gathered round the banners of legitimacy and national independence, for the purpose of resisting the ecclesiastical and Spanish interests. But how greatly had it now increased in power and importance! It had without question predominance

⁶ It is thus described by Sully, v. 249.

⁷ That Henry had resolved on this in April, 1593, is proved by his letter to

the Grand Duke of Tuscany, dated the 26th of that month.—Gulluzzi, "Istoria del Granducato," tom. v. p. 160.

in the public opinion of the country; the people throughout France declared for it, if not openly, at least in private. It now attained a firm internal support from the change of religion in the King, that prince moreover so warlike, so generous, and so successful. Thus enforced and extended, this party once more appeared before the Pope, and implored his recognition and blessing. What glory would he obtain, and how effectual an influence, if he would now at least declare himself without circumlocution in its favor! And there was still so much depending on it. The prelates who had received the King into the bosom of the Church had indeed done so only with the express condition that he should prevail on the Pope to accord him absolution.⁸ This was also earnestly enforced by the most powerful members of the League, with whom Henry had commenced negotiations.⁹ Although promises are not always performed, it is yet unquestionable that the papal absolution, had it been granted at this moment, would have produced important effects on the course of events. Henry IV sent one of the great nobles of his kingdom, the Duke of Nevers, to solicit this from the Pope, and a truce was agreed on while awaiting the reply.

But Clement was distrustful and wary. As the hopes of a religious ambition had influenced Sixtus V, so did the fear of being deceived and involved in vexatious consequences restrain Clement VIII. He still felt apprehensive lest Henry should, after all, return to Protestantism, as he had done once before, and declared that he should not believe the King sincerely attached to the Catholic Church, until an angel from heaven should come and whisper it in his ear. He looked around him and found the greater part of the Curia still adverse to the French. A pamphlet still appeared from time to time, in which the assertion was reiterated, that Henry IV, being, as he was, "hæreticus relapsus," could not receive absolution, even from the Pope himself. Clement did not feel courage to offer a defiance to the Spaniards, by whom this opinion was put forward and maintained.¹⁰ And was not the party, thus entreating his

⁸ "The clergy had given him absolution, on condition that he should send to beg the approval of the Pope for what they had done."—Cayet, 58, 390.

⁹ Villeroi, "Mémoires," Coll. Univ., 62, 186.

¹⁰ "Les intimidations qui furent faites

au Pape Clement VIII. par le duc de Sessa;" not very authentic, however, and printed long since in the "Mémoires de M. le Duc de Nevers," ii. 716, although given by Capefigue, "Histoire de la Réforme," tom. viii., as something new.

forgiveness, still employed in resisting the claims of the Romish Church? "Rebels to the crown and the Church," as he expressed himself—"bastards, the children of the bondwoman and not of the wife, while the Leaguers have proved themselves the true sons."¹ Considered from this point of view, it would without doubt have required some resolution to grant their request, and Clement could not man himself to the effort.² The Duke of Nevers entered Rome with a full consciousness of his high rank, as well as of the weight attached to his mission. He expected to be received with joy, and expressed himself to that effect. The King's letter, which he had brought with him, was conceived in a similar tone. The Pope thought it sounded as if Henry had not only been long a Catholic, but as though he had come like a second Charlemagne, from a victory over the enemies of the Church. Nevers was quite amazed to find himself so coldly received, and to see how indifferent an ear was turned to his proposals. When he found all his efforts fruitless, he asked the Pope at length what the King should do to merit favor from his holiness. The Pope replied, that there were theologians enough to France to instruct him on that head. "But will your holiness be satisfied with what the theologians shall decide?" To this the Pope refused a reply. He would not even consider the duke as ambassador from Henry, but only as Louis Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers. He did not wish their conversations to be considered as official communications, but simply as private discourses, and was not to be prevailed on to give any written decision. "Nothing remains to me," remarked Nevers to Cardinal Toledo, by whom he was informed of the Pope's determination, "but to lament the misfortunes that France will have to endure from the rage of the soldiery, when the war breaks forth anew." The cardinal said not a word, but he smiled. Nevers left Rome, and gave expression to his displeasure in bitter reports.³

¹ "Disp. 20 Ag. 1593." Relation of Henry's conversion: "The Pope was but little moved by these advices, and altogether continued with his mind involved in the usual doubts and perplexities." He told the Venetian ambassador that Henry was and would remain "hereticus relapsus," and that his conversion was not to be relied on.

² "Relatio dictorum a Clemente VIII. papa, die 28 Dec. 1593, in consistorio."—"Mém. de Nevers," ii. 638.

³ Two writings, but almost entirely to the same purport: "Discours de ce que fit M. de Nevers à son voyage de Rome en l'année 1539," and "Discours de la légation de M. le duc de Nevers," both in the second volume of the "Mémoires de Nevers," before mentioned, the first almost verbatim in Cayet; extracts in Thuanus and Davila, and lately, as if from unknown sources, in Capefigue.

Men have rarely much feeling except for their own personal situation. The Roman Curia understood only what was of advantage to itself. We can find no true sympathy for the fate of France in its proceedings.

It is true that we know enough of this pontiff to believe that he did not mean absolutely to repulse the adherents of Henry IV; least of all would he do that now, when their strength was so much greater than formerly. On the contrary, he assured a secret agent, that the King had only to show himself completely Catholic, and absolution should not be wanting. It is characteristic of Clement, that while in public he so stubbornly refrained from taking any part in the return of Henry to the Catholic faith, yet, in private, he caused it to be intimated to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, that he would yet make no objection to anything the clergy of France might decide on doing.⁴ The grand duke was also empowered to communicate favorable expressions on the part of the Pope to the chiefs of the Catholic royalists.⁵ But, in all this, he thought only of securing himself; and thus the affairs of France were left to do as they could.

The truce was at an end. The sword was once more drawn—all was again depending on the fortune of war.

But here the superiority of Henry became at once and decidedly manifest. To the commanders opposing him, that firmness of conviction, which had formerly secured them so strong a position, was now wholly wanting. The doctrines of the political party, the conversion of the King, and the successful progress of his fortunes, had shaken the opposition of all. One after another went over to his side, without regarding the want of the papal absolution. Vitri, the commandant of Meaux, who no longer received the pay of his troops from the Spaniards, was the first; and he was followed by Orleans, Bourges, and Rouen. The most important consideration now was, the turn affairs would take in Paris. The political or national party had there obtained a decided preponderance. After many vicissitudes, it had gained over the first families, and had filled the most important places from its own members. The armed citizens were already commanded by men of the prevalent opinions. The Hôtel de Ville was directed by the

⁴ See Appendix, No. 65; "Vita et Gestis Clementis VIII."

⁵ Davila, lib. xiv. p. 939.

same party. The prévôt des marchands and the echevins belonged to it with only one exception. Under these circumstances, no further impediment could now exist to the return of the King, which took place on March 22, 1594. Henry IV was amazed to find himself received with acclamation so joyful, by a people from whom he had so long experienced the most obstinate resistance, and thought he might justly infer that they had been previously acting under the force of a tyrannous government; but this was not altogether true. The spirit of the League really had been predominant over the minds of men, although another had now taken its place. The King's return was principally to be attributed to the triumph of a political opinion. The Leaguers now endured persecutions similar to those they had so often inflicted. Their most influential founders and chiefs—the formidable Boucher, for example—left the city with the Spanish troops. More than a hundred, who were considered the most dangerous, were formally banished. All the authorities, with the whole population, took the oath of allegiance. Even the Sorbonne—whose most obstinate members, and among them the rector of the university himself, were banished—gave in its adhesion to the ruling opinions. How different were its present decisions from those of the year 1589. The Sorbonne now acknowledged that all power comes from God, according to the thirteenth chapter of Romans; that whoever opposes the king, withstands God also, and subjects himself to damnation. This assembly reprobated the opinion that obedience might be lawfully refused to a king, because he was not acknowledged by the Pope, as the suggestion of wicked and ill-advised men. The members of the university now took the oath of fidelity to Henry IV in a body. Rector, dean, theologians, decretists, physicians, artists, monks, and conventuals, students and officers, all pledged themselves to shed their blood for his defence. Nay, more than that, the university instituted a campaign against the Jesuits, on the ground of this its new orthodoxy, accusing them of seditious principles; which principles they had, in fact, but lately shared; and reproaching them with their attachment to Spanish interests. The Jesuits defended themselves for some time with good effect; but in that same year, a man named Jean Chastel,⁶

⁶ Juvencius, partis v. lib. xii. n. 13, gives the following description of the

criminal: "The disposition of the youth was gloomy and morose, his

who had attended their schools, made an attempt to assassinate the King, and admitted, in the course of his examination, that he had often heard the Jesuits declare that a man might lawfully slay a king who was not reconciled to the church. This event made it impossible for the order to oppose itself any longer to the ascendancy of the party against which they had hitherto so constantly labored. The populace was with difficulty restrained from storming their college; and all the members of the society were at length condemned, as seducers of youth, disturbers of the public peace, and enemies of the King and State to quit the kingdom within fourteen days.⁷ Thus did those opinions, which had first appeared as opposition, and had confirmed their hold, from a small and feeble commencement, gradually gain possession of Paris and the kingdom, while they drove their antagonists from the field. Changes of similar character took place in all parts of the French dominions. New submissions were daily made to the King's authority. He had been crowned and anointed at Chartres; prayers were put up for him in all the pulpits; the monastic orders acknowledged him; he exercised those ecclesiastical prerogatives of the crown, which are of such high significance, without opposition; and herein found occasion to show himself a good Catholic. Wherever the ritual of the Church had been departed from during the late troubles, he took care to re-establish it; and where it had maintained itself in exclusive possession, he solemnly confirmed to it the right of doing so. All this he did without having yet been reconciled with the Pope.

It had, however, now become urgently necessary to the pontiff himself, that the means of a reconciliation should be considered.⁸ If he had delayed longer, a schism might have been occasioned. An entirely separate church might have been established.

It is true that the Spaniards still opposed themselves to this reconciliation. They maintained that Henry was by no means

morals were depraved, his mind was disquieted by the remembrance of crime, and of one in particular, that of having ill-treated his mother. . . . Conscience, the avenger of crimes, continued to torture his mind, bewildered by dread fears; to mitigate these [quem ut leniret], either deprived of reason, or urged on by hellish fury, he formed the design of a monstrous parricide, by which, having done service to religion and the realm, he might the better, as

he madly imagined, obtain forgiveness of his sins."

⁷ "Annuaire Literaire Societatis Jesu," 1596, p. 350. Such is the common remaining after our late shipwreck, that we have not yet collected all our scattered goods and muniments.

⁸ On November 5, 1594, the Venetian ambassador first mentions finding the Pope "more favorably inclined than of old" toward the affairs of France.

a true convert; that the time when a schism was most to be apprehended, was when he should have received absolution:⁹ they even particularized the occasions on which it was likely to break out.¹⁰ The Pope had still to exercise considerable resolution before he could place himself in opposition to those whose power encompassed him, and who had a large party in the Curia. It was no light thing to separate himself from opinions that were considered orthodox; for which his predecessors had so often employed their weapons, spiritual and temporal, and to which he had himself for many years given his sanction. He perceived, nevertheless, that all delay must now be injurious, and that he must expect nothing more from the opposite party. He was convinced that the party now predominant in France, though in spiritual affairs opposing the rigid doctrines to a certain extent, yet displayed an obvious sympathy with the interests of Rome in temporal matters. The adverse feeling might, perhaps, be removed, when the favorable sentiment would become more available. Suffice it to say, that Clement now showed himself disposed to concession at the first word addressed to him. We have reports of the negotiations by the French plenipotentiary D'Ossat; they are agreeable, instructive, and worth reading; but I do not find that he had any great difficulties to overcome. It would be useless to follow the proceedings in detail; the general state of affairs had already determined the Pope. The only question remaining was, whether Henry would, on his part, agree to certain demands to be made by the pontiff. Those who were unfavorable to the proposed reconciliation would willingly have raised these demands to the utmost, maintaining that, on this occasion, the Church required the most effectual securities; but Clement remained firm to the more moderate conditions. He required, particularly, the restoration of Catholicism in Bearn; the introduction of the decrees issued by the Council of Trent, so far as they were compatible with the laws of the kingdom; an exact allowance of the concordat, and the education of the heir-presumptive to the crown, the Prince of Condé, in the Catholic faith. It was still very desirable for Henry that he should be reconciled with the Papal See. His power was based on his conversion to Catholicism; and this act would receive its full authenticity only from the accordance of

⁹ "Ossat à M. de Villeroy, Rome, 6 Dec. 1594."—"Lettres d'Ossat," i. 53.

¹⁰ See Appendix, No. 70, § 3.

absolution by the Pope; for though by far the greater number gave in their adhesion, yet there were still some who made the want of this a pretext for their continued opposition.¹ Henry assented to these conditions with little difficulty: he had already prepared their fulfilment in some degree of his own accord, and had it much at heart to prove himself a good Catholic. However greatly increased his power had become since the mission of Nevers, yet the letter in which he now entreated absolution from the pontiff sounds much more humble and submissive than the former. "The King," it declares,² "returns to the feet of your holiness, and beseeches you in all humility, by the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you deign to confer upon him your holy blessing and your supreme absolution." The Pope was entirely satisfied.³

Nothing further now remained but that the College of Cardinals should declare its assent. But Clement would not permit the question to be laid before a regularly assembled consistory, where a recurrence to resolutions adopted under a different class of circumstances might easily have occasioned undesirable results. The cardinals were invited to give their opinions to the pontiff, each in a special audience; an expedient that had frequently been adopted before on similar occasions. Having received them all, he declared that two-thirds of the votes were favorable to the absolution.

Preparations were accordingly made for the completion of the ceremony, which took place on the seventeenth of December, 1595. The pontiff's throne was erected before the Church of St. Peter, the cardinals and Curia reverently surrounding their sovereign. The petition of Henry, with the conditions to which he had assented, were read aloud. The representative of the

¹ "Du Perron au Roi, 6 Nov. 1595: "It would be a superfluous discourse here to insist on the advantage you may derive from the favor and authority of this Holy See, for, being in your hands, it may serve you as a useful instrument not only to replace and to preserve your subjects in peace and obedience, but also to prepare for you all sorts of greatness beyond your kingdom; or at the least to keep your enemies in some fear and order, by the dread of that same authority of which they have availed themselves to trouble your states and people."—"Les Ambassades du Cardinal du Perron," i. 27.

² "Requête du Roi," among the remarks of Amelot in Ossat, i. 160.

³ The Court of Rome still considered

the resolution imprudent and hazardous. Dolfino, "Relationc": "The Pope has found means to expedite the most serious affairs, not only well, but with the utmost celerity. For in spite of the many well-known obstacles raised before him, he bestowed his benediction on the French King, received him into the bosom of the Church, and sent him a legate, when every one discouraged his doing so, under the pretext that it was not for his dignity to send one before the King had sent his ambassador to Rome; and in this affair the authority of your signory availed no little, for so his holiness told me in regard to certain services that I performed at that time in your name."

most Christian king thereupon threw himself at the feet of the Pope, who, touching him lightly with a wand, thus imparted the absolution. The Papal See once more appeared on this occasion in all the splendor of its ancient authority.⁴

And this ceremony was, in fact, the manifestation of a great result effectually secured. The ruling power in France, now strong in itself and firmly seated, was again become Catholic. Its interest consequently was to keep on good terms with the Pope. A new central point for Catholicism was formed in that country, and from this a most efficient influence must inevitably proceed.

When more nearly contemplated, this event is seen to offer two distinct aspects.

It was not by the immediate influence of the Pope, nor by victory obtained by the rigidly Catholic party, that France had been recovered; it was rather by the union of opinions taking a medium between the two extremes of party. This result was indeed brought about by the superior force of that body which had at first constituted the opposition. It followed that the French Church assumed a position entirely different from that accorded to those of Italy, the Netherlands, or the newly established Church of Germany. It submitted to the Pope, but this was done with a freedom and essential independence proceeding from its origin, and the consciousness of which was never again resigned. Thus the Papal See was far from having the right to consider France as a complete conquest.

But the second aspect, the political side, presented the most important advantages. The lost balance of power was restored. Two great sovereignties, each jealous of the other, and both involved in continual strife and conflict, kept each other within due limits; both were Catholic, and might eventually be guided into the same direction; but in any case, the Pope assumed between them a position of far more perfect independence than his predecessors had for a long time found it possible to attain. From those fetters, hitherto thrown about him by the Spanish preponderance, he was now, to a great extent, freed.

This political result was indeed brought into view only by the progress of events. It was on the lapse of Ferrara to the Papal

⁴Ossat, who is generally very circumstantial, passes rapidly over this ceremony. "All was done," he says,

"in a manner suited to the dignity of the most Christian crown." But this was not the general opinion.

See that French influence first became again manifest in the affairs of Italy; and this was an event which in many respects was of so great an importance to the progress of political power in the States of the Church, that we may for a moment allow it to divert our attention, as it did that of contemporaries, from the affairs of religion. We will begin with a retrospective glance at the duchy under the last of its princes.

Section VII.—Ferrara Under Alfonso II

It has been frequently assumed that Ferrara was in a peculiarly prosperous condition under the last prince of the family of Este. This is nevertheless merely an illusion, and has originated, like so many others, from antipathy to the secular dominion of Rome.

Montaigne visited Ferrara under Alfonso II. He admired the broad streets of the city and its handsome palaces, but he remarked that it looked desolate and depopulated, as travellers have so frequently done in our own days.¹ The prosperity of the country depended on the maintenance of the dams and the regulation of the waters, but neither the dams nor the streams and canals were kept in good order. Inundations were not infrequent. The Volana and Primero were suffered to become choked with sand, so that their navigation was totally suspended.²

It would be even more erroneous to believe the subjects of this house either free or happy. Alfonso II enforced the claims of his exchequer with extreme severity. On the conclusion of every contract, were it only for a loan, one-tenth of the amount fell to the duke, and he levied a tenth on every article that entered the city. He had the monopoly of salt, and burdened the trade in oil with a new tax. By the advice of Christofano da Fiume, his commissioner of customs, he finally took the trade in flour and bread into his own hands. None might venture to procure these first necessaries of life except from the ducal officers, nor did any man dare even to lend a bowl of flour to his

¹ Montaigne, "Voyage," i. 226-231.

² An account of the States of the Church, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, declares that the duke had transferred the peasants,

whose duty it was to labor on the Po, to his own property of Mesola, so that the necessary works on the river had fallen into decay, and could not be restored.—*Inff. Politt.* tom. ix.

neighbor.³ The nobles themselves were not permitted to hunt for more than a few days, and then were never allowed to use more than three dogs. One day six men were seen hanging in the market-place; dead pheasants were tied to their feet, and this was said to be in token of their having been shot while poaching on the ducal preserves.

It is obvious, then, that the writers who insist on the prosperity and activity of Ferrara cannot mean to speak of the country or the city, but simply of the court.

In those storms that convulsed the first ten years of the sixteenth century, in which so many prosperous families and mighty principalities were totally ruined, and when all Italy was shaken to its centre, the house of Este succeeded in maintaining its ground, and by the union of political address with stout-hearted self-defence, had managed to weather all danger. Other qualities were also united to these. Who has not read of that race which, as Bojardo expresses himself, was destined to maintain all bravery, virtue, courtesy, and social gayety alive in the world;⁴ or of its dwelling-place, which, as Ariosto says, was adorned, not only with ample royal palaces, but with fair studies also and excellent manners.⁵ But if the house of Este had the merit of bestowing patronage on science and poetry, it has been richly rewarded. The memory of that splendor and power which so rapidly pass away has been perpetuated by great authors in works that must live forever.

As matters had stood under the earlier dukes of Ferrara, so Alfonso II sought to maintain them. His views and objects of pursuit were similar to those of his predecessors.

He had not indeed to sustain the violence of conflict by which they were assailed, but being continually involved in dissensions

³ Frizzi, "Memorie per la Storia di Ferrara," tom. iv. p. 364; and more particularly Manolesso, "Relazione di Ferrara": "The duke is less beloved than his predecessors, and that because of the tyranny and exactions of Christofano da Fiume, called Il Frisato, 'the scarred' (Sfregiato), his comptroller of taxes. Il Frisato offered to sell goods, for the benefit of the people, at much lower prices than others, and yet to derive large profits for his excellency. The affair pleased Alfonso well; but though Il Frisato satisfies the duke by giving him the sums he expected, he does not please the people, to whom he sells things very bad in quality, and very dear as to price."

⁴ Bojardo, "Orlando Innamorato," ii. 22:

"Da questa (stirpe) fia servato ogni valore,
Ogni bontade et ogni cortesia,
Amore, leggiadria, stato giocundo
Tra quella gente fiorita nel mundo."
[Be still transmitted by that favored race

Which in the world's respect doth foremost shine,

Love, honor, valor, courtesy, and grace,
Each gentle virtue and each art divine.—
C. F.]

⁵ Ariosto, "Orlando Furioso," xxxv. 6.
"Nor for its walls alone and royal towers,
But eke for learning fair and for the Graces' bowers.—C. F."

with Florence, and not feeling very secure of the Pope, who was his feudal lord, he held himself constantly in an attitude of defence. Next to Padua, Ferrara was reputed the strongest fortress in Italy. Twenty-seven thousand men were enrolled in the militia,⁶ and Alfonso labored to encourage a military spirit in his people. Desiring to strengthen himself by a friendship sufficiently important to counterbalance the favor enjoyed by Tuscany at the Court of Rome, he attached himself to the German Emperor's. He not infrequently traversed the Alps with a splendid train, received the hand of an Austrian princess in marriage, and is reported to have used the German language. In 1566 he marched into Hungary, to the aid of the Emperor against the Turks, with a body of troops 14,000 strong.

The prosperity of literature increased greatly under his patronage. I do not indeed know of any country where its connection with the State has been more closely intimate. Two professors of the university, Pigna and Montecatino, were successively prime ministers of the duchy, and this without relinquishing their literary labors. It is at least certain that Pigna, while conducting the government, still delivered his lectures, and even published a book from time to time.⁷ Battista Guarini, the author of the "Pastor Fido," was sent as ambassador to Venice, and afterward to Poland. Even Francesco Patrizi, though engaged in the most abstruse subjects, yet speaks in high terms of the sympathy he experienced from the court. All these were of one mind; scientific discussions were followed by propositions, touching various disputed questions of love, such for example as were once handled by Tasso, who was at one period a member of the university. Sometimes the court gave theatrical representations, at others a similar entertainment was offered by the university; but this theatre possessed also literary attractions, since attempts were continually made for the production of new forms, and it is to these that the perfec-

⁶ "Relazione sopra la Romagna di Ferrara:" "All subjects capable of bearing arms were inscribed in the lists of the militia by the military commissioner deputed for that purpose. They were compelled to hold themselves constantly ready to serve on foot or horseback, according to their means, and in return they enjoyed certain exemptions."

⁷ Manolesso: "Signor Giovambattista Pigna is the private secretary, and

through his hands all business affairs must pass. He lectures publicly on moral philosophy, and is writing the history of the house of Este; he is a philosopher, an orator, and an excellent poet; is well acquainted with Greek, and though laboring for his prince, transacting affairs, and writing whatever is needed, he does not neglect his studies, but so fulfils each of his employments, that it might be thought he was occupied with that alone."

tion of the pastoral drama must be ascribed, as also the foundation of the opera. Ferrara was sometimes visited by foreign ambassadors, cardinals, and princes, more especially by those of the neighborhood, as Mantua, Guastalla, and Urbino—occasionally too an archduke would appear. Then the court displayed its utmost splendor; tournaments were given, in which the nobility of the land spared no cost; a hundred knights sometimes assembled and tilted in the court of the palace. There were also representations from some fabulous work, or legend of poetry, as the names given to them sufficiently show—"The Temple of Love," "The Island of Happiness," for example.⁸ Enchanted castles were attacked, defended, and conquered.

It was the most extraordinary union of poetry, learning, politics, and chivalry. The pomp of display became ennobled by the spirit which inspired it, and which offered ample amends for the defects of the means employed.

In the "rime," as well as in the epic, of Tasso, this court is presented in very lively colors, together with that prince ("in whom force and elevation of character shone so nobly forth, and of whom it is difficult to decide whether he is a better knight or general"), his wife, and above all, his sisters. The elder was Lucretia, who passed but little of her time with her husband in Urbino, and for the most part resided in Ferrara, exercising no slight influence over public affairs, though still more earnestly occupied in the promotion of literary interests, to which, and to the musical genius of the day, her patronage gave impulse and encouragement. It was this princess who secured the advancement of Tasso at the Court of Ferrara. The younger, Leonora, held a less conspicuous position; she was gentle and retiring of manner, and delicate in health, but was endowed like her sister with a mind of great force.⁹ During an earthquake, both refused to quit the palace. Leonora more particularly displayed a stoical indifference; when, at length, they yielded, it had almost been too late, the roof falling in on the instant of their departure. Leonora was considered almost a saint; the deliverance of the city from an inundation was attributed to her

⁸ Extracts from descriptions which appeared at the time—from the "Tempio d' Amore," for example—may be found in Muratori, Serassi, and Frizzi.

⁹ In the year 1566 she conducted the regency in the absence of the duke, ac-

ording to Manolesso, "to the infinite satisfaction of the subjects. She has not married [he continues] nor will she marry, because of the delicacy of her health; she has nevertheless a very high spirit."

prayers.¹⁰ The homage offered to them by Tasso was in accordance with their respective characters: toward the younger, restrained and subdued, and as one who controls the expression of his thoughts; his admiration of the elder was more unrestrained; he compared her to the full-blown fragrant rose, which maturity has deprived of no charm, etc. Other ladies adorned the courtly circle; among them were Barbara Sanseverina and her daughter Leonora Sanvitale. Tasso has described, with incomparable grace, the serene self-possession of the mother, and the radiant charm of youthful beauty in the daughter; no portrait could place them more clearly before us. Then follow descriptions of visits to the rural palaces of the duke; of the hunting parties and other amusements entered into on those occasions; in short, of the whole course and proceeding of that brilliant life, few there are who can resist the impression which those descriptions, in their rich and musical flow, are so well calculated to produce.

Yet it is not to such impressions that we must entirely surrender ourselves. The same power by which the country was maintained in so implicit an obedience did not fail to make itself felt at the court also.

These scenes of poetry and enjoyment were occasionally interrupted by others of a very different character: events in which the most exalted were as little spared as those of lower station.

One of the house of Gonzaga had been murdered, and all believed the young Ercole Contrario to be guilty of the crime: it was at least known that the murderers had found refuge on one of his estates. The duke commanded that they should be given up, and Contrario, to avoid being accused by them, caused them to be put to death himself, and sent their dead bodies only to the duke. Hereupon he was himself one day summoned to the court, and received audience on second of August, 1575. The house of Contrario was the most ancient and wealthy of Ferrara. Ercole was its last remaining scion; yet he had not long entered the palace before he was carried out of it a corpse. The duke said that the young man had been suddenly struck with apoplexy while in discourse with him; but no one believed the assertion; traces of violence were perceived on the body; it was indeed acknowledged by the friends of the duke, that their lord

¹⁰ Scerassi, "Vita di Torquato Tasso," p. 150.

had caused him to be put to death, but they excused this act, on the ground that he had not chosen to sully a name so illustrious by a more disgraceful death.¹

This was a sort of justice that kept everyone in terror—the rather, as the possessions of the family had by this event fallen to the duke.

But it would not on the whole have been advisable for anyone to have opposed himself in the slightest degree to the sovereign will.² This court was indeed very dangerous and slippery ground. All the subtlety of Montecatino could not enable him to retain his footing to the last. The most distinguished preacher in Italy was at that time Panigarola, and he had been induced to settle at Ferrara, but not without difficulty. He was suddenly banished with injurious violence; and when it was asked for what crime he thus suffered, the only one adduced was, that he had negotiated respecting promotion with some other court. Neither could the changeful, susceptible, and melancholy Tasso at length keep his ground there; the duke seemed attached to him, felt pleasure in listening to him, and often took him to the ducal palaces in the country; nor did he disdain to correct the descriptions of military proceedings that appear in the “Gerusalemme.” But after Tasso had shown some inclination to enter the service of the Medici, they were never cordially friends. The hapless poet left Ferrara; but impelled by an irresistible longing, he returned, and a few reproachful words, uttered in an excess of melancholy, sufficed to determine the duke to hold the unfortunate man imprisoned during seven long years.³

We here see the whole character of the Italian principality, as it existed in the fifteenth century: based on judiciously calculated political relations, it was absolute and unlimited in the power of its internal administration; surrounded by splendor, closely connected with literature, and jealous even of the very appearance of power. Extraordinary aspect of human affairs! The whole power and all the resources of a country produce a

¹ Frizzi, “Memorie,” iv. 382.

² When Tasso was not in good humor, he expressed himself in different terms from those quoted above. In a letter to the Duke of Urbino he says, “Because I knew that the duke was naturally much disposed to malignity, and full of a certain overweening arrogance,

which he derives from the nobility of his blood, and from the consciousness that he has of his own importance, which is in some respects certainly real.” “Lettere,” n. 284. “Opere,” tom. ix. 188.

³ Serassi, “Vita del Tasso,” p. 282.

court—the centre of the court is the prince; finally, then, the ultimate product of all this gathered life is the self-sufficiency of the sovereign. From his position in the world, the obedience he receives, the respect accorded to him, there results only the sense of his own value, the conviction of his own importance.

Alfonso II was childless, although he had been three times married. His whole feeling is expressed in the peculiar mode of his conduct under these circumstances.

He had two purposes to secure; the one was, to prevent his subjects from thinking it possible that they could fall off from his house; the other, to retain the nomination of a successor in his own hands, and to avoid raising up a rival against himself.

In September, 1589, he repaired to Loretto, where the sister of Sixtus V, Donna Camilla, then was; he spared neither gifts nor promises to gain her over. He hoped that she would procure him permission from the pontiff to name any one of his connections, whom he might prefer to be his successor; but the negotiations had but just been effectually commenced when Sixtus V expired.

By a similar expedient—presents to the sister-in-law of the Pope, and alacrity in the service of his nephew—Alfonso gained access to Gregory XIV in the year 1591. When he perceived hope of success, he proceeded to Rome himself, for the more effectual conduct of the negotiations. The first question was, whether that bull of Pius V, which forbade all new investiture of papal fiefs that had lapsed to the feudal lord, were applicable to Ferrara. Alfonso maintained that it was not, because Ferrara never had lapsed. But the words were too precise, and the congregation decided that the bull applied beyond all doubt to Ferrara. All that yet remained to be inquired was, whether a pope had not the power to give a special determination in a special case. This the congregation did not venture to say he could not do; but they added this condition, that the necessity must be urgent, and the utility clearly obvious.⁴ An important step was hereby made. It is not improbable that, if expedition had been used, and a new investiture at once prepared in favor of

⁴ "Dispaccio Donato:" "When the utility and urgent necessity were most evident, which was done to facilitate the way to the Signor Duke's wishes." Cardinal Sanseverina now assures us that it was he who principally con-

tributed to frustrate this design, though with great difficulty, and amid violent opposition; the Pope is also declared to have repented in the end of that qualification of the bull.

some one person then named, the affair might have been brought to the end desired; but Alfonso would not name his heir; neither was he entirely agreed on this point with the Sfrondrati, who wished him to choose the Marquis Filippo d'Este, while he preferred his nearer kinsman, Cesare. Time passed while these things were in discussion, and Gregory also died before anything had been concluded.⁵

Negotiations had, meanwhile, been opened with the imperial court likewise; for though Ferrara was a papal fief, Modena and Reggio were fiefs of the empire. The previous policy of the duke here did him good service: he was on the best terms with the Emperor's most influential minister, Wolf Rumpf. Rudolph II accorded him the renewal of his investiture; and even granted him a certain period of time within which he was permitted to choose whomsoever he might wish to appoint, as his successor.

But all the more inflexible was Clement VIII, who had now become pope. It seemed to him more for the Catholic and ecclesiastical interests to retake possession of a lapsed fief than to grant it anew: it was thus too that the holy pontiff Pius V had decided for such cases. In the year 1592, Clement proposed in a secret consistory, that the bull of Pius should be ratified according to its original tenor, and without the addition made by Gregory XIV. In that form it was accordingly confirmed.⁶

The term granted by the Emperor had also elapsed; and the duke was compelled to resolve on pointing out his successor. Alfonso I had married Laura Eustachia, when he was advanced in years, and after she had borne him a son. From this son descended Don Cesare d'Este, whom, after long delay, the duke appointed his successor. But he still proceeded with the most cautious secrecy. Without the knowledge of any one person, and in a letter written with his own hand to the Emperor, he completed the nomination; but, at the same time, he entreated his Majesty pressingly to let no one know what he had done; not even the ambassador from Ferrara to the imperial court. He requested the Emperor to express his approval in no other

⁵ "Cronica di Ferrara," MS. of the Albani Library, also affirms that there was no doubt of Gregory's intention to do something for Ferrara. He left the congregation in a fit of anger, and became ill in consequence. Alfonso went

to a villa of Cardinal Farnese's, "waiting the event, whether the life or death of the Pope—death ensued—then the duke returned." See Appendix, No. 63,

§ 3.

⁶ "Dispaccio Donato, 27 Dec. 1592."

manner than by returning the letter with the imperial signature affixed.⁷

Alfonso desired to hold the supreme authority in his small territories undivided to his last breath. He was resolved not to see his court turn toward the rising sun. Cesare himself received no intimation of the favor prepared for him. He was held, on the contrary, under a more rigid rule than before; was even restricted, in a certain sense, as to the splendor of his appearance (being forbidden to have more than three nobles in his train); and it was only when the duke's life was at the lowest ebb, when the physicians had resigned their last hope, that Alfonso permitted him to be summoned, and informed him of his good fortune. The testament was opened in presence of the principal inhabitants of the duchy. These persons were admonished by the minister to be true to the house of Este. The duke told Cesare that he left him the fairest dominion in the world; strong by its military force, its population, and its allies, both in Italy and beyond her limits; from whom he might promise himself help on all occasions. This being done, Alfonso II expired on the same day, twenty-seventh of October, 1597.

Section VIII.—Conquest of Ferrara

Cesare took possession of the imperial fiefs without opposition, and received homage even from that of the Pope. In Ferrara he was robed by the magistrate in the ducal mantle, and greeted by the people as their sovereign with joyful acclamations.

His predecessor had assured him of foreign aid, as well as of the native strength he would find in his new dominions. Cesare was very soon placed in a position to put these promises to the test.

Clement remained immovable in his determination to resume possession of Ferrara. So many pontiffs had already made the attempt, that he believed he should secure himself eternal re-

⁷ "Relatione di quello che è successo in Ferrara dopo la morte del Duca Alfonso" (MS. Barber.): "The duke, within the year allowed for his decision, wrote a letter with his own hand to the Emperor, and named Don Cesare, praying his imperial Majesty earnestly that in confirmation he would merely place his signature; that he would then seal

and restore the document by means of Count Ercole Rondinelli, but not confide its import either to him or to any other person; all which his highness the duke did, that Don Cesare might not be inflated, and that he might not be honored or courted as their prince by the nobility."

noun by its accomplishment. When intelligence was brought him of Alfonso's death, he declared that he was sorry the duke had left no son; but that the Church must have her own again. He would not listen to the ambassadors of Cesare, and called his taking possession, usurpation. He threatened to place him under the ban of the Church, if he did not resign the duchy within fourteen days; and to give the greater effect to his words, the pontiff at once prepared to take arms. A new loan was raised, and a new *monte* founded, that the money in the castle of St. Angelo might remain untouched.¹ He also despatched his nephew, Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandino, to Ancona, with a staff of experienced military commanders, for the purpose of gathering troops. Recruiting parties were sent in all directions, and the provinces were burdened with heavy contributions.

Cesare also seemed at first to be full of spirit.² He declared that he would defend his good right to the last drop of his blood, without fear that either his religion or salvation would be endangered by his doing so. Accordingly, the fortifications of his strongholds were repaired, the militia of the country were put under arms, a body of his troops advanced to the frontiers of the Papal States; and we find an invitation to him to appear in Romagna, where the inhabitants were dissatisfied with the papal government, and only wanted some fair occasion to overturn it. He had also the good fortune to see the neighboring Italian States taking part with him. His brother-in-law, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, declared that he would never abandon his cause. The Republic of Venice prevented the Pope from recruiting in Dalmatia, and refused him the arms and other munitions of war that he desired to obtain from Brescia. The aggrandizement of the Papal States was a project abhorrent to the hearts of all its neighbors.

Had the position of Italy been similar to that which she had held a hundred years earlier—independent, upon the whole, of foreign influences, and left to her own efforts—Clement VIII

¹ Many affirm, nevertheless, that this did not happen, but Delfino declares, "though suffering great dearth of money, he got together an army of 22,000 foot and 3,000 horse in little more than a month, and without touching the treasure in the castle, for he desired to preserve the reputation of the Church." See Appendix, No. 70.

² Nicolò Contarini "delle Historie Venetiane," MS., tom. i. lib. i.: "Cesare

in the beginning showed himself very courageous, and wished to defend his rights, either because he did not foresee the violence of the struggle, or because the inexperienced, as they show terror in dangers present, so are they valiant in regard to those that are remote." The narrative of Contarini supplies much exact and impressive intelligence respecting this occurrence.

would probably not have effected more than Sixtus IV had then done; but those times were gone by; everything now depended on the general state of European relations, and on the great powers of that period, France and Spain.

The inclinations of the Spaniards did not admit of doubt. Cesare d'Este relied so implicitly on Philip II that he proposed him to the Pope as umpire. The King's governor of Milan declared for Cesare without reserve, and offered him Spanish garrisons for his fortresses; but it could not be denied that Philip himself, who had all his life striven to repress commotions in Italy, was reluctant to give occasion for war at his advanced age, and governed all his proceedings with infinite caution, as did also his ambassador at Rome.³

So much the more important, under these circumstances, was the decision given by Henry IV. The restoration of France to Catholicism, as well as to power, was immediately followed by the most important consequences to Italy. It was with the assent and aid of the Italian princes that Henry IV had secured his fortunes; and they did not doubt but that he would now prove himself grateful, and take part with them in their difference with the Holy See. The crown of France was, besides, under great obligation to the house of Este. That family had advanced more than 1,000,000 of scudi to the royal house of France during the civil wars; this sum had never yet been repaid; and would have now sufficed to raise an army such as no pope could have hoped to withstand.

These, however, were not the considerations by which Henry IV was influenced. He knew that, notwithstanding his conversion to Catholicism, he should still be often obliged to do many things that could not fail to displease the Roman Court. In the affair of Ferrara, he saw nothing more than an opportunity for causing these things to be forgotten, and for once more raising the lilies, as his statesmen expressed it, at the Court of Rome. Without hesitation or delay, therefore, he sent assurances to the Holy Father of assistance from France. He declared himself not only ready to lead an army across the Alps

³ Delfino describes the fear that was felt in Rome regarding him: "There is a well-founded idea firmly rooted among the people there, that the benediction bestowed on the King of France has been so great an offence to the

"Catholic" and the Spaniards, that they will never forget it; and his holiness thinks this has been clearly shown in the affair of Ferrara." See Appendix, No. 70.

whenever the Pope should desire it, but, even if need were, to appear in person, with all his force, for the defence of the pontiff.

It was by this declaration that the matter was decided. The Roman Court, already sensible to the many embarrassments preparing for it, by the unfriendly dispositions of its neighbors, and the open resistance of Ferrara, now breathed again. "I cannot express," writes Ossat to the King, "what good-will, praise, and blessing your Majesty has obtained for your offer." He assures his master that, if his promise be fulfilled, he will assume a position similar to that held in the Church by Pepin and Charlemagne. On his part, the Pope now made immediate preparation for the formal excommunication of his opponent.

So much the more were the princes alarmed and surprised; they complained of black ingratitude, and lost all courage for supporting Cesare d'Este, which they would otherwise doubtless have done, either openly or in secret, with their whole powers.

These things produced an immediate effect on Ferrara. The rigid government of Alfonso had of necessity caused many to feel dissatisfied. Cesare was new to the duties of sovereignty, without effectual talent, and wholly inexperienced. He had formed no personal acquaintance even with the members of his council, until holding his first sitting as their sovereign.⁴ His older friends, those who knew him, and in whom he felt confidence, were despatched to different courts, so that he had no one near him on whom he could firmly rely, or with whom he could hold confidential communication. He could not fail to make false steps. From the highest class downward there prevailed a feeling of insecurity; such as frequently precedes approaching ruin. The more important personages, those who possessed a share in the power of the country, already began to calculate the advantages that might accrue from a change, and made advances toward the conclusion of a secret compact with the pontiff. An-

⁴ Niccolò Contarini: "Cesare retired to consult his ministers, of whom many, because of the retirement in which he had lived (for so did he enjoin, who held command), were unknown to him except by sight; he was incapable of arriving at any resolution of himself, and was much unsettled in his thoughts, because those who advised him were full of their own private purposes and of their hopes from Rome, toward which court they looked, and by whose prom-

ises their loyalty had been previously infected." Ossat also ("Lettres," i. 495) asserts the main source of his misfortunes to have been "the little fidelity found even among his counsellors, who in part because of his irresolution, and partly to gain pensions and other benefits from the Church, hoped and feared more from the Holy See than from him, and so turned toward the Pope."

tonio Montecatino proceeded to Rome for that purpose; but the most grievous and most unfortunate circumstance was, that dissensions arose in the house of Este itself. Lucrezia had detested the father of Cesare; she hated himself no less, and would not consent to be his subject. She herself, the sister of the duke just departed, made no difficulty of entering into an alliance with Clement VIII and Cardinal Aldobrandino.

The Pope had meanwhile completed the act of excommunication. On December 22, 1597, he went in all the pomp of a solemn procession to St. Peter's, and ascended with his immediate attendants to the loggia of the Church; a cardinal read the bull before the people. Don Cesare d'Este was therein declared an enemy to the Church, guilty of treason, fallen under the greater censures and under the sentence of malediction: his subjects were freed from their oath of allegiance, and his officers were admonished to quit his service. After the bull had been read, the Pope, assuming a look of anger, threw a large burning taper on the ground in the piazza beneath him. Trumpets and drums pealed forth, cannon were fired, and the roar of the populace rose above all.

Circumstances were so arranged, that this excommunication necessarily produced its full effect. A copy of the bull was carried into Ferrara by one of her own inhabitants,⁵ who had it sewed into his clothes and delivered it to the bishop. On the following day, December 31, 1597, a canon of the cathedral was to be interred. The church was hung with black, and the people had assembled to hear the funeral sermon. The bishop ascended the pulpit and began to speak of death. "But much worse," he suddenly exclaimed, "than the death of the body, is the perdition of the soul which now threatens us all." He ceased speaking and commanded the bull to be read aloud. In this document, all who would not separate themselves from Don Cesare were menaced with being "cut off like withered branches from the tree of spiritual life." This being done, the bull was fixed on the church door, the people filled the place with sighs and lamentations, and dismay seized the whole city.

⁵ A certain Coralta. At his first attempt to enter he was driven back by the soldiers; he made his way by declaring that he lived there, and had not yet set off for Bologna (though he had indeed just arrived from that city, and had dismounted from his horse at a short distance from the gate). Dis-

coursing with the soldiers, he seated himself among them; at last feeling secure, he bade the guard farewell, entered the city, and gave the bishop the bull with the letter from the Archbishop of Bologna.—"Relatione di quello che," etc.

Don Cesare was not the man to appease a commotion of this character. He had been advised to enlist Swiss and Germans for his defence, but could not summon resolution to do so. He would not have Catholics, because they were adherents of the Pope; still less would he take Protestants, because they were heretics. "Just as if he had anything to do," says Nicolò Contarini, "with exercising the office of an inquisitor." He now asked his confessor what he was to do. This was a Jesuit, Benedetto Palma. He recommended Don Cesare to submit.

He ⁶ was now in so difficult a position that, in order to present this submission under favorable conditions, he was obliged to have recourse to the person whom he knew to be his most violent enemy. To secure a tolerable retreat, he was compelled to avail himself of the secret, and in a certain sense treasonable connection, into which Lucrezia had entered with Rome. Commissioned by the duke, Lucrezia therefore betook herself, abating nothing of her accustomed splendor, to the enemy's camp.

The adherents of Cesare constantly affirmed that she might have obtained better conditions for him; but won over by the promise of Bertinoro, which she was to hold for life with the title of its duchess, and personally attracted by the young and clever cardinal, she agreed to all that was required from her. On January 12, 1598, the treaty was drawn up, by virtue of which Don Cæsar resigned his rights to Ferrara, Comacchio, and his portion of Romagna, in return for which he was to be released from the ban of the Church. He had flattered himself that he should at least save something, and felt that to be so completely despoiled was indeed very hard. He once more called together the principal magistrates of the city, the council of elders (Giudice de' Savj), with some few nobles and men of the law (doctoren), to hear their advice. They gave him no consolation; each was already thinking only of the means by which he might best secure his own position with the new

⁶ Contarini: "As he who abandons all hope will often commit himself rather to the guidance of his enemy than to the direction of a friend, so Cesare now went to seek the Duchess of Urbino, and to her, whom he well knew to be of good intelligence with Cardinal Aldobrandino, he remitted all his fortunes. She accepted the office gladly; having arrived at the point that from

the first she had desired: with a great train, as if in triumph, and accompanied by the Marchese Bentivoglio, commandant of the duke's forces, she performed her voyage." He considers Lucrezia "a woman of dark and evil thoughts, she was long the most bitter enemy of Don Cesare, though she pretended the contrary."

power that was expected. In all quarters men were already emulating each other in eagerness to tear down the arms of the house of Este, and to drive out their officers. For the prince nothing further remained but to sign the deed of his expulsion, and depart from the inheritance of his fathers.

And thus did the house of Este lose Ferrara. The archives, museum, library, and a part of the artillery, which Alfonso I had cast with his own hand, were removed to Modena; all besides was lost. The widow of Alfonso carried away her property in fifty wagons. The sister of the latter, married in France, assumed to herself the claims of her family to that crown; but the most unexpected result was that witnessed in the case of Lucrezia. No time was allowed her for taking possession of her duchy. On February 12th, exactly one month after she had concluded the treaty just described, she expired. When her testament was opened, it was found that the very man who had driven her family from their ancient possessions, Cardinal Aldobrandino, was constituted heir to her wealth—universal legatee. She had even made over to him her claims, which were now to be contested with Cesare himself. It would seem that she had desired to bequeath to her ancient enemy an opponent who might embitter his whole life. There is something fiend-like in this woman, who appears to have found pleasure and satisfaction in securing the destruction of her house.

And now the ducal sovereignty was superseded by that of the Ecclesiastical States. On May 8th the Pope himself entered Ferrara. He desired immediately to enjoy the sight of his new conquest, and to bind it by suitable institutions to the Church.

He began with clemency and acts of grace. Ecclesiastical dignities were conferred on several among the leading men of Ferrara.⁷ Cardinals' hats, bishoprics, and auditorships were liberally distributed. Among those promoted was the young Bentivoglio, who was made private chamberlain to the Pope. The power of the dukes had been founded on their possession of municipal privileges; the Pope now resolved to restore to

⁷ Contarini: "To Bevilacqua, who had great power, the Latin patriarchate of Constantinople was given, Siciato

was created auditor of the Rota, and abbacies were bestowed on others."

the citizens their ancient rights. He formed a council (conseglio) from the three classes, giving twenty-seven seats in it to the greater nobles, fifty-five to the inferior nobility and principal citizens, and eighteen to the guilds of the trades. These rights were carefully distinguished. Those of the first class were most important; but to balance this advantage came the fact, that their nomination depended for the most part on the will of the Pope. To this "conseglio" Clement now intrusted the duty of providing for the due supply of the means of life to the city, the regulation of the rivers, the appointment of judges and mayors (podestas), and even the nomination to chairs in the university. All these were rights that the duke had jealously reserved to himself, and these changes were the commencement, as will be obvious, of a new order of things. Attention was also given to the welfare of the lower classes. The severity of the fiscal arrangements was materially modified and relaxed.⁸

But these advantageous measures were not applicable in all cases. Even the papal government was not wholly formed of clemency and mildness. The nobles were soon dissatisfied with the judicial administration of ecclesiastical officers. The principal "Giudice de' Savj," Montecatino, found the restrictions imposed on the rights of his office insufferable, and sent in his resignation. Universal discontent was excited by the circumstance that Pope Clement thought it requisite to secure himself in his new conquest by the erection of a fortress. The representations made by the inhabitants for the prevention of this purpose, though most earnest and imploring, were unavailing. It was precisely one of the most populous parts of the city that was selected for the citadel;⁹ whole streets were removed, together with churches, oratories, hospitals, the summer residences of the duke and his court, and the beautiful Belvedere, celebrated by so many poets.

It had, perhaps, been expected, that by these devastations the memory of the ducal house would be completely obliterated; but they served, on the contrary, to restore it to life; the half-

⁸ Frizzi, "Memorie," v. p. 25.

⁹ "Dispaccio Delfino, 7 June, 1508:" "The Pope thinks of building a citadel on the side next Bologna, because of the discontent displayed by the nobles at the want of respect shown them by

the ministers of justice, and because the ancient dues of the municipality were not restored to them, complaining that they have been deceived." See Appendix, No. 70.

forgotten attachment to the hereditary line of princes returned. All those who had belonged to the court retired to Modena; and Ferrara, which had never been particularly animated, became more than ever desolate.

But it was not possible that all who wished to follow the court should do so. There is yet remaining a MS. chronicle by an old servant of the ducal house, in which he sets forth the proceedings of Alfonso's court with great complacency. Its pleasures, its concerts, its sermons—all are enumerated. "But now," he says in conclusion, "all this has passed by; now there is no longer a duke in Ferrara; there are no more princesses, no concerts, and no concert-givers; so passes the glory of this world; for others, the world may be rendered pleasant by changes, but not for me, who am left behind, alone, aged, frail, and poor. Nevertheless, God be praised."¹⁰

Section IX.—Commutations Among the Jesuits

The great and fortunate results obtained by Clement VIII from acting in harmony with the policy of France were manifestly calculated to bind him more and more closely to its interests. He now found the advantage of having conducted himself with so much caution in the affairs of the League; of his having opposed no obstacle to the development of events in France, and of having resolved, though it were but at the last moment, to grant the desired absolution. The war now proceeding on the frontiers of France and the Netherlands awakened as lively an interest in Rome as though the cause had been their own, and all were decidedly on the French side. When the Spaniards succeeded in the conquest of Calais and Amiens, a dissatisfaction was produced at the Court of Rome, such as, according to Ossat, "could not be described; an extremity of sorrow, shame, and indignation."¹ Delfino tells us, that the Pope and his nephews feared, lest the Spaniards should

¹⁰ "Cronica di Ferrara:" "Sic transit gloria mundi." For some to change their plans is agreeable, but not for me, who have remained without a master; old, deprived of all my teeth, and poor, yet let God be praised. [Laudetur Deus]."

¹ "Ossat à Villeroy," May 14, 1596; 20 April, 1597: "The dangers of Marseilles caused great alarm to the Pope

and his nephews; the losses of Calais and Amiens grieved him sorely, and the rather because worse things were reported; they dreaded lest, on the decline of the French importance, the Spaniards should avenge themselves for the absolution; therefore it is that Rome rejoices in the prosperity of France."

avenge on them the disappointment which Philip of Spain had endured in regard to the absolution.² Fortunately, Henry IV soon retrieved his endangered reputation by the reconquest of Amiens.

Not that people at Rome had begun to feel any affection for those whom they had formerly combated. The measures taken by those chiefs of the clergy, who had been the first to attach themselves to Henry, and had founded the opposition party previously described, had never been forgotten; promotion was much more readily accorded to the adherents of the League, when they returned voluntarily—that is, when they were precisely in the same condition as the Curia itself. But there soon arose a Catholic party, even among the adherents of the King (for the opinions of men, however nearly they may approximate, yet manifest varieties of disposition); whose determination it was to evince the most rigid Catholicism, because they desired above all things to maintain a good understanding with the Court of Rome. To this party the pontiff especially attached himself, hoping to reconcile all the differences still existing between the French and Roman interests; he desired and endeavored above all to accomplish the restoration of the Jesuits, who, as we have related, had been driven out of France, and thus to secure a wider field for the extension of the Romish doctrines, notwithstanding the adverse disposition manifested in France, and in defiance of its influence.

In this design Clement was aided by a commotion in the Society of Jesus itself, and which, though taking its rise within the order, had yet close analogy with the change of the general tendencies in the Roman Court.

So strangely are the affairs of this world sometimes complicated, that at the moment when the connection of the Jesuits with Spain was charged against them by the university of Paris, as their heaviest crime; when it was asserted and believed in France that every Jesuit was bound by a fifth vow to devote himself to Spain and to pray daily for King Philip;³ at that very moment the company was enduring the most violent assaults in Spain itself; first from discontented members of its own body, then from the Inquisition, next from another ecclesiastical order, and finally from the King himself.

² See Appendix, No. 70.

³ "Pro nostro rege Philippo."

This was a turn of affairs that had its origin in more than one cause, but of which the immediate occasion was as follows.

At the first establishment of the order, the elder and already educated men, who had just entered it, were for the most part Spaniards; the members joining it from other nations were chiefly young men, whose characters had yet to be formed. It followed naturally that the government of the society was, for the first ten years, almost entirely in Spanish hands. The first general congregation was composed of twenty-five members, eighteen of whom were Spaniards.⁴ The first three generals belonged to the same nation. After the death of the third, Borgia, in the year 1573, it was once more a Spaniard, Polanco, who had the best prospect of election.

It was, however, manifest that his elevation would not have been regarded favorably, even in Spain itself. There were many new converts in the society, who were Christianized Jews. Polanco also belonged to this class, and it was not thought desirable that the supreme authority in a body so powerful, and so monarchically constituted, should be confided to such hands.⁵ Pope Gregory XIV, who had received certain intimations on this subject, considered a change to be expedient on other grounds also. When a deputation presented itself before him from the congregation assembled to elect their general, Gregory inquired how many votes were possessed by each nation; the reply showed that Spain held more than all the others put together. He then asked from which nation the generals of the order had hitherto been taken. He was told that there had been three, all Spaniards. "It will be just, then," replied Gregory, "that for once you should choose one from among the other nations." He even proposed a candidate for their election.

The Jesuits opposed themselves for a moment to this suggestion, as a violation of their privileges, but concluded by electing the very man proposed by the pontiff. This was Eberhard Mercurianus.

A material change was at once perceived, as the consequence of this choice. Mercurianus, a weak and irresolute man, re-

⁴ Sacchinus, vii. 99. In the second general congregation the disproportion was decreased, though not to any great extent. Of thirty-nine members, twenty-four were Spaniards. See Appendix, No. 93.

⁵ Sacchinus, "Historia Societatis Jesu," pars iv.; sive Everardus, lib. i.: "The origin of these movements was twofold: national rivalries, and the hatred of new converts felt by the Spaniards." See Appendix, No. 93.

signed the government of affairs, first indeed to a Spaniard again, but afterward to a Frenchman, his official admonitor; factions were formed, one expelling the other from the offices of importance, and the ruling powers of the order now began to meet occasional resistance from its subordinate members.

But a circumstance of much higher moment was, that on the next vacancy—in the year 1581—this office was conferred on Claudius Acquaviva, a Neapolitan, belonging to a house previously attached to the French party, a man of great energy, and only thirty-eight years old.

The Spaniards then thought they perceived that their nation, by which the society had been founded and guided on its early path, was now to be forever excluded from the generalship. Thereupon they became discontented and refractory,⁶ and conceived the design of making themselves less dependent on Rome, either by the appointment of a commissary-general for the Spanish provinces, or by whatever other expedient might secure the desired result. Acquaviva, on the other hand, was not disposed to concede the smallest portion of that authority accorded to him by the letter of the constitution. For the purpose of restraining the disaffected, he set over them superiors on whose devotion to himself he could rely; young men, whose opinions as well as age were more in harmony with his own,⁷ and also, perhaps, as was affirmed, certain members of inferior merit—coadjutors, who were not invested with all the privileges of the order, and who therefore depended, one and all, on the protection of the general—they were, besides, Neapolitans⁸ and his countrymen.

The aged, learned, and experienced fathers (*patres*) thus saw themselves excluded, not from the supreme dignity only,

⁶ Mariana, "Discurso de las Enfermedades de la Compañía": "The Spanish nation is persuaded that it is to be forever deprived of the generalship; and this belief, whether true or false, cannot but occasion displeasure and disunion; and all the more, because this nation founded the company, upheld it, directed it, and even sustained it for a long time from its own substance." See Appendix, No. 93.

⁷ Mariana, c. xii.: "They place mere boys in the government, because they are more enterprising, and are more easily bent to the necessities of the times."

⁸ We have here, in addition to Mari-

ana, the memorials presented to Clement VIII, which are also of moment. They are printed in the "Tuba magnum clangens sonum ad Clementem XI.," p. 583: "We see how the general, to the great detriment of our religion, and the scandal of the world, has no regard to age, merit, or service, but appoints whom he pleases as superiors; for the most part, young men and novices, who, without any merit or experience, preside with great arrogance over their seniors; . . . and, lastly, the general, being a man, has also his private affections; and, because he is a Neapolitan, the Neapolitans are in the best condition."

but also from the official appointments of the provinces. Acquaviva declared that their own defects were to blame for this; one was choleric, another melancholy. Naturally, says Mariana, distinguished men are like others—liable to be afflicted with some defect. But the true cause was, that Acquaviva feared these fathers, and desired more pliant tools for the execution of his commands. Men have generally a particular satisfaction in the active part accorded to them in public affairs, and will at least not quietly suffer themselves to be forcibly expelled from their possession. Jealousies and disputes arose in all the colleges; the new superiors were received with silent animosity; they could carry out no measure of essential importance, and were but too happy when they could make their way without troubles and commotions. They had, nevertheless, the power of avenging themselves, and they in their turn conferred the subordinate offices exclusively on their personal adherents (for they could not long fail to secure adherents, the monarchical constitution of the order, and the ambition of its members considered). Of the more unmanageable among their opponents they freed themselves by transferring them to other provinces; and this they took care to do, precisely when some deliberation of importance was impending. Thus a system of personal offences and retaliations was established; every member had the right of pointing out whatever defects he perceived in another—nay, it was imposed on him as a duty to do so—a regulation that might not be without some utility in the comparative innocence of a small association, but which had now become a system of the most abominable espionage and tale-bearing. It was made the instrument of concealed ambition, and of hatred wearing the appearance of friendship. "Were anyone to read over the records of Rome," says Mariana, "he would perhaps not find a single upright man, at least, among us who are at a distance:" universal distrust prevailed; there was none that would have uttered his thoughts without reserve, even to his own brother.

These disorders were increased by the fact that Acquaviva could not be induced to leave Rome for the purpose of visiting the provinces, as Lainez and Borgia had done. This was excused by the declaration, that it was advantageous to have the statement of affairs in writing, and in an unbroken series, without the interruption proceeding from the contingencies of a

journey. But the immediate consequence certainly was, that the "provincials," through whose hands passed the whole of the correspondence, acquired a still further increase of independence. It was useless to complain of them, since they could easily foresee and provide against all complaints in such a manner as to render them nugatory, and this the more certainly, because Acquaviva was always disposed to favor their side. Their places might be fairly considered secured to them for life.

Under these circumstances, the older Jesuits in Spain became convinced that a state of things, which they felt to be a tyranny, would never be changed or amended by efforts confined within the limits of the society; they consequently resolved to look around for help from those beyond its influence.

They first had recourse to the national spiritual authority of their own country—the Inquisition. A great number of offences were reserved, as is well known, to the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. One of the discontented Jesuits, impelled, as he affirmed, by a scruple of conscience, accused his order of concealing, and even remitting, transgressions of the kind so reserved, when the criminal was one of their society. The Inquisition immediately caused the Provincial implicated, together with his most active associates, to be arrested.⁹ Other accusations being made in consequence of these arrests, the Inquisition commanded that the statutes of the order should be placed before it, and proceeded to make further seizures of parties accused. The excitement occasioned by these things among the orthodox Spaniards was all the more violent, from their being unacquainted with the cause of these arrests, and from the prevalence of an opinion, that the Jesuits were seized on account of some heresy.

The Inquisition was, however, competent to inflict a punishment on the criminal only: it could not prescribe changes in the regulations of the society. When the affair, therefore, had proceeded thus far, the discontented members applied to the King also, assailing him with long memorials, wherein they complained of the defects in their constitution. The character of this constitution had never been agreeable to Philip II. He used

⁹ Sachinus, pars v. lib. vi. n. 85:
"Quidam e confessariis, seu vere seu
falso, delatus ad provincialem tum
Castellæ, Antonium Marcenium; erat

de tentata peullæ per sacras confessiones
pudicitia, quod crimen in Hispania
sacrorum quæsitorem judicio reser-
vabatur."

to say that he could see through all the other orders, but that the order of Jesuits he could not understand. He seemed to be startled and struck by the representations laid before him of the abuses resulting from absolute power, and the disorders attendant on secret accusations. Amid all the demands made on his time by that great European conflict in which he was engaged, Philip yet found means to bestow attention on this affair also. He at once commanded Manrique, bishop of Carthage, to subject the order to a visitation, with particular reference to these points.

It will be remarked that this was an attack affecting the character of the institution, and that of its chief himself; it received increased importance from the fact of its originating in that country whence the society had drawn its existence, and where it had first taken a firm position.

Acquaviva did not suffer himself to quail before it. He was a man who concealed an inflexible intrepidity of character beneath extreme gentleness and amenity of manner; of a disposition similar to that of Clement VIII, and, indeed, of many eminent men of that day; above all things deliberate, moderate, patient, and taciturn. He would never permit himself to pronounce a positive judgment; he would not even suffer one to be pronounced in his presence; least of all, when it concerned an entire nation. His secretaries were expressly commanded to avoid every offensive or bitter word. He loved piety, even in its external forms. At the altar his deportment expressed profound enjoyment of the service; yet he was averse to everything that tended toward enthusiasm or fanaticism. He refused to allow an exposition of the Song of Solomon to be printed, because he found offence in the expressions which appeared to hover on the confines separating spiritual from material love. Even when uttering censures he won affection; rendering manifest the superiority of calmness: he reconducted the erring into the paths of right by pure reason and clear argument. Youth clung to him with enthusiastic attachment. "One must needs love him," writes Maximilian of Bavaria, from Rome, to his father, "if one do but look at him." These qualities; his unwearied activity, distinguished birth, and the constantly increasing importance of his order, secured him a very eminent position in Rome. If his antagonists had gained over the national au-

thorities in Spain, he had the Court of Rome on his side. With that court he had been familiar from his youth up. He was chamberlain when he entered the order; and he had the power of managing it with that mastery, which is derived from native talent, and perfected by long practice.¹⁰

The character of Sixtus V¹ made it particularly easy for Acquaviva to excite the antipathies of that pontiff against the proceedings of the Spaniards. Pope Sixtus had formed the hope, as we know, of rendering Rome, more decidedly than it ever yet was, the metropolis of Christendom. Acquaviva assured him, that the object really labored for in Spain was no other than increased independence of Rome. Pope Sixtus hated nothing so much as illegitimate birth; and Acquaviva caused him to be informed that Manrique, the bishop selected as "Visitor" of the Jesuits, was illegitimate. These were reasons sufficient to make Sixtus recall the assent he had already given to the visitation. He even summoned the case of the provincial before the tribunals of Rome. From his successor, Gregory XIV, the general succeeded in obtaining a formal confirmation of the rule of the order.

But his antagonists also were unyielding and crafty. They perceived that the general must be attacked in the Court of Rome itself. They availed themselves of his momentary absence. Acquaviva had been charged with the arrangement of a difference between Mantua and Parma, to win Clement VIII to their wishes. In the summer of 1592, at the request of the Spanish Jesuits and Philip II, but without the knowledge of Acquaviva, the pontiff commanded that a general congregation should be held.

Astonished and alarmed, Acquaviva hastened back. To the generals of the Jesuits these "Congregations" were no less inconvenient than were the Convocations of the Church to the popes; and if his predecessors were anxious to avoid them, how much more cause had Acquaviva, against whom there prevailed so active an enmity! But he was soon convinced that the arrangement was irrevocable;² he therefore resumed his

¹⁰ Sacchinus, and still more particularly Juvencius, "Hist. Soc. Jesu," partis quintæ tomus posterior, xi. 21, and xxv. 33-41.

¹ See Appendix, § 4, Nos. 49 to 56.

² In a "Consulta del Padre Cl. Acqua-

viva coi suoi Padri assistenti," MS. of the Corsini Library, n. 1055, which gives, upon the whole, a faithful relation of these internal dissensions, and is, in general, strictly in accord with Mariana, Acquaviva is presented as rendering the

composure and said, "We are obedient sons; let the will of the holy father be done." He then hastened to take his measures.

He contrived to obtain extensive influence over the elections, and was so fortunate as to see many of his most formidable adversaries, Mariana, for example, rejected, even in Spain.

When the congregation was assembled, he did not wait to be attacked. In the very first sitting he declared that he had had the misfortune to displease some of his brethren; and, therefore, begged that his conduct might be investigated before any other business was entered on. A commission was thereupon appointed, and charges were formally made; but it was impossible to convict him of violating any positive law: he was much too prudent to expose himself to such an accusation, and was triumphantly acquitted.

Having thus secured himself personally, he joined the assembly in its investigation of the proposals regarding the general affairs of the institute.

Philip of Spain had demanded some changes, and had recommended others for consideration. On two things he insisted: the resignation of certain papal privileges; those of reading forbidden books, for example, and of granting absolution for the crime of heresy; and a law, by virtue of which every novice who entered the order should surrender whatever patrimonial rights he might possess, and should even resign all his benefices. These were matters in regard to which the order came into collision with the Inquisition and the civil government. After some hesitation, the demands of the King were complied with, and principally through the influence of Acquaviva himself.

But the points recommended by Philip for consideration were of much higher moment. First of all came the questions, whether the authority of the superiors should not be limited to a certain period; and whether a general congregation should not be held at certain fixed intervals? The very essence and being of the institute, the rights of absolute sover-

following account of a conversation held by himself with the Pope: "His holiness said, that I was not sufficiently well informed on subjects of religion; that I had been deceived by false accusers and had proved myself too credulous." Among the causes by which a congregation was rendered necessary, the following were specified: "Because many excellent and able men,

being but slightly known to the generals, have never any share in the government; but, by coming to Rome, to attend the congregations, they would become better known, and might thus more easily acquire a part in the said government; so that this should not continue to be almost entirely restricted to a few persons."

eignty, were here brought into question. Acquaviva was not on this occasion disposed to comply. After an animated discussion, the congregation rejected these propositions of Philip; but the Pope, also, was convinced of their necessity. What had been refused to the King was now commanded by the Pope. By the plenitude of his apostolic power, he determined and ordained that the superiors and rectors should be changed every third year; and that, at the expiration of every sixth year, a general congregation should be assembled.³

It is, indeed, true that the execution of these ordinances did not effect so much as had been hoped from them. The congregation could be won over, and, though the rectors were changed, yet they were selected out of so narrow a circle, that the same men were soon returned to their appointments. It was, nevertheless, a very serious blow to the society, that it had been compelled, by internal revolt and interference from without, to a change in its statutes.

And there was already a new storm arising from the same quarter.

At their first establishment, the Jesuits had assented to the doctrinal system of the Thomists. Ignatius himself had expressly enforced on his disciples the tenets propounded by the angelic doctor (Doctor Angelicus).

But they very soon became persuaded that with these doctrines they could not perfectly attain their end in their contest with the Protestants. They wished to be independent in their tenets as well as in their lives. It was mortifying to the Jesuits to follow in the train of the Dominicans, to whom St. Thomas had belonged, and who were regarded as the natural expositors of his opinions. After they had already given so many intimations of these views and feelings, that allusion had occasionally been made in the Inquisition to the free mode of thinking perceptible among the Jesuit fathers,⁴ Acquaviva came forward in the year 1584, proclaiming them openly in his "Order of Studies." He affirmed that St. Thomas was, indeed, an author deserving the highest approbation; but that it would be an insufferable yoke to be compelled to follow his footsteps in

³ Juvencius furnishes a circumstantial notice as to these things in his first book, which he calls the eleventh, "*Societatis domesticis motibus agitata*," and

it is from them that I derive the account given in the text.

⁴ Lainez himself was suspected by the Spanish Inquisition.—Llorente, iii. 83.

all things, and on no point to be allowed a free opinion; that many ancient doctrines had been more firmly established by recent theologians, who had brought forward many new arguments, which served admirably in the conflict with heretics; and that in all such it was permitted to follow these doctors.

This was amply sufficient to occasion powerful excitement in Spain, where the chairs of theology were occupied, for the most part, by Dominicans. The "Order of Studies" was declared to be the boldest, most presumptuous, and dangerous book of the kind; both the King and the Pope were applied to on the subject.⁵

But how greatly must the commotion have increased when the system of the Thomists was soon afterward positively abandoned in one of the most important doctrinal works of the Jesuits!

In the whole domain of theology, Catholic and Protestant, the disputes respecting grace and merits, free-will and predestination, were still the most important and exciting; they continually occupied the minds and employed the learning and speculative powers of clergy and laity alike. On the Protestant side, a majority was secured to that severe doctrine of Calvin, of the particular decree of God, according to which "some were predestined to eternal blessedness, and others to everlasting damnation." The Lutherans, with their milder views, were here at disadvantage, and lost ground, now in one place and now in another. A different tendency of opinions was manifested on the Catholic side. Whenever there was the slightest disposition shown to the very mildest form of Protestant belief, or even to a more rigid construction of St. Augustine's Expositions, as, for example, in the case of Bajus at Louvain, it was instantly attacked and suppressed. On this occasion the Jesuits displayed particular zeal. The system of doctrine propounded by the Council of Trent, and which would never have been established but for the influence of their brethren, Lainez and Salmeron, was defended by them against every symptom

⁵ Pegna, in Serry, "Historia Congregationum de auxiliis divinæ gratiæ," p 8: "This book being given over to the censorship, it was declared by those censors (Mariana and Serry speak of the Inquisition) that it was the most

dangerous, rash and arrogant book that had ever appeared on a similar subject; and that, if its precepts were put in practice, great injury and many disturbances would be occasioned to the Christian republic."

of deviation toward the tenets that had then been abjured and abandoned; nor did even that system always suffice to content their polemical zeal. In the year 1588, Luis Molina of Evora came forward with a book, in which he examined these disputed points anew, and labored to explain the difficulties still remaining, in new arguments.⁶ His especial object in this work was to vindicate a yet wider sphere of action for the free-will of man than was asserted by the doctrines of St. Thomas or of Trent. In Trent the work of salvation had been declared to be chiefly founded on the inherent righteousness of Christ, which, being infused into us, calls forth or gives birth to love, conducts to all virtues, and to good works, and finally produces justification. Molina proceeds an important step further. He maintained that free-will, even without the help of grace, can produce morally good works; that it can resist temptation; and can elevate itself to various acts of hope, faith, love, and repentance.⁷ When man has advanced to this point, then God, for the sake of Christ's merits, grants him grace,⁸ and by means of this he experiences the supernatural operations of sanctification; but even in the reception of this grace, and in the furtherance of its growth, free-will is continually in action: everything, in fact, depends on this will; it rests with us to make the help of God effectual or ineffectual. On the union of the will and of grace it is that justification depends; they are combined, as are two men who are rowing in a boat. It is obvious that Molina could not here admit the doctrine of predestination as announced by Augustine or by Thomas Aquinas. He considers it too stern—too cruel: he will not hear of any other predestination than that which is simply and purely foreknowledge. Now God, from his supreme insight into the nature of each man's will, has previous knowledge of what each will do in given cases, although he was left free to do the con-

⁶ "Liberi arbitrii cum gratiæ donis concordia." In these controversies it has always been considered needful to distinguish carefully between the editions of Lisbon, 1588, of Antwerp, 1595, and of Venice, because they all differ from each other.

⁷ Herein the general co-operation of God ("concursum generalis Dei") is always presupposed; but in this nothing more is meant than the natural state of free-will, which certainly could not, without God, be what it is: God is ever present by general co-operation with the

free-will, so that it naturally wills, or does not will, as he shall please. It is much in the same manner that Bellarmine identifies natural and divine law, because God is the author of nature.

⁸ This grace also he apprehends and explains very naturally, Disput. 54: "When a man is pondering on matters of belief gathered from the statements of the preachers, or elsewhere, God's influence flows in some special manner into those statements, whereby he aids the perception of them."

trary; yet an event does not occur because God foreknew it, but God foresaw it because it would happen. This was a doctrine that certainly went into an extreme directly opposed to that of Calvin, and was also the first which attempted to rationalize this mystery, if we may so speak. It is intelligible, acute, and superficial, and could therefore not fail to produce a certain effect; it may be compared with the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, which the Jesuits promulgated about that time.⁹ That these opinions should provoke opposition in their own church was an inevitable consequence, had it been only that they departed from the Doctor Angelicus, whose "Summa" was still the principal text-book of Catholic theologians; they were even censured, and that openly, by certain members of their own society, as Henriquez and Mariana. But much more eagerly did the Dominicans engage in the defence of their patriarch. Not content with writing and preaching against Molina, they attacked him in their lectures also. It was at length agreed that a disputation should be held between the two parties, and this took place at Valladolid on March 4, 1594. The Dominicans, who believed themselves in exclusive possession of the orthodox creed, became vehement. "Are the keys of wisdom, then," exclaimed a Jesuit, "confided to your hands?" The Dominicans burst into loud outcries—they considered this to be an attack on St. Thomas himself.

Thenceforth a complete estrangement existed between these two orders; the Dominicans would have nothing more to do with the Jesuits. Of these last the greater number, if not all, took part with Molina. Acquaviva himself, with his "assistants," were on his side.

But here also the Inquisition prepared to interfere. The grand inquisitor—it was that same Geronimo Manrique who had been selected as "visitator of the order"—showed a disposition to condemn Molina; he gave him notice that his book

⁹ This disposition toward rationalism had shown itself in other places also; as, for example, in the tenets maintained by Less and Hamel at Louvain, in 1585. As for what we are to consider sacred Scripture, it is not necessary that every word should have been inspired by the Holy Spirit." From the words they proceed at once to the truths of Scripture: "It is not necessary that each separate truth and opinion should have been communicated

to the writer himself by the Holy Spirit." In these declarations we already find a part, at least, of the essential propositions of Molina. Here, too, attention is drawn to their entire disagreement with the views of the Protestants. "How widely do these opinions differ from those of Luther, Calvin, and other writers of these times, from whose doctrine and arguments it is difficult to vindicate the other [St. Augustine and Thomist] tenets!"

was not likely to escape with a mere reprobation or prohibition, but would be condemned to the flames. Of the complaints that Molina made against the Dominicans in return, the grand inquisitor refused to take cognizance.

This was a controversy by which the whole world of Catholicism was set in commotion, as well for the doctrines themselves as on account of their champions; it also greatly increased the violence of that enmity to the Jesuits which had arisen in Spain.¹

And from this state of things there resulted the extraordinary phenomenon, that while the Jesuits were driven out of France for their attachment to Spain, they were in that country made the objects of the most perilous assaults. In either country, political and religious motives combined to produce this result; the political was in both of the same character—it was a national opposition to the privileges and immunities of the order. In France it was more impetuous and fiercer, but in Spain it was more definite and better founded. In regard to doctrine, it was by their new tenets that the Jesuits had provoked hatred and persecution. Their doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, and the opinions they held as to regicide, were the causes of their ruin in France; their tenets respecting free-will had produced the injury they suffered in Spain.

This was a moment in the history of the society which was of infinite importance to its future direction.

Against the assaults of the national authorities, the Parliament and the Inquisition, Acquaviva sought aid from the central point and general referee of the whole Church—from the pontiff himself.

He availed himself of the favorable moment when the grand inquisitor, Manrique, had just died and his place had not yet been filled up, and prevailed on the Pope to summon the dispute concerning doctrine to Rome for examination. If the decision were only deferred, it would be an important point gained, for in Rome a variety of influences were at that time readily to be found, of which, at any critical moment, good and efficient use might be made. On October 9, 1596, the documents relating to the proceedings were sent to Rome, and the most learned theologians of both sides appeared to fight out their battle under the eyes of the sovereign-pontiff.¹⁰

¹⁰ Pegna, "Pegna, Dean of the Rota, and a most sufficient witness of these

things," as Serry calls him. "Molina, discerning what might result from his

In the French affair Clement took part with the Jesuits: he considered it unjustifiable that an entire order should be condemned on account of one single person who might have deserved punishment, more especially that order by whose efforts the restoration of Catholicism had been most effectually promoted, and which was so powerful a support to the Church. Was not the order suffering for its devotion to the Papal See and for the ardor with which it asserted the claims of the papacy to the highest power on earth? It was above all essential that the Pope should succeed in extinguishing the opposition still continued against him in France. The more intimate his connection became with Henry IV, the more perfect their harmony in regard to politics, so much the more effectual would his representations be; and the declarations of Henry were now constantly becoming more and more conciliatory.¹

And herein the efforts of the Pope were greatly aided and facilitated by the well-considered conduct of the order.

The Jesuits carefully abstained from all evidence of irritation or aversion against the King of France, and they were also no longer inclined to plunge themselves into further danger for the lost cause of the League. When they became aware of the turn which the papal policy had taken, they at once adopted a similar direction. Father Commolet, who, even after the conversion of Henry IV, had exclaimed from the pulpit that an Ehud was needed to rise against him, and who, when the King became victor, was obliged to take flight; even he changed his opinion after arriving in Rome, and declared himself for the absolution of the King. Among all the cardinals there was none who contributed so largely to this absolution, whether by his readiness of concession, his conciliatory measures, or his personal influence with the Pope, as the Jesuit Toledo.² And these things the Jesuits did while the Parliament was continually passing new resolutions against them; decrees of which Acquaviva complained, but without

book being prohibited and burnt, as the inquisitor-general had warned him, instantly sent notice to Rome, where, by the labor of his general, his holiness summoned the cause before himself, ordering the Inquisition not to conclude on or give sentence in it."

¹ The Jesuits wished to deny that their affairs had become connected with politics; but we see from Bentivoglio, "Memorie," ii. 6, p. 395, how much re-

gard was paid to their interests by Cardinal Aldobrandini during the negotiations at Lyons; and it was precisely then that the King declared himself in their favor ("Le Roy au Cardinal Ousat, 20 Janv. 1601.")

² Du Perron à Villeroy, "Ambassades," i. 23: "I will only tell you that Cardinal Tolet has done wonders, and has shown himself a good Frenchman."

permitting himself to be hurried into violence or intemperate zeal on that account. It had not been found possible to expel all the members of the order, and those who remained in France now declared for the King, exhorting the people to be faithful to him and to love him. Many were already hastening to return to the places they had left, but Acquaviva did not approve this, and directed them to wait the permission of the King. They took care to secure that Henry should be made aware of both these circumstances, and he was highly pleased, thanking the general in special letters. The Jesuits did not neglect to use all the means they possessed for confirming him in these dispositions. Father Rocheome, who was called the French Cicero, prepared a popular apology for the order, which the King found particularly convincing.³

To these efforts on the part of the Pope and the order combined, there were now added certain political considerations of Henry IV himself. He saw, as he says in one of his despatches, that by the persecution of an order which counted so many members remarkable for talent and learning, which had so much power, and so large a body of adherents; he should raise up implacable enemies to himself, and might give occasion to conspiracies among the more rigid Catholics—a class still very numerous. He perceived that he could not expel the Jesuits from the places wherein they still maintained themselves—the attempt might even occasion the outbreak of popular commotions.⁴ Henry had, besides, made such important concessions to the Huguenots, by the edict of Nantes, that he owed some new guarantee to Catholicism. In Rome people already began to murmur, and the Pope himself gave occasional intimations that he feared he had been deceived.⁵ Finally, however, the King attained a position high enough to permit his taking a more comprehensive survey of the general state of things than his parliament had done, and had no longer cause to fear the connection of the Jesuits with Spain. Father Lorenzo Maggio hastened to France, in the name of the general, to assure the King with the most solemn oaths of the order's true allegiance. "Should it prove otherwise, then might all account himself-and

³ Gretser has translated it into Latin for the convenience of those who do not understand French.—Gretseri "Opera," tom. xi. p. 280.

⁴ "Dispaccio del Re de 15 Agosto,

1603, al re Jacopo d' Inghilterra;" abridged in Siri, "Memorie recondite," i. p. 247.

⁵ "Ossat à Villeroy," i. 503.

his brethren the very blackest of traitors." ⁶ The King thought it more advisable to make trial of their friendship than their enmity. He saw that he could use them for his own advantage against Spain. ⁷

Influenced by so many motives of external policy and internal necessity, Henry declared himself, as early as 1600, and during the negotiations of Lyons, ready to admit the order again. He chose the Jesuit Cotton for his confessor, and, after many previous indications of favor, an edict was published in September, 1603, by which the Jesuits were re-established in France. Certain conditions were imposed on them; the most important being, that, for the future, all members of the order in France, whether superior or subordinates, must be Frenchmen. ⁸ Henry doubted not that he had arranged all in a manner that might justify his feeling perfect confidence.

He bestowed his favor on them without hesitation or reserve, giving them his assistance even in their own affairs, and more particularly in their contentions with the Dominicans.

In this controversy, Clement VIII showed a lively theological interest. Sixty-five meetings and thirty-seven disputations were held in his own presence on all the points that could be brought into question as regarded the tenets under examination. He wrote much on the subject himself; and, so far as we can judge, was inclined toward the old established doctrines, and to a decision in favor of the Dominicans. Bellarmine himself said, that he did not deny the pontiff's inclination to declare himself against the Jesuits, but that he also knew of a certainty that his holiness would not do so. It would indeed have been too dangerous, at a time when the Jesuits were the most distinguished apostles of the faith throughout the world, to break with them about one article of their creed. They did, in fact, once make a show of intending to demand a council, when the Pope is said to have exclaimed, "They dare everything—everything!" ⁹ The French also took too decided a part to be safely

⁶ Sully, liv. xvii. p. 307.

⁷ He saw clearly that he might derive service and facilities from them on many occasions for his own advantage and that of his friends against the Spaniards themselves.—"Dispaccio in Siri."

⁸ "Edictum Regium," in Juvencius, p. v. lib. xii. n. 59. In Juvencius we find all that was said at the time in favor of the Jesuits; and in Ludovicus Lucius,

"Historia Jesuitica," Basileæ, 1627, lib. ii. c. ii., whatever was said against them. Neither clearly informs us of the points on which the decision turned; they are, nevertheless, to be more readily gathered from the defender than the accuser.

⁹ Serry, 271. Contarini also affirms that they uttered menaces: The dispute being removed to Rome, and discussed among theologians, the Pope, and the

opposed. Henry IV was on the Jesuit side; either because he found their expositions convincing, which was certainly possible, or that he gave a particular support to that order which most earnestly opposed itself to Protestantism, as a means of placing his own orthodoxy beyond doubt. Cardinal du Perron took part in the congregations and supported the Jesuit disputants with well-directed zeal. He told Clement VIII that a Protestant might subscribe the creed of the Dominicans; and it is very probable that by this remark he may have produced an impression on the pontiff's mind.

The active rivalry between Spain and France, by which the whole world was set in commotion, became mingled with these disputes also. The Dominicans found as zealous a support from the Spaniards as did the Jesuits from the French.¹⁰

From all this it resulted that Clement VIII did not, in fact, pronounce any decision: it would have involved him in new perplexities had he offended either one or the other of those influential orders, or of those powerful sovereigns.

Section X.—Political Situation of Clement VIII

It was now generally made one of the most essential objects of the Papal See, to estrange from itself neither one nor the other of those two powers, with whom the balance of the Catholic world then rested. The Pope now sought to appease their mutual animosities; or, at least, to prevent them from breaking out into open war, and to maintain the Roman influence over both.

majority of those consulted, inclined to the opinion of the Dominicans; but the Jesuits, seeing themselves in danger of falling from that credit by which they pretended to hold the first place in the Catholic Church, as regarded doctrine, were resolved to use every means for warding off that blow. The tenet which they threatened to adopt, according to Contarini, was, that the Pope was certainly infallible; but that it was no article of faith to hold one man or another as the true Pope: The power of the Jesuits, and the authority of those who protected them, was so great, that all this was looked over, and a show made of not perceiving it: thus, instead of deciding on the controverted questions, they ended by temporizing, that they might not bring worse consequences on their shoulders.

¹⁰ Principal passages in Du Perron:

"Ambassades et Negociations," liv. iii. tom. ii. p. 839. "Lettre du 23 Janvier, 1606": "The Spaniards openly profess to support the Jacobins (Dominicans), from hatred, as I think, to the friendship displayed toward your Majesty by the father-general of the Jesuits, and by almost all his order, excepting those who depend on the fathers Mendozze and Personius, particularly the English Jesuits; so that they seemed to intend changing a religious dispute into a quarrel of state." It is manifest from this that the Jesuits, a small fraction excepted, were now accounted to be on the French side. Serry tells us, p. 440, that the Dominicans were at that time excluded from the French Court: The preachers were less acceptable in France at that time, and had lately been removed from public offices about the court.

The papacy here appears to us in its most praiseworthy vocation, mediating and making peace.

It was to Clement VIII that the world was principally indebted for the peace concluded at Vervins on May 2, 1598. He seized the favorable moment when the King of France was compelled by the disordered state of his finances, and the King of Spain by the increasing feebleness of his advanced age, to think of some accommodation. He took the initiative, and it was from him that the first overture proceeded. The general of the Franciscans, Fra Bonaventura Calatagirona, whom he had happily selected and sent to France for this affair, removed the first and greatest difficulties. The Spaniards held a large number of fortresses in France, and were prepared to restore them all with the exception of Calais, but the French insisted on the restitution of Calais also; and it was by Fra Calatagirona that the Spaniards were prevailed on to resign it.

This being accomplished, the negotiations at Vervins were formally opened; a legate and a nuncio presided over them. The general of the Franciscans continued to mediate with the utmost ability; his secretary, Soto, also gained no slight credit in these affairs. The most important result was, that the King of France resolved to separate himself from his allies—England and Holland. This was instantly considered to be an advantage to Catholicism; because the secession of Henry from the Protestant system appeared hereby to be completed. Henry consented after long hesitations, and the Spaniards then made an effectual restitution of all their conquests; the right of possession was restored to its condition of the year 1559. The legate declared that his holiness would have more pleasure in this consummation than in the acquisition of Ferrara; that a peace, comprehending and tranquillizing all Christendom, would be of much higher importance in his estimation than the mere temporal conquest.¹

Only one point was left unsettled by this peace—the dispute between Savoy and France. The Duke of Savoy had seized on Saluzzo, and would not consent to restore it. After many unavailing negotiations, Henry IV at length attacked the duke

¹At the end of the edition of the "Mémoires d'Angoulême," by Didot, 1756, i. 131-163, will be found, under the title "Autres Mémoires," a detailed account of the negotiations at Vervins,

which is remarkable for accuracy and impartiality: the notices given above are derived from this source; the last from p. 337. See Appendix, No. 75.

by force of arms. The management of this affair having been expressly committed to the Pope at Vervins, he felt that all depended on the restoration of peace in this quarter also; he pressed for it at every opportunity and in every audience; whenever the King sent him assurances of his devotion, he required this peace as a proof thereof, and as a favor that must be granted to himself. The real difficulty consisted in the fact that the interests of Italy in general seemed to suffer injury by the restitution of Saluzzo; the Italians could not willingly see the French regain possession of a province in Italy. It was that Minorite Calatagirona—so far as I can discover—by whom it was first proposed as an expedient, that Saluzzo should be left to the duke, but that France should be indemnified by the cession of Bresse, and some adjoining districts of Savoy.² The merit of carrying this proposal into actual effect is due to Cardinal Aldobrandino, by whom it was accomplished at Lyons, in the year 1600. The French, also, were grateful to him for this conclusion, because Lyons thus acquired an extension of her boundaries, which had been long desired.³

Under these fortunate circumstances, Clement VIII sometimes thought of directing the combined forces of the whole Catholic world, now united, under his auspices, against its old hereditary enemy. The Moorish war had again burst forth in Hungary; but even then it was thought that a continual increase of weakness had become perceptible in the Ottoman empire; the personal inefficiency of the sultans, the influence of the seraglio, and the perpetual insurrections, more especially in Asia, made it probable that something effectual might now be done against Turkey. The Pope, at least, did not fail on his part. Even so early as the year 1599 the sum he had expended on this war amounted to 1,500,000 scudi, and we soon afterward find a papal army of 12,000 men on the Danube. But how much more important were the consequences that might be expected, if the powers of the West could once be united on a large scale for an Eastern expedition—above all, if Henry IV would resolve to combine his forces with those of Austria. The Pope neglected nothing that might encourage him to this; and Henry did, in fact, write to the Venetians, immediately after

² "Ossat to Villeroy," March 25, 1599.
³ Bentivoglio gives us these transactions circumstantially, in the most im-

portant section of his "Memorie" (c. 2-c. 6).

the peace of Vervins, to the effect that he hoped shortly to embark in Venice, like the French of old times, for an expedition against Constantinople. He repeated his promise at the conclusion of the peace with Savoy;⁴ but it is certain that its execution required to be preceded by a much more cordial understanding than could possibly have been attained, so soon after collisions of so much violence.⁵

But, on the other hand, the opposition and rivalry still subsisting between the two principal powers were more than once advantageous to the Papal See in its own affairs. Pope Clement had, indeed, once more occasion to avail himself of them for the interests of the States of the Church.

Amid so many brilliant undertakings, and so successful a progress in external affairs, Clement failed not to exercise a rigorous and very monarchical authority in his own court and States.

The new arrangement given by Sixtus V to the college of cardinals seemed calculated to secure it, for the first time, a due and legitimate influence on public affairs. But forms do not of necessity include the substance, and the direct contrary took place. The course of business was impeded by legal technicalities, and the immobility to which a deliberative assembly is condemned, principally because of the conflict of opinion arising on every question, rendered it impossible that Clement should confide important affairs to the congregations. At the first he continued to consult them—although even then he frequently deviated from their decisions; afterward, he communicated matters only when on the point of conclusion. The consistories were soon used rather for the publication of ordinances than for consultation; and the Pope at length employed them for subordinate affairs or mere formalities only.⁶

The new direction which Clement had given to the policy of the Roman Court, indubitably rendered this mode of proceeding, to a certain extent, needful; but he was also partly

⁴ "Lettre du Roi," in the appendix to the second volume of Ossat's "Letters," p. II.

⁵ See Appendix, No. 75.

⁶ Delfino: "The consistories now serve for no other purpose than to receive communications of appointments to benefices, and to publish the resolutions of all kinds taken by the Pope. The congregations, from that of the In-

quisition down (which has, however, preserved itself in some little decorum, and meets weekly); even those of the monastic orders, and of bishops, are for appearance only; for if they pass resolutions in one manner, the Pope executes affairs in another; and that in the most important matters, such as sending aid to princes, despatching legates, or appointing governors."

induced to adopt it by his personal inclination for absolute sovereignty.⁷ The country was governed in a similar spirit. The Pope decreed new taxes without asking counsel of any one. The revenues of the communes were placed under special supervision; the barons were subjected to the most rigid application of the laws; and no regard was now paid either to high birth or privileges.

So long as the Pope conducted all affairs in person, everything proceeded well; or at least the cardinals, though they did not perhaps suffer all their thoughts to appear, contented themselves with the expression of admiration and submission.

But as the pontiff advanced in years, the possession and exercise of this monarchical power fell gradually into the hands of his nephew, Pietro Aldobrandino: he was a son of that Pietro Aldobrandino who had distinguished himself among the brothers by his practical talent for the law. He seemed to promise little at first sight—was of mean appearance, and marked by the small-pox; he suffered from asthma, was incessantly coughing, and in youth he had not made any great progress, even in his studies. But no sooner did his uncle take him into the management of business, than he displayed an address and versatility of talent that no one had ever expected from him; not only did he know how to accommodate himself to the character of the Pope—to complete it, or supply its deficiencies, if we may so speak—tempering its asperities, and rendering the weaknesses that gradually appeared in it less apparent and less injurious⁸—but he also gained the confidence of foreign ambassadors, whom he satisfied so completely that they unanimously desired to see affairs in his management. Pietro was at first to have shared his vocations with his cousin Cinthio, who was indeed not without talent, more especially for literature, but he quickly dispossessed this associate. In the year 1603, we find Cardinal Pietro all-powerful in the court; “all business and negotiation,” says a report of that year, “all favors and promotions, depend on him. Prelates, nobles, courtiers, and ambassadors crowd his palace. It may be averted that all things pass through his ear, and depend or are determined by his good

⁷ See Appendix, No. 71.

⁸ “Relatione al Cl. Este:” “Where the Pope exasperates, Aldobrandino pacifies; where he destroys, the nephew

restores; where Clement thinks only of justice, his kinsman intercedes for mercy.” See Appendix, Nos. 69 and 70.

pleasure; that every purpose is announced by his mouth, and that all execution is committed to his hands." ⁹

Such a power—so unlimited, so all-pervading, and which was besides in nowise legitimate—aroused of necessity, and in defiance of the adherents it might attract, a secret, profound, and general opposition. It was on a trifling occasion that this unexpectedly displayed itself.

A man who had been arrested for debt found means to throw off his fetters at the critical moment and sprang into the Farnese palace, before which his captors were leading him.

The popes had long refused to hear mention of the right by which certain distinguished families claimed to grant an asylum in their houses to criminals. Cardinal Farnese, although connected with the Pope by the marriage into his family of a lady belonging to the house of Aldobrandino, now asserted this right once more. He caused the sbirri, who were about to seek their prisoner in the palace, to be driven out by force, and replied to the governor, who interposed his authority, that it was not the custom of his house to give up the accused. Cardinal Aldobrandino, desiring to avoid a public discussion, presented himself in person to make an amicable arrangement, but Farnese gave him a repulsive answer, reminding him that after the death of the Pope, which might be expected soon to happen, a Farnese would be of more importance than an Aldobrandino.

He gained courage for this insolence of demeanor principally from his connection with the Spaniards. The renunciation of Saluzzo by Henry IV, which in Rome had been considered a little pusillanimous, had given rise to the conclusion that he did not intend to occupy himself with Italian affairs. The importance of Spain had become restored in a great measure by this inference, and since the Aldobrandini displayed so decided a disposition toward France, their opponents attached themselves to Spain; the Spanish ambassador, Viglienna gave his entire approval to the conduct of

⁹ "Orbis in urbe." But with him, also, secret influences were in action. This same account tells us: "He has many servants, but he who absorbs all favor is the Cavalier Clemente Senesio, gentleman of the chamber, who had risen to that station from a very obscure condition, and who, for the greater in-

crease of his own authority, has contrived to promote his brother to be secretary of the Consulta: thus they engross all things between them; the one the cardinal's favor, the other the supply of provisions to the offices, and for the more important expeditions." See Appendix, Nos. 69 and 70.

Farnese in the affair of the debtor, to which we have just alluded.¹⁰

Having the support of a foreign power, and the protection of a great family, could anything more be required to bring the discontent of the Roman nobility to a public outburst? Cavaliers and nobles flocked to the Farnese palace; some of the cardinals joined them openly, others favored them in secret.¹ Everyone exclaimed that the Pope and the Church must be released from the captivity they were subjected to by Cardinal Aldobrandino. As the Pope summoned a body of troops to Rome, the Spanish ambassador advised the confederates—to whom he even promised remuneration—to call in on their part certain armed bands which had just then made their appearance on the Neapolitan frontier; there was but little wanting to cause the outbreak of an open feud, after the manner of past ages, in the very midst of Rome.

But Cardinal Farnese would not permit things to go so far. He thought it enough to have proved his power, his independence, and the possibility of a resistance, and determined to withdraw to Castro, which was one of his family domains. This resolve he executed in grand style. Having secured one of the gates, he posted troops at it, and left the city with a train of ten carriages and three hundred horsemen: by this proceeding he gained all he desired; his insubordination was perfectly effectual; a formal negotiation was commenced; the whole affair was made to seem the fault of the governor, and a reconciliation was effected between that functionary and the house of Farnese. The cardinal then returned, with a magnificence of display equal to that of his departure; all the streets and windows were filled with spectators—every roof was covered. The Farnese had never been so splendidly received, even when they held the government, nor had they ever before been greeted by such loud acclamations.²

¹⁰ Contarini, "Historia Veneta," tom. iii. lib. xiii. MS. Among all the authors of that time, he is the most circumstantial and the most trustworthy as regards these transactions: Viglienna sent orders to all the barons and Roman knights who were attached to the crown, that for the service of the King, they should instantly proceed to the house of Cardinal Farnese.

¹ A great sanction was given to these proceedings by the arrival of the Car-

dinals Sfondrato and Santiquatro, who, in a matter touching Spain, thought but little of the duty of cardinals to the Pope; and to those who declared themselves openly, many were added who adhered to them secretly, among them Cl. Conti; . . . but the populace, the nameless crowd, always eager for change, favored the cardinal, and crowding the streets and squares, they applauded the part he had taken.

² He set off for Rome as though go-

But if Cardinal Aldobrandino suffered this to occur, it must not be attributed altogether to weakness, or a forced compliance. The Farnese were, after all, closely connected with the papal house; he would, besides, have gained nothing by showing himself implacable: the first essential was to remove the cause of the mischief, and this was to be found in the existing political relations; no change of system could be obtained from the Spaniards, they would not even recall their untoward ambassador. The only mode in which Aldobrandino could help himself was by inducing Henry IV to take a more lively interest in the affairs of Italy.

In December, 1604, three French cardinals, all distinguished men, arrived in Rome together, and this, we are told, by his opponents, "was as refreshing to Aldobrandino as a cool and gentle breeze on a sultry day." It then became once more possible to form a French party in Rome; the strangers were received with joy; the cardinal's sister, Signora Olympia, declared to these new-comers a thousand times that her house would confide itself unconditionally to the protection of France. Baronius affirmed that his researches in history had convinced him that the Papal See was indebted to no people so much as to the French; at sight of Henry's portrait, he burst forth into cries of joy. He labored to discover whether, after the loss of Saluzzo, some other pass of the Alps might not remain in the hands of the French; and this Baronius was not merely an historian—he was also confessor to the Pope, and saw him every day. The pontiff and Aldobrandino were, it is true, more guarded, and did not express themselves so freely, but since those most nearly connected with them displayed so little reserve, the effect produced seemed to be much the same; and as besides, Henry IV now resolved to confer pensions, he soon had a party presenting a counterpoise to that of Spain.

But the views of Aldobrandino extended much further: he often placed before the Venetian ambassador and the cardinals, the necessity of setting bounds to the presumption of the Spaniards. Was it to be endured that they should command

ing in triumph, amid the shouts of the people that rose to the skies; he was met, as might have been a king, by the ambassador of the Emperor, the Spanish ambassador, Cardinals Sfondrato,

Santiquatro, San Cesareo, and Conti, by his brother-in-law, General Georgio, all the cavalry, the papal guard, and a great concourse of barons and cavaliers.

in the house of another, and that in its owner's despite? ³ He knew that it was a perilous thing for a man who must soon return to private life to draw upon himself the displeasure of that power; but regard for his own honor forbade him to permit that the papacy should suffer a diminution of its repute under the rule of his uncle. In effect, he proposed to the Venetians that a league should be formed against Spain by the Italian States, under the protection of France.

He had, besides, already entered into negotiations with the other States. He had no love for Tuscany; he was involved in perpetual disputes with Modena; and Parma was implicated in the proceedings of Cardinal Farnese; but he seemed willing to forget everything in the hope of obtaining revenge on Spain. To that object he devoted himself with passionate eagerness; he spoke of nothing but that, and appeared to think of nothing else. He proceeded to Ancona in the beginning of the year 1605, for the purpose of being nearer to the States with which he proposed to form an alliance; but he had not been able to accomplish anything before his uncle died (on March 5, 1605), and his power then came to an end.

Meanwhile, the mere awakening of the thought, the assiduous renewal of French influence in Rome and Italy, were of themselves matters of great importance: they indicated a bias in the general policy of the Aldobrandini.

We do not, I think, go too far, if we permit ourselves to be thereby reminded of the original position held by this family in Florence. It had always belonged to the French party. In the insurrection of 1527, when the Medici had been driven from the city, and the French invited, Messer Salvestro took a very active part; for this he had to pay the penalty when his enemies, the Spaniards and the Medici, regained possession, and was compelled to leave his country. Could Pope Clement forget this? Could he ever have felt inclined toward the Spaniards and the Medici? He was by nature reserved and retiring; he but rarely unfolded his thoughts even to those in whom he most confided; but when this happened, he would give as an axiom—"Inquire of thy forefathers, and they will show thee thy path." ⁴ It is certain that he once entertained

³ "Du Perron au Roi, 25 Janv. 1605,"
"Ambass." i. 509.

⁴ Delfino: "The little inclination that

the Pope has toward the Spaniards,
both from his own nature and from inheritance."

the idea of reforming, as he expressed it, the state of Florence. His inclination toward France was manifest; he found the papacy in the closest alliance with Spain, but he led it to the very point of an alliance with France against Spain. If the restoration of a national power in France was demanded by the interests of the Church, it was also a matter of inclination with the Pope—a personal satisfaction. But Clement was discreet, far-sighted, and provident; he attempted nothing but what might be safely carried through. Instead of reforming Florence, he reformed, as was remarked by a Venetian, his own thoughts, perceiving that his project was not to be accomplished without universal danger.⁵ To call the French arms into Italy was never his intention; it was sufficient for him to restore the balance of power, to free himself from the despotism of Spain, to place the policy of the Church on a broader basis, and to effect this by peaceful means, gradually, without disturbance or outcry, but so much the more securely.

Section XI.—Election and First Measures of Paul V

Even in the next conclave, the French influence made itself obvious. Aldobrandino gave in his adhesion to it, and, thus united, they were invincible. A cardinal whom the Spanish King had excluded by name, a Medici and near relative to the Queen of France, was raised to the papal dignity by their influence. The letters in which Du Perron announced this unexpected event to Henry IV are full of exultation. The accession was celebrated in France with public festivities.¹ But their triumph was of short duration. Leo XI, as this Pope was named, survived his election only twenty-six days. It is affirmed that the sense of his dignity, and the idea he entertained of the difficulties surrounding his office, completely extinguished the powers of a life already much weakened by age.

⁵ Venier: "Seeing the preparations and resolutions of your signory, and also of the grand duke, and that our republic had declared itself by sending an ambassador to his holiness expressly for this business; knowing also that a great flame would be kindled in Italy, with danger of perilous conflagration to the Church; in place of attempting to reform the state of Florence, he has reformed his own thoughts."

¹ "Histoire de la Vie de Messire Philippe de Mornay, Seigneur du Ples-

sis," p. 305: "This Pope of the house of Medici, called Leo XI, whom it had cost the King 300,000 crowns to make Pope, on whose favor he counted largely, and at whose election cannons were fired, and *feux-de-joie* made (for the first time in France for such a cause), lived but a few days, and left the King nothing but the reproaches of the Spaniards for gifts so ill-employed, and the fear, lest the next succession should, as really happened, prove more favorable to Spain."

The tumults of an election contest were now renewed, but with increased violence, since Aldobrandino was no longer in so firm an alliance with the French. Montalto opposed him powerfully, and a conflict ensued, as at previous elections, between the creatures of the last pontiff and those of his predecessor. Each of the two parties conducted the candidate of its choice, surrounded by his adherents, to one or the other of the chapels, and there proposed him in opposition to his antagonist. Attempts were made to elect a pope, first from one party and then another. Baronius, though resisting with all his force, was on one occasion dragged into the Pauline chapel, but the opposition displayed increased strength at each successive attempt, and neither party found it possible to carry any one of its candidates. The choice of a pontiff, like many other promotions, was gradually made to depend on who had the fewest enemies, rather than on who possessed superiority of merit.

Aldobrandino at length cast his eyes on a man among those elevated by his uncle, who had found means to conciliate general favor, and to avoid all dangerous enmities: this was Cardinal Borghese; for him he succeeded in securing the favor of the French, by whom an approach to reconciliation between Montalto and Aldobrandino had already been effected. Montalto, therefore, gave his vote to Borghese, who was elected (assuming the name of Paul V) before the Spaniards had heard that he was proposed.² This election took place on May 16, 1605.

We find, then, that on this occasion, as on many preceding, the nephew of the last Pope determined the election of the new one. The Borghese family was, besides, in a similar position to that of Aldobrandino. As the latter had quitted Florence to avoid submission to the rule of the Medici, so had the former left Sienna for the same cause. There hence appeared a further probability that the new government would be a direct continuation of the preceding.

But immediately after his election, Paul V evinced a peculiarly rugged disposition.

He had risen from the condition of an advocate, through all

² The truth may, nevertheless, be that Montalto and Aldobrandino had come to an agreement, of themselves, as to Borghese, since the Conclave di Paolo V. p. 370, says of these cardinals: "After

having proposed many, they elected Borghese, the friend of Montalto and the confidential adherent of Aldobrandino."

the degrees of ecclesiastical dignity.³ He had been vice-legate at Bologna, auditor of the Camera, vicar of the Pope, and inquisitor. He had lived in close retirement, buried in his books and law-papers, and had taken no part in political affairs; thence it was that he had made his way without awakening personal enmities. No party considered him its opponent; neither Aldobrandino nor Montalto, neither the French nor the Spaniards. This, then, was the quality which had secured him the tiara.

But he considered that event in a totally different light. His elevation to the papacy, without any effort on his own part, without the employment of any arts or devices, appeared to him the direct interposition of the Holy Spirit. He felt raised above himself by this conviction. The change in his carriage and demeanor, nay, even in his countenance and the tone of his voice, was matter of astonishment, even to the Court of Rome, which was yet well accustomed to metamorphoses of every sort. But the new pontiff felt himself at the same time enchained and pledged to most important duties. With inflexibility similar to that with which he had observed the letter of the law in his previous offices, he now prepared to administer the supreme dignity.⁴

Other popes had been accustomed to signalize their elevation to the throne by acts of mercy; Paul V, on the contrary, began his reign by passing a sentence, the remembrance of which excites horror even to the present day.

A poor author, a Cremonese by birth, named Piccinardi, impelled by some unexplained disgust, had employed himself in his solitude in composing a Life of Clement VIII, wherein he compared that Pope with the Emperor Tiberius—small as was the similarity to be found between these rulers. He had not only refrained from printing this strange work, but had kept it quite to himself, and had scarcely permitted its existence to be known. A woman, who had formerly resided in his house, gave information of the book. Paul V expressed himself at first very mildly on the subject, and the author seemed to have little cause for anxiety, the rather as many important

³ "Relazione di IV. Ambasciatori mandati a Roma, 15 Genn. 1605," m. V. i. e. 1606: "His father Camillo, not choosing longer to remain at Sienna, since the city had lost her liberty, departed, and went to Rome. He had a good

spirit and an acute mind; thus he succeeded well in the profession of an advocate. . . . The Pope does not wish to be called a Siennese, but a Roman."

⁴ See Appendix, No. 76.

persons, and even ambassadors, had interceded for him. How greatly then were all astonished, when Piccinardi was one day beheaded on the bridge of St. Angelo! Whatever might be said by way of exculpation, it is certain that he had committed the crime of high treason (*beleidigten Majestät*), for which this punishment is awarded by the law. From a pope like Paul no mercy was to be expected; even the poor and trifling possessions of the unhappy man were confiscated.⁵

At court this pontiff instantly renewed the regulations of the Council of Trent with respect to residence; he declared it to be a deadly sin for a bishop to remain absent from his diocese and still enjoy its revenues; from this rule he did not except the cardinals, nor would he admit the holding an office in the administration as an excuse for non-residence. Many retired to their sees accordingly, others begged for some delay;⁶ but there were some who would not consent to leave Rome, and yet did not wish to be accused of neglecting their duties; these, therefore, sent in the resignation of their bishoprics.

But the most serious evil of Paul's early reign was the circumstance that he had derived from his studies in canon law the most exorbitant ideas concerning the importance of the papacy. The doctrines that the Pope is the sole vicegerent of Jesus Christ, that the power of the keys is intrusted to his discretion, and that he is to be revered in humility by all nations and princes, he desired to maintain in their most extended significance.⁷ He affirmed that he had been raised to that seat, not by men, but by the Divine Spirit, and with the duty imposed on him of guarding every immunity of the Church and all the prerogatives of God; that he was bound in conscience to put forth all his strength for the deliverance of the Church from usurpation and violence: he would rather risk his life to fulfil these duties than be called to account for the neglect of them when he should appear before the throne of God.

⁵ The ambassadors alluded to in the preceding note relate this occurrence, adding the remark: "It is conjectured that this pontiff will prove to be most inflexible and rigorous, and in matters of justice, most inexorable." See Appendix, Nos. 76 and 78.

⁶ "Du Perron à Villeroy, 17 May, 1606:" "The Pope having lately intimated his pleasure that all the cardinals who held bishoprics should go to them

or should resign them, unless, indeed, they place coadjutors, I have thought, etc."

⁷ "Relatione di IV. Ambasciatori:" "The present Pope, knowing his spiritual greatness, and the implicit deference and obedience that is due to and should be paid him by all Christian nations, not excepting any monarch, however great."

With judicial severity he assumed the claims of the Church to be identical with her rights, and regarded it as a point of conscience to revive and carry them out in their utmost rigor.

Section XII.—Disputes with Venice

From the time when the papal power had reinstated its authority in opposition to the efforts of Protestantism, and had given new life to those ideas which form the chief basis of the hierarchy, its canonical rights had likewise been all enforced with regard to the internal administration of Catholic States.

While the Church subdued her opponents, her authority also received extension, as it related to her own adherents.

When the bishops had been compelled to more rigid obedience, the monastic orders closely attached to the Curia, and all reforms completed in such a manner as should cause them at the same time to promote the supreme power of the pontiff, regular nunciatures established their seats in all the capitals of Europe. These offices united with the authority of an embassy from an influential power, certain judicial rights, which secured them an essential influence over the most important relations of private life as well as of the State.

Even where the Church had re-established itself in concert with the State—where both united had opposed themselves to the advancement of Protestant opinions—this circumstance soon gave rise to misunderstandings.

In those days, as in our own, the Roman Court was especially careful to maintain all its rights and claims in Italy; and from this cause we find the Italian States engaged in perpetual disputes with the ecclesiastical government. The old dissensions between the Church and these States had never been set at rest, neither in general by some decisive principle, nor yet, in particular cases, by treaty and agreement. The popes themselves differed in their views of these matters. Pius V insisted most pertinaciously on all his claims, as did Gregory IV; at least, during the first half of his pontificate. Sixtus V was much more indulgent as regarded individual cases. The States and their envoys did their best to escape from all occasions of difficulty with the least possible prejudice to themselves, and to seize on every circumstance capable of being

turned to their own advantage; nor did this method altogether fail of success. The inclinations of different popes were liable to change and pass away; the interests of States were permanent, and remained; or in any case the questions to be resolved were thus rendered less the subjects of the canon law and of judicial interpretation, than of policy and of reciprocal demands and concessions.

The mode in which Pope Paul V. viewed his claims was, however, essentially juridical; he held the canonical regulations of the decretals to be the laws of God himself. If his predecessors had made concessions or overlooked failures, he ascribed this, not to the inherent necessity of the case, but to their personal negligence, and he believed himself called to the atonement of these faults. We consequently find him, soon after his accession, involved in bitter contentions with all his Italian neighbors.

In Naples, the Regent Ponte, president of the royal council, had condemned an ecclesiastical notary to the galleys, for having refused to lay the evidence, in a case respecting a marriage, before the civil court, and a bookseller who had circulated the work of Baronius against the Sicilian monarchy, in contravention of the royal ordinance, had received a similar sentence from the same person. A remonstrance (monitorium) from Clement VIII, against these proceedings, had been disregarded; Pope Paul V pronounced a sentence of excommunication without the delay of a moment.¹

The Duke of Savoy had bestowed certain benefices, the right of nominating to which was claimed by the Roman Court; Genoa had prohibited societies assembling at the Jesuit colleges, because they had sought to control the elections to public offices; Lucca had made a general rule to the effect, that no decree whatever, proceeding from the papal officers, should be executed without the previous assent of the native magistracy; and, finally, Venice had caused certain ecclesiastics, who had been guilty of heinous crimes, to be arraigned before the civil tribunals. It was precisely the universality of this opposition to the spiritual power that roused the official zeal and anger of the Pope. In every case he interposed his authority with imperative commands and heavy menaces; nay, at this very

¹ "Les Ambassades du Cardinal du Perron," ii. 683-736.

moment he even extended still further the former claims of ecclesiastical supremacy. Among other things, he affirmed what had never before been heard of—that it did not belong to the temporal power to forbid the intercourse of its subjects with Protestants; this was not the business of the State, but of the Church, and belonged exclusively to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The greater part of the Italian States considered these measures as extravagances, that, after more extended experience, would disappear of themselves. None wished to be the first to break with the pontiff. The Grand Duke of Tuscany declared that he had affairs on hand, by which the Pope must needs be driven into a fury, but that he was trying to keep them back for a time; that Paul V was a man who judged the world from a town of the Ecclesiastical States, where everything was arranged according to the letter of the law,² but that all this must soon be changed; the Spaniards would find themselves entangled, and they must be set free voluntarily, or would certainly rend the net: it was advisable that some such example should be waited for. The other States thought much in the same manner, and in the first instance they submitted. Genoa repealed her edict; the Duke of Savoy permitted the benefices in dispute to be made over to a nephew of the Pope; and the Spaniards themselves allowed their regent to request absolution, and receive it before numerous witnesses.

The Venetians alone, usually so prudent and accommodating, disdained to adopt this policy.

It is, however, certain that Venice had more serious cause of irritation than all the rest; and her case presented an example of how offensive the encroachments of the Roman Court might become, more especially toward a neighboring State.³

This vicinity proved in itself extremely inconvenient, particularly after the Church had taken possession of Ferrara. The disputes respecting boundaries, which the republic had sometimes to settle with the dukes, were maintained with great increase of violence by the Court of Rome. The Venetians were disturbed in the works they were prosecuting, at heavy cost,

² "Relatione di IV. Ambasciatori:" "The grand duke remembered that the Pope was not used to reign as a great prince; he had governed in some city of the Church, where all was done in

priestly fashion and with ecclesiastical rigor, but he was not capable of ruling as supreme chief."

³ See Appendix, No. 78.

for regulating the waters of the Po; and in their rights of possession as regarded the fisheries; they could proceed in their operations only when their works were protected by armed vessels, and were driven to seize on certain of the papal subjects, by way of reprisals for the confiscation of their fishing-boats by the Legate of Ferrara.

Meanwhile Paul V also laid claim to the rights of sovereignty over Ceneda, which the Venetians had exercised for centuries without dispute, and attempted to remove to Rome the appeals from the episcopal court, which held jurisdiction there. On this subject the exasperation was violent on both sides: the papal nuncio proceeded to excommunications, when the Venetian Senate instantly took measures to secure that no civil injury should result to those affected by them.⁴

Equally bitter were the dissensions respecting the tithes of the clergy; the Venetians affirmed that they had hitherto collected them without consulting the Pope, nor would they now acknowledge the papal sanction to be required for the levying of that impost. But it was a much more serious grievance that the Roman Court daily increased the exemptions from the tax. The cardinals, who held extremely rich benefices, the Knights of Malta, and the monasteries, were exempt from half the amount, while the mendicant orders, with all persons who were occupied abroad in the service of the Church, or could be included under any title in the Pope's household; and finally, even those to whom the Roman Court had assigned pensions payable out of the Venetian benefices, were declared exempt from the whole. It followed that the rich were not obliged to pay anything, so that the whole burden fell on the poor, who could not pay. The revenues of the Venetian clergy were computed to be 11,000,000 ducats, but the tithes did not actually yield more than 12,000 ducats.⁵

In addition to all this came innumerable subjects of dispute

⁴ While the dispute proceeded, it appeared, that some refused to hold intercourse with those who had been censured, officers of the republic who had opposed the removal of appeals to Rome, on which the Senate, considering this likely to be injurious, first published a decree against all who should offend such persons, and afterward granted them annuities for life, to each according to his station.

⁵ From a declaration that was presented at Rome: While the severity

of the magistrates has been exaggerated, it is found that only 12,000 ducats have hitherto been raised, which are not worth such outcries; the fortune of the republic, by the grace of God, not being such as to make even a larger sum of importance. Some arrangements were then made to correct this evil, but Contarini says: "Little good was produced, because the breach was already made, and the abuse was so firmly established, that removing it would have been more than difficult."

affecting individuals rather than the State. Of these I will adduce one instance only.

The prosperous condition enjoyed by the Venetian press during the early part of the sixteenth century is well known. The republic was proud of this honorable branch of trade, but the regulations of the Curia brought it gradually to total ruin. There was no end to the prohibition of books in Rome: first, those of the Protestants; then all writings reflecting on the morals of the clergy or the immunities of the Church; every book departing, in however slight a degree, from the Roman tenets, and the entire works of any author who had once incurred censure. The trade could now be carried on in books of indisputable orthodoxy only; it was indeed somewhat revived, in a commercial point of view, by the richly decorated missals and breviaries, for which the renewal of Catholic opinions and tastes occasioned a very fair demand. But even this portion of the trade was now diminished; alterations and improvements in these books were undertaken in Rome, where alone they were, in their new form, permitted to be published.⁶ The Venetians remarked, with that angry disgust always excited when the public authority is perverted to the subservience of private interests, that some of the officials appointed by the congregation of the Index, for the control of matters relating to the press, took share in the profits of the Roman printing establishments.

Under these circumstances, the relations between Rome and Venice were marked by a painful restraint or by evidences of utter hatred.

It is manifest that all this must have contributed largely to produce that opposition, both political and religious, by which Henry IV was so greatly assisted in 1589. This resistance was confirmed and fostered by the victory of Henry, and by the entire development of European affairs. The dissensions with the Pope himself conduced still further toward the gradual investment of those who represented these opinions with the conduct of public affairs. There were none who seemed better fitted to guard the interests of the republic against the ecclesiastical power. Leonardo Donato, the leader of the party op-

⁶ They had now got an idea in Rome, that they would themselves print the

missals and other books, depriving others of the power of doing so.

posed to Rome, was accordingly raised to the rank of doge in January, 1606. All those friends by whose aid he had succeeded in the conflicts of internal parties he now admitted to a share in the management of public affairs.

While a pope appeared, by whom the disputed claims of his authority were overstrained with reckless zeal, the Venetian Government passed into the hands of men, with whom opposition to the dominion of Rome had grown up with all their convictions, and had become a personal feeling; by this they had risen to power, and they upheld the principle with all the more energy, because it served them at the same time as a means of repression and defence against their opponents within the republic.

It resulted as an inevitable consequence from the nature of both these powers, that the collisions between them should daily become more hostile and more widely effective.

The Pope insisted not only on the surrender of the ecclesiastical malefactors, he demanded also the repeal of two laws, renewed by the Venetians a short time previously, and which forbade the alienation of real property in favor of the clergy, while they made the building of new churches contingent on the approval of the secular authorities. He declared that he would not tolerate ordinances so directly opposed to the decrees of councils, the constitutions of his predecessors, and all the maxims of the canon law. The Venetians would not yield a hair's breadth; they said that these were fundamental laws of their State, handed down to them by their forefathers, who had deserved so well of Christendom, and that in the eyes of the republic they were inviolable.

The disputants did not long confine themselves to the immediate subject of contention; both parties instantly brought forward other grievances. The Church considered itself wronged by the entire constitution of Venice—a republic which forbade all recourse to Rome; which excluded, under the title of papalists, all those who by holding clerical offices were connected with the Curia, from the council of ecclesiastical affairs, and which even laid the burden of taxes on the clergy. The Venetians, on the other hand, maintained, that even these restrictions were utterly inadequate; they demanded that their ecclesiastical benefices should be conferred on natives of Venice only;

that their Inquisition should be directed exclusively by themselves; that every bull should be submitted to the approval of the State; that all ecclesiastical assemblies should be presided over by a layman, and that all sending of money to Rome should be prohibited.

Nor did they stop even here; from the questions immediately in debate, they proceeded to general principles.

The Jesuits had long since deduced from their doctrine of the power of the Pope, the most important consequences in support of clerical rights, and these they now failed not to repeat with their accustomed energy and promptitude.

The spirit, says Bellarmine, guides and controls the flesh, and not the contrary; neither must the secular power exalt itself over the spiritual, to guide, to command, or to punish; this would be a rebellion, a heathenish tyranny.⁷ The priesthood has its princes who govern it, not in spiritual things only, but in temporal matters also. It could not possibly acknowledge any particular temporal superior. No man can serve two masters. It is for the priest to judge the emperor, not the emperor the priest; it would be absurd for the sheep to pretend to judge the shepherd.⁸ Neither must the prince attempt to derive any revenue from ecclesiastical property. He may draw his tribute from the laity; the priesthood affords him the far more important aids of prayer and sacrifice. The clergyman is exempt from all burdens, whether on person or property: he belongs to the family of Christ. If these exemptions are not founded on any express command of holy Scripture, they are certainly based on consequences to be drawn from it, and on analogy. To the priests of the New Testament belong precisely the same rights that were conferred on the Levites in the Old Testament.⁹

⁷ Response of Cardinal Bellarmine to a letter without the name of its author (a pamphlet of 1606): "Reason directs, rules, and commands the flesh, castigating it at times by fastings and vigils; but the flesh neither directs, nor rules, nor punishes the reason: thus the spiritual power is superior to the temporal authority, and, therefore, can and ought to direct, rule, command, and punish, when the latter conducts itself ill; but the secular power is not superior to the spiritual, and cannot direct, rule, command, or punish it, except by rendering itself guilty of rebellion and tyranny, as

Gentile and heretic princes have sometimes done."

⁸ "Bellarminus de Clericis," i. c. 30: "I reply that the prince is indeed the sheep and spiritual son of the Pope; but the priest can in no wise be called the son or sheep of the prince, because priests and all clergy have their spiritual prince, by whom they are governed, not only in spiritual, but also in temporal things."

⁹ These maxims are to be found verbatim either in the "Response" quoted in a previous note, or in the book of "Bellarminus de Clericis," especially in lib. i. c. 30.

This was a doctrine which secured to that spiritual republic, claiming so important an influence over the State, a no less complete independence of any reciprocal influence over itself from the State. It was a doctrine for the establishment of which, no labor was spared in Rome; innumerable arguments from Scripture were quoted; decrees of councils were brought forward; imperial and papal constitutions were cited; and it was considered to be altogether beyond dispute. Who was there in Venice that might venture to oppose himself to a Belarmine, or a Baronius?

The Venetians, nevertheless, were provided, in the person of their Counsellor of State, Paolo Sarpi, with a man whom nature and circumstances had endowed with such qualifications, and conducted to such a position, that he could venture to take up arms against the spiritual power.

Paolo Sarpi was the son of a merchant, who had removed from St. Valentine to Venice; his mother belonged to the house of Morelli; a Venetian family, enjoying the rights of citizenship. The father was a man of slight figure, and dark complexion; he was impetuous in character, and of a quarrelsome temper, and had ruined himself by imprudent speculations; the mother was one of those beautiful blondes, still often seen in Venice, was of majestic form, modest deportment and intelligent mind; it was to her that the son bore resemblance in external appearance.¹⁰

Ambrosio Morelli, the brother of this lady, was then at the head of a school, which enjoyed high reputation, and was occupied chiefly in the education of the young nobility. It followed as a matter of course, that the nephew of the master should take part in the instruction; Niccolo Contarini and Andrea Morosini were among his school-fellows, and were also his intimate companions; he thus formed the most influential connections on the very threshold of his life.

He did not, however, permit himself to be prevented either by his mother, his uncle, or these companions, from indulging in a propensity to solitude; he was not more than fourteen or fifteen years old when he entered a convent of Servites.

He spoke little and was always serious; he never ate meat,

¹⁰ Sarpi was born Aug. 14, 1552: His father's name was Francesco, his mother's Elizabetha.—Fra Fulgentio, "Vita

di Paolo Sarpi." Griselini, "Memorie di Fra Paolo Sarpi," the German edition of Lebreit, p. 13.

and till his thirtieth year he drank no wine; he detested all levity in conversation: "There comes the maiden," his companions would say, when he appeared; "let us talk of something else." All his wishes, inclinations, and desires, were directed toward those studies for which he possessed great natural endowments.

He possessed the inestimable gift of quick and accurate perception; he never failed to recognize a person whom he had once seen, and when he entered a garden would perceive and remark everything it contained at a glance: he was furnished, that is to say, with a clear and penetrating power of sight, mentally and physically.¹ He thence applied himself, with particular success, to the natural sciences. His admirers ascribe to him the discovery of the valves in the blood-vessels, and he is said first to have observed the expansion and contraction of the pupil of the eye,² the inclination of the magnetic needle, and many other magnetic phenomena; it is certain that he took effective part in the labors of Aquapendente, and still more, both by suggestion and discovery, in those of Porta.³ To his physical studies he added mathematical calculations, as also the observation of mental and intellectual phenomena. In the library of the Servites at Venice, a copy of Vieta's works is preserved, in which the many errors of that author are corrected by the hand of Fra Paolo; in the same place there was also a small treatise of his on the origin and decline of the opinions of men, which, to judge by the extracts from it given by Foscarini, contained a theory of the intellectual powers which assumed sensation and reflection as their basis, and had a certain resemblance to that of Locke,⁴ even though it did not coincide with it so entirely as has been asserted. Fra Paolo wrote only so far as was strictly necessary; he was not endowed by nature with

¹ According to Fra Fulgentio (p. 38), he spoke himself of his extreme delicacy of perception, for he not only received impressions from objects, but even from the least traces of them. As a skilful musician, continues Fra Fulgentio, judges an instrument from a single touch, so by making people speak, he judged with admirable precision of their purposes, intentions, etc.

² See also Fischer, "Geschichte der Physik," i. 167.

³ From whom, says Porta of Fra Paolo, we not only do not blush to have learned some things, but we glory in it, for a more learned man than he, or one more subtle in the whole circle of knowledge, we have never known among all that we have chanced to see.—"Magiæ

Natur." lib. vii. præf. Grisellini, i. §§ 20-24.

⁴ We have a particularly striking instance in their explanations of substance. Paolo Sarpi, according to Foscarini and Grisellini, infers substance from the multiplicity of ideas, resting on a basis which we cannot perceive, and in this basis, he says, properly consists what we call substance.—Grisellini, i. p. 46 of the German translation. Locke's "Human Understanding," b. ii, chap. xxiii.: "Not imagining how the simple ideas can subsist by themselves, we accustom ourselves to suppose some substratum, wherein they do subsist, and from which they do result, which therefore we call substance."

inclination for producing; he read incessantly; appropriated what he read or remarked; and reflected on all. His mind was temperate and comprehensive, methodical and bold, and he trod the paths of inquiry with a free and fearless step.

With these powers, Paolo Sarpi now approached the questions of theology and of ecclesiastical law.

It has been said that he was secretly a Protestant, but his Protestantism could scarcely have extended beyond the first simple propositions of the Confession of Augsburg, if he really held even those. It is certain that Fra Paolo read mass every day through his whole life. It would not be possible to specify the confession to which he was inwardly attached—it was a mode of belief of which we often perceive traces among the men of those times, more particularly those who were devoted to the study of natural science, adhering to none of the established systems of doctrine, dissentient and speculative, but not yet clearly defined, nor entirely made out.

Of this much we are however certain, Fra Paolo bore a decided and implacable hatred toward the secular influence of the papacy, and this was, perhaps, the only passion he ever indulged. It has been attributed to the refusal of a bishopric, for which he had been proposed; and who shall venture positively to deny the effect that a mortifying rejection, excluding a natural ambition from its path, may produce, even on a manly spirit? But in this case the cause lay much deeper; it must be sought in a sentiment, religious and political, that was mingled and bound up with every other conviction of his mind; it had gained strength from study and experience, and was held in common with those friends and contemporaries who had formerly gathered around Andrea Morosini, and were now arrived at the helm of State. Before the keen glance of his penetrating observation, those chimerical arguments with which the Jesuits labored to confirm their assertions, vanished utterly, and the doctrines really founded only on a devotion to the Roman See, arising from a state of society long gone by, appeared in all their nullity.

It was not without labor that Sarpi first brought conviction to the minds of the Venetian jurists. Some held the exemption of the clergy to be an ordinance of the divine law, as propounded by Cardinal Bellarmine; others maintained that it

was at least in the power of the Pope to command it; they appealed to those decrees of councils, in which that exemption was proclaimed, and concluded that what had been in the power of a council was much more within the competence of a pope. The first were easily refuted, and, with the others, Fra Paolo's principal argument was that the councils whose authority they cited were convened by temporal sovereigns, and were to be considered as assemblies of the empire, whence a multitude of political enactments had also proceeded.⁵ This is an argument on which the doctrines brought forward by Fra Paolo and his friends were chiefly founded.

They started from the principle which had been successfully contended for in France, that the sovereign power is derived immediately from God, and can be subject to no control. The Pope has not even the right to inquire whether the proceedings of a State be sinful or not. For whither would this tend? Was there any that might not be sinful, at least, as regarded its ultimate aim? The Pope would have to examine everything, to interfere in all. The temporal sovereignty would, in fact, be annihilated.

To this sovereignty the clergy is subjected as well as the laity. All power, says the apostle, comes from God. From the obedience due to the established authorities no one is exempt any more than from obedience to God. The prince gives the law; he judges every man, and demands tribute from all; in all things the clergy owe him an obedience equal to that required from the laity.⁶

The Pope also undoubtedly possesses jurisdiction, but one that is exclusively spiritual. Did Christ exercise a temporal jurisdiction? Neither to St. Peter, nor to his successors, could he have transferred what he did not claim for himself.

In no degree therefore can the exemption of the clergy be

⁵ "Letter from Sarpi to Leschasser," 3 Feb. 1619, in Lebre's "Magazine," i. 479; an observation which is the more important for those times, because Mariana, for example, deduced the most extensive secular privileges for the clergy from those decrees of the Spanish councils; but it must be always observed that even at that time the spiritual and temporal claims were already either mingled together or in dispute. The old Gothic monarchy in Spain had in effect a powerful spiritual element, for old laws are generally founded on a far remote condition of things.

⁶ Risposta d'un dottore in theologia ad una lettera scrittagli sopra il breve delle censure: "All persons, therefore, both ecclesiastic and secular, are subject to the temporal sovereign by divine right. Let every soul be subject to the higher powers (omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit); and the reason is clear, for as none is exempted from the obedience due to God, so none is exempted from the obedience due to the prince, because, as the apostle says, all power is from God (omnis potestas a Deo)."

derived from an original divine right; ⁷ it depends on the will of the sovereign only. The prince has conferred property and jurisdiction on the Church; he is her protector, her general patron. On him, therefore, the nomination of the clergy depends of right; to him also belongs the publication of bulls.

The prince cannot surrender this power, even if he would. It is a trust confided to him; he is bound in conscience to deliver it unimpaired to his successor.

Thus did the claims and theory of the State oppose themselves boldly to the claims and theory of the Church. The tendencies of conflicting powers were expressed in opposite systems. The internal fusion of spiritual and temporal interest in the European states presents a wide domain of human action, wherein both meet and blend. The Church had long demanded this whole domain as its exclusive possession, and now renewed this claim; the State, on the other hand, had also at times asserted a similar claim, but never before, perhaps, had it been so boldly and systematically brought forward as on this occasion. It was impossible that these claims could ever be legally adjusted; and politically, their regulation was possible only by means of mutual concessions. When neither party would make these to the other, it must come to a trial of force. Each side had then to prove how far its strength could reach; if a conflict were commenced for the right to obedience, nothing further remained but to show which had the power to enforce it.

On April 17, 1606, the Pope pronounced sentence of excommunication on the doge, Senate, and government of Venice collectively, more particularly on the consultors. This he did with all the stern forms of past ages, and with especial reference to the most omnipotent of his predecessors; as, for example, to Innocent III. He allowed the condemned only the shortest intervals for recantation—three of eight days and one of three days, namely. After the lapse of these, all churches of the Venetian territory—those of convents and private chapels not

⁷ "Difesa di Giovanni Marsilio a favore della risposta delle otto proposizioni, contra la quale ha scritto l'illmo. e revmo. Sr. Cl. Bellarmino," Venezia, 1606. This explains the meaning of its author, who has expressed himself somewhat obscurely, in the following manner; but the explanation is at least authentic, since it comes from the same side:

"The author says two things: first, that the persons of ecclesiastics are not exempt from the secular power, nor yet their property, meaning thereby things to which the said power extends (that is, not to matters purely spiritual); the second is, that the exemption possessed by ecclesiastics is not by divine right, but merely by human law" (p. 62).

excepted—were to be prohibited from performing divine service: they were laid under interdict. It was imposed on the Venetian clergy, as a duty, to publish this letter of interdict before the assembled congregations,⁸ and to have it fixed on the church doors. The whole body of the clergy, from the patriarch to the parish priest, were enjoined to execute this command, under pain of rigorous punishments from God and man.

Such was the attack; the defence did not display equal vigor.

It was proposed in the college of Venice to enter a solemn protest, as had been done in earlier times; but this proposal was rejected, on the ground that the sentence of the Pope was in itself null and void, and had not even a show of justice. In a short proclamation, occupying only a quarto page, Leonardo Donato made known to the clergy the resolution of the republic to maintain the sovereign authority, "which acknowledges no other superior in worldly things save God alone." Her faithful clergy would of themselves perceive the nullity of the "censures" issued against them, and would continue the discharge of their functions, the cure of souls and the worship of God, without interruption. No alarm was expressed, no menaces were uttered, the proclamation was a mere expression of confidence and security. It is, however, probable that something more may have been done by verbal communication.⁹

By these proceedings, the question of claim and right became at once a question of strength and of possession. Commanded by their two superiors—the Pope and the republic—to give contradictory proofs of obedience, the Venetian clergy were now called on to decide to which of the two they would render that obedience.

They did not hesitate; they obeyed the republic: not a copy of the brief was fixed up.¹⁰ The delay appointed by the Pope expired; public worship was everywhere conducted as usual. As the secular clergy had decided, so did also the monastic orders.

⁸ When the great assemblage of the people should be gathered together for divine service, as had been done in Ferrara with such effective results.—"Letter of censure and of interdict of his holiness, our lord Pope Paul V. against the Venetians," 606.

⁹ This proclamation of May 6, 1606, is printed by Rampazetto, the ducal printer (stampator ducale). On the title-page

is seen the Evangelist St. Mark with the book of the Gospels and uplifted sword. In the senate, as Priuli tells us, they discussed the many and notorious nullities of the papal brief.

¹⁰ P. Sarpi, "Historia particolare," lib. ii. p. 55, affirms that certain persons who had attempted to fix up the bulls had been arrested by the inhabitants themselves.

The only exception to this was presented by the orders newly instituted, and in which the principle of ecclesiastical restoration was more particularly represented; these were the Jesuits, Theatines, and Capuchins. The Jesuits, in so far as they were themselves concerned, were not altogether decided; they first took counsel of their provincial at Ferrara, and afterward of their general in Rome, who referred the question to the Pope himself. Paul V replied that they must either observe the interdict, or shake the dust from their feet and leave Venice. A hard decision assuredly, since they were distinctly informed that they would never be permitted to return; but the principle of their institution allowed them no choice. Embarking in their boats, they departed from the city, and took shelter in the papal dominions.¹ Their example influenced the other two orders.² A middle course was proposed by the Theatines, but the Venetians did not think it advisable; they would suffer no division in their land, and demanded either obedience or departure. The deserted churches were easily provided with other priests, and care was taken that none should perceive a deficiency. The festival of the Corpus Christi next succeeding, was solemnized with extraordinary pomp, and a more than commonly numerous procession.³

But it is manifest that the result was a complete schism.

The Pope was amazed; his exaggerated pretensions were confronted by the realities of things with the most unshrinking boldness. Did any means exist by which these might be overcome?

Paul V thought at times of having recourse to arms: even in the congregations, warlike opinions had at one moment the ascendancy. Cardinal Sauli exclaimed that the Venetians should be castigated. Legates were despatched, and troops fitted out; but in effect they dared not venture to attempt force. There would have been cause to apprehend that Venice would call the Protestants to her aid, and thus throw all Italy, nay the Catholic world at large, into the most perilous commotions.

They must again betake themselves, as on former occasions,

¹ Juvencius, "Hist. Soc. Jesu," v. ii. p. 93.

² If V. Sandi continues to mention the "reformed brethren of St. Francis," that proceeds only from the fact, that the Capuchins were, in effect, reformed

Franciscans, and are so called on this occasion by A. Morosini. This error of Sandi has been committed by other writers also.

³ A. Maurocenus, "Historia Ven." tom. iii. p. 350.

to political measures, for the adjustment of these questions touching the rights of the Church. The arrangement of these measures could not, however, be attempted on this occasion by the parties themselves; the animosities between them were too violent; it was confided to the mediation of the two leading powers—France and Spain. But the private interest of both would, of course, require to be considered in the matter.

There was a party in each of these two kingdoms, to which the outbreak of hostilities would have been welcome. Among the Spaniards, this was formed by the zealous Catholics (who thereby hoped to enchain the Roman See once more to the monarchy), and the governors of the Italian provinces, whose power would be increased by war. The Spanish ambassador to Rome, Viglienna, also wished for war, thinking it would afford him opportunities for advancing his family to high ecclesiastical dignities. In France, on the contrary, it was precisely the most zealous Protestants who desired a rupture. Sully and his adherents would have gladly seen an Italian war, because the Netherlands, just then hard pressed by Spinola, might by that means have gained time to breathe. Each of these parties even proceeded to demonstrations of war. The King of Spain despatched a letter to the Pope, with promises of aid, at least in general terms. In France the Venetian ambassador also received offers from men in high positions; it was his opinion that he could gather an army of 15,000 Frenchmen in a month. This mode of thinking did not, however, obtain the ascendancy. Lerma and Villeroy, the leading ministers of Spain and France, desired to maintain peace. The Spanish statesman placed his glory chiefly in the restoration of peace, and Villeroy belonged to the rigidly Catholic party, and would never have consented that the Pope should be attacked by the French.⁴ The princes agreed with their ministers; Henry IV remarked with justice, that if he drew his sword for the republic he should endanger his reputation as a good Catholic. Philip III despatched a new declaration to the Pope—he would assist him, but certainly not

⁴ "Relatione di Pietro Priuli ritornato di Francia, 4 Sett. 1608," contains a circumstantial account of the interest taken by the French in these transactions. Villeroy declares this to be a most opportune and proper occasion for gaining the good will of the Pope; the King, assured by his ambassador to the

republic, that your serenity (he is addressing the Venetian republic) would not put the negotiations into any other hands than his own, had the intention of employing this opportunity for gaining over the pontiff and binding him to himself.

without security for the return of the cost; and even then, it must be for good and not for evil.⁵

All possibility of war was thus destroyed. The two powers were emulous only of contributing the most effectually to the restoration of peace, so that each might thereby the better extend and secure its own interest. For this purpose Francesco di Castro, the nephew of Lerma, proceeded to Venice on the part of Spain; as did Cardinal Joyeuse on that of France.

I have neither inclination nor means for a detailed account of these negotiations through the whole course of the proceedings; it will besides be sufficient if we obtain a clear perception of their most important characteristics.

The first difficulty was presented by the Pope, who insisted, before all things, that the Venetian laws, which had given him so much offence, should be repealed; and he made the suspension of his ecclesiastical censures to depend on their repeal.

But the Venetians, also, on their part, with a certain republican self-complacency, were accustomed to declare their laws sacred and inviolable. When the papal demand was brought under discussion in January, 1607, although the college wavered, yet at last it was decidedly rejected in the Senate.⁶ The French, who had given their word to the Pope, succeeded in bringing the question forward once more in March, when of the four opponents in the college, one at least withdrew his objections. After the arguments on both sides had again been fully stated in the Senate, there was still, it is true, no formal or express

⁵ Francesco Priuli, "Relatione di Spagna, 26 Ag. 1608": "The constable came to seek me at my house, and told me frequently, that the order for assembling troops was given for no other purpose than to avoid being idle, when all the powers of the world were arming themselves; but that they were by no means provided with money; he recommended peace in Italy, and said the republic would lose nothing by being liberal in obsequious words, to obtain in effect all that it desired. . . . At the time when the Duke of Lerma spoke in exaggerated terms to the English ambassador of the forces to be gathered, they were even then writing to the Pope that his Majesty had, doubtless, promised to aid him, but that this was intended to be for good and not for evil, . . . that the commencement of wars was in the hands of men, but their conclusion was in the power of God alone." See Appendix, No. 81, Section 7.

⁶ Ger. Priuli, "Cronica Veneta, 20 Zener. 1606" (1607): "After a long discus-

sion of eight days, and among many fluctuations of opinion, the Senate determined to reply to the ambassadors of France and Spain, that the republic cannot agree to any form of suspension whatever, seeing that this case would be a perpetual precedent; this resolution was proposed by S. Bembo and Al. Zorzi, elders of the council, and by A. Mula and S. Venier, elders of the mainland." Others desired to adopt a more moderate decision; nor is it improbable that they would have carried their point, had not intelligence arrived that there was nothing to fear from the Spanish arms, in consequence of the disturbances in Naples. A positive refusal of the suspension was then determined, by ninety-nine votes to seventy-eight, giving a majority of twenty-one. Yet Bembo himself withdrew his support from that proposal on the 9th of March; and, on the 14th, the more moderate decision was carried, in despite of the opposition made by Zorzi, Mula, and Venier.

repeal of the laws, but a decision was adopted to the effect that "the republic would conduct itself with its accustomed piety." However obscure these words appear, the ambassador and the Pope thought they discovered in them the fulfilment of their wishes. The Pope then suspended his censures.

But there immediately arose another and very unexpected difficulty; the Venetians refused to permit the return of the Jesuits, who had been excluded, after their departure, by a solemn decree.

Could it, however, be supposed that the Pope would suffer his faithful adherents, who had committed no other offence than that of an inviolable attachment to himself, to be left at such heavy disadvantage? He sought by every possible expedient to alter the resolution of the Venetians. The Jesuits had the French also on their side; they had secured the good-will of Henry IV on this occasion likewise by a special embassy, and Joyeuse took particular interest in their case; the Venetians nevertheless remained immovable.⁷

A very extraordinary circumstance was, that the Spaniards declared themselves rather against the order than for it. The Dominican interest was predominant in Spain, and Lerma, who did not favor the Jesuits, considered it unadvisable, as a general principle, that a State should be compelled to permit the return of disobedient subjects. Francesco di Castro at first avoided all mention of the Jesuits, and at length opposed himself directly to the intercession made for them by the French.⁸

This manifestation, although based, in fact, on the actual condition of things, was yet so striking, that the Pope himself was startled by it, and suspecting that a deeper mystery was somewhere concealed in it, he ceased to insist that the Jesuits should be restored.⁹

But how dearly must this resolution have cost him! For the

⁷ Pietro Priuli, "Relatione di Francia," adds to this: "Solamente l'ufficio dell' ambasciatore ritenne la disposizione che aveva S. Ma. eccitata dall' efficaci istanze che furono fatte da un padre Barisoni Padoano mandato in Francia espressamente dalla sua congregazione col pensiero d'ottener di interessarsi acciocchè fussero di nuovo ricevuti." (See text.)

⁸ Francesco Priuli, "Relatione di Spagna": "The Spaniards hearing that the French insisted on the restoration of the Jesuits, wrote to Rome and to Venice, declaring that they would not enter

on that subject, and to the republic, they gave as a reason, their not desiring to negotiate with the aforesaid persons, who had so gravely offended her."

⁹ Francesco Priuli: "Venuto l'avviso dell' intiero accomodamento, desisterono dal procurare che si trattasse di loro con la Sta. V., non solo per non aver voluto parlar di loro, ma per essersi attraversati agli gagliardi uffici di Francesi: che fece dubitare il papa di qualche recondito mistero, e non vi volse insistere con che essi non sapevano che dire." (See text.)

sake of a couple of insignificant laws he had shown himself willing to permit the whole world to be embroiled; yet he now abandoned his most faithful adherents to perpetual exile from a Catholic and Italian territory.¹⁰ On the other hand, the republic consented to deliver up the two priests who had been arrested.

But she still claimed the right of entering an assertion of her legal powers, of which the Pope refused absolutely to hear one word. The expedient finally adopted was very singular.¹ The secretary of the Venetian Senate conducted the prisoners to the palace of the French ambassador, "and delivered them into his hands, out of respect," he said, "for the most Christian King, and with the previous understanding that the right of the republic to judge her own clergy should not thereby be diminished." "So I receive them," replied the ambassador, and led them before the cardinal, who was walking up and down in a gallery (*loggia*). "These are the prisoners," said he, "who are to be given up to the Pope;" but he did not allude to the reservation. Then the cardinal, without uttering one word, delivered them to the papal commissary, who received them with a sign of the cross.

But how far were the parties from having yet arrived at a clear understanding: a mere external appearance of reconciliation was their principal object.

Even that was, however, not to be attained until the censures had been removed and absolution granted.

The Venetians had, moreover, objections to make against this very absolution; they persisted in maintaining that the censure was in itself null and void; that it had in no way affected them, and that they were consequently in no need of absolution. Joyeuse declared to them, that he could not alter the forms of the Church. Finally they came to an agreement that the absolution should not be conferred with the usual publicity. Joyeuse appeared in the college, and pronounced it there, as it were, privately. The Venetians have always persuaded themselves

¹⁰ Ger. Priuli: "This affair of the Jesuits weighed heavily on the Pope; it grieved him deeply, not indeed for their sakes, but on account of his own reputation."

¹ Joyeuse speaks of this as a condition, he says: "If the censures are removed,

the two prisoners shall be delivered up to those who shall receive them in the name of his holiness; and though her serenity (Venice) declares that she resigns them for the gratification of his most Christian Majesty, yet they are to be given up without a word said."

that they escaped altogether without absolution.² It is true that absolution was not given with all the formalities, but given it certainly was.³

Upon the whole, it is sufficiently obvious that the points in dispute were not arranged so entirely to the advantage of the Venetians as is commonly asserted.

The laws of which the Pope complained were suspended, the priests whose surrender he had required, were given up to him, the absolution itself was received; but all these concessions were made with the most extraordinary limitations. The Venetians proceeded as in an affair of honor. With anxious care for their reputation, they limited every concession by all possible restrictive clauses, and did their utmost to neutralize the effect of each. The Pope, on his part, remained at a disadvantage also, since he had been compelled to resolve on a concession, manifest to all, by no means honorable in its character, and which at once excited the attention of the whole world.

These arrangements being made, the relations between Rome and Venice returned—at least in appearance—to their former course. Paul V exclaimed to the first ambassador from the Venetians, “Let old things be put away—let all now be new.” He more than once complained that Venice would not forget what he, on his side, had forgotten; and displayed as much forbearance and mildness as any one of his predecessors.⁴

Yet all that was gained amounted only to this: that new dissensions were avoided; the essential grounds of dispute remained; a true and mutual confidence was not indeed to be easily restored.⁵

Section XIII.—Issue of the Affairs of the Jesuits

The contest between the Jesuits and Dominicans was meanwhile terminated in a similar manner; that is, very imperfectly.

Clement died, as we have seen, before he had pronounced judgment. The question was taken up by Paul V with all the zeal by which the early part of his administration was distin-

² Daru, at the close of his 29th book, gives the letter of Joyeuse, which is, beyond all doubt, the only one of importance that he has adduced respecting this affair; but he makes certain objections to it, which appear to me entirely untenable.

³ See Appendix, No. 79.

⁴ “Relatione di Mocenigo,” 1612. The Pope declared that, for the interest of Italy, there should always be a good understanding between that see and this republic.

⁵ See Appendix, No. 81.

guished. No fewer than seventeen meetings were held in his presence, from September, 1605, to February, 1606. He was equally disposed with his predecessor toward the old system, and to the side of the Dominicans. In October and November, 1606, meetings were even held for the purpose of deciding on the form in which the Jesuit doctrines should be condemned. The Dominicans believed they held the victory already in their hands.¹

But it was just at this time that the Venetian affairs had been arranged in the manner we have been observing. The Jesuits had given the Roman See a proof of attachment, whereby they greatly surpassed every other order, and for this Venice was making them pay the penalty.

Under these circumstances it would have seemed cruelty in the Roman See to have visited these, its most faithful servants, with a decree of condemnation. When all was prepared for that purpose, the Pope paused; for some time he suffered the affair to rest; at length, on August 29, 1667, he published a declaration, by which "disputatores" and "consultores" were dismissed to their respective homes; the decision was to be made known in due time; meanwhile it was the most earnest desire of his holiness that neither party should asperse or disparage the other.²

By this decision the Jesuits, after all, derived an advantage from the losses they had sustained in Venice. It was a great gain for them that their controverted doctrines, though certainly not confirmed, were yet not rejected. They even boasted of victory; and with the public prepossession in favor of their orthodoxy once again secured, they now pursued with unremitting ardor the course of doctrine to which they had before attached themselves.

The only question yet remaining was, whether they would also succeed in perfectly composing their internal disquietudes.

Violent fermentation still prevailed in the order. The changes made in its constitution proved insufficient, and the members of the Spanish opposition persisted in their efforts for securing their principal aim; namely, the removal of Ac-

¹ Serry, "Historia Congregationum de Auxiliis," gives the documents respecting this matter in p. 562, and following pages: "Gratiæ victrici," he says himself, "jam canebatur 'Io triumphe.'"

² Coronelli, secretary of the Congre-

gation, in Serry, p. 589: "Tra tanto ha ordinato (S. Sa.) molto seriamente che nel trattare di queste materie nessuno ardisca di qualificare e censurare l'altra parte. (See text.)"

quaviva. The procurators of all the provinces at length declared a general congregation necessary, which was a circumstance that never had occurred before. In the year 1607, the members assembled, and effectual changes were to be once more brought under discussion.

We have already more than once alluded to the close alliance into which the Jesuits had entered with Henry IV, and the favor accorded to them by that sovereign. He even took part in the internal disputes of the order, and was entirely on the side of Acquaviva. In a letter written expressly for the purpose, he not only assured the general of his friendly regard, but also gave the congregation to understand his wish that no change in the constitution of the society should be proposed.³

Nor did Acquaviva fail to make excellent use of so powerful a protection.

It was principally in the provincial congregations that the opposition he encountered had its seat. He now carried through a law, by virtue of which, no proposition should in the first place be considered as adopted by a provincial assembly, unless supported by two-thirds of the votes; and further, even when thus adopted, such proposition should not be admitted for discussion in the general assembly, unless a majority of the latter had previously assented to it. These regulations were manifestly calculated to produce extraordinary diminution in the authority of the provincial congregations.

Nor was this all; a formal sentence of condemnation was also pronounced on the enemies of the general, and the superiors of provinces received express command to proceed against the so-called disturbers of the peace. Tranquillity was thus gradually restored. The Spanish members resigned themselves to submission, and ceased to contend against the new direction taken by their order. A more pliant generation gradually arose, which was educated under the predominant influences. The general, on his side, endeavored to requite Henry IV, by redoubled devotion, for the favors received at his hands.

³ "Literæ Christianissimi regis ad congregatos patres," iv. Kal. Dec. 1607, in Juvencius, v. ii. lib. ix. n. 108: "And

we exhort you to maintain your institution in its integrity and splendor."

Conclusion

Thus were all these contentions once more allayed, and gave promise of subsiding into peace.

But if we reflect on their progress, and their results as a whole, we perceive that the most essential changes had been thereby produced in the centre and heart of the Catholic Church.

We started from that moment when the papal power, engaged in victorious conflict, was marching forward to the plenitude of authority. In close alliance with the policy of Spain, it conceived the design of impelling all the Catholic powers in one direction, and overwhelming those who had separated from it by one great movement. Had the papacy succeeded in this purpose, it would have exalted the ecclesiastical impulse to unlimited sovereignty; would have bound all Catholic States in one all-embracing unity of ideas, faith, social life, and policy; and would thus have secured to itself a paramount and irresistible influence even over their domestic affairs.

But at this precise moment the most violent dissensions arose within its own bosom.

¹ In the matter of France, the feeling of nationality arrayed itself against the pretensions of the hierarchy. Even those who held the Catholic faith would not endure to be dependent on the ruling principles of the Church in every particular, nor to be guided on all points by the spiritual sovereign. There were other principles remaining—as of temporal policy, of national independence; all which opposed themselves to the designs of the papacy with invincible energy. Upon the whole, we may affirm that these principles obtained the victory; the Pope was compelled to acknowledge them, and the French Church even effected its restoration by adopting them as its basis.

But it followed, from this circumstance, that France again plunged herself into perpetual hostilities with the Spanish monarchy; that two great powers, naturally prone to rivalry, and always disposed for battle, confronted each other in the centre of the Catholic world—so little was it possible to preserve unity. The circumstances of Italy were indeed of such a character, that these dissensions, and the balance of power resulting from them, produced advantages to the Roman See.

Meanwhile, new theological discords also broke out. However acute and precise the definitions of the Council of Trent

might be, they were yet not equal to the prevention of disputes. Within the limits traced by these decisions there was still room for new controversies respecting the faith. The two most influential of the orders opposed each other in the lists. The two great powers even took part to a certain extent in the contest; nor had Rome the courage to pronounce a decision.

In addition to these dissensions, came those regarding the limits of the ecclesiastical and secular jurisdictions; dissensions of local origin, and with a neighbor of no very important power, but conducted in a spirit, and with an effect that raised them into universal importance.⁴ Justly is the memory of Paolo Sarpi held in honor through all Catholic States. He it was by whom those ecclesiastical rights, which they enjoy in common, were contended for and won. The Pope did not find himself capable of putting him down.

Conflicts thus marked between ideas and doctrines, between constitutional and absolute power, effectually impeded that ecclesiastical and secular unity which the papacy desired to establish, and even threatened to subvert it entirely.

The course of events made it nevertheless obvious that pacific and conservative ideas were once more the stronger. Internal discords were not to be prevented; but an open struggle was avoided. Peace was restored and maintained between the two great powers. Italian interests had not yet advanced to a full perception of their own strength, nor to an effectual activity in employing it; silence was imposed on the contending orders; the differences between Church and State were not carried to extremity. Venice accepted the proffered mediation.

The policy of the papacy was to assume, as far as possible, a position above that of parties, and to mediate in their dissensions; a purpose which it still possessed sufficient authority to effect.

This policy, without doubt, experienced reaction from that which had in part proceeded from itself, the continued progress, namely, of the great external movement, the advance of Catholic reformation, and the struggle with Protestantism, which was still proceeding without interruption.

To the further development of that struggle we must now return.

⁴ "Your serenity, exclaims P. Priuli to his government, on his return from France, may be said to have declared within what limits it shall be permitted

to the pontificate to extend its authority, whether spiritual or temporal."—*Relatione di Francia*, 1608.

CHOICE EXAMPLES OF FRENCH SCULPTURE.

THE SPIRIT OF HOPE.

*Photo-engraving from the original statue in the foyer of the
Grand Opera House, Paris.*

M. Bruyer has embodied here, in the art of pure form, a triple conception of his subject that is a sermon in itself. First note the star above the forehead, to lead, guide, and beckon the toiler; then mark the anchor, which holds the voyager in his riding-ground, though storms assail; finally see the wreath held out to crown the final struggle. The artist has embodied poetry and moral inspiration in a manner which demands the highest praise.



BOOK VII

COUNTER REFORMATION

SECOND PERIOD, 1590-1630

I THINK I do not deceive myself, or pass beyond the province of history, in supposing that I here discover, and in seeking to indicate, one of the universal laws of social life.

It is unquestionably true that there are at all periods forces of the living mind by which the world is moved profoundly; gradually prepared in the long course of bygone centuries, they arise in the fulness of time, called forth by natures of intrinsic might and vigor from the unfathomed depths of the human spirit. It is of their very essence and being that they should seek to gain possession of the world—to over-match and subdue it. But the more perfect their success, the more extended the circle of their action, so much the more certainly do they come in contact with peculiar and independent forms of social life, which they cannot wholly subdue or absorb into their own being. Hence it happens that, being, as they are, in a state of never-ceasing progress, they experience modifications in themselves. While appropriating what is foreign to their own existence, they also assume a portion of its characteristics; tendencies are then developed within them—crises of existence—that are not unfrequently at variance with their ruling principle; these also must, however, necessarily expand and increase with the general progress; the object to be then secured is that they do not obtain the predominance: for if this were permitted, all unity, and that essential principle on which it reposes, would be utterly destroyed.

We have seen how violently internal contradictions and profound contrasts were in action during the restoration of the papacy; still the ruling idea retained the victory; the higher

unity yet preserved its ascendancy, though not perhaps with all its ancient and comprehensive power, and continually pressed forward with unremitting steps, even during periods of internal strife, from which indeed it seemed to derive increased energy for new conquests.

These enterprises now solicit our attention. How far they succeeded ; the revolutions that were their consequences, and the opposition they encountered, whether from within or from without, are all questions of the utmost importance to the world in general.

CHAPTER FIRST

PROGRESS OF THE CATHOLIC RESTORATION.—

A.D. 1590—1617.

Section I.—Enterprises of Catholicism in Poland and the Neighboring Territories

AN opinion has been expressed that the Protestants, who for some time certainly had, as we have seen, the decided supremacy in Poland, would also have been in a condition to raise a king of their own faith to the throne; but that even they themselves came at length to consider a Catholic more advantageous, because in the person of the Pope he had a still higher power and judge placed over him.

If this were so, they brought a very heavy punishment upon themselves for a decision so adverse to Protestantism.

For it was precisely by the agency of a Catholic king that the Pope was enabled to make war on them.

Of all the foreign ambassadors in Poland, the papal nuncios alone possessed the right of demanding audience of the King without the presence of a senator. We know what these men were; they had prudence and address enough to cultivate and profit by the confidential intercourse thus placed within their reach.

In the beginning of the eightieth year of the sixteenth century, Cardinal Bolognetto was nuncio in Poland. He complained of the severity of the climate; of the cold, to which, as an Italian, he was doubly susceptible; of the close, suffocating air in the small heated rooms, and of the whole mode of life, which was utterly uncongenial to his habits and predilections. He nevertheless accompanied King Stephen from Warsaw to Cracow, from Wilna to Lublin—throughout the kingdom in short; at times in rather melancholy mood, but none the less indefatigable. During the campaigns, he kept up his inter-

course with the King, at least by letter, and maintained an uninterrupted connection between the interests of Rome and the royal personage.

We have a circumstantial relation of his official proceedings, and from this we learn the character of his undertakings, and how far he prospered in them.¹

Above all things, he exhorted the King to appoint Catholics only to the government offices; to permit no other form of worship than that of the Catholic Church in the royal towns, and to re-establish the tithes; measures which were adopted about the same time in other countries, and which promoted or indicated the renovation of Catholicism.

But the nuncio was not wholly successful in the first instance. King Stephen thought he could not go so far; he declared that he was not sufficiently powerful to venture it.

Yet this prince was not only imbued with Catholic convictions, he had besides an innate zeal for the interests of the Church, and in many other particulars his decisions were regulated by the representations of the nuncio.

It was under the immediate patronage of royalty that the Jesuit colleges in Cracow, Grodno, and Pultusk were established. The new calendar was introduced without difficulty, and the ordinances of the Council of Trent were for the most part carried into full effect. But the most important circumstance was, the King's determination that the bishoprics should, for the future, be conferred on Catholics only.² Protestants had previously made their way even to those ecclesiastical dignities; but the nuncio was now authorized to summon them before his tribunal, and to depose them; a fact of all the more importance, inasmuch as that a seat and vote in the Senate were attached to the episcopal office. It was this political efficacy of the spiritual institutions that the nuncio most especially sought to turn to account. Above all, he exhorted the bishops to be unanimous, as regarded the measures to be adopted at the diet, and these measures were prescribed by himself. With the most powerful of the Polish ecclesiastics, the Archbishop of Gnesen

¹ Report to the most illustrious and most reverend Cardinal Rusticucci, secretary of our lord Pope Sixtus V, concerning the religious affairs of Poland, and of the measures of Cardinal Bolognetto, during four years that he was

nuncio in that province. See Appendix, No. 61.

² "The King being resolved that none should hold churches who were not of the true faith of Rome."—Spannocchi.

and the Bishop of Cracow, Bolognetto had formed a close personal intimacy, which was of infinite utility for the promotion of his views. Thus he succeeded, not only in awakening new zeal among the clergy, but also in at once obtaining extensive influence over temporal affairs. The English were making proposals for a commercial treaty with Poland, which promised to become very advantageous, more particularly for Dantzic. It was by the nuncio alone that this purpose was defeated, and principally because the English required a distinct promise that they should be allowed to trade and live in peace, without being persecuted on account of their religion.³

These things suffice to show, that however moderate King Stephen might be, it was yet under him that Catholicism first acquired an essential reinstatement in Poland.

And this had all the more importance from the fact that the most influential party in the country, the Zamoisky faction, to which by the King's favor, the most important offices were generally intrusted,⁴ had also received a deep tinge of Catholicism. It was this party that on the death of Stephen determined the conflicts of election in favor of his successor; and the sovereign, placed by the Zamoisky faction on the Polish throne, was that Swedish prince whom Catherine Jagellonica had borne in prison, and who, in the midst of a Protestant country, had ever remained immovably steadfast in the Catholic faith—either from original inclination, the influence of his mother, the hope he entertained of succeeding to the crown of Poland, or, it may be, from these influences all acting together.

This was Sigismund III, a prince whose modes of thought were formed in complete accordance with those Catholic impulses by which all Europe was at that period set in motion.

Pope Clement VIII says, in one of his instructions, that while

³ Spannocchi: "This no sooner came to the ears of Bolognetto, than he went to seek his Majesty, and with the most prevailing reasons, showed him what an exorbitant evil it would be to make concessions by public decree to so scandalous a sect, and how it was certainly not without some hidden deception, and the hope of important consequences, that yonder pestilent woman (Elizabeth of England) desired to have the Anglican sect thus placed at liberty by public decree to exercise its worship in that kingdom, where it is but too well known to all the world, that, in matters of religion, all sorts of people may believe

whatsoever they please. By these and other most efficacious reasons, King Stephen was so fully persuaded, that he promised never to make any mention of religion in any treaty whatsoever with that queen and her merchants." See Appendix, No. 61.

⁴ Spannocchi: "It is now said that none are admitted to the senatorial dignity, or to the management of the revenues, but the dependants of this chancellor, to the end that what he and the King may be pleased to do, shall not receive impediment from any opposition."

yet a cardinal, and when legate in Poland, he had recommended that prince to bestow all public offices in future on Catholics only. This advice had already been frequently given before, as by Paul IV, by Cardinal Hosius,⁵ and again by Cardinal Bolognetto: there were now, for the first time, means for giving this counsel its full effect. What could not be obtained, either from Sigismund Augustus, or from Stephen, was very quickly resolved on by Sigismund III. He established it, in fact, as his principle of action, to confer promotion on none but Catholics, and Pope Clement was fully justified in ascribing the progress of Catholicism in Poland more especially to this regulation.

The most essential attribute of the kingly power in Poland consisted in the right of conferring all dignities and appointments. Every office, whether spiritual or temporal, whether great or small, was in the gift of the King, and their number was said to be nearly 20,000. How important must have been the consequences when Sigismund proceeded to bestow, not ecclesiastical appointments only, but all offices whatever, exclusively on Catholics; when he resolved to accord the beneficence of the State, as the Italians once expressed it, the full right of citizenship, in the higher sense of the word, to his coreligionists only. A man's promotion was all the more certain, the more he could acquire the favor of the bishops and Jesuits; the starost, Ludwig von Mortangen, became Waiwode of Pomerellia, principally because he presented his house in Thorn to the Society of Jesus. As a consequence of this system, disputes arose in the territories of Polish Prussia, between the cities and the nobles, and these soon assumed a religious character: both had originally attached themselves to Protestantism, but the nobles now recanted. The examples of the Kostka, Dzialinsky, and Konopat families, which had risen to power by passing over to Catholicism, produced a great effect on the rest. The schools of the Jesuits were frequented principally by the young nobility, and we soon find that in the towns remaining attached to Protestantism the pupils of the Jesuits had entered into conflict with the sons of the citizens. The new influences were, however, chiefly effectual among the nobles; the College of Pultusk numbered

⁵ In a letter of the 14th of March, 1568, he begs the King to declare, that in future he would confer no honors, or governments, or public offices whatever,

unless it were on such as would openly confess Christ, and abjure all perfidies, whether Lutheran, Calvinistic, or Anabaptist.

400 pupils—all noble.⁶ The impulse originating from and pervading the spirit of the times, the teaching of the Jesuits, the newly awakened zeal of the clerical body, and the favor of the court, all concurred to determine the Polish nobility toward a return to Catholicism. But it followed as a matter of course that further steps were soon taken, and those who would not consent to become Catholic were now made to feel the displeasure of the civil power.

In Poland the Catholic clergy set themselves eagerly to revive a claim to the ecclesiastical buildings, on the ground that having been founded by those of Catholic faith, with the co-operation of bishops, and frequently of popes, they were the inalienable property of their Church. In every place where the Catholic service had been excluded from the parish churches, the bishops instituted legal proceedings founded on that claim. The tribunals were now filled with zealous Catholics; the same proceedings were commenced against one town after another, and the same judgments were pronounced. It availed nothing that the losers appealed to the King, reminding him of that confederation by which both confessions were assured of equal rights and equal protection. The answer they received was that equal protection consisted precisely in helping each party to obtain its rights, and that the "confederation" comprised no assurance to them of the possession of ecclesiastical buildings.⁷ A few years only had elapsed before the Catholics were in possession of all the parish churches in the towns. "In the parish churches," exclaims one Polish authority, "the ancient God is worshipped:" throughout the smaller Prussian towns the evangelical service could be now performed in a room of the Town House only. Of the larger cities, Dantzic alone retained its parish Church.⁸

But during this period of successful progress the Catholics did not confine themselves to contentions with the Protestants; they turned their attention to the Greek communities also.

On that occasion likewise the King and the Pope combined their influence; the menace of exclusion from a seat and voice in the Senate would seem to have been particularly efficacious,

⁶ Maffei, ii. 140.

⁷ The circumstantial letter of the Waiwode of Culm, translated by Lengnich, "Polnisch-preussische Geschichte," Theil iv. s. 291, gives a clear explication

of these motives. See also Appendix, No. 67.

⁸ Lengnich, "Nachricht von der Religionsänderung in Preussen," § 27.

so far as I can discover, with the Greek bishops. It is at all events certain that in the year 1595 Wladika of Wladimir and some other bishops of the Greek confession, resolved to unite themselves to the Roman Church according to the rules laid down by the Council of Florence. Their emissaries proceeded to Rome; papal and royal envoys appeared in the province; the ceremony of reconciliation was performed, and a Jesuit confessor to the King gave it further effect by the animated sermon he preached on the occasion: here also several churches were vacated in favor of the Catholics.

This was a remarkable progress to have been made in so few years. "A short time since," observes a papal nuncio, in the year 1598, "it might have been feared that heresy would entirely supersede Catholicism in Poland; now, Catholicism is bearing heresy to its grave."

If we inquire to what causes this change must be principally attributed, we find that it was above all else to the personal character and modes of thought of the King that they were due.

And these dispositions of Sigismund III, in the peculiar position of that monarch, led immediately to views and purposes of much more extensive importance.

Section II.—Attempt on Sweden

In the year 1592, Sigismund became King of Sweden, by the death of John, his father.

But in this kingdom he was by no means possessed of unlimited authority as sovereign, neither was he free from obligations and engagements personal to himself; for in the year 1587, he had signed an assurance that nothing should be changed in the ceremonies of the Protestant Church, and that he would promote no one who was not a Protestant. And now also he bound himself anew to maintain the privileges of the clergy as well as of the laity; promised that he would make the religion of no man a cause for either love or hatred, and would in no wise seek to prejudice or injure the national Church. Notwithstanding these engagements, however, all the hopes of the Catholics were instantly awakened, as were all the fears of the Protestants.

The Catholics had now attained what had always been the

object of their most earnest desires, a king of their own faith in Sweden. Sigismund departed for his hereditary dominions in July, 1593, surrounded by a Catholic retinue, in which even a papal nuncio, Malaspina, was not wanting. His journey through the Prussian provinces was marked by the promotion of Catholic interests. In Dantzic he was met by a papal envoy, Bartholomæus Powsinsky, with a present of 20,000 scudi, "a small contribution," as was declared in Powsinsky's instructions, "toward the expenses that might be occasioned by the restoration of Catholicism."

This "Instruction" is very remarkable. It shows us how confidently that restoration was expected and hoped for in Rome, and how anxiously it was recommended.¹

"Powsinsky," it states,² "a trusted servant of his holiness, and a vassal of his Majesty, has been sent to declare to the King the interest taken by the Pope in the welcome events that had lately occurred to his Majesty, the delivery of his Queen; and the fortunate results of the last Diet; but above all, in the greatest happiness that could befall him, the opportunity, namely, that he now has of reinstating Catholicism in his native land." The Pope did not omit to intimate certain points of view in which this work might be considered.

"It is without doubt," he says, "by God's most special providence that certain bishoprics should be vacant precisely at this moment; among others, even the archiepiscopal seat of Upsala;³ should the King delay for a moment to depose the Protestant bishops who may still remain in the land, yet he will infallibly, and at once, supply the vacant sees with bishops of the Catholic faith." The envoy was provided with a list of Swedish Catholics who seemed fitted for the purpose. The Pope was convinced that these bishops would then immediately seek to procure Catholic priests and schoolmasters; but he recommends that care should be taken to provide them with the means for doing so.

"It would probably be possible," he thinks, "to establish a Jesuits' college in Stockholm immediately; but if this were not found practicable, the King will without doubt take with him

¹ "Instruzione al Sve. Bartholomeo Powsinsky, alla Ma. del re di Polonia e Suetia," MS. Rome.

² See Appendix, No. 66.

³ Understanding that the archbishopric of Upsala was vacant—for divine

Providence, the better to facilitate its own service, has not permitted it to be filled up by the late King, during two years that it has been vacant, his Majesty will have especial care to select a Catholic archbishop."

into Poland as many young Swedes as he can find suitable for the purpose, and have them educated at his court, in the Catholic faith, by some of the most zealous bishops, or in the Jesuit colleges of Poland.”⁴

The principal object here, as in all other places, was to compel the clergy once more to subordination. The nuncio had meanwhile formed another project. He suggested to the Catholics yet remaining in Sweden certain grievances for which they might bring proceedings against the Protestants. The King would then assume a position above the two parties, and to every innovation that he might attempt to carry, it might thus be possible to give the appearance of a legal decision.⁵ He regretted only that Sigismund had not provided himself with a more imposing force of arms, the better to give effect to his decrees.

There is indeed no proof that the King at once adopted the views of the Roman Court. To judge from his own declarations, he intended no more in the first instance than to procure immunities for the Catholics, without subverting the Protestant constitution. But would he be capable of restraining the powerful religious impulses by which those around him were mastered, and whose most zealous representatives made a part of his retinue? Can it be supposed that, having reached that point, he would have been content to stop there?

The Protestants would not abide the issue. The views and purposes entertained on the one side called forth an immediate and almost unconscious opposition from the other.

Instantly after the death of John, the Swedish Councillors of State, names of high renown both before and since that period, Gyllenstiern, Bielke, Baner, Sparre, and Oxenstiern, assembled to acknowledge the zealously Protestant Duke Charles, one of the sons of Gustavus Vasa, brother of the late King and uncle of their young sovereign, as governor of the realm; and agreed, “in the absence of his nephew, to promise him obedience in all that he should command for the maintenance of the Augsburg Confession in Sweden.” With this

⁴ See Appendix No. 68.

⁵ “Ragguaglio dell’ andata del re di Polonia in Suetia” (MS. Rome): “There were still some remnants of Catholicism remaining in the kingdom, and the nuncio, pursuing the plan before adopted by Cardinal Madruzzo, to

strengthen the authority of the Emperor, sought to constitute the King judge between the Catholics and heretics of Sweden, inducing the former to complain before the King of the insolence and injurious proceedings of the latter.”

purpose a council was held at Upsala, in March, 1593. The Confession of Augsburg was there proclaimed anew; the liturgy of King John was condemned, and all that seemed to recall the usages of Catholicism, even in the earlier ritual, received modification; the exorcism was retained, but in milder expressions only, and merely for the sake of its moral significance.⁶ A declaration was drawn up, to the effect that no heresy, whether popish or Calvinistic, would be tolerated in the kingdom.⁷ Appointments to public offices were made in the same spirit. Many old defenders of the liturgy now abjured it; but this renunciation did not secure the escape of all; some were dismissed from their offices notwithstanding. The bishoprics, on the vacancy of which such great designs had been founded in Rome, were given to Lutherans; the archbishopric of Upsala to M. Abraham Angermannus, the most zealous opponent of the liturgy, and by an overwhelming majority, the votes of his election amounting to 233; those for the candidate next to him to thirty-eight only. The clergy thus placed the most ardent Lutheran they could find at their head.

Under King John a more temperate state of public feeling had been maintained to the last, a less earnest opposition to the papacy than in other countries; aided by this, Sigismund might easily have effected such a change as the Catholics desired; but these measures had been anticipated by the other side, and Protestantism had fixed itself more firmly in possession than it had ever previously been.

On this occasion even the royal prerogatives of Sigismund were not spared. He was already no longer regarded as altogether King of Sweden, but rather as a foreigner holding claims to the crown; as an apostate, who was menacing religion, and against whom precautions must be taken. The great majority of the nation, unanimous in their Protestant convictions, adhered to Duke Charles.

Arrived in Sweden, the King became fully sensible to the

⁶ For we must not believe the assertion of Messenius, that it was abolished. The only change was in the words "Faar här uth," which were changed for "Wick här ifra." Duke Charles wished it to be abolished, but was told that the exorcism was to be retained, as a ceremony wherein was an admonition useful to the hearers and spectators at the bap-

tism. To this view Duke Charles assented.—Baaz, "Inventarium," iv. x. 523. The documents will be found in Baaz, and are, in general, tolerably complete.

⁷ "The Council enacts, it further says, that no place for public meetings shall be allowed to heretics who may come into the kingdom."

isolation of the position he occupied: he could do nothing, and sought only to evade the demands made upon him.

But while Sigismund remained silent and waited the effects of time, the opposing parties, which had never before so directly confronted each other in that country, came into collision. The evangelical preachers inveighed against the papists; and the Jesuits, who preached in the King's chapel, did not suffer them to remain unanswered. The Catholics of the royal suite took possession of an evangelical church on the occasion of a burial; whereupon the Protestants considered it necessary to abstain for a time from returning to their desecrated sanctuary. Acts of violence were not slow to follow: the soldiers of the guard (*Heiduks*) used force to obtain possession of a pulpit which was closed; the nuncio was accused of having ordered stones to be thrown from his house at some choristers who were singing in the street, and the rancor of the parties was continually increasing in bitterness.

Sigismund at length proceeded with his train to Upsala for the ceremony of his coronation. The Swedes demanded above all things that the decrees of their council should be ratified. The King resisted. He desired nothing more than toleration for Catholicism: he would have been content had they only allowed him the hope of having power to grant it at some future time, but the Swedish Protestants were immovable. It is affirmed that the King's own sister⁸ assured them it was his nature to yield only after long and obstinate resistance, but that he would ultimately yield: she exhorted them to keep firm only, and constantly to renew their attacks on him. They demanded peremptorily that the doctrines of the Augsburg Confession should be inculcated everywhere, alone and purely, whether in churches or schools.⁹ Duke Charles was at their head. The position which he thus assumed conferred on him a degree of power and independence such as he could in no other manner have hoped to attain. His personal relations with the King became continually more unpleasant and less friendly. The King was almost entirely without arms, as we have said, whereas the duke had raised several thousand men on the domains he held

⁸ The "Ragguaglio" calls her "a most obstinate heretic."

⁹ Messenius, vii. 19: "They absolutely insisted, that the Confession of Augsburg, as it had prevailed in the reign

of the last Gustavus and the early part of John's reign, should for the future be fixed in perpetuity, as well in schools as in churches."

immediately around the city. The States at length declared to the King in plain terms that they would not render him homage if he refused to comply with their demands.¹⁰

The unfortunate prince found himself in a painful embarrassment: to grant what was required from him oppressed his conscience; to refuse it would deprive him of a crown.

In this strait he first had recourse to the nuncio, inquiring if he might not venture to yield; but Malaspina could by no means be prevailed on to sanction his doing so.

The King thereupon addressed himself to the Jesuits in his train, and what the nuncio had not dared, they took upon themselves to do. They declared that in consideration of the necessity and of the manifest danger in which the sovereign found himself, he might grant the heretics their demands without offence to God. But the King was not satisfied until he had this decision, in a written form, placed in his hands.

Then, and not before, did Sigismund comply with the demands of his subjects. He confirmed the decrees of Upsala, the exclusive use of the Augsburg Confession, pure and unchanged, without the admixture of any extraneous doctrine, whether in church or school; and he further agreed that no one should be appointed to a public office who was not prepared to defend the Lutheran doctrines.¹ He also acknowledged the prelates who had obtained their sees in opposition to his will.

But could his Catholic heart feel tranquil under these circumstances? Could his retinue, devoted to Romanism, remain content with a result that they could not fail utterly to condemn? It was not in the nature of things that this could be reasonably expected.

And accordingly steps were taken at length for the publication of a protest, such as had before been promulgated in many places on similar occasions.

"The nuncio," says the report of this affair which was sent to Rome, and in the words of which I shall most easily elucidate these occurrences—"the nuncio was zealously busied in seek-

¹⁰ "Supplicatio ordinum:" "But if the illustrious King should refuse to his subjects the royal approbation of these propositions, our brethren remaining at home forbid us in that case to offer public homage to his royal Majesty."

¹ These words, nevertheless, are so chosen that they leave a possibility of

evasion: "None shall be promoted, to the public offices of the country, who do not desire the safety of the evangelical religion; those rather shall be preferred to the public offices, who seriously desire to defend the same."—"Generalis confirmatio postulatum regis Sigismundi," in Baaz, p. 537.

ing to remedy the irregularity that had taken place. He prevailed on the King to draw up a protestation in writing for the security of his conscience, and in this he declared that the concessions he had made were not accorded by his own free will, but that he had been compelled to them solely and entirely by force and against his wish. The nuncio further induced his Majesty to make similar concessions to the Catholics also, that so he might be equally pledged to both parties in Sweden as well as in Poland, a plan that had been adopted in the case of the German Emperor. This the King was content to do.²

It was a singular expedient. One protest was not thought enough; and in order to be in some measure freed from an obligation entered into by oath, another oath, of a tendency directly opposite, is taken to another party. Thus an engagement being entered into with both parties, equal rights must of necessity be extended to both.

The Swedes were amazed that the King, after promises so solemn, should extend to the Catholics a protection that was but very slightly veiled. It was undoubtedly the result of this secret engagement. "Even before his departure," continues our authority, with obvious complacency, "the King bestowed offices and dignities on those of the Catholic faith; he caused four governors of towns, although they were heretics, to swear that they would protect the Catholics and their religion. In four places he re-established the exercise of the Catholic religion."

All these measures, though calculated perhaps to pacify the unquiet conscience of a bigoted prince, could not possibly fail to produce the most injurious effects in the course of events.

It was indeed precisely because the Swedish Estates were

² "Relazione dello stato spirituale e politico del regno di Svezia, 1598:" "He sent some Polish Senators to inform the Jesuit fathers of the state of his circumstances, and the consequences; then the said fathers declared, that, assuming the need and peril in which his Majesty was placed, he could yield to the heretics what they sought, without offending God; and his Majesty, for his justification, would needs have a writing from the said fathers. Now, the coronation and concessions being completed, the nuncio gave all his thoughts to the discovery of some remedy for the disorder that had occurred; and he contrived that, for the security of his conscience, his Majesty should protest in

writing, that he had not yielded those things of his will, but of pure force; and he persuaded the most serene King to grant to the Catholics the same promises that he had granted to the heretics, so that, as in the case of the Emperor, and as for the kingdom of Poland, he should be sworn to both sides ('*utrique parti*'). His Majesty agreed, and immediately carried the said concessions into effect; for, before his departure, he gave offices and dignities to Catholics, and permitted the exercise of the faith in four places. He also made four governors, whom he left in the kingdom, give him their oath, although they were heretics, that they would see religion and the Catholics protected."

thus kept in continual excitement and irritation, that they threw themselves into so determined an opposition.

The clergy reformed their schools according to the most rigid tenor of the Lutheran doctrines, and appointed a day of solemn thanksgiving for the preservation of the true religion "from the designs and intrigues of the Jesuits." In the year 1595 a resolution was passed in the Diet of Südercöping, that all exercise of the Catholic ritual, wheresoever the King might have established it, was again to be abolished. "We decree unanimously," declare the States, "that all sectaries, opposed to the evangelical religion, who have fixed themselves in the land, shall within six weeks be removed entirely from the kingdom:³ and this edict was enforced with the utmost rigor." The monastery of Wadstena, which had subsisted during 211 years, and had maintained its ground in the midst of so many convulsions, was now dissolved and destroyed. Angermannus held a visitation of the churches, of which the severity never had been equalled. Whoever neglected to attend the evangelical Church was beaten with rods; the archbishop had several robust young students in his train, by whom this punishment was inflicted under his own superintendence. The altars of the saints were destroyed, their relics were dispersed, and the ceremonies, which in 1593 had been declared indifferent, were in many places entirely abolished in the year 1597.

The relative positions of Sigismund and Charles gave a character of personality to this movement.

Whatever was done, proceeded in direct opposition to the well-known desires, and even to the ordinances, of the King. In everything Duke Charles had a predominant influence. It was in contradiction to the express command of Sigismund that the duke held the Diet, and all attempts of the former to interfere in the affairs of the country were opposed by Charles. He caused a resolution to be passed, by virtue of which the re-scripts of the King were effectual only after having been confirmed by the Swedish Government.⁴

Charles was already monarch, and ruler in fact, and the thought had even arisen within him of becoming sovereign in

³ "Acta ecclesiæ, in conventu Südercöp." in Baaz, 567.

⁴ "Attempts of the most illustrious prince and lord Charles, Duke of Sudermania, against the most serene and most

potent lord Sigismund III, King of Sweden and Poland; written and published by his royal Majesty's own command." Dant. 1598.

name also. This is intimated by a dream that he had in 1595, as well as by other circumstances. He thought that at a banquet in Finland a covered double dish was set before him; he raised the cover, and on the one side he perceived the insignia of royalty, on the other a death's head. Similar thoughts were prevalent in the nation. A story was repeated throughout the country that in Linköping a crowned eagle had been seen contending with one uncrowned, and that the uncrowned one had remained master of the field.

When things had proceeded so far, when the Protestant principles were enforced with so much rigor, and their champion seemed making a claim to the royal power, a party rose also in favor of the King. Certain nobles, who had sought aid from Sigismund against the duke, were banished, but their adherents remained in the land; the populace were dissatisfied at finding all ceremonies abolished, and attributed such disasters as occurred in the country to that circumstance. In Finland, the governor, Flemming, maintained the standard of the King.

This position of things made it as expedient on the one hand, as it was advisable on the other, that Sigismund should once more essay his fortune. It was perhaps the last moment in which it was possible for him to restore his authority. In the summer of 1598 he set forward for the second time to take possession of his hereditary kingdom.

He was now more rigidly Catholic, if possible, than at his first appearance; the good prince believed that the different misfortunes which had befallen him since his last journey, among others the death of his Queen, had been inflicted on him because he had then made concessions to the heretics. With deep sorrow of heart he revealed these painful convictions to the nuncio, and declared that he would rather die than again concede anything that could stain the purity of his conscience.

But the interests here in question were immediately connected with those of Europe generally. Such was now the progress making by Catholicism that an enterprise undertaken even in this distant portion of the world was also considered principally in the light of a part in the general combination.

In earlier times, and during the wars with England, the Spaniards had occasionally turned their eyes on the Swedish coasts. They had discovered that the possession of a Swedish

haven would be of the utmost utility to them, and had commenced a negotiation on the subject. It was now considered certain that Sigismund, on becoming master in his own dominions, would make over to them the port of Elfsborg, in West Gothland. There it would be easy to build a fleet, to keep it in condition for service, and have it manned by Poles and Swedes. How much more readily could war be made on England from this port than from Spain! the English would be compelled to forego their attacks on the Spanish Indies. And even as regarded the maintenance of Sigismund in Sweden, an alliance with the Catholic King could not fail to be advantageous.⁵

But there was yet more. The Catholics extended their views to the establishment of their rule over Finland and the Baltic; from Finland they hoped to make a successful attack on the Russian Empire, and by the possession of the Baltic they trusted to subject the Duchy of Brandenburg to their dominion. The electoral house of Brandenburg had never yet been able to obtain the investiture of that fief, by any negotiation, and the nuncio declared that the King was resolved not to grant it, but had determined, on the contrary, that the duchy should be annexed to the crown; he used every effort to confirm Sigismund in this resolution, principally, as will be obvious, from religious considerations, for never would Brandenburg consent to the re-establishment of Catholicism in Prussia.⁶

If we consider on the one hand the vast extent of views and purposes, thus rendered dependent on Sigismund's success, which was yet by no means improbable, and the great increase of general importance that would accrue to Sweden from the victory of Protestantism on the other, we must acknowledge that this was one of those crises which affect the history of the world.

Zamoisky had recommended the King to advance at the head of a powerful army, and conquer Sweden by force of arms; but Sigismund held the opinion that this could not be needful; he

⁵ "Relazione dello stato spirituale e politico." The plan was that at the expense of the Catholic King a garrison should be maintained in the fortress commanding the port, over which garrison his Catholic Majesty should have no authority, but should consign the pay for the garrison to the King of Poland.

⁶ "Relazione di Polonia," 1598: "See-

ing that the Catholic religion cannot be expected ever to find ingress, if the duchy remain in the house of Brandenburg, his Majesty shows himself resolved to recover the said duchy." King Stephen ought already to have done this; but, finding himself in want of money, while he was also engaged in wars, Brandenburg was not thought of.

would not believe that resistance would be opposed to him in his hereditary dominions, and took with him only about 5,000 men; with these he landed at Calmar, without opposition, and moved forward toward Stockholm. A second division of his troops had previously reached the city and been admitted, while a body of Finlanders marched upon Upland.

Duke Charles also had in the meantime prepared his forces. It was manifest, that his power must have an end, together with the supremacy of the Protestant faith, should Sigismund obtain the victory. While his peasantry of Upland held the Finns in check, the duke himself, with a regular military force, opposed the march of the King, who was advancing on Stegeborg. Charles demanded that the royal army should be withdrawn, and the decision of all questions referred to the Diet; that being done, he also would disband his troops. To this the King would not consent, and the hostile bodies advanced against each other.

They were not considerable in number—insignificant masses—a few thousand men on either side; but the decision was not less important, the results not less enduring, than if large armies had been employed to secure them.

It was on the personal character of the princes that all depended. Charles was his own adviser; daring, resolute, a man, in the utmost force of the word, and what was the principal matter, he was in actual possession. Sigismund, dependent on others, yielding, good-natured, no soldier, and now reduced to the unhappy necessity of doing battle for the kingdom that belonged to him of right, but for which he, the legitimate sovereign, must contend with the ruler in possession, and with the existing order of things.

The troops were twice engaged near Stangebro. On the first occasion they met rather by accident than design; the King had the advantage, and is said himself to have put a stop to the slaughter of the Swedes; but in the second encounter, as the Dalecarlians had risen in favor of the duke, and his fleet had arrived, the victory was on his side. No one then put a stop to the carnage of the Poles. Sigismund suffered a total defeat, and was compelled to accede to all that was demanded from him.⁷

⁷ "Piacessii Chronicon gestorum in Europa singularium," p. 159. Extracts

from the letters of the princes in Geijer, "Schwedische Geschichte," ii. § 305.

He was even brought to consent that the only faithful subjects he had found should be delivered up, to be placed before a Swedish tribunal. In his own case he also promised to submit to the decision of the Diet.

This was, however, only an expedient by which he sought to escape from the difficulties of the moment. Instead of attending the Diet, where he could have taken only the melancholy part of the vanquished, he took ship with the first favorable wind, and returned to Dantzic.

He still flattered himself with the hope that, at some other time, in some more favorable moment, he should yet become master in his hereditary dominions; but in thus departing from them, he resigned them in fact to the modes of thought prevailing there, and to the overwhelming influence of his uncle. That prince did not scruple, after a certain time, to assume the title, with the authority, of king; and he did not then wait until he should be attacked in Sweden, but carried the war into the territories of Poland, where it was conducted with varying fortunes on both sides.⁸

Section III.—Designs on Russia

After the lapse of a short time, however, it appeared probable that Catholicism might be consoled for the failure of the Swedish enterprise, by the more prosperous result of another undertaking.

It is well known that the popes had already more than once conceived hopes of winning Russia—Adrian VI, for example, and Clement VII. The Jesuit Passevin had then tried his fortune with Iwan Wasiljowitsch, and in 1594 Clement VIII had despatched a certain Comuleo to Moscow, with more than usual confidence of success, from the fact that Comuleo was acquainted with the language. All these were, however, but vain efforts. Boris Godunow directly affirmed that “Moscow was now the true orthodox Rome,” and caused prayers to be offered up for himself as “the only Christian ruler on earth.”

The prospect so unexpectedly presented by the appearance of the false Demetrius was rendered peculiarly welcome by this state of things.

⁸ See Appendix, Nos. 66, 67, and 68.

Demetrius may be said to have attached himself even more to the ecclesiastical than the political interests of Poland.

It was to a Catholic confessor that he first discovered himself. Fathers of the Jesuit order were sent to examine him; nor until this had been done, did the papal nuncio Rangone adopt his cause. But, at their first interview, the latter declared to him that he had nothing to hope if he did not abjure the schismatic religion, and embrace the Catholic faith. Demetrius intimated his readiness to comply with little hesitation; he had already given a promise to that effect, and, on the following Sunday, his recantation was performed.¹ He was delighted to find that Sigismund then acknowledged him, and ascribed this with justice to the interposition of the nuncio, to whom he promised that whatever came within the compass of his utmost power should be done for the defence and extension of the Romanist creed.²

This was a promise that soon became of the highest importance. His story had not yet obtained the general belief in Poland. How greatly then were all amazed when, immediately after his conversion, the pitiable, wretched fugitive was seen in actual possession of the palace of the czars. The sudden death of his predecessor, which the populace considered to be a judgment from God, may probably have contributed largely to this result.

And here Demetrius now renewed his pledges; he received the nephew of the nuncio with marks of great reverence, and as his Polish consort joined him, soon afterward, with a numerous court, not of knights and ladies only, but still more of monks, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits,³ he seemed determined at once to commence the redemption of his word.

But it was principally to these demonstrations that he owed his ruin. That which procured him the support of the Poles deprived him of the friendly dispositions of the Russians. They observed that he did not eat and drink as they did, and that he did not honor the saints. They declared that he was a heathen, and had conducted an unbaptized heathen bride to the

¹ Alessandro Cilli, "Historia di Moscovia," p. 11. Cilli was present at the act of recantation. In Karamsin, x. 109, of the translation, there is a passage not rendered so accurately from Cilli as it may seem to be. Karamsin himself did not understand Cilli. The

words put into the mouth of Demetrius are not to be found in Cilli.

² Cilli: "By renewing at the same time his promise for the extension and defence of the holy Catholic faith, both within his empire and beyond it."

³ Cilli, p. 66.

throne of Moscow. It was not possible that such a man should be a son of the czars.⁴

They had been induced to acknowledge him by some inexplicable conviction, and by a similar impulse, which had taken still firmer hold on their minds, they felt themselves induced to cast him off.

But here, also, the essential principle and moving cause was religion. In Russia, as in Sweden, a power arose, which, from its very source and nature, was in direct opposition to the tendencies of Catholicism.

Section IV.—Internal Commotions in Poland

Unsuccessful enterprises against a foreign enemy have usually the effect of awakening internal dissensions. Disturbances now took place in Poland, by which it was rendered doubtful whether the King would be able to continue his rule according to the system with which he had commenced. These commotions had the following causes:

King Sigismund did not always preserve a good understanding with those by whose exertions he had obtained his crown. They had called him to the throne from opposition to Austria; and he had allied himself, on the contrary, very closely with that sovereignty. He had twice chosen a consort from the line of Grätz, and at one time incurred the suspicion of desiring to secure the crown to that house.

The high chancellor Zamoisky was already much dissatisfied on that account; but he became still more embittered, when the King, to render himself independent even of his friends and adherents, not unfrequently advanced their opponents to the most important offices, and admitted them into the Senate.¹

For it was principally by the Senate that Sigismund sought to govern; he filled it with men devoted to his person, and at the same time rendered it exclusively Catholic. The bishops appointed by the King, under the influence of the nuncio, formed

⁴ Müller, "Sammlung Russischer Geschichte," v. 373, remarks that letters from the Pope were found on him.

¹ Cilli, "Historia delle Sollevazioni di Polonia," 1606-1608, Pistoja, 1627, an author the more worthy of belief, because he was long in the King's service, remarks from the beginning on the au-

thority possessed by Zamoisky: "Zamoisky desired to usurp a portion of the royal authority;" but he mentions also the King's resistance: "His Majesty having power to dispose not only of the dignities of the kingdom, but of the revenues also."

a powerful body in that assembly, and indeed gradually became the predominant party.

But from this state of things there arose a twofold opposition of the highest importance, both for the political constitution and religious interests of Poland.

To the Senate, as a political body, the provincial deputies placed themselves in direct opposition, and as the first adhered to the King, the latter attached themselves to Zamoisky,² for whom they felt unbounded reverence, and who derived from their devotion an authority nearly equal to that of royalty. It was a position that for an enterprising magnate must have had a powerful charm. It was accordingly seized, on the death of the high chancellor, by Zebrzydowski, palatine of Cracow.

To this party the Protestants now attached themselves, for it was, in fact, against the bishops that both complained; the one, on account of their temporal influence, the other, of their spiritual authority. The Protestants found it intolerable that in a commonwealth like that of Poland, based on a free agreement, well-earned rights should be continually violated, and that men of inferior birth should be raised to high dignities, while those of undoubted nobility were expected to obey them. In these complaints they were joined by many Catholics.³

There can be no question but that this religious impulse gave an especial virulence to the political dissensions.

After a frequent representation of their grievances, a refusal of the supplies and the dissolution of the Diet, had all been found unavailing, the malcontents at length had recourse to a measure never adopted but in cases of extremity; they summoned the whole body of the nobles to the *rokosz*. The *rokosz* was a legal form of insurrection. The nobles thus assembled claimed the right of summoning the King and Senate before their tribunal: the Protestants obtained the greater weight in this assembly, from the circumstance of their having combined with the members of the Greek Church.

Meanwhile the King had also his adherents. The nuncio kept the bishops well together:⁴ the bishops impressed their

² Piasecius: "Zamoisky, on whose authority the deputies greatly depended." From this time the provincial deputies became powerful; one party supported the other.

³ Cilli: "The heretics, supported by

bad Catholics, made great efforts to obtain the majority in the confederation."

⁴ "The nuncio Rangone, by his dexterity and diligence, preserved many of the principal men firm in their faith."

own views on the Senate; a league was formed in defence of the King and religion, while the favorable moment was prudently seized for terminating the ancient dissensions between the clergy and laity. The King proved himself inflexibly firm in the moment of danger; he thought his cause just, and placed his reliance in God.

And he did, in fact, maintain the ascendancy. In October, 1606, he dissolved the *rokosz*, precisely when a large number of its members were absent. In July, 1607, an appeal was made to arms, and a regular engagement ensued. With the cry of "Jesu Maria," the royal troops attacked the enemy and completely defeated them. Zebrydowski kept the field for some time, but was compelled to submission in the year 1608, when a general amnesty was proclaimed.

As a consequence of this success it followed that the government could now pursue the measures it had previously resolved on for the furtherance of Catholicism.

All who were not of the Roman communion were excluded from public offices, and the effect produced by this regulation was incessantly praised and rejoiced over in Rome.⁵ "A Protestant prince—a prince who should have conferred the dignities of the kingdom in equal proportion on both parties, would fill the whole country with heresies: men are altogether ruled by their private interests, and since the King is so steadfast, the nobles submit to his will."

In royal towns also restrictions were imposed on the Protestant service. "Without open force," says one of the papal instructions, "the inhabitants may yet be compelled to change their religion."⁶

The nuncio was careful to see that the supreme courts of law should be administered exclusively by Catholics, and conducted "according to the words of the holy canonical maxims." Mixed marriages then formed a question of high importance.

⁵ "Instruttione a V. Sria. Mre. di Torres:" "The King, although born among heretics, and of a heretic father, is so pious, so devout, and so furnished with holiness of life that even in Rome itself a better could neither have been born nor educated; for, in the course of his reign, he has changed the Senators from heretics, which they were, three only excepted, to Catholics, as they now are, with two or three exceptions." Their principle was, "spiritual

things follow the course of temporal affairs." See Appendix, No. 98.

⁶ "Instruttione a Mr. Lancelotti:" "You must encourage him [the King] by all means to forbid that in the royal cities dependent on him, there should any religion be exercised excepting the Catholic; nor must he permit them to have their temples or synagogues, for by these gentle means, and without actual violence, people are either converted or driven out of the country." See Appendix, No. 99.

The supreme tribunal would not acknowledge the validity of any, unless they were performed in presence of the parish priest and several witnesses; but the parish priests refused to solemnize mixed marriages, and there could be no wonder that many should conform to the Catholic ritual for the purpose of securing their children from injury. Others were induced to join the Catholics by finding that church patronage, when held by Protestants, was subject to litigation. The State possesses a thousand means for promoting the opinion which it favors. In this case all were employed, so far as was possible, without direct compulsion; the conversions excited but little remark, yet they proceeded steadily and made continual progress.

The earnest zeal and effective ability with which the nuncios administered ecclesiastical affairs had, without doubt, a large share in producing this result. They watched carefully over the bishoprics, and saw that only well-qualified men were appointed to them; they visited the monastic establishments, and would not permit that disobedient and refractory members, of whom in other countries the convents desired to free themselves, should be sent to Poland, as was beginning to be the practice. They gave their attention to the parochial clergy also, and sought to introduce psalmody and schools for children into the parishes; they likewise insisted on the establishment of episcopal seminaries.

Under their direction the Jesuits now labored with remarkable diligence. We find them actively employed in all the provinces, among the docile people of Livonia, in Lithuania, where they had to combat the remains of the old serpent-worship; and among the Greeks, where the Jesuits were often the only Catholic priests; they had occasionally to perform the rite of baptism for youths of eighteen, and sometimes met with very old men who had never received the Lord's Supper. But it was principally in Poland proper that they found the field of their exertions, and where, as one of the society boasts, "hundreds of learned, orthodox, and devout men of the order were zealously employed in rooting out error and implanting Catholic piety, by schools and associations, by preaching and writing."⁷

Here also they excited the accustomed enthusiasm in their

⁷ "Argentus de rebus Societatis Jesu in regno Poloniae, 1615." It might, how-

ever, have easily conveyed more information.

followers, but it was most unhappily combined with the insolence of an impetuous young nobility. The King abstained from acts of violence, but the pupils of the Jesuits did not consider themselves bound to do so.

They not unfrequently celebrated Ascension-day by assaulting those of the evangelical persuasion; breaking into their houses, plundering and destroying their property. Woe to the Protestant whom they could seize in his house, or whom they even met in the streets on these occasions.

The evangelical church of Cracow was attacked in the year 1606, and in the following year the churchyard was furiously stormed, the dead being torn from their graves. In 1611 the church of the Protestants in Wilna was destroyed, and their ministers maltreated or murdered. In 1615 a book appeared in Posen which maintained that the Protestants had no right to dwell in that city. In the following year the pupils of the Jesuits destroyed the Bohemian church so completely that they left no one stone remaining upon another, and the Lutheran church was burnt. The same things occurred in other places, and in some instances the Protestants were compelled by continual attacks to give up their churches. Nor did they long confine their assaults to the towns; the students of Cracow proceeded to burn the churches of the neighboring districts. In Podlachia an aged evangelical minister, named Barkow, was walking before his carriage leaning on his staff, when a Polish nobleman approaching from the opposite direction, commanded his coachman to drive directly over him; before the old man could move out of the way, he was struck down and died from the injuries he received.⁸

But with all these efforts Protestantism could not be suppressed. The King was bound by a promise which he had not the power to retract. The nobles remained free in their own persons, and did not all pass over immediately to Catholicism. At times also, after many judgments unfavorable to the Protestants had passed the courts, a favorable decree was rendered, and a church was restored to them. In the towns of Polish Prussia the Protestants yet formed the majority; still less were the Greeks to be put down. The union of 1595 had awakened more disgust and horror than imitation, and the party of the

⁸ "Wengerscii Slavonia Reformata," pp. 224, 232, 236, 244, 247.

dissidents formed by Protestants and Greeks was still of great importance. The richest mercantile cities and the most warlike populations (such as the Cossacks) supported and lent particular efficacy to their demands, and their opposition was all the more powerful, because it was constantly receiving increased assistance from their neighbors, Sweden and Russia, whom it had been found impossible to subdue.

Section V.—Progress of the Counter Reformation in Germany

The principles acted on in Germany were wholly different. There, each prince held it to be his own good right to direct the religion of his territories in accordance with his personal convictions.

The movement that had there commenced proceeded accordingly with but little interference from the imperial authority, and without attracting particular attention.

The ecclesiastical princes more particularly considered it their especial duty to lead back the people of their dominions to Catholicism.

The pupils of the Jesuits were now appearing among them. Johann Adam von Bicken, Elector of Mayence from 1601 to 1604, was educated at the *Collegium Germanicum* in Rome. From the castle of Königstein he once heard the hymns with which the Lutheran congregation of the place was conveying its deceased pastor to his grave. "Let them give their synagogue decent burial," exclaimed the prince. On the following Sunday a Jesuit mounted the pulpit, and from that time a Lutheran preacher was never more seen to enter it. The same things occurred in other places.¹ What Bicken left incomplete was carried zealously forward by his successor Johann Schweikard. He was a man much addicted to the pleasures of the table, but he held the reins of government with a firm hand, and displayed remarkable talent. He succeeded in accomplishing the Counter-Reformation throughout his diocese, not excepting Eichsfeld. He sent a commission to Heiligenstadt, and within two years its members had recovered 200 citizens to Catholicism, many of whom had grown gray in the Protestant faith. There were still some few remaining firm to their creed; these per-

¹ Serarius, "Res Moguntinæ," p. 973.

sons he exhorted personally "as their father and pastor, from the depths of a true heart." These were his own words, and he prevailed; thus adjured they also conformed. It was with feelings of extreme satisfaction that he beheld a city return to Catholicism which had been entirely Protestant during forty years.²

Ernest and Ferdinand of Cologne, both Bavarian princes, proceeded in like manner, as did the Elector Lothaire, of the house of Metternich of Treves. This prince was distinguished by the soundness of his understanding and by acuteness of intellect. He possessed the talent of surmounting whatever difficulties opposed him, was prompt in the execution of justice, and vigilant in promoting the interests of his country as well as those of his family. He was affable, moreover, and not particularly rigorous, provided always the matter did not affect religion, but no Protestant would he suffer at his court.³ To these great names must be associated that of Neithard von Thüngen, Bishop of Bamberg. When he took possession of his capital he found the whole Council Protestant with the exception of two members. He had already assisted Bishop Julius in Würzburg, and now resolved to apply the measures of that prince to Bamberg. He published his edict of reformation at Christmas, 1595. This decree commanded the reception of the Lord's Supper according to the Catholic forms, or departure from the diocese; and although it was opposed by the chapter, the nobles, and the landed proprietors, while the most pressing remonstrances were addressed to the bishop by his neighbors, we yet find that in every following year these edicts of reformation were issued, and were for the most part carried into effect.⁴ In Lower Germany, Theodore von Fürstenberg, Bishop of Paderborn, proceeded in emulation of the Bishop of Bamberg. In the year 1596 he threw into prison all the priests of his diocese who administered the Lord's Supper in both kinds. He thus inevitably fell into disputes with his nobles, and we find the bishop and the nobility driving off the cattle and horses of each other. Von Fürstenberg at length came to an open feud

² Wolf, "Geschichte von Heiligenstadt," § 63. Between 1581 and 1601 497 converts were counted, the greater proportion was in 1598, which gives seventy-three.

³ Masenius, "Continuatio Broweri," p. 474.
⁴ Jäck, "Geschichte von Bamberg," iii. 212, 199, for example, or indeed throughout, for the work is principally relative to the Anti-Reformation.

with the city also; but unhappily a turbulent demagogue here arose, who was not equal to the conspicuous part into which he had obtruded himself, and in the year 1604 Paderborn was reduced to the necessity of again doing homage to the bishop. The Jesuits' college was thereupon magnificently endowed, and soon afterward an edict was published here also which left no alternative to the people but the mass or departure from the diocese. By these measures Bamberg and Paderborn gradually became entirely Catholic.⁵

The rapid and yet lasting change brought about in all these countries is in the highest degree remarkable. Is it to be inferred that Protestantism had never taken firm root in the body of the people, or must the change be ascribed to the method adopted by the Jesuits? It is certain that in zeal and prudence they left nothing to be desired. From every point whereon they obtained footing, their influence was extended in ever-widening circles. They possessed the power of captivating the crowd, so that their churches were always the most eagerly frequented; with the most prominent difficulties they always grappled boldly and at once; was there a Lutheran, confident in his biblical knowledge, and to whose judgment the neighbors paid a certain deference, this was the man whom they used every effort to win, and their practised skill in controversy generally secured them from defeat. They were active in works of benevolence; they healed the sick and labored to reconcile enemies. The converted, those with whom they had prevailed, they bound to them by the most solemn oaths; under their banners the faithful were seen repairing to every place of pilgrimage. Men who but a short time before were zealous Protestants might now be seen forming part of these processions.

The Jesuits had educated not only ecclesiastical, but also temporal princes. At the close of the sixteenth century, their two illustrious pupils, Ferdinand II and Maximilian I, appeared in public life.

It is affirmed that when the young Archduke Ferdinand solemnized the festival of Easter at his capital of Grätz, in the year 1596, he was the only person who received the sacrament according to the Catholic ritual, and that there were but three Catholics in the whole city.⁶

⁵ Strunk, "Annales Paderborn," lib. xxii. p. 720.

⁶ Hansitz, "Germania Sacra," ii. p. 712: "The number of Luther's ad-

After the death of the Archduke Charles the enterprises in favor of Catholicism had not been pursued with energy—the government during the minority of his successor, displaying no great power. The Protestants had reinstated themselves in the churches of which they had been despoiled, their schools at Grätz had recovered their efficiency by the acquisition of new and able masters, while the nobles had chosen a committee for the more effectual resistance of all attempts that might be made to the disadvantage of Protestantism.

But in defiance of these discouragements, Ferdinand immediately resolved on proceeding to the continuance and ultimate completion of the Counter-Reformation; political and religious motives combined to produce this determination—he declared that he also would be master in his own territories, as well as the Elector of Saxony, or the elector-palatine. When the danger was represented to him of an onslaught from the Turks during a period of internal discord he replied that, until the perfect conversion of the people was effected, the help of God was not to be hoped for. In the year 1597 Ferdinand proceeded by way of Loretto to Rome—to kneel at the feet of Pope Clement VIII. He then made a vow to restore Catholicism in his hereditary dominions, even at the peril of his life; the Pope confirmed him in this resolve, and he at once returned home to commence the work. In September, 1598, his decrees were issued, and by these he commanded all Lutheran preachers to depart from Grätz, within fourteen days.⁷

Grätz was the centre of Protestant doctrine and power. No means were neglected that might dissuade the archduke from his purpose. Neither prayers nor warnings were left untried, nor were even menaces spared—but the young prince, according to the words of an historian of Carniola, was “firm as a block of marble.”⁸ In October an edict of similar character was published for Carniola, and in December one was issued for Carinthia.

And now the States became exceedingly intractable—even in

herents is so great that only three followers of the faith could be found among almost all the inhabitants of Grätz.” The “almost all” (“*pœne cunctis*”) certainly makes the matter again doubtful.

⁷ Khevenhiller, “*Annales Ferdinandi*,” iv. 1718.

⁸ Valvassor, “*Ehre des Herzogthums Krain*,” Th. ii. Buch vii. p. 464, doubtless the most valuable relation of this occurrence: “Such a petition, mingled with warnings, found only a block of marble, which their pens could neither penetrate nor soften.”

their provincial meetings; for the General Assembly, Ferdinand would no longer permit to be convened. They refused the subsidies, and the troops on the frontier betrayed symptoms of disorder; but the archduke declared he would rather lose all that had been conferred on him by the grace of God than yield one step; the danger menacing from Turkey, whose troops had already taken Canischa, and were daily advancing, compelled the States at length to vote the supplies, although they had not obtained a single concession.

These being secured, the archduke now restrained himself no longer. In October, 1599, the Protestant church of Grätz was closed, and the evangelical service was prohibited under pain of corporal punishment, torture, or death. A commission was formed, which passed through the country, accompanied by an armed force. Styria was first reformed, then Carinthia, and finally Carniola. From place to place the cry rang forth, "The reformation is coming," the churches were torn down, the preachers were exiled or imprisoned, the inhabitants were compelled to adopt the Catholic creed or to leave the country. Many were yet found, who preferred banishment to apostasy; the little town of St. Veit, for example, saw fifty of its burghers abandon their native land,⁹ and these exiles were compelled to pay the tenth penny, which in their condition was no small loss.

Such were the cruelties inflicted on the people, and in return for these oppressions the archduke had the satisfaction of counting in the year 1603 an increase of 40,000 communicants.

This was immediately followed by more extensive proceedings, affecting all the Austrian territories.

The Emperor Rudolf had at first dissuaded his young cousin from the measures he contemplated, but seeing them prove successful he proceeded to imitate them. From 1599 to 1601 we find a commission for reforms in active operation throughout Upper Austria, and in 1602-3 these officials were at work in Lower Austria.¹⁰ From Lintz and Steier, preachers and schoolmasters who had grown gray in the service of the gospel were driven forth without mercy; they felt the affliction to be a grievous one. "Now, bent by years," exclaimed the rector of

⁹Hermann, "St. Veit," in the "Karntnerischer Zeitschrift," v. iii. p. 163.

¹⁰Raupach, "Evangel. Oestreich," i. 215.

Steier, "I am thrust out to poverty and suffering."¹ "We are daily threatened with destruction," writes one of those who remained behind. "Our adversaries lie in wait for us, they mock us and thirst for our blood."²

In Bohemia the Protestants hoped they were more effectually protected by the ancient privileges of the Utraquists. In Hungary they trusted to the independence and power of the Estates. But Rudolf now seemed disposed to respect neither the one nor the other; he had been persuaded that the old Utraquists were entirely extinct, and that the Protestants were not entitled to the enjoyment of the privileges that had been accorded to them. In the year 1602 he put forth an edict forbidding the meetings of the Moravian brethren, and commanding that their churches should be closed.³ All other Protestants felt that they were in danger of similar treatment, nor were they long left in doubt as to what they might expect. Open violence was already resorted to in Hungary. Basta and Belgiojoso, who commanded the imperial forces in that country, took the churches of Caschau and Clausenburg from the Lutherans, and with the aid of these troops the Archbishop of Colocsa sought to force the thirteen towns of Zips to Catholicism. To the complaints of the Hungarians the Emperor replied by the following resolution: His Majesty, who profoundly believes in the holy Roman faith, is desirous of extending it throughout his empire, and especially in Hungary. He hereby confirms and ratifies all decrees that have been issued in favor of that faith from the times of St. Stephen, the apostle of Hungary.⁴

Thus, notwithstanding his advanced age, the cautious Emperor had entirely departed from his accustomed moderation. A similar policy was pursued by the whole body of the Catholic princes, so far as they could possibly make their power extend; the stream of Catholic opinion was poured ever more widely over the land. Force and argument combined to secure its progress; the constitution of the empire supplied no means whereby to oppose it. On the contrary, the Catholic adherents felt themselves so powerful that they now began to interfere with

¹ "Jam senio squalens trudor in exilium." Valentin Pruenhueber, "Annales Styrenses," p. 326.

² "Hofmarius ad Lyserum," Raupach, iv. 151.

³ Schmidt, "Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen," iii. 260. An extract from

the additions to the apology for the Bohemians of the year 1618, which are often omitted in the later editions.

⁴ Art. 22, anno 1604, in Ribiny, "Memorabilia Augustanæ Confessionis," i. p. 321.

the affairs of the empire, and to endanger the still remaining rights of the Protestant communities.⁵

The constitution of the supreme tribunals also received important changes, principally by the interposition of the papal nuncios, more particularly of Cardinal Madruzzo, by whom attention was first drawn to the subject. These alterations presented both opportunity and means for the aggressions anticipated by the Protestants.

Even the imperial court (*Kammergericht*) had assumed a more decided tinge of Catholicism toward the beginning of the seventeenth century, and judgments had been pronounced by it in accordance with the Catholic mode of interpreting the Peace of Augsburg. Those who had suffered from these judgments had adopted the legal remedy of seeking revision, but with the visitations these revisions also were suspended; affairs accumulated, and all remained undecided.⁶

Under these circumstances it was that the Aulic Council (*Reichshofrath*) rose into activity. This at least gave some hope of termination to an affair, for the defeated party could not take refuge in a legal process which could never be executed; but the Aulic Council was not only more decidedly Catholic than the *Kammergericht*, it was also entirely dependent on the court. "The Aulic Council," says the Florentine envoy Alidosi, "pronounces no final decision, without having first imparted the judgment to the Emperor and his Privy Council, who seldom return the decree without alterations."⁷

But what institutions of universal effect existed in the empire except those of judicial character? To these it was that the unity of the nation was attached. Yet even they were now

⁵ "Relatione del Nuntio Ferrero, 1606," enumerates the results that ensued: "During the last few years a vast number of souls have been converted to our holy religion, the churches are restored, many monks have returned to their monasteries, the greater part of the ecclesiastical ceremonies are resumed, the licentiousness of the clergy considerably moderated, and the name of the Roman pontiff received as the acknowledged head of the universal Church."

⁶ "Missiv und Erinnerung des Reichskammergerichts am Reichstarg, von 1608." In the acts of the Diet at Frankfurt-on-the-Main, of which I was kindly permitted to take an examination, the *Kammergericht* declares it to be "known to the country and the empire

in what great and notable numbers the revisions of the judgments pronounced by the said *Kammergericht* have accumulated since the year '86, to such an extent that notice was given to the Imperial College of more than a hundred such, and others might probably be expected daily."

⁷ "Relatione del Sig. Rod. Alidosi, 1607-1609." "It is true that the Aulic Council has this at least of good, that all its decisions, which are to be final, are first transmitted to the Emperor or the Council of State, and they frequently add to or take from or moderate the opinion of the said Council, which being done the decree is returned to the said Council, and in that form is then made public."

subjected to the influence of Catholic opinions and regulated by the convenience of the court. From various quarters complaints had already arisen of partial judgments and arbitrary executions, when the affair of Donauwerth made obvious to the perception of all the great perils by which the country was menaced from this state of things.

A Catholic abbot in a Protestant city, determined to celebrate his processions more publicly and with greater solemnity than usual,⁸ and the fact that he was interrupted and insulted by the populace, was considered a sufficient pretext for the Aulic Council to warrant the infliction of a tedious and harassing process on the town itself. Mandates, citations, and commissions followed in long succession, and the town was finally laid under the ban of the empire. The office of carrying this sentence into effect was intrusted to Maximilian of Bavaria, a neighboring prince of rigidly Catholic opinions. Not content with taking possession of Donauwerth, he at once invited the order of Jesuits to settle in the city, permitted none but the Catholic service to be performed, and proceeded in the usual manner to effect a Counter-Reformation.

This affair was regarded by Maximilian himself in the light of its general import. He wrote to the Pope saying that it might be considered as a test by which the decline of the Protestant influence could be judged.

But he deceived himself if he believed that the Protestants would endure these things quietly. They saw clearly what they had to expect, if matters were permitted to proceed in that manner.

The Jesuits had already become so bold as to deny the validity of the Peace of Augsburg; they maintained that it could not have been properly ratified without the consent of the Pope; that in any case it was valid only to the period of the Council of Trent, and must be considered as a sort of *interim* only.

And even those who acknowledged the validity of this treaty were yet of opinion that at least all property confiscated by Prot-

⁸ The report, "relating to the execution at Donauwerth," in the acts of the imperial Diet of February 4th, declares (in agreement with the other relations and informations), that all the abbot could claim by ancient custom was the right of walking with banners lowered and furled, without song or bell, and

only by a certain narrow lane under the monastery wall, till he was beyond the city and its jurisdiction, and then only was he to lift and unfurl his banners, or to suffer singing or music to begin, when he had got beyond the Donauwerth ground. These restrictions he had now broken through.

estants since its conclusion ought to be restored. To the construction put on the words of the treaty by the Protestants they paid no attention.

But what might not be the result when these views should be adopted by the highest tribunals of the empire, and when judgments, as already began to be the case, were pronounced and carried into effect in accordance with their principles?

When the Diet assembled at Ratisbon in the year 1608 the Protestants would proceed to no deliberation until they should receive a positive confirmation of the Treaty of Augsburg.* Even Saxony, which had always before been disposed to the party of the Emperor, now demanded that the processes instituted by the Aulic Council should be done away with, so far as they were contrary to the practice of earlier times; that the judicial system should receive amendment; and not only that the Treaty of Augsburg should be renewed as concluded in 1555, but that the Jesuits, by a pragmatic sanction, should be prohibited from writing against it.

But the Catholics on their side were also very zealous, and were closely united. The Bishop of Ratisbon had previously issued a circular, in which he exhorted his coreligionists to impress upon their envoys the necessity for being unanimous in their defence of the Catholic religion; he admonishes all to "stand together rigid and fast as a wall"; by no means to temporize; there was now nothing to fear, since they had stanch and zealous defenders in august and illustrious princely houses. If then the Catholics showed a disposition to confirm the treaty of Augsburg, they did so with the addition of a clause to the effect "that whatever had been done in contravention of the same should be annulled and restituted"—a clause which comprehended all that the Protestants feared and which they desired to avoid.

With so decided a disagreement on the principal question, it was not to be expected that unanimity of opinion should be obtained on any separate subject of discussion, or that the Emperor should be accorded those subsidies which he was desiring, and greatly needed, for the war against the Turks.

* "Protocollum im Correspondenzrath," April 5, 1608, in the acts of the Diet: "The chief consultation of the present Diet has been hitherto suspended, because the States of the evangelical religion desired to have the

Peace of Augsburg confirmed, while the Papist party wish to insert the clause that all property confiscated by the Evangelical States since the year '55 should be restored."

This consideration would seem to have made some impression on the Emperor; and the court seems to have resolved at one time on a frank and fair compliance with the Protestant demands.

Such, at least, is the inference to be drawn from a very remarkable report relating to this Diet, and prepared by the papal envoy.¹⁰

The Emperor did not appear in person—he was represented by the Archduke Ferdinand; neither was the nuncio himself at Ratisbon, but he had sent an Augustine monk thither in his place, Fra Felice Milensio, vicar-general of his order, who labored with extraordinary zeal to maintain the interests of Catholicism.

This Fra Milensio, from whom our report proceeds, declares that the Emperor had in fact determined to publish an edict in conformity with the wishes of the Protestants: he ascribes this resolve to the immediate influence of Satan, and says that it had doubtless been brought about by the agency of the Emperor's chamberlains, of whom one was a Jew and the other a heretic.¹

Let us hear from himself the report he proceeds to give: "On receiving intelligence of the edict that had arrived, and which was imparted to myself and some others, I repaired to the archduke and inquired if such a decree had really come. The archduke replied that it had. 'And does your imperial highness intend to publish it?' The archduke answered, 'The imperial Privy Council has so commanded, and you perceive yourself, reverend father, the situation in which we are placed.' Hereupon I replied,² 'Your imperial Highness will not belie

¹⁰ See Appendix, No. 8o.

¹ Account of the imperial Diet held in Ratisbon, 1608, and at which, in place of the most excellent and most reverend Monsre. Antonio Gaetano, Archbishop of Capua and apostolic nuncio, retained in Prague by his imperial Majesty, was resident Father Felice Milensio, chief of Augustinians and vicar-general for the Northern provinces: "It is certain that this was contrived by the devil and promoted by his ministers, of whom were the two chamberlains of Rudolf, the one being a Jew, the other a heretic, and by those of his Council, who were Hussites or worse."

² "Let your most serene highness remember that Catholic piety in which you were born and educated, and for the sake of which, but few years since, fearing no danger, and at the peril of

losing all your dominions, you banished thence all the heretics, with orders, that in a few months they should either declare themselves Catholics, or, selling all they had, should get themselves gone out of the country; remember, too, that in the picture painted in the church of the father Capuchins at Grätz, you are represented with lance in hand, like another St. Michael, having Luther under your feet, and in the act of piercing his throat; and now, you being here in the place of the Emperor, ought not to endure that the goods of the Church should be lost, and that Christ's patrimony should suffer; still less that the diabolical sect of Luther be strengthened by this concession; or, worse than all, that of Calvin, now incorporated with it, and which never received any kind of tolerance

the piety in which you have been educated, and with which but a short time since you ventured, in defiance of so many threatening dangers, to banish all heretics from your dominions. I cannot believe that your imperial Highness will sanction the loss of church property, and the confirmation of the devilish sect of Luther, or that still worse of Calvin, which must all come from this new concession.' The pious prince listened to my words. 'But what is to be done?' he asked. 'I beg your imperial Highness,' I replied, 'to bring this affair before his holiness the Pope, and to take no step in it until we have his reply;' and the archduke did so, for he respected the commands of God more than the decrees of men."

If all this occurred as described, we may readily perceive how important a part this nameless Augustine friar performed in the history of the German Empire. At the decisive moment he contrived to prevent the publication of a concession by which the Protestants would apparently have been contented. In place of this, Ferdinand now promulgated an edict of interposition, which still left an opening for the introduction of the objectionable clause. On April 5, 1608, the Protestants assembled, and united in passing a resolution neither to receive the edict nor to yield obedience to it.⁸ But since the other party would also abate no portion of their demands, and since nothing was to be obtained from the Emperor or his representative that might have allayed the fears of the Protestants, they adopted the extreme measure of quitting the Diet. For the first time, that assembly failed to arrive at any conclusion, much less at any agreement—it was a moment in which the unity of the empire was in fact dissolved.

That affairs should remain in this condition was impossible. Any one of the Protestant powers would have been too weak alone to maintain the position that had been taken up; and the pressure of the moment now compelled them to carry into effect an alliance that had long been desired, deliberated upon,

from the Emperor.' This and more I said, and the most pious prince listened. 'I entreat you,' said I, further, 'that you suspend this business till the reply comes from the supreme pontiff;' and this he did, deferring the decrees of men that he might not offend against the decrees of God."

⁸ *Votum der Pfalz, in "Correspondenzrath"*: "That the confirmation of the Peace of Augsburg is by no means

to be accepted in the form proposed by the letter of interposition; that being entirely useless to those of the evangelical faith, since the decree of the year '66 contains the very clause now in dispute." It did not appear in the decrees of 1557 and 1559. The letter of interposition referred to the year 1556 only, and was rejected because it treated the Emperor as judge in all affairs of religion.

and projected. Immediately after the Diet, a meeting was held at Ahausen, between two princes of the palatinate, the Elector Frederick, and the Count Palatine of Neuburg; two princes of Brandenburg, the margraves Joachim and Christian Ernest; the Duke of Wurtemberg and the Margrave of Baden, by whom a league was formed, known as that of the "Union." They pledged themselves to support and assist each other in every way—even by force of arms; and this with especial reference to the grievances brought forward at the late Diet. They immediately put themselves into a state of military preparation, and each member of the Union undertook to induce such of his neighbors as he could influence, to join the confederacy. Their determination was to obtain for themselves that security which, in the existing state of things, the imperial government did not afford them, and in fact to help themselves.

This was an innovation which involved the most comprehensive results; and the rather as an event of very similar character just then occurred in the Emperor's hereditary dominions.

The Emperor Rudolf was at variance, for several causes, with his brother Matthias; and in their dissensions, the Estates of Austria, oppressed both in their civil and religious liberty, perceived an opportunity for recovering and upholding both; they consequently took part with the archduke.

So early as the year 1606 the archduke, in concert with these States, had concluded a peace with Hungary without consulting the Emperor; they excused themselves on the ground that the Emperor neglected public affairs, and that the condition of things had compelled them to act. But as Rudolf refused to acknowledge this peace, they arose into open rebellion, and that in virtue of the compact they had formed.⁴ The Hungarian and Austrian Estates first concluded an alliance for mutual aid and protection; they next induced the Moravians to join them, principally by means of the influence possessed over them by one of the Lichtenstein family, and all agreed to peril fortune and life for the archduke. This force advanced against the Em-

⁴ Their compact contained the following clause: "But if on account of or in contravention of the Viennese and Turkish Treaty, enemies or disturbance should interpose, then the most serene archduke, and all the States of the Kingdom of Hungary, with those of the

Archduchy of Upper and Lower Austria, shall not fail to support each other with mutual aid and assistance.—Reva ap. Schandtner, "Script. rerum Ung. ii. Kurz, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Landes Oestreich ob der Ens," b. iv. p. 21."

peror, under their self-elected leader, on the very day that saw the dissolution of the Diet at Ratisbon, in May, 1608. Rudolf was compelled to resign himself to the necessity of yielding Hungary, Austria, and Moravia to the possession of his brother.⁵

But Matthias was now manifestly compelled to make concessions to the States, in return for the services he had received from them. During a period of forty-eight years the Emperors had evaded the nomination of a palatine in Hungary; that dignity was now conferred on a Protestant; religious freedom was secured in the most solemn manner, not only to the magnates, but to the cities, and to all conditions of men, even to the soldiers stationed on the frontiers.⁶ The Austrians would not consent to do homage until the free exercise of their religion was secured to them, whether in their castles or villages, nay, even in the private houses of the cities.

What the Austrians and Hungarians had gained by direct force, the Bohemians procured by aiding in the Emperor's defence; before he could oppose even a show of resistance to his brother, Rudolf was compelled to grant large concessions, and when Hungary and Austria had obtained so great an extent of freedom by means of Matthias, the Emperor could not refuse the demands of the Bohemians, whatever might be urged to the contrary by the papal nuncio or the Spanish ambassador. He conceded to them the imperial rescript, which not only renewed the privileges conferred by Maximilian II, but also permitted the establishment of a special magistracy for their protection.

The aspect of affairs in Germany and the Emperor's hereditary dominions thus assumed a totally different character. The Union extended itself through Germany, and carefully watched over every aggression of Catholicism, which it instantly and forcibly repelled. In the Austrian provinces the Estates had consolidated their ancient privileges into a firmly grounded constitutional government. The difference between the two conditions of things was not inconsiderable. In the empire, Catholicism had once more extended itself through the territories of the Catholic princes, and it was not until it proceeded beyond due limits, until it interfered with violence in the affairs of the empire and endangered the existence of the free Estates, that resistance was opposed to its progress. In the hereditary do-

⁵ See Appendix, No. 77.

⁶ The article is given in Ribiny, i. 358.

minions, on the contrary, it encountered invincible opposition, even within the territorial power of the imperial house, from the influence of Protestant landholders. There was nevertheless, upon the whole, a common feeling throughout the land. In Austria it was remarked with much significance, that one sword must be kept in its scabbard by the other.

For the opposite party had also at once assumed an attitude of aggression. On July 11, 1609, an alliance was concluded between Maximilian of Bavaria and seven of the ecclesiastical princes—the Bishop of Würzburg, namely, with those of Constance, Augsburg, Passau, and Ratisbon, the Provost of Ellwangen and the Abbot of Kempten; they formed a league for mutual defence, on the model of the ancient treaty of Landsberg.⁷ The Duke of Bavaria obtained a great extent of power by this compact. The three ecclesiastical electors soon afterward associated themselves with this league, but retained a certain freedom of action. The Archduke Ferdinand desired to be received into the same confederacy, Spain declared its approval, the Pope gave a promise to neglect no means for promoting the objects of the compact, and without doubt the pontiff in particular became gradually more and more involved in its designs and interests, principally by means of the Spanish influence.⁸

Two hostile parties thus confronted each other, both armed, each in constant fear of being surprised and attacked, but neither strong enough to bring the questions between them to a decisive issue.

It followed of necessity that in Germany the despatch of all important public business, the solution of every difficulty affecting the common weal, had become utterly impossible. In the year 1611 there should have been proceedings for the election of a king of the Romans, but the electoral princes vainly assembled, they could come to no decision.

Even after the death of Rudolf, in 1612, a long time elapsed before an election could be effected. The three temporal electors insisted, by the capitulary of election, on the establishment of an imperial council, the said council to be composed equally

⁷ Maximilian refers to this league in his instructions to his ambassador at Mayence; see Wolf, ii. p. 470.

⁸ The documents relating to this subject are not known; until further infor-

mation can be obtained, we may content ourselves with the assertions of Moccigno, the Venetian ambassador. See Appendix, No. 81.

from both parties. This demand the three ecclesiastical electors opposed; and it was only when Saxony, which in all these affairs had evinced great devotion to the house of Austria, had passed over to the Catholic side that the election was at length completed.

But that which failed to pass in the Council of Electors was insisted on with all the more violence by the Union of princes in the Diet of 1613, where it was opposed with equal pertinacity by the Catholics. No further deliberation was attempted; the Protestants would no longer subject themselves to the yoke of the greater number.

In Juliers and Cleves, notwithstanding the vacillating weakness which characterized the government of the last native prince, effectual measures had at length been adopted for the restoration of Catholicism; principally by the influence of his wife, a princess of the house of Lorraine. It seemed for a certain time that Protestantism would nevertheless obtain the supremacy, the next heirs being both Protestant; but the force of religious division prevailed here also. Of the two Protestant claimants of the sovereignty, one passed over to the Catholic faith; and the two parties placed themselves in opposition here also. As they acknowledged no supreme arbiter, they proceeded in the year 1614 to acts of open hostility; both seized on all around them, so far as their power could be made to reach; the one, with the help of Spain; the other, with that of the Netherlands; and each reformed, after its own fashion, the districts that had fallen to its share, without further ceremony.

Attempts were indeed made to effect a reconciliation; an electoral diet was proposed, but the elector-palatine would not hear of this, because he had no confidence in his colleague of Saxony: the next project was a general diet of composition; but the Catholic States had innumerable objections to oppose to this plan. Others turned their thoughts toward the Emperor, and recommended him to enforce his authority, by the display of a large armed force. But what could have been expected from Matthias, who belonged to both parties, by the very source and cause of his power, but was so trammelled by the chains he had imposed on himself, that he could not possibly attain to any freedom of action? Loud were the complaints of the Pope against him; he declared him unfit to be

invested with so high a dignity, in times of so much difficulty; he caused representations to be made to him, in the strongest terms of remonstrance; insomuch that he was himself amazed at the Emperor's long-suffering endurance. At a later period the Catholics were not so much dissatisfied with Matthias; even the most zealous declared that he had been more useful to their Church than could have been expected. In the affairs of the empire he was, however, utterly powerless. In the year 1617 he made an attempt to dissolve both the confederacies; but the union was immediately revived with increased strength, and the league was re-established with all its pristine vigor.

Section VI.—Papal Nunciature in Switzerland

An equal balance of parties had been maintained for a long period in Switzerland. This was now as conspicuously and firmly established as in earlier times, but it rested on a more pacific basis.

The power of self-government, possessed by each separate territory, had been long secured in Switzerland: religious matters were not even permitted to be brought into discussion among the affairs of the Diet. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the Catholic party no longer cherished a single hope of being able to overpower the Protestants, who were not only richer and more powerful than themselves, but had also men of greater ability among them—men better versed in the details of public business.¹

The nuncios, who had fixed their seat in Lucerne, did not deceive themselves on that point: it is by them, indeed, that this condition of things is pointed out. But notwithstanding the limitations thus imposed on their circle of action, the position they held among the Catholics was always one of high consideration.

One of the most important duties of their office was that of

¹ The " *Informazione mandata dal Sr. Cardl. d'Aquino a Monsr. Feliciano, vescovo di Foligno, per il paese de' Suizzeri e Grisoni* " (*Informationi Polit. ix.*), adds to this: " The Catholic cantons down to these times have shown themselves more warlike than the heretic cantons, although the latter have double their power, whether in men or money; but nowadays the Catholics are

so changed and degenerated from those old Switzers that unless by the special grace of God they could have no advantage, humanly speaking, over the heretic adversary; nor could they, without foreign aid, go to war with them, the Protestants having, besides, men of more learning, judgment, and practice in all affairs."

holding the bishops firmly to the exercise of their duties.² The bishops of the German nation were disposed to consider themselves princes, but the nuncios reminded them continually that they were exalted in reference to their spiritual calling only—a truth they earnestly impressed on them. There was, in fact, much life and zeal in the Swiss Church; visitations were held, synods appointed, monasteries reformed, and seminaries established. The nuncios labored to maintain a good understanding between the ecclesiastical and temporal authorities, and by mildness and persuasion they succeeded for the most part in attaining their end; they contrived also to prevent the intrusion of Protestant publications, but they were compelled to leave the people in possession of their Bibles and German prayer-books. Confraternities of the Virgin were instituted, and these comprehended both old and young; sermons and the confessional were zealously attended; pilgrimages to miraculous images again acquired popularity, and it even became requisite sometimes to mitigate the severity which zealous devotees here and there inflicted on themselves.³ The nuncios were unable sufficiently to express their value for the service rendered to them by the Capuchins, more particularly by those of Italy.

As a natural consequence of all this, there next followed conversions. The nuncios received the converts into their own care, supported them, recommended them to the good offices of others, and labored to establish funds from the contributions of the faithful, and under the superintendence of the prelates, for the benefit of those newly converted. Sometimes they succeeded in recovering jurisdictions that had been given up as lost; they then restored the mass to these districts with all speed. The Bishop of Basle and the Abbot of St. Gall displayed extraordinary zeal in labors of this kind.

In all these affairs the nuncios were materially assisted by the circumstance of the King of Spain having formed a party of

² "Relazione della Nuntiatura de' Suizzeri:" "Experience has taught me that, to make the nunciatures useful, it is desirable that the nuncios should not intrude themselves into all that may be done by the bishops, and which belong to the ordinaries, unless it be to assist, and in case of real necessity; for, by interfering in all things indifferently, the nuncios not only offend the bishops, but frequently cause them to oppose and render vain every effort of the

apostolic minister; moreover, it is contrary to the wish of Monsignor and to the canons to put the hand to another man's harvest; the nuncios being sent to aid, and not to subvert, the authority of the ordinaries." See Appendix, No. 82.

³ To give an example, in the "Literæ Annuæ Societatis Jesu, 1596," p. 187, we read: "The rigorous mode of fasting of some was prohibited by the confessor."

his own in Catholic Switzerland. The adherents of this Spanish party, as, for example, the Lusi in Unterwalden, the Amli in Lucerne, the Bühler in Schwyz, and others, were found to be usually the most devoted assistants of the Roman See. The nuncios did not fail to turn these dispositions to the best account, and to cherish them with the utmost regard. They were careful to show a high sense of their value; listened patiently to the longest and most tedious discourses; did not spare titles of respect; and professed themselves to be warm admirers of the great deeds performed of old by the Swiss nation, and of the wisdom manifest in their republican institutions. They found it especially necessary to keep their friends together by feasts, given at regularly returning intervals; they were careful on their own part to repay every invitation and mark of respect shown to themselves by some present. Presents were particularly effectual in those districts. He who was nominated Knight of the Golden Spur, and who received a gold chain or medal in addition to the honor, felt himself bound to them forever. But they were obliged to beware of promising what they were not quite sure of performing; if, on the contrary, they were able to perform more than they had promised, that was accounted a great merit. Their domestic arrangements and private life were expected to be very strictly regulated, and to afford no opportunity for censure.

From all these causes it resulted that the Catholic interests in Switzerland also had now generally attained to a very prosperous condition and were making quiet progress.

There was only one district where the differences between Catholics and Protestants inhabiting the same territory, coinciding with an unsettled state of political relations, might occasion disorders and contests.

This was in the Grisons, where the government was essentially Protestant, while the Italian portion of their territories, more particularly the Valteline, was steadfastly Catholic.

From this cause arose unceasing irritation. The government would tolerate no foreign priests in the valley; they had even prohibited attendance on Jesuit schools beyond the limits of the canton, and would by no means suffer the Bishop of Como, to whose diocese the Valteline belonged, to exercise his episcopal office in the district. The native inhabitants, on the other

hand, beheld Protestants residing in their country with extreme dissatisfaction, and the rather as they claimed to be lords and masters in the land; they attached themselves in secret to the Italians, particularly to the orthodox city of Milan, and their zeal was continually inflamed by the young theologians who were sent to them in succession from the *Collegium Helveticum* of that city, in which alone six places were apportioned to the Valteline.⁴

But this state of things was the more dangerous because France, Spain, and Venice were all laboring with their utmost powers to establish each its own party in the Grisons; these parties not unfrequently came into violent collision, and first one then another drove its opponent from the place. In the year 1607 the Spanish faction took possession of Coire, but was soon afterward replaced by the faction of Venice. The first broke up the League, the latter restored it; the Spanish had the Catholic sympathies with them, the Venetians those of the Protestants, and in accordance with these the whole policy of the canton was determined. Much now depended on the side for which France would declare itself. The French had pensioners all through Switzerland, not in the Catholic cantons only, but in those of the Protestant faith also; and they possessed an influence of long standing in the Grisons. About the year 1612 they adopted the Catholic interests; the nuncio succeeded in gaining over their friends to the side of Rome: the Venetian alliance was even formally renounced.

These were party conflicts that would merit but little attention in themselves, were it not that they acquired a greater importance from the fact that it depended on them to which of the powers the Grison passes should be opened or closed. We shall see that their weight affected the balance, and had some share in determining the general relations of politics and religion.

Section VII.—Regeneration of Catholicism in France

The question that was now more extensively important than any other was the position that would be adopted by France in general as regarded religion.

⁴ "Relne. della Nuntiatura:" "The Helvetic college of Milan is of great utility, and is, in particular, the very salvation of the Val Telina; for what-

ever priests it has are students of that college, and have almost all taken high degrees in theology." See Appendix, No. 82.

The first glance shows clearly that the Protestants still maintained themselves there in great power and influence.

Henry IV had accorded them the Edict of Nantes, which not only confirmed them in the possession of all the churches then in their hands, but even conferred on them a share in the institutions for public instruction, and equality with Catholics, as regarded the chambers of Parliament. They also occupied numerous strong places, and altogether possessed a degree of independence which might well have occasioned a question whether it were not incompatible with the supremacy of the State. About the year 1600, 760 parishes were counted in the possession of the French Protestants, and all well organized. Four thousand of the nobility belonged to that confession; it was believed that 25,000 men could be brought into the field without difficulty, and they held nearly 200 fortified places: this was a power that was certain to command respect, and could by no means be prudently offended.¹

But close beside this power, and in direct opposition to it, there arose a second, the corporation of the Catholic clergy in France.

The large possessions of the French clergy secured to that body a certain degree of independence, and this was rendered more palpable to themselves, as well as more obvious to others, from their having undertaken to liquidate a portion of the public debt.²

For this participation was not so entirely compulsory as to preclude the necessity for a renewal of their obligations from time to time with the forms of a voluntary engagement.

Under Henry IV the assemblies which were held for that purpose assumed a more regular form; they were to be repeated every tenth year, and always in May, when the days are long, and give time for the transaction of much business; they were never to be held in Paris, that all interruptions might be avoided.

¹ Badoer, "Relatione di Francia, 1605."

² In the "Mémoires du Clergé de France," tom. ix.—"Recueil des contrats passés par le clergé avec les rois"—the documents relating to this affair will be found from the year 1561. At the Assembly of Poissy in that year, for example, the clergy undertook not only the interest but the actual payment of a considerable part of the public debt. The payment was not indeed accom-

plished, but the clergy maintained its promise of paying the interest. The debts were principally those due to the Hôtel de Ville, and the city profited by the interest, a fixed annual sum being paid to it by the clergy. We may hence see clearly why Paris, even though it had not been so Catholic as it was, could yet never have permitted the ruin of the clergy, or the destruction of ecclesiastical property, which was its own security for the debt.

Smaller meetings were to assemble every second year for the auditing of accounts.

It was not in the nature of things that these assemblies, the larger ones in particular, should confine themselves to their financial duties. The fulfilment of these gave them courage for more extended efforts. In the years 1595 and 1596, they resolved to renew the provincial councils, to oppose the interference of the civil jurisdiction in matters pertaining to the office of the clergy, and to permit no simony. It was of great importance to the force of these resolutions that the King, after some hesitation, accorded them his approval.³ It was usual for the clergy to make general representations of matters regarding churches and church discipline; from these the King could not possibly withhold his attention, and new concessions were invariably to be made before the proceedings closed. At their next assembly the clergy commenced by investigating the extent to which the changes thus promised had been carried into effect.

The position of Henry IV was thus very peculiar: he stood between two corporations, both possessing a certain independence, both holding their assemblies at stated times, and then assailing him, each from its own side, with conflicting representations, while it was not easy for the King to neglect or oppose himself to either one or the other.

His wish and purpose generally were, without doubt, to maintain the balance between them, and not to suffer their becoming involved in new conflicts; but if we ask to which of the two parties he was the more inclined, and which he most effectually assisted, we shall find that it was obviously the Catholic, although his own elevation was attributable to the Protestants.

The gratitude of Henry was not more conspicuous than his vindictiveness. He was more anxious to gain new friends than to reward or favor the old ones.

Were not the Protestants in fact compelled to extort from him even that edict (of Nantes)? He granted it to them only at a moment when he was closely pressed by the Spanish arms, and when they had themselves, at the same time, assumed a very

³ Relation des principales choses qui ont esté résolues dans l'assemblée générale du clergé tenue à Paris es années

1595 et 1596, envoyée à toutes les diocèses."—"Mémoires du Clergé," tom. viii. p. 6.

threatening and warlike attitude.⁴ Accordingly, they used their privileges in a spirit similar to that by which they had acquired them. Their body constituted a republic, over which the King had but little influence; from time to time they even spoke of choosing some other and foreign protector.

The clergy of the Catholic Church attached themselves, on the contrary, closely to the King; they required no pecuniary aid—they even afforded it, and the independence of that body could never become dangerous, because the King held the appointment to vacant benefices in his own hands. In so much, then, as the position of the Huguenots manifestly imposed a limitation on the royal authority, the extension of that authority became obviously identified with the progress of Catholicism.⁵ As early as the year 1598 the King declared to the clergy that his purpose was to render the Catholic Church once more as prosperous as it had been in the century preceding. He begged them only to be patient, and to confide in him; Paris was not built in a day.⁶

The rights derived from the Concordat were now exercised in a manner totally different from that of former times; benefices were no longer bestowed on women and children. When appointing to ecclesiastical offices, the King looked most carefully to the learning, mental qualifications, and moral conduct of those on whom they were conferred.

“In all external affairs,” observes a Venetian, “Henry IV shows himself personally devoted to the Roman Catholic religion, and disinclined to its opponents.”

It was under the influence of these feelings that he recalled the Jesuits. He believed that their zeal must of necessity contribute to the restoration of Catholicism, and, as a consequence, to the extension of the kingly authority, as he now conceived it, and desired that it should be.⁷

⁴ This is placed beyond doubt by the account given in Benoist, “Histoire de l’Edit de Nantes,” i. 185.

⁵ Niccolò Contarini: “Though the King temporized with both parties, and his Councillors were of both religions, yet he seemed even more and more to alienate himself from the Huguenots, and to wish their power diminished; the principal reason was that many strong places were put into their hands by the edicts of pacification; full thirty of these were of great consequence, and

the King did not feel absolute master in his kingdom without them.”

⁶ “Mémoires du Clergé,” tom. xiv. p. 259.

⁷ Contarini: “For the abasement of which [the party of the Huguenots] the King thought he might strike a great blow by recalling the Jesuits, thinking also by that means to destroy many conspiracies at their very roots.” He had replied to the Parliaments, that if they could secure his life from machinations, the exile of the Jesuits should never cease.

Yet all this would have availed but little, had not the internal regeneration of the Catholic Church, already commenced in France, made great and rapid progress at that time: it had, in fact, assumed a new form during the first twenty years of the century. Let us cast a glance at this change, more especially as regards the renewal of monastic discipline, in which it most strikingly displays itself.

The ancient orders, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Benedictines, were all most zealously reformed.

The conventual associations of women emulated these efforts. The penances imposed on themselves by the Feuillantines were so extravagantly severe that fourteen are reported to have once died from them in one week. The Pope himself was compelled to exhort them to mitigate their austerities.⁸ In Portroyal, community of possessions, silence, and night vigils were introduced anew, and the mystery of the eucharist was adored there, without intermission, day and night.⁹ The nuns of Calvary observed the rule of St. Benedict without the slightest mitigation; by ceaseless prayers at the foot of the cross they sought to perform a kind of expiation for the offences committed by Protestants against the tree of life.¹⁰

In a somewhat different spirit, Saint Theresa had, at the same time, reformed the order of the Carmelite nuns in Spain; she also enjoined the most rigid seclusion; even the visits of the nearest relations at the grate she sought to restrict, and subjected the confessor himself to inspection. Yet she did not consider austerity as the end, and labored only to produce such a disposition of the soul as might raise it to a closer communion with the Divine Spirit. Saint Theresa was convinced that no seclusion from the world, no privations, no discipline of mind, would suffice to restrain the penitent within the requisite limits, unless other means were added. Labor, the direct occupations of the household—works suited to the hands of women—this she found was the path that preserves the soul of woman from degeneracy. It is by labor that the door is most effectually closed against unprofitable and wandering thoughts. But this labor, as she further prescribed, was not to be costly nor require

⁸ Helyot, "Histoire des Ordres Monastiques," v. p. 412.

⁹ Felibien, "Histoire de Paris," ii. 1339; a work extremely valuable throughout, as regards the history of

this restoration, and which is in many places founded on original authorities.

¹⁰ "La Vie du véritable Père Josef," 1705, pp. 53-73.

great skill, neither was it to be fixed for stated times, nor even to be of a nature in itself to absorb the mind. Her purpose was to promote the serenity of a soul conscious of being itself existent in God; "a soul that lives constantly," to use her own words, "as if ever standing before the face of God, and which has no suffering but that of not enjoying His presence." She desired to produce what she calls the prayer of love, "wherein the soul forgets itself, and hears only the voice of the heavenly Master."¹ This was an enthusiasm that was conceived, at least, by Saint Theresa herself, in a manner the most pure, most noble, and most true: it accordingly produced a very powerful impression throughout the whole Catholic world. Even in France, a conviction became felt that something more than penance was demanded. An especial delegate, Pierre Berulle, was sent to Spain, who then, though not without difficulty, succeeded in transplanting the order to France, where it afterward took root and bore the fairest fruits.

The institutions of St. François de Sales were also established in this milder spirit. In all his proceedings, François de Sales desired to maintain a cheerful tranquillity, free from hurry, and from all painful effort. With the aid of his fellow-laborer, Mère Chantel, he founded the order of Visitation, expressly for such persons as were prevented by the delicacy of their bodily frame from entering the more austere communities. He not only omitted from his rule all direct penances, and dispensed from all the more severe monastic duties, but even admonished his followers to refrain from excess of internal enthusiasm. He recommended that all should place themselves, without an excessive anxiety of self-investigation, in the sight of God, and not labor to enjoy more of His presence than he shall see fit to grant. Pride of spirit is sometimes concealed under the aspect of religious ecstasy, and may mislead: it is advisable that all should restrain their walk within the accustomed paths of virtue. For this cause, he prescribes to his nuns the care of the sick as their especial duty: they were to go out always two together—one a superior, the other an associate—and visit the sick poor in

¹ Diego de Yepes, "Vita della gloriosa vergine S. Teresa di Giesu, fondatrice de' Carmelitani Scalzi, Roma, 1623," p. 303. "Constituzioni principali," § 3, p. 208. The "Exclama-

ciones o meditaciones de S. Teresa con algunos otros tratadillos, Brusselas, 1682," exhibit her enthusiasm in too exalted a state for our sympathies.

their own dwellings. It was the opinion of François de Sales, that we should pray by good works—by our labors of love.² His order diffused a beneficent influence through the whole of France.

It will be instantly perceived that in this course of things there was an obvious progress from austerity to moderation, from ecstasy to calmness, from secluded asceticism to the performance of social duty.

The Ursuline nuns were also now received in France: this community assumed a fourth vow, that of devoting itself to the instruction of young girls, and this duty the members performed with admirable zeal.

A similar disposition was soon seen to be actively at work among the religious communities of men also, as indeed may be readily imagined.

Jean Baptiste Romillon, who had borne arms against Catholicism up to his twenty-sixth year, but who then became its convert, established, with the aid of a friend attached to similar principles, the order of the Fathers of Christian Doctrine, by whom the foundations of elementary instruction were laid anew throughout France.

We have already mentioned Berulle, one of the distinguished ecclesiastics of France at that time. From early youth he had evinced the most earnest wish to render himself fitted for the service of the Church. To this end he had, as he says, kept daily present to his thoughts "the truest and most profound purpose of his heart," which was "to labor for the attainment of the highest perfection." It may perhaps have been the difficulties he experienced in this work that impressed him with the absolute necessity of an institution for the education of the clergy with reference to the immediate service of the altar. He took Filippo Neri as his model, and founded an establishment of "Priests of the Oratory." He would not suffer vows; he permitted simple engagements only, possessing sufficient liberality of mind to desire that all should be at liberty to withdraw from that service who did not feel the strength of purpose required to fulfil its duties. His institution was very successful;

² As, for example, we find in Gallitia, "Leben des h. Franz von Sales," ii. 285. But it is in his own works that the character of St. Francis is most clearly

and most attractively manifested, more especially in his "Introduction to a Devotional Life."

the mildness of his rule attracted pupils of rank, and Berulle soon found himself at the head of a brilliant band of able and docile young men. Episcopal seminaries and schools of a higher order were intrusted to his care. The clergy proceeding from his institution were animated by a more life-like and active spirit, and the character of pulpit oratory in France was determined by that period of its history.³

Nor must we here omit to mention the congregation of St. Maur. While the French Benedictines adhered to those reforms of their order which had been effected in Lorraine, they added to its various obligations the duty of devoting themselves to the education of the young nobility, and to learning in general. In their earliest efforts of this kind there appeared among them a man of well-merited celebrity, Nicolas Hugo Ménard. From him it was that their studies received the direction toward ecclesiastical antiquities, to which we are indebted for so many magnificent works.⁴

The order of the Brethren of Mercy, a foundation of that indefatigable attendant of the sick, Johannes à Deo,⁵ a Portuguese, on whom a Spanish bishop conferred that name in a moment of admiration; had been introduced into France by Mary de' Medici. The severity of their rule was increased in that country, but they had all the more followers from that circumstance; and in a short time we find thirty hospitals founded by this brotherhood.

But how vast is the undertaking to remodel the religious character and feelings of a whole kingdom—to lead all into one sole direction of faith and doctrine! Among the inferior classes, the peasantry, and even the clergy of remote parishes, the old abuses might still be found prevailing; but the great missionary of the people—of the populace—Vincent de Paul, appeared in the midst of the universal movement, and by him was established that Congregation of the Mission, whose members, travelling from place to place, diffused the spirit of devotion throughout the land, and penetrated to the most remote and secluded corners of France. Vincent de Paul, himself the son of a peasant, was

³ Tabaraud, "Histoire de Pierre de Berulle," Paris, 1817.

⁴ Filipe le Cerf, "Bibliothèque historique et critique des Auteurs de la Congrégation de S. Maur," p. 355.

⁵ "Approbatio Congregationis Fratrum Johannis Dei, 1572." Kal. Jan. (Bullar. Cocquel. iv. 111, 190.)

humble, full of zeal, and endowed with good practical sense.⁶ It was by him that the order of Sisters of Mercy was also founded. In this the gentler sex, while still at an age when they might claim to realize the most radiant hopes of domestic happiness or worldly distinction, devoted itself to the service of the sick, frequently of the depraved, without venturing to give more than a passing expression to those religious feelings by which its earnest toils are prompted, and whence its pious activity proceeds.

These are labors that are happily ever renewed in Christian lands, whether for the nurture of infancy, the instruction of youth, or the inculcation of learning, the teaching of the people from the pulpit, or the purposes of benevolence in general; but in no place are they effectual without the combination of manifold qualities and energies with religious enthusiasm. In other countries they are usually left to the care of each successive generation, to the promptings of present need; but here an attempt was made to fix these associations on an immutable basis, to give an invariable form to the religious impulse from which they proceed, that all may be consecrated to the immediate service of the Church, and that future generations may be trained imperceptibly but surely into the same path.

Throughout France the most important consequences were soon manifest. Even under Henry IV the Protestants already perceived themselves to be hemmed in and endangered by an activity so deeply searching and so widely extended as that now displayed by their opponents. They had for some time made no further progress, but they now began to suffer losses; and even during Henry's life they complained that desertion from their ranks had commenced.

And yet the policy of Henry still compelled him to accord them certain marks of favor, and to reject the demands of the Pope, who desired, among other things, that they should be excluded from all public employments.

But under Mary de' Medici the policy previously pursued was abandoned; a much closer connection was formed with Spain, and a decidedly Catholic disposition became predominant, both in domestic and foreign affairs. And as in the court, so also in the assembly of the States, was this supremacy obvious.

⁶ Stolberg, "Leben des heiligen Vincentius von Paulus, Münster, 1818." But the good Stolberg should hardly

have described his hero as "a man by whom France was regenerated" (p. 6, p. 399).

In the two first meetings of the year 1614 not only was the publication of the Tridentine decrees expressly demanded, but the restoration of Church property in Bearn was also required.

There was at that time much life and zeal in the Protestant Church and institutions also ; and most fortunate it was for them that the strength of their political situation and their force in arms made it impossible that this should be suppressed. As the government had united with their opponents, so the Protestants found support and aid from those powerful malcontents, who have never been wanting in France, and will ever be numerous in that country. Thus some time yet elapsed before it was possible to venture on directly attacking them.

CHAPTER SECOND

GENERAL WAR.—VICTORIES OF CATHOLICISM.— A.D. 1617-1623

Section I.—Breaking Out of the War

HOWEVER diversified may have been the circumstances of which we have thus traced the development, they yet all concurred to the production of one great result. On all sides Catholicism had made vigorous advances; but it had also been opposed on all sides by a mighty resistance. In Poland it was not able to crush its opponents, from the fact of their having found an invincible support from the neighboring kingdoms. In Germany a closely compacted opposition had presented itself to the invading creed and to the returning priesthood. The King of Spain was compelled to grant a truce to the united Netherlands, involving little less than a formal recognition of independence. The French Huguenots were armed against all aggression by the fortresses they held, by troops well prepared for war, and by the efficiency of their financial arrangements. In Switzerland the balance of parties had long been firmly established, and even regenerated Catholicism had not sufficient power to disturb it.

We find Europe divided into two worlds, which at every point encompass, restrict, assail, and repel each other.

If we institute a general comparison between these powers, we perceive at once that the Catholic presents the appearance of a much more perfect unity. We know, it is true, that this party was not without internal dissensions, but these were for the time set at rest. Above all, there existed a good and even confidential understanding between France and Spain. There was an occasional manifestation of the old animosities of Venice or Savoy, but they did not produce much effect; even such perilous attempts as the conspiracy against Venice passed over with-

out any great convulsion. After the impressive lessons conveyed to Pope Paul V by the early events of his pontificate, he too displayed much calmness and moderation; he found means to maintain peace between the Catholic powers, and occasionally lent an impulse to the movements of the general policy. The Protestants, on the contrary, were not only without a common centre, but, since the death of Elizabeth and the accession of James I, they had no great leading power on their side; the last-named sovereign having observed a somewhat equivocal policy from the beginning of his reign. Lutherans and Calvinists (*Reformirten*) stood opposed to each other with a mutual aversion that necessarily disposed them to opposite measures in politics. The Calvinists were further much divided among themselves. Episcopalians and Puritans, Arminians and Gomarists, assailed each other with furious hatred. In the assembly of the Huguenots, held at Saumur in the year 1611, a division arose which could never afterward be completely healed.

It is certain that the difference existing in this last-mentioned point between Catholics and Protestants must not be attributed to an inferior degree of activity in religious movement on the Catholic side. We have indeed perceived that the contrary was the fact. The following cause is more probably the true one. Catholicism had no share in that energy of exclusive dogmatic forms by which Protestantism was governed; there were momentous controverted questions which the former left undetermined; enthusiasm, mysticism, and that deeper feeling or sentiment which scarcely attains to the clearness and distinctness of thought, and which must ever arise from time to time as results of the religious tendency: these Catholicism absorbed into itself; controlled them, subjected them to given rule, and rendered them subservient to its purposes, in the forms of monastic asceticism. By the Protestants, on the contrary, they were repressed, rejected, and condemned. Therefore it was that these dispositions, thus left to their own guidance, broke forth into the multi-form variety of sects existing among Protestants, and sought their own partial but uncontrolled paths.

It resulted from the same cause that literature in general had acquired a much higher degree of order and regularity on the Catholic side. We may, indeed, affirm that the modern classical forms first prevailed in Italy, under the auspices of the Church.

In Spain also an approach was made to them, in as far as the genius of the nation permitted; a similar process had already commenced in France, where, at a later period, the classic form received so complete a development, and produced such brilliant results. Malherbe appeared; the first who voluntarily subjected himself to rule, and deliberately rejected all license,¹ and whose opinions, wholly favorable to monarchy and Catholicism, acquired increased effect from the epigrammatic precision and somewhat prosaic, yet, according to French ideas, easy elegance with which he expressed them. Among the Germanic nations, the classical tendency in literature could not, at that time, obtain predominance, even on the Catholic side; it first affected Latin poetry only, and even there it occasionally wears the look of a parody, despite the distinguished talent (displayed elsewhere) of the German Balde, in whose works this manner may be seen. Whatever was written in the German tongue, continued to be the pure expression of nature. Much less could this imitation of the antique find favor among these nations on the Protestant side. Shakespeare had placed the whole purport and spirit of the romantic before the eyes of men, in free, spontaneous, and imperishable forms. Antiquity and history were to him but as the servants of his genius. From the workshop of a German shoemaker there proceeded works—obscure—formless and unfathomable—yet possessing irresistible force of attention, a German depth of feeling, and religious contemplation of the world, such as have not their equal—unfettered productions of nature.

But I will not attempt to describe the contrasts presented by these opposing worlds of intellect—to do this effectually a larger share of attention should have been devoted to the writers of the Protestant side. One portion of the subject I may be permitted to bring into more prominent notice, because this was directly influential on the events before us.

In Catholicism the monarchical tendencies were, at that period, fully predominant. Ideas of popular rights, of legitimate opposition to princes, of the sovereignty of the people, and the legality of regicide, as they had been advocated thirty years pre-

¹ As regards the intellectual character of Malherbe and his manner of writing, new and remarkable additions to the poet's biography, by Racan, may be

found in the "Mémoires," or rather "Historiettes of Tallement des Reaux," published by Monmerqué, 1834, i. p. 195.

vious, even by the most zealous Catholics, were no longer suited to the time. There was now no important opposition of any Catholic population against a Protestant sovereign; even James I of England was quietly tolerated, and the above-named theories no longer found application. The result was already obvious: the religious tendency became more closely attached to the dynastic principle, and that alliance was further promoted, if I do not mistake, by the fact that the princes of the Catholic side displayed a certain force and superiority of personal character. This may at least be affirmed of Germany. In that country the aged Bishop Julius of Würzburg was still living—the first prelate who had there attempted a thorough counter-reformation. The Elector Schweikard, of Mayence, held the office of high chancellor; that prince performed his duties with an ability enhanced by his warm and earnest interest in them, and which restored to the office its ancient and effective influence.² Both the other Rhenish electors were resolute, active men; by their side stood the manly, sagacious, indefatigable Maximilian of Bavaria, an able administrator, full of enlarged and lofty political designs; and with him the Archduke Ferdinand, invincible from the force of his faith, to which he adhered with all the fervor of a powerful spirit. Almost all were pupils of the Jesuits, who certainly possessed the faculty of awakening high impulses in the minds of their disciples; all were reformers too, in their own manner, and had indeed contributed, by earnest labors and religious enthusiasm, to bring about the state of things then existing around them.

The Protestant princes, on the contrary, were rather the heirs of other men's works than founders of their own; they were already of the second or third generation. It was only in some few of them that there could be perceived intimations—I know not whether of energy and strength of mind, but, without doubt, of ambition and love of movement.

And, in further contradiction to the tendencies of Catholicism, there now appeared among the Protestants an obvious inclination toward republicanism, or rather toward freedom for the aristocracy. In many places, as in France, in Poland,

² Montorio, "Relatione di Germania, 1624": "Of grave manners, deeply intent on the affairs of government as well spiritual as temporal, extremely

well disposed toward the service of this Holy See, anxious for the progress of religion, one of the first prelates of Germany." See Appendix, No. 109.

and in all the Austrian territories, a powerful nobility, holding Protestant opinions, was in open conflict with the Catholic ruling authorities. The result that might be attained by such a force was clearly exemplified by the republic of the Netherlands, which was daily rising into higher prosperity. There was, without doubt, much discussion at this time in Austria, as regarded emancipation from the rule of the reigning family, and the adoption of a government similar to that of Switzerland or the Netherlands. In the success of some such effort lay the only means for restoring their ancient importance to the imperial cities of Germany, and they took a lively interest in them. The internal constitution of the Huguenots was already republican, and was indeed not unmingled with elements of democracy. These last were already opposing themselves to a Protestant sovereign in the persons of the English Puritans. There still exists a little treatise by an imperial ambassador, who was in Paris at that time, wherein the attention of the European princes is very forcibly directed toward the common danger menacing them from the advance of such a spirit.³

The Catholic world of this period was of one mind and faith—classical and monarchical. The Protestant was divided—romantic and republican.

In the year 1617 everything already betokened the approach of a decisive conflict between them. The Catholic party appears to have felt itself the superior; it is at all events not to be denied that it was the first to take arms.

An edict was published in France on June 15, 1617, which had been long demanded by the Catholic clergy, but which had hitherto been constantly refused by the court, from consideration for the power possessed by the Huguenots, and in deference to their chiefs. By virtue of that decree the property of the Church in Bearn was to be restored. It was obtained from Luines; that Minister, although the Protestants at first relied on his protection,⁴ having gradually attached himself to the Jesuit and papal party. Already confiding in this disposition of

³ "Advis sur les causes des mouvemens de l'Europe, envoyé aux roys et princes pour la conservation de leurs royaumes et principautés, fait par Messir Al. Cunr. baron de Fridembourg, et présenté au roy très Chrestien par le Comte de Furstemberg, ambassadeur

de l'Empereur." Inserted in the "Mercurie François," tom. ix. p. 342.

⁴ This appears, with other matters, from a letter of Duplessis Mornay, dated Saumur, April 26, 1617, "sur ce coup de majorité," as he calls the murder of the Maréchal d'Ancre.—"La Vie de Du Plessis," p. 465.

the supreme power, the populace had in various quarters risen against the Protestants; sometimes aroused to the attack by the sound of the tocsin. The parliaments also took part against them.

The Polish Prince Wladislaus once more had recourse to arms, in the confident expectation that he should now obtain possession of the throne of Moscow. An opinion prevailed that designs against Sweden were connected with this attempt, and war was immediately resumed between Poland and Sweden.⁵

But by far the most important results were those preparing in the hereditary dominions of Austria. The archdukes had been reconciled, and were now reunited. With the greatness of mind which that house has frequently displayed in moments of danger, a general resignation had been made to the Archduke Ferdinand of all claims that must devolve on them at the death of the Emperor Matthias, who had no children; that prince was in fact shortly afterward acknowledged as successor to the throne, in Hungary and Bohemia. This was indeed only an adjustment and compromise of personal claims; it nevertheless involved results of important general interest.

From a zealot so determined as Ferdinand, nothing less was to be expected than an immediate attempt to secure the absolute supremacy for his own creed in the Austrian dominions, and, this accomplished, it was to be supposed that he would then labor to turn the collective powers of those territories toward the diffusion of the Catholic faith.

This was a common danger, menacing alike to all Protestants, not only in the hereditary dominions of Ferdinand or in Germany, but in Europe generally.

It was from this cause that opposition immediately arose. The Protestants, who had set themselves in array against the encroachments of Catholicism, were not only prepared for resistance—they had courage enough immediately to convert the defence into attack.

The interests of European Protestantism were concentrated

⁵ Hiärn, "Esth-Lyf-und Lettländische Geschichte," p. 418: "The Swedes knew that the King of Poland had sent his son with a great force into Russia, that he might surprise the fortresses which had been ceded by the Muscovites to the Swedes, so that, if his attack succeeded, he might then more

easily fall upon the Kingdom of Sweden; for he was promised aid in that enterprise both by the Diet of the States held in Poland, and by the house of Austria: thus all his thoughts were turned upon this matter more than upon any other thing."

in the Elector Frederick of the Palatinate; his wife was daughter of the King of England and niece of the King of Denmark; Prince Maurice of Orange was his uncle, and the Duke de Bouillon, chief of the French Huguenots of the less pacific party, was his near relation. Frederick himself stood at the head of the German Union; he was a prince of grave character, and had self-command enough to abstain from the dissolute habits then prevalent at the German Courts. He devoted his best efforts to the sedulous discharge of his duties as a sovereign, and was most diligent in attending the sittings of his Privy Council; he was somewhat melancholy, proud, and full of high thoughts.* In his father's time there were tables in the dining-hall for councillors and nobles; these he caused to be removed, and would dine with princes or persons of the highest rank only. The presentiment of a high political vocation was cherished at this court; innumerable connections, involving far-reaching results, were diligently formed, but so long a time had elapsed since any serious attempts had been made that no very clear perception existed as to what might be attained or what the future might present; the most daring and extravagant projects were thus admitted to discussion.

Such was the tone prevailing at the Court of Heidelberg when the Bohemians, urged forward by the consciousness of their religious dangers, broke into dissensions with the house of Austria. These disputes continually increased in violence until the Bohemians resolved to reject Ferdinand, although he had already received their promise, and offered their crown to the Elector-Palatine.

For a moment Frederick hesitated. It was a thing never previously known that one German prince should desire to wrest from another a crown devolving on him by legal right. But all his friends combined to urge him onward—Maurice, who had never cordially agreed to the truce with Spain; the Duke of Bouillon; Christian of Anhalt, whose views extended over the whole arena of European politics, who marked all their springs

* "Relatione di Germania, 1617:" "Frederick V, now twenty years old, is of middle height, serious aspect, and melancholy disposition; he has a good constitution, is a man of lofty thoughts, and seldom indulges in gayety. By his marriage with the daughter of the English King, and by other connections and associates, he might be led to aim

at high things, if a convenient occasion should present itself; so that this disposition being well known to Colonel Schomberg, formerly his tutor, he profited by it with much address, accommodating himself to the prince's humor, and, while he lived, was more his confidant than any other."

of action, and was persuaded that no one would have either power or courage to gainsay the arrangement when once accomplished—all these, his most confidential advisers, pressed his acceptance; the unbounded prospects opened before him—ambition, religious zeal—all tended to promote his compliance, and in the month of August, 1619, he received the Bohemian crown. Could he have maintained the position thus assumed, how vast must have been the results! The power of the house of Austria in Eastern Europe would have been broken, the progress of Catholicism limited forever.

And in all quarters powerful sympathies were already at work in his favor. A general movement took place among the Huguenots in France. The people of Bearn refused obedience to the royal edict mentioned above; the assembly of Loudun espoused their cause; nothing could have been more desirable to the Queen-mother than to win the support of this opposition, so well prepared for war; Rohan was already on her side, and had promised her that his associates should follow.

Amid the perpetual agitations of the Grisons, the Spanish party had once more been dispossessed, and that of the Protestants was again in the ascendant. The government at Davos received the ambassador from the new King of Bohemia with pleasure, and promised to keep the passes of the country forever closed against the Spaniards.⁷

And we must not fail to remark that, together with all this, the republican tendency immediately arose into view. Not only did the Bohemian Estates maintain, with regard to the King they had chosen, a natural independence, but attempts were made to imitate them in all the hereditary dominions of Austria. The imperial cities of Germany conceived new hopes, and it was in fact from these last that Frederick received the most ample supplies of money for his enterprise.

But it was this very union of motives—this double point of view, taken from religion and policy combined—that now united the Catholic princes also in efforts more than ever earnest and active.

⁷ The connection of these events was felt by contemporaries, although this was no more regarded in later times.—

“Fürstl. Anhaltische Geh. Canzlei Fortsetzung,” p. 67.

Maximilian of Bavaria formed the most intimate alliance with Ferdinand, who had the good-fortune to be chosen at that moment Emperor of Germany; the King of Spain prepared his arms for affording effectual aid, and Pope Paul V allowed himself to be prevailed on to contribute considerable and very welcome pecuniary supplies.

As the winds at times veer suddenly round in the stormy seasons of the year, so did the stream of fortune and success now suddenly flow in an altered direction.

The Catholics succeeded in gaining over one of the most powerful Protestant princes to their side: this was the Elector of Saxony, who, being a Lutheran, felt a cordial hatred for every movement proceeding from Calvinism.

This circumstance alone sufficed to inspire them with a certain hope of victory. A single battle—that of the Weissberg, fought on November 8, 1620—put an end to the power of the Palatine Frederick, and ruined all his designs.

For even the Union did not support its chief with the energy and efficiency required by the occasion. A very probable cause for this may have been that the republican tendencies in action may have seemed perilous to the confederate princes—they had no wish to see the Hollanders on the Rhine, feeling too much afraid of the analogies that might be suggested by their constitution, to the people of Germany. The Catholics achieved an immediate predominance in Southern Germany also. The Upper Palatinate was invaded by the Bavarians—the Lower Palatinate by the Spaniards; and in April, 1621, the Union was dissolved. All who had taken arms for or acted in favor of Frederick were driven from the country or utterly ruined. From a moment of the most imminent peril, the Catholic principle passed immediately to unquestioned omnipotence throughout Upper Germany and in all the Austrian provinces.

In France, also, a decisive movement was meanwhile achieved, after an important advantage gained by the royal power over the court factions opposing it, and the party of the Queen-mother, with whom it is certain that the Huguenots then stood in close connection.⁸ The papal nuncio insisted that the favorable moment should be seized on for a general attack on the

⁸ Even Benoist says, ii. 291: "The reformed would have waited only the

first successes to declare themselves for the same party—that of the Queen."

Protestants; he would not hear a word of delay, believing that in France what was once put off was never effected at all: * he forced Luines and the King into his own views. The old factions of Beaumont and Grammont still existed in Bearn, where they had been at constant feud for centuries. Their discords afforded opportunity for the King's unopposed advance into the country, where he disbanded its military force, annulled its constitution, and restored the supremacy of the Catholic Church. It is true that the Protestants in other parts of France now took measures for assisting their brethren in the faith, but in the year 1621 they were defeated in all quarters.

There was at the same time a leader in the Valteline, Giacopo Robustelli, who had gathered about him certain Catholics, exiles from the country, with outlaws from the Milanese and Venetian territories, and who now determined to put an end to the domination of the Grisons, whose Protestant rule was felt to be particularly oppressive in those districts. A Capuchin monk brought the flames of religious fanaticism to excite still further this already bloodthirsty band; and on the night of July 19, 1620, they poured down upon Tirano. At the dawn of day they rang the church bells, and, when the Protestants rushed out of their dwellings on hearing that sound, they were fallen upon—instantly overpowered and massacred, one and all. And as in Tirano, so these bandits proceeded throughout the whole valley. The people of the Grisons vainly descended from their high mountains in the hope of regaining their lost sovereignty; they were defeated at every attempt. In 1621 the Austrians from the Tyrol, and the Spaniards from Milan, pressed into the very centre of the Grisons. "The wild mountains resounded with the shrieks of the murdered, and were fearfully lighted up by the flames of their solitary dwellings." The passes and the whole country were occupied by the invaders.

By this great and vigorous advance, all the hopes of the Catholics were aroused.

The Papal Court represented to the Spanish sovereign that the people of the Netherlands were divided, and now without allies, so that no more favorable occasion could occur for renewing the war against these incorrigible rebels. The Spaniards

* Siri, "Memorie recondite," tom. v. p. 148.

were convinced by these arguments. On March 25, 1621,¹⁰ the Chancellor of Brabant, Peter Peckius, appeared at The Hague, and instead of proposing a renewal of the truce, which expired at that time, he proposed the recognition of the legitimate princes.¹ The States-General declared this suggestion to be unjust and unexpected, nay, inhuman. Hostilities thereupon recommenced; and here also the Spaniards had at first the advantage. They took Juliers from the Netherlands—an acquisition by which their undertakings on the Rhine were successfully closed—they occupied the whole of the left bank, from Emmeric to Strasburg.

These repeated victories—concurring, as they did in time—gained on so many different points, and brought about by means so diversified—are yet, when viewed in the light cast on them by the general state of Europe, but varied expressions of one and the same triumph. Let us now consider the point of most importance to us—the uses, namely, to which these successors were made subservient.

Section II.—Gregory XV

While engaged in the procession appointed for the celebration of the battle of Weissberg, Paul V was struck by apoplexy. A second stroke followed shortly afterward from the effects of which he died—January 28, 1621.

The new election was effected, on the whole, in the manner of those preceding. Paul V had reigned so long that the whole College of Cardinals had been nearly renewed under his auspices; thus the greater part of the cardinals were dependents of his nephew, Cardinal Borghese. Accordingly, after some hesitation he found a man with regard to whom all his adherents agreed—this was Alessandro Ludovisio, of Bologna, who was forthwith elected (February 9, 1621), and took the name of Gregory XV.

He was a small, phlegmatic man, who had previously acquired repute for his dexterity in negotiation, and for the art he pos-

¹⁰ "Instruttione a Mre. Sangro:" "There, where his Majesty could not direct his forces at a better time, or with more inviting opportunity." See Appendix, No. 97.

¹ Literally, his proposal was for a

union under the cognizance of legitimate lords and princes. Both the proposal and reply are to be found in Leonis ab Aitzema, "Historia Tractatum Pacis Belgicæ," pp. 2 and 4.

essed of proceeding silently, and by imperceptible advances, to the attainment of all his purposes.¹ He was, however, already bent with age at his accession, was exceedingly feeble, and in a bad state of health.

What, then, could be expected in the contest now proceeding, and which affected the whole world, from a pontiff to whom his counsellors and servants could sometimes not venture to communicate important affairs, lest they should give the last shock to his frail existence?²

But there stood by the side of the dying pontiff a young man, twenty-five years old only, his nephew, Ludovico Ludovisio, who at once took possession of the papal power, and who displayed a talent and boldness fully commensurate to the demands of the period.

Ludovico Ludovisio was magnificent and brilliant; he did not neglect occasions for amassing wealth, for securing advantageous family alliances, and for advancing and favoring his friends; he desired to enjoy life, but he suffered others to enjoy it also; above all, he permitted nothing to interfere with his regard to the higher interests of the Church. His enemies themselves admitted the truth and extent of his talents for business, his peculiar sagacity, and power of discrimination. From the most embarrassing perplexities, the quick discernment and ready tact of Ludovico found a satisfactory issue: he was endowed with that calm courage and cool presence of mind by which possible contingencies are descried through the dim obscurity of the future, and which enable their possessor to steer his course steadily toward the object desired.³ Had he not been restrained by the feebleness of his uncle, which made it certain that his power could not have long duration, no considerations of expediency, or the world's opinion, would ever have been suffered to fetter his actions.⁴

¹ "Relatione di IV. Ambasciatori, 1621:" "Of a complexion approaching fairness. His disposition has been ever known as placid and cool—careful to involve himself in no disputes, but proceeding amicably, and advancing to his own ends by force of address." See Appendix, No. 94.

² Rainier Zeno, "Relatione di Roma, 1623:" "Adding to his failing age a most feeble constitution, in a little, attenuated, and sickly frame."

³ Rainier Zeno: "He has a most lively genius, and has proved it by the

abundance of expedients that his mind, really formed to command, has supplied in every occurrence of grave difficulty; and, if some of these were unsuited to the measures of sound policy, yet the intrepidity with which he showed himself prompt to seize every means he thought good, little caring for the counsels of those who might have been his teachers, gave reason to think that his nature disdained a private condition."

⁴ See Appendix, No. 95, "Vita e Fatti di Ludovico Ludovisio."

It was a fact of infinite moment, that the nephew, as well as the Pope, was possessed by the idea that the salvation of the world must be sought in the extension of the Catholic faith. Cardinal Ludovisio was a pupil of the Jesuits, and their steady patron. The church of St. Ignatius in Rome was in great part erected at his cost. He attributed the most essential moment to the office of protector of the Capuchins, which he held, and which he affirmed himself to consider the most important patronage in his possession. He was devoted with deep and warm predilection to the most rigid forms and order of Romanist opinions.⁵

But if we would desire to render the spirit of the new government particularly clear to our perceptions, we need only remember that it was Gregory XV in whose pontificate the Propaganda was established, and under whom the founders of the Jesuits, Ignatius and Xavier, were advanced to the Calendar of Saints.

The origin of the Propaganda is, however, properly to be sought in an edict of Gregory XIII, by which the direction of Eastern missions was confided to a certain number of cardinals, who were commanded to promote the printing of catechisms in the less known tongues.⁶ But the institution was not firmly established; it was unprovided with the requisite means, and was by no means comprehensive in its views. At the time we now speak of, there flourished in Rome a great preacher, called Girolamo da Narni, who had gained universal admiration by a life that had procured him the reputation of a saint. In the pulpit he displayed a fulness of thought, a correctness of expression, and a majesty of delivery that delighted all hearers. On coming from one of his sermons, Bellarmine once said that he thought one of St. Augustine's three wishes had just been granted to himself—that, namely, of hearing the preaching of St. Paul. Cardinal Ludovisio also was in close intimacy with Girolamo, and defrayed the cost of printing his sermons. It was by this Capuchin that the idea was now first conceived of extending the above-named institution.⁷ At his

⁵ Giunti, "Vita e Fatti di Ludovico Ludovisio," MS.

⁶ Cocquelines, "Præfatio ad Maffei Annales Gregorii XIII," p. v.

⁷ Fr. Hierothei Epitome Historica rerum Franciscanarum, etc., p. 362: "By public persuasions and private

counsels," Fra Girolamo had prevailed upon the Pope. Compare Cerri, *Etat présent de l'Eglise Romaine*, p. 280. There, also, a circumstantial description may be seen of this institution and of the increase of its wealth and capabilities.

suggestion, a Congregation was established in all due form, and by this body regular meetings were to be held for the guidance and conduct of missions in every part of the world. The members were to assemble at least once in every month, in presence of the Pope himself. The first funds were advanced by Gregory; his nephew contributed from his private property; and since this institution was in fact adapted to a want, the pressure of which was then felt, it daily advanced in prosperity and splendor. Who does not know the services performed by the Propaganda for the diffusion of philosophical studies? And not this only—the institution has generally labored (in its earliest years, most successfully, perhaps) to fulfil its vocation in a liberal and noble spirit.

Similar views were prevalent in the canonization of the two Jesuits. "At the time," says the bull, "when new worlds had been discovered, and when Luther had arisen in the Old World to assail the Catholic Church, the soul of Ignatius Loyola was moved to establish a society, which should devote itself especially to the conversion of the heathen, and to the reclaiming of heretics; but, above all other members of that society, Francis Xavier proved himself most worthy to be called the Apostle of the newly discovered nations. For these services, both are now received into the catalogue of saints. Churches and altars, where man presents his sacrifice to God, shall now be consecrated to them."⁸

And now, proceeding in the spirit revealed in these documents and represented by these acts, the new government took instant measures for completing the victories achieved by the Catholic arms, by laboring to secure their being followed by conversions to the Catholic faith, and for justifying as well as confirming the conquests of Catholicism, by the re-establishment of religion. "All our thoughts," says one of the earliest instructions of Gregory XV, "must be directed toward the means of deriving the utmost possible advantage from the fortunate revulsion of affairs, and the victorious condition of things;" a purpose that was completed with the most brilliant success.

⁸ Bullarium, Cocquelines, v. 131, 137.

UNIVERSAL EXTENSION OF CATHOLICISM

Section III.—Bohemia and the Hereditary Dominions of Austria

THE attention of the papal power was first directed to the rising fortunes of the Catholic faith in the provinces of Austria.

The subsidies hitherto paid to the Emperor were doubled by Gregory XV, who further promised him an additional gift of no inconsiderable amount¹—although, as he said, he scarcely reserved to himself sufficient to live on; he exhorted him, at the same time, to lose not a moment in following up his victory, by earnest efforts for the restoration of the Catholic religion.² It was only by this restoration that he could fittingly return thanks to God for the victory. He assumes, as a first principle, that by their rebellion the nations had entailed on themselves the necessity of a vigorous control, and must be compelled by force to depart from their ungodly proceedings.

The nuncio despatched to the Emperor by Gregory XV was that Carlo Caraffa so well known to German history. Two reports from this nuncio still exist,³ the one printed, the other in manuscript; from these we are enabled to ascertain with certainty the kind of measures adopted by Caraffa for the attainment of the objects thus pressed on his attention.

In Bohemia, where his exertions were first made, his earliest care was to secure the banishment of Protestant preachers and schoolmasters, "who were guilty of treasons and offences against the divine and human majesty."

He found this no easy task; the members of the imperial government in Prague considered it as yet too dangerous. It

¹ From 20,000 gulden he raised the subsidy to 20,000 scudi: the gift was 200,000 scudi. He would have liked to have regiments maintained with this money, and wished them to be placed under the papal authority.

² "Instruzione al Vescovo d'Aversi," April 12, 1621: "This is no time for

delays or for covert attempts." Bucquoi, in particular, was considered at Rome to be much too deliberate: "Prompt measures would be the remedy for so many evils, if they could be hoped for from Count Bucquoi, who is otherwise a valiant captain."

³ See Appendix, No. 96.

was not until December 13, 1621—when Mansfeld had been driven out of the Upper Palatine, when all peril had ceased, and when some regiments, enrolled at the nuncio's request, had entered Prague—that these measures were ventured on; but even then they spared the two Lutheran preachers, from deference to the Elector of Saxony. The nuncio, representing a principle that acknowledges no respect of persons, would not hear of this; he complained that the whole nation clung to these men; that a Catholic priest could find nothing to do, and was unable to procure a subsistence.⁴ In October, 1622, he at length prevailed, and the Lutheran preachers also were banished. It appeared, for a moment, that the fears of the government councillors would be justified; the Elector of Saxony issued a threatening letter, and on the most important questions displayed extremely hostile purposes. The Emperor himself once told the nuncio that matters had been decided much too hastily, and it would have been better to wait a more favorable opportunity.⁵ The means for maintaining Ferdinand steadfast to his purpose were, nevertheless, well known and used. The old Bishop of Würzburg represented to him that "a glorious emperor ought not to shrink before dangers, and it would be much better for him to fall into the power of men than into the hands of the living God." The Emperor yielded, and Caraffa had the further triumph of seeing the Elector of Saxony submit to the banishment of the preachers, and desist from his opposition.

In this manner the way was prepared. To the places of the Protestant preachers succeeded Dominican, Augustine, and Carmelite friars, for as yet there was a sensible dearth of secular clergy; a whole colony of Franciscans arrived from Gnesen. The Jesuits did not suffer themselves to be vainly wished for; when directions from the Propaganda appeared, requiring

⁴ Caraffa, "Ragguaglio MS.:" "The Catholic parish priests were driven to despair at seeing themselves deprived of all emolument by the Lutherans." But the printed "Commentarii" present a more ostensible cause of dissatisfaction: "Quamdiu illi hærebant, tamdiu adhuc sperabant sectarii S. majestatem concessurum aliquando liberam facultatem," p. 130. "As long as they persisted [in retaining their places], so long the sectarians hoped that his Majesty would grant them free powers [of worship]." See Appendix No. 108.

⁵ Caraffa, "Ragguaglio:" "His Maj-

esty showed some uneasiness, and proceeded to tell me that there had been too much haste, and that it would have been better to drive out those preachers at some more convenient time, as after the convention of Ratisbon. To which I replied that his Majesty had perhaps erred rather by slowness than haste; for, if Saxony had come to the convention, which they will not admit that he intended, everyone knows that he would have required from his Majesty permission for the Lutheran worship, after his notions, to be continued in Prague as it had before been." See Appendix, No. 108, § 3.

them to undertake the duties of parish priests, it was found that they had already done so.⁶

And now the only question that could remain was, whether it might not be permitted that the national Utraquist ritual should be at least partially retained in the forms assigned to it by the Council of Basle. The government council and the governor himself, Prince Lichtenstein, were in favor of its being retained.⁷ They permitted the Lord's Supper to be solemnized once more with both the elements on Holy Thursday, in the year 1622; and a voice was already uplifted among the people, inviting that this ancient usage of their fathers should not be interrupted, and that their privilege should not be wrested from them. But by no argument could the nuncio be prevailed on to consent: he was inflexibly determined to maintain all the views of the Curia, knowing well that the Emperor would at length be brought to approve his decision. And he did in fact succeed in obtaining from him a declaration that his temporal government had not the right to interfere in religious affairs. Mass was hereupon everywhere performed in the Roman ritual exclusively in Latin, with sprinkling of holy-water and invocation of saints. The sacrament under both forms was no longer to be thought of; those who ventured to defend that celebration most boldly were thrown into prison; and finally, the symbol of Utraquism, the great chalice with the sword, at that time still to be seen at the Thein church, and which it was thought would keep alive old recollections, was taken down. On July 6th, which had previously always been held sacred in memory of John Huss, the churches were kept carefully closed.

To this rigorous enforcement of Romanist dogmas and usages, the government lent the aid of political measures. A large part of the landed property of the country was thrown by confiscation into the hands of Catholics, and the acquisition of land by Protestants was rendered almost impossible.⁸ The council was changed in all the royal cities; no member would have been tolerated whose Catholicism was in the slightest de-

⁶ Cordara, "Historia Societatis Jesu," tom. vi. lib. vii. p. 38.

⁷ According to the opinions hitherto prevailing, in Senkenberg, for example, "Fortsetzung der Häberlinschen Reichshistorie," bd. xxv. p. 156, note k, we should believe the contrary of Lichtenstein; this would, nevertheless, be

wrong, as is manifest from Caraffa. The nuncio, on the contrary, received support from Plateis.

⁸ With regulations to the effect that they could not be inscribed on the registers of the kingdom: a measure of inexpressible advantage to the Reformation during all that period.

gree suspected; the rebels were pardoned on the instant of their conversion; but the refractory—those who could not be persuaded, and refused to yield to the admonitions of the clergy—had soldiers quartered in their houses, “to the end,” as the nuncio declares in express terms, “that their vexations might enlighten their understanding.”⁹

The effect produced by that combined application of force and exhortation was unexpected, even to the nuncio. He was amazed at the numbers attending the churches in Prague, frequently not less on Sunday mornings than from two to three thousand persons, and at their humble, devout, and to all outward appearance, Catholic deportment. He accounts for this by supposing that Catholic recollections had never been wholly extinguished in the country, as might be seen from the fact that even the consort of King Frederick had not been permitted to remove the great cross from the bridge: the real cause unquestionably was that Protestant convictions never had in fact penetrated the masses of the population. The conversions proceeded unremittingly; in the year 1624, the Jesuits alone profess to have recovered 16,000 souls to the Catholic Church.¹⁰ In Tabor, where Protestantism seemed to have exclusive possession, fifty families passed over to the Catholic Church at Easter, 1622; and all the remaining part of the population at Easter of the following year. In course of time Bohemia became entirely Catholic.

And as matters had gone in Bohemia so did they now proceed in Moravia; the end was indeed attained with more facility in the latter country, where Cardinal Dietrichstein, being at the same time Bishop of Olmütz and Governor of the province, brought both the spiritual and temporal powers to bear with all their forces combined on the point to be gained. There was, however, one difficulty peculiar to that country to be overcome. The nobles would not permit themselves to be deprived of the Moravian Brethren, whose services, whether domestic or agricultural, were invaluable, and whose settlements were the most prosperous districts in the country.¹ They found advo-

⁹ To the end that their troubles should give them feeling and understanding, the same thing is also repeated in the printed work, “*Cognitumque fuit solam vexationem posse Bohemis intellectum præbere.*”

¹⁰ Caraffa: “A Catholic priest of great ability was placed there, and afterward missions of the Jesuit fathers were sent thither.”

¹ “*Ragguaglio di Caraffa:*” “These being considered men of industry and

cates even in the Emperor's Privy Council; the nuncio and the principle he represented were nevertheless victorious in this case also: nearly 50,000 of the Moravians were expatriated.

In the district of Glatz, the Protestant banners had once more been led to victory by the young Count Thura, but the Poles advanced in aid of the imperialists; the country was then overmatched, the town also was captured, and the Catholic worship restored with the usual severities. Not less than sixty preachers were driven from the land; they were followed by no inconsiderable portion of their people, whose property instantly was confiscated. The mass of the population returned to Catholicism.² Under these circumstances, the often-repeated and as often unsuccessful attempt to restore the Catholic faith in Austria proper was once more renewed, and was at length followed by decided success.³ First, the preachers that had been accused of rebellion were banished, and then all Protestant preachers whatever. Furnished with a small sum for their journey, the unfortunate people slowly proceeded up the Danube, followed by the taunting cry of "Where now is your strong tower?" The Emperor declared explicitly to the Estates of the country that he "reserved to himself and his posterity the absolute and undivided power of disposing all things that regarded religion." In October, 1624, a commission appeared, by which a certain time was appointed, and within this period all were required to profess themselves of the Catholic faith or to depart from the land. To the nobles only was a

integrity, were employed in the care of estates, houses, wine-cellars, and mills, besides which they were excellent workmen in various handicrafts, and, becoming rich, they contributed a large part of their gains to the nobles of the places where they dwelt; although, for some time previously, they had begun to get corrupted, ambition and avarice creeping in among them, with some degree of luxury in their habits of life. These people have continually increased in Moravia; because, in addition to those whom they win over to join them in the province and places round, they maintain a correspondence with all parts of Germany, whence there flock to this brotherhood all those who despair of gaining a living for themselves; there come to them, besides, great numbers from Suabia and the Grisons, poor creatures who suffer themselves to be allured by that name of "fraternity," and by the certainty of always having bread, which they doubt

of being able to gain at home and by their own labor; so that, at times, these Moravians have amounted to 100,000."

² Kögler's "Chronik von Glatz," i. 3, 92.

³ This had been the first thought of the Emperor, even before the battle of Prague, and when Maximilian first entered the territory of Upper Austria. He enforced on the latter the necessity of displacing the preachers without delay, "that the pipers might be sent away and the dance ended." His letter is in Breier's "Continuation of Wolf's Maximilian," iv. 414. In the year 1624 the Jesuits got the University of Vienna completely into their hands: "The Emperor incorporated the society with the university, making the Jesuit body one with it, and granting them the fullest power to teach the polite letters, the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues, philosophy, and theology." "Monitum ad Statut. Acad. Vindob. recentiora," Kollar "Annal." ii. p. 282.

certain degree of indulgence shown, and that but for a short time.

In Hungary these violent proceedings were not possible, though that country was also conquered. A change was nevertheless brought about here also, by the force of events, the favor of government, and above all by the exertions of the Archbishop Pazmany. This prelate was gifted with extraordinary talent as a writer of the mother-tongue: his book, entitled "Kalauz,"⁴ full of spirit and learning, was found by his countrymen to be irresistible. He was endowed with the gift of eloquence also, and is said to have persuaded no less than fifty families to abjure Protestantism by his own personal exhortations: names such as Zrinyi, Forgacz, Erdödy, Balassa, Jakusith, Homonay, and Adam Thurzo are found among them; Count Adam Zrinyi alone expelled twenty Protestant pastors, and placed Catholic priests in their stead. Under these influences the political affairs of Hungary also took an altered direction. At the Diet of 1625 the Catholic and Austrian party had the majority. One of the converted nobles, an Esterhazy, whom the court desired to see appointed, was nominated palatine.

But we must here at once remark the difference existing between Hungary and other parts of the Austrian dominions. The conversions in Hungary were very much more voluntary than they had been in other portions of the empire. The magnates resigned no one of their rights by conforming to Catholicism; they may rather be said to have acquired increased privileges. In the Austrian Bohemian territories, on the contrary, the entire force of the Estates, their energy, and their independence, had all been thrown into the forms of Protestantism. Their conversion was compulsory, if not in each individual case, yet certainly as a whole; with the reinstatement of Catholicism, the unlimited and absolute power of the government was established there also.

⁴ Hodoegus, "Igazságra vezérlő Kalauz.," Presb. 1613, 1623.

Section IV.—The Empire—Transfer of the Electorate

We know that the progress of Catholic restoration in Germany was much more decided than in the hereditary dominions of Austria. The recent events had, nevertheless, an immeasurable effect even there.

The Counter-Reformation at once received an increased impetus, and found a new field of action.

When Maximilian had taken possession of the Upper Palatinate, he permitted no time to be lost before changing its religion. He divided the country into twenty stations, in which fifty Jesuits immediately commenced their labors. The churches were transferred to them by force. The exercise of the Protestant worship was universally prohibited, and in proportion as it became probable that the country would continue annexed to Bavaria, did the disposition of the inhabitants increase toward the Catholic religion.¹

Even the Lower Palatinate was now regarded by the conquerors as entirely their own. Maximilian even presented the library of Heidelberg to the Pope.²

Nay, the conquest had not yet been attempted, to say a word in passing on this subject, when the Pope requested that gift from the duke by means of his nuncio at Cologne, Montorio; and Maximilian promised it with his usual alacrity. At the first intelligence of the capture of Heidelberg, the nuncio availed himself of the right thus obtained. He had been told that the manuscripts, more particularly, were of inestimable value, and forwarded an especial request to Tilly that they might be protected from injury at the plunder of the city.³ The Pope then commissioned Doctor Leone Allacci, scriptor of the Vatican, to proceed at once to Germany and take the books into his possession. Gregory XV considered this affair as a matter of very high consequence: he declared it to be one of the most fortunate events of his pontificate, and one that must needs be highly beneficial to the sciences as well as to the advantage of the Church and honor of the Holy See. It would also be very glorious to the Bavarian name, he affirmed, that

¹ Kropff, "Historia Societatis Jesu in Germania superiori," tom. iv. p. 271.

² See Appendix, No. 101.

³ Relazione di Mgr. Montorio ritornato nunzio di Colonia, 1624. The passage is given in the Appendix, No. 109.

so precious a booty should be preserved as an eternal remembrance in the world's great theatre—Rome.⁴

Here also the duke displayed his indefatigable zeal for reform. He greatly exceeded even the Spaniards, who were yet most certainly not indifferent to Catholicism.⁵ The nuncio was enraptured at the sight of mass performed and conversions taking place in Heidelberg, "whence the rule and guide of Calvinism, the notorious catechism, had proceeded."

The Elector Schweikard was, meanwhile, reforming the Bergstrasse, of which he had taken possession. The Margrave Wilhelm was pursuing a similar course in Upper Baden, as he had expressly promised the nuncio, Caraffa, to do⁶ in the event of its being adjudged to him, as it now was after long litigation, although his origin, far from being equal to so high a claim, was scarcely legitimate.

Even in countries not immediately affected by the political events of the period, the former efforts for the restoration of Catholicism were continued with renewed zeal. In Bamberg,⁷ in Fulda, on the Eichsfeld, and in Paderborn, where Catholics had been twice appointed in succession to the episcopal see, these efforts were most successful; but more particularly so in the see of Münster, where Meppen, Vechta, Halteren, and many other districts, were rendered wholly Catholic in the year 1624. Archbishop Ferdinand established missions in nearly all the towns, and founded a Jesuits' college in Coesfeld,⁸ "for the revival and recovery of the most ancient Catholic religion, by many treated with indifference." Even up to Halberstadt and Magdeburg we find Jesuit missionaries. In Altona they seated themselves for a certain time to learn the lan-

⁴ "That so precious a spoil and so noble a trophy should be preserved as a perpetual memorial in this theatre of the world."—"Instruzione al Dottore Leon Allatio per andare in Germania per la libreria del Palatino." In the Appendix we will examine its authenticity; see No. 101.

⁵ Montorio: "Even in the countries occupied by the Spaniards they do not proceed to the conversion of the people with the fervor shown by the Duke of Bavaria in those he occupies."

⁶ Caraffa, "Germania restaurata," p. 129.

⁷ Particularly by John George Fuchs von Dornheim, by whom twenty-three knights' parishes were regained to

Catholicism.—Jäck, "Geschichte von Bamberg," ii. 120.

⁸ A letter from one of his assistants, Joh. Drachter, dean of Dülmen, has a peculiarly strange sound: "I have been unwilling to refer to your illustrious lordship any great number of these brainless sheep, and have labored, up to the present time, rather myself to drive the whole flock in their panic and perplexity toward the right fold, into which Balthasar Bilderbeck and Caspar Karl have already made a leap with closed feet, and have jumped in." Compare the documents in Niesert generally, "Münstersche Urkundensammlung," i. p. 402.

guage, intending then to proceed from that place to Denmark and Norway.

We see with how violent a course the doctrines of Catholicism were poured from Upper into Lower Germany, from the South to the North. Meanwhile attempts were made to obtain a new position for still more effectually interposing in the general affairs of the empire.

Ferdinand II had promised Maximilian of Bavaria, on the conclusion of their alliance, that in the event of success he would make over the palatine electorate to the duke.⁹

The principal consideration by which the Catholic party were influenced on this occasion, and the light in which they viewed this transfer, cannot possibly be questioned. The majority possessed by that party in the council of princes had been hitherto counterbalanced by the equality of votes which the Protestants held in the electoral college; by the transfer of the Palatinate, this restraint would be done away with forever.¹⁰

The Papal Court had from time immemorial been closely allied with the Duchy of Bavaria, and on this occasion Pope Gregory made the interests of Maximilian most completely his own.

He caused the King of Spain to be earnestly exhorted by the very first nuncio whom he sent into that country, to do his best for the destruction of the count-palatine, and thus contribute toward the transference of the Palatinate to the house of Bavaria, reminding him that this transfer must secure the imperial crown to the Catholics forever.¹ The Spaniards were not easily persuaded to enter into these views. They were engaged in the most important negotiations with the King of England, and scrupled to offend him in the person of his son-in-law, the Count-Palatine Frederick, to whom the electorate so indisputably belonged. But so much the more zealous was Pope Gregory. He was not satisfied with the services of the

⁹ Letter of the Emperor to Baltasar di Zuniga, October 15, 1621, printed by Sattler, "Württemberg Geschichte," vi. p. 162.

¹⁰ "Instruttione a Mgr. Sacchetti, nuntio in Spagna," describes the restoration of the Palatinate to its rightful owner as "an irreparable diminution of the credit of the late achievements, and loss to the Catholic Church; if the Pope should accede to this resolution, it would be to the unspeakable injury of the Catholic religion and the empire,

which has longed for so many a year to have the fourth election also in the interest of the blood of Austria, without being able to devise any possibility of bringing it about."

¹ "Instruttione a Monsr. Sangro:" he is enjoined to instigate and encourage his Majesty, that he by no means permit the Palatine ever to rise again; so that the electorate being in Catholic hands, the empire may be for ever secured to the Catholics. See Appendix, No. 97.

nuncio only, and in the year 1622 we find a Capuchin of great address—a certain Brother Hyacinth, who was greatly confided in by Maximilian—despatched with a special mission from the Papal Court to that of Spain.² The subject was then entered on with extreme reluctance, and all that could be gained from the King was a remark that he would rather see the electorate in the house of Bavaria than in his own. But this sufficed to Brother Hyacinth. With this declaration he hastened to Vienna, for the purpose of using it, to remove whatever scruples the Emperor might entertain in regard to the opinion of Spain. He was there assisted by the wonted influence of the nuncio, Caraffa; nay, the Pope himself came to his aid by a special letter. “Behold,” exclaimed the pontiff to the Emperor in that letter, “the gates of heaven are opened; the heavenly hosts urge thee on to win so great a glory; they will fight for thee in thy camp.” The Emperor was besides influenced by a very singular consideration, and one by which he is strikingly characterized. He had long thought of this transfer, and had expressed his ideas on the subject in a letter that had fallen into the hands of the Protestants, and been published by them. The Emperor felt himself to be in a measure bound by this circumstance: he thought it essential to the maintenance of his imperial dignity that he should adhere to the purpose he had formed, once its existence had become known. Suffice it to say, he determined to proceed to the transfer at the next electoral Diet.³

The only question now remaining was whether the princes of the empire would also agree to this arrangement. The decision mainly depended on Schweikard, of Mayence; and that cautious prince, at least according to the nuncio Montorio, was in the first instance adverse to the measure. He is said to have declared that the war would be renewed in consequence, and rage with more violence than before; that moreover, if a change must of necessity take place, the Count-Palatine of Neuberg had the more obvious right and could not possibly be passed over. The nuncio does not inform us by what means he at length persuaded the prince. “In the four or five days”—these are his words—“that I passed with him at Aschaffenburg, I obtained from him the decision desired.”

² Khevenhiller, ix. p. 1766.

³ Caraffa, “*Germania restaurata*,” p. 120.

All we can perceive in this matter is that the most strenuous assistance was promised on the Pope's part, should the war break out anew.

It is certain that this acquiescence of the Electoral Prince of Mayence was decisive of the matter. His two Rhenish colleagues adopted his opinion. Brandenburg and Saxony continued to oppose the measure; for though Saxony was persuaded in like manner by the Archbishop of Mayence, this was not till a later period,⁴ and the Spanish ambassador now declared himself adverse to it in express terms.⁵ Yet, in despite of this opposition, the Emperor proceeded steadily forward; on February 25, 1623, he transferred the electorate to his victorious ally. It is true that in the first instance it was declared to be a personal possession only, and that the rights of the palatine heirs and agnates were reserved to them unimpaired for the future.

The advantage gained was, meanwhile, incalculable, even with this condition. Above all, the Romanists had secured the preponderance in the supreme Council of the empire, whose assent now gave a legal sanction to every new resolution in favor of Catholicism.

Maximilian clearly saw the extent of his obligation to Pope Gregory in this affair. "Your holiness," he writes to him, "has not only forwarded the matter, but by your admonitions, your authority, and your zealous exertions, you have directly accomplished it. It is to the favor and the vigilance of your holiness that it must absolutely and entirely be attributed."

"Thy letter, O son," replied Gregory XV, "has filled our breast with a stream of delight, grateful as heavenly manna. At length may the daughter of Zion shake the ashes from her head, and clothe herself in the garments of festivity."⁶

⁴ Montorio calls Schweikard "the sole cause of the change in Saxony's opinion, whereby he was brought to agree with the Emperor in the matter of the transfer." See Appendix, No. 109.

⁵ See Oñate's declaration and the vehement letter of Ludovisio against restoring the electorate to a blaspheming Calvinist, in Khevenhiller, x. 67, 68.

⁶ Giunti, "Vita di Ludovisio Ludovisi," ascribes the merit principally to the nephew: "Many letters were written by his holiness and the cardinal,

even with their own hands, full of ardor, and most proper to persuade the Emperor; and, besides that, Mgr. Verospi, auditor of the Rota, was sent about that matter, and after him, Father Giacinto of Casale, a Capuchin." By these persons the Emperor was told that the vicar of Christ, on the part of our Lord himself, implored and conjured him, even with tears, and promised him, in return for his assent, eternal felicity and the security of his salvation. See Appendix, No. 95.

Section V.—France

And now, at this same moment, the great change in Protestant affairs commenced in France.

If we inquire to what cause the severe losses suffered by the Protestant faith in the year 1621 are to be attributed, we find them principally due to the dissensions existing in the party, and to the apostasy of the nobles. It may very possibly have happened that this last was occasioned by the republican tendencies at that time made manifest in the Protestant body, and which, referring to municipal rights as well as to theological opinions, were unfavorable to the influence of the nobility. The nobles may have found it more advantageous to attach themselves to the King and court than to suffer themselves to be governed by preachers and burgomasters. Certain it is that as early as the year 1621 the fortresses held by Protestants were delivered up by their governors as if in emulation one of another; each seemed to think only of how he should secure the best conditions and highest reward for himself. These things were repeated in the year 1622. La Force and Chatillon received the batons of marshals on deserting their brethren in the faith; the aged Lesdiguières became a Catholic,¹ and even commanded a division against the Protestants. This example induced many others to abjure their belief. Under these circumstances the peace concluded in 1622 could be obtained only on the most unfavorable terms; nay, there was not even ground for hope that its conditions, hard as they were, would be fulfilled.² At an earlier period, and when the Protestants were powerful, the King had often disregarded and violated his treaties with them; was it probable that he would observe them more scrupulously now when they had lost their power? Accordingly, all that the peace was to secure the Protestants from suffering, was inflicted on them, in despite of its provisions and promises. The Protestant worship was in many places directly impeded. The reformed were forbidden to sing their psalms in the streets

¹ See "Mémoires de Deageant," p. 190 and many other places, for valuable remarks in respect to this conversion.

² "Liste des gentilhommes de la religion réduits au roi," in Malingre,

"Histoire des derniers troubles arrivés en France," p. 789. Even Rohan came to terms; but these, as given in the "Mercure de France," vii. p. 845, are, unhappily, not authentic.

or in their shops. Their rights in the universities were restricted.³ Fort Louis, which, according to the treaty of peace, should have been razed to the ground, was on the contrary maintained; an attempt was made to transfer the choice of magistrates for Protestant cities to the King;⁴ and on April 17, 1622, a decree was issued appointing a commissary who should be present in all assemblies of Protestants. After these great inroads on their ancient privileges had once been endured, the government proceeded to interfere in matters purely ecclesiastical; the Huguenots were prevented by the commissaries from adopting the decrees of the Synod of Dort.

They no longer possessed a shadow of independence. They could no more oppose any steadfast or effectual resistance. Conversions proceeded throughout the whole of their territories.

All Poitou and Languedoc were filled with the missions of the Capuchins.⁵ The Jesuits, who had formed new establishments in Aix, Lyons, Pau, and many other places, made the most extraordinary progress both in the cities and through the country. Their Fraternities of the Virgin attracted universal notice, and gained the utmost respect and approbation by the cares they had bestowed on the wounded during the last war.⁶

The Franciscans also distinguished themselves; as, for example, Father Villele, of Bordeaux, of whom things well-nigh incredible are related. After having brought the whole city of Foix over to his own creed, he is said to have converted a man more than a hundred years old, and the same who had received the first Protestant preacher from the hands of Calvin, and had conducted him into Foix. The Protestant church was torn down, and the triumphant fathers caused the expelled preacher to be followed by a trumpeter from town to town.⁷

The work of conversion, in short, proceeded with irresistible force; high and low were alike subjected to the prevailing influence; even the learned relinquished their creed. On these last a particular effect was produced by the argument demonstrating that the ancient Church, even before the Council of Nice, had permitted the invocation of saints, had offered prayers

³ Benoist, ii. 419.

⁴ Rohan, "Mém." i. 3.

⁵ "Instruzione all' Arcivescovo di Damiaata," MS. See Appendix, No. 106.

⁶ Cordara, "Historia Societatis Jesu," vii. 95, 118. See Appendix, No. 93.

⁷ "Relatione Catholique," inserted in the "Mercure François," viii. 489.

for the souls of the departed, had established a hierarchy, and was in many other respects in perfect accordance with Catholic usages.

We have still the reports of certain bishops remaining, from which we gather the relative numbers of each confession as fixed under these circumstances. In the diocese of Poitiers, half the inhabitants of some towns were Protestant; as for example, those of Lusignan and St. Maixant. In others, as Chauvigny and Nort, a third; in Loudun a fourth; in Poitiers itself a twentieth only, and a still smaller proportion in the rural districts.⁸ In all matters relating to conversions the bishops were in direct correspondence with the Papal See; they made reports of what had been done, and expressed their wishes as related to future proceedings. The nuncio was then directed to present the requests or suggestions of these prelates to the King, supporting them with all his influence. The bishops frequently entered into very minute details. The Bishop of Vienne, for example, has found that the missionaries are especially impeded and restrained by a certain preacher in St. Marcellin, who has proved himself unconquerable, and the nuncio is required to press the necessity for his removal on the court. The Bishop of St. Malo claims the help of the nuncio, bewailing that at a certain castle of his diocese they will endure no introduction of the Catholic worship. The Bishop of Xaintes requests him to forward a clever converter who is pointed out by name. And on the part of the nuncio the bishops are sometimes enjoined to specify the causes of such impediments as they meet with, and to state explicitly what they think might be done for their removal, to the end that the nuncio may represent the matter effectually to the King.⁹

The most intimate union was maintained between all the

⁸ "Relazione del Vescovo di Poitiers," 1623, MS.

⁹ "Istruzione all' Arcivescovo di Damiatina." A single instance may suffice: "From the report of the Bishop of Candon it appears that he has established a mission of Jesuits in his district of Neaco, where there are many heretics; but they must labor in vain, unless the King send effectual orders from the temporal power; it were well you wrote to that bishop, desiring him to state the things he desires his Majesty to do, for this he does not specify in his report. From the Bishop of St.

Malo we hear that, in a castle and hamlet belonging to the Marquis of Moussaye, Calvinism only is allowed to be preached; wherefore it would be good to remind his Majesty of removing the preachers, that the bishop's missionaries may labor to some purpose; the castle and hamlet are not named, and you might write to the bishop respecting this. The Bishop of Montpellier suffered from a scarcity of spiritual laborers, and as the people listen willingly to the Capuchins it would be well to procure a mission of those fathers." See Appendix, No. 106.

ecclesiastical authorities and the Propaganda, which, as we have remarked, was perhaps most efficiently active during its earliest years; and these were again in continual communication with the pontiff himself; earnest zeal and a vigorous activity following in the train of military successes; a decided sympathy on the part of the court, who sees its own political interests promoted by the religious changes. All these things account for the fact that this was the period when the destruction of the Protestant faith in France was decidedly accomplished.

Section VI.—The United Netherlands

Nor were these advances of Catholicism confined to such countries as had Catholic governments; they became obvious at the same point of time under Protestant rulers also.

We are sufficiently amazed, when we read in Bentivoglio, that even in those very cities of the Netherlands, where the King of Spain had been so long and so magnanimously withstood, chiefly from religious motives; the greater part of the principal families had again become Catholic.¹ But our astonishment is increased when we learn, from a very circumstantial report of the year 1622, the great progress of Catholicism under circumstances altogether unfavorable. The priests were persecuted and expelled; yet their numbers increased. In the year 1592 the first Jesuit arrived in the Netherlands; in the year 1622 the order had twenty-two members in that country. New laborers were constantly proceeding from the colleges of Cologne and Louvain; and in the year 1622 there were 220 secular priests employed in the provinces; that number not by any means sufficing to the necessities of the time. According to the report in question, the number of Catholics in the diocese of Utrecht amounted to 150,000; in the diocese of Haarlem, to which Amsterdam belonged, it was 100,000; Leuwarden had 15,000; Gröningen, 20,000; and Deventer, 60,000 Catholics.

The apostolic vicar, who was at that time despatched by the Papal See to Deventer, administered confirmation to 12,000

¹ "Relazione delle provincie ubbidienti," parte ii. c. ii., where the state of religion in Holland is the subject of discussion.

persons, in three towns and a few villages. The numbers may, perhaps, be much exaggerated in this report; but we see clearly that in that pre-eminently Protestant country there was a very large proportion of Catholic elements. Even those bishops that Philip II had attempted to establish there had from that time been acknowledged by the Catholics.² And this was a condition of things by which the Spaniards were very probably incited and encouraged to renew the war.

Section VII.—Relations of Catholicism with England

More peaceful prospects had meanwhile presented themselves in England. The son of Mary Stuart united the crowns of Great Britain in his own person, and now displayed a more decided disposition to a closer approximation with the Catholic powers.

Even before James I had ascended the English throne, Clement VIII caused it to be intimated to him that "he prayed for him, as the son of so virtuous a mother; that he desired for him all kinds of prosperity, temporal and spiritual, and trusted yet to see him a Catholic." His accession to the throne of England was celebrated at Rome with solemn prayers and processions.

To these advances James could not have dared to make any corresponding return, had he been even disposed to do so; but he suffered Parry, his ambassador in France, to form confidential relations with Bubalis, the papal nuncio at that court. The nuncio displayed a letter from Cardinal Aldobrandino, the Pope's nephew, wherein the latter exhorts the English Catholics to obey King James, as their natural lord and sovereign; nay, they were admonished even to pray for him. This was replied to, on the part of Parry, by an instruction from James I, in which that monarch promised to suffer peaceable Catholics to live quietly and without the imposition of any burdens.¹

The mass was in fact now again performed openly in the

² "Compendium status in quo nunc est religio Catholica in Holandia et confederatis Belgii provinciis, 2 Dec. 1622:" "Notwithstanding these things, praised be God, the number of Catholics daily increases, the dissensions of

the heretics, among themselves, most especially aiding."

¹ A brief report of the matters treated of between his holiness and the King of England.

North of England; and the Puritans complained that 50,000 Englishmen had in a very short time been allured to join the Catholics. To this James is reported to have replied, "that they might, on their part, convert an equal number of Spaniards and Italians."

These favorable results may have induced the Catholics to place their hopes too high; thus, when the King persisted in adhering to the side of their opponents, when the former acts of Parliament were again carried into effect and new persecution ensued, their exasperation became intense in proportion to their disappointment, until at length it found a fearful expression in the Gunpowder Plot.

From that time there was no longer any possibility of toleration on the part of the King. The most rigorous laws were instantly enacted and enforced; domiciliary visits were inflicted, with fines and imprisonment. The priests, and above all the Jesuits, were banished and persecuted. It was thought needful to restrain enemies so daring with the most extreme severity.

But in private conversation the King was found to be much more placable. To a prince of the house of Lorraine, from whom he once received a visit, not without the knowledge of Pope Paul V, James declared in direct terms that after all there was but very slight difference between the two confessions; that it was true he thought his own the best, and held it, not from policy of state, but from conviction; yet that he was perfectly willing to hear what others thought, and since it would be altogether too difficult to convene a council, he would very gladly see a convention of learned men, for the purpose of attempting a reconciliation. He added that if the Pope would make but one step in advance, he on his part would make four to meet him. He also acknowledged the authority of the fathers. Augustine had more weight in his opinion than Luther; and he valued St. Bernard more than Calvin. Nay, he saw in the Church of Rome, even as she now was, the true Church—the mother of all others; he thought only that she required a purification. One thing he would confess to him, a friend and cousin, though he would not say so much to a papal nuncio, namely, that he too beheld in the Pope the head of the Church—the supreme

bishop.² It was, therefore, doing him great injustice to describe him as a heretic or schismatic. A heretic he certainly was not, since he believed what the Pope believed; only that the latter believed some few things more than he could accede to: neither was he a schismatic, since he considered the Pope to be the head of the Church.

Holding opinions such as these, and entertaining together with them a very consistent aversion to the puritanical side of Protestantism, it would have been infinitely more agreeable to the King to have entered on a friendly undertaking with the Catholics, than to be compelled into keeping them down by force, and with continual danger to himself.

For they were still very numerous and powerful in England. In defiance of grievous reverses and defeats, or rather as a direct consequence of them, Ireland was in a state of perpetual commotion; it was of the utmost importance to the King that he should be relieved from this incessant opposition.³

We must not fail to remark that both the English and Irish Catholics attached themselves to Spain. The Spanish ambassadors in London, men of great address, very prudent, and withal extremely magnificent in their mode of life, had secured an extraordinary number of adherents. Their chapel was always full; the Holy Week was solemnized there with much splendor. They extended their protection to their co-religionists in great numbers, and came to be considered, according to the report of a Venetian, almost as legates of the Apostolic See.

I think we shall not greatly err in supposing that this state of things may have largely contributed to inspire King James with the idea of marrying his heir to a Spanish princess. He hoped by this means to assure himself of the Catholics, and to conciliate to his own house the attachment they now evinced toward that of Spain. Foreign relations presented an additional motive for this proceeding, since it might be fairly expected that

² "Che riconosce la chiesa Romana, etiandio quella d' adesso, per la vera chiesa e madre di tutte, ma ch' ella aveva bisogno di esser purgata, e di più ch' egli sapeva che V. Sta. è capo di essa chiesa e primo vescovo." (See text.) These are expressions that can by no means be reconciled with the principles of the English Church, but they are attributed to this prince from

other quarters also.—"Relatione del Sr. di Breval al Papa."

³ "Relatione di D. Lazzari, 1621," attributes the King's proceedings to his timidity: "For I have seen manifest proof that fear is in him more powerful than anger;" and again: "From the knowledge I have of him [the King], I consider him altogether indifferent to every kind of religion." See Appendix, No. 100.

the house of Austria, when so nearly connected with himself, would manifest more favorable dispositions toward his son-in-law, the Elector-Palatine.

But the question next arising was whether this marriage could be carried into effect. There was an obstacle presented by the difference of religion that in those times was indeed most difficult to overcome.

The world of reality, the rigid order of things, will forever be accompanied by an element of fantasy, which finds expression in poetry and romantic narrations, and these in their turn react on the mind of youth, and thus influence the events of life. The negotiations that were proceeding, being delayed from day to day, and from month to month, the Prince of Wales, with his confidential friend and companion, Buckingham, conceived the romantic idea of setting off himself to fetch his bride.⁴ The Spanish ambassador, Gondemar, seems not to have been altogether free from participation in this enterprise. He had told the prince that his presence would put an end to all difficulties.

How greatly surprised was the English ambassador in Madrid, Lord Digby, who had been conducting the negotiations, when, being one day called from his chamber to speak with two cavaliers who desired admission, he found in these cavaliers the son and the favorite of his King.

And now endeavors were indeed made, and that with the utmost diligence, to remove the great obstacle presented by the religious difference.

For this the consent of the Pope was required, and James I did not recoil from entering into direct negotiation on the subject with Paul V; but that pontiff had refused to make the slightest concession, unless on condition that the King should grant complete liberty in religion to all the Catholics in his country. The impression made by the prince's journey on Gregory XV was on the contrary so powerful that he felt instantly disposed to content himself with much less important concessions. In a letter to the prince he expressed the

⁴ Papers relative to the Spanish match in the "Hardwicke Papers," i. p. 399. They contain a correspondence between James I and the two travellers, by which great interest is excited for the persons engaged in it. The defects of James seem at least to be those of a

kindly nature. His first letter begins thus: "My sweet boys and dear venturous knights, worthy to be put in a new romanso." "My sweet boys" is the King's usual address. They write to him as their "Dear dad and gossip."

hope "that the ancient seed of Christian piety, which had of old time borne fruit in English kings, would now once more revive in him; certainly he could in no case, desiring as he did to marry a Catholic maiden, resolve on oppressing the Catholic Church." The prince replied that he would never take hostile measures against the Roman Church, but would rather seek to bring things to such a state "that as we all," as he expressed it, "acknowledge one triune God and one crucified Christ, so we may all unite in one faith and one church."⁵ We perceive the great advances made by either side. Olivarez declared himself to have entreated the Pope most pressingly for the dispensation, assuring him that the King of England "would refuse nothing to the prince his son, that came within the power of his kingdom."⁶ The English Catholics also urgently pressed the Pope, representing to him that a refusal of the dispensation would drawn down fresh persecutions on them.

The parties then proceeded to arrange the points in regard to which James of England was to give his promise.

Not only was the infanta with her suite to be allowed the exercise of their religious rites in a chapel of the royal residence, but the first education of all the children of this marriage was to be directed by her; no penal law was to have any application to them, nor was their right of succession to the throne to be rendered doubtful, even were they to remain Catholic.⁷ The King promised in general "not to disturb the private exercise of the Catholic religion; not to require from the Catholics any oath inconsistent with their faith, and to take measures for securing that the laws against Catholics should be repealed by the Parliament.

In August, 1623, King James engaged solemnly, and by oath, to maintain these articles: there now seemed no doubt remaining, nor anything to prevent the completion of the marriage.

⁵ Frequently printed. I follow the copy in Clarendon and the "Hardwicke Papers," said to be taken from the original.

⁶ In his first joy he even said, according to the relation of Buckingham March 20th, "that if the Pope would not give a dispensation for a wife, they would give the infanta to thy son Baby as his wench."

⁷ The most important article, and the source of much mischief; the words are as follow ("Merc Franç." ix. Appendix ii. 18): "That the laws made against Catholics in Great Britain shall not touch the children proceeding from this marriage, and they shall enjoy their free right of succession in the kingdoms and dominions of Great Britain."

This event was celebrated in Spain with festivities; the court received congratulations; formal intimation was given to the ambassadors, and the ladies of the infanta and her confessor were instructed to utter no word that could affect the marriage unfavorably.

King James reminded his son that in his joy at this happy alliance he must not forget his cousin, who had been robbed of his inheritance; nor his sister, whose life was passed in tears; and the affairs of the palatine were very zealously taken in hand. A proposal was made for including the imperial line, and that of the Palatinate, in the contemplated connection, by giving a daughter of the Emperor to a son of the proscribed Elector; and to avoid offending Bavaria, the erection of an eighth electorate was suggested. The Emperor immediately opened negotiations on this subject with Maximilian of Bavaria, who was not at that time averse to the proposal, but demanded that the palatine electorate transferred to him should remain in his possession, and that the eighth electorate to be erected should be given to the palatine. This did not greatly affect the interests of the Catholics. They were to enjoy religious freedom in the restored Palatinate, and in the electoral colleges they would still have held the majority of votes.⁸

Thus did that power, which in the preceding reign had formed the chief bulwark of Protestantism, now enter into the most friendly relations with those ancient enemies, toward whom it appeared to have vowed an implacable hatred, the Pope and Spain. The treatment of Catholics in England already began to evince a change, the domiciliary visits and other persecutions ceased; there were certain oaths which they were no longer required to take; Catholic chapels reappeared, to the vexation of the Protestants, and the zealous Puritans, who condemned the marriage, were punished. King James doubted not that, before the return of winter, he should embrace his son and the young bride as well as his favorite; all his letters express the most earnest longing for this happiness.

The advantages that would have resulted from the execution of the articles described above are manifest; but from the marriage itself, very different consequences might have been

⁸ Khevenhiller, x. 114.

expected, results of which it was impossible to foresee the extent. What could not be attained by force—the possession of a direct influence over the administration of the State in England—seemed now about to be acquired in a manner the most peaceful and natural.

Section VIII.—Missions

Having gained this point in our consideration of the remarkable progress made by Catholicism in Europe, we may now also profitably direct our attention to those more distant regions of the world, in which, by the force of kindred impulses, it also made the most important advances.

Motives of a religious character were mingled even in the first idea by which the Spaniards and Portuguese were incited to attempt their various discoveries and conquests. By these motives they were constantly accompanied and animated; they were, from the first, made clearly manifest throughout their newly founded empires, both in the East and the West.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century we find the proud fabric of the Catholic Church completely erected in South America. It possessed five archbishoprics, twenty-seven bishoprics, 400 monasteries, with parish churches and *Doctrinas*¹ innumerable. Magnificent cathedrals had been reared, the most gorgeous of all, perhaps, being that of Los Angeles. The Jesuits taught grammar and the liberal arts; they had also a theological seminary attached to their college of San Ildefonso, in Mexico. In the universities of Mexico and Lima all the branches of theology were studied. It was remarked that the Americans of European descent were distinguished by an extraordinary acuteness; but, as they complain themselves, they were too widely distant from the countenance of royal favor to receive rewards commensurate to their deserts. Christianity was meanwhile in course of gradual and regular diffusion throughout South America, the mendicant orders being more particularly active. The conquests had become changed into a seat of missions, and the missions were rapidly proclaiming civilization. The monastic orders taught the natives to sow and reap, plant trees and build houses, while teaching them

¹ Herrera, "Descripcion de las Indias," p. 80.

to read and sing, and were regarded by the people thus benefited, with all the more earnest veneration. When the priest visited his flock, he was received with music and the ringing of bells, flowers were scattered on his path, and the women held up their children toward him, entreating his blessing. The Indians evinced extraordinary pleasure in the externals of divine worship, they were never weary of attending mass, singing vespers, and joining in the choral service. They displayed considerable talent for music, and took an innocent delight in decorating their churches; for they seem to have been most readily impressed by whatever was most simple and innocently fanciful.² In their dreams they beheld the joys of paradise; to the sick the queen of heaven appeared in all her splendor, young attendants surrounded her and ministered refreshment to the fainting sufferer; or she presented herself alone, and taught her worshipper a song of her crucified Son, "whose head was bowed down, even as droops the yellow ears of corn."

It was under these forms that Catholicism obtained its conquests in this country. The monks have but one cause of complaint, namely, that the bad examples of the Spaniards and the violence of their proceedings corrupted the natives and impeded the progress of conversion.

A similar process was at the same time in action through East India, so far as the rule of the Portuguese extended. Catholicism obtained a central position of great value in Goa. Thousands were converted every year; even as early as 1565 300,000 of these newly made Christians were computed to be in and around Goa, in the mountains of Cochin, and at Cape Comorin.³ But the state of things generally was yet entirely different. The arms, as well as doctrines of the Christians, were here opposed by a far-extending, peculiarly constituted, and wholly unsubdued world. Religions of immemorial antiquity, the forms of whose worship enchained both the senses and spirit, were in-

² "Compendio y descripcion de las Indias occidentales," MS.: "They show great charity toward the needy, and are especially devoted to the priests, whom they revere and respect as the ministers of Christ. The greater part of them so readily embrace the practices of our holy faith that they are prevented only by the bad example we give them, from having great saints

among them, as was manifest to me when I was in those countries." The "Literæ Annuæ Provinciæ Paraquariæ, missæ a Nicolao Duran, Antv. 1636," are extremely remarkable, because the missionaries always contrived to keep the Spaniards from entering that province.

³ Maffei, "Commentarius de rebus Indicis," p. 21.

timately associated with the manners and modes of thinking of the people.

But there were tendencies in Catholicism which were in their nature well calculated to vanquish even a world thus constituted.

The conviction of this fact was the exciting and unfailing impulse to all the labors of Francis Xavier, who reached East India in the year 1542. He traversed the country in its whole length and breadth, he prayed at the tomb of the Apostle Thomas at Meliapur, and preached to the people of Travancore from a tree. In the Moluccas he taught spiritual songs, which were then repeated by the boys in the market-places and sung by the fishermen in their barks. But he was not born to complete the work he had begun; his cry was ever, "Amplius, amplius," and a kind of passion for travelling shared largely in his zeal for making proselytes. He had already reached Japan, and was on the point of exploring the home and origin of the peculiar opinions he had encountered in those regions—the Empire of China, namely—when he died.⁴

It is perfectly consistent with the nature of men that the example of Francis Xavier and the difficulties of the enterprise should rather excite to imitation than alarm and deter from the attempt. The most active and varied exertions were thus made throughout the East in the earlier periods of the seventeenth century.

In the year 1606 we find Father Nobili in Madaura; he was surprised that Christianity had made so little progress in so long a time, and thinks this fact to be explained only by the circumstance that the Portuguese had addressed themselves to the pariahs, which had caused Christ to be considered merely as a god of the pariahs. He proceeded in a totally different manner. Persuaded that an effectual course of conversion must begin with the upper classes, he declared on his arrival that he was of the highest order of nobles (he was prepared with testimonies to that effect), and connected himself with the Brahmins. He adopted their dress and modes of life, undertook their penances, learned Sanscrit, and proceeded altogether in accordance with their ideas.⁵ There was an opinion prevalent among them that

⁴ Maffei, "Historiarum Indicarum," lib. xiii. et xiv.

⁵ Juvencius, "Historiæ Societatis

Jesu," pars v. tom. ii. lib. xviii. s. 9, n. 49: "He knew all the institutions and ceremonies of the Brahmins; he

four roads to truth had formerly existed in India, but that one of them had been lost. Nobili affirmed that he had come to restore to them this lost but most direct and spiritual road to immortality. In the year 1609 he had already converted seventy Brahmins. He was scrupulously careful to avoid offending their prejudices; he tolerated their distinctions of castes, but giving them a different signification, and even separated the different castes from each other in the churches. The expressions in which the Christian doctrines had previously been taught were changed by Nobili for others more refined, more elegant, and of a higher literary dignity. He proceeded in all things with so much address that he soon saw himself surrounded by a host of converts. Although his modes of action gave extreme offence at first, yet they seemed to be the only means calculated to promote the object in view, and in the year 1621 they were sanctioned by the expressed approval of Gregory XV.

The labors undertaken at the same time in the Court of the Emperor Akbar were no less remarkable.

It will be remembered that the ancient Mongolian Khans, the conquerors of Asia, had long occupied a peculiarly undecided position among the various religions by which the world was divided. The Emperor Akbar would seem to have held nearly similar dispositions. When he summoned the Jesuit fathers to his presence, he told them that "he had done his best to acquire a knowledge of all the religions of the world, and now wished to learn something of the Christian religion also, by the help of the fathers, whom he revered and valued." The first who made his permanent residence at the Court of Akbar was Gerónimo Xavier, nephew of Francis, who settled there in the year 1595; when the insurrections of the Mahometans contributed to dispose the Emperor toward the Christians. In the year 1599 Christmas was celebrated at Lahore with the utmost solemnity. The manger and leading facts of the Nativity were represented for twenty days in succession, and numerous catechumens proceeded to the church, with palms in their hands, to receive the rite of baptism. The Emperor read a life of Christ, composed

learnt their currently spoken language called Tamul, which is widely extended; also the Baddagia, used by princes and the court; and, finally, the Grandoun or Sanscrit, which is the language of the learned, and is so sur-

rounded by difficulties that it was never well known to any European until that day; even among the Indians themselves, those who know this are thought to know the most, even though they know nothing but that."

in Persian, with great pleasure, and a picture of the Virgin, copied from the "Madonna del Popolo," in Rome, was taken by his orders to the palace, that he might show it to the ladies of his family. It is true that the Christians drew more favorable inferences from these things than the conclusion justified; still they really did make great progress. After the death of Akbar, three princes of the blood-royal were solemnly baptized; they rode to church on white elephants, and were received by Father Geronimo with the sound of trumpets, kettledrums, and martial music.⁶ This event took place in 1610. Christianity seemed gradually to acquire a position of fixed character, although with certain vicissitudes and the prevalence of varying opinions; their affairs being affected by the greater or less degree of harmony existing in the political relations between the country and the Portuguese. In 1621 a college was founded in Agra and a station was established at Patna. In 1624 there were hopes that the Emperor Jehanguire would himself become a convert.

The Jesuits had made their way into China at the same period. They sought to win over the well-informed, scientific, and reading people of that empire, by the force of their acquirements and by acquainting them with the discoveries and sciences of the West. Ricci obtained his first entrance among them by the fact that he taught mathematics, and by his selecting the most valuable passages from the writings of Confucius, which he committed to memory, and recited before them. He gained access to Peking, by the present of a clock striking the hours, which he made for the Emperor; but he owed the favor and esteem of that monarch to nothing so much as to a map which he constructed for him, and which greatly surpassed all attempts made by the Chinese in that department of knowledge. A fact is related that will serve as a characteristic of Ricci. When the Emperor ordered ten such maps to be painted on silk, and hung in his apartments, he seized the opportunity thus afforded to do something for the promotion of Christianity also, and filled the margins and vacant spaces of each map with Christian symbols and texts. His instructions, generally, were conveyed in a similar manner; he usually began with mathematics, but he managed to finish with religion. His scientific attainments pro-

⁶ Juvencius, l. i. n. 1-23.

cured respect for his religious doctrines. He not only succeeded in gaining to Christianity those who were immediately his pupils, but many mandarins, whose dress he had assumed, also went over to his creed. A Society of the Virgin was established in Peking as early as the year 1605. Ricci died in 1610, exhausted, not by excess of labor only, but more still by the many visits, the long feasting, and all the other duties of Chinese society and etiquette. The advice given by Ricci was followed after his death; namely, "to carry on the work without noise or display, and in this tempestuous ocean to keep ever near the shore." Nor was the example he left as regarded the application of science neglected. In the year 1610 an eclipse of the moon occurred; the predictions of the native astronomers and of the Jesuits differed by a whole hour, and when the truth of the Jesuit calculations was proved by the event, they derived great credit from the circumstance.⁷ The rectification of the astronomical tables was now confided to them, together with certain mandarins, their pupils; nor was this all: the interests of Christianity were also greatly promoted by these successes. In 1611 the first church in Nanking was consecrated, and in 1616 Christian churches are described as existing in five different provinces of the empire. In the different assaults to which they were not infrequently exposed, it was constantly found of the utmost advantage to them that their pupils had written works which enjoyed the approbation of the learned. They for the most part contrived to avert the threatening storms: their general habit was to conform as much as possible to the customs of the country; and in regard to various points and practices, they were empowered by the Pope himself, in 1619, to make certain concessions to the opinions prevailing around them. There then passed no year that they did not convert thousands, while those who opposed them gradually became extinct. In 1624 Adam Scharll appeared, and the exact description of two eclipses of the moon, which took place in that year, with a work of Lombardo relating to earthquakes, added increased weight to their dignity and consideration.⁸

⁷ Jouveny has devoted the whole of his nineteenth book to the undertakings in China, and has added a dissertation (see p. 561)—"Imperii Sinici recens et uberior notitia"—which is still entirely worthy of attention.

⁸ "Relazione della Cina, dell' anno 1621:" "The condition of this Church at present appears to me extremely similar to that of a ship which the clouds and winds threaten with a heavy storm; wherefore the mariners,

The course pursued by the Jesuits among the warlike Japanese was entirely different; the country was torn by perpetual factions, and the Jesuits attached themselves from the first to one or the other of the contending parties. In the year 1554 they were so fortunate as to have declared for that which obtained the victory; its favor was consequently secured to them, and by means of this they made extraordinary progress. In the year 1577 300,000 Christians were computed to have received baptism in Japan. Father Valignano, who died in 1606, a man whose advice in regard to East India was always welcome to Philip II, was himself the founder of 300 churches and thirty houses for Jesuits in Japan.

It was, however, by the connection of the Jesuits with Mexico and Spain that the jealousy of the Japanese authorities was awakened; the success that the Jesuits had previously had in the earlier civil wars was besides not repeated; the party to which they had attached themselves in later conflicts had sustained defeat, and after the year 1612 they were subjected to fearful persecutions.

But they maintained their ground with great steadiness. Their proselytes invoked the death of the martyr, and they had established a fraternity of martyrs, the members of which mutually encouraged each other to the endurance of every possible infliction: they distinguished those years as the *Æra Martyrum*. But despite the increasing violence of the persecutions, their historians affirm that even at that dangerous period new converts were continually added to their numbers.⁹ They give the exact amount of 239,339 as that of the converts to Christianity among the Japanese from 1603 to 1622.

In all these countries we find the Jesuits evincing the same persevering industry, unbending pertinacity, and pliant conformity to the circumstances around them, by which they have been

shortening sail and lowering the yards, lie to, and wait till the sky becomes clear and the winds cease their commotion; but it very often happens that all the mischief consists in their fears, and that, the fury of the winds abating, the tempest disappears, satisfied with threatening only. Just so has it happened with the ship of this Church. Four years since, a fearful storm rose against it, menacing to submerge it at one blow; the pilots accommodating themselves to the weather, took in the sails of their works and retired somewhat, but so that they could be found

by those who needed their aid, to wait till the day should break and the shadows pass away; but since then there has been no other evil than that of fear."

⁹The "Lettere Annue del Giappone dell' anno 1621" present an example: "The glorious champions who have died this year were 121. The adults who, by means of the fathers of the company, have received holy baptism, are 2,236, without counting those who have been baptized by other fraternities and by Japanese priests."

characterized from their origin; they made progress beyond all that they could have hoped for, and succeeded in conquering, at least partially, the resistance of the national forms of religion that were paramount in the East.

And in addition to all this they had taken care to provide for the union of the oriental Christians with the Roman Church.

Even in India the Jesuits had found that primitive Nestorian community known as the Christians of St. Thomas. But these believers did not hold the Pope of Rome, of whom they knew nothing, for the head of the Church, but acknowledged the Patriarch of Babylon (at Mosul) as their supreme head and shepherd of the universal Church. Measures were therefore immediately taken for bringing them within the pale of the Roman communion; neither force nor persuasion was spared; in the year 1601 the most important persons among them seemed won, and a Jesuit was nominated as their bishop. The Roman ritual was printed in Chaldaic; the errors of Nestorius were anathematized in a diocesan council; a Jesuits' college was founded in Cranganor, and the installation of the new bishop was effected in 1624, with the assent of those who had previously been the most inflexible in their opposition.¹⁰

It is self-evident that the political superiority of the Spanish and Portuguese powers contributed largely to these results: this influence also made itself felt at the same time and in various forms in Abyssinia.

Many attempts had been made in the latter country at an earlier period, but all were ineffectual. It was in the year 1603, when the Portuguese of Fremona gave essential aid to the Abyssinians in a battle with the Caffres, that themselves and their religion first attained to more respectful consideration. Just then Father Paez arrived, an able Jesuit of great address, who preached in the language of the country and procured access to the court. The victorious monarch desired to form more intimate relations with the King of Spain, principally for the purpose of securing an ally against his enemies in the interior. Paez represented to him that the only means by which this could be accomplished were his abandonment of the schismatic creed he held, and conversion to the Church of Rome. His arguments produced all the more impression from the fact that

¹⁰ Cordara, "Historia Soc. Jesu," vi. ix. p. 535.

amid the internal convulsions of the Abyssinians, the Portuguese had in fact evinced the utmost fidelity and bravery. Disputations were appointed, and in these the Jesuits easily defeated the untaught monks. Sela-Christos, the bravest man in the empire, and a brother of the Emperor Seltan-Segued (Socinius), became a convert, and his example was followed by a multitude of his fellow-countrymen. A connection was then readily formed with Pope Paul V and Philip III. Opposition was naturally aroused among the representatives of the established religion, and in Abyssinia, as in Europe, the civil war assumed the character of a religious conflict. The Abuna and his monks were always on the side of the rebels; Sela-Christos, the Portuguese, and the converts on that of the Emperor. Year after year battles were fought with varied consequences; but the Emperor and his party were at length victorious: their triumph was also that of Catholicism and the Jesuits. In the year 1621 Seltan-Segued decided the ancient controversies respecting the two natures in Christ, in accordance with the views of the Roman Church. He prohibited the offering of prayers for the Patriarch of Alexandria; Catholic churches and chapels were erected in all his towns, and even in his gardens.¹ In 1622, after having confessed to Paez, he received the sacrament according to the Catholic ritual. The Papal Court had been long requested to send a Latin patriarch into the country, but had avoided doing this so long as the opinions or power of the Emperor remained doubtful. That sovereign had now vanquished all his enemies, and the submission he displayed could not well be more perfect. On December 19th, therefore, in the year 1622, Gregory XV appointed Doctor Alfonso Mendez, a Portuguese Jesuit whom King Philip had proposed, to be Patriarch of Ethiopia,² and when this dignitary at length arrived, the Emperor solemnly tendered his obedience to the Pope of Rome.

Attention had meanwhile been constantly directed to the Greek Christians resident in the Turkish Empire; the popes despatched mission after mission in that behalf. The Roman *professio fidei* had been introduced among the Maronites by certain Jesuits; and in 1614 we find a Nestorian archimandrite in Rome, where he abjured the tenets of Nestorius in the name

¹ Juvencius, p. 705; Cordara, vi. 6, p. 320. Ludolf calls the Emperor Suseus.

² Sagripanti, "Discorso della Religione dell' Etiopia," MS., from the Atti Consistoriali.

of large numbers who had previously held those doctrines. A Jesuit mission was established in Constantinople, and by the influence of the French ambassador it acquired a certain degree of credit and stability. In the year 1621 these fathers succeeded in procuring the removal, at least for a time, of the Patriarch Cyrillus Lucaris, who was disposed to the opinions of the Protestants.

How comprehensive! how unbounded was this activity, laboring at one and the same moment among the Andes and through the Alps; its pioneers were despatched at once to Scandinavia and to Thibet. In China and in England we find it warily making its approaches to the favor of the ruling powers. Yet, on this illimitable theatre, undivided, ever vigorous and indefatigable; the strong impulse that worked in the centre, inspiriting, perhaps with a more intense and vivid force of action, every separate laborer, even to the utmost extremity of its borders.

CHAPTER THIRD

Section I.—Conflict of Political Relations—Further Triumphs of Catholicism

IT is rarely by a resistance from without that a power in rapid progress is arrested in its career; reverses are for the most part occasioned by internal dissensions, which, if not the sole cause of decline, yet largely promote and accelerate it.

Had Catholicism remained of one accord, had its adherents proceeded with united forces to their aim, it is difficult to imagine how Northern Germanic Europe, involved as it was to a considerable extent in the interests, and hemmed in on all points by the policy of Catholicism, could eventually have resisted its domination.

But was it not inevitable that having reached this degree of power, the old elements of discord residing within Catholicism itself, and which, though stilled at the surface, had been constantly active at the centre, should now burst forth anew?

The distinctive peculiarity of religious progress at this period was that it depended in all countries on the preponderance of political and military power. The successes of war preceded the progress of missions. It thus followed that the latter were associated with the most important political changes, which last were in themselves of high significance, and could not fail to cause reactions, of which the particular character could not be foreseen.

Of all those changes, the most important certainly was that the German line of the house of Austria, which had hitherto been too much engrossed by the disquietudes received from its hereditary dominions to assume any great share in the politics of Europe generally, now at once attained the independence, importance, and strength of a great European power. The elevation of German Austria produced the effect of awakening

Spain, which had reposed in peace since the times of Philip II, but which now rose with a renewal of its old warlike spirit to the assertion of its former hopes and claims. The Spanish and German sovereigns were already brought into immediate connection, by the transactions in the Grisons. The Alpine passes were held by Austria on the German side, and by Spain on that of Italy. On those lofty mountains they seemed to offer each other mutual aid for enterprises embracing all parts of the world.

It is certain that in this condition of things there was involved on the one hand a magnificent prospect for Catholicism, to which both lines had devoted themselves with inviolable attachment; but on the other, it presented imminent danger of internal dissension. How much jealousy had been aroused by the Spanish monarchy under Philip II! But with much greater force and combined solidity did the power of that house now uprear itself; augmented as it was by the extended growth of its German resources. It followed that all the old antipathies against it would be called into more than ever vigorous action.

This was first made manifest in Italy.

The small Italian States, incapable of standing by their own force, were above all others at that time in need of the protection gained by all from the balance of power, and were proportionately sensitive to whatever endangered its preservation. To be thus enclosed between the Spaniards and Germans, while cut off from all foreign aid by the occupation of the Alpine passes, they considered a position of great peril. With but slight regard to the advantages presented to their common faith by this combination, they had recourse to France, from whom alone they could hope for aid, for the purpose of destroying it. Louis XIII had also become alarmed, lest his influence in Italy should be lost. Immediately after the Peace of 1622, and even before he had returned to his capital, he concluded a treaty with Savoy and Venice, in virtue of which the house of Austria was to be compelled, by the junction of their common forces, to evacuate the passes and fortresses of the Grisons.¹

This was an intention apparently affecting one single point only, but which might readily endanger the whole existing relations of the European powers.

¹ Nani, "Storia Veneta," p. 255.

The probability of such a result was clearly manifest to Gregory XV. The peril by which the peace of the Catholic world, the progress of religious interests, and consequently the renewal of the papal dignity, were threatened from this point were distinctly obvious; and with a zeal equal to that he had displayed for missions and conversions, the pontiff now labored to prevent that outbreak of hostilities, the consequences of which were to his perception so evidently menacing.

The reverence felt for the Papal See, or rather respect for the unity of the Catholic world, had still so much of vital force that both France and Spain declared their readiness to leave the decision of this affair to the Pope. Nay, he was himself requested to take possession of those fortresses which occasioned so much jealous uneasiness, to hold them as a deposit, and to garrison them with his own troops, until the question concerning them had been fully adjusted.²

For some short time Pope Gregory hesitated whether he should agree to take this active and without doubt costly share in foreign transactions; but since it was manifest that the peace of the Catholic world depended chiefly on his decision, he finally suffered a few companies to be formed, and sent them into the Grisons, under the command of his brother, the Duke of Fiano. The Spaniards had wished to retain at least Riva and Chiavenna, but they now surrendered even these places to the papal troops.³ The Archduke Leopold, of the Tyrol, also finally consented to yield into their hands whatever territories and fortresses he could not claim as portions of his hereditary possessions.

By these arrangements the danger which had been the immediate cause of the Italian anxieties appeared to be effectually removed. The chief consideration now was to provide for the safety of Catholic interests in the further arrangements. In this view it was proposed that as the Valtelline was not to fall again into the hands of the Spaniards, neither should it return to the rule of the Grisons; because the restoration of the Catholic religion would be almost inevitably interrupted by the latter arrangement; it was therefore annexed to the three ancient Rætian confederacies, as a fourth independent State, possessing equal rights. From the same motives, even the connection

² "Dispaccio Sillery, 28 Nov. 1622." Corsini, xiii., 21 Genn. 1623, in Siri, "Memorie recondite," tom. v. pp. 435,

⁴⁴². "Scrittura del deposito della Valtellina," ib. 459.

³ Siri, "Memorie recondite," v. 519.

of the two Austrian lines was not to be entirely destroyed, that connection appearing to be still required for the progress of Catholicism in Germany. The passes of the Valtelline and the transit through Worms were always to remain open to the Spaniards; but with the understanding that this was for the passage of troops into Germany, not to facilitate their entrance into Italy.⁴

Affairs were at this point—the treaties had not been actually concluded, but all was prepared for conclusion—when Gregory XV died (July 8, 1623). He had lived to enjoy the satisfaction of seeing dissensions that had alarmed him allayed, and of securing that the progress of his Church should remain uninterrupted. There had even been proposals in the course of those negotiations for a new alliance between the Spaniards and French for the purpose of attacking La Rochelle and Holland.

But after the death of Gregory these intentions were far from being realized.

In the first place, the new Pope, Urban VIII, did not yet enjoy that confidence which proceeds from a well-grounded presumption of perfect impartiality; and secondly, the Italians were by no means satisfied with the arrangements above described. But the most important consideration of all was, that the helm of state in France was now directed by men who applied themselves to the opposition of Spain; not at the request of others, or as mere auxiliaries, but from their own unfettered impulse and as the leading principle of French policy. We allude to Vieuville and Richelieu.

But in this resolution there may possibly have been less of free-will and choice than may be supposed. France, as well as the Austrian-Spanish powers, was occupied in extending all her internal forces. By the victory obtained over the Huguenots the royal power had been largely increased, together with the unity and self-confidence of the nation; and as the claims of France kept pace with her strength to enforce them, so all things now combined to produce the adoption of a bolder line of policy than had been hitherto attempted. This natural tendency inevitably called forth the organs suited to its promotion; men

⁴ Art. 9 of the "Plan of the Convention."

disposed to carry it out to its consequences and capable of doing so. Richelieu was from the first resolved to make head against the ascendancy which the house of Austria constantly asserted, and which she had but recently acquired new powers to maintain, and even to increase. He determined to engage in direct conflict with this power for supremacy in Europe.

This was a resolution by which the Catholic world was menaced with a division more perilous than that which had lately been averted. The two great powers must of necessity be involved in open war. The execution of the Roman treaty above mentioned was no longer to be hoped for; all attempts of Pope Urban to hold the French to their promised concessions were altogether vain: nor were the French content merely to ally themselves with the Catholic opposition. Although Richelieu was a cardinal of the Roman Church, he did not scruple to form an undisguised league with the Protestants.

He first made advances to the English, in the hope of preventing that Spanish marriage from which the house of Austria could not fail to derive so great an extension of its influence. In this purpose he was seconded by feelings and circumstances strictly personal; the impatience of James I, who longed for the return of his son and his favorite with all the tenderness of an old man who believes himself near death, and a misunderstanding between the two prime ministers—Olivarez and Buckingham. But here also the result was principally determined by the nature of the thing itself. The affairs of the Palatinate presented invincible difficulties when they came to be negotiated between Austria, Spain, Bavaria, and the Palatinate.⁵ An alliance with France, on the contrary, seeing the new direction that power was taking, gave promise of a ready solution of the difficulty by force of arms; and as this alliance not only secured to the King of England a very considerable dowry, but also afforded a prospect of reconciling the English Catholics with the throne; he resolved to take a French princess as a wife for his son, and conferred on her the same privileges, in regard to her religion, as he had promised to the Spaniards.

Preparations were accordingly made for the attack. Richelieu had formed a plan more vast and comprehensive than had

⁵ From a letter of the Count Palatine, dated October 30th, it is manifest that he could not have been induced to ac-

cept the terms proposed by anything short of force.

ever before been known to European policy, but which was eminently characteristic of himself: by a simultaneous attack from all sides, he proposed to crush the power of the Spanish-Austrian house at one blow.

He was himself to fall upon Italy in concert with Savoy and Venice: without the slightest deference to the papal authority, he despatched French troops unexpectedly into the Grisons, and drove the papal garrisons from the fortresses.⁶ Together with the English alliance, he had renewed that formerly contracted with Holland, intending that the Dutch should attack South America while the English ravaged the coasts of Spain. By the intervention of King James, the Turks were called into action, and threatened to invade Hungary; but the most important blow was to be struck in Germany. The King of Denmark, who had long been prepared, was at length resolved to lead the forces of Denmark and North Germany to battle, for the rights of his kinsman, the Elector-Palatine. He not only received promise of aid from England, but Richelieu also engaged to contribute a million of livres toward the expenses of the war.⁷ Supported by both, Mansfeld was to form a junction with the King, and march on the hereditary dominions of Austria.

Of the two most powerful Catholic sovereignties we thus see the one arming itself in this general assault with the hope of destroying the other.

There cannot be a doubt that this state of things had an immediate tendency to impede the progress of Catholicism. It is true that the French confederacy was of a political nature, but so intimate was the connection between ecclesiastical and political relations that the Protestants could not fail to perceive in this condition of affairs the opportunity for promoting their own cause. Protestantism accordingly recovered breath.

⁶ "Relatione di quattro Ambasciatori, 1625." "The Pope complained that Bethune had never spoken clearly, and that he had never imagined the arms of the League were to act against his fortresses." The policy commonly pursued in France.

⁷ Extract from the Instruction of Blainville, in Siri, vi. 62. Mansfeld was to co-operate with him "in the heart of Germany." "Relatione di Caraffa:" "The French have always had the habit, even to this day, of hold-

ing correspondence with the enemies of his imperial Majesty, supplying them with aid both in money and troops; in secret certainly, yet not so secretly but that by intercepted letters and other chances their contrivances and correspondence have been discovered; thus even before the King of Denmark was defeated by Tilly, his Majesty always kept a good force in the Lower Palatinate and about Alsace, suspecting that some mischief might come from those parts." See Appendix, No. 112.

A new champion, the King of Denmark, had risen for its defence in Germany, with energies fresh and unimpaired, and supported by the mighty combination of European policy—a victory on his part would have rendered all the successes of the imperial house ineffectual, and must have arrested the progress of the Catholic restoration.

But it is by the attempt that the difficulties inherent in an enterprise are made manifest. However brilliant may have been the talents of Richelieu, he had yet proceeded too rashly in this undertaking; all his desires and inclinations were attracted toward this project; he had placed it before him, whether in full and conscious perception of all its import, or in obscure presentiment, as the great aim of his life; but there arose from it dangers by which he was himself first threatened.

Not only did the German Protestants, the enemies of the house of Austria, take new courage, but those of France also; the antagonists of Richelieu himself gathered fresh hopes from these new combinations in politics. They expected, as they said themselves, that in the worst possible case they should be able to make their peace with the King by means of his present allies.⁸ Rohan put his forces in motion on land; Soubise by sea. In May, 1625, the Huguenots were in arms throughout the country.

And at the same moment the cardinal was assailed by enemies, perhaps more formidable still, from the other side. Urban VIII, notwithstanding his inclination to France, had too deep a sense of his own dignity to endure quietly the expulsion of his garrisons from the Grisons.⁹ He raised troops, which he despatched into the Milanese, with the express purpose of making an effort, in alliance with the Spaniards, for recovering the lost fortresses. These warlike menaces may very possibly have meant but little; the ecclesiastical effects associated with them were however most important. The complaints of the papal nuncio, that the most Christian King had

⁸ "Mémoires de Rohan," part i. p. 146: "Hoping that if he brought things to bear, the allies of the King would more easily induce him to an accommodation."

⁹ "Relatione di P. Contarini:" "His

holiness [he is speaking of the time immediately following the arrival of the news] was excessively displeased, esteeming this affair to show but little respect to his banners, and he complained of it bitterly and continually."

become the auxiliary of heretical princes, found a ready response in France. The Jesuits came forward with their Ultramontane doctrines, and the strictly Catholic party made Richelieu the object of violent attacks.¹⁰ It is true that he found support against them in the Gallican axioms, and was defended by the Parliaments, yet he dared not long venture to have the Pope for an enemy. The Catholic principle was too closely bound up with the restored monarchy. Who could secure the cardinal from the effects of the impression that might be produced on his sovereign by the admonitions of the clergy?

Thus, even in France itself, Richelieu found himself assailed, and that by the two opposite parties, at the same time. Whatever he might be able to effect against Spain by maintaining his position, it was yet one that he saw to be wholly untenable; he was compelled to hasten out of it with all speed.

And as in the attack he had displayed his genius for widely reaching combinations, and bold, thorough-going designs, so he now exhibited that treacherous address by which he made his allies mere tools, and then abandoned them; a practice which he pursued through his whole life.

He first prevailed on his new confederates to support him against Soubise. He had himself no naval force. With Protestant armaments, drawn from foreign countries; with Dutch and English ships, he overcame his Protestant opponents at home. In September, 1625, he availed himself of their mediation to impose on the Huguenots the acceptance of disadvantageous terms, his allies having no doubt that when once freed from these enemies he would renew the general attack.

But what was their astonishment when, instead of this, intelligence reached them that France had concluded peace with Spain—when, in March, 1626, the peace of Monzon was made known: a papal legate had proceeded for that purpose to both courts. It is true that he does not appear to have had any material influence on the terms of the agreement; but he certainly gave new vitality and force to the Catholic principle. While Richelieu was employing the Protestants for his own purposes, under a show of the strictest confidence, he had entered still more zealously into negotiations with Spain for their destruction. With regard to the Valtelline, he agreed with

¹⁰ "Mémoires du Cardinal Richelieu," Petitot, xxiii. p. 20.

Olivarez that it should return to the rule of the Grisons; but with an independent power of appointing its own public officers, and with undiminished freedom for Romanist worship.¹ Thus the Catholic powers, which had seemed on the point of commencing a conflict for life or death, now stood in a moment reunited.

This result was facilitated by the misunderstanding that arose between France and England, in regard to the execution of the engagement contracted by the treaty of marriage.

It followed of necessity that a pause ensued in all preparations for the enterprize against Spain.

The Italian princes were compelled, however reluctantly, to endure the arrangements which they found to be unalterable. Savoy concluded a truce with Genoa; Venice considered herself fortunate that she had not fallen upon the Milanese, and now quietly disbanded her forces. It was maintained that the vacillating conduct of the French had prevented the relief of Breda, in 1625, so that the loss of that important fortress, which fell into the hands of Spain, was attributed to them. But the great and decisive reverse was that suffered in Germany.

The powers of Lower Germany had gathered around the King of Denmark, under shelter, as was believed, of the general alliance formed against Spain. Mansfeld advanced toward the Elbe. The Emperor, on his part, had armed with earnest diligence to meet him, knowing well how much depended on the issue.

But when the forces came into actual conflict, the general alliance had ceased to exist. The French subsidies were not paid; the English succors came in far too slowly. The imperial troops were more practised in war than their opponents, and the result was that the King of Denmark lost the battle of Lutter, while Mansfeld was driven as a fugitive into the Austrian provinces, through which he had hoped to march as a victor and restorer.

This was a result of which the effects were of necessity commensurate with the universality of their causes.

¹ Dumont, vol. ii. p. 487, s. 2: "That they may not have any other religion henceforward than the Catholic. . . . S. 3: That they may elect, by choice

amongst themselves, their own judges, governors, and other magistrates, all Catholics." Then follow certain limitations.

First, as regarded the imperial dominions, we may describe them in a word. The last attempt for the cause of Protestantism ventured on there, in the hope of aid from the general combination above named, was suppressed, and even the nobles, who had previously remained exempt from personal molestation, were now obliged to conform to the Catholic ritual. On the festival of St. Ignatius, 1627, the Emperor declared that, after the lapse of six months, he would no longer tolerate any person in his hereditary kingdom of Bohemia, even though of noble or knightly rank, who did not believe with himself and the apostolical Church, in the only true and saving Catholic faith.² Edicts to the same effect were proclaimed in Upper Austria; in the year 1628 they were sent into Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria, and after a certain period into Lower Austria likewise. Even a respite was vainly entreated; the nuncio Caraffa representing that these prayers for delay were put forward only in the hope of a general change of fortune. It was from that time that these districts once more became thoroughly Catholic. How mighty had been the resistance opposed to the imperial house, by the Austrian nobles, eighty years before! And now the sovereign power—orthodox, victorious, and unlimited—rose high above all opposition.

And the effects of the late victory were still more extensive in other parts of Germany. Lower Saxony was invaded and taken into possession. The imperial forces were in action, even up to the Cattegat; they held Brandenburg and Pomerania; Mecklenburg also was in the hands of the imperial generals—all principal seats of Protestantism, and all now subjugated by Catholic armies.

The manner in which Catholicism proposed to profit by this state of things was very soon made obvious. An imperial prince was nominated Bishop of Halberstadt, and the Pope, by virtue of his apostolic power, appointed the same prince to be Archbishop of Magdeburg. There could be no question but that, when the government of a Catholic archduke was established, the rigor with which other ecclesiastical princes had

² Caraffa, "Relatione," MS.: "The signor cardinal and I, having submitted to his Majesty's consideration, that as the heretic barons and nobles were not reformed, there could be but little good expected from the conversion of their

subjects, and that by consequence they would be likely by degrees to infect others, it pleased his Majesty to grant the cardinal and other commissioners power to reform the nobles also."

carried forward the work of restoring Catholicism would be zealously imitated throughout the diocese.

The Anti-Reformation, meanwhile, proceeded with renewed ardor in Upper Germany. The list of edicts proclaimed by the imperial chancery during these years, and to be found in Caraffa, well deserves examination. What a host of admonitions, resolutions, decisions, and recommendations—all to the profit of Catholicism.³ The youthful Count of Nassau-Siegen, the younger Count-Palatine of Neuburg, and the grand master of the Teutonic order undertook new reformations. In the Upper Palatinate, even the nobility were compelled to adopt the Catholic faith.

The ancient legal processes instituted by ecclesiastical dignitaries against temporal estates, in relation to confiscated church property, now took a different course from that of earlier times. How grievous were the disquietudes inflicted on Würtemberg alone! All the old complainants, the Bishops of Constance and Augsburg, the Abbots of Mönchsreit and Kaisersheim, pressed forward their claims against the ducal house. Its very existence was endangered.⁴ The bishops gained their cause against the towns in every instance; the Bishop of Eichstädt against Nuremberg, the chapter of Strasburg against the city of Strasburg; Hall in Suabia (Schwäbisch Hall), Memmingen, Ulm, Lindau, and many other towns, were compelled to restore to the Catholics the churches that had been taken from them.

If the letter of the Treaty of Augsburg was at this time appealed to from all quarters, of how much greater importance was the more general application of its principles, as they were now understood?⁵

“After the battle of Lutter,” says Caraffa, “the Emperor seemed to wake as from a long sleep; liberated from a great fear that had hitherto enchained his predecessors and himself, he conceived the idea of bringing back all Germany to the rule prescribed by the Treaty of Augsburg.

In addition to Magdeburg and Halberstadt, Bremen, Verden, Minden, Camin, Havelberg, Schwerin, and almost all the North

³ “Brevis enumeratio aliquorum negotiorum quæ . . . in puncto reformationis in cancellaria imperii tractata sunt ab anno 1620 ad annum 1629,” in the Appendix to the “*Germania Sacra restaurata*,” p. 34.

⁴ Sattler, “*Geschichte von Würtemberg unter den Herzogen*,” th. vi. p. 226.

⁵ Senkenberg, “*Fortsetzung der Håberlinschen Reichsgeschichte*,” bd. xxv. p. 633.

German benefices were restored to Catholicism. This had always been the remote object on which the Pope and the Jesuits, in the most brilliant moments of their prosperity, had fixed their eyes. But that was precisely the cause which made the Emperor anxious respecting such a step. He had no doubt, says Caraffa, of the justice and right of the measure, but only of the possibility of its execution. Yet the zeal of the Jesuits—above all, that of his confessor Lamormain—the favorable dispositions of the four Catholic electors, the unwearied entreaties of the papal nuncio, who informs us himself that it cost him the labor of a month to prevail, at length removed all scruples. As early as August, 1628, the edict for the restitution of church property was drawn up, the terms being those in which it afterward appeared.⁶ Previous to being published, it was once more submitted to the Catholic princes for their consideration.

Nor was this all; a plan much more extensive was connected with this design: hopes were entertained of conciliating the Lutheran princes; but this was not to be attempted by theologians. The Emperor himself, or some Catholic prince of the empire, was to undertake it. They were to proceed from the principle that the ideas of Catholicism formed by the people of North Germany were erroneous, and that the difference between the unaltered Confession of Augsburg and the genuine Catholic doctrine was very slight. They hoped to gain over the Elector of Saxony by giving up to him the patronage of the three archbishoprics situated in his dominions.⁷ Nor did they despair of exciting the hatred of the Lutherans against the Calvinists, and then making that hatred instrumental to the perfect restoration of Catholicism.

This idea was eagerly seized on at Rome, and worked out into a feasible project. Nor did Urban VIII by any means propose to content himself with the conditions of the Treaty of Augs-

⁶ That the edict was prepared at this period is gathered from Caraffa, "Comentar. de Germ. Sacra restaurata," p. 350. He remarks that the edict was drawn up in 1628 and published in 1629; he then proceeds—"God himself assented; for but a few days after that resolution, he rewarded the Emperor by a signal victory." He alludes to the victory of Wolgast, which was gained on August 22d.

⁷ Hopes of the conversion of this prince were felt in Rome as early as the year 1624. "Instruttione a Monsr. Caraffa:" "There came again some in-

telligence of the expected reunion of the Duke of Saxony to the Catholic Church, but the hope very soon vanished. Yet his not being inimical to Catholics, while he is the deadly enemy of the Calvinists, his being most intimate with the Elector of Mayence, and his having agreed to the Electorate of Bavaria, make us still have good hope; and, in regard to this it will not be inexpedient that his holiness should take measures with the said Mayence for this desirable acquisition." See Appendix, No. 110.

burg, which had indeed never received the sanction of a pope.⁸ He was determined to rest satisfied with nothing less than a complete restitution of all church property, and the return of all Protestants to Catholicism.

But in that moment of prosperity the pontiff had raised his thoughts to a design still more vast and daring if possible than that just described. This was no other than an attack on England; an idea that had reappeared from time to time, as if by a sort of necessity, among the grand combinations of Catholicism. Urban VIII now hoped to make the good understanding re-established between the two crowns subservient to the promotion of this favorite design.⁹

He first represented to the French ambassador the great offence that was offered to France by the total disregard of England to the promises made at the marriage. Either Louis XIII ought to compel the English to fulfil their engagements, or he should wrest the crown from a prince, who, as a heretic before God, and regardless of his word before men, was altogether unworthy to wear it.¹⁰

He next addressed himself to the Spanish ambassador, Oñate; and in this case the Pope declares it to be his opinion that as a good knight Philip IV was bound to take up the cause of the Queen of England, so near a connection of his own (she was his sister-in-law), who was now oppressed on account of her religion.

When the Pope saw that he might venture to hope for success, he transferred the negotiations to Spado, his nuncio in Paris.

Among the influential men of France, Cardinal Berulle, who

⁸ "To which," says the Pope, in a letter to the Emperor, of the Treaty of Passau, "the Apostolic See has never given its assent."

⁹ In Siri, "Memorie," vi. 257, some account is given of this affair, but it is very imperfect. The report of it in the "Mémoires de Richelieu," xxiii. 283, is also very partial. The relation of Nicoletti, which we use here, is much more circumstantial and authentic.

¹⁰ In Nicoletti, the Pope says: "The King of France has been offended by him, first, in his State, by the help given by England to the Huguenot rebels; in his life, by the instigations

and felony of Sciales, who had induced the Duke of Orleans to plot against his Majesty, for which crime he afterward suffered death; in his reputation, by the many breaches of promise he had committed; finally, in his own blood, because of the injuries inflicted on the Queen of England, his sister; but what is more than all this, he is offended in his soul, the Englishman planning evil to the salvation of that of the Queen, together with that of the most Christian King himself, and that of all who had been too forward in effecting that unhappy marriage."

had conducted the negotiations for the marriage, was the person who entered most earnestly into this project. He calculated how the trading vessels of England might be captured on the French coast, and how the English fleets might be burnt in their own harbors. On the Spanish part, Olivarez adopted the plan without much hesitation. He might indeed have been rendered cautious by former instances of perfidy, and another high officer of State, Cardinal Bedmar, opposed the measure on that ground; but the idea was too vast and comprehensive to be rejected by Olivarez, who in all things loved the great and magnificent.

The negotiation was conducted with the utmost secrecy; even the French ambassador in Rome, to whom the first overtures had been made, was not acquainted with the progress of the affair.

Richelieu drew up the articles of the treaty; they were amended by Olivarez, and to the form thus given them, Richelieu assented. On April 20, 1627, they were ratified. The French engaged to make instant preparation of their forces and to put their harbors in a state of defence. The Spaniards were ready to commence the attack before the close of that year, and it was arranged that the French should join them with all their forces in the following spring.¹

The accounts remaining to us do not make it very clearly appear how the booty was to be divided between France and Spain; but we collect from them sufficient to show that regard was paid on this occasion also to the interests of the Pope. Cardinal Berulle revealed to the nuncio, in the most profound confidence, that in the event of success, Ireland was to become the portion of the Papal See, and might be governed by the pontiff through the medium of a viceroys. This communication was received by the nuncio with extreme satisfaction, but he recommended his holiness to allow no word to transpire on the

¹ "Lettere del Nunzio, 9 Aprile, 1627." "The courier aforesaid returned to Paris from Spain, with advices that the Catholic King agreed to make the first movement, as he had been desired to do by France; provided the French would abide by both the two proposals that had been previously made as alternatives; namely, that the most Christian King should pledge himself to move in the May or June following, and should, at this time, supply the Catholic armament

with some galleys and other vessels. The same courier also brought intelligence, that the count-duke had broken off the negotiations proceeding in Spain with the King of England, who had offered the Catholic King a suspension of arms for three years, or any longer period, as well in the name of the King of Denmark as in that of Holland: a similar treaty was also broken off by order, of the Catholic King in Flanders."

subject, lest it might appear that his suggestions had been actuated by worldly views.

Neither had the interests of Germany and Italy been forgotten in these calculations.

There still appeared a possibility of destroying the superiority of the naval power of England and Holland, by a general combination. The formation of an armed combination was suggested, and under the protection of this force a direct communication was to be established between the Baltic, Flanders, the French coasts, Spain, and Italy, without the participation of the two maritime powers. The Emperor made proposals with this view to the Hanse Towns. The infantia at Brussels desired that a port in the Baltic should be ceded to the Spaniards.² Negotiations were entered into with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who by this means might have drawn the Spanish and Portuguese trade to Leghorn.³

It is true, that matters were not carried so far. Controlled by the complexity of the interests involved, the event took a very different course; but yet such as eventually to produce results entirely favorable to the cause of Catholicism.

While plans of such imposing magnitude were in process of arrangement for an attack on England, it came to pass that the projectors were themselves assailed by a force from England.

In July, 1627, Buckingham appeared with a noble fleet off the coasts of France; he landed on the island of Rhé and took possession of it, with the exception of the citadel of St. Martin, to which he instantly laid siege. He called on the Huguenots to arouse themselves once more in defence of their liberties and religious independence, which certainly were exposed to more imminent dangers from day to day.

English historians have usually attributed this expedition to an extraordinary passion of Buckingham for the Queen of France, Anne of Austria. Be the truth as it may with regard to that inclination, there is certainly a very different cause for this enterprise (but without doubt the real one) to be found

² Pope Urban says this in an instruction to Ginetti, in Siri, "Mercurio," ii. 984.

³ "Scrittura sopra la compagnia militante," MS. in the Archivio Mediceo, contains a discussion as to the practicability of this plan: "It is believed

that the people of the Hanse Towns would enter the military companies to please the Emperor, and that the Tuscans could not well refuse to do so, when called on by such great monarchs."

in the great course of events. Was Buckingham to wait in England for the proposed attack? It was doubtless better policy to anticipate the onslaught and to carry the war into France.⁴ A more favorable moment for the purpose could scarcely be desired; Louis XIII was dangerously ill, and Richelieu engaged in a contest with powerful factions. After some hesitation, the Huguenots did in fact again take arms; their brave and practised leaders appeared in the field once more.

To have produced effectual results, however, Buckingham should have conducted the war with more energy and been better supported. Charles I acknowledges, in all his letters, that this was not sufficiently done. As the affair was arranged, the assailants were soon proved to be no longer equal to Cardinal Richelieu, whose genius developed its resources with redoubled power in occasions of difficulty, and who had never given more decided proofs of steadfast resolution and unwearied persistence. Buckingham saved himself by a retreat. His expedition, which might have placed the French Government in extreme peril, had in reality no other result than that of causing the whole strength of France, directed by the cardinal, to be poured with renewed violence on the Huguenots.

The central point of the Huguenot power was without doubt in La Rochelle. At an earlier period, and when residing in the neighborhood of the city, at his bishopric of Luçon, Richelieu had frequently reflected on the possibility of reducing that fortress; he now found himself called upon to direct such an enterprise, and he resolved to accomplish it, be the cost what it might.

It was a peculiar circumstance that nothing afforded him so effectual an assistance as the fanaticism of an English Puritan.

Buckingham had, at length, resumed his arms for the relief of La Rochelle. His honor was pledged to effect this; his position in England and the world depended on it; and he would, unquestionably, have strained all his powers for its ac-

⁴ It may be asked whether Buckingham had not heard something of that mysterious treaty. It is extremely probable that he had done so, for how rarely is a secret so completely kept that no portion of it transpires. It is certain that the Venetian ambassador, Zorzo Zorzi, who arrived in France while these designs were in preparation, heard of them instantly: "It was added that

the two crowns were forming treaties, and plotting to assault England, with equal forces and arrangements, in concert." It is highly improbable that nothing of this should be mentioned in England, with which country the Venetians were in close connection; they had even been suspected of advising the expedition against the island of Rhé.—"Relatione di Francia, 1628."

accomplishment. This was the moment chosen by a fanatic, impelled by desire for vengeance and by a mistaken zeal for religion, and Buckingham was assassinated.

In a crisis of great moment, it is necessary that powerful men should make the enterprise their own personal concern. The siege of La Rochelle was as a duel between the two ministers. Richelieu alone now survived. No one was found in England to take Buckingham's place, or heartily to adopt the defence of his honor. The English fleet appeared in the roads, but without doing anything effectual. It was said that Richelieu knew there would be nothing attempted by it. He persisted with inflexible firmness in the siege, and in October, 1628, La Rochelle surrendered.

When the principal fortress had thus fallen, the neighboring places despaired of holding out: their only care now was to obtain tolerable terms.⁵

And thus, from all these political complexities, which at first seemed to promise so much aid to the Protestant cause, there proceeded, at last, a further triumph for Catholicism, and a mighty promotion of its interests. The Northeast of Germany and Southwest of France, both of which had so long resisted, were alike subdued. There now seemed nothing more required but to secure the perpetual submission of the conquered enemy, by restrictive laws and institutions of permanent efficiency.

The help afforded by Denmark to the Germans, and by England to the French, had been rather injurious than advantageous to those assisted; it had served to bring upon them an irresistible enemy, and these powers were now themselves endangered or attacked. The imperial forces penetrated even into Jutland, and in the year 1628, negotiations for a combined assault upon England proceeded with the most earnest activity between France and Spain.

⁵ Zorzo, Zorzi, "Relatione di Francia, 1629": "The conquest of La Rochelle, completed under the eyes of the English fleet, which professed to relieve the besieged, and throw succors into the town; the expedition against Rohan, who was the chief and soul of that faction; the progress made against the Huguenots in Languedoc, with the recovery of full fifty places, have shaken the hearts and exhausted the powers of that party; so that, having lost their

internal force, and being disappointed of foreign aid, they have remitted themselves wholly to the will and clemency of the King." He remarks that the Spaniards certainly came to take part in the siege of La Rochelle, though late, and with only fourteen ships; still they did come. He attributes this accession to their "certainty of the termination," and their wish "to participate in the honors."

CHAPTER FOURTH

MANTUAN WAR — THIRTY YEARS' WAR — REVOLUTION IN THE STATE OF AFFAIRS

THE course of human affairs, the progress of a development once begun, presents, at the first glance, an aspect of undeviating persistency.

But on examining more closely, we not infrequently perceive that the primitive cause on which the fabric of events reposes is but frail and yielding; merely some personal inclination, perhaps, whether of attachment or aversion, and which may be shaken without any great difficulty.

If we inquire by what agency the new and important advantages we have enumerated were obtained for the Catholic restoration, we shall find that it was not so much the martial forces of Tilly and Wallenstein, or the military superiority of Richelieu over the Huguenots, as the friendly understanding renewed between France and Spain, without which neither the generals nor the nations could have accomplished anything of moment.

The power of a self-sustained resistance had been lost to the Protestant cause from the year 1626, and it was only by the dissensions of the Catholic powers that its adherents were encouraged to attempt further opposition; the reconciliation of the governments was, therefore, the precursor of their ruin.

But none could fail to perceive the facility with which these friendly relations might be disturbed.

Within the limits of Catholicism, were two distinct and antagonist impulses, each arising equally by an inevitable necessity; the one was religious, the other political.

The first demanded unity of purpose, the extension of the faith, and a perfect disregard of all other considerations—the

latter continually impelled the great powers to a conflict for pre-eminent authority.

It could not be affirmed that the balance of power in Europe had as yet been disturbed by the course of events. In those times the balance depended on the hostility of interests existing between France and Austrian Spain: but France, also, had greatly augmented her strength in the course of the recent occurrences.

Political action is, however, prompted and governed, no less by what is perceived on looking forward into the future, than by the pressure and embarrassment of the present. The natural course of things now seemed inevitably conducting to a state of universal insecurity.

North Germany, the earliest home of Protestantism, was overwhelmed by the forces of Wallenstein; and this state of things seemed to present the possibility of restoring the imperial supremacy throughout the empire, where, one short period in the life of Charles V excepted, it had for ages been a shadow only, to real power and essential importance. Should the Catholic restoration proceed on the path it had entered, this result must of necessity ensue.

France, on the other hand, could expect no advantage equivalent to this. When once the Huguenots were completely mastered, France had nothing more to gain. But it was principally among the Italians that disquietudes were awakened; they considered the revival of a mighty imperial authority, asserting so many claims in Italy, and connected so immediately with the detested power of Spain, to be not only dangerous but intolerable.

The question once more recurred, whether Catholic efforts toward universal predominance were to be continued without regard to these considerations, or whether political views would gain the ascendancy, and raise impediments to these efforts.

While the torrent of Catholic restoration was sweeping in full force over France and Germany, a movement was made in Italy, by the result of which this question was ultimately decided.

Section I.—Mantuan Succession

At the close of the year 1627 the Duke of Mantua, Vincenzo II, of the house of Gonzaga, died without leaving children. His next of kin (*agnat*) was Carlo Gonzaga, Duke de Nevers.

Considered in itself only, this succession presented no difficulty, since no doubt could prevail as to the rights of the next of kin; but it involved a political change of the utmost importance.

Charles de Nevers was born in France, and was of necessity to be regarded as a Frenchman. It was believed that the Spaniards would not permit a Frenchman to acquire a sovereignty in Upper Italy, which they had been laboring from time immemorial, and with especial jealousy, to secure from the influence of France.

But if, after the lapse of so long a time, we seek to ascertain the pure truth of this matter, we shall perceive that no intention of excluding the Duke de Nevers was at first entertained, either at the Spanish Court or that of Austria. He was, indeed, related to the imperial house, the Empress being a Mantuan princess, and always greatly disposed to favor him. "There was nothing injurious to his interests required from him in the beginning," says Khevenhiller, who was employed in Mantuan affairs; "it was rather considered how he might best be induced to devote himself to the imperial house."¹ Olivarez, also, has expressly asserted the same thing; he relates, that when intelligence arrived of Don Vincenzo's serious illness, it was resolved at once to send a courier to the Duke de Nevers, to offer him the protection of Spain for his taking peaceable possession of Mantua and Montferrat.² It is very possible that conditions might have been imposed on him, and that securities might have been demanded, but there was no thought of wrenching from him his inheritance.

The manner in which this natural course of things was opposed is remarkable.

¹ "Annales Ferdinandei," xi. p. 30.

² Francesco degli Albizzi, *negotiato di Monsr. Cesare Monte*. His Majesty, says Olivarez, "hearing of the grave indisposition of Duke Vincenzo, ordered that a courier should be sent into France to the said Nevers, promising him his protection, that he might peace-

ably obtain possession of Mantua and Montferrat; but scarcely were the orders given, when by another courier, arrived from Italy, he heard of the death of Vincenzo, the marriage of Rethel without the consent or knowledge of the King, etc."

It was not expected in Italy that the Spaniards would proceed so equitably in this matter: however frequently they had affirmed their intentions of permitting Nevers to assume his rights without opposition, the Italians had never believed them.³ The Spanish rulers in Italy had brought upon themselves the suspicion of resolving to attain unlimited power, even though the means for doing so were unlawful. No one could now be convinced that they would not seek to confer the duchy on some member of the house of Gonzaga more devoted to themselves.

We must, nevertheless, admit that the wish of the Italians to see Mantua in possession of a prince naturally allied to France and independent of Spain had a considerable share in causing this opinion. They would not believe that Spain would accede to a thing desired by them chiefly as being so adverse to the Spanish interest. They even persuaded the rightful line of succession to think as they did; so that Gonzaga thought it best to place himself in possession by whatever means presented themselves.

The case may be said to have resembled that of the animal constitution, wherein some internal disease sought only an occasion—some aggrieved point—for bursting forth.

In the most profound secrecy, and before the death of Vincenzo, the young Gonzaga Nevers, Duke de Rethel, arrived in Mantua. All here had been prearranged by a Mantuan Minister, named Striggio, belonging to the anti-Spanish party. The old duke acknowledged the rights of his cousin without difficulty. There was still remaining a princess of the direct native line, great-granddaughter of Philip II of Spain, through his youngest daughter, who had married into the house of Savoy. With her it seemed extremely desirable that the young duke should contract a marriage. Accidental circumstances delayed the preparations, and it was not till Vincenzo had expired⁴ that the lady was taken in the night from the convent where she had been educated, and conducted to the palace, where the marriage was immediately solemnized. The death of Vincenzo

³ "Nor must credit be given," says Mulla, the Venetian ambassador to Mantua, in 1615, among other things, "to what has been repeatedly intimated by the Marquis of Inoiosa, formerly governor of Milan, that should the occasion arise, the Spaniards would never admit any other to the Duchy of Milan than the Duke of Nevers. But why

not? We have only the fact; the governor asserts it, the Italians do not believe it; nevertheless it is doubtless so."

⁴ Nani, "Storia Veneta," l. 7, p. 359; Siri, "Memorie recondite," vi. 309, both relate this fact; the last, on the authority of a letter of Sabran to the French Court.

was then first made known. Rethel was saluted Prince of Mantua, and received the accustomed homage. An envoy from Milan was kept at a distance till it was concluded, and then, not without a kind of mockery, was made acquainted with the facts.

Intelligence of these proceedings arrived at the courts of Vienna and Madrid, together with that of the duke's death.

It will be readily admitted that they were well calculated to exasperate and embitter these mighty sovereigns, whose pleasure it was to assume a character of religious as well as temporal majesty, to have a kinswoman married without their consent, nay, without their knowledge, and with a sort of violence; an important fief taken into possession without the slightest deference to the feudal sovereign! Yet the measures adopted by the two courts were entirely different.

Olivarez, proud as a Spaniard, doubly proud as the Minister of so powerful a King, and always possessed by an extravagant sense of his own importance, was now far from disposed to make any advances to the duke: he resolved to mortify him, at least, according to his own expression, if he did nothing more.⁵ It is true that the department of Gonzaga was manifestly hostile: after the proofs he had given of his manner of thinking, could the important city of Montferrat, which was always considered as an outwork of Milan, be safely intrusted to his keeping? The Duke of Guastalla laid claim to Mantua, the Duke of Savoy to Montferrat. The Spaniards now formed alliances with both: an appeal was made to arms. The Duke of Savoy advanced on Montferrat from the one side, and Don Gonzalez de Cordova, Governor of Milan, from the other. The French had already gained admittance into Casale. Don Gonzales now hastened to lay siege to that place. He had the less doubt of reducing it speedily, as he confided in the understanding entered into with him by parties within the walls.

The Emperor did not proceed so hastily. He felt persuaded that God would protect him, because he was proceeding in the path of justice. He disapproved the conduct of the Spaniards,

⁵ Nicoletti, "Vita di papa Urbano," from a despatch of the nuncio Pamfilio. "The count-duke declared that, at the very least, he would mortify the Duke of Nevers, for the disrespect shown to the King, by concluding the marriage without first imparting it to him: but

to what extent this mortification was to go, the nuncio could make no conjecture, and the less, as the reasons which had induced the Pope to grant the dispensation were bitterly impugned by the count-duke." App. No. 120.

and caused a formal remonstrance to be sent to Don Gonzalez. But he was determined, on the other hand, to exercise his right of supreme adjudication without the least restraint, and pronounced sentence of sequestration against Mantua, until he should have decided to which of the several claimants the inheritance belonged. As the new Duke of Mantua, who had entered on his duchy, would not submit, the most severe mandates were issued against him.⁶

Now although these measures differed in their origin and character, they yet concurred to produce the same effects. Nevers found himself threatened no less by the German line of the Austrian house, with its legal claims, than by the violent measures of the Spanish line: while seeking to elude the danger, he had drawn it down upon his head.

His prospects were indeed very unpromising in the beginning. Although it is true that some of the Italian States considered his case very nearly as their own, and neglected no means that might persuade him to firmness in his resolution of resistance; yet they had not in themselves resources adequate to the affording him effectual assistance.

Richelieu also had promised that he would not suffer his cause to be lost, if he could only maintain his hold till France could come to his aid; but the question was, when that would be.

The affairs of Mantua were approaching their crisis during the siege of La Rochelle, and the moment was one of extreme peril; before the reduction of that fortress, Richelieu could not move a step; he dared not venture again to commence hostilities with Spain, while his doing so might give occasion for another formidable rising of the Huguenots.

⁶ The intentions of the imperial court may be gathered from the report of Palotta, June 10, 1628, given in an extract by Nicoletti. "The nuncio became daily more firmly convinced that there was a very unfriendly feeling entertained against the Duke of Nevers: it was affirmed that he had shown contempt for the King of Spain, and still more for the Emperor, by concluding his marriage without their knowledge, and taking possession of his fief without investiture—nay, even without the imperial permission (*indulto*); that he was an enemy of the house of Austria, and was in good intelligence with the French, whom he designed to aid in

their invasion of Milan. Yet his imperial Majesty was much inclined to peace, and to that end had issued the decree of sequestration, that he might disarm the Spaniards and Savoyards, while the pretensions of Guastalla, Savoy, Lorraine, and Spain, to the States of Mantua and Montferrat, should be under discussion. But the duke had further offended the Emperor by acts of discourtesy to the commissioners, and by not admitting them into Mantua; more than all, however, by his appeal and the protest that the Emperor had lapsed from his rights and sovereignty over the said fiefs."

And there were likewise considerations of a different character, which were forced on his attention by his earlier experience. He must on no account dare to provoke a disagreement with the zealous and rigidly Catholic party in his own country; nor could he venture to dissent from the views of the Pope, or pursue a line of policy that might displease his holiness.

And now once more important general interests were depending on the Pope. His position, the nature of his office, all required him to use his utmost efforts for the preservation of peace in the Catholic world. As an Italian prince he possessed an unquestionable influence over his neighbors. His proceedings were to be decisive, as we have seen, even of the measures of France. All depended on the question whether he would avert the bursting forth of the menacing discord, or would himself become a party in the contest.

In the earlier political complexities of his pontificate Urban VIII had found his line of policy marked out—its course prescribed. On this occasion his own modes of thinking first came more completely into view, and this occurred at a moment when they were essentially to affect the great interests of the world.

Section II.—Urban VIII

Among other foreigners who attained to considerable wealth during the sixteenth century by the trade of Ancona, which was at that time in a tolerably prosperous condition, was the Florentine house of Barberini, which distinguished itself by its talents for commerce and by consequent success. A scion of that house, Maffeo, born at Florence in the year 1568, was taken, on the early death of his father, to Rome, where he had an uncle then residing who had risen to a certain position in the Curia. Maffeo also attached himself to the service of the Curia; and in this career, though aided by the opulence of his family, he yet owed his promotion chiefly to the extraordinary *talents he displayed*. In every degree to which he attained, his colleagues in office perceived in him a decided superiority; but it was principally by his success in a nunciature to the Court of France, the friendship and confidence of which he completely secured, that he was encouraged to entertain more lofty views of his own destiny. On the death of Gregory XV the French party immediately proposed him for the pontificate. The aspect

of the conclave on that occasion was to a certain extent different from that of the one preceding it, inasmuch as that the last Pope had reigned for a short time only. Although he had appointed a considerable number of cardinals, yet those nominated by his predecessor were equally numerous; thus the nephew of the last Pope and that of the last but one, met each other in the conclave with a nearly equal force of adherents. Maffeo Barberino is said to have given each party to understand that he was an opponent of the other, and it is affirmed that he thus gained the support of both—each, too, upholding him from hatred to the other. But a still more efficient cause of his success doubtless was that he had always proved himself a zealous defender of the jurisdictional rights of the Roman Curia, and had thus rendered the majority of the cardinals favorable to his own interests. Be this as it may, helped on by his own merits and by the support of others, Maffeo Barberino secured his election, and rose to the pontifical dignity at the vigorous age of fifty-five.

The court very soon discovered a wide difference between the new Pope and his immediate predecessors. Clement VIII was most commonly found occupied with the works of St. Bernard; Paul V with the writings of the holy Justinian of Venice; but on the table of Urban VIII lay the newest poems, or draughts and plans of fortifications.

It will generally be found that the time at which the character of a man receives its decided direction is in those first years of manhood which form the period when he begins to take an independent position in public affairs or in literature. The youth of Paul V, who was born in 1552, and of Gregory XV, born in 1554, belonged to a time when the principles of Catholic restoration were pressing forward with full unbroken vigor, and they were themselves accordingly imbued with these principles. The first influentially active portion of Urban's life, born 1568, coincided, on the contrary, with that period when the papal principality was opposed to Spain—when the re-establishment of France as a Catholic power was one of the reigning topics of the day; and accordingly we find that his inclinations followed by preference the direction then chosen.

Urban VIII considered himself more particularly as a temporal prince.

He had formed the opinion that the States of the Church should be secured by fortifications, and should render themselves formidable by their own arms. When the marble monuments of his predecessors were pointed out to him, he declared that those erected by himself should be of iron. He built Castel-franco on the Bolognese frontier, and this place was also called Fort Urbano; although its military utility was so far from being obvious that the people of Bologna suspected it to be raised against them rather than for their defence. In the year 1625 he began to strengthen the castle of St. Angelo in Rome, by the addition of breastworks, and immediately stored the fortress with provisions and munitions of war, as though the enemy had been before the gates. He built the high wall that encloses the papal gardens on Monte Cavallo, without regard to the destruction thus occasioned to a magnificent relic of antiquity, situate in the Colonna gardens. He established a manufactory of arms at Tivoli.⁷ The rooms beneath the Vatican library were used as an arsenal, the public ways were thronged with soldiers, and the seat of the supreme spiritual power of Christendom—the peaceful circuit of the Eternal City—was filled with the uproar of a camp. The pontiff considered a free port also as indispensable to a well-organized State, and Civit  Vecchia was put into a state rendered proper to that purpose at great cost; but the result was more in accordance with the condition of things than with the views of the Pope. In his new port the Barbary corsairs sold the booty of which they had plundered Christian ships. Such was the purpose to which the labors of the supreme pastor of Christendom became subservient.

As regarded all these arrangements Pope Urban acted with absolute and uncontrolled power. He surpassed his predecessors, at least in the early years of his pontificate, in the unlimited exercise of his authority.

⁷ A. Contarini, "Relne. di 1635": "With regard to arms, the popes were previously altogether unprovided, confiding more in the attachment of princes secured by benefits, than in warlike defences; now the note is changed, and the present Pope in particular is very earnest in the matter. He has brought a certain Ripa, of Brescia, a subject of your Serenity, to Tivoli, who has from time to time gone to entice a number of workmen from the Gardon country. This Ripa here makes a large quantity of arms, causing the rough iron to be brought from the Brescian territory, and

he is also raising some portion of ores found in Umbria: of all these things my letters have given due notice at the proper time, but I rather think they have been passed over without much attention. The Pope has prepared an arsenal for these arms under the library of the Vatican, where muskets, pikes, carbines, and pistols are stored in good order; there are sufficient to arm 20,000 foot-soldiers and 5,000 horse, besides a good number that have been sent from this same factory of Tivoli to Ferrara and Castelfranco during the late events." App. No. 115.

If it was proposed to him to take the advice of the college he would reply that he alone knew more and understood better than all the cardinals put together. Consistories were very seldom called, and even when they were assembled, few had courage to express their opinions freely. The congregations met in the usual manner, but no questions of importance were laid before them, and the decisions they arrived at were but little regarded.⁸ Even for the administration of the State, Urban formed no proper *Consulta*, as had been customary with his predecessors. His nephew, Francesco Barberino, was perfectly justified in refusing, as he did, during the first ten years of Urban's pontificate, to accept the responsibility of any measure, whatever might be its nature.

The foreign ambassadors considered themselves most unfortunate in their attempts to transact business with this Pope—they could make no way with him. In giving audience he talked himself more than any other person;⁹ he lectured and harangued, continuing with one applicant the conversation he had commenced with another. All were expected to listen to him, admire him, and address him with the most profound reverence, even when his replies were adverse to them. Other pontiffs often refused the requests presented to them, but for some given cause—some principle, either of religion or policy. In Urban, caprice was often perceived to be the only motive for refusal; no one would conjecture whether he ought to expect a yes or a no. The quick-sighted Venetians found out that he loved to contradict; that he was inclined, by an almost involuntary disposition, constantly to give the contrary decision to that proposed to him. In order to gain their point, therefore, they adopted the expedient of starting objections to their own wishes; and in seeking for arguments to oppose these, he fell of himself upon propositions to which all the persuasion in the

⁸ "The congregations," says Aluise Contarini, "are occasionally used, that is to cover some blunder." App. No.

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⁹ Pietro Contarini, "Relne. di 1627": "He abounds in talk on all matters, and reasons to a great extent on every subject, putting forward whatever he knows or conceives in every matter of business, and this to such a degree that his audiences are given with double frequency, and are longer than those of his predecessors. The same thing occurs in the congregations whenever he is present, to the great disadvantage of

all who have to treat with him; for since he takes up the greater part of the time, there is little left for others. I heard a cardinal say that he was going, not to receive audience, but to give it to the Pope, since he was certain that his holiness would talk more than listen; and it has often happened that those who have gone to him about their affairs have left without having been able to say anything of their business, for if he once took up the discourse they had no longer opportunity for uttering one word." See Appendix, No. 111.

world would not otherwise have obtained his assent. This is a character of mind which sometimes exhibits itself in a certain manner among men of subordinate station also, and was not unfrequently observed in those times among Spaniards and Italians. It would seem to consider a public office as a tribute due to its merit and personal importance; and men thus constituted are far more powerfully influenced in the administration of their duties, by their own feelings and impulses, than by the exigences of the case. They are not greatly dissimilar to an author, who, occupied by the consciousness of his talents, does not so much devote his thoughts to the subject before him as give free course to the fancies of his caprice.

And Urban himself really belonged to this class of authors; the poems of his composition still remaining to us show considerable talent and wit; but how strangely are sacred subjects handled in them! The psalms and axioms, alike of the Old and New Testaments, are compelled to accommodate themselves to Horatian measures. The song of praise of the aged Simeon is presented in two Sapphic strophes! It is manifest that no characteristic of the text can remain: the matter is forced to adapt itself to a form in direct contradiction with its character, and adopted only because preferred by the author.

But these talents, the brilliant appearance they cast about the person of the Pope, nay, even the robust health that he enjoyed, all contributed to increase that self-complacency with which his lofty position had of itself inspired him.¹⁰

I do not know any pope in whom this self-consciousness attained to so high a degree. An objection derived from ancient papal constitutions was once opposed to some design of his; he replied that the spoken word of a living pope was worth more than the maxims of a hundred dead ones.

The resolution adopted by the Roman people of never raising a statue to any pope during his life was abrogated by Urban, with the declaration that "such a resolution could not apply to a pope like himself."

The mode in which one of his nuncios had conducted himself under very difficult circumstances having been represented

¹⁰ This was remarked from the beginning. "Relatione dei quattro ambasciatori," 1624: "He loves his own opinions, and thinks highly of his own genius; thus he is rigidly tenacious of his

own purposes. . . . He is always earnest about things that promise to enhance the idea entertained of his personal qualities." Appendix, No. 104.

to him with praise, he remarked, that "the nuncio had but proceeded in accordance with his instructions."

To such a man it was, so filled with the idea of being a mighty prince, so well disposed to France, both from his early occupation in that country and the support it had afforded him; so self-willed, energetic, and full of self-importance; to such a man, that the conduct of the supreme spiritual power over Catholic Christendom was committed at this critical moment.

On his decisions, on the line of conduct that he should pursue among the Catholic powers, was now principally to depend the progress or interruption of that universal restoration of Catholicism with which the world was occupied.

But it had very early been remarked that this pontiff betrayed a disinclination toward the interests of Austrian Spain.¹

Cardinal Borgia complained of his aversion and harshness as early as 1625. "The King of Spain," he said, "could not obtain the slightest concession from him—everything was refused to his Majesty."

The same prelate further maintained that Urban did not willingly terminate the affairs of the Valtelline; he affirmed that the King of Spain had offered to resign the disputed passes, but that the Pope had not taken any notice of the offer.

It is also unquestionable that Urban was in part to blame for the failure of the alliance proposed between the house of Austria and that of Stuart. In completing the dispensation already drawn up by his predecessor, he added to the former conditions a demand that public churches for Catholic worship should be built in every English county; this was a requisition with which the majority of an irritated Protestant population rendered compliance impossible, and which the Pope desisted of himself from pressing in the case of the French marriage. He seemed, indeed, to be unwilling that Spain should acquire that increase of power which must have resulted to her from a connection with England. Negotiations were carried on in profound secrecy by the nuncio, then resident in Brussels, for the

¹ Marquemont, "Lettres," in Aubery, "Mémoires de Richelieu," i. p. 65, observes this from the beginning. It will not be difficult, he says, to manage the Pope; his inclination is for the King

and for France, but from prudence he will try to content the other sovereigns. The Pope on his part soon became aware of the aversion of the Spaniards.

marriage of the electoral prince palatine—not with an Austrian, but with a Bavarian princess.²

In the complexities of the Mantuan succession, also, Pope Urban VIII took an equally efficient part. The recent marriage of the young princess with Rethel, on which the whole affair depended, could not have been completed without the papal dispensation. The pontiff granted this without having consulted the nearest kinsmen of the lady—Philip of Spain and the Emperor; and it was besides prepared precisely at the moment required.

All these things sufficed to render the dispositions of the Pope clearly manifest: his most earnest wish was that of all the other Italian sovereignties, the seeing a prince entirely independent of Spain take possession of the Mantuan duchy.

He did not even wait until the initiative had been taken by Richelieu. His representations to the imperial court having failed of their effect, the proceedings of Austria being indeed more and more threatening, while the siege of Casale was still persisted in, the Pope turned of his own accord to France.

He caused the most urgent entreaties to be used. "The King," he said, "might send an army into the field even before the reduction of La Rochelle was effected; an expedition for the assistance of Mantua would be quite as pleasing to God as the beleaguering of that chief bulwark of the Huguenots. Let the King only appear at Lyons and declare himself for the freedom of Italy, and the Pope on his part would not delay to bring his forces into action and unite himself with the King."³

From this side, therefore, Richelieu had nothing now to fear if he should determine to revive that opposition to Spain which he had failed to establish three years before. But he wished to proceed with perfect security; he was not in so much haste as the Pope, and would not suffer himself to be disturbed in the siege of a place by which his ambition was fettered in its career.

But he was all the more determined when once La Rochelle had fallen. "Monsignore," he said to the papal nuncio, whom

² The emissary of the nuncio was a Capuchin, Francesco della Rota-Russdorf, "Negotiations," i. 205, gives a particularly detailed account of these transactions.

³ Extracts from Bethune's despatches of September 23d and October 8th, 1628, in Siri, "Memorie," vi. p. 478.

he instantly sent for, "now we will not lose another moment; the King will engage in the affairs of Italy with all his power." ⁴

Thereupon, that hostility to Spain and Austria which had so often displayed itself, rose up with greater vehemence than ever. The jealousy of Italy once more called forth the ambition of France. The state of things appeared to be so urgent that Louis XIII would not wait for the spring, but left Paris at once, even in the midst of January (1629). He took the road to the Alps, and it was in vain that the Duke of Savoy, who, as we have said, adhered to Spain, opposed his progress. The passes of his dominions, which he had caused to be barricaded, were forced at the first assault; Susa was taken, and in the month of March he was compelled to come to terms: the Spaniards were then constrained to raise the siege of Casale.⁵

Thus the two leading powers of Catholic Christendom once more stood opposed to each other in arms. Richelieu again proceeded to bring his boldest plans to bear against the Spanish and Austrian power.

But if we compare the two periods, we perceive that he now held a far more substantial and tenable position than at the time of his enterprise in regard to the Grisons and the Palatinate. Then, the Huguenots might have seized the moment for renewing the civil war. Nor were they completely subdued even now; but since they had lost La Rochelle they occasioned no further disquietude: defeats and losses pursued them without intermission, so that they could no longer effect even a diversion. And perhaps it was of still more importance that Richelieu now had the Pope on his side. In his earlier undertaking the contest in which he was thereby involved with the policy of Rome, was perilous even to his position in France; his present enterprise, on the contrary, had been suggested by Rome itself for the interests of the papal principality. Richelieu found it advisable on the whole to attach himself as closely as possible to the papacy: in the disputes between the Roman and Gallican doctrines he now adhered to the Roman and abandoned the Gallican tenets.

In this state of things how momentous became the animosity of Urban VIII to the house of Austria!

⁴ "Dispaccio Bagni, 2 Nov. 1628."

⁵ "Recueil de diverses relations des

guerres d'Italie," 1629-31. Bourg en Bresse, 1632.

With the development of religious opinions, and the progress of Catholic restoration, were associated political changes, the principle of which continued to make itself more earnestly and deeply felt, and now placed itself in direct opposition even to that of the Church.

The Pope entered the lists against that very power by which the restoration and progress of Catholicism had been most zealously and most efficiently promoted.

The question now was, what would be the course of this power—above all, that of Ferdinand himself, in whose hands the work of restoration principally rested—when confronted by so mighty and so threatening an opposition?

Section III.—The Power of the Emperor Ferdinand II in the Year 1629

The Emperor proceeded as though nothing had occurred.

Under the circumstances prevailing, it was true that he could promise himself no kind of favor from the Pope. In the most trifling matters, as for example in a question relating to the abbacy of St. Maximian, he found his wishes opposed; nay, with regard to the most devout suggestions, he experienced nothing but refusals—as when he desired, among other things, that St. Stephen and St. Wenceslaus—the one of whom was greatly revered in Hungary, and the other in Bohemia—should be admitted into the Roman calendar. Notwithstanding all these disappointments, he published the edict of restitution in the empire on March 6, 1629. This may be regarded as the final judgment in a great suit which had been pending for more than a century. The Protestants were utterly condemned: judgment was given entirely in favor of the Catholics. “There remains nothing for us,” declared the Emperor, “but to uphold the injured party, and to send forth our commissioners that they may demand from their present unauthorized possessors the restitution of all archbishoprics, bishoprics, prelaties, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical property confiscated since the treaty of Passau. Commissions were immediately instituted, one for each circle of the empire; these were at once in full activity, and the most indiscriminate executions began. And might not the Pope at least have been appeased by this, and moved to some show of

favor and friendliness? Pope Urban considered it all as the mere fulfilment of a duty. The Emperor begged to have the right of nominating, at least for the first time, to the ecclesiastical benefices recovered by the edict of restitution; but the Pope refused him this, affirming that he dared not violate the concordats, which were observed, he said, even in France.* There was a kind of mockery in this mode of refusal, since the French concordat secured to the King that very privilege now desired by the Emperor. Ferdinand wished to receive permission for converting the recovered monasteries into colleges, more particularly for the Jesuits. The Pope replied that the monasteries must be instantly delivered over to the bishops.

Meanwhile the Emperor proceeded on his way without regard to the displeasure of the Pope: he considered himself as the great champion of the Catholic Church.

He caused three armies to take the field at the same time.

The first went to the aid of the Poles against the Swedes, and did, in fact, succeed in restoring the Polish fortunes to a certain extent. That was, however, not its only object. It was proposed by this campaign at the same time to restore Prussia to the empire and the Order (Teutonic), from which it had been wrested.⁷

Another body marched upon the Netherlands to support the Spaniards in that country. It swept across the open plains from Utrecht toward Amsterdam, and but for the accident of a surprise at Wesel, would without doubt have produced important results.

A third force was meanwhile assembled at Memmingen and Lindau, for the purpose of proceeding into Italy and bringing the Mantuan affair to a conclusion with the sword. The Swiss would by no means be persuaded to grant permission of passage, and it was therefore made by force. Luciensteig, Coire, and all the passes of the Grisons, even to the Lake of Como, were occupied at one moment by the Austrian troops, and this army, 35,000 strong, then poured down along the Adda and the Oglio.

* "Lettera di segreteria di stato al nunzio Pallotta li 28 Aprile, 1629." The Pope appointed Pier Luigi Caraffa, his nuncio in Cologne, to Lower Saxony, with powers for the restitution of ecclesiastical property, and resolved also to give him additional powers, to be used, if required, in disputes between clergy and clergy.

⁷ "Mémoires et négociations de Rusdorf," ii. 724. It was lately declared to Count Schwartzberg at Vienna in plain words, by the counsellors and Ministers of the Emperor, that his Majesty would subject to himself and the empire whatever his arms should occupy and obtain in Prussia.

The Duke of Mantua was once more summoned to submit, and declared in reply that he was under the protection of the King of France, and that negotiations must be referred to him. Meanwhile, as the Germans moved upon Mantua and the Spaniards on Montferrat, the French likewise appeared for the second time. On this occasion, also, they gained some advantages, taking Saluzzo and Pinerolo, but in the main they produced no effectual results; they could not even again compel the Duke of Savoy to their wishes. The Spaniards commenced the siege of Casale; the Germans, after a short truce, invested Mantua:⁸ their party had a decided preponderance.

It could not occasion surprise if, in this state of things, recollections of the ancient supremacy of the emperors arose, or that they were now frequently alluded to in Vienna.

“The Italians must be taught that there is still an Emperor; they must be called to a strict account.”

Venice had more particularly attracted to itself the hatred of the house of Austria. It was the general opinion in Vienna that when once Mantua had fallen, the territories of Venice, situate on the mainland, would no longer be able to offer resistance to the Austrian power. They could not fail to be reduced in a few months, and his Majesty would then demand restitution of the imperial fiefs. The Spanish ambassador went still further: he compared the power of Spanish Austria with that of Rome, and the power of Venice with that of Carthage; “Aut Roma,” he exclaimed, “aut Carthago delenda est.”

And the secular rights of the empire, as opposed to those of the Papal See, were here also brought to recollection.

Ferdinand II was desirous of being crowned, and required that the Pope should come as far as Bologna or Ferrara to meet him. The Pope dared neither to promise nor positively to refuse, and sought to help himself through the difficulty by a mental reservation⁹ (*reservatio mentalis*). Question was made respecting the feudal rights of the empire over Urbino and Montefeltro, when the papal nuncio was told with little ceremony, that Wallenstein would obtain further information on the subject when he should descend into Italy. And this was in

⁸ The eleventh book of the “*Istoria di Pietro Giov. Capriata*” describes the events of this siege minutely.

⁹ “Although Urban once said to the ambassador Savelli, that in case of need

he would go to Bologna or Ferrara, he did not mean that to be understood as referring to what the Prince of Eckenberg had mentioned.”

fact the purpose of Wallenstein. He had previously opposed the Italian war, but he now declared that, seeing the Pope and his allies were seeking to destroy the power of Austria, he considered that war necessary.¹⁰ He intimated that it was a hundred years since Rome was last plundered, and that it must be now much richer than it was then.

Nor was France to be spared. The Emperor proposed to regain the three alienated bishoprics by force of arms, his plan being to raise Cossack troops in Poland and to send them into France: the dissensions of Louis XIII with his brother and mother seemed to offer the desired opportunity for this expedition.

The house of Austria thus assumed a position from which it continued its efforts against the Protestants with the utmost boldness; while at the same time it kept a firm hand on the movements of the Catholic opposition, and powerfully restrained even the Pope himself.

Section IV.—Negotiations with Sweden—Electoral Diet at Ratisbon

In earlier times, whenever a contingency of this kind had been merely foreseen, or dreaded for the remote future only, every power in Europe, still retaining independence, at once combined. It had now actually occurred. The Catholic opposition looked around for aid and sought it—not now from mere jealousy, but for defence and as a help in its utmost need—beyond the limits of Catholicism. But to what quarter could it turn? England was fully occupied at home by the disputes between the King and his Parliament; she was besides already engaged in renewed negotiations with Spain. The Netherlands were themselves overwhelmed by the enemy; the German Protestants were either beaten or overawed by the imperial

¹⁰ The opinion generally entertained of the Pope in Vienna appears from a letter of Pallotta, dated August 10, 1628. "It has been reported here by evil-minded people, who are those desirous of war, that the State of Milan is in extremity of peril, it being certain that Pope Urban is forming vast designs, and has very hostile intentions toward the house of Austria; that his holiness is therefore as much to be feared as the Venetians or French, his States being so near the Duchy of Milan, and he be-

ing in a condition instantly to bring troops into the field. And further, the same malignant people have declared, as a thing decided on, that his holiness will in some manner contrive to have the King of France elected King of the Romans; in confirmation of which they affirm that when his holiness was nuncio in France he promised the Queen that if ever he became Pope, her son, then a child, should be made King of the Romans."

armies. The King of Denmark had been compelled to conclude a disadvantageous peace. There remained none but the King of Sweden.

While the Protestants had been suffering defeat in all quarters, Gustavus Adolphus alone had achieved victories. He had conquered Riga, the whole of Livonia, even to Dünamünde, and, "as much of Lithuania," according to the Poles themselves, "as he had been pleased to take." He had then, in 1626, appeared in Prussia, principally, as he said, to look into the state of the clergy in the bishopric of Ermeland. The two chief seats of restored Catholicism in that country, Frauenburg and Braunsburg, namely, he had taken into his own possession, and had afforded a new and powerful support to the oppressed Protestants of those districts. All eyes were turned on him. "Above all men," writes Rusdorf, in the year 1624, "do I estimate this victorious hero; I revere in him the sole protector of our cause, and the terror of our common enemy. His path of glory, which is raised far above the reach of envy, do I constantly follow with my prayers."¹ It is true that Gustavus Adolphus had sustained some loss in a battle on the plains of Stumm, and had himself been on the point of becoming a prisoner, but the chivalrous bravery with which he had cut his way through all opposition cast added lustre on his name, and, despite this disadvantage, he still kept the field.

Toward this prince the French now turned themselves. They first effected a truce between him and the Poles, and it is very possible that the Emperor's views in regard to Prussia may have contributed to dispose the magnates, if not the King of Poland, to a more peaceful temper.² This done, they made a nearer approach to their principal purpose, that of drawing the King of Sweden into Germany; the only precaution they took was to stipulate in the treaty for certain regulations in favor of Catholicism; under these conditions they declared themselves ready to support the King, who was able to bring a considerable army into the field, with corresponding supplies in money. After some delay, Gustavus acceded to their pro-

¹ Rusdorf, "Mémoires," ii. 3: "Ejus gloriam invidiæ metas eluctatam, excelsum infracti animi magnitudinem, et virtutis magis ac magis per merita enitescens et assurgentis invictum robur

cum stupore adoro et supplici voto prosequor." (See text.)

² Rusdorf, l. i. 724: "If ever the magnates of Poland wished for peace, they did so, for the most part of them, at this time."

posals. In his instructions, he avoids all mention of religious affairs, and represents the objects of the confederacy to be the restoration of the German Estates to their ancient rights; the removal of the imperial troops, and the security of commerce and the sea.³ An agreement was drawn up, in which the King promised to tolerate the Catholic religion wherever he should find it established, and in all affairs of religion to guide himself (such were the forms of the expression) according to the laws of the empire. This last stipulation was imperative, on account of the Pope, to whom it was immediately communicated. The completion of this treaty was, indeed, still retarded by certain formalities; but in the summer of 1630 it was regarded as definitively settled.⁴ The papal nuncio in France affirmed that Venice had engaged to pay a third part of the subsidies.⁵ I have not been able to discover on what grounds this assertion was founded, but that Venice should make this promise was entirely consistent with the situation of things.

But could there be a reasonable hope that Gustavus Adolphus could alone suffice to overcome the force of the allied imperial armies, and could conquer them single-handed in the field? This was not believed to be possible; it therefore seemed desirable above all things, that a movement should be excited in Germany itself, which might co-operate with and aid him in his enterprise.

And here, without doubt, the Protestants might safely be counted on; whatever might be the policy adopted by individual princes from personal considerations or fear, yet the general mind was fully mastered by that fermentation which penetrates to the ultimate depths of our social life, and is the precursor of mighty movements. I will but mention one idea of those prevalent at the time. When the edict of restitution had begun to be enforced in various places, and the Jesuits

³ "Tenor mandatorum quæ S. R. Maj. Sueciæ clementer vult, ut consiliarius ejus. . . . Dn. Camerarius observare debeat, Upsaliæ, 18 Dec. 1629."—Mosers patriotisches Archiv. b. vi. p. 133.

⁴ Bagni, 18 Giugno, 1630. He gives the article, which is also in the compact of January 6, 1631, with a slight variation, as follows: "If the King make any progress, he shall observe the laws of the empire, as regards matters of religion, in all places either taken by, or surrendered to, him." He also shows us in what sense this was understood:

"Which laws, he adds, are reported to be understood as applying to the Catholic religion and the Confession of Augsburg."—So that the Calvinists would have remained excluded.

⁵ Bagni, 16 Luglio, 1630. "There have arrived," the extract proceeds to say, "new letters from Bagni, to the effect that the republic of Venice had joined the confederation of France and Sweden, with an engagement to contribute to the extent of one-third of the subsidy."

already signified their determination to pay no regard even to the treaty of Augsburg, the Protestants gave it to be understood in their turn, that before matters could proceed to that length, the German Empire and nations should be utterly overturned—"rather should all laws and restraints be cast away, and Germany be thrown back to the wild life of its ancient forests."

In aid of all this there came discontent and dissension, which now appeared on the Catholic side.

It would be difficult to describe the commotion that ensued among the clergy on perceiving that the Jesuits proposed to constitute themselves possessors of the recovered monastic property. The Society of Jesus was reported to have declared that there were no Benedictines now remaining, that all had departed from the rule of their founder, and were no more capable of resuming their lost possessions. The merits of the Jesuits themselves were then brought into question by the other side, which maintained that they had performed no conversions: what seemed conversion was, as they affirmed, a mere effect of force.⁶ Thus, even before the restitution of ecclesiastical property had taken place, it had already excited discord and contention for the right to its possession between the orders, and for the right to the collation between the Emperor and the Pope.

But these ecclesiastical differences were accompanied by others of a secular character, and of far more extensive importance. The imperial troops were found to be an insupportable burden to the country, their passage through a district exhausted the land and its inhabitants equally; as the peasant and the burgher were maltreated by the soldier, so were the princes by the general. Wallenstein allowed himself to use the most arrogant language. The oldest allies of the Emperor,

⁶ From the violent controversial writings, the attacks, replies, and rejoinders that appeared on this subject, it is impossible to extract the truth of the facts, but we readily gather the points in dispute. "It is perfectly true," says the papal nuncio, in a letter written in cipher, that the Jesuit fathers have sought, and do seek, by favor of the Emperor, which could not well be greater, not only to obtain a preference over all other orders, but even to exclude all others, wherever they have any interest either political or ecclesiastical. I find, nevertheless, that however devoted the Emperor then was to the Jesuits,

yet in the year 1629 he was greatly disposed to make entire restitution to the older orders. Pier Luigi Caraffa, nuncio in Cologne, declares this. But at that very moment the Jesuits had already gained their point in Rome, whence an edict was published in July, 1629, to the effect that a portion of the recovered property might be applied to the foundation of schools, endowments, seminaries, and colleges, as well for the Jesuit fathers, who had been the chief promoters of the decree for restitution, as of other religious orders. The Jesuit schools would thus have extended over the whole of North Germany.

the chiefs of the League, and above all Maximilian of Bavaria, were dissatisfied with the present, and anxious about the future.

While affairs were in this position it happened that Ferdinand assembled the Catholic Electors of Ratisbon in the summer of 1630, for the purpose of procuring the election of his son as King of the Romans. It was not possible that such an occasion should pass away without the discussion of all other public affairs.

The Emperor clearly saw that he must concede something, and his intention was to do this in regard to some portion of the German affairs. He showed a disposition to suspend the edict for restoring church property, in so far as it affected the territories of Brandenburg and Electoral Saxony; was desirous of coming to some definitive arrangement in respect to Mecklenburg and the Palatinate, wished to conciliate Sweden, negotiations for that purpose having been already commenced, and meanwhile to concentrate all his force upon Italy, that the Mantuan war might be brought to an end, and the Pope compelled to an acknowledgment of his ecclesiastical claims.⁷

Ferdinand probably thought, that since he had to deal with German princes, he should effect more for his own purposes by concessions in German affairs than by any other means; but the position of things was not so simple.

The spirit of opposition, as embodied in the league of the French and Italians, had made its way among the Catholic electors, and now sought to avail itself of the discontents existing in their minds for the furtherance of its own purposes.

The papal nuncio, Rocci, first appeared in Ratisbon, and how could he fail to employ every means that presented itself for the prevention of Ferdinand's Italian and anti-papal designs?

The Pope had exhorted him, above all things, to maintain

⁷ "Dispaccio Pallotta, 2 Ag. 1630," enumerates the following, as among the points that were to be deliberated upon: 1st. Whether the edict for the recovery of ecclesiastical property should be suspended or carried into execution. 2d. Whether, if it were to be executed, there should be a suspension in regard to property situate in the States of the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg; and he was inclined to suspend it. 3d.

As regarded the benefices and other ecclesiastical possessions recovered it was affirmed that the nomination to them was vested in the Emperor. . . . 6th. The restitution of the Duchy of Mecklenburg to its former possessors was discussed, as also that of the Palatinate, at least the Lower Palatinate, to the palatine, to the perpetual prejudice of the Catholic religion, as had been done in regard to Denmark.

a friendly understanding with the Elector of Bavaria, and soon afterward Rocci reports that this friendly understanding is kept up, but with the most profound secrecy.⁸ He contrived to procure from the Catholic electors a declaration that they would maintain a close union with himself in all that appertained to ecclesiastical affairs, and would more especially uphold the jurisdiction of the Papal See, and preserve its dignity inviolate.

But to give the matter a decisive turn, Father Joseph, the trusted confederate of Richelieu, came to the aid of Rocci, and the consummate craft of that Capuchin was, perhaps, never more active, more efficient, or, to those initiated, more obvious, than on this occasion. His colleague in Ratisbon, Monsieur de Leon, who gave his name to the embassy, declared of him, that the father had in fact no soul, but in its stead were holes and quicksands, into which everyone must fall who should attempt to have any dealings with him.

By the agency of intermediaries such as these, the French and Italian opposition soon made the German allies of the Emperor completely its own. For the reconciliation of the empire with Sweden, for the pacification of the Protestants, nothing was done; and never would the Pope have consented to the suspension of the edict of restitution. On the other hand, the electors pressed for the restoration of peace in Italy, and demanded the dismissal of the imperial commander-in-chief, who was conducting himself in the fashion of an absolute dictator.

And so irrepressible was the influence exercised, so craftily was it brought to bear on all points, that the mighty Emperor, though at the zenith of his power, yielded to its force without resistance, and without conditions.

While these negotiations were proceeding in Ratisbon, the troops of Ferdinand had conquered Mantua, and he might then have considered himself master of Italy. Yet at that moment he agreed to resign the duchy to Nevers, with no other condition than the empty formality of an entreaty for pardon. But the other demand made on the Emperor was perhaps still more significant. The German princes, France, and the Pope,

⁸ "Dispaccio Rocci, 9 Sett. 1630:"
"And this friendly understanding
proved very profitable, because Bavaria

labored heartily to prevent the above-
mentioned subjects from being dis-
cussed in that Convention."

were at once and equally menaced by the general, on whose personal qualities the fortune of the imperial arms depended; that they should detest him, and desire to be freed from his presence, can occasion no surprise; but what followed may well excite astonishment. The Emperor, for the sake of peace, gave him up.

At the moment when he might have mastered Italy, he suffered it to elude his grasp; at the moment when he was attacked in Germany by the most formidable of enemies, the most practised of warriors, he dismissed the commander who alone was in a condition to defend him. Never have policy and negotiation produced more important results.

Section V.—Swedish War—Situation of the Pope

And now it was that the war really began. Gustavus Adolphus commenced it, as must needs be admitted, under the most favorable auspices; for had not the imperial army been brought together by the name of Wallenstein, and was it not wholly devoted and bound to his person? The Emperor even disbanded a part of it, and subjected the contributions levied by the generals, and which had previously been regulated by their own discretion, to the control of the circles of the empire.* It is not to be denied that the Emperor, when he dismissed his general, destroyed his army at the same time, and deprived it of its moral force. Torquato Conti, an Italian, who had formerly been in the papal service, had to offer resistance, with troops in this State, to an enemy high in courage and full of zeal. It was in the nature of things that failure should ensue; the imperial army was no longer what it had been, nothing was seen but irresolution, weakness, panic, and defeat. Gustavus Adolphus drove it completely from the field, and established himself in firm possession on the lower Oder.

It was at first believed in Upper Germany that this was of little importance to the rest of the empire. Tilly continued his operations in the meantime with great composure along the Elbe. When he at length gained possession of Magdeburg the Pope considered it a great victory, and the brightest hopes

* Adlzreitter, iii. xv. 48: "The Emperor decreed that in future the pay should not depend on the will of the

officers, but on the regulations prescribed by the circles."

were founded on this conquest. At the suggestion of Tilly, a commissary was even appointed "for the purpose of arranging the affairs of the archbishopric in accordance with the laws of the Catholic Church."

But it was by this very measure that all the Protestant princes who had remained undecided were determined to attach themselves to Gustavus Adolphus; and when Tilly sought to prevent this, he did but further involve them in hostilities with the League, so that it was no longer possible to make distinction between Leaguers and Imperialists. The battle of Leipzig followed. Tilly was completely routed, and the Protestant forces poured alike over the territories of the Leaguers and the Imperialists. Würzburg and Bamberg fell into the hands of the King. The Protestants of the remote North were met on the Rhine by those ancient defenders of Roman Catholicism, the troops of Spain, and there, near to Oppenheim, their skulls are seen mingled. Mayence was taken, all oppressed princes took part with the Swedish King, and the expelled count-palatine appeared in his camp.

Thus it followed, as a necessary consequence, that an enterprise, originated or sanctioned by the Catholic opposition for political purposes, resulted in the advantage of Protestantism. The party before overpowered and beaten down now saw itself once more victorious. It is true that the King extended his protection to the Catholics generally, as the terms of his treaty with the allies compelled him to do; but he declared expressly, at the same time, that he was come to rescue his brethren in faith from the oppressions they were suffering for conscience' sake.¹⁰ He received to his especial protection the evangelical ministers living under Catholic governments—those of Erfurt, for example; in all quarters he caused the Augsburg Confession to be reinstated, the exiled pastors returned to the Palatinate, and the Lutheran worship made its way through the empire once more, together with the victorious army.

Thus strangely perplexed was the policy of Urban VIII. In so far as Gustavus attacked and overcame the power of Austria, he was the natural ally of the Pope. This was at once

¹⁰ Letter from the King to the town of Schweinfurt in Chemnitz, Schwedischer Krieg, Th. i. p. 231.

made manifest in the affairs of Italy; under the influence of his German losses, the Emperor assented, in the year 1631, to conditions regarding the Duchy of Mantua, still more unfavorable to himself than those submitted to him the year before at Ratisbon. Nay, there even existed, if not direct, yet indirect relations between the Papal See and those Protestant powers now once more in battle array, and making victorious advance. "I speak of this from good authority," says Aluise Contarini, who had been first at the French Court, and afterward at that of Rome. "I was present at all the negotiations. The Pope's nuncios always favored Richelieu's undertakings, whether they were meant to secure his own safety, or to bring about the union of Bavaria and the league with France. When the alliance of Richelieu with Holland and the Protestant powers generally was in question, they remained silent, to save themselves from admitting that they approved it. Other popes would perhaps have found this offend their conscience; but the nuncios of Urban VIII obtained, by such means, increased consideration and personal advantages."¹

Loud and bitter were the complaints of the Emperor. First, the Roman Court had prevailed on him to publish the edict of restitution, and then abandoned him in the war occasioned by it. The election of his son as King of the Romans, had been impeded by the Pope, who had encouraged the Elector of Bavaria, both by word and deed, to pursue a separate line of policy and to ally himself with France. It was in vain to ask Urban for such assistance as earlier popes had so often afforded, either of money or troops; he even refused to utter a condemnation of the alliance of France with heretics, or to declare the present war a war of religion.² In the year 1632 we find the imperial ambassadors in Rome insisting with extreme earnestness on the last-mentioned point; they affirmed

¹ Aluise Contarini, *Relatione di Roma*, 1635. See Appendix, No. 115.

² Aluise Contarini: "Gli Alemanni si pretendono delusi dal papa, perchè dopo aver egli reiteratamente persuaso l'imperatore di ripetere dagli eretici i beni ecclesiastici d'Alemagna ch'erano in loro mani, origine di tante guerre, resistesse S. Sta. poi alle reiterate spedizioni di cardli. e d'ambri. nelle assistenze di danaro, nel mandar gente e bandiere con l'esempio de' precessori, nel publicar la guerra di religione, nell'impedire colle scomuniche gli appoggi ai medesimi heretici della Francia: anzi

nel medesimo tempo ritardata l'elezione del re-de' Romani, confortato il duca di Baviera con la lega cattolica all'unione di Francia, assistendo lo medesimo di danari e di consiglio per sostenersi in corpo separato. [See text.] Il papa si lagna d'esser tenuto eretico et amatore di buoni progressi de' protestanti, come tal volta in effetto non li ebbe discari." The Pope complains that he is considered a heretic, and accused of delighting in the good progress made by Protestants; and in fact, they are sometimes not unwelcome to him.

that the declaration of his holiness might still produce the most important effects, that it was not yet altogether impossible to drive back the King of Sweden, who had not more than 30,000 men.

The pontiff replied with cold pedantry, "With 30,000 men Alexander conquered the world."

He maintained that the war was not one of religion, that it related to matters of state only, and, besides, that the papal treasury was exhausted, and he could do nothing.

The members of the Curia and the inhabitants of Rome were amazed. "Amid the conflagration of Catholic churches and monasteries"—thus it was they expressed themselves—"the Pope stands cold and rigid as ice. The King of Sweden has more zeal for his Lutheranism than the holy father for the only true and saving Catholic faith."

The Spaniards proceeded once more to a protestation: as Olivarez had formerly appeared before Sixtus V, so did Cardinal Borgia now present himself to Urban VIII for the purpose of solemnly protesting against the conduct of his holiness. The scene that followed was even more violent than that of the earlier occasion. While the Pope gave way to ebullitions of rage, the cardinals present took part either with one party or the other, and the ambassador was obliged to content himself with delivering his protest in writing.³ But the zealously Catholic party were not satisfied with this; the thought immediately arose of summoning a council in opposition to the Pope, and was more particularly promoted by Cardinal Ludovisio, nephew of the preceding pontiff.⁴

But what a fire would have been kindled by this proceeding! The course of events was already taking a direction that left no doubt as to their nature, and which must of necessity determine the papal policy to a different character.

Urban VIII flattered himself for some time that the King of Sweden would form a treaty of neutrality with Bavaria, and would reinstate the ecclesiastical princes who had fled their territories; but it soon became evident that all attempts to recon-

³ "In which," says Cardinal Cecchini, in his autobiography, "it was concluded that all the injuries inflicted on Christendom by these present troubles would be attributable to the negligence of the Pope." See Appendix, No. 121.

⁴ Aluise Contarini speaks of "the ear they lent in Spain to Ludovisio's intimations and attempts to procure a council."

cile interests so directly at variance must of necessity be utterly vain. The Swedish arms pressed onward to Bavaria; Tilly fell, Munich was taken, and Duke Bernard advanced toward the Tyrol.

It was now no longer possible to doubt of what the Pope and Catholicism had to expect from the Swedes. How completely was the state of things changed in a moment! The Catholics had been hoping to restore the Protestant endowments of North Germany to Catholicism, and now the King of Sweden was forming his plans for changing the South German bishoprics that had fallen into his hand into secular principalities; he was already speaking of his Duchy of Franconia, and seemed to intend establishing his royal court at Augsburg. Two years before, the Pope had been dreading the arrival of the Austrians in Italy, and had been threatened with an attack on Rome; now the Swedes were appearing on the Italian borders: and with the name of the King of the Swedes and Goths, borne by Gustavus Adolphus, were associated recollections that were now revived in the minds of both parties.⁵

Section VI.—Restoration of a Balance between the Two Confessions

I will not enter into the details of that struggle which for sixteen years longer extended over Germany; let it suffice that we have made ourselves aware of the means by which the mighty advance of Catholicism, which was on the point of taking possession of Germany (*unser Vaterland*) forever, was at once arrested in its course; was opposed, when preparing to annihilate the Protestant faith at its sources, by a victorious resistance. It may be remarked generally that Catholicism, considered as one body, was not able to support its own victories; the head of that Church himself believed it imperative on him to oppose, from political motives, those very powers by whom his spiritual authority was most effectually defended and enlarged. It was by Catholics, acting in concert with the Pope, that the yet unsubdued powers of Protestantism were called forth, and that the path was prepared for their progress.

⁵ Yet Aluise Contarini assures us that the opinion still prevails that his holiness regrets the death of the King of Sweden, and that he liked better, or, to

speaking more accurately, that he feared less, to hear of progress on the Protestant side than on that of the Austrians.

Purposes of so vast a magnitude as those formed by Gustavus Adolphus when at the climax of his prosperity could not indeed be carried into execution after the early death of that prince, and for the obvious cause that the successes of Protestantism were by no means to be attributed to its own unaided power. But neither could Catholicism, even when its forces were more closely combined—when Bavaria had again made common cause with the Emperor, and when Urban VIII once more contributed subsidies—find strength that should suffice for the overpowering of the Protestant faith.

This conviction soon gained prevalence, at least in Germany, and was indeed the main cause of the Treaty of Prague. The Emperor suffered his edict of restitution to drop, while the Elector of Saxony and the States in alliance with him resigned all thought of restoring the Protestant faith in the hereditary dominions (*Erblanden*).

It is true that Pope Urban opposed himself to all that should be determined in opposition to the edict of restitution, and in the Emperor's spiritual council he had the Jesuits, and particularly Father Lamormain, on his side: the latter was sufficiently extolled for that reason as "a worthy confessor—a man regardless of all temporal considerations";¹ but the majority was against him. The Capuchins, Quiroga and Valerian, with the cardinals Dietrichstein and Pazmany, maintained that, provided the Catholic religion were kept pure in the hereditary dominions, liberty of conscience might be safely granted in the empire. The Peace of Prague was proclaimed from every pulpit in Vienna. The Capuchins boasted of their part in this "honorable and holy work"; they instituted special solemnities for the occasion; it was with difficulty that the nuncio prevented them from singing a *Te Deum*.²

¹ "Lettera del Cardl. Barberino al nuntio Baglione, 17 Marzo, 1635." "This being the action of a noble Christian, and the worthy confessor of a pious Emperor, for he has acted more with regard to heaven than earth."

² From the correspondence of Baglioni, which is extracted in the sixth volume of Nicoletti, as, for example, April 14, 1635, we find "Count Onate one day said that the King of Spain would positively have given no aid to the Emperor, but on condition of peace with Saxony; at which the nuncio, marvelling, replied that the piety of the Catholic King required him to give

those aids more abundantly if there were no peace, and ought to be disturbed at peace with heretics, applying itself only to thoughts of universal peace among Catholic princes. Fulli replied that so it would have happened if the war had been for the salvation of souls, and not for the recovery of ecclesiastical wealth; and Father Quiroga added that the Emperor had been cheated by those who had persuaded him to issue the edict of restitution—meaning the Jesuits, who had done all for their own interest; but the nuncio remarking that their persuasion had been from good motives, Father Quiroga became

Now Urban VIII, although in practice he had contributed so largely to the defeat of all the plans formed by Catholicism, yet in theory he would not relinquish any portion of his claims; but all he effected was to place the popedom in a position removed from the living and actual interests of the world. This is rendered clearly manifest by the instructions he gave to his legate Ginetti, when the latter proceeded to Cologne, at the first attempt to negotiate a general peace in the year 1636. The hands of the legate were tied, precisely in regard to all those important points on which everything was absolutely depending. One of the most urgent necessities, for example, was the restoration of the Palatinate; the legate was nevertheless enjoined to oppose the restitution of the Palatinate to a non-Catholic prince.³ That certain concessions to Protestants in respect of ecclesiastical property were unavoidable was sufficiently obvious, even during the discussions at Prague; this truth became afterward yet more evident, but the legate was none the less exhorted "to especial zeal in guarding against the resignation of any point that might be turned to the advantage of Protestants in the matter of church property." Even the conclusion of peace with Protestant powers the Pope refused to sanction; the ambassador was commanded to withhold his support from any proposal for including the Dutch in the peace, and to oppose every cession to the Swedes (the question at that time was merely one relating to a sea-port); "the divine mercy would certainly find means for removing that nation out of Germany."

The Roman See could no longer entertain a reasonable hope of overpowering the Protestants; yet it is a striking and important fact that its own pertinacity in adhering to claims now become utterly untenable was the true though involuntary cause of making their subjugation forever impossible, and moreover rendered itself incapable of exercising any efficient influence on the relations of its own adherents to those of the Protestant faith.

so much excited that he burst into the most intemperate, nay, exorbitant language, so that the nuncio could scarcely get in a word to reprove and stop him, that he might fall into no further excesses; but Oñate went still further, saying that the Emperor could not avoid the peace with Saxony, because of the necessity he was in, and his in-

ability to withstand so many enemies; and that he was not obliged to resign what belonged to his hereditary dominions, but only certain rights of the empire, which were but small, nor was it advisable that he should go forward at the risk of losing both one and the other."

³ Siri, "Mercurio," ii. p. 98.

It is true that the Papal Court did not fail to send its ambassadors to the congress assembled for the negotiation of peace: to Ginetti succeeded Macchiavelli, Rosetti, and Chigi. Ginetti was reported to be very penurious, and thus to have decreased his efficiency; Macchiavelli was said to think only of obtaining rank—the qualification for a more important position; Rosetti was not acceptable to the French. It is thus that explanation has been attempted of the insignificance of their influence.⁴ The truth is that the thing itself, the position which the Pope had assumed, made all effective interference on the part of the legates impossible. Chigi was able and popular, yet he accomplished nothing. A peace was concluded before his eyes, precisely of the character which the Pope had expressly condemned. The Elector-Palatine and all the exiled princes were restored. It was so far from being possible to think of the demands set forth by the edict of restitution that many Catholic endowments were absolutely secularized and given up to the Protestants. Spain resolved at length to acknowledge the independence of those rebels to Pope and King, the Hollanders. The Swedes retained a considerable portion of the empire. Even the peace which the Emperor concluded with France was such as the Curia could not approve, because it included disputations relating to Metz, Toul, and Verdun, by which the rights of Rome were infringed. The papacy found itself under the melancholy necessity of protesting. The principles which it did not possess the power of making effectual, it was at least resolved to express. But this also had been foreseen. The articles relating to ecclesiastical affairs in the Peace of Westphalia were opened by a declaration that no regard should be paid to the opposition of any person, be he whom he might, and whether of temporal or spiritual condition.⁵

By that peace the great conflict between Protestants and Catholics was at length brought to a decision, though to one very different from that proposed by the edict of restitution. Catholicism still retained immense acquisitions, since the year 1624 was assumed as the normal period, to which the condition of the respective parties was to be referred; but the Protes-

⁴ Pallavicini, "Vita di Papa Alessandro VII.," MS. Appendix No. 130.

⁵ Osnabrückischer Friedensschluss," art. v. § 1.

tants, on the other hand, obtained that indispensable equality which had so long been withheld. According to this principle all the relations of the empire were regulated.

How entirely vain had it moreover now become even to think of such enterprises as had formerly been ventured on, and had even succeeded!

Nay, further, the results of the contests in Germany reacted immediately on the neighboring countries.

Although the Emperor had succeeded in maintaining the Catholic faith supreme in his hereditary dominions, he was nevertheless compelled to make concessions to the Protestants of Hungary; in the year 1645, he saw himself constrained to restore to them a no inconsiderable number of churches.

And now, after the elevation attained by Sweden to a position of universal importance, was it possible that Poland should ever again think of renewing her old claims to that country? Wladislaus IV did not indeed partake the zeal of his father for conversions, and was a gracious King to the dissidents in opinion.

Even in France the Huguenots received favor from Richelieu, after they had been deprived of their political independence, and still more effectually did he support the principle of Protestantism, by continuing to wage against the predominant Catholic power, the Spanish monarchy—a war for life or death, by which it was shaken even to its foundations. That dissension was the only one which the Pope could have adjusted altogether without scruple. But while all other discords were effectually composed, this remained unappeased, and continued to convulse the bosom of the Catholic world.

Until the Peace of Westphalia, the Dutch had continually taken the most successful part in the war against Spain. This was the golden age of their power, as well as of their wealth; but when laboring to attain to preponderance in the East, they came at once into violent contact with the progress of the Catholic missions.

It was only in England that Catholicism, or at least something analogous to that faith in its outward forms, seemed at times on the point of finding admission. Ambassadors from the English Court were at this time to be found in Rome, and papal agents in England. The Queen, to whom a sort of official recog-

nition was accorded in Rome,⁶ possessed an influence over her husband which seemed likely to extend even to religion; an approach had already been made in many of the church ceremonies to the usages of Catholicism. But from all these things there resulted the very reverse of what might have been expected. It can scarcely be supposed that Charles I ever dissented in his heart from the tenets of Protestantism; but even those slight approaches which he permitted himself to make to the Catholic ritual were decisive of his ruin. It seemed as if the violent excitement which had produced such long-continued, unremitting, and universal conflicts in the Protestant world at large had become concentrated in the English Puritans. Vainly did Ireland struggle to escape from their domination, and to organize itself in the spirit of Catholicism; the subjection of the country was but rendered the more complete by these efforts. In the aristocracy and commons of England a secular power was formed and matured, the rise of which marked a revival of Protestantism throughout Europe.

By these events, limits were imposed at once and forever to the extension of Catholicism, which has now its appointed and definite bounds: that universal conquest formerly projected could never more be seriously contemplated.

A direction had indeed been taken in the intellectual development of the world which rendered any such attempt impossible.

The preponderance had been obtained by impulses endangering the higher principle of unity; the religious element was repressed—political views and motives ruled the world.

For it was not by themselves that the Protestants were delivered. It was by the schism established in the bosom of Catholicism that they were enabled to recover themselves. In the year 1631 we find the two great Catholic powers in league with the Protestants—France confessedly so, Spain at least covertly. It is certain that the Spaniards had at that period formed relations of amity with the French Huguenots.

⁶Nani, "Relatione di Roma, 1640." "Communication is held with the Queen of England by the Ministers. Offices and gifts of courtesy also pass; nomination of cardinals is likewise conceded to her Majesty as to other sovereigns.—Spada, "Relatione della nun-

ziatura di Francia, 1641." Count Rosetti, resident in that kingdom, attends carefully to the orders of Cardl. Barberini, the protector, which orders are full of the earnest zeal of his eminence." See Appendix, Nos. 117, 118.

But the Protestants were not more perfectly united among themselves than the Catholics. Not only did the Lutherans and the Reformed, or Calvinists, contend with each other—that they had done from time immemorial—but the different sects of Calvinists, although, beyond all doubt, they had a common cause to battle for, yet proceeded to attack each other during this war. The naval power of the French Huguenots was broken solely by the support which their ancient allies and brethren in the faith had been induced to afford to the crown of France.

Even the supreme chief of Catholicism, the Pope of Rome, who had hitherto directed the attacks on the Protestants, finally placed the higher interest of the spiritual authority in abeyance, and took part against those who had labored most zealously for the restoration of the Catholic faith; he proceeded in accordance with the views of a secular sovereignty only, and returned to that line of policy which had been abandoned from the time of Paul III. It will be remembered that Protestantism in the earlier half of the sixteenth century was indebted for its progress to nothing so much as to the political labors of the popes. It was to these, so far as human judgment can decide, that Protestantism now owed its deliverance and confirmed strength.

And this example could not fail to produce an effect on the remaining powers; even German Austria, which had so long preserved itself immovable in its orthodoxy, at length adopted a similar policy; the position assumed by that country, after the Peace of Westphalia, was based on its intimate connection with North Germany, England, and Holland.

If we now attempt to investigate the more remote causes of this phenomenon, we should seek them erroneously in the depression or decay of religious impulses. We must, I think, look elsewhere for the first cause and the significance of the fact.

In the first place, the great spiritual contest had completed its operation on the minds of men.

Christianity in earlier times had been rather a matter of implicit surrender and acquiescence, of simple acceptance, of faith undisturbed by a doubt; it was now become an affair of conviction—of conscious and deliberate adoption. It was a point of high moment that men had to choose between the different confessions—that they could reject, abjure, or pass from one to the other. The individual man became the subject of direct appeal;

his freedom of judgment was called into action. Thence it followed that Christian ideas became more closely intertwined with and penetrated more deeply into every portion of life and thought.

To this must be added another momentous consideration.

It is perfectly true that the prevalence of internal dissension disturbed the unity of the collective faith; but, if we do not deceive ourselves, it is another law of life, that this circumstance prepared the way for a yet higher and more extended development of the human mind.

In the pressure of the universal strife, religion was adopted by the nations, after the different modifications of its dogmatic forms; the system thus chosen had blended with and been fused into the feeling of nationality—had become, as it were, a possession of the community of the State, or of the people. It had been won by force of arms, was maintained amidst a thousand perils, and had become part and parcel of the national life.

Thence it has happened that the States on both sides have formed themselves into great ecclesiastico-political bodies, whose individuality was characterized on the Catholic part by the measure of their devotion to the Roman See, and their toleration or exclusion of non-Catholics; but still more decidedly on the Protestant side, where the departure from the symbolical books appealed to as tests, the mingling of the Lutheran and Calvinistic confessions, with the nearer or more remote approximation to the episcopal constitution, presented the groundworks of so many clear and manifest distinctions. The first question in regard to every country is, what form of religion is predominant there? Christianity appears under manifold aspects. However striking the contrasts presented by these, no one party can dispute with another its possession of that which forms the basis to the faith of all. These various forms are, on the contrary, guaranteed by compacts and treaties of peace, in which all have part, and which form what may be called the fundamental laws of a universal republic. The idea of exalting one or the other confession to supremacy of dominion can never more be entertained. All must now be referred to the question, of how each State, each people, may best be enabled to develop its energies, while proceeding from its own religious and political principles. On this depends the future condition of the world.

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LEO THE THIRTEENTH.

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HISTORY OF THE POPES

THEIR CHURCH AND STATE

BY

LEOPOLD VON RANKE

Translated by E. FOWLER

WITH A SPECIAL INTRODUCTION BY

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In illo tempore. Mi-
sus est gabriel ange-
lus a deo in civitatem

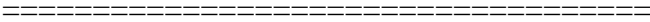
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Knowledge knows no race, sex, boundary or nationality; what mankind knows has been gathered from every field plowed by the thoughts of man. There is no reason to envy a learned person or a scholarly institution, learning is available to all who seek it in earnest, and it is to be had cheaply enough for all.

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THE HISTORY OF THE POPES

BOOK VIII

APPENDIX

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES

BOOK VIII

THE POPES ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY—LATER PERIODS

AFTER the attempt made by the Popes to renew their dominion over the world had been finally defeated, notwithstanding its partial success, their position and the character of the interest taken in their affairs underwent a general change. It is to the relations of the Roman principality, its administration, and internal development, that our attention is now chiefly to be given.

As one who descends from the lofty mountain, whence the wide and distant prospect is descried, into the valley where his view is circumscribed and held in by narrow boundaries, so do we proceed from a survey of those events affecting the history of the world at large, and in which the papacy took so important a part, to the consideration of circumstances more immediately touching the States of the Church.

It was in the time of Urban VIII that the Ecclesiastical States first attained to the completion of their territorial possessions: we will begin with this event.

Section I.—Lapse of Urbino

The Duchy of Urbino included seven towns and nearly 300 castles; it possessed a productive line of seacoast, well situated for trade, with a cheerful and salubrious mountain district rising into the Apennines.

The Dukes of Urbino had rendered themselves remarkable,

as did those of Ferrara, sometimes for their warlike achievements, sometimes for their efforts in the cause of literature, and again for the munificence and splendor of their court.¹ In the year 1570, Guidobaldo II had established four households, besides his own, for his consort, for the prince, and for the princesses. They were all very magnificent, were sedulously frequented by the nobles of the duchy, and liberally open to strangers.² According to ancient custom, all foreigners were hospitably entertained in the palace. The revenues of the country would not have sufficed to so large an expenditure, since they did not amount, even when the corn trade of Sinigaglia was most prosperous, to more than 100,000 scudi; but the princes were always in the military service of some foreign power, at least nominally, and the position of the country in the middle of Italy was so fortunate that the neighboring States were in constant emulation of each other for their favor, which they sought to secure by acts of good-will, military grants, and large subsidies.

It was a common remark in the country that the prince brought in more than he cost.

It is true that attempts were made here as well as elsewhere to raise the imposts, but so many difficulties arose, more particularly in Urbino itself, that, partly from good-will and partly from inability to do otherwise, the government finally contented itself with its long-established revenues. The privileges and statutes of the land remained equally unimpaired. Under the protection of this house the republic of St. Marino preserved its inoffensive freedom.³ While in all other principalities of Italy the power of the sovereign became more widely extended and more absolute, in the Duchy of Urbino it remained within its ancient limits.

From this state of things it followed that the inhabitants clung to their dynasty with excessive attachment, and this was the more devoted, from their conviction that a union with the

¹ Bernardo Tasso has conferred a magnificent eulogy on these princes in the forty-seventh book of the "Amadigi:" "Behold the four, for whom, with flowing vest,
Old Apennine enfolds his shaggy breast."

² "Relatione di Lazzaro Mocenigo, ritornato da Guidubaldo duca d' Urbino, 1570." He chooses to lodge all person-

ages passing through his State, and by the end of the year the number is found to be very large.

³ "It has a fancy for being a republic," remarks a report on the State of Urbino to Pope Urban VIII, respecting San Marino, and on passing over to the States of the Church it acquired an extension of its privileges.

States of the Church would inevitably bring with it the entire dissolution of their long-established relations, and the loss of their ancient freedom.

It thus became a matter of the utmost importance to the country that the line of the ducal house should be continued.

Francesco Maria, Prince of Urbino, resided for a certain time at the Court of Philip II.⁴ He there formed, as it is said, a very serious attachment to a Spanish lady, and intended to make her his wife. But his father, Guidobaldo, was decidedly opposed to the marriage, and resolved to have a daughter-in-law of equal birth in his house. He compelled his son to return and give his hand to Lucrezia d' Este, Princess of Ferrara.

They might have seemed a tolerably well-assorted pair, the prince a man of ready address, accomplished in the use of arms, and not without acquirements in science, more especially as related to war; the princess endowed with intelligence, majesty, and grace. The people gave themselves up to the hope that this marriage would secure the permanency of the ducal house; the cities emulated each other in doing honor to the married pair by arches of triumph and magnificent gifts.

But the misfortune was that the prince was only twenty-five years old, while the princess was little less than forty. The father had overlooked this in his desire to palliate his refusal of the Spanish marriage—which had, nevertheless, produced no favorable impression at the Court of Philip—by an alliance so exalted, so brilliant, and so wealthy; but the marriage turned out worse than the Duke Guidobaldo could have imagined probable. After his death Lucrezia was compelled to return to Ferrara; of posterity there was no further hope.⁵

We have before described the decisive influence that Lucrezia of Este had on the fate—the extinction of the Duchy of Ferrara.

⁴ In the "Amadigi" he is very agreeably described, while quite a child, as "Quel piccolo fanciul, che gli occhi alzando
Par che si specchi nell' avo e nel padre
E l' alta gloria lor quasi pensando."

(A child he was, but from his upraised eyes
Looked the high courage of long ancestries,
As if he, in his sire and grandsire's fame,
Read the high honors of his future name.)—C. F.

Mocenigo thus describes him at the period of his marriage: "He tilts gracefully, studies and understands mathematics and fortifications; he is so ardent in his exercises, as playing at ball, or hunting on foot to accustom himself to the fatigues of war, and continues this to such an extent, as to cause fears lest they should injure his health."

⁵ Mathio Zane, "Relatione del Duca d' Urbino, 1574," considers Lucrezia as even then "a lady of less than moderate beauty, but she adorns herself to advantage; there is now little hope of seeing children from this marriage."

In the affairs of Urbino, also, we find her most unhappily implicated. Even at the time when Ferrara was taken into the papal possession, it seemed certain that Urbino also must lapse to the Roman See; and the rather, as in this case there were no natural heirs who might have made claim to the succession.

Yet the face of things once more assumed a different aspect. In February, 1598, Lucrezia died, and Francesco Maria was at liberty to make a second marriage.

The whole duchy was overjoyed when it came to be known soon after that their good sovereign, who had ruled them through all the years of his reign with so gentle and peaceful a hand, and whom all loved, had good hope—though now somewhat advanced in life—that his race would not be extinguished with his own life. Prayers and vows were made by all for the safe delivery of the new duchess. When the time had come, the nobles of the land, with the magistrates of the cities, assembled in Pesaro, where the princess was residing; and during her labor, the square before the palace, with all the adjoining streets, was filled with people. At length the duke appeared at a window; “God,” he exclaimed with a loud voice, “God has given us a boy!” This intelligence was received with indescribable acclamations of delight. The cities built churches and endowed pious institutions, as they had pledged themselves to do by their vows.⁶

But how deceptive are hopes that are founded on men!

The prince was brought up with great care, and displayed some talent—at least for literature. The old duke had the happiness of seeing him married to a princess of Tuscany; he then withdrew to the retirement of Casteldurante, and resigned the government to his son.

But scarcely was the prince his own master, and master of the country, when he was seized by the intoxication of power. The taste for theatrical amusements was just then becoming prevalent in Italy, and the young prince was all the more violently affected by it, from the circumstance of his having conceived a passion for an actress. During the day, he amused himself after the manner of Nero, in driving chariots; in the evening he appeared himself on the stage. These excesses were

⁶ “La devoluzione a Santa Chiesa degli stati di Francesco Maria II. della Rovere, ultimo duca d’ Urbino, descrit-

ta dall’ illmo. Sr. Antonio Donati nobile Veneziano.”—*Inf. Politt.* (It has also been printed.)

followed by many others: the respectable citizens looked sorrowfully at each other, and scarcely knew whether to lament or rejoice, when one morning, in the year 1623, the prince, after a night of frenzied excess, was found dead in his bed.

The aged Francesco Maria was then compelled to resume the government; full of deep sorrow that he was now the last of the line of Rovere, and that his house was drawing to its end with his own life: doubly disheartened to find himself burdened with the cares of government, and utterly deprived of courage for encountering the bitter insults and injurious encroachments of the Roman See.⁷

He was at first in fear lest the Barberini should contrive to obtain possession of the daughter left him by his son, a child of a year old; and to remove her forever from their attempts he betrothed her to a prince of Tuscany, and sent her immediately into the neighboring State.

But another calamitous circumstance also occurred.

As the Emperor made claim to certain portions of the territory of Urbino, Pope Urban, desiring to secure himself, required a declaration from the duke that he held all his possessions as a fief of the Papal See. Long did Francesco Maria refuse to comply with this demand; he found such a declaration against his conscience. At length he resigned himself to the necessity of making it; "but from that time," says our authority, "he was never cheerful again—he felt his spirit oppressed by that act."

He was soon afterward obliged to endure that the governors of his fortresses and towns should take the oath of allegiance to the Pope; at length he resigned the government of the country—it was in fact the best thing he could do—without any reservation, to the authorities appointed by the pontiff.

Wearied of life, enfeebled by age, and bent with anguish of heart, after seeing all his trusted friends depart, the duke found his sole consolation in the practices of devotion. He died in the year 1631.

The dukedom was instantly taken into possession of the papacy by Taddeo Barberini, who hastened thither for that purpose. The allodial inheritance passed to Florence. The terri-

⁷ P. Contarini: "The duke being already much broken by years and ill-

health, his mind too depressed and prostrate."

tory of Urbino was at once subjected to the system of government prevailing in other districts belonging to the Church, and very soon there might be heard throughout the duchy those complaints that the government of priests invariably called forth.⁸

We next proceed to examine their administration in general, and will first consider the most important of its elements, that on which all others are dependent—the finances.

Section II.—Increase of Debt in the States of the Church

The public expenditure was diminished and treasure was accumulated by Sixtus V; but at the same time he increased the taxes and the revenue, on which he founded a great mass of debt.

To set rigid bounds to expenditure, and to amass money, were not things likely to be done by every man. The necessities of the Church, moreover, as well as those of the State, became more and more urgent from year to year. Recourse was sometimes had to the treasure locked up in the castle of St. Angelo, but so rigorous were the conditions attached to its application that this could only happen on very extraordinary occasions. It is a remarkable fact that the Curia found it much less difficult to raise loans than to use the money lying by in its own coffers. The popes resorted, therefore, to the former method in a manner the most reckless and precipitate.

We possess authentic statements of the relation which the revenues bore to the capital of the debt and its interest during a given number of years, and these documents present a curious subject of observation.

In the year 1587 the revenues amounted to 1,358,456 scudi, the debt to 7,500,000 scudi; about one-half of the revenue, 715,913 scudi, was assigned to pay the interest of the debt.

In 1592 the revenues had risen to 1,585,520 scudi, the debts to 12,242,620 scudi. The increase of the debt was already much greater than that of the revenue—1,088,600 scudi, that

⁸ Aluise Contarini finds the inhabitants exceedingly dissatisfied in the year 1635: "The subjects complain bitterly of the change; they call the government

of the priests a tyranny, saying they think of nothing but enriching and advancing themselves." See Appendix, No. 115.

is, about two-thirds of the income, were appropriated to the interest of the debt by salable offices and *luoghi di monte*.¹

This rate of proportions was already so critical that it must have occasioned very serious anxieties; the Curia would gladly have proceeded to diminish the rate of interest, and it was proposed to take a million from the castle for the purpose of paying back the capital of those who should refuse to accept the reduced interest. The net revenue would by this means have been considerably augmented; but the bull of Sixtus V, and anxiety lest the treasure should be squandered, prevented measures of that kind from being adopted, and the government was compelled to continue the usual practice.

It might have been expected that the acquisition of a territory so productive as that of Ferrara would have presented a corresponding alleviation of the papal difficulties; yet this was not the case.

So early as the year 1599 the interest of the debt absorbed nearly three-fourths of the entire revenue.

But in the year 1605, when Paul V commenced his administration, the sum of 70,000 scudi was all that remained to the treasury of the total income, after paying the interest of the debt.² Cardinal Du Perron affirmed that the regular income of the pontiff would not have sufficed him for half the year, although the expenditure of the palace was very moderate.

It had thus become inevitable that debt should be heaped upon debt. We are enabled to ascertain from authentic sources how systematically Paul V availed himself of this means. He raised loans in November, 1607, twice in January, 1608, again in March, June, and July of the same year, and twice more in the month of September. This he continued through all the years of his government. These loans were not large, according to our mode of viewing such operations: the less weighty demands were met as they arose by the establishment and sale of new *luoghi di monte*, in greater or smaller numbers. These *monti* were founded now on the customs of Ancona, now

¹ Minute account of the papal finances from the first years of Clement VIII, without any particular title. "Bibliol. Barb." No. 1699, on eighty leaves.

² "Per sollevare la Camera Apostolica, discorso di M. Malvasia, 1606:" "The interests now paid by the Apostolic See absorb nearly all the revenues,

so that the court lives in perpetual embarrassment, finding it difficult to provide for the ordinary and necessary expenditure; and when any extraordinary expense is demanded they know not where to turn themselves." See Appendix, No. 88.

on the *dogana* of Rome, or of some province, or again on an increase in the price of salt, or on the proceeds of the post. They were thus gradually extended to a very heavy amount: by Paul V alone 2,000,000 were added to the debt in *luoghi di monte*.³

He would, however, have found this impracticable, had he not been aided by a circumstance of a peculiar character.

Power has always attracted money. So long as the Spanish monarchy pursued its career of greatness, and extended its influence over the whole world, the Genoese, who were at that time the principal capitalists, invested their treasures in loans to the kings of Spain; nor were they deterred from thus disposing of their funds by the fact of their being subjected by Philip II to various exactions and forced reductions of interest. But as the great movement gradually abated, as the wars ceased and the expenditure of the Spaniards diminished, the Genoese withdrew their money. They next turned their attention toward Rome, which had meanwhile again assumed so powerful a position, and the treasures of Europe once more poured into the city. Under Paul V Rome was, perhaps, the most important money-market in Europe. The Roman *luoghi di monte* were resorted to with extreme avidity; as they paid considerable interest and presented sufficient security, their price increased on certain occasions to 150 per cent. However extensively they were augmented, therefore, the pontiff invariably found purchasers in abundance.

It thus happened that the debts increased perpetually. In the beginning of the pontificate of Urban VIII they had attained the amount of 18,000,000; the revenues also, by the system of the Roman Court, continued in relation with this increase, and rose accordingly in similar proportion; they were estimated at the beginning of Urban's administration, at 1,818,104 sc. 96 baj.⁴ I have not ascertained the precise sum taken from them for the payment of interest, but it must have been by far the larger portion; and on examining the different sources of revenue separately, the demands are found very frequently to exceed the income. In the year 1592 the Roman

³ "Nota de' luoghi di monti eretti in tempo del pontificato della felice memoria di Paolo V. 1606-1618."

⁴ "Entrata et uscita della Sede Apos-

tolica del tempo di Urbano VIII." (Revenues and expenditure of the Apostolic See in the time of Urban VIII.)

excise and customs (*dogana di Roma*) brought in 162,450 scudi. In 1625 they produced 209,000 scudi; but in the first of these years 16,956 scudi had been paid into the papal treasury, while in the second the assignments on the revenue exceeded the receipts of the same by 13,260. The monopoly of salt (*salara di Roma*) had increased during that period from 27,654 to 40,000; but in 1592 a surplus had remained of 7,482 scudi; while in 1625 there was a deficiency of 2,321 sc. 98 baj.

It will be obvious that little could be effected by household economy toward the due restriction of such a system as this.

Still less under an administration such as that of Urban VIII, whose political jealousy so often impelled him to raise troops and construct fortifications.

It is true that Urbino was annexed to the States of the Church, but this acquisition produced but little, more especially in the commencement. After the loss of the allodial domains, the revenue of Urbino amounted to no more than 400,000 scudi, and to reduce this still further, the act of taking possession when important concessions were also made to the heirs, had occasioned a large expenditure.⁵

In the year 1635 Urban had raised the debt to 30,000,000 of scudi, and to procure the funds required he had imposed ten different taxes, or had augmented older imposts. But even with all this he was far from attaining his object: circumstances occurred by which he was induced to go much further; but these we shall examine with more profit after having first directed our attention to another series of facts.

Section III.—Foundation of New Families

If we inquire to what object all these revenues were applied, whither they all went, it is certainly undeniable that they were for the most part expended in furtherance of the universal efforts for the restoration of Catholicism.

Armies, such as that sent by Gregory XIV into France, and which his successors were compelled to maintain for some time after, necessarily cost the Roman See enormous sums; as did the active part taken by Clement VIII in the Turkish war, and

⁵ Remark of Francesco Barberini to the nuncio in Vienna when the Emperor

put forward claims founded on that acquisition.

the subsidies, such as those so often granted to the League and the house of Austria under Paul V, which Gregory XV afterward doubled, and which were transferred, at least in part, to Maximilian of Bavaria by Urban VIII.

The States of the Church also frequently required large sums for the exigencies of some extraordinary occasion: as, for example, the conquest of Ferrara, under Clement VIII; the proceedings of Paul V against Venice; and all the military preparations of Urban VIII.

To these were added the magnificent public buildings, raised at one time for the embellishment of the city, at another for the defence of the State, and in the construction of which every new pope labored in emulation of his predecessors.

There was, besides, a practice which obtained in the Roman Court, and which contributed not a little to the accumulation of this mass of debt, while it certainly was not beneficial either to Christendom, the State, or even to the city, but was solely for the advantage of the different papal families.

The custom had been established, and is indeed perfectly consistent with the relation of the priesthood to a widely extended family association—that the overplus of the ecclesiastical revenues should devolve on the kindred of the several incumbents.

The popes of the period now before us were prevented by the bulls of their predecessors from investing their relations with principalities, as had been so often attempted in earlier times; but they did not on that account dissent from the general usage of the ecclesiastical body; on the contrary, they were only the more earnest in their efforts to secure hereditary dignity to their families by conferring on them large possessions both in money and land.

They were careful, while pursuing this object, to provide themselves with arguments for their own justification. They proceeded from the principle that they were bound by no vow of poverty, and having decided that they might fairly consider the surplus proceeds of the spiritual office as their own property, they likewise inferred that they possessed the right of bestowing this superfluity on their kindred.

But far more powerful than considerations of this kind was the influence of family ties, and the natural inclination of men

to leave behind them some memorial that shall survive their death.

The first who determined the form to which all pontiffs afterward adhered was Sixtus V.

One of his grand-nephews he raised to the rank of cardinal, intrusted him with a portion of the public business, and gave him an ecclesiastical income of 100,000 scudi; the other he married to a daughter of the Sommaglia family, and made Marquis of Mentana, adding afterward to his domains the principality of Venafro and the countship of Celano in the Neapolitan territories. The house of Peretti long maintained itself in high consideration, and the name appears repeatedly in the College of Cardinals.

But the Aldobrandini became far more powerful.¹ We have seen the influence exercised by Pietro Aldobrandino during the pontificate of his uncle. In the year 1599, he had already secured 60,000 scudi yearly from church property, and how greatly must this have been afterward augmented. The possessions he inherited from Lucrezia D'Este came most effectually to his aid; he bought largely on all sides, and we find that he had funds invested in the Bank of Venice. But however extensive were the domains of Pietro, all must at length devolve on the family of his sister and her husband, Giovanni Francesco Aldobrandino. This Giovan-Francesco was also richly provided for; he was castellan of St. Angelo, governor of the Borgo, captain of the Guard, and general of the Church. His income, so early as the year 1599, was 60,000 scudi, and he often received sums of money from the Pope. I find an account, by which Clement VIII is shown to have bestowed on his kinsmen generally, during the thirteen years of his pontificate, more than 1,000,000 scudi in hard money. They became all the more wealthy from the fact that Giovan-Francesco was a clever manager. He bought the estates of Ridolfo Pio, which had previously yielded only 3,000 scudi a year, and obtained from them an income of 12,000. The marriage of his daughter Margareta with Rainuccio Farnese was not effected without enormous cost; the lady brought a dowry of 400,000

¹ Niccolò Contarini, "Storia Veneta;" "In conferring ecclesiastical benefices on his nephews Clement VIII knew no bounds, and even went far be-

yond his predecessor, Sixtus V, by whom this door was first thrown open, and that widely."

scudi to her husband,² besides other privileges and advantages, although this connection did not, as we have seen, eventually prove so close and cordial as had been hoped.

The path pursued by the Aldobrandini was taken up by the Borghese family, with an eager haste and recklessness that almost surpassed that displayed by the first-named house.

Cardinal Scipione Cafarelli Borghese possessed an influence over Paul V fully equal to that exercised by Pietro Aldobrandino over Clement VIII, and the wealth he accumulated was even greater. In the year 1612 the church benefices already conferred on him were computed to secure him an income of 150,000 scudi. The envy necessarily awakened by riches and power so extensive he sought to appease and conciliate by kindness and a courteous affability of manner, but we cannot be surprised if he did not entirely succeed in disarming its rancor.

The temporal offices were bestowed on Marc-Antonio Borghese, on whom the Pope also conferred the principality of Sulmona, in Naples, giving him besides rich palaces in Rome and the most beautiful villas in the neighborhood. He loaded his nephews with presents; we have a list of them through his whole reign down to the year 1620. They are sometimes jewels or vessels of silver, or magnificent furniture, which was taken directly from the stores of the palace and sent to the nephews; at other times carriages, rich arms, as muskets and falconets, were presented to them, but the principal thing was the round sums of hard money. These accounts make it appear that to the year 1620 they had received in ready money 689,627 sc. 31 baj.; in *luoghi di monte*, 24,600 scudi, according to their nominal value; in places, computing them at the sum their sale would have brought to the treasury, 268,176 scudi; all which amounted, as in the case of the Aldobrandini, to nearly a million.¹

Nor did the Borghesi neglect to invest their wealth in real property. They acquired eighty estates in the Campagna of Rome; the Roman nobles suffering themselves to be tempted into the sale of their ancient hereditary domains by the large

¹ Contarini: "The Pope, while making a show of grief at being induced by his nephews to act thus against his conscience, could yet not so carefully conceal his joy in the depths and dark-

ness of his heart but that it would burst forth."

² "Nota di danari, officii, e mobili donati da Papa Paolo V. a suoi parenti e concessioni fattegli," MS. See Appendix, No. 89.

prices paid them, and by the high rate of interest borne by the *luoghi di monte*, which they purchased with the money thus acquired. In many other parts of the Ecclesiastical States the Borghesi also seated themselves, the Pope facilitating their doing so by the grant of peculiar privileges. In some places, for example, they received the right of restoring exiles; in others, that of holding a market, or certain exemptions were granted to those who became their vassals. They were freed from various imposts, and even obtained a bull by virtue of which their possessions were never to be confiscated.

The Borghese became the most wealthy and powerful of all the families that had yet risen in Rome.

And by these precedents the system of nepotism was so fully established, that even a short pontificate presented the means for accumulating a magnificent fortune.⁴

It is unquestionable that Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisio, the nephew of Gregory XV, exercised a more unlimited authority than had been possessed by any previous nephew. He had the good-fortune to see the two most important offices of the Curia, those of vice-chancellor and high chamberlain, fall vacant during his administration, and both were given to him. He obtained church revenues to the amount of more than 200,000 scudi yearly. The more important employments of the temporal power fell into the hands of Don Orazio, the brother of the Pope and a Senator at Bologna, who was appointed to the generalship of the Church and many other lucrative offices. Since the Pope did not promise length of life, there was the more haste among the family to secure themselves a provision. In a short time they acquired *luoghi di monte* to the value of 800,000 scudi. The Duchy of Fiano was purchased for them of the house of Sforza, and the principality of Zagarolo from the Farnese family. Already was the young Nicolo Ludovisio entitled to claim the richest and most splendid alliance. By his first marriage, accordingly, he brought Venosa, by a second Piombino, into his house. To these fortunate circumstances the favor of the King of Spain very greatly contributed.

⁴ Pietro Contarini, "Relazione di 1627:" "That which is possessed by the Peretti, Aldobrandini, Borghese, and Ludovisi families, their principalities, their enormous revenues, their most splendid fabrics, their sumptuous furniture, their wonderful ornaments

and luxuries of all kinds, not only exceed what is proper to the condition of nobles and private princes, but equal and even surpass the possessions of kings themselves." See Appendix, No. III.

Emulating examples so distinguished, the Barberini now proceeded in the same course; by the side of Urban VIII there stood his elder brother Don Carlo as general of the Church, a grave and experienced man of business, of very few words, who was not to be dazzled by the first gleam of his rising fortunes, nor tempted into a display of empty pride, but who now steadily set himself before all things to the founding of a great family estate.⁵ "He knows," it is remarked in a report of the year 1625, "that the possession of riches distinguishes a man from the common mass, and does not consider it seemly that he who has once stood in the position of kinsman to a pope should appear in straitened circumstances after his death." Don Carlo had three sons, Francesco, Taddeo, and Antonio, who were now at once, and of necessity, destined to acquire positions of great importance. Francesco and Antonio adopted the clerical office; the first, who by his modesty and kindness secured the general confidence and good-will, and who had also the faculty of accommodating himself to the caprices of his uncle, obtained the leading influence in the administration; and this, although he used it on the whole with moderation, could not fail, in so long a course of years, to bring with it a large amount of riches. In the year 1625 the income of Francesco was 40,000 scudi, but so early as 1627 it had arisen to 100,000 scudi.⁶ It was not altogether with his consent that Antonio was also nominated cardinal, nor did this take place without the express condition that he should take no part in the administration. Antonio was a man of feeble frame, but was aspiring, obstinate, and proud; unwilling to be eclipsed in all ways by his brother, he labored eagerly to accumulate a number of offices in his own person, and to secure large revenues; his income in the year 1635 amounted to the sum of 100,000 scudi. From the Order of Malta alone he held six commanderies, which could not have been a welcome arrangement to the knights. He accepted presents also, but at the same time he gave much away,

⁵ "Relazione di quattro Ambasciatori, 1625:" "Good economy is practised in his household, and he is desirous of making money, knowing well that money increases the reputation of its possessors, nay, gold will exalt and distinguish a man advantageously in the eyes of the world." See Appendix, No. 114.

⁶ Pietro Contarini, 1627: "He is a man of excellent, virtuous, and exem-

plary habits, and of a gentle disposition; he has given the solitary example of refusing to receive all donations or presents of whatever kind. Yet, if the Pope lives, he will be equally rich and great with any other cardinal; he must now have about 80,000 scudi from church benefices, and, with the government and legations that he holds, his income must be near 100,000 scudi." See Appendix, No. 111.

and was liberal on principle, for the purpose of securing to himself a large body of adherents among the Roman nobility. The second of these brothers, Don Taddeo, was chosen as the one who should found a family by the acquisition of heritable possessions; he obtained the dignity of the secular nephew, and, after the death of his father, became general of the Church, commander of St. Angelo, and governor of the Borgo. He was already possessed of so many estates in the year 1635 that he also enjoyed a yearly income of 100,000 scudi,⁷ and was continually receiving additions to his property. Don Taddeo lived in close retirement, and the economy of his household was quite exemplary.⁸ In a short time the regular yearly income of the three brothers was computed at 500,000 scudi. The most important offices were in their hands. As the younger Antonio was high chamberlain, so was the elder vice-chancellor, while the prefecture, which became vacant by the death of the Duke of Urbino, was conferred on Don Taddeo. It was affirmed that in the course of this pontificate, the incredible sum of 105,000,000 of scudi passed into the hands of the Barberini.⁹ "The palaces," continues the author of this account, "that, for example, at the Quattro Fontane, a royal work, the vineyards, the pictures, the statues, the wrought silver and gold, the precious stones, that were heaped on that house, are of more amount than can be believed or expressed." To the Pope himself this enormous accumulation of wealth by his family seems occasionally to have become matter of scruple, so that in the year 1640 he formally appointed a commission to inquire into the lawfulness of so large a possession by a papal family.¹⁰ In the first place, this commission laid down the principle that a temporal sovereignty was involved in the papacy, from the surplus revenues or savings of which the Pope might lawfully make donations to his kindred. It next proceeded to examine the relations and circumstances of this sovereignty, in order to determine to what

⁷ That is to say, the revenues of his landed property amounted to the above-named sum. "By his new acquisitions, says Al. Contarini, of Palestrina, Monterotondo, and Valmontone, which the houses of Colonna and Sforza were compelled to sell by force, for the payment of their debts." The office of a general of the Church brought in 20,000 scudi. See Appendix, No. 115.

⁸ See Appendix, No. 111.

⁹ Conclave di Innocenzo X.: "It is computed as the result of an impartial

examination of the distinct particulars that there have fallen to the Barberina family 105,000,000 scudi." The sum is so incredible, that it might be taken for an error in writing, but the same statement is found in many MSS., among others in that of the Foscarini at Vienna, and in my own.

¹⁰ Niccolini treats of this matter. I have also seen a small treatise: "Motivi a far decidere quid possit papa donare, al 7 Luglio, 1640," by a member of this Commission.

extent the Pope might so. Having made all requisite calculations, the commission decided that the Pope might, with a safe conscience, found a patrimonial estate (*majorat*) of 80,000 scudi net revenue, together with an inheritance for the second son, and that to the daughters of the house there might be assigned a dowry of 180,000 scudi. The general of the Jesuits also, Vitelleschi, was required to give his opinion, for the Jesuits must needs have a hand in everything; and he, considering these estimates to be moderate, awarded them his approval.

In this manner new families continually arose from pontificate to pontificate, obtaining hereditary wealth and influence; they took place immediately among the high aristocracy of the country, a rank that was readily accorded to them.

It will be obvious that they were not likely to remain exempt from collisions among themselves. The conflicts between predecessors and successors which had previously taken place among the factions in the conclaves, were now exhibited among the papal families. The new race that had just attained to power, maintained the supremacy of its rank with jealous tenacity, and for the most part displayed hostility toward the family immediately preceding; nay, frequently inflicted persecutions on it. Thus, though the Aldobrandini had taken so large a part in the elevation of Paul V, they were, nevertheless, thrust aside by his kinsmen, were treated with enmity by them, and finally tried severely by costly and dangerous lawsuits.¹ They called him the Great Unthankful. The kinsmen of Paul V, in their turn, found no higher favor at the hands of the Ludovisi; while Cardinal Ludovisio himself was compelled to leave Rome on the accession of the Barberini to the supreme power.

This last-named family at once displayed an immoderate ambition in the use they made of the authority they derived from the papal power deputed to them, and which they caused to be heavily felt by the Roman nobles and Italian princes. The dignity of prefect of Rome was conferred by Urban VIII on his secular nephew, precisely because to this office certain honorary rights were attached, which seemed likely to secure to his house a perpetual precedency over all others.

¹ There is an example of this in the "Vita del Cl. Cecchini." See Appendix, No. 121.

But this mode of proceeding was at length productive of a movement, which, though not of particular consequence to the world at large, yet makes an important epoch as regards the position of the papacy, not only within the States of the Church, but also throughout Italy.

Section IV.—War of Castro

Among the papal families not actually in possession, that of the Farnese always maintained the highest rank, since they had not only secured large possessions in land, as the others had done, but had also acquired a principality of no inconsiderable importance: thus it was at all times a very difficult task for the ruling nephew to keep that house in allegiance and due subordination. When Duke Odoardo Farnese visited Rome in the year 1639 all possible honors were paid to him;¹ the Pope caused a residence to be prepared for him, appointed noblemen to attend him, and even lent him aid in his pecuniary affairs. The Barberini gave him splendid entertainments, and made him rich presents of pictures and horses. But with all these courtesies they could not wholly conciliate the duke to themselves. Odoardo Farnese was a prince of some talent, spirit, and self-reliance, but deeply imbued with the ambition of those times, which found pleasure in the exact observance of small distinctions, of which all were very jealous. He could not be persuaded to pay due respect to Don Taddeo, as prefect of Rome, nor would he concede to him the rank appropriate to that office. Even when visiting the Pope, Farnese made an offensive display of the sense he entertained of his own personal superiority, as well as of the high dignity of his house. All this gave rise to misunderstandings that were the less easy to remove, because founded on personal impressions that could not be effaced.

How the duke was to be escorted on his departure then became a weighty question. Odoardo demanded attendance similar to that received by the Grand Duke of Tuscany: the

¹ Deone, "Diario di Roma," tom. i.: "It is a misfortune of the Barberini that they do not meet a due return from those whom they benefit. The Duke of Parma was lodged and entertained by them, was caressed and served by men of noble family, and presented with rich coaches; he was assisted also by the reduction of the monte Farnese,

to the gain of a great sum by Duke Odoardo, and a very heavy loss to many poor private persons. The duke was courted and feasted by both the cardinal brothers for several weeks; he had gifts of horses, pictures, and other fine things, yet he left Rome without even taking leave of them."

ruling nephew, that is to say, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, he required to escort him in person. This Francesco would not agree to do, unless the duke first paid him a formal visit of leave at the Vatican—a demand with which Odoardo did not feel himself bound to comply. Difficulties arising from his financial affairs, came in addition to this cause of disagreement, and the duke's self-love, thus doubly mortified, was violently inflamed. After taking leave of the Pope, with very few words, but in which he nevertheless mingled complaints of the nephews, he left the palace and city without a word of farewell to Cardinal Francesco, a proceeding whereby he hoped to mortify him to the heart.²

But the Barberini, possessing an absolute authority in the States of the Church, had the means of avenging themselves in a manner to be felt much more sensibly.

The financial system established in the State had also found admission among the princely houses constituting its aristocracy, by all of whom it was imitated; they, too, had founded *monti*, and had assigned the incomes of their estates for the payment of their creditors: as the papal revenues were assigned to the creditors of the State, the *luoghi di monte* of the nobles passed in like manner from hand to hand. But these *monti* could scarcely have found credit if they had not been placed under the inspection and control of the supreme authority. It was only with the expressed approval of the pontiff that they could be either established or modified. There was thus among the privileges of the reigning house, that of exercising an important influence over the domestic affairs of all other families by means of this supervision. Reductions of the rate of interest paid on these *monti* were of very common occurrence, because they depended solely on the good pleasure and disposition of the pontifical house.

Now the Farnesi also were loaded with a large amount of

² Among the many writings on both sides still remaining in manuscript, I consider the following most impartial and worthy of credit—"Risposta in forma di lettera al libro di duca di Parma, in the 45th volume of the *Informazioni*:" "Duke Odoardo went to the Pope and made his acknowledgments, adding that he could not declare himself satisfied with the Lord Cardinal Barberino. The Pope replied briefly that he knew the dispo-

sition of his eminence toward the duke. Then, taking leave of his holiness without a word to the cardinal, he departed to his palace. Although, if he had wished to be accompanied by his eminence, he ought to have remained in the apartments of the Vatican, and taken especial leave of his eminence also, as is the custom of princes. In the morning he finally left the city without more ceremony."

debt. The *monte* Farnese Vecchio took its origin from the necessities and expenditure of Alessandro Farnese in the campaigns of Flanders; a new one had also been founded, acts of permission (*Indulti*) from the Pope, had increased the mass, and since, while new *monti*, with lower interest, had been established, the old had not been extinguished, and the different operations were conducted by different commercial houses, all jealous of each other, everything had fallen into confusion.³

It now happened, in addition to this, that the Barberini adopted certain measures, by which great injury was inflicted on the duke.

The two *monti* Farnesi were secured on the revenues of Castro and Ronciglione. The Siri farmers of the imposts of Castro paid 94,000 scudi to the duke, and with this sum the interest of the *monti* could still be just paid, but the proceeds would not have reached this amount, had it not been for certain concessions made to his house by Paul III. With this object, Pope Paul had turned the high-road from Sutri to Ronciglione, and had conferred on that district more extensive privileges in relation to the export of corn than were possessed by other provinces. The Barberini now determined to recall these privileges. They turned the high-road again to Sutri; and in Montalto di Maremma, where the grain from Castro had always been shipped, they published an edict prohibiting the export of corn.⁴

The result anticipated became instantly manifest. The Siri, who were already on bad terms with the duke, on account of these financial operations, and now saw they should have support from the palace, refused to fulfil their contract, they ceased to pay the interest of the *monte* Farnese. It is affirmed that they were specially instigated to this by some of the prelates, who secretly took part in their business. The creditors

³ Deone, tom. i.: "Ultimately both States, that is, Castro and Ronciglione, were farmed to the Siri for 94,000 scudi yearly. On this revenue, the interest of both the *monti* Farnesi, the old and the new, was secured; the old *monte* was founded by Duke Alessandro, it was 54,000 scudi a year; all the money was spent in Flanders, the present Duke Odoardo added to this the sum of 300,000 scudi, a capital paying four and a half per cent., he has besides borrowed on mortgage; thus little or nothing re-

mains for himself, so that if the corn trade be removed from those States, there will be no means for paying either the creditors of the *monte* or the mortgagees." See Appendix, No. 122.

⁴ They defended their decree by the words of Paul's bull: "Power of exporting corn to any part of the said States of the Roman Church, depending either mediately or immediately on us;" but in the course of time a free exportation to all parts of Italy had meanwhile grown up.

of the *monte*, thus suddenly deprived of their income, pressed their claims, and sought redress from the papal government. Duke Odoardo, perceiving that he was intentionally wronged, disdained to seek for means of accommodation, but the complaints of the Montists became so earnest, so urgent, and so general that the Pope thought himself justified in taking possession of the mortgaged domains, with a view to the restoration of so large a body of Roman citizens to their lawful rights. For this purpose, Urban sent a small armed force to Castro. The affair does not seem to have proceeded altogether without opposition. "We have been compelled," he exclaims, with excessive indignation in his *Monitorium*, "we have been compelled to fire four great shots, by means of which one of the enemy was left slain."⁵ On October 13, 1641, he took possession of Castro, nor was it his intention to stop there. In January, 1642, excommunication was pronounced against the duke, who had not suffered himself to be moved by that capture; he was declared to have forfeited all his fiefs, and an army took the field for the purpose of depriving him of Parma and Placentia also. The Pope would not hear a word of pacification, he affirmed that "between lord and vassal, nothing of the sort could find place; he would humble the duke"—"he had money, courage, and soldiers. God and the world would be on his side."

But by this proceeding the affair at once acquired a more general importance. The Italian States had long felt jealous of the repeated extensions given to the ecclesiastical dominions. They would not suffer Parma to be appropriated as Ferrara and Urbino had been, neither indeed had the house of Este resigned its rights to Ferrara, nor that of Medici certain claims on Urbino. All were offended by the arrogant pretensions of Don Taddeo—the Venetians doubly so, because Urban VIII but a short time before had caused an inscription

⁵ This happened near a bridge: "Dicitur dominus Marchio, ex quo milites numero 40 circiter, qui in eisdem ponte et vallo ad pugnandum oppositi fuerunt, amicabiliter ex eis recedere recusabant, immo hostiliter pontificio exercitui se opponebant, fuit coactus pro illorum expugnatione quatour magnorum tormentorum hostes explodere, quorum formidine hostes perterriti, fugam tandem arripuerunt, in qua unus ipsorum inter-

fectus remansit." (The Signor Marchio, when the soldiers, about forty in number, who had been posted to defend that bridge, refusing to retreat peaceably, continued to oppose themselves in hostile sort to the pontifical army, was compelled to dislodge them by firing four shots from great guns, whereat being frightened, the enemy at length took flight, in which one of them remained slain.)

to be obliterated from the Sala Regia, wherein they were extolled for their pretended defence of Alexander III, an act which the people of Venice held to be a great insult.⁶ Political considerations of a more general character came in aid of these motives. As the Spanish predominance had formerly excited the suspicions and fears of the Italian States, so now did that of France produce the same effect. In all directions the Spanish monarchy was suffering severe losses, and the Italians feared lest a general revolution, even among themselves, might ensue, should Urban VIII, whom all considered the determined ally of the French, attain to increased power. On all these grounds they resolved to resist the advance of the pontiff; their troops assembled in the Modenese, through which territory the Barberini were thus compelled to resign the hope of making a passage for their troops; the papal forces sent against the allies took up their quarters about Ferrara.

Here then was to a certain extent repeated that contest between the French and Spanish interests which kept Europe at large in commotion; but how much feebler were the motives, the forces, and the efforts that were here engaged in a sort of strife.

The peculiarity of the position in which the conflicting parties were placed, is strikingly exemplified by an expedition undertaken with his own unaided powers by the Duke of Parma, who now found himself protected without much assistance from himself, and yet remained entirely unfettered.

Without artillery or infantry, and with only three thousand horse, Odoardo made an incursion into the States of the Church. Fort Urban, which had been erected at so great a cost, and the assembled militia which had never prepared itself to meet an armed foe, opposed no resistance to his progress; the people of Bologna shut themselves up within their walls, and Farnese marched through the country, without once obtaining a sight of the papal troops. The city of Imola having opened her gates to the duke, he paid a visit to the papal commandant, and exhorted the town to remain faithful to the Roman See, for it was not against Rome, as he affirmed, that he had taken up arms; nor even against Urban VIII, but solely against his nephews; he marched under the banner of the *Gonfaloniere*

⁶ This circumstance will be further considered in the Appendix, No. 117.

of the Church, on which all might see the effigies of St. Peter and St. Paul, and in the name of the Church he demanded free passage for his troops. In Faenza, preparations were made for defending the gates, but when the governor perceived the enemy, he caused himself to be let down from the walls by a rope, in order to hold conference with the duke in person: the result of this interview was that the gates were opened. Things proceeded in like manner at Forli. In all these towns the inhabitants looked quietly from their windows, on the march of their enemy, as he passed through the streets. The duke proceeded across the mountains into Tuscany, and then again passed from Arezzo into the States of the Church. Castiglione da Lago and Città del Pieve opened their gates to his troops; he pressed forward without a pause, and filled the land with the terror of his name.⁷ Rome, more particularly was perplexed and confounded; the Pope dreaded the fate of Clement VII, and made an attempt to arm his Romans; but it was necessary first to gather funds, and to levy contributions from house to house, which was not accomplished without much offensive discourse, and all this before a small body of cavalry could be got together. Had the Duke of Parma then made his appearance, a couple of cardinals would, without doubt, have been despatched to meet him at the Milvian Bridge (*Pontemolle*) with instructions to grant all that he might be pleased to demand.

But neither was Odoardo Farnese a warrior. It would be difficult to conjecture by what considerations he was restrained, what reflections withheld him, or how he suffered himself to be led into negotiations from which he could expect to gain nothing. The Pope recovered his breath; with a zeal quickened by the sense of danger he fortified Rome,⁸ and managed to send a new army into the field, by which the duke, whose troops were not easily kept together, was very soon driven from the States of the Church. As there was now nothing more

⁷ A circumstantial relation of this enterprise will be found in Siri's "Mercurio," tom. ii. p. 1289.

⁸ Deone: "They are proceeding with the fortifications, not only of the Borgo, but also of the remaining walls of Rome; three cardinals are deputed to see this done, Pallotta, Gabrielli, and Orsino, and they prance about every day

from one gate to the other. All the vines are cut down on the city side of the walls, that is, they are making a road between the walls and the vines, to the great injury of the proprietors. Very soon they will be falling on the beautiful garden of the Medici, and the last morsel they possess within the walls of Rome will be lost."

to fear, Urban again imposed the most rigorous conditions, the ambassadors of the different sovereigns left Rome; and even in unwarlike Italy, preparations were once more set on foot for a trial of the national weapons.

First of all, in May, 1643, the confederate princes invaded the territory of Ferrara. The Duke of Parma laid hands on a couple of fortresses, at Bondeno and Stellata. The Venetians and Modenese joined their might and marched deeper into the land, but the Pope also had meanwhile armed himself with his best skill as aforesaid; he had set 30,000 men on foot, and got 600 horse together, and the Venetians found it advisable to consider a little, before attacking so mighty a force; they drew back, and in a short time it was the troops of the Church that were going forward, they went into the territories of Modena and to Polesine di Rovigo.⁹

The Grand Duke of Tuscany made a demonstration toward entering Perugia, but did not enter. The troops of the Pope even made incursions here and there within the territory of Tuscany.

How extraordinary is the aspect of all these movements! how totally without nerve or spirit on either side! how inefficient, how useless! Let us compare them with the conflicts proceeding at the same point of time in Germany, with the march of the Swedes from the Baltic to the neighborhood of Vienna, and from Moravia even to Jutland! And yet they were not purely Italian; foreigners served on both sides; the majority of the papal troops were Frenchmen, and the confederate army was principally German.

But the Italian war had nevertheless one result of a similar character to those more vigorously conducted; the country was exhausted and the papal treasury more particularly fell into the utmost embarrassment.¹⁰

Many were the expedients resorted to by Urban VIII for procuring the money he required. So early as September, 1642, the bull of Sixtus V was submitted to a new deliberation, and this ended in the resolution to take 500,000 scudi

⁹ Frizzi, "Memorie per la Storia di Ferrara," v. p. 100.

¹⁰ Riccius, "Rerum Italicarum sui temporis narrationes," Narr. xix. p. 590: "The war blazed forth and was great beyond all expectation; but though effectual at the first onset, it afterward

declined; finally it profited neither party, but was pernicious to both, because of the rapine of the soldiery, and the useless efforts being found utterly vain; and the end was that it died away in mutual compliments and concessions."

from the castle.¹ It was obvious that the sum thus appropriated could not go far; the practice was then commenced of taking loans from the remainder of that treasure; that is to say, it was positively resolved that at some future time the money then abstracted should be paid back. We have already seen that personal taxation had been among the means adopted; and this method of raising funds was now frequently repeated. The Pope gave intimation to the conservators of what sums he required, whereupon the inhabitants, foreigners not excepted, were called on to contribute each his quota. But the principal dependence continued to be on the excise and customs. At first they were of such kind as to be but little felt—on bruised corn, for example, the food of poultry; but much heavier imposts soon followed, and these fell on articles of indispensable necessity, as bread and salt, wine, fire-wood.² It was at this time that the taxes made their second great advance, having attained in 1644 to the sum of 2,200,000 scudi. It will now be understood from previous remarks that each new impost or increase of an impost was immediately funded, a *monte* established on it, and then sold. Cardinal Cesi, a former treasurer, computed that in this manner new debts were contracted to the amount of 7,200,000 scudi, although 60,000 scudi still remained of the treasure. The entire expense of the war was stated to the Venetian ambassador in the year 1645 at more than 12,000,000 of scudi.³

The serious consequences to be apprehended from such a system now became daily more obvious; credit was, at length, exhausted, and all resources were gradually failing. Neither did the war proceed altogether as was desired; in a skirmish near Lagoscuro, March 17, 1644, Cardinal Antonio was in imminent danger of being made prisoner, and escaped only

¹ "Deone, 20 Sett. 1642:" "The Pope having caused legists and theologians to consider whether money might not be taken from the treasure in the castle of St. Angelo in conformity with the bull of Sixtus V, on Monday, the 22d of the month, his holiness held a consistory for that affair. . . . It was then resolved to draw 500,000 scudi, by 100,000 scudi at a time, but not until what yet remains in the coffers of the Camera shall be all spent."

² "Deone, 29 Nov. 1642:" "Three new taxes have been imposed; one on salt, in addition to the old one, the second

on wood, and the third on the customs, being seven per cent. on merchandise brought by land, and ten per cent. on all that comes by water. This is raising them one per cent.; and three other taxes are expected to meet the present necessities; one on houses, another on mortgages, and a third on 'casali,' that is to say, farms in the country."

³ "Relatione de quattro Ambasciatori:" "The treasury is found to be notably exhausted, and it has been affirmed by many cardinals that the Barberini spent more than 12,000,000 of gold in the last war." See Appendix, No. 125.

by the fleetness of his horse.⁴ The Pope, feeling himself constantly becoming weaker, was, at length, compelled to think of peace.

The French undertook the task of mediation. The Spaniards had so little influence at the Papal Court, and had besides lost so much of their authority in all other quarters, that on this occasion they were entirely excluded.

At a former period, the Pope had often said that he knew well the purpose of the Venetians was to kill him with vexation, but that they should not succeed, for he should know how to hold out against them. Yet he now saw himself compelled to yield all they demanded, to revoke the sentence of excommunication pronounced against the Duke of Parma, and restore Castro to his possession. Urban had never imagined that he could come to this extremity, and he felt it very deeply.

He was afflicted also from another cause, the renewed fear, namely, that now assailed him, of having favored his nephews unduly; and this he dreaded to find lying heavily on his conscience, when he should stand in the presence of God. He once more called together certain theologians in whom he placed particular confidence. Cardinal Lugo, among others, with Father Lupis, a Jesuit, were summoned to hold a consultation in his presence. The conclusion they came to was that since the nephews of his holiness had made so many enemies, it was perfectly just, nay, even necessary for the honor of the Apostolic See, that they should have the means of maintaining their dignity unimpaired after the decease of the Pope and in defiance of their enemies.⁵

By these afflicting doubts, and with the bitter consciousness of having labored to no purpose, the Pope met the approaches of death. His physician has recorded the fact that at the moment when he was compelled to sign the Peace of Castro he was so completely overcome by distress of mind as to fall into a swoon, and it was then that he was seized by the malady of which he died. He prayed that heaven would avenge him on the godless princes who had forced him into war, and expired on July 29, 1644.

Thus the Papal See had scarcely been forced to retreat from

⁴ Nani, "Storia Veneta," lib. xii. p. 740. tom. viii. See Appendix, No. 120; see also No. 115.

⁵ Nicoletti, "Vita di Papa Urbano,"

the position it had occupied at the central point of European affairs, when it suffered a defeat as regarded those of Italy, and even in the concerns of its own States, exceeding any that had been inflicted on it for a long period.

It is true that Pope Clement VIII had fallen into discord with the Farnesi, and had been obliged, at length, to grant them pardon; but he did so, because he desired to avenge himself on the Spaniards, and required the aid of the remaining Italian princes for that purpose. The position of things at the moment we speak of was very different from this. Urban VIII had put forth his utmost strength to attack the Duke of Parma, but the united forces of Italy had exhausted all the powers he could oppose to them, and compelled him to a disadvantageous peace. It was not to be denied that the papacy had once more sustained a decided defeat.

Section V.—Innocent X

The effect of this position of affairs was made manifest on the assembling of the next conclave.¹ The nephews of Urban VIII brought in eight-and-forty cardinals, creatures of their uncle; so large a faction had never before been seen. Yet it now became evident that they would not be able to secure the elevation of Sacchetti, the man whom they had chosen, the scrutinies daily presenting a more and more unfavorable result. Perceiving this, and to prevent a declared antagonist from obtaining the tiara, Francesco Barberino finally decided for Cardinal Pamfili, who was, at least, one of those created by Urban VIII, although strongly disposed to the party of Spain, and expressly objected to by the French Court. On September 16, 1644, Cardinal Pamfili was elected. He took the name of In-

¹ Again arose the disorders and violence customary during the vacancy of the papal chair. J. Nicii Erythræi, "Epist." lxxviii. "ad Tyrrenum," 3 non. Aug. 1644: "Civitas sine jure est, sine dignitate respublica. Tantus in urbe armatorum numerus cernitur quantum me alias vidisse non memini. Nulla domus est paulo locupletior quæ non militum multorum præsidio muniatur; ac si in unum omnes cogerentur, magnus ex eis exercitus confici posset. Summa in urbe armorum impunitas, summa licentia: passim cædes hominum fiunt; nil ita frequenter auditur quam, hic vel ille notus homo est interfectus." (The

state is without law, the commonwealth without dignity. The number of armed men to be seen in the city is greater than I remember ever to have seen elsewhere. There is no house of any wealth but is furnished with a garrison of many soldiers; so that if all were gathered into one body, a large army might be formed from them. The utmost impunity prevails in the city for these armed bodies, the utmost license. Men are assassinated all over the city, and nothing is more commonly to be heard than that one or the other man of note has been slain.)

nocent X, in memory, as was believed, of Innocent VIII, in whose pontificate his house had come to Rome.

By the elevation of Innocent X the policy of the Roman Court once more received a change.

The confederate princes, more particularly the Medici, to whom the new Pope attributed his election, now obtained influence over that authority, against which they were but lately in arms. The inscription relating to the Venetians, which Urban had effaced, was restored.² Nearly all those elevated in the first promotion that ensued were friends of Spain; a new accession of strength was acquired by the whole Spanish party, which now again held the French, at least in Rome, in equal balance.

The Barberini were the first to feel this revolution of things. It is no longer possible to ascertain how much of all that was laid to their charge was well founded. They were declared to have perverted justice, and to have seized benefices belonging to others; but the chief accusation against them was that of having misappropriated the public money. The Pope resolved to call the nephew of his predecessor to account for the administration of the finances during the war of Castro.³

At first the Barberini believed that they could place themselves in security by means of France, and as Mazarin had risen to his eminent station, in the service, and by the assistance of their house, he did not now let them want support; they affixed the French arms to their palaces, and formally declared themselves under the protection of France. But Pope Innocent affirmed that he was there for the purpose of maintaining justice, and could not neglect to do so even though Bourbon were standing at the gates.

Antonio, who was most deeply endangered, then took flight, departing in October, 1645. Some months later Francesco left the city, as did Taddeo, with his children.

The Pope caused their palaces to be seized, their offices to

² "Relatione de' quattro Ambasciatori, 1645:" "The present pontiff, in the very beginning of his government, has expressed his dissent from the opinion of his predecessor, by public demonstration registered in marble, and has restored its lustre to the glories of your Excellency's ancestors." We see from this how high a tone they took as regarded that matter.

³ "Relatione, delle cose correnti, 25 Maggio, 1646:" "The Barberini, seeing themselves utterly repudiated by the new Pope, began to devise machinations in plenty, which they considered excellent; but the Pope continued to watch carefully, and insisted on having the untreasured treasury satisfied by them."

be distributed to others, and their *luoghi di monte* sequestered. The Roman people applauded him in all these proceedings. On February 20, 1646, an assembly was gathered in the Capitol: it was the most imposing that had been seen within the memory of man, from the number of persons, distinguished by their rank and titles, who took part in it. A proposal was made for entreating the Pope to repeal, at least, that most oppressive of all the taxes imposed by Urban VIII—the tax on flour. But the connections of the Barberini resisted this proposal, in their apprehension lest the debt founded on that impost should be paid out of their property in the event of its being repealed. Donna Anna Colonna, the wife of Taddeo Barberino, caused a memorial to be read, reminding the people of the services Urban VIII had rendered the city, and of his zeal for the administration of justice: she declared it to be unseemly that an appeal should be made against the lawful taxes imposed by a pontiff of such high merit. The resolution was adopted nevertheless: Innocent proceeded to act upon it without delay, and the deficiency thereby occasioned was made good, as had been rightly anticipated, from the possessions of Don Taddeo.⁴

In the meantime, and while the family of the preceding pope was thus violently assailed and persecuted, it became a question, now the most important in every pontificate, by what means the new pontifical house was to establish itself. It is a circumstance of some weight in the general history of the papacy, that this was no longer accomplished by precisely the same method as on earlier occasions, although the scandal caused by the court was in itself much increased and aggravated.

Pope Innocent was under obligations to his sister-in-law, Donna Olympia Maidalchina, of Viterbo; and more particularly on account of the very considerable possessions that she had brought into the house of Pamfili. He accounted it, also, as a high merit in Donna Olympia, that she had refused to form any second alliance after the death of his brother.⁵ His own interest more especially was promoted by this determina-

⁴The passage from the "Diario" of Deone will be found in the Appendix, No. 122.

⁵Bussi, "Storia di Viterbo," p. 331. Donna Olympia was at first much esteemed. The Venetian ambassador of

the year 1645 says of her: "She is a lady of great prudence and worth; she understands the position she holds of sister-in-law to the Pope; she enjoys the esteem and affection of his holiness, and has great influence with him."

tion on her part. The management of the family possessions had been long committed to her care, and it is not therefore surprising if she now obtained influence over the administration of the papacy.

This lady soon acquired a position of the highest importance in the court; it was to her that ambassadors paid their first visit on arriving in Rome. Cardinals placed her portrait in their apartments, as is customary with the portraits of sovereigns, and foreign courts sought to conciliate her favor by presents. As the same path was taken by all who desired to obtain favors from the Curia, riches soon began to flow into her coffers; it was even reported that from all the inferior offices procured by her means she exacted a monthly contribution. In a short time she had established a great household, gave rich festivals and theatrical entertainments, travelled and bought estates. Her daughters were married into the most distinguished and wealthy families; the first to one of the Ludovisi, the second to a son of the Giustiniani. For her son Don Camillo, who was of very mean capacity, she had originally thought it expedient to select the clerical profession, and intended him to assume, at least in externals, the position of cardinal-nephew;⁶ but an opportunity having presented itself for contracting a splendid marriage for him with the richest heiress in Rome, Donna Olympia Aldobrandini, who had been set at liberty by the death of her husband, he returned to the secular condition and entered into that alliance.

By this union Don Camillo was exalted to the highest happiness he could possibly desire; his wife was not only rich, but still in the bloom of life; being graceful and full of intelligence, she supplied his deficiencies by her distinguished qualifications, but she also desired to rule. Between the mother-in-law and her daughter-in-law there was not the peace of a moment, and the house of the Pope was disturbed by the contentions of two women. The newly married pair were at first obliged to depart; but they did not long endure to remain at a distance, and returned to the palace without the Pope's consent; the dissensions of the family then became manifest to all the world. Donna Olympia Moidalchina appeared, for ex-

⁶ All were surprised at this from the first: "I conclude," says Deone, "that this is the work of Donna Olympia, who

has desired to see her son a cardinal, and prefers a son-in-law to a daughter-in-law."

ample, on a certain occasion during the carnival, with a magnificent equipage and splendid train on the Corso; her son and his wife were standing at a window, but when their mother's carriage appeared in sight, they turned and went away. This was remarked by everyone. It became the subject of conversation to all Rome.⁷ The different parties next labored to obtain influence with these dissentient relatives.

The character and disposition of Pope Innocent were unfortunately better fitted for promoting and exasperating disputes of this kind than for appeasing them.

Not that he was by any means a man of common qualities. In his earlier career, while attached to the Rota, in his office of nuncio, or as cardinal, he had proved himself to be diligent in action, blameless of life, and upright in principle; this reputation he still maintained. His industry was thought the more extraordinary, from the fact that he had completed his seventy-second year at the period of his election. It was, nevertheless, boastingly remarked that "labor does not weary him; after long exertion he is as fresh as he was before; he finds pleasure in conversing with those who seek him, and permits each person to say all that he desires to say." The cheerful temper and affable manners of Innocent presented a striking contrast to the proud reserve of Urban VIII. He made it his particular concern to maintain peace and good order in Rome, and was ambitious of establishing security of property, and insuring the safety of all his subjects by night as well as by day. No injustice or oppression from the superior to the inferior, no injury of the weak by the powerful, was tolerated during the pontificate of Innocent X.⁸

He also compelled the barons to pay their debts. The Duke of Parma had not yet satisfied his creditors, so that the Pope could not appear in Rome without having himself implored aloud to procure justice for the Montists; as there was, moreover, cause to believe that the Bishop of Castro had lost his

⁷ "Diario Deone." At another time he relates as follows: "Mercoledì la tarda (Ag. 1648):" "On Wednesday, in the afternoon [August, 1648], the Signora Olympia, with both her daughters, and a numerous train, passed along the Corso; everyone supposed that she was going to visit her daughter-in-law, but she passed before the house without looking at it."

⁸ "Relatione di Contarini, 1648:" "He thinks only of securing the tranquillity of the Ecclesiastical States, and more particularly of Rome; so that every man may be at liberty to enjoy his possessions, and be equally safe by night as by day; nor will he permit the superior classes to oppress those beneath them."

life at the instigation of the duke's government, it was at length resolved to take decisive steps in his affairs also. The domains of the Farnesi were once more exposed to sale; solicitors and civil practitioners proceeded to Castro and took possession of the town in the name of the Montists.⁹ The duke again opposed resistance, and made a second attempt to penetrate into the States of the Church, but this time he found no auxiliaries. Innocent X was not feared by the Italian princes as Urban had been; he was rather, as we have seen, their ally; Castro was taken, its defences were demolished, and the duke was compelled to resign that district to the administration of the papal treasury, which undertook to satisfy his creditors; he even assented to the decision which adjudged him to forfeit the whole domain if he failed to redeem the *monti* Farnesi within eight years. The capital amounted to about 1,700,000 scudi, the accumulated interest to 400,000 scudi. The duke seemed in no condition to raise so large a sum; the agreement, which was moreover again effected by Spanish mediation, was nearly equivalent to a forced renunciation, and did but escape it in name.

In all these transactions, Pope Innocent displays energy, prudence, and determination; but he labored under one defect which made it difficult to preserve a good understanding with him, and which rendered his life bitter even to himself; he reposed unvarying confidence in no one; good-will and displeasure alternated with him according to the impression of the moment.

This was experienced, among others, by the datary, Cecchini; after he had long enjoyed the papal favor, this officer suddenly found himself suspected, attacked, reproached, and finally superseded by his subordinate, that Mascambruno who was afterward convicted of the most extraordinary forgeries.¹⁰

But perplexities of a still more painful character existed in the papal family itself, which was already sufficiently divided.

⁹ "Diario Deone, 16 Giugno, 1649:" "The Pope is fully determined as regards this matter, and said to me, 'We cannot pass through the streets of Rome, but we are instantly called after to the intent that we should make the Duke of Parma pay what is due from him: he has not paid for seven years; yet on this income depends the living of many widows, orphans, and pious in-

stitutions.' It is obvious that the Pope's motives were not reprehensible.

¹⁰ "Vita del Cl. Cecchini, scritta da lui medesimo." "Scrittura contro Monsr. Mascambruno, con laquale s' intende che s' instruisca il processo che contro il medesimo si va fabricando;" with the still more circumstantial report, "Pro R. P. D. Mascambruno," MS. Appendix, No. 121.

After the marriage of Don Camillo Pamfili, Innocent X had no longer a nephew of the clerical order, a personage who had for a long time formed an essential part of the Papal Court and household. He once felt himself moved to take particular interest in a distant kinsman of his house who had been presented to him, and resolved to confer on this young man, Don Camillo Astalli, the dignity of cardinal-nephew. He took him into his household, gave him apartments in the palace, and intrusted him with a share in the business of the State. This elevation he caused to be publicly proclaimed by the firing of cannon from the castle St. Angelo, and by other solemnities.

Yet nothing resulted from that arrangement but new misunderstandings and vexations.

The remainder of the papal family complained of being placed in the background; even the cardinals previously nominated by Innocent X were dissatisfied on perceiving a newcomer preferred to themselves;¹ but above all other persons, Donna Olympia Maidalchina was displeased; she had commended the young Astalli, and had proposed his elevation to the cardinalate, but she had by no means expected that his favor would go so far.

In the first place, she was herself sent away. The secular nephew and his wife, who was declared by a contemporary to be "as greatly exalted above ordinary women as he was sunk beneath the level of ordinary men," gained access to the palace.

But the nearly related secular nephew did not long maintain his friendly relations with the adopted ecclesiastical nephew; the elder Olympia was recalled to keep the house in order.

In a very short time she had recovered all her accustomed influence.²

In one of the apartments of the Villa Pamfili stand the busts of the Pope and his sister-in-law; when these are compared—when the features of the woman, full of intelligence and firm decision, are considered, together with the mild and

¹ "Diario Deone, 10 Sett. 1650:" "The rumors of the court say that the Pope has lost the benefits conferred on all his creatures, who are offended by his preference of a youth without experience, to them all, which shows that he does not trust them, or thinks them unfit for the charge." Much is said of this in a

paper entitled, "Osservazioni sopra la futura elezione, 1652:" "I believe that this is merely a caprice, . . . the Pope scarcely knowing Monsr. Astalli."
² "Vita di Papa Alessandro VII.:" "The crafty old woman has mounted in a short time from the extremity of disgrace to the height of favor."

inexpressive countenance of the Pope, it becomes at once obvious that his being governed by his sister-in-law was not only possible but inevitable.

After she had regained admission to the palace, she too refused to suffer that the advantages consequent on the position of a nephew should be imparted to any other house than her own. Since Astalli would not divide his authority with her as she desired, she did not rest until he had lost the favor of the Pope, was cast down from his eminence and sent from the palace, nor until she had herself recovered her undivided rule, and reigned absolute mistress in the house. On the other hand, won over by gifts, she now formed an intimate connection with the Barberini, who had meanwhile returned to Rome.

How grievously must all these changes from disgrace to favor, and from favor to disgrace, with the continual dissensions among those most immediately connected with him, have oppressed and disturbed the poor old Pope. Nor can the inward longings of the spirit be stilled by the declared rupture that may seem to re-establish quiet; the affections that should have consoled and gladdened his age were turned into sources of grief and distress. The aged pontiff now felt moreover that he was made the instrument for gratifying a womanly desire for authority and love of gain; he disapproved and was rendered unhappy by this state of things; gladly would he have brought it to an end, but he had not the energy and resolution required, nor did he indeed know how to do without his sister-in-law. His pontificate, which ought to have been numbered among the more fortunate, since it passed without any remarkable disaster, yet acquired an evil reputation from these irregularities in the family and the palace. Innocent was himself rendered even more capricious, self-willed, and burdensome to himself than he had been made by nature.³

To the last days of his life we find him occupied in despoiling and inflicting new banishments on his other relations, and in this comfortless state of things he died, January 5, 1655.

³ Pallavicini: "In the midst of splendid appointments a fetid and loathsome object . . . he broke into various exclamations with a sort of frenzy. . . . Not a little feared, but by no means loved, he had some success and

credit in his public affairs, but was most inglorious and wretched from the continually recurring scenes either of tragedy or comedy in his domestic life." See Appendix, Nos. 129, 130.

The corpse lay three days before anyone of those connected with him, on whom by the usage of the court the duty of interment devolved, had given a thought to the care of it. Donna Olympia declared that she was a poor widow, and that it was beyond her powers; no other person considered himself under any obligation to the deceased pontiff. Finally, a canon, who had once been in the papal service, but had been long dismissed, expended half a scudi, and caused the last honors to be rendered to his late master.

But we are not to suppose that these domestic contentions were merely personal in their ultimate consequences.

It is evident that the governing power of the nephews, which had exercised so complete an authority in the State, and so powerful an influence on the Church during previous pontificates, after receiving a severe shock in the latter years of Urban VIII, was now giving but slight intimations of existence and approached its fall.

Section VI.—Alexander VII and Clement IX

The succeeding conclave immediately presented an unaccustomed appearance.

The nephews of the deceased pontiff had hitherto presented themselves, with a numerous band of devoted adherents, to dominate the new election. Innocent X left no nephew who could hold the cardinals of his creation together, or unite them into a faction. None owed their elevation to Astalli, who had conducted the helm of state for a short time only, and had exercised no prevailing influence, nor did any of them feel bound to his interests. For the first time, during many centuries, the new cardinals entered the conclave with unlimited freedom of choice. They were recommended to unite of their own accord under one head, and are reported to have replied that everyone of them had a head and feet of his own; they were for the most part men of distinguished character and independent modes of thinking, united certainly among themselves (they were designated the flying squadron—*squadronne volante*),¹ but who would no longer be guided by

¹ Pallavicini names the following as confederates: Imperiale, Omodei, Borromei, Odescalco, Pio, Aquaviva, Otto-

buono, Albizi, Gualtieri, and Azzolino. The name of Squadronne was given them by the Spanish ambassador.

the will of a nephew, and had resolved to act upon their own convictions and judgment.

While Innocent X yet lay on his death-bed, one of this "squadron," Cardinal Ottobuono, is said to have exclaimed, "This time we must seek an honest man." "If you want an honest man," replied another of the party, Cardinal Azzolino, "there stands one"—he pointed to Cardinal Chigi.² And Chigi had not only obtained the reputation of being an able man of upright intentions, but was particularly distinguished as an opponent of the abuses involved in the forms of government hitherto prevailing. But the friends he had secured were confronted by very powerful antagonists, more especially among the French. When Mazarin, driven out of France by the troubles of the Fronde, was making preparations on the German frontier, to replace himself, by force of arms, in possession of his lost power, his efforts had not been promoted by Chigi—who was then nuncio at Cologne—so effectively as he thought himself entitled to expect; from that time, therefore, Mazarin had entertained a personal animosity to Chigi. It followed from this circumstance that the election cost much labor, its conflicts were once more protracted to a very great length; finally, however, the new members of the conclave, the *squadronisti*, carried their point. On April 7, 1655, Fabio Chigi was elected. He took the name of Alexander VII.

The new pontiff was compelled, by the very principle which had suggested his elevation, to conduct his government on a system wholly different from that adopted by his more immediate predecessors; he seemed also to have determined on doing this.

For a certain period of time he would not permit his nephews to visit Rome, and boasted that he had not suffered one penny to be turned to their advantage. His confessor, Pallavicini, who was then writing the history of the Council of Trent, at once inserted a passage in his work, predicting everlasting fame to Alexander VII; and more particularly on account of this self-denial with regard to his family.³

² "If you want a man of integrity, there is one, and he pointed to Cardinal Chigi, who stood at a distance, although in the same room."—Pallavicini.

³ In his Latin biography of Alexander

VII he says: "The people, who, because of the many taxes, seemed to bear on their shoulders the families of the late pontiffs, which were laden with so much wealth, did wonderfully ap-

But it must always be a difficult thing to abandon a custom once firmly established, and the rather because it never could have gained prevalence without possessing in itself some quality that was commendable—some natural claim to existence. There are persons in every court who are always prepared to put this better aspect of a custom in the most favorable light, and who delight to cling firmly to ancient usage, however clearly obvious its abuses may be.

It was thus gradually intimated to Alexander VII, first by one, and then by another, of those surrounding him, that it was not seemly to permit the papal kinsmen to remain in the rank of private citizens in some remote town; nay, that it was, in fact, impossible, for that the people of Sienna were not to be restrained from paying princely honors to his house, whereby the Holy See might readily become involved in misunderstandings with Tuscany. There were other advisers who, not content with confirming these remarks, added further, that the pontiff would give a still better example if he received his connections at the court, and proved that he could hold them in proper restraint, than if he kept them altogether at a distance. But the most effectual impression was unquestionably produced by Oliva, the rector of the Jesuits' college, who directly declared that the Pope would be guilty of a sin if he did not summon his nephews to his side. He maintained that the foreign ambassadors never would have so much confidence in a mere minister as in a near relation of the Pope; that the holy father, being thus less perfectly supplied with intelligence, would have fewer facilities for the due administration of his office.⁴

It scarcely required so many arguments to persuade the Pope into a course toward which he could not but feel inclined. On April 24, 1656, he proposed in the Consistory the

plaud the magnanimity of Alexander VII. . . . It was an inexpressible detriment to the Holy See that benefits were so unequally distributed, and a perpetual burthen on the people."—"Relatione de' IV. Ambasciatori, 1655." "The self-denial with which his holiness has hitherto armed himself is heroic, excluding his brother, nephews, and all who boast relationship to him, from access to Rome; and this parsimony of favor toward his family is the more meritorious, because it is not

forced on him by persuasions, but is the result of his own free choice." See Appendix, Nos. 130, 132, and 135.

⁴"Scritture politiche," etc.: "One day Oliva took occasion to say to Father Luti [Father Luti had been brought up with the Pope, paid him frequent visits, and desired that the nephews should be invited], that the Pope was bound, under penalty of mortal sin, to call his nephews to Rome." He then gave his reasons as above cited.

question, whether it seemed good to the cardinals, his brethren, that he should employ his kinsmen in the service of the Papal See. No one ventured to speak against the measure, and they very soon arrived.⁵ The brother of the Pope, Don Marco, obtained the most lucrative appointments, as the superintendence of the regulations respecting corn (*annona*), and the administration of justice in the Borgo. His son Flavio was declared Cardinal Padrone, and was soon in possession of ecclesiastical revenues to the amount of 100,000 scudi. Another brother of the pontiff, who had been an object of particular affection to his holiness, was no longer living; but his son, Agostino, was chosen to become the founder of a family. The richest possessions were gradually conferred on him, as for example, the incomparable Ariccia, the principality of Farnese, the palace in the Piazza Colonna, and many *luoghi di monte*; he was, besides, married to a Borghese.⁶ The favors of the pontiff were indeed at length extended to more remote connections also; among others, to the Commendatore Bichi, who occasionally appears in the Candian war, and even to the Siennese in general. Things might thus have seemed to be returning entirely to their earlier condition; but this was, nevertheless, not the case.

Flavio Chigi was far from possessing an authority equal to that of Pietro Aldobrandino, or Scipione Cafarelli, or Francesco Barberino, nor did he even seek to obtain it. The exercise of power had no charms for him; he rather felt disposed to envy his secular cousin, Agostino, to whom the essential enjoyments of life had been awarded with but little toil or pains on his part.

Nay, Alexander VII himself no longer ruled with an authority approaching to the absolute and unlimited power of his predecessors.

⁵ Pallavicini: "In the first days after that event, the advisers of Alexander could not appear in public without subjecting themselves to bitter taunts." See Appendix, No. 132.

⁶ "Vita di Alessandro VII., 1666:" "The principality of Farnese, which is worth 100,000 scudi; La Riccia, which cost as much more; the palace in the Piazza Colonna, which will amount, when finished, to 100,000 scudi, make up a very fair endowment for Don Agostino; add to this, *luoghi di monte*

and other offices bought for him, and there will be more than half a million of fixed property showered on one sole head, to say nothing of 25,000 scudi annual revenue enjoyed by the Commendatore Bichi, or of a good 100,000, or more, that go yearly into the purse of Cardinal Chigi." These are obviously such calculations as might be made in the current talk of the day, and to which no higher value must be attributed. See Appendix, Nos. 130 and 135.

Even during the pontificate of Urban VIII a *congregazione di stato* had been established, the office of which was, after due deliberation, to decide on the most important questions affecting the general affairs of the State; but its effect was not at that time of any great moment. Under Innocent X it obtained much higher importance. Pancirolo, secretary of that congregation, the first distinguished man who held that appointment, and by whom the foundation of its subsequent credit was laid, retained to his death the largest share in the government of Innocent X, and to his influence it was attributed that no nephew could obtain firm possession of power during that pontificate. Chigi himself was for some time invested with that dignity; it was now enjoyed by Cardinal Rospigliosi, in whose hands was vested the entire administration of foreign affairs. Next to him was Cardinal Corrado of Ferrara, who was of high authority in all matters pertaining to ecclesiastical immunities. The direction of the monastic orders was intrusted to Monsignore Fugnano, and theological questions were decided by Cardinal Pallavicini. The congregations, which had possessed but little weight under earlier popes, now again acquired consideration and independent efficiency. The opinion was already expressed and defended, that the Pope had the power of absolute and unfettered decision in spiritual affairs only; in all temporal matters, on the contrary—as for example, the declaration of war, the conclusion of peace, the alienation of territory, or the imposition of taxes—he was bound to ask counsel from the cardinals,⁷ and, in fact, Pope Alexander took but little active part in the administration of the State. For two months at a time he would go to Castelgandolfo, where all business was studiously avoided; when he was in Rome, the afternoons were devoted to literature. Authors then presented themselves before the pontiff, they read their works aloud, and it was a favorite occupation of Alexander to suggest improvements. Even in the mornings it was difficult to obtain audience of him for actual business. “I served,” says Giacomo Quirini, “during forty-two months with Pope Alexander, and I perceived that he had merely the name of pope, not the command of the papacy.

⁷ Giac. Quirini: “The cardinals, and particularly Cardinal Albicci, held the opinion that a pontiff might dispose of indulgences; but that for peace or war,

alienation of lands or imposition of taxes, he ought to have recourse to cardinals.” See Appendix, No. 136.

Of those qualities by which he had been distinguished while cardinal, vivacity of intellect, power of discrimination, decision in difficult cases, and facility of expression, not a trace could be found; business was entirely set aside. He thought only of passing his life in undisturbed repose of mind.⁸

Alexander was himself occasionally conscious of the lapse of power from his hands, and disapproved it; when his understanding failed, he would attribute the blame to the interested conduct of the cardinals; he was heard to speak of it even in the delirium that preceded his death.

But since this was but the natural result of the course of things, so the same spirit continued to prevail.

Those cardinals of the "Squadron," who had most powerfully contributed to the election of Alexander VII, and had possessed great influence through his whole administration, gave the decisive voice in the conclave succeeding his death; but with this difference, that they had now a better understanding with France. On June 20th, Rospigliosi, previously Secretary of State, was raised to the papal throne under the name of Clement IX.⁹

All voices united to declare that the new pontiff was the best and kindest man that could possibly be found. It is true that he was not so active as well-intentioned: he was compared to a tree, perfect in its branches, full of leaf, and perhaps producing blossoms, but bearing no fruit. All those moral qualities that consist in the absence of faults—purity of life, diffidence, and moderation—he possessed in an eminent degree. He was the first pope who really kept within due bounds in the promotion of his kindred. They were not directly kept at a distance; on the contrary, they were suffered to occupy the accustomed position, and even founded a new family; but this happened only because an opportunity presented itself for the marriage of a young Rospigliosi with a Pallavicina of Genoa, a very rich heiress. The advantages they obtained from their uncle were very moderate; they did not appropriate the

⁸ "That head having devoted itself to the quiet of the soul, to a life of pure thought, with fixed determination renounced all kinds of business."

⁹ Quirini: "By the contrivances of the 'Volanti,' who certainly had the merits of the present election, it happened that Chigi, unadvisedly and with-

out regard to time or order, declared in the Sala Regia, when about to enter the chapel for the scrutiny, that he consented to the nomination of Rospigliosi. . . . Even before the adoration Ottoboni was declared prodatario, and Azolini, Secretary of State." See Appendix, No. 136.

public property, with the exception of some *luoghi di monte* that were given to them; nor did they divide the management of public affairs and the power of government among themselves.

Here, then, we perceive the most important change.

Hitherto, on every new accession to the throne, the whole, or in any case the greater part, of the State officials were changed: the character and proceedings of the court were regulated accordingly. Clement IX abolished this custom; he would have no one dissatisfied; he confirmed the appointments of all whom he found in office, with the exception of a few among the highest places, and in these he placed cardinals such as Ottobuono and Azzolini—members of the "Squadrone," men who had decided the last elections, and were, besides, of great weight.¹⁰ He was far from persecuting the relatives of previous popes, as had been usual during so many pontificates. The recommendations of Flavio Chigi availed but little less with him than with Alexander; favors were still bestowed through his hands: all things remained as they had been at the death of Alexander VII.

The countrymen of Clement, the people of Pistoja, found themselves grievously disappointed. They had been calculating on favors similar to those that had just been conferred on so many of the Siennese. We find it reported, that all the men of Pistoja then in Rome were perceived to assume a certain air of consequence, and began to swear by the word of a nobleman; how bitter, then, was their astonishment, when they found that the places they had hoped for were not even vacated, much less bestowed upon themselves.

It is true that Clement IX did not omit to distribute the bounty with which it had been customary for the popes to signalize their accession to the throne; he even carried his liberality to an unwonted length, bestowing more than six hundred thousand scudi during the first month of his pontificate. But this sum was not given to his countrymen, nor even to his family: observations were in fact made to his kinsmen

¹⁰ Grimani, "Relatione:" "His courtiers are dissatisfied, because he has not displaced the ministers and officials, as was the practice of other pontiffs." This was blamed, because it would leave his kindred without due support

after his death: "Those who have received their places from Alexander VII, though indebted to Clement for not removing them, will yet repay their obligation to the heirs of Alexander." See Appendix, No. 138.

on the neglect he displayed as regarded their interests.¹ It was divided among the cardinals, and the leading members of the Curia in general. Reports immediately prevailed to the effect that this was the result of stipulations made in the conclave, but no distinct trace of any such thing can be discovered.

This proceeding was rather in accordance with the general modification which had taken place during this period in almost every part of Europe.

There has never been a time more favorable to the aristocracy than the middle of the seventeenth century, when, throughout the whole extent of the Spanish monarchy, that power which preceding kings had withdrawn from the high nobility, had again fallen into their hands; when the constitution of England acquired, amid the most perilous conflicts and struggles, that aristocratic character which it retains even to our own times; when the French Parliaments persuaded themselves that they could perform a part similar to that taken by the English houses; when the nobility acquired a decided predominance through all the German territories—one here and there excepted, where some courageous prince overpowered all efforts for independence; when the Estates of Sweden attempted to impose insufferable restraints on the sovereign authority, and the Polish nobility attained to unfettered self-government (Autonomic). The same spirit was now becoming prevalent in Rome; a numerous, powerful, and wealthy aristocracy surrounded the papal throne; the families already established imposed restraints on those that were but newly rising; from the self-reliance and authoritative boldness of monarchy, the ecclesiastical sovereignty was passing to the deliberation, sobriety, and measured calmness of aristocratic government.

Under these circumstances, the court assumed an altered form; in that continuous influx of strangers, who had hitherto sought their advancement in Rome, in that unceasing whirl and succession of new adventurers, there ensued a remarkable calm; a fixed population had now been formed, which received accessions more rarely, and less extensively. We will here cast a glance on this population.

¹“ Calling their attention to the fact, that with this profusion of gold and silver, a long chain was being formed to

keep their house in a state of poverty.”
—Quirini.

Section VII.—Elements of the Roman Population

Let us begin with those higher classes of whom we have just been making mention.

Among them there still flourished those old and long-renowned Roman races, the Savelli, Conti, Orsini, Colonna, and Gaetani. The Savelli yet retained their ancient jurisdiction of the Corte Savella, with the privilege of saving one criminal in every year from the punishment of death;¹ the ladies of that house maintained their immemorial custom of never leaving their palaces, or doing so only in a carefully closed carriage. The Conti prided themselves in the portraits of popes issuing from their family, that adorned their halls. The Gaetani recalled, with complacency, their connection with Boniface VIII, whose spirit, as they believed, and as others also were inclined to concede, still rested on their house. The Colonna and Orsini made it their boast, that for centuries no peace had been concluded between the princes of Christendom, in which they had not been included by name.² But however powerful these houses may have been in earlier times, they certainly owed their importance in those now before us to their connection with the Curia and the popes. The Orsini, although possessing the most noble domains, from which they ought to have derived a revenue of 80,000 scudi, were yet greatly impoverished by an ill-considered liberality, and required the assistance afforded by ecclesiastical offices. The contestabile, Don Filippo Colonna, had been enabled to restore order to his financial affairs, only by the permission he had obtained from Urban VIII to reduce the rate of interest on his debts, and by the ecclesiastical benefices conferred on four of his sons.³

For it was a custom long established, that the families newly rising should enter into the direct connection with those ancient princely houses.

¹ "Discorso del dominio temporale e spirituale del Sommo Pontefice, 1664."

² "Descrittione delle famiglie nobili Romano," MS., in Library of St. Mark, vi. 237 and 234.

³ Almaden, "Relatione di Roma:" "The eldest son is Don Frederico, Prince of Botero; the second is Dōn Girolamo, the delight of his father's heart, and deservedly so, for he is a

nobleman full of all goodness; the third is Don Carlo, who, after various military services in Flanders and Germany, became a monk and abbot; the fourth is Don Marc Antonio, married in Sicily; the fifth Don Prospero, commendator of St. Giovanni; the sixth Don Pietro, a secular abbot, lame in person, but he labors all the more by his intellect and mind." See Appendix, No. 123.

CHOICE EXAMPLES OF PALEOGRAPHY.

Fac-similes from Rare and Curious Manuscripts of the
Middle Ages.

PAGE FROM A FRENCH PICTORIAL BIBLE.

Manuscript of the end of the Thirteenth Century.

This curious and artistic page is taken from a Bible written and drawn about 1290. The figures and designs were first drawn in, and the allegories at the side, which accompany each design or set of figures, were written to explain the meaning of the picture. Thus, the pictures really represent the text, and the manuscript is in the nature of an elucidation or commentary upon it.

Iterum ibi est
 in quodam cas
 tellum et multi er
 quibus in archa
 name accepit illu
 mendum suum. 7
 ayana foror eius
 sedens fecit pedes
 ihesu audiebat uer
 bum illius. qvada
 succen frangebat
 cura frequens mi
 nisterium. 7 cetera



Retha actus
 nam obtem
 perantes si gaudet
 homi ergo pfecta
 in benedictio solenn
 dem ecclesie con
 queruntur quob
 religiosi non lab
 rime cura et pro
 gressu a ecclesie
 quibus uideret
 quomodo pro relig
 ois respondee quod
 si pntem forent
 uem elegerunt.



Auribus p
 ara. ut apit
 rebus alientes
 operunt uelle
 spicas et mandu
 cant.



Sen sit audi
 oces que doc
 ces rignem
 cum solitate mis
 cant quomodo u
 namque ut ne
 trahere possunt
 quorum saluam
 eliamur. Spicas
 uellunt. dum sin
 gulos homines a
 reuam nunc op
 ne recantur. fr
 cant d. m. qm
 ples uirtutum a
 conapudemat
 mentel et uant
 grana comedite
 dum in corpusec
 et sic se tra mact



Quam uisitat ille
 ne subat in sp
 wip agam coz. ace
 homo in manu ha
 bens archam et me
 bomini. Exceit ma
 tum eam. 7 exce
 dit. Et rediit in
 san tana.



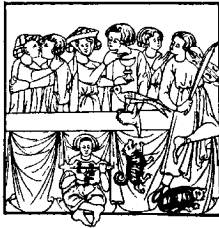
Homo tite signifi
 cat adam. qui
 animalium sumus a po
 mti iustitiam green
 dit. ad manum exten
 dere potest signifi
 car qd dicit ipse ma
 ni suam quam de
 carne adam suscep
 erit in cruce uident
 ce si sumam nun ge
 nus sumus. 7 et ho
 mo ut a uobis sig
 nificet. et qui curam
 desiderat. aditus su
 as excedunt ad op
 ra in terra cordie.



De nachalis he
 odus mtraur
 um herodias. et
 placuit herodi sim
 p d. am b. entibus.
 ynde cum uisamen
 topollentis est ei da
 re quemq; posu
 is ste ab eo. et d
 m. d. m. u. m. su.
 et illa p. om. et a
 uare sua. 7a michi
 inquit si d. m. cap
 to h. m. u. b. p. a. d.



Ces factus iste in
 gano salentur
 p. d. d. m. u. p. p. p. p.
 rem mun d. si g. m. f.
 ene que sp. i. p. e. r. t. a.
 m. s. u. b. i. e. r. t.



Under Innocent X, there existed for a considerable time, as it were, two great factions, or associations of families. The Orsini, Cesarini, Borghesi, Aldobrandini, Ludovisi, and Giustiniani were with the Pamfili; while opposed to them, was the house of Colonna and the Barberini. By the reconciliation of Donna Olympia with the Barberini, the union became general, and comprised all the families of name.

And even in this circle of families we now perceive a decided change. In earlier times, the pontifical house had always taken a highly predominant part, oppressing their predecessors, and casting them into the shade, by the acquisition of superior wealth. This was now no longer possible, partly because the older houses had become too rich, either by continual intermarriages or by good management, but chiefly because the papal treasury had been gradually exhausted. The Chigi could no longer venture to aspire at surpassing their predecessors; the Rospigliosi did not even wish to do so—they considered it quite sufficient if they could attain to being received among them.

All social communities are portrayed, or reflected, so to speak, in some intellectual product, some peculiarity of usage, some point of manner; the most remarkable product of this Roman community, and its mode of life and intercourse, was the ceremonial of the court. At no time have the forms of etiquette and ceremony been more rigorously insisted on than at the period we now treat of—a fact in harmony with the aristocratic tendencies universally prevailing. The perfection of order to which all ceremony was elaborated in Rome, may have proceeded from the claim advanced by this court to take precedence of all others, a claim it thus sought to intimate in certain external forms,⁴ or perhaps in part also from the circumstance that the ambassadors of France and Spain had there contended for precedency from time immemorial. There were, besides, continual disputes in regard to rank, between the ambassadors and the higher officials of the Roman Court—the governatore, for example, or between the cardinals who had seats in the Rota and those who had none; as also between a variety of other corporate bodies of officials, and between the different races—

⁴ These attempts are complained of by the French ambassador Bethune, among

others, February 23, 1627. In Siri, "Memorie rec." vi. p. 262.

the Orsini and Colonna, for example. Sixtus V had vainly sought to amend this evil in the case of these two houses, by deciding that the eldest of either house should take precedence: when this was a Colonna, the Orsini did not appear; when it was an Orsino, the Colonna were not to be seen; and even to these families, the Conti and Savelli resigned the precedence with infinite reluctance, and only under perpetual protest. Distinctions of rank were marked with minute precision; when the kinsmen of the pontiff entered the papal apartments, for example, the two leaves of the folding-doors were thrown open; other barons or cardinals were compelled to content themselves with one. A singular manner of denoting respect had been introduced—a man stopped his carriage on meeting the equipage of a superior or patron. The Marchese Mattei was said to be the first who adopted this mode of doing honor, by paying it to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese; that cardinal then stopped his carriage also, and they exchanged a few words.⁵ The example was soon followed by others; ambassadors received this mark of respect from their countrymen; the usage became universal, and in despite of its excessive inconvenience, it was soon considered an universal duty. It is precisely to things the most insignificant that self-love clings most fondly, and each excuses himself, by affirming that he must not act in prejudice to the rights of his connections, and those of a similar rank to his own.

We will now proceed a step lower in the social scale.

In the middle of the seventeenth century there were computed to be fifty noble families in Rome of three hundred years' standing, thirty-five of two hundred, and sixteen of one hundred years. None were permitted to claim a more ancient descent, or were generally traced to an obscure, or even a low origin.⁶ The greater part of them had originally settled in the Campagna, but they had unhappily suffered themselves, as we before related, to be led into selling the principal portion of their estates to the pontifical houses, and had then invested the proceeds in the papal *monti*. This appeared, at

⁵ In the Barberini Library I saw a special treatise on this subject: "Concerning the stopping of coaches by way of compliment, and how that custom was brought in."

⁶ Almaden: "The greater part of the families now considered noble in Rome

came from very base beginnings, not only from a notary or apothecary, which might be endurable, but even from the ill-odored art of tanning leather. Although I know the origin of all particularly, yet I do not write it, that I may not offend any."

first, to secure them no inconsiderable advantage; the papal families paid very high prices, frequently more than the value, while the interest of the *luoghi di monte*, drawn without need for exertion, produced a better revenue than could be derived from the most industrious cultivation of the land. But they were soon made to feel that their real estates had been transformed into a most fluctuating, nay, perishable capital. Alexander VII saw himself compelled to a reduction of the *monti*. Credit was shaken by this proceeding, and the value of the *luoghi* became grievously depressed. There was no family that escaped loss by this measure.

But by the side of the old families there rose up various new ones. All the cardinals and prelates of the Curia proceeded according to the Pope's example, and each in proportion to his means employed the surplus of his ecclesiastical revenue for the aggrandizement of his kindred, the foundation of a new family. There were others which had attained to eminence by judicial appointments, and many were indebted for their elevation to being employed as bankers in the affairs of the Dataria. Fifteen families of Florence, eleven from Genoa, nine Portuguese, and four French, are enumerated as having risen to more or less consideration by these means, according to their good fortune or talents; some of them, whose reputation no longer depended on the affairs of the day, became monarchs of gold; as for example, the Guicciardini and Doni, who connected themselves, under Urban VIII, with the Giustiniani, Primi, and Pallavicini.⁷ But even, without affairs of this kind, families of consideration were constantly repairing to Rome, not only from Urbino, Rieti, and Bologna, but also from Parma and Florence. The establishment of the *monti* and salable offices contributed to invite many to the capital. The *luoghi di monte*, more particularly, were for a long time greatly sought for, especially the *vacabili*, which were a kind of life annuity, and therefore paid ten and a half per cent., but could, nevertheless, be most commonly transferred from older to younger persons; or even in cases where this was not done, were directly inherited, the Curia giving its sanction to this

⁷ Almaden: "They have not yet passed the second generation of Roman citizenship . . . having come from Florence or Genoa about money trans-

actions . . . such families often die in their cradles." See Appendix, No. 123.

practice without difficulty. Nor was it otherwise in regard to the salable offices. At the death of the holder they ought to have reverted to the treasury; therefore it was that the income they produced bore so high a proportion to the capital originally paid. Yet they were in fact real and simple annuities, since the holder had rarely any official duties to perform; but even when he had such duties, a transfer could usually be effected without any great difficulty. There were many offices that had never been vacated during an entire century.

The union of the public officials and montists into colleges, invested them with a sort of representative importance, and although their rights gradually became subject to grave diminutions, they nevertheless always maintained an independent position. The aristocratic principle, so remarkably mingled with the system of credit and public debt which pervaded the whole State, was also favorable to these associations. Indeed foreigners sometimes found them exceedingly overbearing.

Around these numerous families, so largely endowed, continually pressing forward, ever becoming more firmly established, and to whose profit came the greater part of the revenues of the Church, the lower classes fixed themselves in constantly increasing numbers and a more settled position.

Returns of the Roman population are still extant, and by a comparison of the different years, we find a most remarkable result exhibited, as regards the manner in which that population was formed. Not that its increase was upon the whole particularly rapid, this we are not authorized to assert. In the year 1600 the inhabitants were about 110,000; fifty-six years afterward they were somewhat above 120,000, an advance by no means extraordinary; but another circumstance here presents itself which deserves attention. At an earlier period, the population of Rome had been constantly fluctuating. Under Paul IV it had decreased from 80,000 to 50,000; in a score or two of years it had again advanced to more than 100,000. And this resulted from the fact that the court was then formed principally of unmarried men, who had no permanent abode there. But, at the time we are considering, the population became fixed into settled families. This began to be the case toward the end of the sixteenth century, but took place

more particularly during the first half of the seventeenth. The inhabitants of Rome numbered in the year

Date	Inhabitants	Families
1600	109,729	20,019
1614	115,643	21,422
1619	106,050	24,380
1628	115,374	24,429
1644	110,608	27,279
1653	118,882	29,081
1656	120,596	30,103 ⁸

We perceive that the number of the inhabitants in some years exhibits a decrease, while that of the families, on the contrary, advances without interruption. During the fifty-six years we have examined, they had gained upward of 10,000; a fact the more remarkable, because the total increase of the population is not more than the same number. The crowd of unmarried men, merely coming and going, became less numerous; the mass of the population, on the contrary, acquired a stationary character. The proportion has continued the same to the present time, with the exception of slight variations, arising from the prevalence of disease at one time, and the natural tendency of population to repair the losses thus occasioned.

After the return of the popes from Avignon, and on the close of the schism, the city, which had seemed on the point of sinking into a mere village, extended itself around the Curia. But it was not until the papal families had risen to power and riches—until neither internal discords nor external enemies were any longer to be feared, and the incomes drawn from the revenues of the Church or State secured a life of enjoyment without the necessity for labor, that a numerous permanent population arose in the city. Its prosperity and possessions were always dependent on the importance of the Church and the Court, from which all wealth proceeded, whether by direct gifts or by other advantages more indirectly bestowed. All were, in fact, merely upstarts, like the pontifical families themselves.

The inhabitants already established in the city had hitherto

⁸ The tables whence these numbers are taken will be found in manuscript in the Barberini Library. A later ac-

count, from 1702 to 1816, is given in "Cancellieri, del tarantismo di Roma," p. 73.

continually received accessions from new settlers, more particularly those who crowded to the capital on the elevation of each new pontiff, from his native town or province. The form now assumed by the court caused this practice to cease. It was under the influence of that universal power and efficiency to which the Roman See had attained by the restoration of Catholicism, that the capital itself had received its essential character and magnificence: then also were those Roman families founded which are flourishing to the present day. From the time when the extension of the spiritual dominion ceased, the population no longer continued to extend. It may safely be affirmed to have been a creation and product of that period.

Nay, the modern city itself may be generally said to belong—so much of it in any case as still enchains the attention of the traveller—to that same period of the Catholic revolution. Let us advert for a moment to some of its more prominent characteristics.

Section VIII.—Architectural Labors of the Popes

We have already described the magnificent architectural works completed by Sixtus V, and remarked on the views, as respected the Church and religion, which prompted these labors.

His example was followed by Clement VIII, to whom some of the most beautiful chapels in the churches of St. John and St. Peter are attributable. It was by him that the new residence in the Vatican was founded: the apartments now inhabited by the Pope and the Secretary of State were built by Clement VIII.

But it was more especially Paul V who made it his ambition to emulate the Franciscan. "Throughout the city," says a contemporary biography of this pope, "he has levelled hills, has opened extensive prospects where before were sharp corners and crooked paths; laid out large squares, and rendered them still more stately by the erection of new buildings. The water that he has brought to the city is not the mere play of a pipe; it comes rushing forth in a stream. The splendor of his palaces is rivalled by the variety of the gardens he has laid out. The interior of his private chapels glitters all over with gold and

silver; they are not so much adorned with precious stones as filled with them. The public chapels rise—each like a basilica—every basilica is like a temple: the temples are like mountains of marble.”¹

It will be observed that the works of Paul were admired and eulogized, not for their beauty or symmetry, but for their gorgeousness and colossal proportions, which are indeed their distinguishing attributes.

In Santa Maria Maggiore, he built a chapel opposite to that erected by Sixtus V, but far more splendid; it is, indeed, entirely formed of the most costly marbles.

Paul V brought the water bearing his name—the Aqua Paolina, to the Janiculum, from a distance of five and thirty miles—a course still longer than that of the Aqua Felice, brought to the city by Sixtus V. Opposite to the fountain and the Moses of Sixtus, but distant from it and with the whole city between them—the Aqua Paolina bursts forth in four powerful streams of nearly five times the volume presented by the Aqua Felice. Few fail to visit these heights of ancient renown, the site of Porsenna’s attack, but now presenting vineyards, fruit-gardens, and ruins only. From this point the whole city lies open to the gaze, with the country, even to the distant hills, which evening wraps in a wondrously tinted vapor as in a transparent veil. The solitude is agreeably enlivened by the music of the rushing waters. The multitude of its fountains, and the profusion of their waters, is one of the many things by which Rome is distinguished from all other cities: the Aqua Paolina contributes most richly to this charm. The incomparable fountains of the Piazza San Pietro are filled from it; it is conducted by the Sistine bridge to the city itself. The fountains of the Farnese palace and many others, are fed from the same source.

Sixtus V had erected the cupola of St. Peter’s, and Paul V undertook the general completion of the church.² This he accomplished on a scale of great magnitude, in accordance with the prevailing taste of that time. In the present day we should certainly prefer to have had the original plans of Bramante and Michael Angelo followed out; but the work of Paul entirely

¹Vita Pauli V. compendiose scripta. MS. Barb. See Appendix, No. 76.

²Magnificentia Pauli V., seu publicæ utilitatis et splendoris opera a Paulo vel in urbe vel alibi instituta.

MS. “The part of the temple erected at the sole cost and command of Paul, may be advantageously compared with those portions constructed by all previous pontiffs.”

satisfied the taste of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The dimensions are, without doubt, enormous: few would assert the façade to be beautiful, but all is cheerful, appropriate, and grand. The colossal proportions of the building; the piazza, the obelisk, and all surrounding objects, when taken as a whole, produce that impression of the gigantic which was intended to be conveyed, and which fixes itself irresistibly and indelibly upon the mind.

Although the administration of the Ludovisi was but short, they have nevertheless erected an imperishable monument to themselves in the church of St. Ignatius,³ and in their villa in the city. Nicolo Ludovisio possessed six palaces at one time, many of which he very richly adorned, and all of them were kept in good order.

We find memorials of Urban VIII, not only in various churches—St. Bibiana, St. Quirico, and St. Sebastian on the Palatine among others—but in accordance with his peculiar inclinations, still more frequently in palaces and fortifications. After having surrounded St. Angelo with ditches and ramparts, and after—as he boasts on one of his coins—he had fully armed, fortified, and completed this castle, he continued the defences according to a plan suggested by Cardinal Maculano (who was an accomplished military architect), around the Vatican and the gardens of the Belvedere, as far as the Porta Cavalleggieri. At that point other fortifications commenced, which were intended to comprise the Lungara, the Trastevere, and the Janiculum, and to extend to the priory on the Aventine. Porta Portuense, at least, is principally to be attributed to Urban VIII. It was not until he had thus enclosed himself that he felt secure; he was also careful to restore the bridge, by means of which a communication was effected between the papal residence and the fortress of St. Angelo.⁴

Pope Innocent X was likewise an assiduous builder. His works may be seen on the Capitol, the two sides of which he sought to bring into harmony; in the church of the Lateran, where he had the merit of proceeding in a manner less discordant with the ancient forms than was usual at that time;

³ See Appendix, No. 95.

⁴ From the diary of Giacinto Gigli, which was unfortunately stolen from me in Rome, the most important loss

my collection has sustained. Cancellieri, on p. 55, "del tarantismo di Roma," has printed the passages belonging to this place from that work.

but principally on the Piazza Navona. It was observed that when Pope Innocent passed across the Piazza San Pietro, he never turned his eyes from the fountain which Paul V had erected there.⁵ He would gladly have emulated that pontiff and adorned his favorite piazza with one yet more beautiful. Bernini applied all the resources of his art to realize this wish. An obelisk was brought to the piazza from the Circus of Caracalla, and on it Innocent placed the arms of his house—buildings were taken down to improve the form of the piazza. The church of Sant' Agnete was rebuilt from the foundations, while at no great distance arose the Palazzo Pamfili, richly adorned with statues, paintings, and splendid internal decorations of all kinds. The vigna which his family possessed beyond the Vatican was converted by Pope Innocent into one of the most beautiful of villas; a place comprising within itself whatever could best tend to make a country life agreeable.

The modern taste for uniformity is already to be observed in the buildings of Alexander VII. He destroyed many houses for the purpose of obtaining more regularity in the streets. The Salviati palace was demolished in order to form the square of the Collegio Romano, and the Piazza Colonna, where the palace of his own family was situated, was entirely transformed by his labors. He restored the Sapienza and the Propaganda; but the most remarkable memorial left by this pontiff is without doubt the range of colonnades which he erected around the upper part of the Piazza San Pietro—a colossal work of 284 columns and eighty-eight pilasters. Whatever may have been objected against this building, whether at the time or later,⁶ it is yet impossible to deny that it was conceived in perfect harmony with the pervading thought of the whole edifice, or that it contributes an impression of its own to that mingled sense of immensity and serene cheerfulness which the whole place is so well calculated to inspire.

And thus was gradually formed that city, to which so count-

⁵ "Diario Deone, 4 Luglio, 1648." He remarks, however, immediately: "The fountain of Pope Paul [there was then only one] will not be readily surpassed, whether as to beauty or quantity of water." See Appendix, No. 122.

⁶ Sagredo: "The colonnades now in course of erection around the piazza, will be of an oval shape, and have four ranges of columns; these will form

three covered porticos, with three magnificent entrances, and a corridor above, which will be adorned with another range of small columns and with statues. The Pope intends them to serve as a shelter for carriages from the sun and rain." The cost had even then attained to 900,000 scudi, which were taken from the coffers of the Fabrica di San Pietro. See Appendix, No. 133.

less a mass of strangers have since made pilgrimage. Treasures of art of every kind were at the same time accumulated within its walls. Numerous libraries were collected; not only was the Vatican, with the monasteries of the Augustines, and the Dominicans, the houses of the Jesuits and Fathers of the Oratory, furnished with them, but the palaces also possessed valuable collections, one family emulating another in the accumulation of printed books, and the gathering together of rare manuscripts. Not that the sciences were very zealously cultivated; many of the Romans studied without doubt, but in a leisurely fashion, and rather with a view to the appropriation and reproduction of what was already known, than to that of making new discoveries. Among the academies that sprang up from year to year, there was one here and there which devoted its attention to the investigation of nature, but without any particular results;⁷ but all the rest—the Good-humored,⁸ the Orderly, the Virginal, the Fantastics, the Uniform, or whatever other strange titles they were pleased to adopt, employed themselves with poetry and eloquence only, or with exercises of intellectual address, confined within a very narrow circle of thought, and yet consuming energies that might have produced better results. Nor were the Roman palaces adorned by works of literature only; works of art, belonging to both earlier and later periods; antiquities of various character, statues, reliefs, and inscriptions, also embellished them. At the time we are now considering, the houses of the Cesi, Giustiniani, Strozzi, and Massimi, with the gardens of the Mattei, were the most celebrated. Collections such as that of Kircher, at the Jesuits' college, were equally the object of admiration to contemporaries. It was yet rather by curiosity, or a love of antiquarian lore that those collections were prompted, than by any true sense of beauty, appreciation of form, or comprehension of the more profound relations of art or antiquity. It is remarkable that in reality men still thought and felt on those subjects as Sixtus V had done. The remains of antiquity were far from

⁷ I refer more particularly to the Lincei, founded by Federigo Cesi in 1603, which did not however effect much, besides the translation of Fernandez' "Natural History of Mexico" into Italian.—Tiraboschi, "Storia della Letteratura Italiana," viii. p. 195.

⁸ For so it is that we are to translate "Umoristi," according to the accounts given by Erythreus, which will be found well arranged in Fischer, "Vita Erythraei," pp. 50, 51.

receiving that respectful care and attention which have been awarded to them in later times. What could be expected, when among other privileges of the Borghesi we find that of being exempt from all punishment for whatever demolition they might choose to commit? It is difficult to believe that such things as were done in the seventeenth century, could have been permitted. The Baths of Constantine, among others, had retained a very fair degree of preservation, during the changes of so many centuries, and it might certainly have been expected that the merits of their builder, in extending the dominion of the Christian Church, might have protected them from injury, yet under Paul V they were demolished to the very foundations, and converted into a palace and gardens in the taste of those times, which were afterward exchanged for the Villa Mondragone in Frascati. Even the Temple of Peace, which was then also in tolerably good preservation, found no favor at the hands of Paul V; he conceived the strange idea of casting a colossal statue of brass of the Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus, and placing this in so elevated a position that the whole city could be overlooked by this, its protectress. All that he required for this was a pillar of extraordinary altitude, and he found such a one at length in the Temple of Peace. Without troubling himself to consider that it was there as part of a whole, and in keeping with all around, but that when placed to stand alone it would be rather strange and peculiar than beautiful or appropriate, he carried it away and loaded it with that colossus which we see it bear to the present day.

If it be admitted that all the charges brought against the Barberini may not be true, it is nevertheless certain that, on the whole, their proceedings were in this same spirit. Under Urban VIII, it was in actual contemplation to destroy that sole, undoubted, and unimpaired monument of republican times, the incomparable tomb of Cecilia Metella. It was to be demolished for the sake of the travertine which Bernini, the most celebrated sculptor and architect of that day, meant to use for the Fountain of Trevi. The proposal was made by him to the Pope, who gave permission for its execution in a brief. Already were hands laid on the tomb, when the people of Rome, who loved their antiquities, became aware of the matter and opposed a violent resistance. For the second time they rescued

this their most ancient possession ; it became necessary to desist from destroying it, as the only means to avoid a tumult.⁹

All these attempts at destruction were, however, entirely consistent with the spirit prevailing. The epoch of the Catholic Restoration had developed its own peculiar ideas and impulses ; these aspired to universal dominion even in art and literature. They could not comprehend, and would not even acknowledge, what was foreign to themselves, and whatever they could not subjugate they were determined to destroy.

Notwithstanding all this, Rome still continued to be the metropolis of intellectual culture, unequalled in the variety of its learning and in the practice of art ; as the taste of the age comprehended and preferred it. It was still productive as regarded music. The concerted style of the cantata was at that time arising by the side of the church style. The travellers of the day were enchanted with it. "A man must have been ill-treated by nature," exclaims Spon, who visited Rome in 1674, "who does not find his full contentment in one or other of the branches to be studied here."¹⁰ He mentions all these branches : the libraries, where the rarest works were laid open to the student ; the concerts in churches and palaces, where the finest voices were daily to be heard ; the many collections of ancient and modern sculpture and painting ; the numberless stately buildings of every age ; villas, wholly covered with bas-reliefs and inscriptions, of which he alone had copied upward of a thousand, not previously copied ; the presence of so many strangers of all lands and tongues ; the beauties of nature to be enjoyed in gardens worthy to make part of paradise ; "and for him who delights in the practice of piety," he adds, "there is a treasure of churches, relics, and processions provided, that shall occupy him his whole life long."

There is no doubt that in other parts of Europe there was at this time an intellectual movement of grander and more liberal character ; but the completeness of the Roman world, its full concentration of all life within itself, the abundance of its riches, the certain enjoyment, united to the feeling of security to be attained there, and the satisfaction derived by the faithful from the uninterrupted contemplation of the objects of their reverence, all continued to exercise a powerful attraction ; ap-

⁹This is circumstantially related in Deone.

¹⁰Spon et Wheler, "Voyage d'Italie et de Grèce," i. p. 39.

peeling now to one class of motives, now to another, and occasionally acting on all so equally, that the predominant motive was no longer to be distinguished.

Let us seek to bring clearly to our comprehension the power of this attraction as exhibited in the most extraordinary of its examples; one too by which a decided reaction was produced on the Court of Rome.

Section IX.—Digression Concerning Queen Christina of Sweden

We have had frequent occasion to direct our attention to Sweden.

In that country, where Lutheranism had first revolutionized the whole political constitution; where the Anti-Reformation found both representatives and opponents in a manner so unusual, among personages of the highest rank; and from which the grand and final decision of the contest then dividing and occupying the world had proceeded; in this country it was, that Catholicism, under the new form it had assumed, now achieved the most unexpected of conquests; winning over to itself the daughter of the great champion of Protestants, Christina, Queen of Sweden. The mode in which this was effected is remarkable in itself; and it is particularly worthy of our observation from its relation to the subject before us.

We will first consider the position which the young Queen occupied in her own country.

After the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the question was for a moment agitated in Sweden, as it had been in 1619 in Austria, in 1640 in Portugal, and in so many other places at the same period, whether the country should not free itself altogether from the kingly power, and adopt the constitution of a republic.¹

It is true that this proposal was rejected; the nation paid its homage to the daughter of the deceased King, but as this was a child of six years old, and there was no one of the royal house who could seize the reins of government, the authority

¹ "La Vie de la Reine Christine faite par elle-même," in Arckenholtz, "Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Christine," tom. iii. p. 41: "I have been assured that it was deliberated in cer-

tain private assemblies whether the nation should not resume its liberty, having but a child at its head, of whom it would be easy to get rid, and to constitute a republic."

of the State fell into the hands of a few nobles. The anti-monarchical tendencies of the time found acceptance and applause in Sweden; even the proceedings of the Long Parliament in England were approved there, and still more were the Swedish sympathies excited for the movements of the Fronde in France, from these last being so much more decidedly aristocratic. "I perceive clearly," Christina herself once declared in the Senate, "that the wish is here prevailing for Sweden to become an elective monarchy or an aristocracy."²

But this young princess was not disposed to suffer the decline of the royal authority in her person; she determined to be Queen in the full sense of the word. From the moment when she entered on the government, in the year 1644, she devoted herself to public affairs with an admirable zeal. Never would she absent herself from the meetings of the Senate; we find her suffering from fever, or are told that she had been obliged to be bled, but she was nevertheless in her place at the sittings of the Senate. Nor did she neglect to prepare herself for an efficient attendance on these sittings; state papers, many sheets in length, were carefully read through for this purpose, and their contents perfectly mastered. At night, before going to rest, and on first awakening in the mornings, it was her habit to meditate on the most difficult points of the questions under consideration.³ She possessed the power of stating the matter in discussion with ability and precision, never permitting the side to which she was herself disposed to be perceptible. After having heard the opinions of the Senators, she gave her own, which was found to be formed on good grounds, and was for the most part adopted. The foreign ambassadors were amazed at the power she had acquired over the Senate,⁴ although she

² A remarkable proof of this aristocratic tendency is found in the decisions respecting the constitution pronounced by the greater part of the States and "good patriots" of the year 1644, which have lately come to light.—See Geijer, "Schwedische Geschichte," iii. 357. Of the five highest offices of the State, none was to be filled but by the nomination of three candidates by the States, one of whom should be chosen. The grand marshal could only be elected from three proposed by the House of Knights itself. A Consistorium Politico-Ecclesiasticum was demanded, with a president and assessors freely chosen by the State, etc.

³ "Paolo Casati al Papa Alessandro

VII. sopra la regina di Suecia," MS.: "She has more than once assured me that she had never brought forward any measure of grave importance without having previously considered it for full two years, and that many hours of the morning after waking from the little sleep she was accustomed to take, she employed herself in considering public affairs and their consequences, even when very remote." See Appendix, No. 131.

⁴ "Mémoires de ce qui est passé en Suede tirez des depesches de Mgr. Chanut," i. p. 245 (1648, Févr.): "The power she possesses in her Council is incredible, for she adds to her station of Queen much grace, credit, liberality,

was herself never satisfied with its extent. She took a large personal share in the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia, an event of universal importance. The officers of the army, and even one of her own ambassadors to the Congress, were not favorable to the peace; even in Sweden there were many persons who disapproved the concessions made to the Catholics, especially with regard to the hereditary dominions of Austria, but the Queen was not disposed to make a further appeal to fortune; never had Sweden been so glorious or so powerful; the pride of Christina found its gratification in confirming this state of things and in restoring peace to Christendom.

And not only did she restrain the arbitrary despotism of the aristocracy with her utmost power, she even deprived them of all hope that they might at some future period attain their object. Notwithstanding her youth, she very soon brought forward the proposal for nominating her cousin, the Count-Palatine, Charles Gustavus, as successor to the crown. This was a measure which she believed the prince had never ventured to hope. It was carried through entirely by her own efforts, against the will of the Senate, which would not even take it into consideration, and against the will of the States, by whom it was adopted only from deference to her wishes; it was, in fact, altogether a thought of her own, and in defiance of all difficulties she carried it into effect. The succession was settled irrevocably.⁵

It is doubly remarkable that with all this zeal for business Christina applied herself at the same time to study with a kind of passion. Even in the years of her childhood no portion of her time was more agreeable to her than that of her lessons. This may perhaps have proceeded partly from the melancholy character of her residence with her mother, who had resigned herself entirely to grief for the loss of her husband. The young Queen looked forward daily with impatience to the moment when she should be liberated from those gloomy chambers of mourning. But she was besides possessed of extraordinary talents, more particularly for languages; she relates that she

and the power of persuading." In a copy of these "Mémoires," which appeared in 1675, there are marginal notes in the Queen's own hand. These, it is true, express the dissatisfaction of a later period, rather than exact recol-

lection of the earlier years of her government; but in every case the statements of Chanut are modified by them.

⁵ "Règne de Christine jusqu'à sa résignation," in Arckenholtz, iii. 162, notes,

learned most of those she was acquainted with alone and without any teacher; ⁶ this is the more remarkable, because in some of them she really possessed the facility of a native. As she grew up she became more powerfully fascinated by the charms of literature. It was at this time that learning gradually freed itself from the fetters of theological controversy, and that reputations, which were universally acknowledged, began to rise above the influence of both parties. The young Queen was ambitious of the society of celebrated men, whom she desired to attract around her person, and by whose instructions she was anxious to profit. The first to appear were certain German philologists and historians: among others, Freinsheim, at whose request she remitted the greater part of the contributions imposed on his native city of Ulm for the expenses of the war.⁷

Next followed the Netherlanders. Isaac Vossius brought the study of the Greek writers into favor; the Queen soon made herself mistress of the most important authors of antiquity, and even the fathers of the Church were not suffered to remain unknown to her. Nicolaus Heinsius boasts of having been born in the same age with this Queen as the first felicity of his life; the second, was that he had been known to her; but the third, the most decided happiness, and that which he desires all future ages to know, was that he had been not altogether displeasing to her. Christina employed him principally to procure costly manuscripts and rare books from Italy for her library; this he did conscientiously and with success. The Italians began to complain that ships were laden with the spoils of their libraries, and that all their best aids to learning were carried away from them to the remotest north.⁸ In the year 1650 Salmasius appeared in Sweden. Christina had given him to understand that if he did not come to her she would be obliged to go to him: he resided in her palace for a year. At length Descartes was also induced to visit her. He had the honor of meeting her in her library every morning at five o'clock, when he is declared to have heard Christina deducing

⁶ "La Vie de Christine, écrite par elle-même," p. 53: "At the age of fourteen I knew all the languages, all the sciences, and all the accomplishments that they had attempted to teach me. But since that time I have learned many others without the help of any master, and it is certain that I never

had a master for learning either German, French, Italian, or Spanish." See Appendix, No. 131.

⁷ Harangue panégyrique de Freinsheim à Christine," 1647, in Arckenholtz, second appendix, p. 104.

⁸ Compare Grauert, "Königin Christina und ihr Hof," pp. 379, 407.

his own ideas from Plato to his infinite astonishment. There is no doubt that in her conferences with men of learning, as in her discussions with the Senate, she gave proof of the most felicitous memory, with great readiness of apprehension and much penetration. "Her powers of intellect are in the highest degree remarkable," exclaimed Naudé, with astonishment; "she has seen everything, read everything, knows everything."⁹

The Queen of Sweden was, indeed, a wonderful production of nature and fortune: so young a woman, yet free from all vanity; she never sought to conceal that one of her shoulders was higher than the other; she had been told that her principal beauty was the rich profusion of her hair, yet she did not bestow upon it the most ordinary attention. To all the more minute cares of life she was wholly a stranger: utterly regardless of what appeared on her table, she never expressed disapprobation of any kind of food that was set before her, and drank nothing but water. She never acquired or understood any sort of womanly works, but, on the contrary, delighted to be told that at her birth she had been supposed to be a boy, and that, even in her earliest infancy, she betrayed no terror at the firing of guns, but clapped her hands, and proved herself to be a true soldier's child. She was a very bold horsewoman; with one foot in the stirrup, she scarcely waited to be in her saddle before she started at speed. In the chase, she would bring down her game with the first shot. She studied Tacitus and Plato, and not unfrequently expounded the meaning of those authors more clearly than philologists by profession. In despite of her youth, she was capable of forming a sound and independent opinion even on matters of state, and this she would then support and carry through among Senators grown gray in experience of the world. She threw the fresh spirit of a native perspicuity and quickness into all her undertakings. Above all, she was profoundly sensible of the high importance she derived from her birth, and impressed with the necessity of governing with her own hand. Never did she refer any ambassador to her Minister, nor would she ever per-

⁹ "Naudé à Gassendi, 19 Oct. 1652: "The Queen, of whom I may say without flattery that in the conferences which she frequently holds with Messieurs Bochart, Bourdelot, Du Fresne, and myself she maintains her part bet-

ter than any one of the company, and if I tell you that her genius is altogether extraordinary I shall utter no falsehood, for she has seen everything, she has read everything, she knows everything."

mit a subject of hers to wear a foreign order, not choosing to endure, as she said herself, that one of her flock should be marked by the hand of a stranger. She could assume a deportment, when the occasion demanded, by which generals, who have made Germany tremble, were struck mute and confounded. Had a new war broken out, she would infallibly have placed herself at the head of the troops.

Dispositions such as these, with so imperious a character, made the very thought of marrying, of resigning to another the right of ruling her personal proceedings, altogether unendurable to her. The obligations that she might have had to form such an alliance for the sake of her country, she believed herself to have removed by deciding the succession. After she had been crowned, she declared that she would rather die than consent to marry.¹⁰

But could so forced a position be maintained? Was there not something in it overstrained, extravagant? Without doubt it was utterly wanting in that equipoise needful to a healthy state of existence, the tranquillity of a natural being, content with itself. It was not a real love of business that made Christina throw herself into it with so much ardor; ambition and the pride of sovereignty impelled her forward, but she found no pleasure in it; neither did she love her country; she had no sympathies with its customs, its pleasures, its constitution, whether civil or ecclesiastical, or even its past history. The ceremonies of state, the long harangues to which she was bound to listen, the official duties which compelled her to take personal share in some great ceremonial observance, were abhorrent to her; the range of cultivation and learning within which her countrymen were content to confine themselves, appeared to her contemptible. If she had not possessed the Swedish throne from childhood, this might perhaps have seemed to her an object worthy of her ambition: but since she had been Queen so long as she could remember, all those aspirations of the mind by which the destiny of man is prepared and fashioned, took a direction estranged from her native land. A desire for the unknown and extraordinary began to take possession of her

¹⁰ "I should without doubt have married," she says further in her own biography, p. 57, "if I had not felt myself possessed of the strength to dis-

pense with the pleasures of domestic life;" and we may believe this assertion the more readily, as this work is a kind of confession.

mind; fantastic ideas gained the mastery; she was restrained by none of the ordinary considerations, nor did she set herself to resist the chance impulses of the moment, by opposing to them the force and dignity of a moral self-government suited to her position. The truth is that Christina, though bold, high-minded, energetic, and courageous, was also extravagant, ungovernable, intentionally unfeminine, and by no means amiable. Her conduct was even unfilial, not only toward her mother, but toward the sacred memory of her father also, which she never spared, when occasion presented itself for a biting sarcasm. It seems, indeed, as if at times she knew not what she said.¹ The exalted station she held could not secure her from the natural effects of so perverse a demeanor; they recoiled by necessity on herself, and contentment with herself, attachment to her home, or love of her country, became utterly impossible.

It now followed that this dissatisfaction of spirit evinced itself most particularly in regard to religious matters, and the mode of manifestation was as follows.

In the "Recollections" of Christina there are references to her tutor, Dr. Johann Matthiæ; she dwells on his memory with especial predilection; his simple, pure, and gentle spirit had enchained her affections from the first moment of his attendance on her, and he was her earliest confidant even in the most trifling matters.² When it had become obvious that neither of the existing ecclesiastical parties would overcome the other, some few right-minded men at once arose in various places to advocate the expediency of uniting them. Matthiæ was one of those who had conceived this purpose, and he published a book wherein he discussed the question of forming the two Protestant churches into one body. The Queen was decidedly favorable to the measure, she announced her intention of establishing a theological academy, which should labor for the reconciliation of the two confessions. But the unbridled zeal of certain inflexible Lutherans was immediately aroused in opposition, the work of Matthiæ was indignantly attacked by a superintendent of Calmar, and the Estates also took part against it. The bishops called on the Council of State to keep watch

¹ It is impossible to deduce any other conclusion from her conversation with her mother; see Chanut, 365, May, 1654.

² "Very capable," she says in her autobiography, "of well instructing a

child such as I was, because he possessed an uprightness, discretion, and gentleness that made him loved and esteemed."

over the national religion, and the Grand Chancellor repaired to the Queen with representations so pressing as to bring tears of vexation to her eyes.³

She may now, perhaps, have believed herself to be certain that all this eagerness of zeal was not purely disinterested on the part of her Lutherans; she thought they were attempting to delude her into some preconceived purpose of their own by the views of God's will that they placed before her. The representations of the Divine Being thus forced on her appeared to her conceptions altogether unworthy of His nature.⁴

The prolixity of those discourses to which she was compelled by the national ordinances to listen had been long most wearisome to the young Queen—they now became intolerable. She frequently betrayed her impatience—moving her chair, or playing with her little dog; but the merciless preachers were but the more firmly resolved to continue their lectures, and detain her all the longer for these marks of weariness.

The disposition of mind inevitably produced by these vexations, which gradually estranged her from the established religion of her country, was confirmed by the arrival of learned foreigners. Some of these were Catholics, others—Isaac Vossius for example—gave occasion for the suspicion of infidelity; while Bourdelot, who possessed the greatest influence with her, having treated her ably and successfully in a dangerous illness, and was well fitted for a court, made a jest of everything—national histories and religions not excepted. He was full of information, possessed extraordinary powers of entertaining, and was entirely devoid of pedantry, but was, therewithal, considered a direct Deist.

Gradually the young princess fell into inextricable doubts. She began to think all positive religions were but inventions of men; that an argument stated against one was equally valid against all others, and that it was, in fact, a matter of perfect indifference to which a man belonged.

Meanwhile she did not proceed to absolute irreligion; there were still certain convictions which she firmly retained. In

³ "Letter from Axel Oxenstierna, 2 May, 1647," in Arckenholtz, iv. App. n. 27, but particularly one from Count Brahe, Arckenholtz, iv. p. 229. The work of Matthiæ is, "Idea boni ordinis in ecclesia Christi."

⁴ "I thought," she says, in one of

the notes given by Goldenblad, "that men were making thee speak according to their own wishes, and that they desired to deceive and frighten me, that they might govern me after their own pleasure." In Arckenholtz, tom. iii. p. 209.

the royal solitude of her throne she must have found it impossible to dispense with thoughts of God; nay, she even believed that her station placed her a step nearer to the Divine Presence. "Thou knowest," she exclaims, "how often I have prayed to Thee, in a language unknown to vulgar spirits, for grace to enlighten me, and have vowed to obey Thee, though I should thereby sacrifice life and fortune." This idea she soon associated with others of those peculiar to her character. "I renounced all other love," she says, "and devoted myself to this alone."

But could it be that God had left mankind without the true religion? She was particularly impressed by a remark of Cicero to the effect that the true religion could be but one, and that all others must be false.⁵

But then came the question—which was the true religion?

We are not now to examine the arguments, or proofs, that convinced her. She repeatedly declared that she had not discovered any essential error of doctrine in Protestantism, but as her disinclination to that creed had sprung from an original feeling not clearly traceable to its cause, but which circumstances had heightened to intensity, so did she now throw herself with an inclination quite as inexplicable, but with full sympathy, into the pale of Catholicism.

She was nine years old when the doctrines of the Catholic Church were for the first time expounded with precision in her hearing; among other things, the fact that the unmarried state was considered meritorious in that Church, was alluded to. "Ah," remarked the child, "how fine that is! It is of that religion that I will be."

For this she was gravely reprimanded, but she only persisted the more obstinately in her assertion.

At a later period other impressions of a congenial nature were added. "When one is a Catholic," she would remark, "one has the consolation of believing as so many noble spirits have believed for sixteen hundred years, of belonging to a religion attested by millions of martyrs, confirmed by millions of miracles. Above all," she would add, "which has produced so many admirable virgins, who have risen above the frailties of their sex, and consecrated their lives to God."

⁵ Pallavicini, "Vita Alessandri VII." For the passage, see the Appendix, No. 130.

The Constitution of Sweden is based on the Protestant faith. It is on this that the glory, the power, and the political position of that country are founded. This religion was imposed on the Queen as a necessity, but, untouched by its spirit, and revolted by one thousand accidental circumstances, she determinately broke loose from its hold; the opposite doctrines, of which she had but an obscure perception, attracted her. That the Popes should be invested with infallible authority appeared to her an institution in accordance with the goodness of God; she daily attached herself to the Catholic system with a more decided strength of purpose. It seemed as if she thus satisfied the desire for self-devotion natural to woman, and as if, in her heart, faith had sprung to existence, as does love in so many others—from an unconscious emotion which must be concealed, lest it be condemned by the world, but which only becomes the more deeply rooted, and which makes the happiness of the womanly heart prepared to sacrifice all for its sake.

It is at least certain that Christina, in seeking to approach the Court of Rome, had recourse to a mysterious artifice, such as, in all other cases, are resorted to only in affairs of love or ambition; she formed, as it were, an intrigue to become a Catholic. In this she proved herself a true woman.

The first person to whom she made known her inclination for Catholicism was a Jesuit, Antonio Macedo, confessor to the Portuguese ambassador Pinto Pereira.⁶ Pereira spoke no language but Portuguese, and was always accompanied by his confessor as interpreter. The Queen found a peculiar pleasure in leading the interpreter to a controversy on religious subjects during the audiences she gave the ambassador (who believed them to be occupied in the discussion of state affairs only), and thus, in the presence of a third person, who understood nothing of what was passing, confiding to Macedo her most secret thoughts and most daring speculations.⁷

⁶ The author of her conversion is sometimes said to have been a certain Gottfried Franken; but according to the account given in Arckenholtz, i. 465, the first thought of sending Franken to Stockholm was not entertained until after the return of Salmassius in 1651. Macedo was at the Swedish Court in 1650; his claim is therefore undeniable.

⁷ Pallavicini: "Arctius idcirco sermones et colloquia miscuit. non tunc solum quum ad eam Macedus ab legato mittebatur, set etiam ipso presentate, qui nihil intellgens animadvertebat tamen

longiores inter eos esse sermones quam res ferrent ab se interpreti propositæ et sibi ab interprete relatæ." "Conversations and conferences were therefore closely mingled, not then alone when Macedo was sent to her from the ambassador, but also when the latter was present, who, though he understood nothing, yet perceived that the words between them were more than were borne out by the things proposed by him to the interpreter, and repeated by the interpreter to him."

Suddenly, Macedo disappeared from Stockholm. The Queen pretended to have him sought for—pursued, while she had, in fact, herself despatched him to Rome, for the purpose of explaining her wishes to the General of the Jesuits, and entreating him to send her some of the most trusted members of his order.

In February, 1652, the Jesuits demanded arrived in Stockholm accordingly; they were two young men who represented themselves to be Italian noblemen engaged in travel, and in this character were admitted to her table. The Queen at once suspected their true errand, and while they walked immediately before her to the dining-hall, she observed to one of them, in a low voice, that perchance he had letters for her. He replied, without turning his head, that he had; with one rapid word she then warned him to keep silence. After dinner she sent her most trusted servant, Johann Holm, for the letters, and the following morning the same servant conducted the Jesuits themselves, in the most profound secrecy, to the palace.⁸

Thus, to the royal dwelling of Gustavus Adolphus, there now came ambassadors from Rome, for the purpose of holding conference with his daughter, in regard to her joining the Catholic Church. The charm of this affair to Christina was principally in the certainty that no one had the slightest suspicion of her proceedings.

The two Jesuits, at first, proposed to commence with the rules prescribed by the Catechism, but they soon perceived that in this case such a method was totally inapplicable. The Queen proposed very different questions from any that had there been anticipated or prepared for; as for example, whether there were any true difference between good and evil, or was all determined by the utility or injurious character of the action; how the doubts arising with regard to the existence of a Providence were to be set at rest; whether the soul of man were really immortal; whether it were not most advisable to adhere in external forms to the religion of one's native land, and to live according to the laws of reason. The Jesuits do not tell us what replies they gave to these questions; they believed that during their conference, thoughts were suggested to them, such as never had entered their minds before, and which they

⁸ "Relatione di Paolo Casati al Papa Alessandro VII." The extract will be found in the Appendix, No. 131.

had immediately afterward lost and forgotten. The Queen, they think, was under the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit; the truth being that she was under the influence of a decided predisposition which supplied whatever might be wanting in every argument, and even added force to conviction itself. They most frequently recurred to that primary assumption that the world cannot be left without the true religion, and to this they added the assertion that of all existing religions the Catholic is the most reasonable. "Our chief endeavor," say the Jesuits, "was to prove that the points of our holy religion which are raised above reason are in no wise opposed to reason."

The principal difficulty was the invocation of saints and the veneration of images and relics. "But her Majesty," they proceed to tell us, "apprehended with most ready penetration the whole force of the arguments which we laid before her; otherwise, we should have consumed much time." She conversed with them also on the difficulties that must arise, in the event of her determining to become a Catholic, in bringing the matter to bear; these sometimes appeared likely to prove insurmountable, and one day when she again saw the Jesuits she declared to them that they would do well to return home, that the attempt they were making was impracticable, and that besides she thought she could never become wholly Catholic at heart. The good fathers were amazed, they used every argument that seemed likely to keep her firm to her previous purpose, placed God and eternity before her, and affirmed her doubts to be but suggestions and assaults of Satan. It is entirely characteristic of Christina that she was at this moment more fully resolved on her conversion than at any earlier conference. "What would you say?" she asked suddenly, "if I were nearer to becoming a Catholic than you suppose?" "I cannot describe the feeling," says the Jesuit narrator, "that we experienced—we seemed like men raised from the dead. The Queen asked whether the Pope could not grant permission to receive the Lord's Supper once in the year according to the Lutheran rite. We replied that he could not. 'Then,' said she, 'there is no help; I must resign the crown.'"

There were, indeed, other causes which made her thoughts tend daily more and more in that direction.

The affairs of the country did not always proceed as she

would have had them. Opposed to the powerful aristocracy, which always held firmly together, the Queen, with her immediate circle, drawn from so many lands, with the successor to the throne that she had forced upon the people, and with that Count Magnus de la Gardie, to whom she had given her confidence, but whom the old Swedish nobility would never acknowledge as their equal in point of birth, formed a party that was almost considered a foreign one. Her unbounded liberality had exhausted the finances, and the moment seemed approaching when all the resources of the country must fail.

As early as October, 1651, she made known to the Estates her intention of abdicating; this was precisely at the time when she had despatched Antonio Macedo to Rome; she allowed herself, nevertheless, to be dissuaded for that time from her purpose; the Grand Chancellor represented to her that the financial pressure ought not to be permitted to influence her decision, assuring her that due care should be taken to prevent the splendor of the crown from suffering diminution.⁹ She perceived, too, that her proceedings would not have so heroic an appearance in the eyes of the world as she had at first imagined. When soon afterward, Prince Frederick, of Hesse, was proposing a similar step, she expressly advised him to the contrary, not altogether on religious grounds; she did but remind him, that whoever changed his creed, is hated by those whom he deserts, and despised by the party he joins.¹⁰ But these considerations gradually ceased to have any effect on herself. It was in vain that she endeavored, by frequent nominations, to make herself a party in the national Council, which she enlarged from twenty-eight to thirty-nine members. The credit and importance of the Oxenstierna family, which had for a time been obscured, regained all their lustre by means of its connections, by the force of habit, and especially by the talents, which in that house appeared to be hereditary. On many important questions, as for example, the adjustment of affairs with Brandenburg, the Queen remained in the minority. Count Magnus de la Gardie, too, was deprived of her confidence and favor.

⁹ Puffendorf, "Rerum Suecicarum," lib. xxiii. p. 477.

¹⁰ "Lettre de Christine au Prince Frédéric, Landgrave de Hesse," in Arckenholtz, i. p. 218: "Can you be ignorant of the hatred incurred by all who

change their religion from those whom they leave, and are there not many illustrious examples to convince you that they are contemned by those to whom they join themselves?"

The want of money really began to be felt, and there was sometimes not sufficient for the daily expenses of the household.¹ Again, she asked herself, would it not be better to stipulate for a yearly revenue, wherewith she might live in a foreign land, after the desires of her own heart, and without being subjected to the interference and remonstrances of bigoted preachers, who could see nothing in her actions or their motives but a rash and romantic eccentricity, or an apostasy from the religion and customs of her native land? Business was already become distasteful to her, and she felt oppressed when her secretaries approached her; already she had become dissatisfied with all other society, but that of the Spanish ambassador, Don Antonio Pimentel, who took part in all her social occupations and amusements, as in the meetings of that "Order of the Amaranth," which she founded, and whose members were required to pledge themselves to a sort of celibacy. Don Antonio was acquainted with her tendency toward Catholicism, of which he gave intimation to his sovereign, who promised to receive the Swedish princess into his dominions, and offered to arrange all preliminaries with the Pope, for her reception into the Catholic Church.² The Jesuits with whom she had been in conference, had meanwhile returned to Rome, where they had already made certain preparations for that event.

Christina was now no longer to be dissuaded from her purpose by any mode of argument. Her letter to the French ambassador Chanut shows clearly how little she reckoned on approval of the step she was about to take; but she declares that this would give her no concern; she would be happy, strong in herself, without fear before God and man, and from the haven she had sought should look forth on the sufferings of those who were still beaten about by the storms of life. Her sole care now was to secure her revenues in such a manner that they could never be taken from her.

¹ "Motives by which it is believed that the Queen of Sweden was induced to resign her crown." In Arckenholtz, App., No. 47, probably by Raym. Montecuculi.

² Pallavicini, "Vita Alexandri VII.": "Aulæ Hispanicæ administrari, cum primum rem proposuit Malines [who had been sent thither], omnino voluissent ab regina regnum retineri, ob emolumenta quæ tum in religionem tum in regem Catholicum redundassent; sed cognito id fieri non posse nisi læsâ re-

ligione, placuit regi patronum esse facti tam generosi." "The Ministers of the Spanish Court, when Malines first proposed this thing, would by all means have had the Queen retain the kingdom, both because of the advantage to be gained by religion and by his Catholic Majesty; but when it was known that this could not be done, but with offence to religion, the King was pleased to become the patron of so high-minded an act."

The ceremony of abdication was completed on June 24, 1654, and notwithstanding the many causes of dissatisfaction presented by the government of the Queen, yet all classes, from the first to the lowest, were profoundly affected at sight of this renunciation of her country by the last scion of the race of Vasa. The aged Count Brahe refused to take that crown from her head which he had placed there three years before; he considered the bond between prince and subject to be indissoluble, and held the proceedings before him to be unlawful.³ The Queen was hereby compelled to lift the crown from her head; it was only from her hand that he would receive it. Stripped of the insignia of royalty, in a plain white dress, Christina then received the parting homage of her Estates. After the rest, appeared the speaker of the estates of peasants; he knelt down before the Queen, shook her hand and kissed it repeatedly, tears burst from his eyes, he wiped them away with his handkerchief, and without having said one word he turned his back on her Majesty and walked away to his place.⁴

Her thoughts, meanwhile, and all her purposes were directed toward foreign lands—not one moment would she remain in a country of which she had resigned the supreme authority to another. She had already sent forward her more costly movables, and while the fleet intended for her conveyance to Wismar was in preparation she seized the first favorable moment, disguised herself, and escaped from the oppressive supervision exercised over her by her late subjects, departing with a few trusted attendants only for Hamburg.

And now commenced her travels through Europe.

On arriving in Brussels, she made private profession of the Catholic faith, and afterward repeated it publicly at Innsbruck. Invited by the prospect of the Pope's benediction, she hastened to Italy. Her crown and sceptre she offered to the Virgin Mary at Loretto. The Venetian ambassadors were amazed at the preparations made in all the cities of the Roman States for giving her a magnificent reception. Pope Alexander, whose ambition was gratified by the circumstance of so brilliant a conversion having been made during his pontificate, exhausted the

³ "It was in opposition to the will of God, to the common right of nations, and to the oath by which she was bound to the realm of Sweden and to her subjects—he was no honest man who had

given her Majesty such counsel."—⁴ Life of Count Peter Brahe, in Schlözer's "Schwedische Biographie," ii. p. 409.

⁴ Whitlocke's "Narrative."

apostolic treasury to celebrate the occurrence with due solemnity. It was not as a penitent, but in triumph, that the royal convert entered Rome.⁵ In the first years of her new condition we find her frequently travelling; ⁶ we meet her often in Germany, some few times in France, and once even in Sweden. She did not always remain so entirely estranged from political interests as she may at first perhaps have intended. She once entered into very earnest negotiations, and not without a certain prospect of success, for obtaining the crown of Poland, the possession of which would at least not prevent her remaining Catholic.

Another time she drew on herself the suspicion of intending to attack Naples in the interest of France. The necessity of looking to the receipt of her pension, which was often but little to be depended on, rarely permitted her to enjoy undisturbed tranquillity. The fact that, though possessing no crown, she yet laid claim to the uncontrolled liberty of action and full prerogatives of a crowned head, more especially as she understood these rights, was, on some occasions, productive of very serious consequences. Who could excuse the merciless sentence she pronounced at Fontainebleau in her own cause, on Monaldeschi, a member of her household, and which she permitted the accusers and personal enemies of the sufferer to carry into execution? She gave him one hour only to prepare for death.⁷ The treachery against her with which the unhappy man was charged she chose to interpret as high-treason, and considered it beneath her dignity to place him before any tribunal, whatever it might be. "To acknowledge no superior," she exclaimed, "is worth more than to govern the whole world." She despised even public opinion. The execution of Monaldeschi had excited universal abhorrence in Rome, where the contentions of her household were better known to the public than to herself; but this did not prevent her from hastening to return thither. Where, indeed, could she have lived except in Rome? With any of the temporal sovereigns, whose claims were of a similar character to her own, she would have fallen

⁵ "Relatione de' quattro Ambasciatori:" "Pope Innocent suspected that her reception would cost him dear, which delayed her arrival in Rome; the good Pope contented himself with saving his money, and left the entire glory of accomplishing that grand ceremony to his successor. In respect of that, on

our arrival we found the whole court busily occupied with it, and on our return all the cities of the Roman States were emulating each other and absorbed in the attempt each to make a finer show of welcome than the other."

⁶ See Appendix, No. 130.

⁷ See Pallavicini, Appendix, No. 130.

into ceaseless strife and collision; even with the popes, with Alexander VII himself, whose name she added to her own on her conversion, she was very frequently involved in the most bitter contentions.

But her character became milder by slow degrees; her habits more tranquil and better regulated. She obtained some mastery over herself, suffered certain considerations of what was due to others to prevail, and consented to acknowledge the necessities incident to the peculiarities of her chosen residence, and where it is indeed certain that the ecclesiastical sovereignty allowed most ample field to controversial privileges and personal independence. She took a constantly increasing part in the splendor, the life, and the business of the Curia, becoming indeed eventually altogether identified with its interests. The collections she had brought with her from Sweden, she now enlarged by so liberal an expenditure, and with so much taste, judgment, and success, that she surpassed even the native families, and elevated the pursuit from a mere gratification of curiosity to a higher and more significant importance both for learning and art. Men such as Spanheim and Havercamp thought the illustration of her coins and medals an object not unworthy of their labors, and Sante Bartolo devoted his practised hand to her cameos. The Correggios of Christina's collection have always been the richest ornament of every gallery into which the changes of time have carried them. The manuscripts of her choice have contributed in no small degree to maintain the reputation of the Vatican library, into which they were subsequently incorporated. Acquisitions and possessions of this kind filled up the hours of her daily life with an enjoyment that was at least harmless. She also took interest and an active part in scientific pursuits; and it is much to her credit that she received the poor exiled Borelli, who was compelled to resort in his old age to teaching as a means of subsistence. The Queen supported him with her utmost power, and caused his renowned and still unsurpassed work on the mechanics of animal motion, by which physiological science has been so importantly influenced and advanced, to be printed at her own cost. Nay, I think we may even venture to affirm that she herself, when her character and intellect had been improved and matured, exerted a powerfully efficient and enduring in-

fluence on the period, more particularly on Italian literature. The labyrinth of perverted metaphor, inflated extravagance, labored conceit, and vapid triviality into which Italian poetry and eloquence had then wandered is well known. Christina was too highly cultivated and too solidly endowed to be ensnared by such a fashion; it was her utter aversion. In the year 1680 she founded an academy in her own residence for the discussion of literary and political subjects; and the first rule of this institution was that its members should carefully abstain from the turgid style, overloaded with false ornament, which prevailed at the time, and be guided only by sound sense and the models of the Augustan and Medicean ages.⁸ When we now meet with the works of this academy, in the Albani library of Rome, the impression they produce on us is sufficiently singular: essays by Italian abbati, with emendations from the hand of a Northern Queen: yet was this association not without its import and significance. From the Queen's academy proceeded such men as Alessandro Guidi, who had previously been addicted to the style then used, but after some time passed in the society of Christina he not only resolved to abandon it, but even formed a league with some of his friends for the purpose of laboring to abolish it altogether.

The Arcadia, an academy to which the merit of completing this good work is attributed, arose out of the society assembled around the Swedish Queen. On the whole it must needs be admitted that in the midst of the various influences pressing around her, Christina preserved a noble independence of mind. To the necessity for evincing that ostentatious piety usually expected from converts, or which they impose on themselves, she would by no means subject herself. Entirely Catholic as she was, and though continually repeating her conviction of the Pope's infallibility, and of the necessity of believing all doctrines enjoined either by himself or the Church, she had never-

⁸ "Constituzioni dell' academia reale," in Arckenholtz, iv. p. 28, § 28: "In this academy, the purity, gravity, and majesty of the Tuscan language are the principal objects of study: the members are enjoined to follow, so far as they can, the masters of true eloquence, belonging to the ages of Augustus and Leo X; wherefore banishment is decreed against all the turgid amplifications of the modern style, metaphors, transpositions, figures, etc." Another paragraph (11) forbids all eulo-

gies of the Queen, a prohibition most necessary at that time. In the fourth volume of Nicoletti's "Life of Urban VIII" there is a description of this academy, the chief point of which is that the principal members, Angelo della Noce, Giuseppe Suarez, Giovanni Francesco Albani (afterward Pope), Stefano Gradi, Ottavio Falconieri, and Stefano Pignatelli, had all been residents in the house of Cardinal Francesco Barberino.

theless an extreme detestation of bigots, and utterly abhorred the direction of father confessors, who were at that time the exclusive rulers of all social and domestic life. She would not be prevented from enjoying the amusements of the carnival, concerts, dramatic entertainments, or whatever else might be offered by the habits of her life in Rome; above all, she refused to be withheld from the internal movement of an intellectual and animated society. She acknowledged a love of satire, and took pleasure in Pasquin. We find her constantly mingled in the intrigues of the court, the dissensions of the papal houses, and the factions of the cardinals. She attached herself to the party of the Squadronisti, of which her friend Azzolini was the chief.

Others besides the Queen regarded Azzolini as the most able member of the Curia, but she considered him to be the most god-like and spiritual-minded of men. She held him to be altogether incomparable; the only person in existence whom she could place above her venerable Grand Chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna. She desired to erect a monument to Azzolini in her memoirs, but unhappily a small part only of this work is known to the public; a fact the more to be regretted, because this portion gives proof of earnestness and truthful uprightness of purpose in her dealings with herself, with a freedom and firmness of mind before which all calumny is silenced. The apothegms and detached thoughts which are the results of her leisure hours, and which have come down to us, form an equally remarkable production.⁹ They betoken great knowledge of the world, an acquaintance with the workings of the passions such as could be attained by experience only, with the most refined and subtle remarks on them; but also the most positive dispositions toward the real and essential, with a vital conviction of the power of self-direction residing in the mind, and of its high nobility. A just appreciation of earthly things is also manifest; they are estimated neither by too high nor too low a standard; and the work further displays a spirit that seeks only to satisfy God and itself. That great movement of the mind which developed itself toward the end of the seven-

⁹ We have them in two different portions, varying somewhat from each other. The first is in the appendix to the second volume of Arckenholtz, and is called "Ouvrage de loisir de Chris-

tine reine de Suède;" the second is in the appendix to the fourth volume of Arckenholtz, and is entitled "Sentiments et dits mémorables de Christine."

teenth century in all the departments of human activity, and which opened a new era, was effective also in the person of this princess. Her residence in one of the central points of European civilization, and the leisure of private life, if not absolutely necessary, were yet doubtless extremely favorable to the production of this result. She attached herself to the mode of life thus presented to her with a passionate love, and even thought it impossible to live if she did not breathe the atmosphere of Rome.

Section X.—Administration of the Roman States and Church

There was at that time scarcely another place in the whole world where so much social refinement existed as in the Court of Rome—the efforts for promoting literature and art were so manifold, the abundance of its intellectual enjoyments was so great and various, and life in general was so completely filled with interests, at once absorbing the sympathies and calling forth the powers of the mind. The government made its authority but little felt. The ruling families had in fact divided all power and splendor among themselves; even the spiritual claims of the papacy could no longer be enforced in their full rigor; they were already encountered by a sensible resistance from the spirit of the times. The age was rather one of enjoyment than of self-abnegation; the personal advantages of all kinds that men had won from time combined with the prevalence of intellectual pursuits to form a luxurious and harmonious tranquillity.

But then arose the question, of how the Church and State were to be governed under the existing state of things.

For there was no doubt that the court, or rather the prelaty, which properly included only the acting and efficient members of the Curia, had the administration of both in their own hands.

The institution of the prelature acquired its modern form as early as the pontificate of Alexander VII. To become *referendario di segnatura*, a step on which all promotion depended, a man must be doctor of laws, must have studied three years under an advocate, must be of a certain age, possess a certain amount of income, and present a character free from reproach. The age was first fixed at twenty-five years, the income at 1,000 scudi per annum. Alexander introduced the change (some-

what aristocratical in its character) to twenty-one, instead of twenty-five years, but required that proof should be offered of annual income amounting to not less than 1,500 scudi. Whoever fulfilled these conditions was admitted by the *prefetto di segnatura*, and charged with the statement of two causes before the assembled *segnatura*.¹ It was thus that he took possession, or was installed, after which he was eligible to all other offices: from the government of a town or district he rose to a *nunciatura*, or vice-legation, or was perhaps appointed to a seat in the *rota*, or the congregations; then followed the cardinalate and appointments to legations. Spiritual and temporal power were united in the administration even of the highest offices. When the legate arrived in any town, certain spiritual privileges, previously enjoyed by the bishop, were suspended; the legate bestowed the benediction on the people in like manner with the Pope. The members of the Curia were in continual alternation between spiritual and temporal offices.

We will first direct our attention to their temporal occupations in the administration of the State.

All things depended on the necessities of the government, and the demands made on the people; that is to say, on the state of the finances.

We have seen how ruinous an impulse was received by the system of loans under Urban VIII, more especially from the war of Castro; but loans had still been effected, the *luoghi di monte* maintained a high price, and the popes proceeded without restraint or cessation along the beaten way.

Innocent X found 182,103¾ to be the number of the *luoghi di monte* in 1644; in 1655 he left it amounting to 264,129½; so that the capital which these amounts indicate had been increased from 18,000,000 to more than 26,000,000. Although he had discharged some debts of another kind with this sum, and had redeemed some few loans, there was nevertheless a large increase of the general debt; the amount was computed at his death to be 48,000,000 scudi. He had been so fortunate as to derive a surplus revenue from the taxes imposed by Urban VIII, and on this he founded the new *monti*.

When Alexander VII succeeded to the government, it was

¹ "Discorso del dominio temporale e spirituale del S. Pontefice Romano," 1664. MS.

manifest that increased taxation was impracticable. Loans had now become so much a matter of course that they were altogether indispensable. Alexander resolved to seek a new source of aid from the reduction of the interests.

The *vacabili*, which paid ten and a half per cent., stood at 150: these he determined to call in; and although he paid for them at the current price, he yet gained a great advantage, the treasury generally borrowing at four per cent., so that if they were even paid off with borrowed money, yet in future the interest to be paid would be six per cent., instead of ten and a half per cent.

Thereupon Alexander conceived the idea of reducing all the *non-vacabili* bearing more than four per cent. to that rate of interest.² But as on this occasion he paid no regard to the current price, which was 116, but paid to the *luoghi* simply the 100 required by the strict letter of his agreement, he gained from this transaction also a very important advantage. All these amounts of interest were secured, as we have seen, upon the taxes, and it may have been the original intention of Pope Alexander to repeal the most oppressive of these imposts; but as the earlier modes of management were persisted in, this intention was found impossible of accomplishment. A reduction in the price of salt was soon followed by an increase of the tax on flour; the whole sum of the pontiff's gains was absorbed in the expenses of government, or by the papal family. If we compute the savings effected by the reductions of the interest, we shall find them amount to about 140,000 scudi, the new application of which sum, as interest, would involve an augmentation of the debt by about 3,000,000 scudi.

Nor could Clement IX carry forward the administration by any other method than that of new loans; but he soon beheld himself reduced to such an extremity that he was finally compelled to lay hands on the proceeds of the *dataria*, which had always hitherto been spared, and on which the daily maintenance

² Pallavicini, "Vita di Alessandro VII.": "Since no other country of Italy afforded interest so large and well secured, it had come to pass by degrees that the monti had risen in the market from 100 scudi to 116. But now the treasury, availing itself of its right, as any private individual might have done, restores the original price of 100, the immensity of the sum (he reckons

it at 26,000,000) not permitting the Pope to use his accustomed liberality, as he did in the monti vacabili; indeed, the rank of the proprietors and their riches were such as not to require this; which would have aggravated the sufferings of the poor, on whose shoulders all the public burdens rest." See Appendix, No. 135.

of the Papal Court depended. With this he founded 13,200 new *luoghi di monte*. In the year 1670 the debts of the Papal Court had reached to nearly 52,000,000 scudi.

From this state of things it followed, in the first place, that, however willing to grant relief, the Curia could effect none but the most inconsiderable and transient reductions of those burdens which, on an unproductive country, and one that took no share in the commercial efforts of the world, were felt to be extremely oppressive.

Another complaint was that the *monti* were obtained by foreigners who received the interest without contributing anything to the taxes. It was computed that 600,000 scudi were yearly sent to Genoa only, on this account. The country was thus become the debtor of a foreign people, a condition that could not be favorable to the healthy development of its powers.

But a further and still more deeply important consequence was perceived to result from this system of finance.

How could these holders of annuities, the moneyed interest, fail to obtain an undue influence over the State and its administration?

The great mercantile houses accordingly became possessed of a direct participation in the business of the State; some great commercial house was always associated with the treasurer, and here all moneys were received and paid out. The coffers of the State were, in fact, at all times in the hands of merchants, who were also farmers of the revenue and treasurers of the provinces. We have seen the many offices that were salable; these they had the means of making their own. It required, moreover, a considerable fortune to secure advancement in the Curia. In the year 1665 we find the most important offices of the government held by Florentines and Genoese: the proceedings of the court were directed in so mercantile a spirit that promotion gradually came to depend much less on merit than the possession of money. "A merchant with his purse in his hand," exclaims Grimani, "has always the preference in the end. The court is crowded with hirelings whose sole desire is for gain: these men feel as traders, not as statesmen, and cherish only the meanest and most sordid thoughts."³

³ Antonio Grimani: "By the sale of nearly all the principal offices, the court has now become filled with traders and

mercenaries; men who ought, by their merit and suitable qualities, to be possessed of those offices remaining in the

And this was all the more important from the fact that there was no longer any independence in the country. Bologna was the only place that now opposed any effectual resistance; but this city occasionally persisted in disobedience until the Curia once thought of building a citadel there. It is true that other communities sometimes offered opposition to particular demands of the court: thus, the inhabitants of Fermo once refused to suffer the corn, which they believed to be required for their own use, to be carried out of their territory; ⁴ in Perugia the people would not consent to pay their arrears of taxes: but these commotions were easily put down by the commissaries-general of the court, who then imposed a still more rigorous system of subordination, until, in process of time, the administration of the communal property also was subjected to the disposal of the Curia.

A remarkable example of the course pursued by this administration is presented by the institution of the *annona*.

The principle generally acted on through the sixteenth century being to oppose obstacles to the export of the first necessities of life, the popes also took measures for that purpose, more particularly with a view to the prevention of a rise in the price of bread. The powers intrusted to the prefect of the corn-laws (*prefetto dell' annona*), to whom this branch of the executive was committed, were originally very closely restricted; they were first enlarged by Gregory XIII. Not only was it forbidden to export the corn gathered in from the States of the Church to a foreign country, without the permission of the prefect, it was made unlawful to convey it even from one district of the States to another; and this permission was only to be obtained when corn could be bought on the first of March at a certain price—its amount being fixed by Clement VIII at six scudi the rubbio, and by Paul V at five and a half scudi. A special tariff was established for bread, and this was regulated by the variations in the price of corn.⁵

background; and this is indeed a notable evil—one which lowers the credit of the Roman Court for grandeur—these mercenary officials having their minds occupied solely with low and mechanical objects, rather mercantile than political."

⁴ "Memoriale presentato alla Santità di N. Sre. Papa Innocentio dalli deputati della città di Fermo per il tumulto ivi segnito alli 6 di Luglio,"

1648, MS. See Bisaccioni, "Historia delle Guerre Civili," p. 271, where Fermo appears together with England, France, Poland, and Naples.

⁵ In the work of Nicola Maria Nicolaj, "Memorie, leggi et osservazioni sulle campagne, e sull' annone di Roma," 1803, will be found (vol. ii.) the long list of papal ordinances put forth on this subject.

But it was now found that the wants of Rome increased from year to year. The number of inhabitants became greater, while the cultivation of the Campagna was falling to decay. The decline of agriculture in the Campagna, and the ruin of that district, must be referred principally to the first half of the seventeenth century, and, if I am not mistaken, may be attributed chiefly to two causes; first, to that alienation of the smaller estates to the great families which then occurred, for the land requires the most careful cultivation, and of a kind rarely given except by the small proprietor, who devotes himself and his whole income to that purpose; and secondly, to the increasing deterioration of the air. Gregory XIII had desired to extend the cultivation of corn, and to this end had caused the low-lying lands near the sea to be cleared of their trees and underwood. Sixtus V was equally anxious to destroy the lurking-places of the banditti, and had stripped the hills of their forests with that view.⁶ Neither the one nor the other could now be turned to any account; the deleterious quality of the air became more obvious from year to year—its influence extended more widely and contributed to desolate the Campagna, of which the produce continually decreased.

The disproportion thus occasioned between the demand and supply induced Urban VIII to render the superintendence more rigid, and to extend the powers of the prefect. By one of his earliest enactments (*constitutionen*) he absolutely prohibited the exportation of corn, cattle, or oil, not only from the States generally, but from one province to another; he also empowered the prefect to fix the price of corn on the Campofiore, according to the produce of each harvest, and to prescribe the weight of the bread to the bakers in a suitable proportion.

By these enactments the prefect was rendered all-powerful, nor did he long hesitate to use the authority thus conferred on him for the benefit of himself and his friends. He obtained a direct monopoly of corn, oil, meat, and all other principal necessities of life. That the cheapness of these articles was much promoted by this state of things, we are not prepared to affirm. Even the privilege of exportation was conceded to persons favored by the prefect; the effect felt by the general purchaser

⁶ "Relazione dello stato di Roma presente, or Almaden." See Appendix, No. 123.

was principally the oppression and vexation of the trammels imposed on all buying or selling. It was immediately remarked that agriculture declined more and more.⁷

It was at this time that complaints respecting the universal ruin of the Ecclesiastical States may be said to have commenced; nor have they ever ceased to be heard from those days. "In our journeys through the land," observe the Venetian ambassadors of the year 1621, in whose report I find the first remarks on this subject, "we have seen great poverty among the peasantry and common people, with little comfort, not to say great privations among all other classes—a result of the manner of government, and more particularly of the scantiness of commerce. Bologna and Ferrara derive a certain degree of splendor from their palaces and nobility; Ancona still retains some traffic with Ragusa and Turkey; but all the other towns have sunk grievously low." Toward the year 1650, an opinion was everywhere entertained that an ecclesiastical government was ruinous to its subjects. The inhabitants, also, already began to bewail themselves bitterly.⁸ "The imposts of the Barberini," exclaims a contemporary biographer, "have exhausted the country; the avarice of Donna Olimpia has drained the court; an amelioration was hoped for from the virtues of Alexander VII, but all Sienna has poured itself over the States of the Church, and is exhausting the last remnant of their strength."⁹ Still the country obtained no remission from the demands made on it.

This administration was once compared, even by one of the cardinals, to a horse worn out by a long course, but which, spurred on afresh, makes further efforts to proceed, until he falls, utterly exhausted, by the wayside. This moment of complete exhaustion seemed now to have come.

The worst spirit that can possibly possess the officials of a

⁷ Pietro Contarini, 1627: "The pontiff having withdrawn the concessions made by several of his predecessors, . . . now by selling them he derives a large profit: he does not wish to have foreign corn, or too low a price for grain: agriculture is daily more and more abandoned, because of the profits being little or none that people draw from it." See Appendix, No. 111.

⁸ "Diario," Deone, tom. iv. 1640, 21 Ag.: "It is a duty to favor the Church, yet we see all that passes into her hands turns to the public injury; as, for ex-

ample, its lands soon become uninhabited, and its possessions ill-cultivated, which may be seen in Ferrara, Urbino, Nepe, Nettuno, and all other places which have passed under the dominion of the Church."

⁹ "Vita di Alessandro VII.:" "Spolpato e quasi in teschio ridotto dalle gabelle Barberine lo stato ecclesiastico e smunta la corte dall'ingordigia di Olimpia confidavano generoso ristoro della bontà di Alessandro." (See the text.)

government had long been too clearly manifest in Rome; each one appeared to consider the commonwealth as a something to be made subservient to his own personal advancement—often as a means for the mere gratification of avarice.

With how frightful a power did corruption take possession of the land!

At the Court of Innocent X Donna Olimpia provided applicants with offices on condition of receiving from them a monthly acknowledgment in money.¹⁰ And well would it have been had she been the only person who did so! But the sister-in-law of the datary Cecchino, Donna Clementia, proceeded in a similar manner; Christmas, in particular, was the great harvest-time for presents. The refusal of Don Camillo Astalli to share these gifts on one occasion with Donna Olimpia, to whom he had given hopes that he would do so, excited her most violent anger, and was the first cause of his downfall. To what frauds and forgeries did bribery conduct Mascambruno! It was his habit to affix false summaries to the decrees that he laid before the Pope, and as his holiness read only the summaries, he signed things of which he had not the slightest suspicion, and which covered the Roman Court with infamy.¹ One cannot but feel pained and revolted when reading the remark that Don Mario, the brother of Alexander VII, became rich for this cause, among others, that the jurisdiction of the Borgo was in his hands.

For, unhappily, even the administration of justice was infected with this grievous plague.

We possess a statement of the abuses which had crept into the tribunal of the Rota, and which was laid before Alexander VII by a man who had practised in it during twenty-eight years.² He computes that there was no auditor of the Rota who did not receive presents at Christmas to the amount of 500 scudi. Those who could not gain access to the person of the auditor still found means to approach his relations, his assistants, or his servants.

¹⁰ See Appendix, No. 126.

¹ Pallavicini seeks to excuse this on the grounds that the proceedings of the dataria were written "in the French character, as has remained the custom from the time when the Papal See held its court in Avignon," and which the Pope did not readily or willingly read. See Appendix, Nos. 125, 126.

² "Disordini che occorrono nel supremo tribunale della rota nella corte Romana e gli ordini con i quali si potrebbe riformare, scrittura fatta da un avvocato da presentarsi alla Sta. de N. Sre. Alessandro VII.," MS. Rang. at Vienna, No. 23.

And no less injurious were the effects produced by the secret injunctions and influence of the court and the great. The very judges were sometimes known to apologize to the parties for the unjust judgment pronounced, declaring that justice was restrained by force.

How corrupt an administration of the laws was this! There were four months of vacation, and even the remainder of the year was passed in a life of idleness and amusement. Judgments were most unduly delayed, yet, when given, presented every mark of precipitation: appeals were altogether useless. It is true that the affair was in such case transferred to other members of the court, but what could secure these last from being equally subject to the influences by which the former judge had been corrupted? The courts of appeal were, moreover, biassed in their decisions by the judgment previously given.

These were evils that extended from the supreme court of judicature to the very lowest of the tribunals, and equally affected the course of justice and general government in the provinces.³

In a document which is still extant we find these circumstances represented by Cardinal Sacchetti, in the most earnest manner to Alexander VII:—the oppression of the poor—who found none to help them—by the powerful; the perversion of justice by the intrigues of cardinals, princes, and dependents of the palace; the delay of business, which was sometimes prolonged for years, though it might have been concluded in a few days—nay, even tens of years; the violence and tyranny experienced by anyone who ventured to appeal from an inferior official to one above him; the executions and forfeitures imposed for the enforcement of the levies—measures of cruelty calculated only to make the sovereign odious to his people while his servants enriched themselves. “Oppressions, most holy father,” he exclaims, “exceeding those inflicted on the Israelites in Egypt! People, not conquered by the sword, but subjected to the Holy See, either by their free accord, or the donations of princes, are more inhumanly treated than the slaves in

³ Disordini: “By the unjust decisions of this supreme tribunal [of the Rota], justice is corrupted in all the inferior courts, at least in the Ecclesiastical

States, the judges being careful to decide in accordance with the previous false judgment.”

Syria or Africa. Who can witness these things without tears of sorrow!"*

Such was the condition of the Ecclesiastical States even as early as the middle of the seventeenth century.

And now could it be reasonably expected that the administration of the Church should remain free from abuses of a similar kind?

That administration depended on the court, equally with the civil government, and received its impulse from the same spirit.

It is true that certain restrictions were imposed on the Curia, with respect to this department. In France, for example, important prerogatives were possessed by the crown; in Germany the chapters preserved their independence; in Italy and Spain, on the contrary, the hands of the Curia were unfettered, and its lucrative privileges were accordingly exercised in the most unscrupulous manner.

The Roman Court possessed the right of nomination to all the less important ecclesiastical employments and benefices. In Italy it appointed even to the highest. The sums that flowed into the coffers of the *dataria*, from Spain, are of an amount almost incredible; their principal sources were the installation to appointments, the *spolia*, and the revenues of vacant benefices. Yet the Curia, considered in regard to its own body, drew still greater advantage, perhaps from its relations with the Italian States; the richest bishoprics and abbeys, with a large number of priories, commanderies, and other benefices, went immediately to the profit of its members.

And it would have been well had the evil rested there!

But to the rights, which of themselves were of very questionable character, there were added the most ruinous abuses. I will mention one only—but that, indeed, was perhaps the worst. The practice was introduced, and by the middle of the nineteenth century was in full operation, that every benefice

* "Lettre du Cardinal Sacchetti écrite peu avant sa mort au Pape Alexandre VII en 1663, copie tirée des 'Manuscritti della regina di Svezia,' in Arckenholtz, "Mémoires," tom. iv. App. No. xxxii.: a very instructive document, corroborated by very many others; as, for example, by a "Scrit-

tura sopra il governo di Roma," of the same time (Altieri library). "The people having no more silver or copper, or linen, or furniture, to satisfy the rapacity of the commissaries, will be next obliged to sell themselves as slaves to pay the burdens laid on by the Camera." See Appendix, No. 145.

conferred by the Curia was burdened with a pension to one or other of the members of that body.

This practice was expressly prohibited in Spain, and there too, as the benefices themselves were to be conferred on natives exclusively, so pensions were to be granted only to them; but a device was invented in Rome for evading these enactments. The pension was made out in the name of a native or naturalized Spaniard; but this latter bound himself by a civil contract to pay a stipulated yearly amount into some Roman bank or commercial house, for the actual recipient of the pension. In Italy these considerations and contrivances were not even required, and the bishoprics were often loaded with intolerable burdens. In the year 1663 Monsignore de Angelis, Bishop of Urbino, complained that all he had remaining to his own share from that rich bishopric, was sixty scudi yearly; and that he had already sent in his resignation, which the court refused to accept. The conditions annexed to the bishoprics of Ancona and Pesaro were so oppressive that for years they were left unoccupied, because none could be found to accept them with those impositions. In the year 1667 twenty-eight bishops and archbishops were counted in Naples, all of whom were ejected from their offices because they did not pay the pensions imposed on them. From the bishoprics this corruption descended to the parochial benefices: the richest parishes frequently yielded their incumbents but a very slender subsistence; even the poor country curates in some places had their very fees charged with burdens.⁵ Many were so much discouraged that they resigned their cures, but in time new candidates always presented themselves; nay, they sometimes outbade each other, vying which should offer the Curia the largest pension.

But how deplorable a state of depravity in the government do these things betray! The least evil that could result from

⁵ The sarcastic Basadona (see Appendix, No. 134) remarks: "To make an end, we may fairly describe every benefice, capable of bearing a pension, as loaded like the ass of Apuleius, which, unable to bear its burden, thought of throwing itself on the earth; but, seeing its fallen companion immediately flayed by the carters, he held it good to support the insupportable load." All contemporary writers agree in the description of the evil. The practice of resigning the benefice to another while retaining a portion of the revenue, was

also again introduced. Deone, "Diario, 7 Genn. 1645," after alluding to the archbishopric of Bologna, transferred to Albregati by Cardinal Colonna, continues to the effect that "by this example the door is opened for admitting the practice of transference; and, accordingly, this morning, the transfer of the church of Ravenna by Cardinal Capponi to his nephew Monsr. Tungianni is made known; he reserves a pension to himself, which at his death goes in good part to Cardinal Pamfilio."

such a system was the entire corruption of the parochial clergy, and the utter neglect of their flocks.

Much wiser had been the decision of the Protestant Church in having from the first abolished all superfluities, and subjected itself to order and rule.

It is beyond doubt that the wealth of the Catholic Church, and the worldly rank attached to ecclesiastical dignities, induced the higher aristocracy to devote themselves to her service. It was even a maxim with Pope Alexander to bestow church preferment chiefly on men of good birth: he entertained the extraordinary idea that as earthly princes are fond of seeing themselves surrounded by servants of high descent, so must it be pleasing to God that his service should be undertaken by men exalted in rank above their fellows. Yet it was certainly not by such principles that the Church had raised herself in earlier ages, nor had she been restored by such in later times. The monasteries and congregations, which had contributed so largely to the restoration of Catholicism, were at this time suffered to fall into contempt. The papal families had little value for any person who was bound by conventual obligations, if it were only because men thus occupied could not be constantly paying court to themselves. Whenever there was a competition, the candidate obtaining the place was almost always of the secular clergy, even though his merits and talents were inferior to those of the monastic clergy. "The opinion seems to prevail," says Grimani, "that the episcopal office, or the purple, would be degraded by being conferred on the brother of a convent." He even thinks he perceives that the regular clergy no longer dare confidently to show themselves at court, where they were frequently exposed to mockery and insult. It already began to be remarked that none but men of the lowest origin were now disposed to enter the monasteries. "Even a bankrupt shopkeeper," he exclaims, "considers himself too good to wear the cowl."⁶

Since the monasteries thus lost their intrinsic importance, it can occasion no surprise that they soon began to be considered altogether superfluous; but it is a very remarkable fact that this

⁶ Grimani further adds: "Every desire for study and all care for the defence of religion are entirely suppressed. That the number of learned and exemplary monks should diminish so rapidly may ere long be detrimental to the court itself, whence it is my opin-

ion that the popes would do well to take measures for the restoration of the regular clergy to their former credit, by giving them important charges from time to time: eminent men would thus be induced again to enter the orders." See Appendix, No. 138.

opinion first found expression in Rome itself—that the necessity for restricting monastic institutions was first asserted in that court. As early as the year 1649 a bull was published by Innocent X forbidding new admissions into any of the regular orders until the incomes of the several convents had been computed, and the number of persons that each could maintain was determined.⁷ A bull issued on October 15, 1652, is still more important. In this the Pope complained that there were many small convents, wherein the offices could not be duly performed, either by day or night, nor spiritual exercises practised, nor seclusion properly maintained; he declared these places to be mere receptacles for licentiousness and crime, affirmed that their number had now increased beyond all measure, and suppressed them all at one blow, with the observation that it was necessary to separate the tares from the wheat.⁸ The plan was very soon suggested (and again it was first proposed in Rome) of alleviating the financial necessities, even of foreign States, by the confiscation, not of separate convents only, but of entire monastic orders. When Alexander VII was requested by the Venetians, shortly after his accession, to support them in the war of Candia against the Turks, he proposed to them of himself the suppression of several orders in their own territories. The Venetians were averse to this plan, because these orders still afforded a provision for the poorer *nobili*; but the Pope accomplished his purpose. He maintained that the existence of these convents was rather an offence than edification to the faithful, and compared his mode of proceeding to that of the gardener, who removes all useless branches from the vine to render it more fruitful.⁹

Yet it could not be asserted that among those who now received promotion any remarkably splendid talents were found. There was, on the contrary, a general complaint throughout the seventeenth century, of the dearth of distinguished men.¹⁰ Men

⁷ Our diary, January 1, 1650 (Deone), describes the impression produced by this "constitution": "As this cause does not affect the Capuchins and other reformed orders who possess no revenues, it is feared that the prohibition may be perpetual; and I believe it will be so, until the number of regular clergy, which is now excessive, shall be reduced to moderation, and the commonwealth be no longer oppressed by them."

⁸ "Constitutio super extinctione et suppressione parvorum conventuum, eorumque reductione ad statum secularem, et bonorum applicatione, et prohibitione erigendi nova loca regularia in Italia et insulis adjacentibus."—*Idibus*, October, 1652.

⁹ "Relatione de' iv. Ambasciatori, 1656." See Appendix, No. 129.

¹⁰ Grimani: "When due regulations are neglected, all things deteriorate; . . . the court is at present barren in

of eminent powers were, indeed, very frequently excluded from the prelacy, because they were too poor to comply with the regulations established for their admission.¹ Advancement depended almost entirely on the favor of the papal families; and this was only to be obtained by an excessive adulation and servility that could not be favorable to a free development of the nobler qualities of the intellect. This state of things affected the whole body of the clergy.

It is certainly a remarkable fact that in the most important branches of theological study, there scarcely appeared a single original Italian author, whether as regarded exposition of scripture, on which subject nothing was presented but repetitions of works belonging to the sixteenth century, or as relating to morals—although that subject of inquiry was much cultivated elsewhere—nor even in relation to dogmatic theology. In the congregations, foreigners alone appeared on the arena in the disputations concerning the means of grace; in those of a later period also, concerning free-will and faith, Italians took but little part. After Girolamo da Narni, no distinguished preacher appeared even in Rome itself. In the journal before referred to, and kept by a very strict Catholic, from 1640 to 1650, this fact is remarked with astonishment. “With the commencement of Lent,” he observes, “comedies ceased to be performed in theatres and houses, beginning in the pulpits of the churches. The holy office of the preacher is employed to secure celebrity, or made subservient to the purposes of the flatterer. Metaphysics are brought forward, of which the speaker knows very little, and his hearers nothing whatever. In place of teaching and admonition, encomiums are pronounced, solely for the furtherance of the speaker’s promotion. As regards the choice of the preacher also, everything now depends on connection and favor, and no longer on the merit of the man.”

To sum up the whole, that mighty internal impulse by which the court, Church, and State were formerly governed, and from which they had received their strictly religious character, was now extinguished. The tendency toward restoration and con-

the highest degree of men possessing worth or talent.” See Appendix, No.

138.

¹“Relazione di Roma sotto Clemente IX.”: “Since the custom is prevalent that high offices are conferred on the

prelates only, and that the prelacy is granted to none but those who have revenues to support its dignity, the consequence has followed that really able men are for the most part excluded.” See Appendix, No. 136.

quest had passed away; other motives were now predominant, urging only to the struggle for power and pleasure. The spiritual element again received its tone from worldly impulses.

And here the question naturally presents itself, what direction was taken under these circumstances, by that society, which had been so peculiarly founded on the principles of Catholic restoration? We allude to the order of Jesuits.

Section XI.—The Jesuits in the Middle of the Seventeenth Century

The most important change that had taken place in the constitution of the Society of Jesus, consisted in the fact that the "professed" members had become advanced to the possession of power.

Of the "professed," those who took the four vows, there were at first very few. Living apart from the colleges, and subsisting on alms, they had confined themselves to the exercise of spiritual authority. Appointments requiring the activity of men of the world, such as those of rectors and provincials, with the general management of the colleges, had formerly been in the hands of the coadjutors. But all this was now entirely changed. The "professed" themselves attained to places in the administration; they took part in the revenues of the colleges and became rectors or provincials.¹

The most immediate consequence of this alteration was that those severe practices of private devotion which had been maintained in their fervor, principally by the rigid separation of the "houses of the professed," now gradually declined; even at the first reception of a member into the society, it was no longer possible to examine with the minuteness first practised, into his capacity or vocation for an ascetic life. Vitelleschi, in particular, gave admission to many who were certainly without any vocation. The highest station was the object now aimed at, the rank by which its possessors at once secured ecclesiastical dig-

¹In a collection of papers entitled "Scritture politiche, morali e satiriche sopra le massime, istituti e governo della compagnia di Gesu" (MS., Rome) will be found a circumstantial treatise of nearly 400 pages, "Discorso sopra

la religione de' padri Gesuiti e loro modo di governare," written between 1681 and 1686, apparently by a person deeply initiated, from which the following notices are for the most part taken. See Appendix, No. 150.

nity and secular power. But this combination was moreover shown to be highly prejudicial in its effects generally; formerly the coadjutors and professed had exercised superintendence over each other; but temporal importance and spiritual claims were now united in the same persons. Men of the meanest endowments considered themselves of high ability, because no one now ventured to gainsay them. Having attained exclusive dominion, they began quietly and at their ease to enjoy those large possessions which the colleges had acquired in the course of time, and to think principally of the means by which their wealth might be increased. The actual direction of business, and the duties, whether of churches or schools, were abandoned to the younger members.² Even as regarded the general of the order, the professed assumed a deportment of extreme independence. That the alteration was a great and essential one, is made obvious, among other things, by the characters and fortunes of the generals, the sort of men chosen as supreme rulers, and the mode in which these chiefs were treated.

How different was Mutio Vitelleschi from his predecessor, the calm, self-ruling, crafty, and inflexible Aquaviva! Vitelleschi was by nature mild, indulgent, and conciliatory; his intimates called him the angel of peace; and he found consolation on his death-bed from the conviction that he had never injured anyone. These were admirable qualities of a most amiable man, but did not suffice to fit him for the government of an order so widely extended, active, and powerful. He was unable to enforce strictness of discipline, even with regard to dress, still less could he oppose an effectual resistance to the demands of determined ambition. It was during his administration, from 1615 to 1645, that the change above referred to was effected.

His immediate successors proceeded in a similar spirit. Vincenzo Caraffa (1649) was a man of the utmost piety and humility;³ he even rejected all personal attendance, and was in all re-

² "Discorso:" "There are many to make a show, but few to work. The poor are not visited, the lands are not cultivated. . . . Excepting a few, mostly young men, who attend the schools, all the others, whether professors, or procurators, or rectors, or preachers, scarcely have a particle of labor."

³ "Diario, Deone, 12 Giugno, 1649:" "On Tuesday morning died the general of the Jesuits: a man of few acquisitions, but of a sanctity of life

rarely witnessed. With regard to his own person, he would not have a carriage in his service, nor permit himself to be treated differently from the meanest of the order, whether in food or clothing; and as to other matters, he would have had the Jesuit fathers live as became those bound by vows of religion, not mingling in politics nor frequenting courts; but in seeking to secure that object, he found insurmountable difficulties, and these were the cause of his death."

spects most exemplary. Yet he could effect nothing, whether by his example or admonitions. Piccolomini (1651) was by nature disposed to measures of energy and decision; but these he now abandoned altogether, and thought only of how he might best give satisfaction to his brethren of the order.

For it had already become manifest that an attempt at change in this respect was no longer advisable. Alessandro Gottofredi (from January to March, 1651) would gladly have labored to effect alterations, and strove at least to restrict the aspiring ambition that sought only its own advancement; but the two months of his administration sufficed to make him generally hated, and his death was hailed as the deliverance from a tyrant. A still more decided antipathy was encountered by the succeeding general, Goswin Nickel. Yet he could not be said to have contemplated any very deeply searching reforms: he suffered things to proceed, upon the whole, as they had previously done; but it was his habit to insist with extreme obstinacy on opinions once adopted, and his manners were rude and repulsive; he did not sufficiently regard the feelings of others, and so grievously offended the self-love of many powerful members of the order, that the general congregation of 1661 adopted measures against him, such as, from the monarchical character of the institution, could scarcely have been supposed possible.

They first requested permission from Pope Alexander VII to associate with their general a vicar, who should have the right of succession. The permission was readily granted, the court even pointed out a candidate for the appointment—that Oliva, who had first advised Alexander to call his kinsmen around him, and the order was sufficiently compliant to elect that favorite of the palace. The only question now was, as to the mode in which the power should be transferred from the general to the vicar. The members could not prevail on themselves to pronounce the word "deposition." Wherefore, to obtain the thing, and yet evade the word, they proposed the question whether the vicar was to be invested with a cumulative power—authority held in conjunction with the general, that is; or a primitive power, one that is held apart from him. The congregation, of course, decided for the primitive. They next declared expressly, and as a consequence of this decision, that

the authority of the general was wholly forfeited, and was to be entirely transferred to the vicar.⁴

Thus it came to pass that the society of which the first principle was unlimited obedience, deposed even their supreme chief, and that without the commission of any real offence on his part. It is obvious that, by this proceeding, the aristocratical tendencies of the period attained a decided predominance, even in the order of Jesuits.

Oliva was a man who loved external tranquillity and the luxuries of life, but was constantly involved in political intrigue. He possessed a villa near Albano, where he occupied himself with the cultivation of the rarest exotics; even when residing in the capital, he would occasionally retire to the novitiate house of St. Andrea, where he would give audience to no one. The most select delicacies only were suffered to appear on his table. He never left his residence on foot. In his house, the apartments inhabited by himself were arranged with the most refined attention to comfort: he was studious to enjoy the position that he held, the power that he had obtained; but, certainly, this was not the man calculated to revive the ancient spirit of the order.

The society was in fact continually departing more and more widely from the principles on which it had been established.

Was it not pledged to defend and uphold, above all things, the interests of the Roman See, and even founded for that especial purpose? But the intimate relations formed by the order with France and the house of Bourbon, had so modified the spirit of the former, that in all the conflicts now gradually arising between that house and the Roman Court it almost invariably took part with the French.⁵ Occasionally, works of Jesuit authors were condemned by the Inquisition of Rome, because they defended the rights of the crown with too much vehemence. The principals of the French Jesuits avoided all intercourse with the papal nuncios, lest they should bring on themselves the suspicion of entertaining ultramontane opinions. Nor could

⁴ Circumstantial narration in the contemporary "Discorso." The author concludes thus: "We going to Rome at that time, and proceeding to pay our respects [to Nickel], . . . he ended by saying these words: 'I find myself here entirely abandoned, and have no longer the power to do anything.'" ⁵ "Relatione della nuntiatura di Monsr. Scotti, nunzio alla Mta. del re

Xmo. 1639-1641:" "The Jesuits, who ought to be as they formerly were, defenders of the Holy See, now compromise it more frequently than any others. . . . They profess a total estrangement [from the nuntiatura], and are always fearful lest by approaching the nunzio they should lose the favor of the royal ministers."

the Roman See boast of any great obedience from the order at this time in other respects. In the missions more particularly, the papal enactments were almost invariably treated with total disregard.

Again, it was one of the most essential principles of the order, that all worldly connections should be renounced, and that each member should devote himself exclusively to his spiritual duties. The rule that all who entered the order should abandon every temporal possession had been strictly enforced in former times; but now the act of renunciation was either delayed for a time or was performed under certain conditions only, on the ground that the members were at all times liable to expulsion; and, at length, the custom obtained of each member making a transfer of his property to the society itself, but with the clear understanding that this was in favor of the particular college to which he had attached himself, and even in such sort that he frequently retained the management of his possessions in his own hands, though under a different title.⁶ Nay, the members of the colleges having sometimes more leisure than their relations, who were engaged in active life, undertook the agency of their affairs, collected their revenues, and conducted their lawsuits.⁷

Nor did this mercantile spirit long confine itself to individuals; it became manifest among the colleges, even in their corporate character. All were anxious to secure themselves in the possession of wealth, and as the large donations of earlier times had ceased, they sought to effect this by commercial pursuits. The Jesuits held that there was no material difference between the practice of agriculture, to which the more primitive monks had devoted themselves, and the labors of commerce, in which they were engaged. The *Collegio Romano* possessed a manufactory of cloth at Macerata, and though at first they produced

⁶ "Vincentii Caraffæ epistola de mediis conservandi primævum spiritum societatis." "Definitis pro arbitrio dantis domibus sive collegiis in quibus aut sedem sibi fixurus est aut jam animo fixerit; . . . anxie agunt ut quæ societati reliquerunt, ipsimet per se administrent." "Having had it settled in what houses or colleges they will fix their seat, or having chosen it in their own minds, . . . they labor strenuously to obtain for themselves the administration of what they have resigned to the society."

⁷ "Epistola Goswini Nickel de amore

et studio perfectæ paupertatis." "Illud intolerabile, si et lites inferant et ad tribunalia confligant et violentas pecuniarum repetitiones faciant, aut palam negotiantur ad quæstum, . . . specie quidem primo aspectu etiam honesta, caritate in consanguineos, decepti." "Things have become intolerable, for they commence lawsuits and contend before the tribunals, making violent and repeated demands for money; they also trade openly for the sake of gain, . . . deluded by what at the first view seems indeed to be upright, namely, the love of their kindred."

it only for their own use, yet they soon proceeded to the supply of all other colleges in the provinces, and ultimately to that of the public in general, for which last purpose they attended the fairs. From the close connection existing between the different colleges there resulted a system of banking business, and the Portuguese ambassador in Rome was empowered to draw on the Jesuits of Portugal. Their commercial transactions were particularly prosperous in the colonies. The trading connections of the order extended, as it were, a network over both continents, having Lisbon for its central point.

This was a spirit that, when once called into action, could not fail to affect the whole internal economy of the society.

The members still retained the profession of their first essential principle, that instruction should always be given gratuitously; but they received presents when the pupil entered, and on occasion of certain festivals, occurring at least twice in the year.⁸ The preference was given to pupils of rich families; and it followed, as a necessary consequence, that these young people, conscious of a certain independence, would no longer endure the severity of the ancient discipline. A Jesuit who raised his stick against a pupil received a stab from a poniard in reply; and a young man in Gubbio who thought himself too harshly treated by the father *prefetto*, assassinated the latter in return. Even in Rome, the commotions of the Jesuits' college were a continual theme of conversation for the city and the palace. The masters were on one occasion imprisoned for an entire day by their pupils, and it was at length indispensable that the rector should be dismissed, in compliance with their demands. These things may be regarded as symptoms of a general conflict between the ancient order of things and new tendencies. The latter finally prevailed. The Jesuits could no longer maintain that influence by which they had formerly governed the minds of men.

Nor, indeed, was it now their purpose to subjugate the world, or to imbue it with the spirit of religion; their own spirit had, on the contrary, succumbed before the influence of the world.

⁸ "Discorso:" "Offerings are made at least twice a year—at Christmas, that is, and on their own patron saint's days; and these amount to a considerable sum. Then the money of these offerings, or whatever is employed for plate, pictures, tapestry, chalices, and

other such valuables, all go to these same colleges. It sometimes happens that the local rectors use them indifferently, whence arise infinite offences; but they care little or nothing for the complaints of their own scholars."

The Jesuits now labored only to render themselves indispensable to their fellow-men, by whatever means this might be effected.

And to secure this purpose, not only the rules of their institution, but even the doctrines of religion and the precepts of morality were modified and perverted. The office of confession, by means of which they maintained so immediate an influence over the most secret recesses of social and domestic life, received a direction from these fathers which will be memorable to all times.

On this subject we have unquestionable proof from authentic documents. The Jesuits have themselves expounded in many elaborate works the principles by which they were guided in confession and absolution, and what they recommended to others. These are in general essentially the same with those they have so frequently been accused of prescribing. Let us endeavor to comprehend at least the leading principles from which they proceeded to make the whole domain of the confessional their own.

It is manifest that in the confessional everything must infallibly depend on the conception formed of transgression and of sin.

The Jesuits define sin to be a voluntary departure from the commands of God.⁹

But wherein, we inquire further, does this volition consist? Their answer is, in a clear perception and understanding of the sin, as sin, and in the perfect consent of the will.¹⁰

They adopted this principle from the ambition of propounding something new, and further impelled by their wish to be prepared for all the usages of common life; with scholastic subtlety, and with a widely comprehensive consideration of all cases that could occur, they carried this principle out, even to its most revolting consequences. According to their doctrine,

⁹ Definition by Fr. Toledo: "Voluntarius recessus a regula divina."

¹⁰ Busembaum, "Medulla theologiæ moralis," lib. v. c. ii. dub. iii., expresses himself thus: "Tria requiruntur ad peccatum mortale (quod gratiam et amicitiam cum Deo solvit), quorum si unum desit, fit veniale (quod ob suam levitatem gratiam et amicitiam non tollit): 1. Ex parte intellectus, plena advertentia et deliberatio: 2. Ex parte voluntatis, perfectus consensus: 3. Gra-

vitæ materiæ." "Three things are required to constitute mortal sin (that which separates us from the grace and friendship of God), of which three, if one be wanting, the sin becomes venial (that which because of its lightness does not take from us God's grace and friendship): 1. On the part of the intellect, full perception and deliberation; 2. On the part of the will, active consent; 3. Importance of the thing itself."

it is sufficient if we do not will the commission of sin, as sin. We have the better ground of hope for pardon, the less we thought of God during the commission of our evil deed, and the more violent the passion was by which we were impelled to its commission. The force of habit, nay, even a bad example, suffice to exculpate the sinner, inasmuch as they restrict the freedom of the will. How closely are the limits of transgression thus narrowed! For certainly no man will love sin merely for its own sake. But they also acknowledged grounds of exculpation of a different character. Duelling, for example, is without doubt prohibited by the Church; yet the Jesuits consider, that if a man were in danger of being accused of cowardice because he refused to fight a duel, or of losing his office, or the favor of his sovereign, then he was not to be condemned though he should fight.¹ To take a false oath is in itself a deadly sin, but the man who only swears outwardly, say the Jesuits, without inwardly intending to do so, is not bound by his oath: he does not swear, he only jests.²

These doctrines are to be found in books that make positive profession of moderate views. But now that these times are gone by, we should profit but little by a more minute search for the still wider deviations from rectitude of a subtlety whose reasonings were subversive of all morality, and in which one teacher sought to surpass another, as in a contest for literary pre-eminence. But it cannot be denied that the most perverse tenets of certain among their doctors became extremely dangerous in connection with another principle of the Jesuits—their doctrine of Probability. They maintained that in doubtful cases a man might follow an opinion of the soundness of which he was not himself convinced, provided always that the said opinion were defended by some author of repute.³ They not only considered it allowable to be guided by the most indulgent teachers, but they even recommended that practice.

¹ "Privandus alioqui ob suspicionem ignaviæ, dignitate, officio vel favore principis." (See text.) Busembaum, lib. iii. tract. iv. cap. i. dub. v. art. i. n. 6.

² "Qui exterius tantum juravit, sine animo jurandi, non obligatur, nisi forte ratione scandalì, cum non juraverit sed luserit." "He who has but sworn externally, without swearing with his mind, is not bound, except perhaps on account of the scandal, since he has not

sworn, but jested." Lib. iii. tract. ii. cap. ii. dub. iv. n. 8.

³ Em. Sa., "Aphorismi Confessoriorum s. v. dubium": "Potest quis facere quod probabili ratione vel auctoritate putat licere, etiamsi oppositum tutius sit: sufficit autem opinio alicujus gravis autoris." "Anyone may do what on probable grounds or authority he thinks lawful, although to do the contrary may be safer: but the opinion of some grave author is sufficient."

Scruples of conscience were to be disregarded; nay, the proper method of freeing one's self from their influence was to follow the most tolerant opinions, even though they might be less safe.⁴ How completely were the profound and secret monitions of self-government and self-judgment thus lowered into a more external act! In the directing manuals of the Jesuits all possible contingencies of life are treated of, much in the method usually adopted for systems of civil law, and appreciated according to the degrees of their veniality. A man has but to look out the cases supposed in these books, and, without any conviction on his own part, to regulate himself according to their directions, and he is then certain of absolution before God and the Church; a slight turn of the thoughts sufficed to exonerate from all guilt. The Jesuits themselves, with a certain sort of honesty, sometimes express surprise on perceiving how light and easy their tenets render the yoke of Christ.

Section XII.—The Jansenists

All life must have been utterly extinct in the Catholic Church had not an opposition instantly arisen against doctrines so pernicious, and against every cause producing, as well as every consequence resulting from, them.

Already were the greater part of the remaining orders on bad terms with the Jesuits—the Dominicans, because of their dissent from Thomas Aquinas; the Franciscans and Capuchins, on account of the exclusive authority which they arrogated to themselves in the missions of Asia, beyond the Ganges. They were not unfrequently assailed by the bishops, whose powers they restricted; and were occasionally attacked by the parish priests, whose duties they encroached upon. In the universities also—at least in those of France and the Netherlands—they frequently provoked antagonists. But all these things formed no effective resistance, which could, indeed, arise only from a more vigorous spirit, and more profound convictions.

For after all, the moral laws of the Jesuits were entirely con-

⁴ Busembaum, lib. i. c. iii.: "Remedia conscientie scrupulose sunt, 1. Scrupulos contemnere; 4. Assuface se ad sequendas sententias mitiores et minus etiam certas." "The remedies

for scruples are: 1. To despise such scruples; 4. To accustom yourself to follow the more indulgent opinions, and even when they may be less sure."

INNOCENT THE TENTH.

Photogravure from the original painting by Velasquez.



sistent with their dogmatical tenets. In the former, as in the latter, they allowed ample scope to the freedom of the will.

It was, however, precisely against this point that the most important opposition ever experienced by the Jesuits as a body was directed. It arose and was developed in the following manner:

During those years when the whole theological world of the Catholic Church was held in a state of incessant warfare by the controversies respecting the Means of Grace, two young men were studying at Louvain—Cornelius Jansen of Holland, and Jean du Verger of Gascony, both of whom had adopted, with equally profound conviction, those more rigid doctrines which had indeed never been wholly departed from in that university, and both conceived an extreme antipathy to the Jesuits. Du Verger was the superior in rank and fortune, and took his friend with him to Bayonne. They here plunged themselves into a deep and constantly repeated study of the works of St. Augustine, conceiving for the doctrines of that father of the Church, in relation to grace and free will, an enthusiasm which determined the course of their whole future lives.¹

Jansenius, who became professor in the University of Louvain, and Bishop of Ypres, attached himself more particularly to theoretical asceticism, as a means of reviving the spirit of these doctrines, while Du Verger, who obtained the abbacy of St. Cyran, pursued the same object by a path equally ascetic, and more practical.

Yet the book entitled "Augustinus," in which Jansenius has circumstantially and systematically expounded his convictions, is of great value, not only because it so boldly attacks the Jesuits both in their doctrines and moral tendencies, but also because it does this throughout the work, in a manner tending to restore their original vitality of thought to the doctrines of grace, sin, and remission.

Jansenius proceeds from the principle that the will of man is not free, being fettered and held in bondage by the desire after earthly things. Of its own strength it is not able to raise itself from this condition; grace must first come to the

¹ "Synopsis vitæ Jansenii," prefixed to the "Augustinus": "He then proceeded into Gascony, where, in the society of, and studious intercourse with,

very learned men, he made great progress in the comprehension of the holy fathers, and more particularly of St. Augustine, as is frequently testified."

aid of the will—grace, which is not so much the forgiveness of sins, as the deliverance of the soul from the bonds of earthly desires.²

And here his own peculiar views are immediately presented. He considers grace to be made manifest in the higher and purer happiness obtained by the soul from heavenly things. He declares the effectual grace of the Saviour to be no other than a spiritual delight, by which the will is moved to desire and to perform what God has decreed. It is the involuntary impulse communicated by God to the will, and by means of which man finds happiness in good, and labors to obtain it.³ He repeatedly inculcates the truth, that good is to be sought, not from fear of punishment, but from love of righteousness.

And from this point he proceeds to the higher question of what is this righteousness?

He answers: God himself.

For man must not think of God as if he were a corporeal being, nor under any form whatever—not even under that of light. God must be thought of and loved as the eternal truth—as the source whence all wisdom and truth proceeds—as righteousness, not in its acceptation of a quality or attribute of the soul, but in its predominance as an idea, a supreme inviolable rule. The rules of our actions proceed from the eternal law; they are a reflection from its light: whoever loves righteousness, loves God himself.⁴

Man does not become good from the fact of his directing his efforts to the acquirement of any particular virtue; it is by fixing his eyes firmly on the one unchangeable supreme good, which is truth, which is God himself. Virtue is the love of God.

And in this love it is that the freedom of the will consists; its inexpressible sweetness extinguishes the pleasure derived

² Corn. Jansenii "Augustinus," tom. iii. lib. i. c. ii.: "The liberation of the will is not the forgiveness of sin, but a certain delightful freedom from the bonds of earthly wishes; enslaved by which, the soul is in chains, until, by a celestial sweetness infused by grace, it is borne over to the love of the supreme good." It is thus that Pascal also understands this doctrine: "God changes the heart of man by a celestial sweetness which he pours over it."—Provincial Letters, xviii. tom. iii. p. 413.

³ Tom. iii. lib. iv. c. i.

⁴ "Regulæ vivendi et quasi lumina virtutum immutabilia et sempiterna non sunt aliud quam lex æterna, quæ in

ipsa Dei æterna veritate splendet, quam proinde diligendo non aliud diligit nisi ipsum Deum seu veritatem et justitiam ejus incommutabilem, a qua promanat et ex cujus refulgentis lucis fulget quidquid velut justum et rectum approbamus." "The rules of living, and, as it were, the inscrutable and sempiternal lights of the virtues, are no other than that eternal law which shines in the truth itself of the eternal God; whence it follows, that loving these, a man loves no other than God himself, or his unchangeable truth and justice, from which there proceeds, and out of whose refulgence there shines, whatever we desire as just and approve as right."

from earthly gratifications: there then ensues a voluntary and ineffably blessed necessity not to sin, but to lead a good life.⁵ That is the true free will—a will freed from evil and replete with good.

It is to be remarked, and is worthy of admiration, that throughout this work the development of the doctrinal views is followed out with a high degree of philosophical clearness, even in the midst of zealous and hostile polemical discussion. The essential groundwork of the book is at once moral and religious, speculative, and practical. To the mere external forms and self-seeking of the Jesuit doctrines, it opposes an upright and strict internal discipline, the ideal of an activity whose primary origin, as well as its ultimate expression, is love to God.

And while Jansenius was still occupied with the preparation of this work, his friend was already seeking first to show forth in his own life the ideas on which it was founded, and then to extend their influence practically on all within his reach.

St. Cyran, for so was Du Verger now called, had established for himself a learned and ascetic hermitage, even in the midst of Paris. By an unwearied study of the Holy Scriptures and fathers of the Church, he labored to imbue his own mind with their spirit. That peculiarity of doctrine, in which he agreed with Jansenius, immediately conducted him of necessity to the sacrament of penance. The penitential ordinances of the Church did not suffice him; he was indeed heard to say that the Church had been purer in her earlier ages, as streams are clearer near their source, but that too many of the truths of the gospel were now obscured.⁶ His own demands, on the contrary, had the appearance of extreme rigor. To practise deep humility and long endurance, to depend wholly on God, utterly to renounce the world,⁷ to devote every thought, every effort, the whole being, to the love of God—this alone appeared to him to be Christianity. So profound was his conception of the necessity of an inward change, that, according to his views, grace must precede repentance. "When it is the will of God to save a soul, the work is commenced from within; when the heart is once changed, then is true repentance first experienced: all else

⁵ Tom. iii. lib. vii. c. ix.: "A most happy, immutable, and necessary will not to sin, but to live rightly."

⁶ Extracts from his trial in Reuchlin, "Geschichte von Portroyal," i. p. 451.

⁷ "To humble one's self, to suffer, and to depend wholly on God—this makes up the whole Christian life."

follows. Absolution can do no more than indicate the first beam of grace. As a physician must observe and be guided by the movements and internal operations of nature only, so must the physician of the soul proceed according to the workings of grace." He often repeats the declaration that he had himself passed through the whole course—from temptation and sin, to contrition, prayer, and exaltation. There were few to whom he communicated his thoughts, and when he did so, it was with few words and the most serene tranquillity of expression; but since his whole soul was filled with the truth of what he uttered, and as he always awaited the proper occasion and a befitting frame of mind, both in himself and others, so the impressions he produced were irresistible, his hearers felt themselves affected by an involuntary change, tears sometimes burst from their eyes before they could think of repressing them.⁸ Many distinguished men soon attached themselves to his tenets and became his decided proselytes. Among their number was Arnauld d'Andilly, who lived in close intimacy with Richelieu and Anne of Austria, and was employed in the most important offices, together with his nephew Le Maître, who was at that time admired as the most eloquent orator of the Parliament, and who had before him a career of the utmost brilliancy, yet he now at once retired to the closest seclusion in a hermitage at no great distance from Paris. Angelique Arnauld, whom we have already named, with her nuns of Portroyal, attached themselves to St. Cyran, with all that unlimited devotion which pious women are wont to feel for their prophet.

Jansenius died before he had seen his book printed. St. Cyran was thrown into prison immediately after the first conversions he had effected, by Richelieu, who had a natural antipathy to so effective an activity in such a cause; but these misfortunes did not prevent the diffusion of their doctrines.

The book of Jansenius gradually produced a general and profound impression, as well by its intrinsic merits, as by the boldness of its polemic character.⁹ St. Cyran actively continued to effect conversions even from his prison. The undeserved suf-

⁸ "Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Portroyal, par M. Fontaine," i. p. 225. Racine, "Histoire de Portroyal," p. 134.

⁹ Gerberon, "Histoire du Jansénisme," i. 63: "The theologians of Paris applied themselves so zealously to the

study of St. Augustine of Ypres, in whom they recognized him of Hippo, . . . that in a short time nothing was heard among those divines but the names of St. Augustine and of Jansenius."

ferings inflicted on him, and which he bore with the utmost resignation, exalted him in the public regard, so that when he regained his liberty on the death of Richelieu, he was looked upon as a saint—a John the Baptist. It is true that his death followed a few months afterward, October 11, 1643, but he had founded a school, wherein the doctrines of himself and his friend were regarded as the gospel. "His disciples," remarks one of their body, "go forth like young eagles from under his wings; heirs of his virtue and piety, what they had received from him, they transmitted to others; Elijah has left behind him many an Elisha who continues to prosecute his work."

If we attempt to define the relation in which the Jansenists stood to the predominant Church parties in general, we at once perceive a close analogy to Protestantism, and are strongly reminded of the early Protestants. They insisted with equal zeal on pure holiness of life, and labored with similar earnestness to impart a new and more perfect form to their system of faith, by rejecting the interpolations of the schoolmen. But these things are by no means sufficient, in my opinion, to warrant our declaring them a kind of unconscious Protestants. The grand distinction, considered historically, consists herein that they voluntarily admitted a principle to which Protestantism from the first refused to be reconciled. They remained firmly devoted to those most eminent fathers of the Latin Church, whose authority had been rejected in Germany from the year 1523, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory; nay, they even added certain fathers of the Greek Church, and above all St. Chrysostom, in whose works they believed they possessed a pure and unaltered tradition, from which, down to St. Bernard, no deviation had been made. He too, they maintain, held fast by it, but after that "last of the fathers," the intrusion of Aristotelian tenets had obscured its light. This then was very far from that energetic zeal with which the Protestants went directly and immediately up to the doctrines of Holy Writ; the perceptions of the Jansenists were satisfied with those primary formations which served as the groundwork of the later system. They remained convinced that the visible Church, notwithstanding her momentary obscurations and disfigurements, is still one with Christ, not one in spirit only, but one in body also—infallible, immortal, and imperishable. They adhered most earnestly to

the episcopal hierarchy, living in the belief that St. Augustine had been inspired by God to communicate to the world in its utmost fulness the doctrine of grace, which constitutes the life and essence of the new covenant. They consider that in his person Christian theology received its completion. This they desire to comprehend to its very root, to examine and understand even to its innermost centre, and not to take, as some have formerly done, the Pelagian opinions for those of St. Augustine—so far the Jansenists. But Luther, though also first awakened by St. Augustine, had then directly returned to the true source of instruction, the Scriptures—the Word of God; while in contrast to this, Catholicism clung firmly to the entire system, as it had been formed in the course of ages. The Jansenists sought to enforce the creed of St. Augustine, as that which first comprehended all that had preceded, and laid the basis for all that was to follow. The Protestants rejected tradition, the Catholics held it fast. Jansenism endeavored to purify it, to restore it to its original character, thereby hoping to regenerate both doctrine and life.

There was already gathered about Le Maître, in the hermitage of Portroyal des Champs, to which he had retired, a society of persons by no means inconsiderable, who were all devoted to these doctrines. It is not to be denied that this company was at first somewhat closely limited, consisting principally of members and friends of the Arnauld family. Le Maître had drawn four of his brothers around him—their mother, from whom they had received their religious tendencies, was an Arnauld. The oldest friend of St. Cyran, and the person to whom he bequeathed his heart, was Arnauld d'Andilly, and he also finally joined this society. His youngest brother, Antoine Arnauld, produced the first considerable work written in its favor. They were followed by many other connections and friends. The convent of Portroyal, in Paris, was likewise almost exclusively in the hands of this family. Andilly relates that his mother, who also finally retired thither, beheld herself surrounded by twelve daughters and grand-daughters.¹⁰ We are here reminded, that it was principally by the agency of the elder Antoine Arnauld, from whom all these descended, that the Jesuits were expelled from Paris in the year 1594—their banishment

¹⁰ *Mémoires d'Arnauld d'Andilly*, i. p. 341.

was the result of his powerful and brilliant pleading against them. Aversion to that order seemed as it were hereditary in the Arnould family.

But this narrow circle of friends was very soon largely extended.

They were joined by many who were attracted by no other sympathy than that of similar opinions. A very influential preacher of Paris—Singlin, an adherent of St. Cyran, was particularly active in the cause. There was in Singlin the remarkable peculiarity that while he could not express himself without positive difficulty in the common affairs of life, he had no sooner ascended the pulpit than he displayed the most overpowering eloquence.¹ Those whom he saw most earnestly attached to himself he sent to Portroyal, where they received a cordial welcome. These persons were, for the most part, young clergymen and scholars; wealthy merchants; physicians, who had already attained a good position; persons of the most distinguished families, and members of different religious orders; but all, men who were led to take this step by an inward impulse, were governed by no unworthy motive, and were guided only by their fixed and unbiassed convictions.

In this retirement, which resembled a convent held together voluntarily, and fettered by no vows, many religious exercises were zealously performed. The churches were sedulously visited; prayer was frequently offered, whether in society or in private; agricultural labors were undertaken, and certain handicrafts were engaged in by some of the members, but the principal occupation of the place was literature. The company of Portroyal was at the same time a sort of literary academy.

While the Jesuits heaped up learning in unwieldy folios, or lost themselves in the perverse scholasticism of an artificial system, applied both to morals and theology, the Jansenists addressed themselves to the nation.

They began by translating the Holy Scriptures, the Fathers of the Church, and Latin prayer-books. In these labors they were happily careful to avoid the old Frankish forms which had previously disfigured works of this character, and expressed themselves with an attractive clearness. An educational institution, which they established at Portroyal, gave them occasion

¹ *Mémoires de Fontaine*, ii. p. 282.

to compose school-books, in ancient and modern languages, logic, and geometry. These works, proceeding from a more liberal mode of viewing the object to be attained, presented new methods, the merits of which were universally acknowledged.² Works of a different character were also produced at intervals; as for example, controversial writings, the acuteness and precision of which reduced their enemies to silence; with others of the most profound piety, such, for example, as the "Heures de Portroyal," which were received with an eager welcome, and even after the lapse of a century, were as much valued and sought for as on the first day. From this society proceeded men of scientific eminence, such as Pascal; of high distinction in poetry, such as Racine; or of the most comprehensive range in learning, such as Tillemont. They extended their efforts, as we see, very far beyond the circle of theology and asceticism marked out by Jansenius and Du Verger. We shall not proceed too far if we assert that this community of men, animated by the most noble purposes, endowed with the highest intellect, and who by their own unassisted efforts, and in their intercourse with each other, produced a new method of conveying knowledge, and originated a new tone of expression, had exercised an extensive and beneficial influence on the literature of France, and through that medium on the whole of Europe. To Portroyal, the literary splendor of the age of Louis XIV may in some measure be safely attributed.

How was it possible that the spirit by which all these labors were prompted, and from which such results were obtained, should fail to make itself a path through the whole nation? The members of Portroyal found adherents in all quarters, but more particularly among the parochial clergy, to whom the confessional system of the Jesuits had long been an object of abhorrence. Occasionally also it appeared probable, as under Cardinal Retz, for example, that they would also penetrate among the superior clergy; and some of the members did obtain important offices. We find them ere long, not in France and the Netherlands only—they possessed adherents in Spain also; and during the pontificate of Innocent X a Jansenist divine might be heard publicly preaching from the pulpits of Rome.³

² "Notice de Petitot," prefixed to the "Memoirs" of Andilly. In other respects this work is surprisingly full of party spirit.

³ Deone, tom. iv.: "There was cited before the holy office Monsieur Honorato Herzan (Hersent), doctor of the Sor-

There the question above all others most interesting now was, in what light these opinions would be regarded by the Roman See.

Section XIII.—Position of the Roman Court with Regard to the Two Parties

There was in fact a revival, though under somewhat altered circumstances, of that contest which, forty years earlier, neither Clement VIII nor Paul V had ventured to decide.

I know not whether Urban VIII or Innocent X would have been more determined, had there not unhappily appeared a passage in the work of Jansenius at which the Roman See took grave offence on other grounds.

In his third book, "On the State of Innocence," Jansenius adverts to a position laid down by St. Augustine, which he could not but admit to have been condemned by the Court of Rome. For a moment he hesitates as to whom he shall follow, the father of the Church or the Pope. After some deliberation, however, he remarks,¹ that the Roman See sometimes condemned a doctrine merely for the sake of peace, without therefore intending to declare such doctrine absolutely false; he then positively determines in favor of the tenet of St. Augustine.

His antagonists naturally availed themselves of this passage. They pointed it out as an attack on the papal infallibility, and Urban VIII was induced to express his disapprobation of a book which, to the disparagement of the apostolic dignity, contained principles already condemned by former pontiffs.

He nevertheless effected very little by this declaration of opinion. The Jansenist tenets extended themselves none the less effectually. France was the scene of a general schism; the adversaries of Portroyal considered it necessary to elicit another

bonne in Paris, to answer for the sermon that he preached in San Luigi on the day of the festa, in which he maintained and defended the opinion of Jansenius, upholding him to be the only expositor of St. Augustine; not, indeed, specifying him, but so pointing him out that he was understood by all present. He retired to the house of the French ambassador, and thence departed to Paris. His book is prohibited, and the master of the sacred palace has had some trouble for permitting it to be printed:

he excuses himself by saying that it was dedicated to the Pope and was in the French tongue, which he does not understand. But the book contained opinions favorable to the Jansenists and opposed to the Jesuits."

¹ "De statu naturæ puræ," iii. c. xxii. p. 403. "But if, he adds, it could then have been shown that this and some other propositions had been drawn from Augustine, the coryphæus of all doctors, never, as I believe, would such an edict have proceeded from the Apostolic See."

and more decided condemnation from the Roman See. For that purpose they embodied the essential doctrines of Jansenius, as they understood them, into five propositions, and required Pope Innocent X to pronounce upon them his apostolic judgment.²

A formal investigation was consequently entered upon at the Court of Rome; a congregation of four cardinals was formed, under whose supervision thirteen theological consultors proceeded to the examination.

Now these propositions were so framed, that at the first glance they seemed to present pure heterodoxy, but when examined with greater care, might be explained, at least in part, to convey an orthodox meaning.³ There instantly arose a diversity of opinion among the consultors. From among them, two Dominicans, a Minorite, Luca Wadding, and the general of the Augustine order, thought the condemnation unadvisable, but the remaining nine were in favor of it.⁴ Everything now depended on the question of whether the Pope would take part with the majority.

The subject was altogether repulsive to Innocent X. He detested all abstruse theological investigations, even in themselves; but he perceived, moreover, that in whatever sense he might declare himself as to those now pending, none but the most injurious consequences could ensue. Notwithstanding the opinion pronounced by so large a majority, the pontiff could not resolve on giving his decision. "When he came to the edge of the chasm," says Pallavicini, "and measured the greatness of the leap with his eyes, he held back, and was not to be moved to any further advance."

But these scruples were not shared by the whole court. Immediately beside the Pope stood a Secretary of State, Cardinal Chigi, who was continually urging him to a decision. While at Cologne, Chigi had met with and read this book, of which that very passage had even then so powerfully awakened his orthodox indignation that he had cast it in fury from his hands. His aversion had been further strengthened by some of the monastic orders of Germany; he had taken a very earnest part in the

² Pallavicini, "Vita di Alessandro VII.": "To the end that, being well informed, he should declare what ought to be permitted or prohibited in regard to the five principal propositions of the said author."

³ Racine, "Abrégé de l'histoire ecclésiastique," tom. xi. p. 15.

⁴ Pallavicini, who was himself among the consultors, supplies us with these details. Of the Pope he says, "The character of his intellect is most averse to these scholastic subtleties."

Congregation of Cardinals appointed to examine the work, and had largely contributed to bring about the adverse result. He now pressed the Pope to remain no longer silent; to do so, he maintained, would now be called a sanction of the propositions; he ought not to suffer that the doctrine of the pope's infallibility should fall into discredit. It was unquestionably one of the highest vocations of the Apostolic See to give a decision when the faithful were in doubt.⁵

We have already seen that Innocent was a man who permitted himself to be guided by sudden impressions. In a luckless hour he was overcome by the representation made to him of the danger to which the papal infallibility was exposed. He was the more inclined to think this warning an inspiration from above, because it was given on the day of St. Athanasius. On July 1st he published his bull; and in this he condemned the five propositions as heretical, blasphemous, and accursed. He declared that by this means he hoped to restore the peace of the Church. There was no wish that lay nearer his heart than that of seeing the bark of the Church sail onward as in tranquil waters, and arrive in the haven of salvation.⁶

But how entirely different was the result to prove from what the pontiff had desired!

The Jansenists denied that the propositions were to be found in the book of Jansenius; and much more earnestly, that they understood them in the sense in which they had been condemned.

The false position in which the Roman Court had placed itself, was now first made manifest. The French bishops were urgent in Rome for a declaration that those propositions were really condemned in the sense given to them by Jansenius. Chigi, who had meanwhile ascended the throne under the name of Alexander VII, was the less prepared to refuse this, since he had himself taken so active a part in securing their condemnation. He declared therefore, formally and in unequivocal terms, "that the five propositions were assuredly extracted from the book of Jansenius, and were condemned in the sense that he had given to them."⁷

⁵ Communications of Pallavicini.

⁶ In Cocquel. v. iii. 248. We discover from Pallavicini that this bull was prepared partly by Chigi, but principally by Albizi, an assessor of the Inquisition.

⁷ "Quinque illas propositiones ex libro præmemorati Cornelii Jansenii, epis-

copi Iprensis, cui titulus Augustinus excerptas ac in sensu ab eodem Jansenio intento damnatas fuisse declaramus et definimus." "Those five propositions we declare to have been extracted from the book of the aforesaid Cornelius Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres, entitled 'Au-

But even against this attack, the Jansenists had prepared their arms. They replied that a declaration of such a character exceeded the limits of the papal power; that the infallibility of the Pope did not extend to a judgment respecting facts.

A question as to the limits of the papal authority was thus added to the dispute already pending in regard to doctrine. In their undeniable opposition to the Papal See, the Jansenists yet found means to maintain themselves in the position of good Catholics.

And now this party also was too firmly established to be set aside, dispositions were occasionally made toward effecting that purpose on the part of the crown; formularies, in accordance with the bull of condemnation, were propounded, with command that they should be subscribed by all ecclesiastics, and even by schoolmasters and nuns. The Jansenists did not hesitate to condemn the five propositions, which admitted, as we have said, of a heterodox interpretation; they merely refused to acknowledge, by an unconditional subscription, that the tenets condemned were contained in Jansenius, or that they were the doctrines of their master; no persecution could bring them to that admission. The effect of this steadfast deportment was that their numbers and credit increased from day to day, and defenders of their opinions were soon to be found even among the bishops themselves.⁸

In the year 1668 Clement IX, for the purpose of restoring peace, at least externally, was obliged to declare himself satisfied with such a subscription as even a Jansenist could offer. He contented himself with a condemnation of the five propositions in general, without insisting on their being actually taught by the Jansenists;⁹ and this was in fact a material concession on

gustinus'; and we determine that they are condemned in the sense attributed to them by the said Jansenius."

⁸ Letter from nineteen bishops to the Pope, December 1, 1667: "Novum et inauditum apud nos nonnulli dogma proceuderunt, ecclesie nempe decretis, quibus quotidiana nec revelata divinitus facta deciduntur." "A new and unheard-of doctrine has been set forth among us, namely, that decrees of the Church, regarding matters of daily life and fact, and not of divine revelation only, are capable of deciding with infallible certainty and truth." And yet this is, without doubt, the received solution of the question of "right and fact" ("droit et fait").

⁹ The last formulary of Alexander VII (February 15, 1665) is thus expressed: "I reject and condemn utterly, and with sincerity of purpose, the five propositions extracted from the book of Cornelius Jansenius, entitled 'Augustinus,' and in the sense intended by that author, as the Holy See has condemned them in the above-named constitutions." The more circumstantial declaration of peace, on the contrary, runs thus: "You are to resolve on condemning, sincerely, fully, and without any reserve or exception, all the opinions that the Church and the Pope have condemned, and do condemn, in the five propositions." A second article follows: "We declare

the part of the Roman Court, which not only suffered its claims to decide on matters of fact to drop, but also acquiesced in the tacit arrangement that its sentence of condemnation pronounced against Jansenius should remain without effect.

And from that time the party of St. Cyran and Jansenius increased in strength and importance, tolerated by the Curia, having friendly relations with the Court of France—the well-known Minister Pomponne was a son of Andilly—and favored by many of the great, it rose to high consideration. The full effect of its literary activity was now first perceived to act upon the nation; but with the progress of this society there grew also, and that in despite of the conclusion of peace, a most animated opposition to the Roman See. The company of Portroyal could not fail to know full well that their existence would have been brought to an early close, had the course of things proceeded in accordance with the designs of the Curia.

Section XIV.—Relation of the Papal See to the Temporal Power

An opposition which, to say the least, was no less perilous, had also arisen from a different quarter, and was continually increasing in vehemence as well as extent.

The Roman See began to assert its jurisdictional rights in the seventeenth century, I will not say with more energy and effect, but certainly with a more systematic rigor and inflexibility than had previously been known. Urban VIII was indebted for his elevation to this among other things, that he had gained distinction as the zealous defender of these rights,¹ and he now established an especial Congregation of Immunities. The cardinals forming this body were selected from such as, being young prelates, might hope to obtain advancement in proportion to the degree of zeal they exhibited in this matter. They had, for the most part, formed relations with foreign courts,

that it would be offering insult to the Church to comprehend, among those opinions condemned in the five propositions, the doctrine of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, concerning grace as efficacious of itself, necessary to all the actions of Christian piety, and to the free predestination of the elect."

¹"Relatione de' quattro Ambasciatori, 1625: "He professes, above all things, independence of mind and an

inflexibility of soul that is not to be moved by any argument concerning the interests of princes; but that on which he insists most earnestly, and toward which he bends all his efforts, is the preserving and increasing of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This same idea was always upheld by the pontiff in his less exalted station, and was, indeed, the great cause of his exaltation." See Appendix, No. 104.

and to them he intrusted the charge of keeping vigilant watch over all encroachments of temporal princes on the spiritual jurisdiction. The attention devoted to this department was from that period much more earnest and regular; the admonitions in cases of transgression became more urgent—personal interest was combined with official zeal. In the public opinion of the court it was held as a proof of piety, to maintain a jealous guard over every point of these old traditional rights.²

But were the Temporal States likely to be equally well pleased with this more vigilant supervision? The feeling of religious union which had been excited in the conflict with Protestantism had again become cold. All nations were laboring to increase their internal strength: the general effort was toward political concentration and compactness; the first consequence therefore was that the Court of Rome found itself involved in rancorous dissensions with all the Catholic States.

The Spaniards themselves attempted occasionally to restrict the interference of Rome, as, for example, at Naples, where they sought to add certain assessors on the part of the civil power to the tribunal of the Inquisition! The Roman Curia had not admitted the claims of the Emperor to the patriarchate of Aquileia, without some hesitation, from the fear that he might avail himself of its possession to secure himself an increased extension of ecclesiastical independence. The Estates of the German Empire made efforts in the capitularies of election for 1654 and 1658, to limit the jurisdiction of the nuncios and the Curia by more stringent regulations. Venice was in ceaseless commotion with regard to the influence exercised by the Roman Court on the appointments to ecclesiastical offices in that country, and in relation to the pensions and arrogant proceedings of the papal kinsmen (*Nepoten*). At one time Genoa would find occasion to recall her ambassador from the Court of Rome; at another, the

² Joh. Bapt. de Luca, S. S. E. Cardinalis, "Relatio curiæ Romanæ, 1683." Disc. xvii. p. 109: "Etiam apud bonos et zelantes ecclesiasticos remanet quæstio, an hujus congregationis erectio ecclesiasticæ immunitati et jurisdictioni proficua vel præjudicialis fuerit, potissime quia bonus quidem sed forte indiscretus vel asper zelus aliquorum, qui circa initia eam regebant, aliqua produxit inconvenientia præjudicialia, atque asperitatis vel nimium exactæ et exorbitantis defensionis opinionem impressit apud seculares." "There re-

mains a question, even with good and zealous Catholics, whether the erection of this congregation has been profitable or injurious to ecclesiastical immunities and jurisdiction, principally because the well-meant but perhaps indiscreet or harsh zeal of some who at first directed it, may have produced injurious inconvenience, and impressed upon the laity an opinion of too much asperity, and too exacting and exorbitant a defence of spiritual claims." A very important confession from a cardinal.

same step was taken by Savoy; but the most vigorous opposition of all was that presented by the Church of France, as might, indeed, have been expected from the principles involved in its restoration.³ The nuncios gave no truce to the complaints they considered it necessary to make, chiefly in regard to the restrictions imposed on the spiritual jurisdiction. Before they had taken a single step, they say, appeals were entered against them. Questions concerning marriages were removed from their control, under the pretext that some abduction was involved; they were excluded from all jurisdiction in criminal trials, and on some occasions ecclesiastics had been executed without having been previously degraded. Further, that the King sent forth edicts concerning heresy and simony, without consideration for them, and that the tenths required from the clergy had gradually become a permanent impost. The more observing and apprehensive adherents of the Curia already beheld in these encroachments the precursors of a schism.

The peculiar relations consequent on these disputes were necessarily connected with other circumstances, and more particularly with the political dispositions exhibited by the Court of Rome.

From deference to Spain, neither Innocent nor Alexander had ventured to acknowledge Portugal, which had separated itself from that monarchy; nor had they granted canonical institution to the bishops appointed in that country. Almost the whole legitimate episcopacy of Portugal died out; ecclesiastical property had fallen to a great extent into the hands of military officers. Their previous habit of submissiveness to Rome was abandoned by king, clergy, and laity.

But in addition to this, the Popes immediately succeeding Urban VIII again inclined to the party of Spain and Austria.

This can scarcely be matter of surprise, since the predominant power of France so early displayed a character menacing to the general freedom of Europe; but these Popes were, moreover, indebted to Spanish influence for their elevation, and were both personal opponents of Mazarin.⁴ In the case of Alexander, this

³ "Relatione della nuntiatura di Mons. Scotti, 1641, 5. Aprile." He has a distinct section "Concerning the impediments offered to the ordinary nuntiatura. It may be truly said that the King's judges take the whole ecclesias-

tical jurisdiction of France out of the hands of the nuncios."

⁴ Deone, October, 1644: "It is known to a certainty that the exclusion of Panfilio by the French cardinals in the conclave was not in compliance with the

animosity displayed itself with constantly increasing force; he could not forgive the cardinal for having allied himself with Cromwell, nor for having been long induced, by motives simply personal, to impede the conclusion of peace with Spain.

But from this state of things it further resulted that the opposition of France to the Roman See became even more and more deeply rooted, and from time to time evinced its inveteracy in violent outbursts. How severely was Alexander made to feel the discomforts arising from these causes!

A dispute which had broken forth between the followers of the French ambassador Créquy and the Corsican city guard, in which Créquy was at last personally insulted, furnished the King with an opportunity for interfering in the dissensions of the Roman See with the houses of Este and Farnese, and at length afforded a pretext for marching troops directly upon Italy. The unfortunate pontiff sought to aid himself by means of a secret protest; but in the eyes of the world he was compelled to concede all that the King demanded in the Treaty of Pisa. The love of the popes for inscriptions in their own honor is well known; no stone can be placed in a wall, according to the popular remark, but they will have their names inscribed on it. Yet Alexander was compelled to endure the erection of a pyramid in his own capital—nay, in one of its most frequented places, on which was an inscription intended to perpetuate his own humiliation.

This act was of itself sufficient to cause a deep injury to the papal authority.

But toward the year 1660 the consideration of the papacy had already fallen again into decline, from other causes. At the Peace of Vervins the Papal See was still sufficiently influential to take the first steps on the occasion; the Curia had, indeed, negotiated and brought it to a conclusion. Even at that of Westphalia the Pope was present by his ambassadors, but was already compelled to protest against the conditions agreed on. At the Peace of the Pyrenees, however, he did not even take an ostensible share; his emissaries were not invited to the conference: he was scarcely even referred to in the course of

royal wish, nor at the instance of Cardinal Antonio, but was the work of Cardinal Mazarin, the rival and enemy of Cardinal Panzirolo, who foresaw that

the latter was likely to hold an important position in that pontificate," as was in fact the case.

the proceedings,⁵ nay, treaties of peace were soon afterward concluded, in which papal fiefs were brought into question, and disposed of without so much as requiring the consent of the pontiff.

Section XV.—Transition of the Later Periods of the Papacy

It must ever be considered a remarkable fact, and one that affords us an insight into the general course of human affairs, that the papacy, at the moment of failure in the accomplishment of its plans for the recovery of supreme dominion over all nations, began also to exhibit symptoms of internal decline.

During the period of progress to which our attention has been directed, the restoration was fully established; at that time the tenets of the Church had been strengthened, ecclesiastical privileges more powerfully centralized—alliances had been formed with temporal monarchs—the ancient orders had been revived and new ones founded—the political energies of the Papal States had been consolidated and converted into an instrument of ecclesiastical activity—the Curia had been reformed, both intellectually and morally, and all was directed to the one purpose of restoring the papal power and the Catholic faith.

This, as we have seen, was not a new creation, it was a re-animation brought about by the force of new ideas, which, annihilating certain abuses, carried forward by its own fresh impulses, only the existing elements of life.

But it is clearly obvious that a renovation of this kind is more liable to experience a decline of the animating principle than a perfectly new and unworn creation.

The first impediment opposed to the Catholic restoration was presented by France. The papal authority could not penetrate into that country by the beaten track; it was condemned to behold a Church, which, though Catholic, was not subjected to the rule that Rome was seeking to enforce, arise into form and consistency, and was further compelled to resolve on accepting a compromise with that Church.

Other events of similar character also took place; internal dissensions convulsed the papacy—controversies respecting the

⁵ Galeazzo Gualdo, "Priorato della pace conclusa fra le due corone, 1664," has, p. 120, "Observations on the causes by which the sovereigns were induced to conclude a peace without the inter-

vention of the Pope." It is manifest that the unfriendly feeling existent between the Pope and Cardinal Mazarin was a well-known fact at the time.

most essential points of doctrine, and touching the relation of the spiritual to the temporal authority. In the Curia, nepotism assumed its most dangerous form; the financial resources, instead of being wholly applied to their legitimate purposes, having been diverted for the most part to the aggrandizement of individual families.

There was nevertheless one grand and general aim toward which the Papal See continually pressed forward with extraordinary good-fortune. In favor of this supreme object, all contradictions were reconciled; disputes concerning single points of doctrine, and questions of conflicting spiritual and temporal claims, were silenced: the discords of sovereign powers were composed, the progress of common enterprises was sustained; the Curia was the guide and centre of the whole Catholic world, and the work of conversion proceeded in the most imposing manner.

But we have seen how it happened that the end was yet not attained, but that, on the contrary, the aspiring papacy was thrown back upon itself by internal discords, and by opposition from without.

Thenceforward, all the relations of the State, as well as its social development, assumed a different aspect.

To the spirit of conquest and acquisition that would devote itself to the attainment of a great object, there must be associated an earnest devotedness; with the narrowness of self-seeking, it is incompatible. But the desire for enjoyment—the love of gain—had invaded the Curia; that body had resolved itself into a company of annuitants, conceiving themselves entitled to the revenues of the State, and to all that could be extracted from the administration of the Church. This right they abused in a manner the most ruinous, yet clung to it at the same time with a zeal and tenacity that could not have been exceeded had the whole existence of the faith been bound up with it.

But it was precisely on this account that an implacable opposition to the Curia arose, at one and the same time, from many different quarters.

A doctrine had been propounded, which, proceeding from new perceptions of the more profound truths of religion, was condemned and persecuted by the Roman Court, but was not to be suppressed by the utmost exertion of its power. The sev-

eral States assumed a position of independence, and freed themselves from all subservience to the papal policy; in their domestic affairs they claimed a right of self-government, by which the influence of the Curia was more and more closely restricted, even as regarded ecclesiastical matters.

It is on these two important points that the interest of the papal history henceforth depends.

Periods succeed, in which, far from evincing any spontaneous activity, the papacy was rather occupied with the sole thought of how it should best defend itself from the various antagonists that, now assailing it on the one side, and now on the other, employed its every moment and all its cares.

It is by force and energy of action that the attention of mankind is usually attracted, and events are understood only by the consideration of their efficient causes: to describe the more recent epochs of the papacy will therefore not come within the purpose of this work; the spectacle they present is nevertheless highly remarkable, and since we commenced with a review of the ages preceding those that form our immediate subject, so we cannot well close without making an attempt, though but by a few slight sketches, to place the later periods before the eyes of the reader.

Our consideration is first engaged by the attack from the side of the Temporal States. This is most immediately connected with the division of the Catholic world into two adverse portions—the Austrian and French parties, which the Pope had no longer power either to overrule or to pacify. The political position assumed by Rome determined the degree of spiritual devotion accorded to her. We have already marked the mode in which this state of things began; we will now seek to make ourselves acquainted with its further progress.

Section XVI.—Louis XIV and Innocent XI

Louis XIV was without doubt much attached to the Catholic faith, yet he found it insufferable that the Roman See should pursue a policy not only independent of, but also frequently in direct opposition to, his own.

As Innocent X and Alexander VII had allied themselves to the cause of Spain (as indeed did the court and dependents of

Clement IX, if not that pontiff himself), so was now Clement X, with his nephew Pauluzzi Altieri (from 1670 to 1676) disposed in like manner to the side of the Spaniards.¹ Louis XIV avenged himself for this by perpetual encroachments on the spiritual authority.

He confiscated ecclesiastical property by acts of arbitrary power, was continually oppressing one or other of the monastic orders, and arrogated to himself the right of loading church benefices with military pensions. That claim which had become so notorious under the name of *regale*—the right, namely, of enjoying the revenues of all vacant bishoprics, and of appointing to all their dependent benefices, Louis XIV sought to extend over provinces where it had never previously been asserted. He further inflicted the most severe injury on the holders of Roman annuities, by subjecting all funds remitted to the Curia to a closely restrictive supervision.²

This mode of proceeding he continued under the pontificate of Innocent XI,³ who pursued on the whole a line of policy similar to that of his predecessor; but from that pontiff Louis encountered resistance.

Innocent XI, of the house of Odescalchi, of Como, had entered Rome in his twenty-fifth year, furnished only with his sword and pistols, for the purpose of employing himself in some secular office, or perhaps of devoting himself to the military service of Naples. By the advice of a cardinal, who looked more deeply into his character than he had himself been able to do, he was induced to change this purpose for the career of the Curia. He conducted himself in that employment with so earnest a zeal, and gradually obtained so high a reputation for ability and uprightness of purpose, that the people shouted forth his name beneath the porticos of St. Peter during the sitting of the conclave, and the feeling of satisfaction was very general when he proceeded from that assembly adorned with the tiara: this took place on September 21, 1676.

The manners of this pontiff were remarkable for humility;

¹ Morosini, "Relatione di Francia, 1671": "Every action of Cardinal Altieri is rendered suspicious to the most Christian King by the known partiality of his eminence to the Catholic crown. The present pontiff is looked upon as the mere representative of the papal authority, which resides really in the will of his nephew."

² "Istruzione per Mons. Arcivescovo di Patrasso, 1674:" "When this fact became known to the court, it excited universal astonishment and scandal; so when it became known to our lord the pontiff, it gave his holiness extreme affliction."

³ See Appendix, No. 146.

even when calling for his servants, he would do so under the condition that they were at leisure to attend him, and his confessor declared that he had never discovered in him any one thing that could estrange the soul from God. He was most gentle and placid in disposition; but that same conscientiousness by which his private life was governed, now impelled him to the fulfilment of his official duties without any regard to mere expedience.

How earnestly did he at once attack the abuses of government, more particularly those of the financial administration. The expenditure had risen to 2,578,106 sc. 91 baj. annually, while the receipts, including the *dataria* and *spolia*, amounted to no more than 2,408,500 sc. 71 baj. So considerable a deficiency, 170,000 yearly, threatened to occasion a public bankruptcy; ⁴ and that matters did not proceed to this extremity, must without doubt be attributed to the meritorious conduct of Innocent XI. By him the practice of nepotism was at length altogether abolished; he declared that he loved his nephew Don Livio, whose diffident virtues well deserved his affection, but for that very reason he would not have him in the palace. All those offices and revenues which had heretofore been conferred on the papal kinsmen he caused at once to be applied to the public service, and abolished many other places of which the existence was rather a burden than benefit to the public. Innumerable abuses and exemptions also were set aside by this pontiff; and at the first moment when the state of the money market rendered a change practicable, he reduced the *monti* without hesitation from four to three per cent.⁵ After the lapse of some years, Innocent did, in fact, succeed in again raising the revenues to a no inconsiderable sum above the expenditure.

And with similar firmness of resolution, the Pope now opposed the attacks of Louis XIV.

Certain bishops of Jansenist opinions, who had resisted the above-named extension of the *regale*, were subjected to vexations and oppressions by the court on that account. The Bishop of Pamiers was for some time reduced to live on alms. They

⁴ "Stato della camera nel presente pontificato di Innocenzo XI." MS., Bibl. Alb. See Appendix, No. 149.

⁵ In a manuscript of the year 1743, containing 736 pages, "Erettione et agiunte de monti camerali," we find the decrees and briefs relating to this mat-

ter. In a brief of 1684, to the treasurer Negroni, Pope Innocent first declares his determination "to proceed toward the liberation of the treasury from the interest of four per cent., . . . which in these times is too oppressive."

appealed to the pontiff, and Innocent adopted their cause without delay.⁶

Once, and a second time, he admonished the King to lend no ear to flatterers, and to refrain from laying hands on the immunities of the Church, lest he should cause the fountains of divine grace to be dried up from his kingdom. Receiving no reply, he repeated his admonitions for the third time, but he now added that he would write no more, nor yet content himself with simple admonitions, but would employ every resource of that power which God had intrusted to his hands. In this he would suffer no danger, no storm, to appall him; he beheld his glory in the cross of Christ.⁷

It has always been the maxim of the French Court that the papal power is to be restricted by means of the French clergy, and that the clergy, on the other hand, are to be kept in due limits by means of the papal power. But never did a prince hold his clergy in more absolute command than Louis XIV. A spirit of submission without parallel is evinced in the addresses presented to him by that body on solemn occasions. "We hardly dare venture," says one of them,⁸ "to make requests, from the apprehension lest we should set bounds to your Majesty's zeal for religion. The melancholy privilege of stating our grievances is now changed into a sweet necessity for expressing the praises of our benefactor." The Prince of Condé declared it to be his opinion that if it pleased the King to go over to the Protestant Church, the clergy would be the first to follow him.

And certainly the clergy of France did support their King without scruple against the Pope. The declarations they published were from year to year increasingly decisive in favor of the royal authority. At length there assembled the convocation of 1682. "It was summoned and dissolved," remarks a Venetian ambassador, "at the convenience of the King's Ministers, and was guided by their suggestions."⁹ The four articles drawn

⁶ Racine, "Histoire ecclésiastique," x. p. 328.

⁷ Brief of December 27, 1679.

⁸ "Remonstrance du clergé de France (assemblée à St. Germain en Laye en l'année 1680), faite au roi le 10. juillet par l'illme. et révrme. J. Bapt. Adheimar de Monteil de Grignan."—"Mém. du clergé," tom. xiv. p. 787.

⁹ Foscarini, "Relatione di Francia, 1648": "With a very similar dependence, the ecclesiastical order adheres to the maxims and interests of the court,

as is obvious by the proceedings of the Assembly in regard to the extension of the 'regale.' This convocation was called together, directed, and dissolved at the convenience and suggestion of the Ministers of State. Since the members composing the Assembly look to the King for their promotion and fortune, and are constantly influenced by new hopes and aspirations, so they display more complacency to the sovereign than do the laity themselves."

up by this assembly have from that time been regarded as the manifesto of the Gallican immunities. The first three repeat assertions of principles laid down in earlier times; as, for example, the independence of the secular power, as regarded the spiritual authority; the superiority of councils over the Pope; and the inviolable character of the Gallican usages. But the fourth is more particularly remarkable, since it imposes new limits even to the spiritual authority of the pontiff. "Even in questions of faith, the decision of the Pope is not incapable of amendment, so long as it is without the assent of the Church." We see that the temporal power of the kingdom received support from the spiritual authority, which was in its turn upheld by the secular arm. The King is declared free from the interference of the Pope's temporal authority; the clergy are exempted from submission to the unlimited exercise of his spiritual power. It was the opinion of contemporaries, that although France might remain within the pale of the Catholic Church, it yet stood on the threshold, in readiness for stepping beyond it. The King exalted the propositions above named into a kind of "Articles of Faith," a symbolical book. All schools were to be regulated in conformity with these precepts; and no man could attain to a degree, either in the juridical or theological faculties who did not swear to maintain them.

But the Pope also was still possessed of a weapon. The authors of this declaration—the members of this assembly—were promoted and preferred by the King before all other candidates for episcopal offices; but Innocent refused to grant them spiritual institution. They might enjoy the revenues of those sees, but ordination they did not receive; nor could they venture to exercise one spiritual act of the episcopate.

These complications were still further perplexed by the fact that Louis XIV at that moment resolved on that relentless extirpation of the Huguenots, but too well known, and to which he proceeded chiefly for the purpose of proving his own perfect orthodoxy. He believed himself to be rendering a great service to the Church. It has indeed been also affirmed that Innocent XI¹⁰ was aware of his purpose and had approved it, but this was not the fact. The Roman Court would not now hear of

¹⁰ Bonamici, "Vita Innocentii," in Leuret, *Magazin* viii. p. 98; also Leuret's note, "Also ist es nicht zu wi-

dersprechen," etc., "Thus, it is not to be denied," etc.

conversions effected by armed apostles. "It was not of such methods that Christ availed himself: men must be led to the temple, not dragged into it."¹

New dissensions continually arose. In the year 1687, the French ambassador entered Rome with so imposing a retinue, certain squadrons of cavalry forming part of it, that the right of asylum, which the ambassadors claimed at that time, not only for their palaces, but also for the adjacent streets, could by no means have been easily disputed with him, although the popes had solemnly abolished the usage. With an armed force the ambassador braved the pontiff in his own capital. "They come with horses and chariots," said Innocent, "but we will walk in the name of the Lord." He pronounced the censures of the Church on the ambassador; and the Church of St. Louis, in which the latter had attended a solemn high mass, was laid under interdict.²

The King also then proceeded to extreme measures. He appealed to a General Council, took possession of Avignon, and caused the nuncio to be shut up in St. Olon: it was even believed that he had formed the design of creating for Harlai, Archbishop of Paris, who, if he had not suggested these proceedings, had approved them, the appointment of patriarch of France. So far had matters proceeded: the French ambassador in Rome excommunicated; the papal nuncio in France detained by force; thirty-five French bishops deprived of canonical institution; a territory of the Holy See occupied by the King: it was, in fact, the actual breaking out of schism; yet did Pope Innocent refuse to yield a single step.

If we ask to what he trusted for support on this occasion, we perceive that it was not to the effect of the ecclesiastical censures in France, nor to the influence of his apostolic dignity, but rather, and above all, to that universal resistance which had been aroused in Europe against those enterprises of Louis

¹ Venier, "Relatione di Francia, 1639": "In regard to the work of conversion attempted by the King, as relating to the Huguenots, his Majesty was displeased at not receiving the praises he expected from the Pope; but the Pope took it ill that this should have been undertaken without his consent, and conducted with the severities so well known, declaring that missions of armed apostles were not advisable; that this new method was not the best, since Christ had not used such for the conversion of

the world; and besides, the time seemed unsuited for winning over heretics, when the disputes with the Pope himself were more than ever violently pursued."

² "Legatio Marchionis Lavardini Romam ejusque cum Romano pontifice dissidium, 1697," a refutation of Lavardin, which investigates this affair with much calmness and judgment: it belongs to the series of excellent political papers called forth by the pretensions of Louis XIV in Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, and Italy.

XIV that were menacing the existence of its liberties. To this general opposition the Pope now also attached himself.

He supported Austria in her Turkish war to the best of his ability,³ and the successful issue of that conflict placed the whole party, and with it the pontiff himself, in an altered position.

It would, without doubt, be difficult to prove that Innocent was in direct alliance, as has been asserted, with William III, and had a personal knowledge of his designs upon England;⁴ but it may be affirmed, with the utmost confidence, that his Minister was aware of them. The pontiff was informed merely that the Prince of Orange would take the command on the Rhine, and would defend the rights of the empire as well as those of the Church against Louis XIV. Toward that purpose he engaged to contribute considerable subsidies. But so early as the end of the year 1687 the Pope's Secretary of State, Count Cassoni, had positive information that the plan of the malcontent English was to dethrone King James and transfer the crown to the Princess of Orange. But the count was not faithfully served: the French had found a traitor among his household. From the papers which this man had the opportunity of examining in his master's most secret cabinet, the Courts of France and England received the first intelligence of these plans. It was a strange complication! At the Court of Rome were combined the threads of that alliance which had for its aim and result the liberation of Protestantism from the last great danger by which it was threatened in Western Europe, and the acquisition of the English throne by that confession forever.⁵ Admitting that Innocent XI was not, as we have said, acquainted with the entire

³ "Relatione di Roma di Giov. Lando, 1691." The subsidies are here computed at 2,000,000 scudi. See Appendix, No. 151.

⁴ This assertion is also made in the "Mémoires sur le règne de Frédéric I., roi de Prusse, par le comte de Dohna," p. 78. The letters are said to have passed through the hands of Queen Christina to his father, "who caused them to be forwarded by the county of Lippe, whence one Paget took them to The Hague"; but notwithstanding the details of this account, it must still be considered doubtful, when it is remembered that, during the whole of the period in question, Queen Christina was at variance with the Pope. From all the relations to be gathered from her own correspondence, I consider it impossible that the Pope should have intrusted such a secret to her, of whom he one

day said, shrugging his shoulders, "She is but a woman." There may very probably have been secret Roman despatches.

⁵ A document which is decisive in this affair has yet been but little remarked; it is the "Lettre écrite par M. le Cl. d'Etrées, ambassadeur extraord. de Louis XIV." tom. vi. p. 497. This shows how early James II was informed on the subject. Norfolk, who was then in Rome incognito, instantly despatched a courier to him. Mackintosh (*History of the Revolution*, ii. 157) believes that James was aware of the prince's views on England early in May, 1688; but even on March 10th or 11th he remarked to the papal nuncio, "that the prince's chief aim was England."—"Lettera di Mons. d'Adda," *ibid.* p. 346. His misfortune was that he did not confide in himself.

purpose in contemplation, it is yet undeniable that he allied himself with an opposition arising from Protestant impulses, and sustained for the most part by Protestant resources. His resistance to the appointment of a candidate favored by France to the archbishopric of Cologne, was set on foot in the interests of that opposition, and contributed largely to the breaking out of the war.

The consequences of this war turned out nevertheless, as regarded France, to be exceedingly favorable for the papal principle. If the Pope had promoted the interests of Protestantism by his policy, the Protestants on their side, by maintaining the balance of Europe against the "exorbitant power," also contributed to compel the latter into compliance with the spiritual claims of the papacy.

It is true that when this result ensued, Innocent XI was no longer in existence; but the first French ambassador who appeared in Rome after his death (August 10, 1689) renounced the right of asylum: the department of the King was altered; he restored Avignon, and entered into negotiations.

And that was all the more needful, since the new Pope, Alexander VIII, however widely he may have departed from the austere example of his predecessor in other respects,⁶ adhered firmly to his principles as regarded the spiritual claims of the Church. Alexander proclaimed anew that the decrees of 1682⁷ were vain and invalid, null and void, having no power to bind even when enforced by an oath. "Day and night," he declares that, he thought of them "with bitterness of heart, lifting his eyes to heaven with tears and sighs."

After the early death of Alexander VIII the French made all possible efforts to secure the choice of a pontiff disposed to measures of peace and conciliation;⁸ a purpose that was indeed effected by the elevation of Antonio Pignatelli, who assumed the tiara with the name of Innocent XII on July 12, 1691.

⁶ See Appendix, No. 152, "Confession of Pope Alexander VIII."

⁷ "In dictis comitiis anni 1682, tam circa extensionem juris regalæ quam circa declarationem de potestate ecclesiastica actorum ac etiam omnium et singulorum mandatorum, arrestorum, confirmationum, declarationum, epistolarum, edictorum, decretorum quavis auctoritate sive ecclesiastica sive etiam laicali editorum, necnon aliorum quomodolibet præjudicialium prælatorum in regno supradicto quodocunque et a quibusvis et ex quacunque causa et quo-

vis modo factorum et gestorum ac inde secutorum quorumcunque tenores." August 4, 1690. Cocquel. ix. p. 38.

⁸ Domenico Contarini, "Relatione di Roma," 1696: "The French gave their assistance to the election of this Pope, because they had need of a pontiff sufficiently placable and little-minded to be led into the modification of that bull which Alexander VIII had issued in his dying moments, as to the propositions of the French clergy in the Assembly of 1682." See Appendix, No. 153.

But this Pope was not by any means more inclined to compromise the dignity of the Papal See than his predecessors had been, neither did there exist any pressing motive for his doing so, since Louis XIV was supplied with the most serious and perilous occupation by the arms of the allies.

The negotiations continued for two years. Innocent more than once rejected the formulas proposed to him by the clergy of France, and they were, in fact, compelled at length to declare that all measures discussed and resolved on in the Assembly of 1682 should be considered as not having been discussed or resolved on: "casting ourselves at the feet of your holiness, we profess our unspeakable grief for what has been done."⁹ It was not until they had made this unreserved recantation that Innocent accorded them canonical institution.

Under these conditions only was peace restored. Louis XIV wrote to the Pope that he retracted his edict relating to the four articles. Thus we perceive that the Roman See once more maintained its prerogatives, even though opposed by the most powerful of monarchs.

But was it not a grievous disadvantage that assertions of so decidedly hostile a character should, for a certain time, have been sanctioned by the laws and government? The offensive articles had been proclaimed with loud and ostentatious publicity, as decrees of the empire; but it was privately, and in the most silent manner, that they were revoked; in the form of letters, that is, which were, moreover, the act of a few persons only, individuals who were just then in particular need of favor from the Roman Court. Louis XIV suffered these forms to proceed, but no one ventured to believe that he really recalled the four articles, although the affair was sometimes regarded in that light in Rome. He would not endure at a much later period that the Roman Court should refuse institution to the clergy

⁹ It has been affirmed, and among others Petitot ("Notice sur Portroyal," p. 240) is of opinion that this formula was invented by the Jansenists "for the purpose of throwing ridicule on the new bishops"; but, in the first place, no other formula has ever been brought forward by the opposite party; and secondly, the above has been always acknowledged, at least indirectly, by the Roman writers—by Novaes, for example, "*Storia de' Pontefici*," tom. xi. p. 117; and finally, it is universally considered genuine at the time, and received no contradiction even from the

French Court. Domenico Contarini says, "a short time after the French took in hand the affairs of the Church of France, proposing various forms of declaration, a thing talked of for two years, and eventually concluded and adjusted by that letter, written by the bishops to the Pope, and which has been circulated in all quarters." This letter is the very formula in question; no other has ever been known. Daunou also, "*Essai historique sur la puissance temporelle des papes*," ii. p. 196, communicates this letter as authentic.

who adhered to the four articles. He affirmed that he had only removed the obligation to teach them, but that there would be manifest injustice in preventing those who desired it from acknowledging those propositions.¹⁰ There is, moreover, another observation to be made. It was in no wise by any power of its own that the Court of Rome had maintained its ground; that consequence resulted solely from a great political combination; it occurred only because France had been forced on all hands to retire within closer limits. What then was to be expected, supposing these relations altered, and if the time should come when there was no longer any power remaining, who would protect the Roman See from its aggressors?

Section XVII.—The Spanish Succession

The fact that the Spanish line of the house of Austria became extinct, was also an event of the utmost importance to the papacy.

To the condition of rivalry constantly maintained between France and the Spanish monarchy, and by which the character of the European policy was chiefly determined, the papacy also was finally indebted for the security of its freedom and independence of action for a century and a half; the principles adopted by the Spaniards had preserved the Ecclesiastical States in peace. Whatever might be the general result, there was always danger to be apprehended when an order of things to which all the usages of political existence were habitually referred, should be reduced to a state of uncertainty.

But the peril became much more urgent from the fact that disputes arose with regard to the succession, which threatened to burst forth in a general war; a war, moreover, of which Italy

¹⁰ The words of the King in his letter to Innocent XII, dated Versailles, September 14, 1693, are as follows: "I have given the orders needful to the effect that those things should not have force which were contained in my edict of March 22, 1682, relating to the declaration of the clergy of France, and to which I was compelled by past events, but that it should cease to be observed." In a letter of July 7, 1713, that we find in Artaud, "Histoire du Pape Pie VII." 1836, tom. ii. p. 16, are the following words: "It has been falsely pretended to him (Clement XI)

that I have dissented from the engagement taken by the letter which I wrote to his predecessor; for I have not compelled any man to maintain the propositions of the clergy of France against his wish; but I could not justly prevent my subjects from uttering and maintaining their opinions on a subject regarding which they are at liberty to adopt either one side or the other." It is obvious, then, that Louis XIV was not so devoted to Rome, even in his last years, as is frequently assumed. He says, decidedly, "I cannot admit any compromise."

must be the principal battle-ground. Even the Pope would with difficulty secure himself from the necessity of declaring for one of the parties, although he could not hope to contribute anything essential toward the success of that he should espouse.

I find assertions¹ to the effect that Innocent XII, who had become reconciled to France, had recommended Charles II of Spain to appoint the French prince as his successor, and that the provisions of the will, on which so much depended, had been materially influenced by this advice of the holy father.

It is, at all events, certain that the policy adverse to France, which had been almost invariably pursued by the Roman See from the death of Urban VIII, was now relinquished. That the monarchy should devolve without partition, on a prince belonging to a house which was at that time so pre-eminently Catholic, may perhaps have been regarded as the less decided change, the less important evil. Clement XI (Gianfrancesco Albani, elected November 16, 1700) openly approved the determination of Louis XIV to accept the succession. He sent a letter of congratulation to Philip V, and granted him subsidies raised on ecclesiastical property, precisely as if no doubt prevailed with regard to his rights,² Clement XI might be considered the very creation and true representative of the Court of Rome, which he had never quitted. The affability of his manners, his literary talents, and irreproachable life had secured him universal approbation and popularity.³ He had found means to ingratiate himself with the three Popes, his successors, however diversified their characters, and even to make himself needful to them, and had risen to eminence by practical and useful, but never obtrusive or unaccommodating, talents. If, as he once observed, he had known to give good advice as cardinal, but that as Pope he knew not how to guide himself, this may imply that he felt himself better qualified to seize and carry for-

¹ Morosini, "Relatione di Roma, 1707": "I will not venture to say whether the Pope had hand or part in the will of Charles II nor is it easy to ascertain the truth. I will but adduce two facts. The one is, that this secret was made known in a printed manifesto in Rome, during the first months of my entry on the embassy, and while war was proceeding on both sides as well with arms as with papers. The other is that the Pope does not cease from bestowing public eulogies on the most Christian King for having declined the

partition of the monarchy, and accepted it entire for his grandson." See Appendix, No. 155.

² Buder, "Leben und Thaten Clemens XI.," tom. i. p. 148.

³ Erizzo, "Relatione di Roma, 1702": "He appeared in fact to be the very delight of Rome, nor was there a royal Minister or national ambassador in the court who did not believe Cardinal Albani altogether his own." "So well," he adds afterward, "did he know how to feign different affections, and to vary his language to suit all comers."

ward an impulse already communicated, than to originate and give effect to an independent determination. As an example of this, it may be remarked that in taking up the jurisdictional question with renewed vigor immediately after his accession, he did no more than follow in the path previously traced by public opinion, and by the interests of the Curia. In like manner he gave his trust to the fortune and power of the "great king," and had no doubt but that Louis XIV would ultimately obtain the victory. The success of the French arms in the expedition undertaken against Vienna by Germany and Italy in the year 1703, and which seemed likely to bring all to a conclusion, occasioned the Pope so much satisfaction, that the Venetian ambassador assures us he found it impossible to conceal his gladness.⁴

But at that very moment fortune took a sudden turn. The German and English antagonists of Louis, with whom Innocent XI had been allied, but from whose party Clement XI had gradually estranged his interests, achieved unprecedented victories: the imperial troops, conjoined with those of Prussia, poured down upon Italy. Toward a pontiff whose proceedings had been so equivocal, they were but little disposed to show forbearance, and the old pretensions of the empire, which had never been referred to since the times of Charles V, were now again renewed.

We do not here purpose to enter into all the bitter contentions in which Clement XI became involved.⁵ The imperialists at length appointed a fixed term within which he must decide on their proposals for peace: among these proposals the most important condition was his acknowledgment of the Austrian pretender to the crown of Spain. Vainly did the pontiff look around him for assistance. He waited till the day appointed (January 15, 1709), after the lapse of which, without a final decision, the imperialists had threatened hostile invasion of his States and capital; nay, it was not till the last hour of that day—eleven in the evening—that he at length affixed his signature. Clement had previously congratulated Philip V; he now saw

⁴ See Appendix, No. 154.

⁵ For example, in regard to the troops quartered in Parma and Placentia, where the clergy were compelled to pay their contingent of military contributions. "Accord avec les députés du duc et de la ville de Plaisance," December 14, 1706, art. 9, "that to alleviate the

burdens of the State, all private persons, even though highly privileged, should contribute to the above sum." To this the Pope would not submit, and the imperial claims were thereupon renewed with redoubled violence.—"Contre déclaration de l'empereur," in Lamberty, v. 85.

himself compelled to acknowledge his rival Charles III as Catholic King.⁶

By this event a severe blow was inflicted, not only on the authority of the papacy as supreme arbiter, but also on the political freedom and independence of the Apostolic See; the latter was, indeed, virtually despoiled of all liberty. The French ambassador left Rome, declaring that it was no longer the seat of the Church.⁷

The position of European affairs in general had indeed assumed a new aspect. It was at length by Protestant England that the ultimate destination of the Spanish and Catholic monarchy was decided. In this state of things what influence could the Pope exercise over the great events of the period?⁸

By the Peace of Utrecht, countries which the pontiff regarded as his fiefs, such as Sicily and Sardinia, were consigned to new sovereigns without his advice or consent being even requested.⁹ In the place of that infallible decision hitherto awaited from the supreme spiritual pastor, there now ruled the convenience and interests of the great powers.

Misfortunes were, indeed, occasioned by these arrangements, of which the effect was more immediately and peculiarly felt by the Roman See.

One of the most prominent objects of the Roman policy had ever been the acquirement and maintenance of influence over the remaining States of Italy: the Curia sought, indeed, to exercise an indirect sovereignty over them all whenever it was possible to do so.

But at this time, not only had German Austria established herself in Italy, while in a state of almost open warfare with the Pope, but even the Duke of Savoy had attained to royal power and a large extension of territory, in defiance of the papal opposition.

Other affairs were regulated in a similar spirit.

For the better arrangement of disputes between the house of Bourbon and that of Austria, the European powers acceded to the wish of the Spanish Queen, that Parma and Placentia should

⁶This, which was at first kept secret, was made known by a letter of the Austrian ambassador to the Duke of Marlborough.

⁷"Lettre du maréchal Thessé au pape, 12 juillet, 1709."

⁸See Appendix, Nos. 154 and 155.

⁹How suspicious the conduct of Savoy was, we learn from Lafitau, "Vie de Clément XI.," tom. ii. p. 78.

be allotted to one of her sons. The feudal sovereignty of the pontiffs over that duchy had not been called in question during two centuries—each successive prince had received investiture and had paid tribute; but now that this right was assuming a new importance, and that the male line of the house of Farnese was manifestly on the point of becoming extinct, no further consideration was given to the claims of the papacy. The Emperor bestowed the country as a fief on an infant of Spain, and nothing remained to the Pope but to issue protests, to which no one paid the slightest attention.¹⁰

But the peace between the two houses was only of momentary duration. In the year 1733 the Bourbons renewed their pretensions to Naples, which was at that time in the hands of Austria. The Spanish ambassador was also instructed to offer the palfrey and payment of tribute to the pontiff. Clement XII would now willingly have suffered matters to remain as they were: he appointed a committee of cardinals, who decided in favor of the imperial claims; but the fortune of war, on this occasion also, was adverse to the papal decision—the Spanish arms obtained the victory. In a short time, Clement was compelled to grant the investiture of Naples and Sicily to that same infant whom he had seen with so much reluctance to enter on the possession of Parma.

It is true that the ultimate consequence of all these struggles was not materially different from that originally contemplated by the Court of Rome. The house of Bourbon extended its rule over Spain and a great part of Italy; but under circumstances how entirely different had all this occurred from those at first designed and hoped for by the Holy See!

The word by which that great contest was decided at the most critical moment had proceeded from England. It was in open contradiction to the Papal See that the Bourbons had forced their way into Italy. The separation of the provinces, which Rome had decided to avoid, was, nevertheless, accomplished, and had filled Italy and the States of the Church with the ceaseless shock of hostile weapons. The secular authority of the Apostolic See was by this means annihilated even in its most immediate vicinity.¹

¹⁰ "Protestatio nomine Sedis Apostolicæ emissa in conventu Cameracensi in

Rousset, *Supplément au corps diplomat. de Dumont*," iii. ii. p. 173.

¹ See Appendix, Nos. 155, 156, and 157.

An important effect could not fail to be produced by these changes on the controversies touching the ecclesiastical rights of Rome, which were so closely connected with her political relations.

How severely had Clement XI been already made to feel this!

More than once was his nuncio sent out of Naples, and in Sicily, on one occasion, the whole of the clergy whose views were favorable to Rome were seized in a body and sent into the States of the Church.² Throughout the Italian sovereignties an intention was made manifest to confine the gift of ecclesiastical dignities exclusively to natives of the several States.³ Even in Spain the Nuntiatura was closed;⁴ and Clement XI at one time believed that he should be compelled to summon Alberoni, the most influential of the Spanish Ministers, before the Inquisition.

These dissensions became more and more serious, the differences extending from year to year. The Roman Court no longer possessed within itself that power and energy required for the preservation of union even among those holding its own creed.

"I cannot deny," says the Venetian ambassador Mocenigo, in the year 1737, "that there is something unnatural in the sight of the collected body of Catholic sovereigns placing themselves in hostility to the Court of Rome, and the altercations are now so violent that there can be no hope of any reconciliation by which that court would not be injured in some vital part." Whether this proceed from the diffusion of more enlightened ideas, as many people think, or from a disposition to oppress the weaker party, it is certain that the sovereigns are making rapid progress toward depriving the Roman See of all its secular prerogatives.⁵

A merely superficial observation made in Rome itself at that time, sufficed to render obvious the fact that all was at stake; that her existence depended on the immediate conclusion of peace.

² Buder, "Leben und Thaten Clemens XI.," tom. iii. 571.

³ We perceive from the remarks of Lorenzo Tiepolo, "Relatione di Roma, 1712.," that the imperialists in Naples as well as Milan had already formed the design of "giving the ecclesiastical benefices solely to natural-born sub-

jects—a stroke of no small detriment to the Court of Rome if it should be brought into action."

⁴ San Felipe, "Beitrag zur Geschichte von Spanien," iii. 214.

⁵ Aluise Mocenigo IV.; "Relatione di Roma, 16 Aprile, 1737.," See the Appendix, No. 162.

The memory of Benedict XIV—Prospero Lambertini (from 1740 to 1758)—has been held in honor, and covered with blessings, because he resolved on making the concessions indispensable to the security of that purpose.

How little Benedict XIV permitted himself to be dazzled, or rendered self-confident by the dignified elevation of his office, is well known; he did not even abandon his good-humored facetiousness, or forego his Bolognese witticisms, because he was Pope. He would rise from his occupation, join such members of the court as were in immediate attendance, impart to them some fancy or idea that had just occurred to him, and return to his desk.⁶ He constantly maintained himself superior to events. With a bold and comprehensive glance he made himself master of the relations in which the Papal See was placed to the powers of Europe, discerning clearly what it was possible to retain, and what must be abandoned. He was too sound a canonist, and too thoroughly a Pope, to permit himself to be carried too far on the path of concessions.

There is no doubt that the most remarkable act of his pontificate was the concordat that he concluded with Spain in the year 1753. He prevailed on himself to renounce the right of appointment to the smaller benefices of that country which the Curia still retained, though it was at that time vehemently contested.⁷ But was the court to be deprived of the large sums it had hitherto received from that source without any compensation? Was the papal authority thus at once to abandon its influence on the clergy personally? Benedict adopted the following compromise: of these benefices fifty-two were specified, and these were reserved for the nomination of the Pope, that by their means he might reward such members of the Spanish clergy as should acquire a claim to preferment by their virtues, purity of life, or learning, or by services rendered to the Roman See.⁸ The loss in revenue sustained by the Curia was then com-

⁶ "Relatione di F. Venier di Roma, 1744:" "The Pope, having ascended the throne of St. Peter, did not on that account alter his natural disposition. He was of a temper at once cheerful and kindly, and so he remained. While still in the ranks of the prelacy he was accustomed to season his discourse with witty jests, and he continued to do so. Endowed with sincerity and openness of heart, he ever despised and avoided all those arts that have been named 'Romanesque.'"

⁷ See Appendix, Nos. 163 and 164.

⁸ "So that his Holiness may, no less than his successors, have the means of providing for and rewarding those ecclesiastics who shall have rendered themselves deserving by probity, blamelessness of manners, distinguished learning, or services rendered to the Holy See." These are the words of the concordat. See, among other authorities, the "Report of the English Committee," 1816, p. 317.

puted—it was found to be 34,300 scudi annually. The King therefore engaged to pay a sum, of which the interest at three per cent. should amount to that income. Thus did all-compensating gold attest its conciliatory influence and mediating power in the final arrangement, even of these ecclesiastical difficulties.

In like manner Benedict XIV concluded with most of the other courts arrangements involving concessions. To the King of Portugal an extension was granted of the right of patronage he had previously possessed, and to the earlier spiritual privileges and distinctions acquired by his house the title of "most faithful" was added. The Court of Sardinia, doubly dissatisfied because the concessions which it had obtained at favorable moments had been revoked under the last pontificate, was appeased by the instructions, in the spirit of concordats, that were issued in the years 1741 and 1750.⁹ In Naples, where, under the auspices of the imperial government, and by the exertions of Gaetano Argento, a school of jurisprudence had been established, which made the disputed points of ecclesiastical law its chief study, and opposed earnest resistance to the claims of the papacy,¹⁰ Benedict XIV permitted the rights of the Curia to be materially restricted, and suffered the clergy to be subjected to the payment of a share in the public imposts. To the imperial court the pontiff conceded a diminution of the appointed holidays; and this was a concession that caused many remarks at the time; for whereas Benedict had merely granted permission that work might be done on those days, the imperial court did not scruple to exact labor by force, and make it compulsory as a general rule.

By these measures the Catholic courts were again reconciled to their ecclesiastical chief, and peace was once more restored.

But could reasonable hope be entertained that all contentions were thus brought to an end? Was it to be expected that the conflict between the State and the Church, which seems to be almost a matter of necessity in Catholicism, should be set at rest by these slight and transient promises? It was not possible that these should suffice to maintain peace beyond the moment

⁹ "Risposta alle notizie dimandate intorno alla giurisdizione ecclesiastica dello stato di S. Mta. Turino, 5 Marzo, 1816." "Report of the English Committee," 1816, p. 250.

¹⁰ Giannone, "Storia di Napoli," vi. 387.

for which they had been adopted. Already were the excited deeps giving token that other and far more perilous storms were fast approaching.

Section XVIII.—Changes in the General Position of the World —Internal Commotions—Suppression of the Jesuits

Important changes had been accomplished, not only in Italy and the South of Europe, but in the political condition of the world generally.

Where were now the times in which the papacy might entertain the hope, and not indeed without apparent grounds, of once more subjecting Europe and the world to its dominion?

Of the five great powers by which, even so early as the middle of the eighteenth century, the course of the world's destinies was determined, three had risen to influence who were not of the Catholic faith. We have alluded to the attempts made by the popes in earlier times to subdue Russia and Prussia by means of Poland, and to overcome England by the forces of France and Spain. These very powers were now taking prominent part in the dominion of the world; nay, we may even affirm, without fear of deceiving ourselves, that they had at that time obtained the preponderance over the Catholic portion of Europe.

It was not that one system of doctrine had gained a triumph over the other—that the Protestant theology had prevailed over Catholicism; this was no longer the field of conflict: the change had been brought about by the action of national interests and developments, the principles of which we have noticed above. The non-Catholic States displayed a general superiority over the Catholic. The monarchical and concentrating spirit of the Russians had overpowered the disunited factions and aristocracy of Poland. The industry, practical sense, and nautical skill of the English had obtained the supremacy, naturally resulting to those qualities, over the careless indolence of the Spaniards and the vacillating policy of the French, which was ever contingent on the accidents of their domestic affairs. The energetic organization and military discipline of Prussia had in like manner procured her the advantage over those principles of federative monarchy which were then predominant in Austria.

But although the superiority obtained by these powers was in nowise of an ecclesiastical character, yet it could not fail to exercise an immediate influence on ecclesiastical affairs.

This occurred in the first place, because religious parties advanced to power with the States professing their opinions; Russia, for example, placed Greek bishops, without hesitation, in the united provinces of Poland.¹ The elevation of Prussia gradually restored a consciousness of independence and power to the German Protestants, such as they had long been deprived of; and the more decided became the naval supremacy acquired by the Protestant government of England, so much the more did the Catholic missions necessarily fall into shade, while their efficiency, which had in earlier times been upheld and increased by political influence, became diminished proportionately.

But more extensive causes were in action. So early as the second half of the seventeenth century, when England had attached herself to the policy of France, when Russia was in a position equivalent to separation from the rest of Europe, and the Prussian monarchy of the house of Brandenburg was but just rising into importance, the Catholic powers, France, Spain, Austria, and Poland, had governed the European world, even though divided among themselves. It appears to me that the consciousness of how greatly all this was changed, must now have forced itself on the general conviction of the Catholic community, the proud self-confidence inspired by a politico-religious existence, unrestricted by any superior power, must now have been destroyed. The Pope was now first made aware of the fact that he no longer stood at the head of the powers by whom the world was ruled.

But finally, would not the question of whence this change arose, present itself? When the conquered party does not utterly despair of his own fortunes, every defeat, every loss, will necessarily occasion some internal revolution, some attempt at imitation of the antagonist who has evinced his superiority—an emulation of his efforts. Thus, the strictly monarchical, military, and commercial tendencies of the non-Catholic nations now pressed themselves upon the Catholic States; but since it could not be denied that the disadvantageous position into which the latter had fallen was connected with their ecclesias-

¹ Rulhière, "Histoire de l'anarchie de Pologne," i. 181.

tical constitution, the first efforts of the movement were directed toward that point.

But here they came into contact with other powerful commotions which had meanwhile taken possession of the domain of faith and opinion within the pale of Catholicism itself.

The Jansenist contentions, to the origin of which we have already given our attention, had been renewed with redoubled vehemence in the beginning of the eighteenth century. They proceeded from men of the most exalted positions. The highest influence in the Supreme Ecclesiastical Council of France had most commonly been divided between the King's confessor, usually a Jesuit, and the Archbishop of Paris, and thence it was that La Chaise and Harlai, who lived in the closest alliance, had directed the enterprises of the Crown against the papacy. So good an understanding did not exist between their successors, Le Tellier and Noailles. Their disunion may have been occasioned, in the first place, by slight differences of opinion, the more rigid adherence of the one to the Jesuit and Molinist views, and the more tolerant inclination of the other to the Jansenist ideas. Gradually, however, these differences led the way to an open rupture, and the conflict thus arising, and proceeding from the Cabinet of the King, produced a schism throughout the nation. The confessor succeeded not only in maintaining himself in power, and winning Louis to his side, but he also prevailed on the Pope to issue the bull "Unigenitus," in which the Jansenist tenets of sin, grace, justification, and the Church, were condemned, even in their most modified expression, and in some instances as their defenders considered them to be given verbatim by St. Augustine. They were, nevertheless, denounced and anathematized even more decidedly than the five propositions mentioned in our earlier allusions to the Jansenist doctrines.² This was the final decision of these questions of faith, so long before agitated by Molina. The See of Rome, after a delay, thus prolonged, at length adopted the Jesuit tenets without reserve or ambiguity. It is certain that the papacy thereby succeeded in attaching to its interests that powerful or-

² The "Mémoires secrets sur la bulle Unigenitus," i. p. 123, describe the first impression produced by it. "Some affirmed that this bull was a direct assault on the first principles of faith and morality, others that it condemned the sentiments and expressions of the holy

fathers, others that charity was therein divested of its pre-eminence and force, others that the sacred bread of the Scriptures was torn from their hands, and that those who had been newly reconciled to the Church declared themselves deceived."

der, which from that time proved itself the most vigorous defender of ultramontane doctrines and the papal claims; a mode of proceeding which had, as we have seen, been by no means invariable with the society, in preceding periods. The Pope also succeeded in maintaining friendly relations with the French government, which had, indeed, contributed to elicit the above-named decision, and by which such persons as submitted to the bull were very soon promoted, to the exclusion of all others. But these measures aroused the most powerful opposition from the adverse party; among the learned, who were followers of St. Augustine among the orders, who adhered to St. Thomas Aquinas, and in the Parliaments, by whom a violation of the Gallican rights was discovered in every new act of the Roman Court. And now, at length, the Jansenists stood forth as the earnest advocates of these immunities; with ever-increasing boldness they now announced doctrines regarding the Church, which were entirely at variance with those of Rome on the same points—nay, they proceeded, beneath the protection of a Protestant government, to carry their tenets into effect, and established an archiepiscopal church in Utrecht, which, though Catholic in its general principles, yet maintained a complete independence of Rome, and waged incessant war with the ultramontane tendencies of the Jesuits. It would amply repay the labor of him who should investigate the formation, extension, and practical influence of these opinions over the whole of Europe. In France, the Jansenists were oppressed, persecuted, and excluded from public employments; but as usually happens, this did them no injury on essential points. A large proportion of the public declared in their favor during these persecutions, and they might have succeeded still more extensively had they not brought discredit even on their more rational tenets by their extravagant credulity and attestation of miracles. This deeply injured their cause; yet the superior purity of their moral system, and the approximation they made to a more profound faith, secured them entrance into most Catholic countries. We find traces of them in Vienna and Brussels, in Spain and Portugal,³ and through all Italy.⁴ They diffused their tenets

³ Llorente, "Histoire de l'Inquisition," iii. p. 93-97, acquaints us with the continual occupation furnished by real or supposed Jansenists to the Inquisition under Charles III and IV.

⁴ For example, they were to be found

very early in Naples; so early as the year 1715 it was believed that the half of those Neapolitans who were of reflective habits were Jansenists.—Keyssler, "Reisen," p. 780.

throughout Catholic Christendom, sometimes publicly, but more frequently in secret.

There can be no doubt that this dissension among the clergy was one cause, among others, by which the way was prepared for the progress of opinions much more perilous than those here in question.

The peculiar character of the influence produced on the French mind, nay, on that of all Europe, by the exertions of Louis XIV in the name of religion, is a phenomenon worthy of eternal remembrance, and one that will be remarkable to all times. In his eager determination to root out the Protestant creed, and to annihilate every dissenting opinion intruding within the pale of Catholicism, he had employed the utmost excesses of violence, had outraged the laws of God and man, directing his every effort to the production of complete and orthodox Catholic unity throughout his kingdom. Yet scarcely had he closed his eyes, before all was utterly changed. The spirit so forcibly repressed broke forth in irresistible commotions. The disgust and horror awakened by the proceedings of Louis XIV led, without doubt, directly to the formation of opinions making open war on Catholicism, nay, on all other positive religion of whatever name. From year to year, these opinions gained internal force, and wider extent of diffusion. The kingdoms of Southern Europe were founded on the most intimate union of Church and State. Yet it was among these that a mode of thinking was matured by which aversion to the Church and religion was organized into a system, affecting all ideas relating to God and his creation, every principle of political and social life, and all science. A literature of opposition to all notions hitherto received was formed, by which the minds of men were irresistibly captivated, and subjected to indissoluble fetters.

The absence of harmony between these tendencies is manifest; the reforming spirit was by its very nature monarchical, but this could by no means be asserted of the philosophical, which very soon opposed itself to the State as well as to the Church. The Jansenists adhered to convictions which were indifferent, if not odious, to one party as well as to the other; yet they contributed at first to produce the same result. They called into existence that spirit of innovation, the extent of

whose grasp is in exact proportion with the uncertainty of its aim, which lays bolder claim to futurity the less definite its comprehension of its own purpose, and which daily derives fresh force from the abuses existing in the common order of things. This spirit now seized the Catholic Church. There is no doubt that its basis was, for the most part, either consciously or unconsciously, in what has been called the philosophy of the eighteenth century. The Jansenist theories imparted to it an ecclesiastical form and deportment, its activity was promoted by the necessities of civil governments, which pressed upon the governed, and by the opportune character of events occurring at the moment. In every country, and at all the courts, two parties were formed; one making war on the Curia, the accredited constitution and established doctrines of the time; while the other labored to maintain things as they were, and to uphold the prerogatives of the universal Church.

The last was more particularly represented by the Jesuits; that order stood forth as the chief bulwark of the ultramontane principles, and it was against them that the storm was first directed.

The Jesuits were still very powerful in the eighteenth century, and, as in earlier times, their influence was chiefly attributable to the fact that they were still the confessors of princes and nobles, while they also conducted the education of youth. Their enterprises, whether religious or commercial, still comprehended the whole world within the scope of their views, though the former were no longer pursued with the energy of older times. They now adhered without wavering to the doctrines of ecclesiastical orthodoxy and subordination; whatever was in any manner opposed to these, whether positive unbelief, Jansenist tenets, or theories of reform, were all included by the Jesuits in one common sentence of condemnation and anathema.

They were first attacked in the domain of opinion and of literature; and here it must be admitted that to the numbers and power of the assailants pressing round them they opposed rather a persistent tenacity to opinions already adopted, an indirect influence with the great and a sweeping consignment of all their antagonists to perdition, than the fair weapons of intellectual warfare. It is almost incomprehensible that neither

the Jesuits themselves, nor any of those allied with them in modes of belief, produced one single original and efficient book in their defence, while the works of their opponents deluged the world, and fixed the character of public opinion.

But after they had thus been once defeated on the field of doctrine, science, and intellect, they found it impossible to maintain themselves in the possession of power and influence.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, and during the conflict of these two classes of opinion, reforming Ministers attained to the helm of state in almost all Catholic countries—in France, Choiseul,⁵ in Spain, Wall and Squillace, in Naples, Tanucci, and in Portugal, Carvalho—all men who had made it the leading thought of their lives to diminish the preponderance of the ecclesiastical element. In their persons the opposition to the clerical ascendancy obtained representatives, and became powerful; their position depended on their adherence to it; and open hostility was all the more inevitable from the fact that the designs of these Ministers were in continual danger of subversion from the personal efforts of the Jesuits to counteract them, and from the influence possessed by the order on the highest circles of the several kingdoms.

The first thought did not proceed to the extent of annihilating the Company of Jesus; it was originally intended to do no more than remove them from the respective courts, to deprive them of their influence, and if possible of their riches. To secure these objects, it was even thought probable that the Roman Court would lend its aid; for the schism by which the Catholic world was divided had made itself manifest under a certain form there also. A more rigid and a more tolerant party existed in the metropolis of Catholicism likewise; Benedict XIV, who represented the latter, had long been dissatisfied with the Jesuits, and had often loudly condemned their conduct, more particularly in regard to the missions.⁶

When Carvalho, in defiance of the turbulent factions dividing the Portuguese Court, and in despite of the Jesuits who had

⁵ In the appendix to the "Mémoires of Madame du Hausset" will be found an essay, "De la destruction des Jésuites en France," wherein the aversion of Choiseul to the Jesuits is attributed to the fact that the general of the order had once given him to understand in Rome that he knew what had been said at a certain supper in Paris; but this is

a story that has been repeated in various forms, and cannot be allowed much weight: the causes, doubtless, lay deeper than this would imply.

⁶ This he had done while yet in the prelacy only, and as Cardinal Lambertini.—"Mémoires du Père Norbert," ii. 20.

earnestly sought to effect his downfall, had made himself absolute master, not only of the powers of the State, but of the King's will, he demanded a reform of the order from the Pope.⁷ He took the obvious course of putting prominently forward that point in the case which was most clearly obnoxious to censure—the mercantile direction taken by the society, by which moreover he was continually impeded in his projects for the promotion of the national commerce. The Pope did not hesitate to proceed in the matter. The worldly eagerness and assiduity of the Jesuits in their secular occupations was an abomination to the pontiff;⁸ and at the suggestion of Carvalho, he committed the visitation of the order to Cardinal Saldanha, a Portuguese, and personal friend of the Minister. In a short time this visitor published a decree severely reprobating the commercial pursuits of the Jesuits, and empowering the royal authorities to confiscate all merchandise belonging to those ecclesiastics.

The society had, meanwhile, been attacked in France on the same account. The bankruptcy of a mercantile house in Martinique, with which Father Lavallette was in connection, and which involved a large number of commercial dealers in its fall, gave occasion for those who had suffered by the failures to bring their complaints before the tribunals, and by these courts the affair was very zealously taken in hand.⁹

Had longer life been accorded to Benedict XIV there is reason to suppose that although he would probably not have abolished the order, he would yet have subjected it gradually to a searching and complete reform.

But at the critical moment Benedict XIV expired, and from the next conclave there proceeded as pope a man of opposite opinions; this was Clement XIII, who was elected on July 6, 1758.

Clement was pure in soul and upright of purpose; he prayed much and fervently; his highest ambition was to obtain the glory of canonization. At the same time he held the conviction that all the claims of the papacy were sacred and inviolable, and lamented deeply that any one of them had ever been relinquished.

⁷ On the Jesuit side, this conflict of factions has been described with extreme animation in a "History of the Jesuits in Portugal," translated from an Italian manuscript, by Murr.

⁸ See Appendix, No. 163.
⁹ "Vie privée de Louis XV.," iv. p. 88.

He was resolved that no concession should be obtained from himself; nay, he lived in the persuasion that all might yet be regained, and the diminished splendor of Rome restored to its earlier glories by a steadfast and determined pertinacity.¹⁰ In the Jesuits he beheld the most faithful defenders of the papal see and of religion; he approved them such as they were, and did not consider them in any need of reform. In all these modes of thinking he was confirmed by those of his immediate circle, and those who shared in his devotions.

We cannot affirm that Cardinal Torregiani, to whose hands the administration of the papal authority was principally assigned, was equally influenced by spiritual considerations. He had the reputation, on the contrary, of taking a personal interest in the farming of the papal revenues, and was said to be generally fond of power for its own sake. But would not motives and purposes even of this kind be forwarded and promoted by the maintenance of the order in its utmost integrity? All the influence, all the riches, and all the authority for which the Jesuits were so profoundly detested by the jealous viceroys in America, and by the ambitious and power-seeking Ministers of Europe, was finally laid by the Company of Jesus at the feet of the Roman See. Torregiani adopted their cause as his own, and by doing so he further increased the strength of his own position at court. The only man who might have been able to overthrow him, Rezzonico, nephew of the pontiff, would have feared to do so, lest by effecting his ruin he might cause injury to the Church of God.¹

But as matters now stood, the zeal evinced on behalf of the order could produce no other effect than that of further exasperating its assailants, and eventually attracting their animosity toward the Roman See itself.

In Portugal the Jesuits were implicated in the judicial investigations resulting from an attempt on the life of the King.²

¹⁰ Sammlung der merkwürdigsten Schriften die Aufhebung der Jesuiten betreffend, 1773," i. p. 211: "Collection of the most remarkable accounts in relation to the suppression of the Jesuits." How decidedly public opinion was opposed to it, may be seen in Winkelmann's letters, among other places.

¹ "Caratteri di Clemente XIII. e di varj altri personaggi di Roma," MS. of the British Museum, viii. 430: "The distrust that he (the Pope) feels of him-

self, and the excess of humility by which he is depressed, make him defer to the opinions of others, who are, for the most part, either incapable, interested, or ill-intentioned. The person who ought to influence him never moves."

² In the sentence given on January 12, 1759, the point principally insisted on seems to be certain "legitimate suspicions" against "the perverse regular clergy of the Company of Jesus"; of

It is difficult to ascertain clearly whether they were guilty or not; but be this as it may, they were visited by one blow after another, and were finally driven from the kingdom with merciless violence, being transported directly to the coasts of the Ecclesiastical States.

In consequence of the lawsuit above mentioned, the Jesuits of France had, meanwhile, fallen into the power of the Parliament, by which they had from the first been detested. Their affairs were entered upon with the utmost clamor, all were sedulously made public, and the entire order was at length condemned to fulfil the engagements of Lavallette. Nor was this all: the constitution of their society was again subjected to scrutiny, and the legality of their existence generally was called into question.³

The points on which the decision of this affair turned are exceedingly remarkable and characteristic.

The charges more particularly pressed against the order were two; the persistent opposition it evinced toward the four Gallican propositions, and the unlimited powers of their general.

But the first of these accusations did not present an insurmountable obstacle. The general of the Jesuits was not opposed to the members of his order being at least tacitly permitted to abstain from calling the four propositions in question; and, accordingly, we find that in the negotiations of the French clergy in 1761, they offered to regulate their expositions of doctrine in accordance with these very propositions.

But the case was wholly different with regard to the second objection.

The parliaments, a commission appointed by the King, and even the majority of the French bishops, who were assembled by Cardinal Luyne,⁴ had unanimously decided that the obedience which the general, resident in Rome, was empowered to

these the most important are, their ambitious purpose of making themselves masters of the reins of government (§ 25); their arrogance previous to the criminal attempt, and their despondency after its failure (§ 26); finally, and certainly a far more serious charge, their intimate connection with the chief of the accused, Mascarenhas, with whom they had formerly been at variance. Father Costa was reported to have declared that a man who should murder the King would not be guilty of even a venial sin (§ 4). But, on the other side, it has been remarked that the confessions on which these statements were founded were extorted by the rack, and that the

documents relating to the trial betray marks of undue haste, and are full of informalities. In a judicial point of view, the sentence certainly never can be justified. Compare Von Olfers on the attempt to assassinate the King of Portugal, 3rd Sept. 1758. Berlin, 1839. In a letter inserted by Smith in his *Memoirs of the Marquis de Pombal*, i. 247, Cardinal Accignoli is made to declare expressly, on his return from Portugal, "that the Jesuits were without doubt the originators of the proposed assassination."

³ See Appendix, No. 150.

⁴ St. Priest, *Chute des Jésuites*, p. 54.

demand by the statutes of the order, was incompatible with the laws of the kingdom, and with the general duties of the subject to his sovereign.

It was not with the intention of destroying the order, but rather with the hope of saving it if possible from ruin, that the King caused proposals to be made to the general for the appointment of a vicar for France, who was to fix his residence in that country, and be pledged to render obedience to its laws.⁵

Had there been a man like Aquaviva at the head of the order, there is no doubt that some expedient would have been discovered—some compromise of disputed points attempted, even at this moment. But the society had at that time a most inflexible chief in the person of Lorenzo Ricci, who felt nothing but the injustice that was done to his company.

The point assailed appeared to him the most important of all, whether ecclesiastically or politically. His encyclical letters are still extant, and these prove the immeasurable value he conceived the duty of obedience, in all the rigor of its inculcation by Ignatius, to possess in its relation to personal discipline. But in addition to this, a suspicion was awakened in Rome that the sole object of the different kingdoms was to render themselves independent of the universal government of the Church; they thought this proposal to the general of the Jesuits had some secret connection with that design.

Ricci therefore replied, that so essential a change in the constitution was not within the limits of his power. Application was then made to the Pope, and the answer of Clement XIII was, that this constitution had been so distinctly approved by the holy Council of Trent, and confirmed by so many solemn edicts from his predecessors, that he could not venture to change it.⁶ They rejected every kind of modification; Ricci's entire mode of thought was expressed in his words, "Let them be as they are, or let them be no longer." (*Sint ut sunt, aut non sint.*)

The result was, that they ceased to be. The Parliament, which had now no further obstacle in its way, declared (August 6, 1762) that the institute of the Jesuits was opposed to all authority, spiritual and temporal, ecclesiastical and civil, and

⁵ Letter from Praslin, 16th Jan. 1762, in Flassan, "Histoire de la Diplomatie Francaise," vi. 498. The whole account is very instructive.

⁶ Narrative of the Jesuit side in Wolf, "Geschichte der Jesuiten," iii. 365. This book is useful only as regards the suppression of the order.

was calculated with a view, first, to render them entirely independent of such authority by means, secret and open, direct and indirect; and finally, even to favor their usurpation of the government: it therefore decreed that the order should be excluded from the kingdom, irrevocably and for ever. It is true that in a consistory the pontiff declared this decision to be null and void;⁷ but things had already proceeded to such a length that he could not venture to publish the allocution in which that declaration was made.

And this movement against the order now extended through all countries subject to the rule of the house of Bourbon. Charles III of Spain became persuaded that it was one of the purposes of the Jesuits to raise his brother Don Luis to the throne in his place.⁸ Thereupon, with that determined silence and secrecy which so frequently distinguished his proceedings, he caused everything to be prepared; and in one and the same day, every house of the Jesuits throughout Spain was closed. In Naples and Parma this example was followed without delay.

The admonitions, entreaties, and adjurations of the Pope, were altogether vain. At length he tried a different expedient. When the Duke of Parma proceeded so far as even to forbid all recourse to the Roman tribunals, as well as all nomination of foreigners to the benefices of the duchy, the Pope summoned courage for the publication of a "monitorium," wherein he pronounced the ecclesiastical censures against the duke, his vassal,⁹ and attempted once more to defend himself by retaliation. But the most disastrous consequences followed; the duke replied in a manner that the most powerful monarchs of earlier ages would not have dared to attempt, and the whole house of Bourbon made common cause with him. Avignon, Benevento, and Pontecorvo were immediately occupied by their forces.

⁷ "Potestatem ipsam Jesu Christi in terris vicario ejus unice tributam sibi temere arrogantes totius societatis compagem in Gallico regno dissolvunt," etc. "Arrogating rashly to themselves that same power which is given by Jesus Christ to his vicar on earth only—to dissolve the whole compact of the society in the Gallican kingdom, etc." This document is given in Daunou, ii. 207.

⁸ Letter from the French ambassador, quoted in Lebre's History of the Bull, "In cena Domini," iv. 205, from the Italian work, "Delle cagioni dell' espulsione de' Gesuiti." "A Relazione al conte de Firmian, 1769, 7 Apr." (MS. in

the Brera) affirms that the Jesuits had some anticipation of what was approaching. "It was not without a powerful motive that they required of the King, but a short time before the said expulsion, a confirmation of their privileges and of their institute, a fact that has only been now made known." They had removed their money and papers. But the advantage to the Crown appeared so great to Charles III that when the affair was successfully completed, he exclaimed that he had conquered a new world.

⁹ Botta, "Storia d' Italia," tom xiv. p. 147.

But the hostility of the Bourbon courts displayed itself also in another direction. From the persecution of the Jesuits, they proceeded to a direct attack on the Roman See.

To whom could the Pope now turn for aid? Genoa, Modena, Venice—nay, all the Italian States—took part against him. Once more he directed his eyes toward Austria; he wrote to the Empress, Maria Theresa, that she was his only consolation on earth; she would surely not permit that his old age should be oppressed by acts of violence.

The Empress replied, as Urban VIII had once replied to the Emperor Ferdinand, that the affair was one concerning state policy, not religion, and that she could not interfere without injustice.

The spirit of Clement was broken. In the beginning of the year 1769, the ambassadors of the Bourbon courts appeared one after another—first the Neapolitan, next the Spanish, and finally the French—to demand the irrevocable suppression of the whole order.¹⁰ The Pope called a consistory for February 3, in which he seemed to purpose taking the matter at least into consideration; but he was not doomed to suffer so profound a humiliation. On the evening preceding the day on which that consistory was to assemble, he was seized by a convulsion, in which he expired.

The position held by the courts was too menacing, their influence too powerful, to permit the idea of preventing them from ruling the succeeding conclave even to present itself. They could not fail to secure that the triple crown should be conferred on such a man as they required.

Of all the cardinals, Lorenzo Ganganelli was, without doubt, the mildest and most moderate. One of his masters had said of him in his youth, that it was no wonder if he loved music, seeing that everything in his own character was harmony.¹

¹⁰ "Continuazione degli annali d' Italia di Muratori," xiv. i. p. 197.

¹ Aneddoti riguardanti la famiglia e l'opere di Clemente XIV. in the "Lettere ed altre Opere di Ganganelli," Firenze, 1829. As regards these short works and letters themselves, they may very possibly be interpolated; but in the main facts I believe them to be authentic—first, because the defence of them in the "Ringraziamento dell' editore all' autor dell' anno letterario" is, on the whole, natural and satisfactory, although previous to their publication

an unjustifiable use had been made of them; secondly, because trustworthy men—as, for example, Cardinal Bernis, among others—have assured us that they had seen the originals. The real collector was the Florentine man of letters, Lami; and, according to a letter of the Abbé Bellegarde in Potter, "Vie de Ricci," i. p. 328, those who possessed the originals and furnished the copies confirmed their authenticity; thirdly, because they bear the impress of originality, and have peculiar characteristics, which preserve their consistency in

And thus he grew up in blameless companionship, retirement from the world, and solitary study, which led him more and more deeply into the mysteries of true theology. As he had turned from Aristotle to Plato, from whom he derived a more complete satisfaction of soul, so did he pass from the schoolmen to the fathers of the Church, and from these to the holy scriptures, to which he clung with all the fervor of a mind convinced of the revelation of the Word, imbibing from them that silent, pure, and calm devotion, which sees God in everything, and consecrates itself to the service of humanity. His religion was not zeal, persecution, desire of dominion, or polemic violence, but peace, humility, and internal union. Those unceasing contentions of the papal see with the Catholic governments, by which the Church was convulsed to her centre, were the object of his utter abhorrence. His moderation did not proceed from timidity, nor was it the result of necessity, but arose from genial kindness of heart and firm freedom of will.

Thus from the bosom of religion there proceeded a tone of thought and character of mind that, however different in their origin from the worldly tendencies of courts, yet corroborated and coalesced with them as to certain of their effects.

The election of Ganganelli was effected principally by the influence of the Bourbons, and at the immediate suggestion of the French and Spanish cardinals. He assumed the name of Clement XIV.

The Roman Curia was divided, as we have remarked, like other courts, and two parties: the Zelanti, who labored to maintain all ancient privileges in their integrity and full extent; and the Regalisti, or adherents of the crowns, who considered that the welfare of the Church must be sought in a wise conciliation. In the person of Ganganelli, this last party now attained to power, and a change was effected in Rome nearly similar to that which had already occurred in all the sovereign courts.

Ganganelli began by prohibiting the reading of the bull "In cœna Domini." The concessions made by Benedict XIV

every circumstance and condition of life, such as no pretender could have fabricated: there is the living man to be seen in them. Least of all can these letters have proceeded from Caracciolo. One needs only to read his "Vie de

Clément XIV." in order to be convinced that all he says is greatly inferior to the observations of Clement XIV. Whatever of good is in the work reflects the spirit of Ganganelli.

to the kings of Sardinia, and which the pontiffs succeeding him had refused to recognize, were instantly extended by Clement XIV, who also declared, on the very day of his installation, that he would send a nuncio to Portugal. He suspended the operation of the "monitorium" against Parma, and then applied himself with the utmost attention to the affairs of the Jesuits. A commission of cardinals was formed, the archives of the Propaganda were examined, and the arguments on both sides were deliberately considered. It must be remembered that Clement XIV was, without doubt, unfavorably disposed to the Jesuits; he was a Franciscan, and that order had been always at war with the Jesuits, more particularly in the missions. He was, besides, attached to the doctrinal system of the Augustinians and Thomists, which was altogether opposed to that of the Company of Jesus, and was, indeed, not entirely free from Jansenist opinions. In addition to all this, came those numerous subjects of accusation against the Jesuits, that could not be argued away. They were charged with undue interference in secular affairs; and, as regarded their ecclesiastical conduct, were reproached with a contentious spirit, and said to quarrel both with the regular and secular clergy: they were further declared to suffer the prevalence of heathen customs in the missions, and to inculcate scandalous maxims on various subjects; their wealth was also complained of, and the rather as it was gained by commercial pursuits. When the entire order had been at other times threatened with measures of general application, it had been frequently defended by the assertion that the institute had been approved by the Council of Trent; but when the commission examined the canon, it was found that the order had been merely alluded to by the Council, and had not received either approval or confirmation. Clement XIV had no doubt but that he had power to revoke in his day what one of the pontiffs preceding him had decreed in times of a different character; and although it is true that the decision cost him a severe struggle, and he was even led to believe that it might endanger his life, yet he felt convinced of what was repeatedly urged, namely, that the peace of the Church could be restored by no other means than the subversion of the society.

The Court of Spain was most especially pressing in its demands for the abolition of the order; the restitution of the

occupied territories was not to be hoped for unless these demands were complied with. On July 21, 1773, the Pope pronounced his decision: "Inspired, as we trust, by the Divine Spirit; impelled by the duty of restoring concord to the Church; convinced that the Society of Jesus can no longer effect those purposes for which it was founded; and moved by other reasons of prudence and state policy, which we retain concealed in our own breast, we do extirpate and abolish the Society of Jesus, its offices, houses, and institutions."²

This was a decision of immeasurable importance.

Firstly, in its relation to the Protestants. It was for the conflict with them that the institute was originally calculated. Even its system of doctrine was based principally on opposition to that of Calvin. And this was the character which the Jesuits had renewed and confirmed even at the close of the seventeenth century, during the persecutions of the Huguenots. But that conflict was now at an end; the most determined self-delusion could no longer hope to derive any essential effect from its revival. The non-Catholic countries had acquired an undeniable superiority in the great political relations of the world; and the Catholic states were now rather seeking an approximation to the Protestant potentates, than hoping to draw the latter within their own pale. And herein, as I think, lay the principal and most profound reason for the suppression of the order. It was an institution contrived for the purposes of war, and which, in a state of peace, was no longer in its place. Since then it would not yield a single hair's breadth of its constitution, and obstinately rejected all reform, greatly as this was needed on other grounds also, it may be said to have pronounced sentence on itself. It is a fact of the highest moment, that the papal see could not succeed in upholding an order which had been founded for the purpose of opposing the Protestants—that a pope deprived it of existence, by an act of his unbiassed will.

But this event produced its first and most immediate effects on the Catholic countries. The Jesuits had been assailed and overthrown, principally because they asserted the supremacy of the Roman See, in its most rigorous acceptation; thus, when the order was abandoned by the papacy, the latter resigned its previous rigid views of ascendancy by the same act, with all the

² Brief, "Dominus ac redemptor, continuazione degli annali," tom. xiv. part 2, p. 107.

consequences those views involved. The efforts of the opposition achieved an unquestionable victory. The annihilation at one blow, and without the slightest preparation, of that society which had made the education of youth its chief employment, and which had extended its operations over so wide a field, could not fail to convulse the world of Catholicism to its very foundations, even to that basis of society whereon the new generations are formed.³ Since the outworks had been taken, a more vigorous assault of the victorious opinions on the central stronghold would inevitably follow. The commotion increased from day to day, the defection of men's minds took a constantly widening range, and what could be expected when the general ferment had made its way, even into Austria—that empire, of which the existence and the power were, above all others, associated with the results of Catholic efforts during the period of ecclesiastical restoration?

Section XIX.—Joseph II

It was the ruling principle of Joseph II to combine all the powers of the monarchy, and to unite them without control in his own hand. It was thus impossible that he should approve or sanction the influence of Rome on his subjects, or be satisfied with the connection existing between them and the pontiffs. Whether his immediate circle presented a majority of Jansenists or infidels¹—for without doubt they made common cause here also, as in the attack on the Jesuits—may be matter of question; but it is certain that the Emperor waged incessant and exterminating war on all institutions professing a common object, and seeking to maintain the external unity of the Church. Of more than 2,000 monasteries, he suffered only 700 to retain their existence. Of the congregations of nuns, those of the most immediate and obvious utility alone found favor at his hands; nay, even while sparing their existence, he forbade even these to hold intercourse with Rome. He considered papal dispensations as so much foreign merchandise, for which he would not permit money to be sent out of the country; and openly an-

³ Montbarey, "Mémoires," i. p. 225.
¹ The belief of Van Swieten may be attributed to this; but it is obvious that a very decided tendency to Jansenism existed in Vienna, as we find from the

life of Fessler, among other things. "Fessler's Rückblicks auf seine Siebzigjährige Pilgerschaft, pp. 74, 78, and other passages, Compare "Schlözer's Staatsanzeigen, ix. 33, p. 113.

nounced himself to be the administrator of all temporal affairs connected with the Church.

It soon became obvious to the successor of Ganganelli (Pius VI) that the only means of restraining Joseph from proceeding to extreme measures, perhaps even with regard to doctrine, must now be sought in the impression he might hope to make on him in a personal interview; he therefore repaired to Vienna, where it would be too much to say that his mildness of manner, dignity of appearance, and grace of deportment, were altogether without influence. Yet in all essential matters, the Emperor continued his course without hesitation or respect of persons. Even the monastery wherein he had taken a solemn farewell of the pontiff, received intimation immediately afterward that its suppression was determined on. Pius VI beheld himself finally compelled to resign to the Emperor the nomination to episcopal sees, even to those situated in Italy.

Thus did the conflict of the temporal power with the papacy extend itself into Italy, from the Austrian side also. Leopold, who, so far as we can judge, was himself of Jansenist opinions, reformed the Church of Tuscany, without any consideration for the See of Rome; while at no great distance from the capital of Christendom, the synod of Pistoja propounded, in its decrees, a complete manifesto of union between the Jansenist and Gallican principles; and Naples, which was in close alliance with this party, by the medium of Queen Caroline, obliterated the last remaining traces of feudal connection with the Roman See.

On the German Church, also, an indirect effect was produced by the measures of the Emperor; the spiritual electors, after so long a period of friendly understanding with Rome, likewise placed themselves in opposition to her authority. The interests of sovereign princes, who desired to impede the concealed remittances of money from their dominion, were united, in their persons, with those of spiritual dignitaries, who were labouring to restore their own authority.² According to the declaration of Ems, which was "written," says a Roman prelate, "with a pen dipped in the gall of Paolo Sarpi," the Roman primate was, in future, to content himself with the rights accorded to him in the earliest ages of the Church.³ The path to the proceedings

² Compare the article of Coblenz, for the year 1769, in the journal "Deutsche Blätter für Protestanten und Katholiken." Heidelberg, 1839, Heft i. p. 39.

³ Bartolommeo Pacca, *Memoire storiche sul di lui Soggiorno in Germania*, p. 33.

of the electoral princes had been admirably prepared by the previous labors of the German canonists, and to these were now added the efforts of other learned Jesuits, by whom the entire fabric of the Catholic Church in Germany was assailed—the political power of the hierarchy in general, no less than its civil administration in particular.⁴ An eager desire for innovation had seized on men of learning as well as on the laity at large: the inferior clergy opposed the bishops; the bishops were at strife with the archbishops, who, in their turn, were at variance with the sovereign pontiff. In Germany, as elsewhere, all things gave evidence of approaching change.

Section XX.—The Revolution

But before this purpose of change could be realized—before the Emperor Joseph had brought his reforms to completion, the most fearful of explosions burst forth from the abyss of elements that had been fermenting in the bosom of France.

It is manifest that the event by which the character of modern times has been determined—the French Revolution—was immeasurably promoted and contributed to by the antagonism of two hostile parties on every question touching religion—by the incapacity of the dominant party to maintain itself on the field of opinion and literature, and by that general aversion which, not without having in some measure deserved it, this party had brought upon itself. The spirit of opposition, whose origin must be sought in the discords prevailing within the pale of Catholicism itself, had continually increased in force, and had become ever more firmly consolidated. Step by step it pressed constantly forward, and during the stormy period of the year 1789 it attained to the possession of power—a power which believed itself called on for the utter subversion of all established institutions and the creation of a new world. In the general overthrow, by which the most Christian monarchy was menaced, its ecclesiastical constitution was necessarily subjected to the most violent convulsions.

All things concurred to the production of one and the same result—financial embarrassment, individual interests, as those

⁴ Friedrich Carl von Moser, for example, on the government of the Ecclesiastical States in Germany, 1787. His

principal proposition (p. 161) is, that "Prince and bishop should again be separated."

of municipalities, with indifference or hatred to the existing religion; finally, the proposal made by a member of the superior clergy itself for the acknowledgment of a right in the nation, that is, in the secular power, but more particularly of the National Assembly, to dispose of ecclesiastical property. Up to this period that property had been regarded, not as the especial possession of the French Church alone, but as belonging to the Church universal, and as requiring the assent of the sovereign pontiff for its alienation. But how far remote were the times and the ideas from which convictions of that character had originated! Now, but a short debate was entered into before the Assembly assumed itself to possess the right of legislation concerning all church lands—the power, that is, of absolute alienation, and with an authority more unconditional than had been contemplated by the first proposition. Neither was it possible that these measures should stop at the point thus attained. Since by the sequestration of church property, which was carried into effect without delay, the continued subsistence of the established order of things was rendered impossible, it became needful at once to proceed to new arrangements; and this was effected by the civil constitution of the clergy. The principle of the revolutionized State was extended to ecclesiastical affairs.¹ Priests were no longer to be installed as by the decisions of the concordat, but to be chosen by popular election, and a salary from the government was substituted for the independence conferred by the possession of real estates. The disposition of all the dioceses was changed, the religious orders were suppressed, vows were dissolved, all connection with Rome was interrupted; even the reception of a brief was now regarded as one of the most criminal offences. The attempt of a Carthusian to maintain the sole and absolute supremacy of the Catholic religion had no other effect than that of accelerating these edicts. The whole body of the clergy was compelled to affirm its adhesion to these resolutions by a solemn oath.

It is not to be denied that this order of things was completed with the co-operation of the French Jansenists, and the approval of those holding Jansenist opinions in other countries. They

¹ This was done quite systematically, and in accordance with the tenets of the older church historians. "Tota ecclesiarum distributio ad formam imperii facta est." "The distribution of the

churches is made according to the forms of the empire."—Camus, "Opinion sur le projet de constitution du clergé," 31 Mai, 1790.

saw with pleasure, that the power of Babel, as in their hatred they called the Roman Curia, had suffered so grievous a blow, and that the clergy, at whose hands they had endured so many persecutions, were overthrown. Even their theoretical convictions were in accordance with this state of things, for they maintained that "by depriving the clergy of its wealth, the members of the body were compelled to seek for the acquirement of real merit."²

The Roman Court still flattered itself for a moment that these commotions would be arrested by an internal reaction, and the Pope neglected nothing that might tend to the promotion of that event. He rejected the new constitution, passed censure on the bishops who had given in their adhesion to it, labored to confirm, by exhortations and praises, the opposition of the still numerous party which had assumed an attitude of resistance, and finally pronounced the ban of the Church against the most influential and distinguished members of the constitutional clergy.

But all these efforts were now vain; the revolutionary tendencies maintained their ground: the civil war which had been kindled principally by the fervor of religious impulse, resulted in the advantage of the innovators and their new arrangements. And well would it have been for the Pope had the matter rested there—had France torn from him nothing more than herself.

But that general war by which the whole aspect of European affairs was to be so entirely changed, had meanwhile burst forth in all its violence.

With that irresistible fury, compounded of enthusiasm, rapacity, and terror, which had been displayed in the internal conflict, the torrent of revolutionary forces rushed beyond the French confines, and poured itself over the neighboring countries.

All that came within its influence was now brought into a state analogous to its own. Belgium, Holland, the Upper Rhine-land of Germany, where the ecclesiastical constitution had its principal seat—all were revolutionized; the campaign of 1796 secured the mastery of Italy to the new form of things.

² Letters from Gianni and certain other abbés in Potter, "Vie de Ricci," ii. p. 315. In Wolf, "Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche unter Pius VI." there is a chapter, book vii. p. 32, on

the part taken by the Jansenists in the arrangement of the new constitution; but the subject is not very forcibly treated.

Revolutionary States arose in all directions; the Pope was already threatened by them, not only in his territories, but in his capital also.

Without having taken what could be called an active part, the pontiff had yet ranged himself on the side of the Coalition, through using his spiritual weapons only; but it was in vain that he sought to gain advantage from this neutrality.³ His States were invaded, his people incited to revolt, exorbitant contributions, such as he found it impracticable to raise, were imposed on him, and concessions were extorted from him to an extent never demanded from any one of his predecessors.⁴ Neither were these the sum of the evils inflicted on his head. The Pope was not an enemy like any other; he had found courage, even during the war, to reprobate the Jansenist and Gallican doctrines of Pistoja by the bull "Auctorem fidei." The unyielding deportment he maintained, and the condemnatory briefs he had published, had produced and continued to exercise a powerful effect on the interior of France. The French, therefore, now demanded as the price of peace his revocation of these edicts, and an acknowledgment of their civil constitution.

But to compliance with these exactions Pius VI was not to be moved; acquiescence would have seemed to him a departure from the very principle of the faith—an act of treason to his office. His reply to these proposals⁵ was, that "after having implored the assistance of God, and inspired, as he believed, by the Holy Spirit, he refused to accede to those conditions."

For a moment the revolutionary authorities seemed to acquiesce in this decision; a compact was formed even without these concessions, but it was only for a moment. From the purpose of separating themselves from the Pope, they advanced to the idea of directly annihilating him. The Directory found the rule of priests in Italy incompatible with its own. At the first pretext, afforded by a mere accidental commotion among

³ "Authentische Geschichte des Französischen Revolutionskrieges in Italien, 1797." The Pope had affirmed that religion forbade a resistance by which the shedding of blood would be occasioned.

⁴ In the "Mémoires historiques et philosophiques sur Pie VI et son Pontificat," tom. ii. the losses of the Roman States are computed at 220,000,000 livres.

⁵ "Memoria diretta al Principe della Pace, in Tavanti, Fasti di Pio VI." tom. iii. p. 335. "His Holiness was utterly amazed and shocked, perceiving that they were seeking to violate his conscience and led him into an act by means of which they might inflict the most fatal of injuries on religion."

the populace, Rome was invaded, and the Vatican occupied by the French. Pius VI entreated his enemies to let him die where he had lived: he was already eighty years old. They replied that he could die anywhere. The room he was seated in was plundered before his eyes—they deprived him of even the trifles required for his personal comfort, and drew the ring he wore from his finger: finally, they took him to France, where he died in the month of August, 1799.

It might, in fact, have now seemed that the papal power had been brought to a final close. That spirit of enmity to the Church which we perceived to take birth, and have marked rising into vigor, had now attained the degree of strength that might well embolden it to aim at securing such a result.

Section XXI.—Times of Napoleon

But succeeding events effectually prevented the realization of any such purpose.

One of the most immediate consequences of that hostility experienced by the papal see from the revolutionary governments was, that the remaining powers of Europe, whatever might be their general dispositions toward the papacy, now took it into their protection. The death of Pius VI occurred precisely at a time when the Coalition had again achieved the victory. It was thus rendered possible for the cardinals to assemble in the church of San Giorgio at Venice, and proceed to the election of a pope (Pius VII chosen March 13, 1800).

It is true that the revolutionary power was soon afterward again triumphant, and obtained a decided preponderance even in Italy. But at this time that power itself had undergone a material change. After so many metamorphoses, effected amid the storms of that momentous period, it assumed a direction toward monarchy. A ruler appeared with the purpose of a new universal empire in his thoughts, and who, beholding the general destruction and ruin prevailing, and profiting by his experience obtained in the East, had arrived at the conclusion, which is the principal matter for our present consideration, that to secure his end, the unity of religion and hierarchical subordination, were the first and most essential of all the many other forms of older states, that he saw to be imperatively required.

Even on the very battle-field of Marengo, Napoleon deputed the bishop of Vercelli to enter into negotiations with the Pope, in regard to the re-establishment of the Catholic Church.

This was a proposal in which there was doubtless much to allure and tempt, but it also involved much that was dangerous. It was manifest that the restoration of the Catholic Church in France, and its connection with the Pope could be purchased only by extraordinary concessions.

To these Pius VII resolved to submit. He assented to the alienation of church property, a loss of 400,000,000 of francs in real estates—being influenced to this, according to his own declaration, by the conviction that his refusal would occasion new outbreaks of violence, and feeling disposed to yield on all points, where he could do so without offence to religion. He acquiesced in a new organization of the French clergy, who were to be paid and nominated solely by the government, and was content to receive the restoration of right to grant canonical institution, unrestricted by limitation of the veto, and with-in the same extent as that possessed by earlier popes.¹

There now followed what a short time before could by no means have been expected—the restoration of Catholicism in France, and the renewed subjection of that country to ecclesiastical authority. The Pope was transported with joy, “that the churches were purified from profanation, the altars raised anew, the banner of the cross once more unfurled, legitimate pastors set over the people, and so many souls that had strayed from the right way, restored to the unity of the Church, and reconciled to themselves and to God.” “How many causes,” he exclaimed, “for rejoicing and thankfulness!”

But could it be reasonably concluded that by the concordat of 1801, a close and cordial alliance was indeed and at once effected between the ancient spiritual power and the new revolutionary state?

Concessions were made on both sides; but in despite of these each party remained firmly adherent to its own principles.

It was by the restorer of the Catholic Church in France that, immediately afterward, the most efficient aid was contributed toward the destruction of the German Church. The complete

¹“*Lettera Apostolica in forma di breve*,” in Pistolesi, “*Vita di Pio VII.*” tom. i. p. 143, with a complete collation

of the varieties exhibited in the publication of this document as it took place in France.

and final ruin of that stately fabric was attributable chiefly to his agency: the transfer of its possessions and sovereign powers to secular princes, indifferent whether Catholic or Protestant, was effected by his means. Inexpressible was the astonishment and confusion occasioned to the Roman Court by these events. "According to the old decretals, heresy had entailed the loss of property, but the Church must now endure to see its own possessions parcelled out among heretics."²

And meanwhile a concordat of similar spirit to that with France was also prepared for Italy. There, too, the pontiff was called on to sanction the sale of ecclesiastical property, and resign the nomination to benefices to the temporal power; nay, there were so many new restrictive clauses, all for the advantage of one side, annexed to this agreement, that Pius VII refused to publish it in the form proposed.³

But it was in France itself that Napoleon most effectually asserted the claims of the civil power in opposition to those of the Church. He regarded the declaration of 1682 as a fundamental law of the realm, and caused it to be expounded in the schools. He would permit no vows, and would suffer no monks. The ordinances of his civil code with relation to marriage were altogether at variance with the Catholic principle of the sacramental significance of that rite: the organic articles, which from the very first he appended to the concordat, were constructed in a spirit essentially adverse to Rome.

When the pontiff, notwithstanding all these things, resolved to cross the Alps at the Emperor's request, and give the spiritual sanction of the holy oil to his coronation, he was influenced to do so by the hope he entertained, however little this was countenanced by the aspect and conduct of France, that he might still effect something for the advantage of the Catholic Church, and complete "the work he had commenced."⁴ Pius herein relied much on the effect of personal intercourse: he took with him the letter of Louis XIV to Innocent XII, for the purpose of convincing Napoleon that the declaration of 1682 had already been abandoned even by that sovereign. In the first

² Instructions to a nuncio at Vienna, unfortunately without date, but probably of 1803, in Daunou, *Essai* ii. p. 318.

³ Coppi, "Annali d'Italia," tom. iii. p. 120

⁴ *Allocutio habita in consistorio secreto* 29 Oct. 1804; Pistolesi gives the Italian version, "Vita di Pio VII." tom. i. p. 193.

remonstrance, therefore, drawn up in Italian, that he presented in Paris, he formally contested that declaration, and endeavored to release the new concordat from the limitations of the organic articles.⁵ Nay, his views and expectations went still further: in a minutely detailed memorial, he made manifest the exigencies of the pontificate, and enumerated the losses it had sustained during the fifty years preceding. He exhorted the Emperor to follow the example of Charlemagne and restore the territories which had been occupied, to the possession of the Church.⁶ So highly did he estimate the value of the service that he had rendered to the revolutionary monarchy!

But how completely did he find himself deceived. Even during the ceremony of the coronation, a shade of melancholy was observed to cross his countenance. Of all that he desired and contemplated he did not obtain the smallest portion, either at that time or subsequently; nay, it was rather at this very moment that the designs of the Emperor were first revealed in their whole extent.

The Constituent Assembly had labored to detach itself from the Pope; the Directory had desired to annihilate him. Bonaparte's idea was to preserve his existence, but at the same time to subjugate him completely to his purposes—to make him the mere instrument of his own unlimited power.

He caused proposals to be made, even at that time, to the Pope, if we are rightly informed, that he should remain in France and fix his residence either at Avignon or Paris.

To these the pontiff is said to have replied, that to provide for the contingency of his being imprisoned he had executed an abdication in all due form, and had deposited that act in Palermo, beyond the reach of the French decrees.

There was at that moment no place where the Pope could have found effectual shelter or protection, but one that was under the dominion of the British navy.

It is true that the pontiff was permitted to return to Rome, and was suffered to retain a seeming possession of his previous independence, but there instantly commenced a series of the most perplexing misunderstandings.

⁵ Extrait du Rapport de M. Portalis, in Artaud, *Pie VII.* tom. ii. p. 11.

⁶ Printed in Artaud, p. 31. Compare Napoleon's letter of July 22, 1807.

"The Pope consented to come to my

coronation, an act in which I recognize a holy prelate; but he wished me to yield the legations to him." In Bignon, *Histoire de France sous Napoléon*, Deuxième époque, i. p. 158.

Napoleon very soon declared without circumlocution that like his predecessors of the second and third dynasties, he was the eldest son of the Church, who bore the sword for her protection, and could not endure that she should remain associated with heretics or schismatics, as were the English and Russians. He was particularly desirous of being considered as the successor and representative of Charlemagne; but the consequences that he deduced from that assumption were altogether different from those attached to the idea of that emperor's success by the Roman Court. Napoleon assumed that the States of the Church were a gift from Charlemagne to the Pope, but that from this circumstance the pontiff was placed under the obligation of never separating his policy from that of the empire; he was, moreover, resolved not to suffer him to do so.⁷

The Pope was amazed at the demand that he should consider the antagonists of another as his own enemies; he replied, "That he was the universal pastor, the father of all, the servant of peace, and that the very mention of such a demand inspired him with horror." It was his part to be Aaron, the prophet of God—not Ishmael, whose hand was against every man, and every man's hand against him.

But Napoleon proceeded directly forward to his purpose; he caused Ancona and Urbino to be occupied, and on the rejection of his ultimatum, wherein he claimed, among other concessions, the acknowledgment of his right to nominate one-third of the cardinals, he marched his troops on Rome. The cardinals, whom he did not find sufficiently pliable, were dismissed; the Pope's Secretary of State was twice changed; but as all this produced no effect on Pius VII, even his person was at length assailed; he, too, was torn from his palace and capital. A decree of the Senate (*Senatus-consultum*) then pronounced the union of the Ecclesiastical States with the French Empire. The temporal sovereignty was declared incompatible with the

⁷ Schoell, "Archives historiques et politiques," Paris, 1819, has given, second and third volumes, a "Précis des contestations qui ont eu lieu entre le Saint Siège et Napoléon Bonaparte, accompagné d'un grand nombre de pièces officielles." The correspondence, which is here communicated in its full extent, is continued from Nov. 13, 1805, to May 17, 1808. Yet we meet in Bignon, "Histoire de France depuis la paix de Tilsit," 1838, tom i. ch. iii. p. 125, such passages as the

following: "The publications that have appeared since 1815 have but little in them besides documents of which the earliest date is 1808." And again, "Up to the present time, the character of Pius VII is not sufficiently known; he can only be appreciated perfectly by judging him according to his acts (treaties)." But, in point of fact, these "acts" were already well known. The documents given by Schoell have received but slight additions from Bignon.

exercise of spiritual prerogatives; the Pope was for the future to be formally pledged to the four Gallican principles; he was to derive his revenues from real estates, very nearly as might a feudal vassal of the empire, while the State assumed to itself the arrangement of all expenditure as regarded the college of cardinals.⁸

It is manifest that this was a plan by which the united powers of the Church, spiritual and temporal, would have been subjected to the empire, and the entire government of the hierarchy placed, at least indirectly, in the hands of the Emperor.

But by what means would it be possible to secure what was yet, without doubt, indispensable—that the Pope could be prevailed on to assent to this degradation? Pius VII had availed himself of his last moments of freedom to pronounce a sentence of excommunication. He refused canonical institution to the bishops appointed by the Emperor; nor was Napoleon so absolutely master of his clergy but that he felt the consequences of this ban, first from one part of the empire, and then from another, as also, and more particularly, from the side of Germany.

The effects of this very opposition were, however, finally made subservient to the overpowering of the pontiff's resolution. Its results were far more severely felt by the spiritual sovereign, whose sympathies were all for the internal state of the Church, than by the temporal ruler, to whom even spiritual things were but as instruments of his power, in themselves altogether indifferent.

In Savona, to which city the pontiff had been carried, he was alone, left to his own resources, and without any adviser. By the earnest and almost extravagant representations made to him, of the distractions and perplexities occasioned to the Church by his refusal of the institution, the worthy old man was at length prevailed on, though not without bitter grief, and after violent conflicts with himself, to resolve on the virtual renunciation of this right; for in what other light could this act be regarded, since he was induced to consent that the power of granting institution should devolve on the metropolitan, in every case when he should himself defer to exercise it during a longer period than six months, for any other reason than per-

⁸ Thibaudeau, "Histoire de la France et de Napoléon; Empire," tom. v. p. 221.

sonal unworthiness? But he herein renounced the right which really constituted his last remaining weapon of defence.

Nor was even this all that was required of him. He was hurried to Fontainebleau with an impatient and reckless speed, by which his physical infirmities were painfully aggravated; and when arrived there, was assailed by repeated importunities, and pressed with the most urgent representations that he ought completely to restore the peace of the Church. By these means he was at length effectually wrought on to comply; the remaining points were finally conceded—even those most decisive. He submitted to reside in France, and acquiesced in the most essential provisions of that "*Senatus consultum*" before mentioned. The concordat of Fontainebleau (January 25, 1813) was arranged on the understanding that he should no more return to Rome.⁹

Thus, what no previous Catholic prince had even ventured seriously to contemplate, the autocrat of the Revolution had now actually accomplished. The Pope submitted to render himself subject to the French Empire. His authority would have become an instrument in the hands of the new dynasty, to all times. By this it would have been enabled to secure the obedience of its own territories, and to confirm in relations of dependence, those Catholic States which it had not yet subdued. The papacy would, to this extent, have returned to the position which it held with regard to the German emperors, when those monarchs were in the plenitude of their power—more especially under Henry III; but it would have been subjected to much heavier bonds. In the power by which the Pope was now over-mastered, there was something that directly contradicted the essential principle of the Church. It was in effect no other than a second metamorphosis of that spirit of opposition to ecclesiastical influences, which had made itself manifest in the eighteenth century, and which involved so determined a disposition to positive infidelity. To this malignantly hostile power, the papacy would have been subjected, and placed in a state of vassalage.

Yet, on this occasion, as on others, affairs were not destined to proceed to such an extremity.

⁹ Bart. Pacca: "Memorie storiche del ministero de' due viaggi in Francia,"

&c. p. 323. "Historisch-politische Zeitschrift," i. iv. 642.

Section XXII.—The Restoration

The empire, of which it was intended that the Pope should constitute the hierarchical centre, was still engaged in doubtful warfare with unconquerable enemies. In the solitude of his captivity, the pontiff received no accurate intelligence relating to the vicissitudes of the conflict. Even at the moment, when, after so long a resistance, he finally yielded, Napoleon had already failed in his last and greatest enterprise against Russia, and by the long train of consequences inevitably resulting from that overthrow, his power was shaken to its utmost depths. Already the almost extinct hope of regaining her freedom, was awakened in the bosom of Europe; when the Pope, to whom, after his submission, some few cardinals were suffered to return, was made acquainted with this state of things, he also felt his confidence revive; he could now breathe again. Every advantage gained by the Allied Powers, he felt to be a step taken for his deliverance—an act of liberation for himself.

When Prussia rose—immediately after the proclamation to arms of the King had appeared—Pius VII summoned courage to revoke the concordat lately described. When the congress assembled at Prague, he ventured to cast his eyes beyond the boundaries of the empire that held him captive, and to remind the Emperor of Austria of his rights. After the battle of Leipzig, he had regained confidence to such an extent, as at once to reject the proposals then made to him for the restoration of a part of his territories. And when the Allies had crossed the Rhine, he declared that he would negotiate no further, until he should be completely reinstated in his dominions. Events then followed with the utmost rapidity. When the Allies took possession of Paris, the Pope had already reached the frontiers of the Ecclesiastical States, and on May 24, 1814, he made his entry into Rome. The world then commenced a new age; and a new era was also commenced for the Roman See.

The period of years that has since elapsed has derived its character and tenor principally from the conflict between those revolutionary tendencies, still maintaining so powerful a hold on the minds of men, and the ideas to which the older States

returned with redoubled earnestness after their victory, as to their original and primitive basis. In this conflict, it is manifest that the supreme head of the Catholic Church could not fail to assume an important position.

The most immediate support of the papacy was the idea of secular legitimacy, and it is to be observed that this support was offered with even more determination from the side of its opponents in faith, than from that of its adherents and the followers of its creed.

It was by the victory of the four great allied powers, three of which were non-Catholic, over that ruler, who had thought to make his capital the centre of Catholicism, that the Pope was restored to freedom and enabled to return to Rome. It was to the three non-Catholic monarchs alone, at that time assembled in London, that the Pope first expressed his desire to recover the entire States of the Church. How often, in earlier times, had every resource of those States been strained to effect the destruction of Protestantism, whether in England or in Germany, and for the extension of Roman Catholic doctrines over Russia or Scandinavia! Yet it was now to be almost entirely by the intervention of these non-Catholic powers, that the pontiff should regain possession of his States. In the allocution, in which Pius VII communicated the fortunate result of his negotiations to the cardinals, he expressly refers to and extols the services of those sovereigns "who do not belong to the Catholic Church." The Emperor of Russia, by whom his rights were considered with particular attention, as also the King of Sweden, the Prince Regent of England, and the King of Prussia, who had "declared himself in his favor throughout the whole course of the negotiations."¹ Differences of creed were for the moment forgotten, political interests only were taken into consideration.

We have previously had occasion to remark the existence of similar tendencies, during the last century and a half. We have seen from what States Innocent XI received support and assistance in his conflicts with Louis XIV. When the Jesuits were doomed to destruction by the Bourbon courts, they found

¹ "Nor can we fail to estimate highly the meritorious proceedings in our regard of Frederick (William), King of Prussia, whose efforts were constantly

in our favor, throughout the transacting of our affairs." Allocution of Sept. 4, 1815, in Pistolesi, ii. p. 144.

shelter in the North, and were protected by Russia and Prussia. When those courts took possession of Avignon and Benevento, in the year 1758, that step was the cause of a political commotion in England. But this relation of parties has, at no time, displayed itself in a manner more remarkable than on the occasion which we are here contemplating.

And now that the Pope had once more acquired a free and independent position among the sovereigns of Europe, he could devote his undisturbed attention to the revival and recovery of spiritual obedience. One of the first acts, by which he distinguished his return to the administration of his office, was the solemn reinstatement of the Jesuits. On Sunday, August 7, 1814, the pontiff himself read mass in the Church of the Jesuits, and before the altar of Ignatius Loyola; he then heard a second mass, and immediately afterward caused a bull to be promulgated, wherein he empowered the yet surviving members of the Society of Jesus again to regulate their lives according to the rule of their founder, to receive novices, establish houses and colleges, and once more devote themselves to the service of the Church, by preaching, confession, and instruction. "On the stormy sea," he further remarked, "when at every moment threatened by death and shipwreck, he should violate his duty by declining the aid of powerful and experienced mariners, who offered themselves for his assistance."² He restored to them whatever portions of their former property yet remained, and promised them indemnification for what had been irrevocably alienated. He entreated all temporal and spiritual powers to grant their favor to the order, and consent to promote their interests. It was manifest that he hoped to exercise his spiritual authority, not within the restrictions imposed on it in the latter part of the eighteenth century, but rather in the spirit of his earlier predecessors. And how, indeed, could he ever have found a more favorable or more inviting moment for that purpose? The temporal powers of Southern Europe, just restored to their possessions, were now, as it were, repentant of their former refractory and insubordinate proceedings; they believed that it was thereby they had unchained the spirit by which they had themselves been overthrown. They now considered the Pope as their natural ally,

² Bull: "*Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum.*"

and, by the aid of the spiritual influence, they hoped the more easily to subdue those domestic enemies by whom they saw themselves surrounded. The King of Spain recalled to his mind the fact that he bore the title of the "Catholic King," and declared that he would deserve it. The Jesuits, whom his father had so jealously banished, he recalled to his kingdom; he re-established the tribunal of the nuncio, and edicts of the grand inquisitor were once more published in the country. In Sardinia, new bishoprics were founded, and monasteries were restored in Tuscany. After some show of resistance, Naples also assented to a concordat, by which a very effective and immediate influence over the clergy of that kingdom was accorded to the Roman Curia. In France, meanwhile, the Chamber of 1815 considered the welfare of the nation to depend on the re-establishment of the ancient French Church. "That work," as one of the speakers expressed himself, "of heaven, of time, of kings, and of forefathers." But the question really at issue was respecting the necessity of restoring to the clergy their practical influence on the State, the communes, families, public life, and public education; not a word was now said of those liberties which the Gallican Church had either possessed or expressly attributed to itself. By the new Concordat then projected, it would have been submitted to a degree of dependence on Rome more absolute than had been known at any former period.

But it was not in the nature of things, that proceedings so decided should at once achieve the victory over that spirit of the Romance nations, which had been developed amid views and tendencies so entirely opposite. The old antipathies to the hierarchy burst forth in France with loud cries of war against the new concordat. The legislative power of that country was constituted in such a manner as to render the execution of the plans formed in 1815 altogether impossible. A reaction not less violent was excited in Spain, by the cruel and tyrannous government of Ferdinand: a revolution broke out, which, while immediately directed against the absolute power assumed by the King, who could offer it no resistance, evinced at the same time a decided tendency to oppose the claims of the clergy. One of the first acts of the new Cortes was the renewed expulsion of the Jesuits; an edict soon followed, commanding the

suppression of all religious orders, with the sequestration of their property, and its immediate application to the payment of the national debt. Commotions of a similar character instantly arose in Italy: they extended into the States of the Church, which were filled with analogous elements of discord; and at one time, the Carbonari had even fixed the day for a general insurrection throughout the ecclesiastical dominions.

But the restored sovereigns once more received support and assistance from the great powers by whom the late victories had been obtained—the revolutions were suppressed. It is true that on this occasion the non-Catholic States took no immediate part in the repression of the commotions, but it was not opposed by any, and by some it was approved.

And Catholicism had, meanwhile, received a new organization even in the non-Catholic countries. The opinion that positive religion, of whatever confession or form, was the best support and guarantee of civil obedience, universally prevailed. In all countries measures were carefully taken for the re-arrangement of dioceses, the foundations of bishoprics and arch-bishoprics, and the establishment of Catholic seminaries and schools.

How entirely different was the aspect now assumed by the ecclesiastical system of Catholicism in those provinces of Prussia which had been incorporated into the French Empire, from that which it had exhibited under the rule of France. The attempts occasionally made in different places to oppose resistance to the ancient ordinances of the Roman Church, found no support from the Protestant States; but on the other hand, the Roman Court concluded treaties with the Protestant as well as Catholic governments, and perceived the necessity of acknowledging their influence in the selection of bishops; nay, that influence was, in fact, sometimes employed for the promotion of those men who were most zealous in ecclesiastical affairs, to the highest offices. There seemed to be evidence that the conflict respecting creeds was altogether set at rest in the higher regions of politics, while it was perceived to be continually losing its violence in civil life and gradually ceasing to exist. A recognition was now accorded by Protestant literature to ancient Catholic institutions, which would have been found utterly impossible in earlier times.

These expectations of peace were nevertheless proved to have been too boldly and inconsiderately entertained.

The rigid principle of Catholicism which identifies itself with, and is represented by Rome, became gradually involved, on the contrary, in more or less violent and deliberate conflicts with the Protestant civil powers.

In one of these contentions it achieved a decided victory; in England namely, in the year 1829.

During the wars of the revolution the government of England, which for a century had been exclusively Protestant, had made certain approaches to the Roman See. It was under the auspices of those victories obtained by the Coalition in 1799, and in which England took so conspicuous a part, that Pius VII was elected. We have previously remarked, that subsequently also this pontiff sought and found support from the might of England, and could not resolve on adopting any measure of hostility against that country. In England, in like manner, it was considered no longer so needful to exclude men from rights that were strictly political, on account of their spiritual relations with the Pope. This had already been felt and expressed by Pitt:³ yet, as might be expected, every change in the habit of adhering firmly to the tried principles of the constitution, long experienced unconquerable opposition. Finally, however, the spirit of the age, which is adverse to all exclusive privileges, asserted its empire effectively on this question also: matters standing thus, acts of lawlessness and turbulence, with combinations, religious and political, gave token so manifest of a refractory spirit in the pre-eminently Catholic Ireland, that the great general by whom so many foes had been victoriously withstood, and in whose hands the government was then placed, was reduced to the declaration that he could no longer conduct affairs unless the concessions demanded were accorded. Those oaths of office by which alone the Protestant interest had believed its safety secured, in the times of the Restoration and Revolution in England, were accordingly re-

³ "Mr. Pitt is convinced," he observes in his letter to George III, January 31, 1801, "that the grounds on which the laws on exclusion, now remaining, were founded, have long been narrowed—that those principles, formerly held by the Catholics, which made them be considered as politically dangerous, have been for a course of time gradu-

ally declining—that the political circumstances under which the exclusive laws originated, arising from the conflicting power of hostile and nearly balanced sects, . . . and a division in Europe between Catholic and Protestant powers, are no longer applicable to the present state of things."

pealed or modified. How often had Lord Liverpool, previously declared, that if this measure were carried, England would no longer be a Protestant state; that if no important consequences should immediately follow, still it was not possible to foresee the results that might arise from it at some future time.⁴ Yet the measure was adopted—the consequences were ventured upon.

And a still more brilliant and more unexpected triumph was immediately afterward achieved in Belgium.

In the kingdom of the Netherlands there had been evidence of animosity between the North and South, even from the first moments of its foundation; this feeling became so violent as to menace a rending asunder of the kingdom, and from the first had been exhibited most obviously in ecclesiastical affairs. The Protestant King adopted the ideas of Joseph II; under their influence he established higher and lower schools, and for the most part administered his share of the ecclesiastical government with the same views. The opposition founded educational institutions in a totally different spirit, and applied itself with deliberate intention to promote the most decided hierarchical principles; a liberal Catholic party was formed, which, taking its position here as in England, on the universal rights of man, advanced daily to pretensions of higher importance; it first extorted concessions, liberation, for example, from the above-mentioned schools; and, ultimately, when the favorable moment presented itself, entirely threw off the detested dominion, and succeeded in founding a kingdom, in which priests have once more attained to high political importance. It was by the most decidedly liberal ideas that their triumph was most effectually promoted. The low qualification by which the inferior classes both in town and country are admitted to participation in public affairs, enabled the priesthood, who readily obtain influence over those classes, to control the elections; by means of the elections they rule the Chambers, and by the Chambers they govern the kingdom. They are to be seen on the public promenades in Brussels as in Rome; well-fed and full of pretension, they enjoy their triumph.

⁴ Speech of Lord Liverpool, May 17, 1825. "Where was the danger of having a popish king or a popish chancellor, if all the other executive officers might acknowledge the Pope? . . . It was said that a Catholic might be

prime minister, and have the whole patronage of the Church and State at his disposal. . . . If the bill were to pass, Great Britain would be no longer a Protestant State."

Neither in the one nor the other of these events, did the Roman Court, so far as we know, assume an immediate or directing part, however advantageous they have obviously proved to its authority; but in a third, on the contrary, that of the dispute between Church and State in Prussia, the papacy actively interfered. The tendencies of the Protestant civil power and of the Catholic hierarchy, which seemed in some sort to have coalesced after the restoration, but which had subsequently, and for some time, again become estranged, now adopted the most opposite courses, and separating systematically, and with full purpose, became engaged in a contest which has, with reason, attracted the attention of the world, and which involves the most important consequences. In confederacy with the two archbishops of the kingdom, the Pope has placed himself in opposition to an ordinance of the King, of which the object was to regulate the family relations of the mixed population, in a religious point of view. In the midst of Germany the Pope has found willing instruments and powerful support.

An internal consolidation of Catholicism has meanwhile kept equal pace with these great results.

In the ecclesiastical institution, the principle of unconditional subordination to the Roman See has once more obtained the ascendancy. The ideas of papacy—bishopric and priesthood—however various the notions they have usually appeared to convey, have now become, as it were, fused and mingled together. The order of Jesuits, which presents itself as the most eloquent expression of the ecclesiastical restoration, has attained once more, not only to riches and local importance, but also to an extent of influence comprising the whole habitable world. And this silent and quiet, yet all-pervading, all-embracing revolution in the position of the order has been promoted by tendencies in themselves of the most varied character; in the first place, by the favor of those governments which desire to establish an unrestricted ecclesiastical authority; further, and even more effectually, by the inclinations of the age toward political opposition, which has sought to obtain an auxiliary; perhaps also in some instances by a real necessity for religious aid, but more frequently by the calculations of a narrow and short-sighted egotism; although there are doubtless many enthusiastic spirits

who have once more embraced the opinion that all which has been lost in other times may yet be regained.

But if we direct our attention to the various empires of the world, we shall perceive certain evidences that this progress by no means presents prospects of so wide an extent; nay, rather, an opposition and hostility seem already to have been called forth from the adverse powers of civil governments.

In the North, on the frontiers of the dominions held by disciples of the Greek Church, Catholicism has endured a loss more extensive than any it has experienced since the times of the Reformation. Two millions of united Greeks, under the guidance of their bishops, have departed from the Latin rite and returned to the Greek Church, to which their forefathers had belonged.

In that southern kingdom which is especially distinguished by the title of "Catholic"—in Spain, the possessions of the clergy "which," as the Pope declares in one of his allocutions,⁵ "had remained to them even under the dominion of the Infidels," have been sequestered, confiscated by a revolutionary government; and dissensions have arisen concerning them, which will not readily be set at rest, even by a return to friendly feeling on both sides.

The revolution of July in France can be regarded in no other light than as of itself involving a defeat of the rigid Catholic opinions; it is well known that the religious zeal of Charles X was the principal agent of his own overthrow. It is true that since that time the extended constitutional rights which are open to all, and of which all can avail themselves, have lent space and opportunity for the extension of hierarchical activity and clerical efforts also. But this very extension, together with the claim asserted by the clergy to the general control and guidance of education, have reminded the civil authorities of France that their government is not only based on the rights and immunities of individuals, but also, that the exercise of those immunities, in a spirit opposed to its essential principles, may prove exceedingly dangerous to itself. Rarely has the Chamber of Deputies been found to be so unanimous as in their resolutions against the attempted organization of the Jesuits; so that Rome has in fact retreated a step before them.

⁵ In the consistory of March 2, 1841.

The tact and forethought employed in the first arrangements, as regarded Belgium, are well known; yet even there more liberal opinions are advancing by their own force, and are acquiring more extensive influence from year to year.

An extraordinary reaction has been produced in Germany, and a heavy blow inflicted on the Roman See by its persistence in demanding the renewal of all institutions, on the model of the ancient Catholic orthodoxy. After hundreds of thousands had been invited and drawn together, for the purpose of paying worship to an exceedingly doubtful relic; a slight demonstration opposed to this invitation, one made almost without any definite object, has brought to light the existence of a disposition in the middle ranks of Germany toward departure from the Roman faith, to an extent of which no anticipation had been formed. And this is in direct accordance and connection with the state of things, introduced by the obstacles opposed to mixed marriages. Great exultation was felt in Rome when the measures presenting these obstacles were carried into effect, but those measures were distinctly at variance with the general feeling of the nation.

Among the German Protestants also, of whom it was repeatedly asserted that their existence as a church was in its decline, and rapidly approaching dissolution, a consciousness of their original power has been awakened, together with a sense of their community of interest. The efforts of a Catholic government to force the practice of Catholic ceremonies on the Protestant portion of its troops in military service, have proved this purpose to be altogether impracticable.

In England, the Protestant spirit opposes itself even to the measures which the government, proceeding on the course it has believed itself called on to commence for the religious settlement of Ireland, has adopted with a view to that settlement; and this it has done with a force of action which renders it questionable whether, under the altered circumstances of the present times, measures similar to those of 1829 could still be carried by the reformed and hitherto popular parliaments.

For in these as well as in other manifestations and movements of the age, there is an incessant conflict of restless energies, in advance and retreat, in assault and defence, in action and reaction. No moment is similar to another; varying elements unite

at one instant, but to separate at the next ; to each exaggeration and excess there succeeds its contrast ; feelings and actions, the most remote, are seen to act on each other. While on other points political considerations proceed slowly among the several kingdoms and nations, the ecclesiastical interest has this peculiarity—that one of the most powerful and effective principles of the papacy possesses a great representative force, which mingles with and gives its impress to all. Even around the restored papacy, the minds of men are divided, and positions of anomalous character are assumed by the nations and States, not indeed with the character of energetic faith, characteristic of earlier times, which created and annihilated—such potency is not even now exhibited, either by the attack or defence—among the Jesuits or their antagonists—but yet presenting a real and effective reference to the most important and profound requirements, whether of individuals or of society, and, which is very characteristic, under the continual influence of past times still acting on the memory and reflections of living men. Whatever antagonisms have at any time shaken the world on this field of contest, are again called forth and reappear in the arena—councils and ancient heretics—the relative power of the emperors and popes in the Middle Ages—ideas of the Reformation and the Inquisition—the later Church and the modern State—Jansenism and the Jesuits—religion and philosophy, all present themselves in turn, and amid them moves the life of these our days—susceptible and excursive—hurrying forward in eager conflict toward aims imperfectly comprehended and results unknown ; no longer restrained by the force of powerful natures—master spirits, but light and self-confident, and in ever-active ferment.

We have certainly no cause to expect that the exertions of the hierarchy will enable it ever again to take possession of the world, or prove capable of establishing any kind of priestly domination : these exertions are opposed by energies all too powerful, and which are rooted in, and bound up with, the deepest sympathies and sentiments of life.

But neither does the prospect present itself, to judge from the course taken by ecclesiastical affairs and proceedings, of an early triumph over the negative spirit ; that especially which would disown all religion ; this will not be readily subdued.

Infidelity is indeed rather promoted by the arrogance of hierarchical pretensions. It cannot be affirmed, upon the whole, that the Roman See, though standing itself ever prepared for battle on the Protestant borders, and constantly renewing the ancient questions in dispute between Church and State, has contributed greatly to the restriction of the revolutionary spirit; that spirit has more than once aroused itself even in the most immediate neighborhood of the papacy, and at the very foot of the Vatican, nor has it ever been repressed without the intervention of foreign power.

The progress and formation of individual opinion among men will, without doubt, fluctuate for a certain period between these antagonist influences.

Meanwhile it is not only the religious feeling by which some men will, without doubt, fluctuate for a certain period between prospect beyond the reach of doubt and contention is felt to be needful; this refuge is demanded also by the mind in its comprehensive consideration, and more remote observation of things. Nor do we fear to deceive ourselves by the belief that men of more profound views are returning, in despite of these contentions, and on the one side as well as the other, to the true and eternal principles of pure and spiritual religion, with a more profound consciousness of truth, and increased freedom from the bondage of restricting ecclesiastical forms. The more perfect apprehension of the spiritually immutable, which lies at the basis of all forms, but which, in its whole import, could be expressed by none, must at length appease and reconcile all enmities. High above all conflict—this hope we can never relinquish—there will yet arise from the ocean of error, the unity of a conviction, untroubled in its steadfast security—the pure and simple consciousness of the ever-during and all-pervading presence of God.

This completes the narrative portion of the work. The following Appendix will comprise Papal Biographies, original Diaries, contemporary statements, and other documentary illustrations.

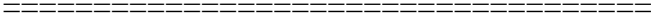
APPENDIX

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PAUL THE THIRD.

Photogravure from the original painting by Titian.



APPENDIX

Section I.—First Period, to the Council of Trent

No. I

Ad S. Dominum Nostrum Pontificem Maximum Nicolaum V. conformatio Curie Romanae loquentis edita per E. S. oratorem Joseph. B. doctorem cum humili semper recommendatione. (1453.) *Bibl. Vatic. nr. 3618.* [To our Lord, his Holiness the Supreme Pontiff, Nicholas V, the Address of the Roman Curia set forth and presented by Doctor Joseph B., Orator of the Holy Church. (1453.) Vatican Library, No. 3618.]

A lament over the well-known conspiracy of Stephen Porcari, which, although not presenting any more minute details concerning it, yet places before us certain important circumstances explanatory of the general position of things; it gives intimation, for example, of the principal object proposed to himself by Nicholas V in his architectural undertakings.

“He strengthens the heights and fortresses by the erection of walls and proud towers, that no tyrant may find his arms avail to expel the pontiff from beloved Rome.”

Previous popes had frequently been compelled to quit their capital. Nicholas built that he might be prepared to defend himself against all assailants, whether from within or from without. There is further exhibited in this document the condition of Rome as compared with that of other Italian cities.

“Though you should seek through all the cities of Italy, yet in none will you find your own Rome surpassed in the enjoyment of all kinds of liberty: for all others are compelled to pay heavy taxes by their rulers, whether in peace or war; yet they frequently despair of obtaining justice, and the citizens are so crushed and overborne by oppression and violence, that he who was rich has been made poor, and the poor sink beneath their miseries. But your Rome is subjected to no similar exactions or violence, she is compelled to pay no exorbitant impost, nor has to fear even light and moderate taxes from her sacred pontiff. There, too, the most upright of rulers sees justice imparted to all, and will neither inflict wrong nor suffer that it should be done to any; he raises the people from poverty to wealth, and governs Rome in tranquil content.”

The author reproaches the Romans for laboring to attain the freedom of ancient Rome. It is indeed established beyond a doubt that the papal rule was milder than that of any other Italian government; and the knowledge of this fact contributed largely to the territorial

extension of the Ecclesiastical States. Our author considers it unpardonable that the citizens should oppose resistance to that Church from which they obtained so many benefits both spiritual and temporal.

"Whence there proceeds to them so great an abundance of gold and silver, together with the safety of their eternal life, so that no people has equal blessings with themselves."

The Pope is advised to provide still more effectually for his safety, to increase his fortifications, and never to go to St. Peter's without a guard of 300 armed men; he is, at the same time, recommended to aim at securing the affections of the Roman people, and to support the poor, more particularly those of good descent, "who blush to live by begging."

"Give aid to those who are willing to exercise those laudable arts by which the glory of Rome is enhanced."

Which was indeed a counsel scarcely needed by Nicholas V. This little work is moreover referred to in the "*Vita Nicolai V. a Domenico Georgio, conscripta Romæ, 1742,*" p. 130.

No. 2

Instructiones datæ a Sixto IV. RR. PP. Dominis J. de Agnellis protonotario apostolico et Antonio de Frassis S. palatii causarum auditori ad M. Imperatoris. 1 Decembre, 1478. Bibl. Altieri. VII. G. 1, 90. [Instructions given by Sixtus IV to the reverend Fathers J. de Agnellis, Apostolic Protonotary, and Antonio de Frassis, auditor of causes to the sacred palace, who were sent nuncios to his Imperial Majesty. December 1, 1478. Bibl. Altieri, VII. G. 1. 90.]

The oldest instruction that I have found among the manuscripts that have come under my observation. It begins thus—"Primo salutabunt Serenissimum Imperatorem."

The attack of the Pazzi on the Medici had taken place on April 26, 1478. All Italy was thrown into commotion by this outrage. "The Church is moved with just cause against Lorenzo—the Venetians complain, all this league complains."

The ambassadors were instructed to prevent the Emperor from giving credence to a certain Giacopo de Medio, whom the Venetians had sent as their emissary to the imperial court. "He is an inordinate liar, for he declared many things to his countrymen which we had never uttered, nor even thought of." They were to request the mediation of the Emperor: the King of France had already offered his intervention, but the Pope preferred to reserve the honor of that office to the Emperor. "Let him write to the King of France and to that league, showing them that they are not proceeding uprightly, but are paying little respect to God and to the honor of the pontiff; and that they ought rather to favor the Church—she having justice on her side—than this merchant, who has always been a great hinderance to all our projects against the Turks—the main cause why all that we have been minded to undertake against them could not be brought to bear, and a stone of offence to God's Church and to all Italy."

This affair was all the more perilous for the Pope from the fact that a purpose was entertained of opposing his temporal assumptions by means of a council. "They are of accord with the King of France to bring about the convocation of a council in the Gallic dominions to our injury."

We are hereby reminded of the attempt that was in fact made some years later for the convocation of a council, and by which the Archbishop of Carniola acquired a certain reputation. Johann von Müller has given a few pages to this subject in the fifth volume of his "History of Switzerland" (p. 286), but he does not make the secular motives by which the advocates of this demand for a council were actuated sufficiently obvious. Cardinal Andreas was not altogether so spiritual as Müller's work would make him appear. The ambassadors of Florence and Milan sought the cardinal in Basle, presenting themselves in the name of the entire league, which had taken the field against Sixtus. They found in him—we have their own report—great experience and knowledge of the world, together with a vehement hatred to the Pope and his nephew. "He is a man capable of doing anything, provided he can but ruin the Pope and the count." See Baccius Ugolinus Laurentio Medici in Basilea a di 20 Settembre, 1482, in "Fabroni Vita Laurentii," ii. 229. We here perceive that even at this early period there was an opposition set up by the temporal sovereigns from purely secular motives; but the princes had also possessed themselves of ecclesiastical weapons, and these they brought into action against those of the popes.

No. 3

Relatione fatta in pregadi per Polo Capello el cavalier venuto orator di Roma. 1500, 28 Settembre. [Report presented to the Senate (Venetian) by Polo Capello, regarding his embassy to Rome, 28 September, 1500.] In the Archives of Vienna.

This is the first report that I have found on the Papal Court by a Venetian ambassador. It does not appear in the Venetian archives; and it may be inferred that the reports were not at that time presented in writing. It is given in the Chronicle of Sanuto, in whom may be usually found whatever was transacted in the Senate.

Polo Capello promises to treat on four subjects: the cardinals, the relations or dispositions of the Pope toward the King of France and toward Venice respectively; the intentions of his holiness, and what they might expect from him; but as this division of his subject was not founded on any very accurate distinctions, he does not rigidly adhere to it.

He remarks in the first place, that neither Venice nor France was in particular favor with the Pope; the former, because, having seized on a part of the Milanese territory, fears were entertained lest the remainder of Italy should be also attacked; the latter, because the King of France did not keep his promises to the Pope. In this document we find the conditions of the treaty formed in the year 1498 between the King and the Pope. The Pope granted the King a dispensation permitting him to separate from his wife. In return, the King engaged to confer a domain on Cæsar Borgia, the Pope's son, that should yield him a revenue of 28,000 francs, a wife of the blood-royal (Navarre?), and the renunciation of all attempts on Naples, except in aid of the Borgia family; whence we perceive that the Pope had himself, even at that time, a design on Naples. But these promises were not kept. The matrimonial alliance proposed to Cæsar Borgia was not exactly what had been desired. The Pope went so far as to purchase an estate of 12,000 francs, as a security for the dowry, but the young bride remained in France. It was only by the superior force of the King that the Pope was held to peace. "When S. Ludovico entered Milan," says

Capello very significantly, "the Pope was publicly speaking ill of the King." Alexander was enraged because the French would not give him aid for the expulsion of Bentivoglio from Bologna.

From the above passage we gain a clearer perception of the secret springs by which the papal policy of those days was put in movement, and that which followed is extremely valuable for its delineation of personal qualities.

The author first alludes to the death of Alexander's son-in-law, Cæsar Borgia had already wounded him. "By way of precaution he sent to Naples for physicians: the wounded man was ill thirty-three days, and Cardinal Capua received his confession; he was nursed by his wife and sister, who was married to the Prince of Squillaci, another son of the Pope; they remained with him, and prepared his food in a small vessel with their own hands, for fear of poison, because of the hatred felt toward him by the Duke de Valentinos, the Pope causing him to be guarded lest that duke should kill him; and when the Pope went to visit the sick man, the duke did not accompany him, once only excepted, and then he said, "What has not been done at dinner shall be done at supper." Accordingly, one day, (it was August 17th), he entered the room, the patient having already risen, and made the wife and sister to go out, then Michiele came in, as if called, and strangled the said youth."

"The Pope loves his son, the duke, but is in great dread of him; he is twenty-seven years of age, remarkably handsome, very tall and well made, even exceeding King Ferandin (Ferdinand, the last King of Naples, that is, who was considered extremely handsome). He killed six wild bulls, fighting with the spear on horseback, and in regard to one, he struck off his head at one blow, which seemed a prodigy to all Rome; he has most regal habits and spends very largely, for which the Pope is displeased with him. Besides this, he slew M. Peroto at another time under the very mantle of the Pope, so that the blood burst over the face of the Pope; which M. Peroto was a favorite of the pontiff. He also murdered his brother, the Duke of Gandia, and caused the body to be thrown into the Tiber. All Rome trembles at this duke, and everyone fears assassination from him."

Roscoe, in his "Life of Leo X," has endeavored to clear the memory of Lucrezia Borgia from the scandalous imputations heaped upon her. To the accusations brought against her earlier life, he has opposed a crowd of favorable witnesses respecting the latter part of it. But even the German translator of his work is not convinced by his arguments, believing rather that Lucrezia had amended her conduct. The report we are now examining is, however, further remarkable, because it affords a favorable testimony to the character of Lucrezia, even in her earlier days; its words are—"Lucrezia who is wise and generous." Cæsar Borgia was rather her enemy than her lover. He despoiled her of Sermoneta, which had been granted to her by the Pope, remarking that she was but a woman, and would not be able to defend it: "*E donna, non lo potrà mantener.*"

No. 4

Among the various documents to be found in the fifth volume of Sanuto, the following appears to be the most important:

"This is the manner in which Pope Alexander VI came to his death: 'The cardinal datary D. Arian da Corneto, having received a gracious intimation that the pontiff, together with the Duke Valentinos, designed to come and sup with him at his vineyard, and that his holi-

ness would bring the supper with him, the cardinal suspected that this determination had been taken for the purpose of destroying his life by poison, to the end that the duke might have his riches and appointments, the rather as he knew that the Pope had resolved to put him to death by some means, with a view to seizing his property, as I have said—which was very great. Considering of the means by which he might save himself, he could see but one hope of safety—he sent in good time to the Pope's carver, with whom he had a certain intimacy, desiring that he would come to speak with him; who, when he had come to the said cardinal, was taken by him into a secret place, where, they two being retired, the cardinal showed the carver a sum, prepared beforehand, of 10,000 ducats, in gold, which the said cardinal persuaded the carver to accept as a gift and to keep for the love of him, and after many words, they were at length accepted, the cardinal offering, moreover, all the rest of his wealth, at his command—for he was a very rich cardinal—for he said he could not keep the said riches by any other means than through the said carver's aid, and declared to him, 'You know of a certainty what the nature of the Pope is, and I know that he has resolved, with the Duke Valentinos, to procure my death by poison, through your hand,'—wherefore he besought the carver to take pity on him and to give him his life. And having said this, the carver declared to him the manner in which it was ordered that the poison should be given to him at the supper, but being moved to compassion he promised to preserve his life. Now the orders were that the carver should present three boxes of sweetmeats, in tablets or lozenges, after the supper, one to the Pope, one to the said cardinal, and another to the duke, and in that for the cardinal there was poison; and thus being told, the said cardinal gave directions to the aforesaid carver in what manner he should serve them, so as to cause that the poisoned box of confect which was to be for the cardinal, should be placed before the Pope that he might eat thereof, and so poison himself and die. And the Pope being come accordingly with the aforesaid duke to supper on the day appointed, the aforesaid cardinal threw himself at his feet, kissing them and embracing them closely; then he entreated his holiness with the most affectionate words, saying, he would never rise from those feet until his holiness had granted him a favor. Being questioned by the pontiff what this favor was, and requested to rise up, he would first have the grace he demanded, and the promise of his holiness to grant it.

"Now after much persuasion the Pope remained sufficiently astonished, seeing the perseverance of the said cardinal and that he would not rise, and promised to grant the favor. Then the cardinal rose up and said, 'Holy Father, it is not fitting that when the master comes to the house of his servant, the servant should eat with his master like an equal,' and therefore the grace that he demanded was the just and honest one that he, the servant, should wait at the table of his master, and this favor the Pope granted him. Then having come to supper, and the time for serving the confectionery having arrived, the carver put the poisoned sweetmeats into the box, according to the first order given to him by the Pope, and the cardinal, being well informed as to which box had no poison, tasted of that one, and put the poisoned confect before the Pope. Then his holiness, trusting to his carver and seeing the cardinal tasting, judged that no poison was there, and ate of it heartily; while of the other, which the Pope thought was poisoned, but which was not, the said cardinal ate. Now at the hour accustomed, according to the quality of that poison, his holiness began to feel its effect, and so died thereof; but the said cardinal, who was yet much

afraid, having physicked himself and vomited, took no harm and escaped, though not without difficulty. Farewell."

This account, if not an authentic one, is at least a very remarkable description of Alexander's death, and is, perhaps, the best we have relating to that occurrence.

No. 5

Sommario de la relatione di S. Polo Capello, venuto orator di Roma, fatta in Collegio 1510. [Summary of the Report of S. Polo Capello, returned from his embassy to Rome, delivered to the College 1510.]

After the great misfortunes suffered by the Venetians in consequence of the league of Cambray, they soon contrived to win over Pope Julius again to their side. Polo Capello brings forward certain details hitherto unknown, in regard to the manner in which this result was produced. The Pope was anxious in respect to the consequences that might ensue from a meeting then projected between Maximilian and the King of France—feeling alarmed because it was said that the King of the Romans and the King of France desired to confer together, and he was certain that this was to be for his disadvantage. It is true that for a certain time he enforced on the Venetians the necessity of resigning those towns which, according to the terms of the league, should have fallen to the German King; but when he saw that the enterprise of Maximilian came to so bad a conclusion, he ceased to press further on that matter. The pontiff held a very mean opinion of Maximilian: "He is a stupid animal," said he, "and rather deserves to be bridled himself than to bridle others." It was considered on the contrary very greatly to the honor of the Venetians, whose name had been looked upon in Rome as already extinguished, that they had maintained themselves. The Pope gradually determined to grant them absolute

Capello entertained the most profound respect for the personal qualities of the pontiff. "He is a very wise Pope; he permits no one to influence his judgment, and takes counsel with few, or indeed with none." The influence possessed by Cardinal Castro del Rio was but a very indirect one. "When in conversation with the Pope, he will make some remark, which being uttered, the Pope will afterward consider it over." At that moment, for example, the cardinal was opposed to the Venetians, yet the pontiff concluded his agreement with them none the less. Capello considered him to be well supplied with money, thinking he might have 700,000 if not 1,000,000 ducats in his treasury.

No. 6

Sommario di la relatione di Domenego Trivixan, venuto orator di Roma, in pregadi 1510. [Summary of the report of Domenego Trivixan, returned ambassador from Rome, presented in the Senate 1510.]

The report given by Capello in the college is continued by Trivixan to the Senate, but with this difference, that while the former develops the concealed motives of action, the latter contents himself with giving a general sketch: this also is, nevertheless, worthy of notice,

He agrees with the estimation of his colleague of the moneys to be found in the papal treasury, but adds the remark that this sum was destined by the Pope to be used in a war against the infidels. "The Pope is a man of great practical sagacity, but has long suffered from disease of the liver and gout; he is, nevertheless, still active, and endures labor well; he permits none to govern him, listening to all, but doing what best pleases himself. He is held, both by word and otherwise, to resolve on living more moderately." (Does this mean that he had himself promised to be more moderate in his future life—in regard to drinking, perhaps?) "He has a method of procuring whatever money he pleases; for whenever a benefice falls vacant he confers it only on one who already has an office, which office he also confers on some other, so that by this means he draws a sufficiency of money; and offices are become more than commonly venial in Rome." That is, the offices that men actually hold are become brokers or bribes for other benefices; in other words, they serve to procure them.

"The ordinary revenue of the Pope is 200,000 ducats, and the extraordinary is said to be 150,000" (that is, the popes have usually so much); "but this Pope has two-thirds more, both of the ordinary and extraordinary revenue"; so that he must have had about 1,000,000. He proceeds to explain this as follows: "It was customary to pay the taxes at the rate of ten carlini to the ducat; but the church was hereby defrauded, for the ducat was worth thirteen Carlini and a half; then the Pope determined that a just payment should be made, and he has issued a new coinage, the value being ten pieces to the ducat, and these are of good silver. The Pope's revenues are improved from ten to thirteen and a half, and the said new carlini are called Juli." We here see what was the origin of the small coins current in the present day, for it was not until recent times that the paoli now in use have superseded the name and use of the Juli. The carlini, by which accounts were computed and which were the common medium of exchange, had become so much debased and depreciated that the treasury sustained a serious loss by them. It was thus for the interest of his exchequer that Julius II issued a good coinage.

"Item, he is penurious and spends little; he makes an agreement with his house-steward, to whom he gives 1,500 ducats for the expenses of the month, and no more. Item, he is building the church of St. Peter anew, a very beautiful thing it is, and for this he has established a sort of crusade, and a single Franciscan friar brought him, in one sum, 27,000 ducats, which those friars had gathered throughout the world. He has, besides, given to this fabric a portion of the revenues of Santa Maria di Loreto, and has taken for the same purpose a part of the bishopric of Recanati."

No. 7

Sommario de la relatione di S. Marin Zorzi, dottor, venuto orator di corte, fata in pregadi a di 17 Marzo, 1517. [Summary of the report of Doctor Marin Zorzi, returned ambassador from the court (of Rome,) given in the Senate on March 17, 1517.]

Marin Zorzi was chosen ambassador to the Court of Leo X on January 4, 1514, and, after he had declined the office, was again elected to it on January 25th. If it be true that his commission had particular reference to the expedition of Francis I, as we learn from Paruta (lib. iii. p. 109,) it must have been about the beginning of the year 1515 that he first proceeded to Rome.

His report refers to that period. It is the more important because he proposed to give information in this document in regard to matters on which he had not ventured to write while in Rome. "Referirà," says the summary, which appears to have been written subsequently. "The report will refer to matters which have not been written about in letters, because many things come to pass which it is not discreet to write about."

These are chiefly in relation to the negotiations of the Pope with Francis I, which were not known even to Paruta himself, and of which the best information, so far as my knowledge extends, will be found in this document.

Allusions are occasionally made by different writers to a supposed desire on the part of Pope Leo for a crown to be conferred on his brother Julian, but how this was to be effected has never yet been made clearly apparent. Zorzi assures us that at this time Leo proposed to the King of France—"That with regard to the Kingdom of Naples, it would be well to take it from the hands of the Spaniards and give it to the most noble Julian, his brother." He adds: "And about this affair he gave himself no little pains, for he was not content that his brother should be a duke, but resolved to make him King of Naples. The most Christian King would have given him the principality of Taranto, with other territories; but the Pope was not satisfied with that. Whereupon there came divers ambassadors to the Pope; Monsignor di Soglei and Monsignor di Borsi among others; and the Pope said, 'If the King will consent to this arrangement, then we will be for his Majesty.' And here these matters came to a pause, the most Christian King, desiring that the Pope should not be against him, determined to proceed to Italy in great force; and so he did, but the Pope suddenly leagued himself with the Emperor, the Catholic King, the King of England, and the Switzers."

The letters of Canossa, printed in the "Archivio Storico Italiano," in the year 1844, declare that this project was seriously discussed; but it will be manifest that the affair was not so entirely unmentioned by "domestic and foreign historians" as the editor of the "Archivio" imagined.

The notices given by Zorzi in relation to the time of the campaign I have already communicated, either in the text or in the notes.

But how entirely the Pope was in secret disinclined to the French interests, is rendered manifest by the fact that he not only reproached the Venetians for the decided part they took in favor of the French during Maximilian's enterprise of the following year, but also by the further proof of his having secretly assisted Maximilian himself: "*O che materia*," he remarked. "Oh, what a business this Senate has made of it, to let your people go to Milan, to permit your troops to join the French, and cross eight rivers in their cause—oh, what a danger is this!" and further: "Thereupon the Pope suddenly despatched troops to the assistance of the Emperor, but underhand, and saying that Marc Antonio Colonna was a free captain in the pay of the Emperor." The ratification of the Treaty of Bologna was meanwhile delayed. The King sent ambassador after ambassador to demand its completion. At length the Pope on his part despatched his emissary to France, and the treaty was sealed.

Francis I soon found an opportunity to avenge himself. The Pope encountered unexpected opposition from the Duke of Urbino; in relation to which the Venetian ambassador here assures us that "the King does not consider himself well treated by the Pope, and is desirous that Francesco Maria should succeed."

He then gives a more minute description of the Pope: "He is disturbed by some inward complaint arising from repletion, catarrh, and other causes which we do not enumerate. He is a worthy man, and very liberal; not willing to give himself much labor, if he can avoid it, but he exerts himself readily for the sake of his kinsmen. As to his nephew, he is shrewd enough, and gives himself no little license—not as did Valentino, but yet little less." Zorzi is here alluding to Lorenzo de' Medici, and he asserts positively what others have denied (and more particularly Vettori), namely, that Lorenzo himself had eagerly striven to possess himself of Urbino. Julian is reported to have entreated the Pope only two days before his (Julian's) death, that he would spare Urbino, where he had been received and sheltered so kindly after his expulsion from Florence, but the Pope would not listen to him: he replied—"This is no time to be talking of these matters"; and this he did because, "on the other side, Lorenzo was pressing him to take possession of the duchy."

Among the advisers of the Pope, he first alludes to Giulio de' Medici, afterward Clement VII, whose talents he does not estimate so highly as others have done. "He is a good man, but of no great ability, although the principal management of the court is at this time in his hands. He was formerly at the Court of Portugal." He next speaks of Bibbiena, whom he considers to be in the interests of Spain, because he had been enriched by Spanish benefices; and lastly he mentions Lorenzo, "who is active and spirited."

The name of Lorenzo leads him to speak of Florence. He says a few words in regard to the constitution, but adds: "At this time all order is disregarded: what he (Lorenzo) wills, that is done. Yet Florence is rather disposed toward the French than otherwise; and the party opposed to the Medici cannot make an alteration, although this state of things does not please them." The militia and regular troops had been partially disbanded. The revenues consisted, first, of the duties paid at the gates and in the city, which amounted to 74,000 ducats; secondly, of the sums drawn from the towns tributary to Florence, amounting to 120,000 ducats; and thirdly, of the *balzello*, a direct impost, and sort of tithe, producing 160,000 ducats.

This brings him to the revenues of the Pope, which he estimates to be altogether about 420,000 ducats; and he then returns to the expenditure and personal qualities of the pontiff: "He is learned in classic literature and the canon law, and above all is a most excellent musician; when he sings with anyone, he causes that person to be given 100 ducats, or more; and, to mention a circumstance previously forgotten, (by him, the ambassador), the Pope derives from vacancies some 60,000 ducats, or more, annually, which is about 8,000 ducats per month; and this he expends in gifts, and in playing at *primero*, a game in which he delights greatly."

These examples suffice to show the lively and graphic character of Zorzi's report: it is given with infinite simplicity, and in an easy conversational style, so that the reader seems to hear and see all that the author describes.

No. 8

Summary of the Report of Marco Minio, returned from the Court (of Rome), June, 1520, Sanuto, vol. 28.

Marco Minio was the successor of Zorzi, but his report is unfortunately very short. He begins with the revenues, which he finds to

be inconsiderable. "The Pope has but a small income from the papacy, and the revenues are of three kinds: first, the annates, from which he derives 100,000 ducats annually; but of the consistorial annates, which are drawn from the bishoprics and abbeys, the one-half belongs to the cardinals: from the various offices he draws about 60,000; and from compositions 60,000 ducats the year. He has no ready money, because he is very liberal, and cannot keep money; and, moreover, the Florentines, and his relations will never permit him to retain a penny; and the said Florentines are greatly detested at court, for in everything said or done there must ever be mingled these Florentines. The Pope remains neutral between France and Spain; but he (the speaker) considers the Pope to be inclined toward Spain, because he was restored to his native city by Spain, and even owes to the Spaniards his elevation to the papacy. The cardinal de' Medici, his nephew, who is not of legitimate birth, has great influence with the Pope; he is a man of much practical ability. (We perceive from this remark that the cardinal's reputation had increased since the time of Zorzi.) He possesses great authority, yet he does nothing of importance without first consulting the Pope; he is now at Florence, where he holds the government of the city. Cardinal Bibbiena is also in considerable esteem with the Pope, but this Medici does everything."

The ambassador assures his countrymen that the sentiments of the Pope are tolerably favorable toward them (the Venetians). He did not certainly desire to see Venice greater than she was, but would not permit the republic to be destroyed for any advantage in the world.

No. 9

Diary of Sebastiano de Branca de Telini, in the Barberini Library, No. 1103.

This diary is comprised in sixty-three leaves, and extends from April 22, 1494, to 1513 and the times of Leo X. It is certainly not to be compared to Burcardus; and since very little of what was passing was known to the writer of it, we cannot use it even for the rectification of that author's observations. Branca de Telini saw nothing more than was seen by all the world.

Thus he describes the entrance of Charles VIII, whose army he estimates at from 30,000 to 40,000 men. He considers Charles himself to be the most ill-looking man he had ever beheld; but his people, on the contrary, he thought the handsomest in the world: "A more beautiful race was never seen." Telini must not be taken literally; he is fond of expressing himself in this manner. He relates that a man had paid as much as 300 ducats for a horse!

Cæsar Borgia was the most cruel man that ever lived. The times of Alexander were marked and distinguished by atrocities, famines, and exorbitant imposts. "Pope Alexander ordered the whole revenues of all the priests, and all the public officers, and all the churches both within and without Rome, to be set aside for three years, for the purpose of a crusade against the Turks, and then he gave the total amount to his son for the more effectual prosecution of the war." According to Branca, Cæsar Borgia gave audience to no one but his executioner, Michilotto. All his servants went richly clothed, "dressed in brocade of gold and silver even to their stockings; their slippers and shoes were made thereof."

Telini was a great admirer of Julius II. "Never did any Pope so

much as has been done by Pope Julius." He enumerates the cities that he subdued, but is of opinion that by his wars he had rendered himself guilty of the death of 10,000 men.

Next came Leo: he began with promises "that the Romans should be free from imposts, and that all offices and benefices within the city of Rome should be conferred exclusively on Romans: all which occasioned great rejoicings throughout Rome."

Our diarist occasionally brings forward individuals in private life; and we are here made acquainted with the boldest and most renowned of procurators. "Benvenuto Moccaro, the most terrible man (the most powerful—most violent) that ever had been seen in Rome for a private man in Rome." He lost his life by means of the Orsini.

Even in this, otherwise unimportant work, we see the spirit of the times and of the several administrations reflected as in a mirror. We have the times of terror, of conquest, and of tranquillity, as exhibited under Alexander, Julius, and Leo, respectively. Other diaries, on the contrary, that of Coſa Colleine, for example, extending from 1521 to 1561, contain nothing whatever of importance.

No. 10

Vita Leonis X. Pontificis Maximi per Franciscum Novellum Romanum, J. V. Professorem. Bibl. Barberini. [The Life of Leo X Pontifex Maximus, by Francesco Novello, a native of Rome, Professor of Civil Law. Barberini Library.]

Others (remarks the author) could relate and describe what is here, and other things unknown to me, much better than I have done. Without doubt they could; his little work is altogether insignificant.

No. 11

Quædam historica quæ ad notitiam temporum pertinent pontificatum Leonis X., Adriani VI., Clementis VII. Ex libris notariorum sub iisdem pontificibus. [Certain historical notices pertaining to the pontificates of Leo X, Adrian VI, and Clement VII, taken from the books of the notaries under the said pontiffs.] Extracted by Felix Contellorius. Barberini Library. 48 leaves.

Short notices of the contents of the instruments; as, for example—Leo X assigns to his sister the Countess de Medici de Rudolfi 285 golden ducats from the treasury, to be charged upon the dogana for sheep.

I have occasionally made use of these notices. Perhaps the most interesting and remarkable, as having hitherto remained without mention, is the following extract from a brief of June 11, 1529: Certain valuables belonging to the Papal See had been given in pledge to Bernardo Bracchi, and at the time of the sacking of the city Bracchi thought it advisable to bury them in a garden. He confided the place of their concealment to one man only, a certain Geronimo Baccato of Florence, to whom he told it, to the end that someone might be able to point it out in case of any mischance befalling himself. Some short time after this confidence was made, Bernardo Bracchi was seized by the Germans and grievously maltreated; Geronimo, then believing that his friend had died under the torture, imparted the secret

in his turn to one sole person, and from a similar motive. But this man was not so discreet: the Germans heard of the concealed treasure, and by renewed and more severe tortures they compelled Bracchi at length to disclose the place of its deposit. To save the valuables, Bracchi entered into an obligation to pay the sum of 10,000 ducats; but Geronimo considered himself as a traitor, and killed himself from shame and rage.

No. 12

Sommario di la relation fatta in pregadi per S. Aluixe Gradenigo, venuto orator di Roma, 1523, Mazo. [Summary of the report made in the Senate by Aluize Gradenigo, ambassador returned from Rome, 1523, May.] In Sanuto, vol. 34.

He first speaks of the city, which he declares to have increased in a short time by about 10,000 houses: next he proceeds to the constitution. Of the conservators, he reports that they claimed precedence of the ambassadors, who refused to allow the claim; with regard to the cardinals, he says that Giulio de' Medici had risen still higher in reputation; he calls him, "a man of the highest authority and a very rich cardinal, he ranked before all with Pope Leo, a man of great powers and high spirit: the Pope [Leo] did whatever he desired to have done." He describes Leo X as "of very lofty stature, with a very large head and a most beautiful hand: he was an admirable speaker, and made great promises, but did not keep them. The Pope had very frequent recourse to borrowing money; he then sold the different offices, pledged the jewels and valuables of the papacy, and even the apostles (*apostoli*),* to procure himself money." He estimates the temporal revenues at 300,000 ducats; the ecclesiastical at 100,000.

He considers the policy of Leo to have been decidedly adverse to France. If at any time it seemed otherwise, the Pope was only dissembling. "He feigned to be the friend of the French King." But at the time to which our report refers, he was openly and avowedly opposed to France, the cause of which, according to Gradenigo, was that "M. de Lutrech and M. de l'Escu were reported to have said that he (the King) wished 'le recchia del papa fusse la major parte restasse di la so persona.'" Does this mean that he desired to have nothing remaining of the Pope but his ears? Certainly a very coarse jest, and in extremely bad taste. Leo took it very ill. On receiving intelligence of the conquest of Milan, he is related to have said that this was but the half of the battle.

Leo left the papal treasury so completely exhausted, that it was found needful to employ for his obsequies the wax candles that had been provided for those of the cardinal St. Giorgio, who had died a short time before him.

The ambassador awaited the arrival of Adrian VI. He describes the moderate and regular habits of that pontiff's life, and remarks that he had at first maintained a strict neutrality between the two great parties. "It is said that the Pope, as regards his own opinion, is neutral, although he is dependent on the Emperor, and has it much at heart to effect a truce, that he may the better attend to the affair of the Turks. These things are inferred from his daily proceedings, as well as from the discontent of the viceroy of Naples, who repaired to

* This may possibly mean the figures of the apostles in silver or other precious metals, or their relics; or it may possibly allude to the writs of appeal,

so called in the canon law, and which may have been matter of sale; but this last is the less probable suggestion.

Rome in the hope of prevailing on the pontiff to declare himself for the Emperor; but his holiness refused to do so; whence the viceroy departed without arriving at his ends. The Pope is deeply intent on the affairs of Hungary, and desires that an expedition should be set on foot against the infidels. He is afraid that the Turk may effect a descent upon Rome, and is therefore anxious to see the Christian princes united, and to make universal peace, or, at the least, a truce for three years."

No. 13

Sommario del viazo di oratori nostri andono a Roma a dar la obedientia a papa Hadriano VI. [Summary of the journey made by our ambassadors to Rome to present our allegiance to Pope Adrian VI.]

This is the only report which possesses the interest of a traveller's description, and which also alludes to subjects connected with art.

The ambassadors describe the flourishing state of Ancona, and the fertility of the March. In Spello they were hospitably received by Orazio Baglione, and proceeded thence to Rome.

They also describe an entertainment given to them by Cardinal Cornelio, a fellow-countryman. The account they give of the music they heard while at table is worthy of notice: "There were brought to the table every kind of musician to be found in Rome; excellent flute-players were sounding continually; there were harpsichords producing most wonderful tones, with lutes and four violins." Grimani also invited them to a feast. "Then at dinner there were musicians, and among them a most ill-favored woman, who sang to the lute most admirably."

They next visited the churches; at that of Santa Croce certain ornaments were in course of preparation for the doors: "Some ornaments and arches of doors gathered from the spoils of antiquity." Every little stone that was being wrought there deserved, in their opinion, to be set in gold and worn on the finger. They next proceed to the Pantheon, and there an altar was in process of erection, at the foot of which was the grave of Raphael. They were shown decorations, apparently of gold, looking as pure as that of the Rhenish "gülden"; but they were of opinion that if the gold had been real, Pope Leo would not have permitted it to remain there. They express their admiration of the columns—larger than their own of St. Mark. "They support the roof, which is a dome, and is formed by certain beams of metal."

They give themselves up, with infinite simplicity, to their admiration of the Roman antiquities. I know not whether this book will fall into the hands of antiquaries. The following description of the colossal statues in the Quirinal (on Monte Cavallo) is, at least, very striking: "Monte Cavallo is so called, because, on the summit of the hill, which is very well peopled, there is a certain structure, formed of a piece of very rough wall (a rude pedestal), on one of the angles of which there is a horse of stone—apparently Istrian—very ancient and corroded by time, and on the other corner is another horse, both of them modelled from the middle forward, the head, neck, fore-feet, shoulders, and half the back; beside them stand two great giants, men double the natural size, naked, and each holding back one of these horses with one arm. The figures are very beautiful, finely proportioned, and of the same stone with the horses; and the horses are also beautiful, equally so with the men: under one of them are inscribed the words '*Opus Phidiaz*,'

and under the other '*Opus Praxitelis*,' both inscriptions being in handsome capital letters." The ambassadors then visit the Capitol, where they find, among many other beautiful statues, "a peasant in bronze, drawing a thorn from his foot, made in the natural rustic manner; to those who look at him he seems to be lamenting the pain of that thorn—a work of absolute excellence." They next proceed to the Belvedere, where they admire above all things the Laocöon. The German lansquenets have hitherto been charged with having rendered it necessary to restore an arm to this masterpiece of art, but we here find that the arm had disappeared before the city had been entered by these soldiers. "Everything is entire except that the right arm of Laocöon is wanting." They are in an ecstasy of admiration, and declare of the whole group that "it wants nothing but life." They describe the boys extremely well: "One of them is laboring with his little arm to withdraw his leg from the rabid serpent; but finding that he cannot help himself, is turning his weeping face imploringly toward his father, whose left arm he holds with his other hand. A different sorrow is perceived in each of these boys; the one is grieving for the death that he sees so near him, the other because his father can give them no help, but is himself suffering and his strength failing him." They add the remark that King Francis I had requested the gift of this noble work from the Pope, when they met at Bologna; but his holiness would not consent to rob his Belvedere of the original, and was having a copy made for the King. They tell us that the boys were already finished, but that if the maestro lived five hundred years and labored a hundred at his copy, it would never attain the perfection of the original. In the Belvedere they also found a young Flemish artist, who had executed two statues of the Pope.

They next inform us of the pontiff and of his court. The most important fact they communicate is, that the Cardinal of Volterra, who had previously been able to repress the Medici, had been arrested and was held in prison, because letters of his had been seized, wherein he exhorted King Francis to venture an attack on Italy at that moment, seeing that he could never hope to find a more favorable opportunity. This enabled Cardinal Medici to rise again, and the imperial ambassador Sessa supported him. The change in Adrian's policy may very probably have been determined by this incident.

No. 14

Clementis VII., P.M., Conclave et Creatio. [Clement VII, Pontifex Maximus, the Conclave and his Elevation.] Barberini Library, No. 4, 70 leaves.

We find the following remark on the title-page: "The style of this conclave resembles that of Giovanni Battista Sanga, epistolary secretary to Clement VII." But this opinion may be rejected without hesitation. Another manuscript of the Barberini Library, bearing the title "Commentaries on the Affairs of His Own Times, by Vianesio Albergati of Bologna," contains nothing besides this conclave. It forms the first part of his "Commentaries," of which there is no continuation to be found. We may assume, therefore, that the author of the above-mentioned conclave was Vianesio Albergati.

But who was this author? Mazzuchelli names many Albergati, but not this one.

In a letter of Girolamo Nepo we find the following anecdote:

"A native of Bologna caused intimation to be given to Pope Adrian VI that he, the Bolognese, had an important secret to communicate to his holiness, but had no money to defray the cost of his journey to Rome. Messer Vianesio, a friend and favorite of the Medici, made interest for him, and at length the Pope told him he might advance the twenty-four ducats required by the Bolognese for his journey, which should be returned to him. Vianesio did so; his man arrived, and was brought into the palace with the utmost secrecy. 'Holy Father,' said he, 'if you would conquer the Turks, you must prepare a vast armament both by land and sea.' This was all he had to say. 'Per Deum!' exclaimed the Pope, whom this greatly irritated, the next time he saw Messer Vianesio, 'this Bolognese of yours is a great cheat; but it shall be at your cost that he has deceived me'; and he never returned the twenty-four ducats expended by Vianesio."

This Albergati is in all probability the author of the Conclave in question; for in the little work before us he says that he had acted as intermediary between the Medici and the Pope—" *Me etiam internuntio.*" He was well acquainted with Adrian, whom he had previously known in Spain.

He has, nevertheless, erected to the memory of this pontiff the most inglorious monument that can well be conceived. His remarks serve to show us the extent and depth of that hatred which Adrian had awakened among the Italians. "If we consider his avarice, cruelty, and ignorance of the administration of the principality, with the rough and savage nature of the barbarians he brought with him, he may fairly be accounted among the worst of the Popes." He is not ashamed to repeat the most contemptible lampoons on the departed pontiff. One, for example, where Adrian is first compared to an ass, then to a wolf: "Post parlo faciem induit lupi acrem"—Presently after he puts on the fierce looks of a wolf; nay, finally, even to Caracalla and Nero. But if we ask for proofs of this imputed worthlessness, we find the ill-used pontiff fully justified, even by what Vianesio himself relates.

Pope Adrian VI had a room in the Torre Borgia, the key of which he always kept in his own possession, and which those around him named the "Sanctum Sanctorum." This room was eagerly examined on the death of the pontiff. As he had received much and spent nothing, it was supposed that his treasures would be found in this chamber; but the sole contents were books and papers, with a few rings of Leo X, and scarcely any money. It was then at last admitted "that good use had been made of what had been ill gotten."

The complaints of this author as to the delays interposed in public business may be better founded. It was Adrian's habit to say, "We'll consider of it, we'll see about it." It is true that he referred the applicant to his secretary; but after long delays, this officer also referred him to the auditor of the treasury, who was indeed a well-intentioned man, but one who could never bring any matter to a close, bewildering himself by an excessive but ill-directed activity. "He was impeded by excess of diligence." The applicant returned once more to Adrian, who repeated his "*Cogitabimus, videbimus.*"

But in proportion with his abuse of Adrian is the eulogy he bestows on the Medici and Pope Leo X. His goodness, the security enjoyed under his government, and even his architectural labors are all lauded in turn.

From the remarks of Albergati I conclude that the Arazzi of Raphael were originally designed for the Sistine Chapel. "Which chapel Julius II adorned with admirable paintings, the work of Michael Angelo, a most illustrious painter and sculptor, of which it is the general judg-

ment that no work more perfect has existed in our times. And afterward Leo X further ornamented the halls with textures of gold and radiant colors, after the designs of that most renowned architect and painter, Raphael the Urbanese, the beauty of which most perfect work enchants the eyes of all men."

No. 15

Instruzione al Card Reverendissimo di Farnese, che fu poi Paul III., quando andò legato all' Imperatore Carlo V. doppo il sacco di Roma.
[Instruction to the Most Reverend Cardinal Farnese, afterward Paul III, when he went as legate to the Emperor Charles V after the sack of Rome.]

I first found this instruction in the Corsini Library, No. 467, and afterward obtained a copy in the handwriting of the middle of the sixteenth century.

This document was known to Pallavicini, who refers to it in his "Istoria del Concilio di Trento," lib. ii. c. 13; but the following chapters will make it obvious that he has not made so much use of it as his words would imply; he has taken his narrative from other sources.

These instructions are highly important, not only as regards the affairs of the papacy, but also in relation to the collective policy of Europe at a most momentous period; they likewise contain many remarkable and weighty particulars not to be found elsewhere. I have therefore thought it advisable to print them entire, for it is certain that no mere extract would satisfy the well-informed reader; they amply merit the few pages that will be devoted to them.

In June, 1526, the Pope had issued a brief, wherein he succinctly enumerated all the points on which he felt aggrieved by the Emperor. To this the Emperor made a very animated, not to say vehement, reply, in September, 1526. The State-paper which appeared at the time under the title "Pro Divo Carolo V. . . . apologetici libr." (see Goldast, "Politica Imperialia," p. 984), contains a circumstantial refutation of the Pope's assertions. To these writings the instruction before us may now be added. It will be found that they consist of two parts: one in which the Pope is spoken of in the third person, and which was probably composed by Giberto, or some other confidential Minister of the pontiff; it is of the utmost importance in relation to the earlier events, whether during the pontificate of Leo or that of Clement: the second is much shorter, and begins with the words "Not to enter into the causes whereby we were constrained"; and here the Pope speaks in the first person: it was therefore most probably drawn up by himself. Both are prepared with a view to the justification of the measures taken by the Roman Court, and are calculated to place the proceedings of the viceroy of Naples, on the other hand, in the worst possible light. It would, without doubt, be unadvisable to trust them to the letter on each separate point, for we occasionally find misrepresentation of facts. It would be desirable to know what was the reply of the imperial court to the charges here made. Yet, in general, not only the papal policy, but also a considerable part of that of Spain, is elucidated by this document. We find, for example, that even so early as the year 1525 there were some thoughts of annexing Portugal to Spain.

"Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Signor: Considering the difficulty of the province that has been given to the care of your illustrious and reverend lordship, and its great extent, which is well known

to you; considering, also, the great and extreme misery in which we are placed, I cannot but think that it will be some alleviation of your burden to be furnished with whatever information can be afforded in regard to all the transactions that have occurred between our lord the Pope and his imperial Majesty; and it may be well that you should know this truth, namely, that your most reverend lordship is about to visit a sovereign who is more deeply indebted to his holiness and his house than to any other family that can be named, whether of these present or of past times. And if some cause of offence has arisen during the last year, this has not been occasioned by any alienation of his holiness from his accustomed good-will and affection toward his Majesty, nor does it come from any designs on the part of his holiness for the aggrandizement of his house or of others, or from a wish to abase or diminish the reputation or condition of his Majesty; but proceeds solely from the necessity of refusing to suffer oppression from those holding authority and wielding forces in Italy, as also from the many proofs his holiness had received, as well by nuncios as by letters, envoys, and legates, that it would never be possible to find other remedies for the evils existing.

“It has been the zealous desire of his holiness to serve the Spanish cause and his imperial Majesty, from the time when he was first able to effect somewhat for the crown of Spain, which was from the beginning of the pontificate of his brother Leo of sacred memory—the extent of his influence with whom was known to all, and has been experienced by his imperial Majesty. There is no benefit, gratification, or advantage which the Spanish and imperial cause ever obtained at the hands of Leo, of sacred memory, or of the Church, to which our lord the Pope was not—I will not say consenting, or not adverse, but largely contributing—nay, with regard to which he was not the author, contriver, and director of the whole. And to touch only on those things which are of supreme importance, the league which was effected in the second and third years of Leo, of sacred memory, to oppose the first descent of the most Christian King Francis, was brought about entirely by the efforts of his holiness, who, being then legate, went in person to confer with the other parties; and here, when affairs proceeded in a manner contrary to what was expected, and Pope Leo was compelled to make such terms as he could with the most Christian King, the Cardinal de Medici took that care to maintain Pope Leo firmly to the interests of Spain, which all who were there at the time know and can bear witness to. And he used all the influence that he possessed with the Pope, his brother, to the end that those most eager desires and strong will of the most Christian King to follow up his victory and press forward with so great an army and at so favorable a moment into the kingdom should be restrained, now by one excuse and now by another; and among those put forward was this, that the Catholic King being old, and, by reason of his infirmities, already at the close of his days, his most Christian Majesty would do better to await the occasion of his death, when the attempt would succeed without any difficulty. Then, the death of the Catholic King following very soon after these reasonings—I do not believe a month had passed—what skill and what labor were required to restrain the impatient eagerness of the Christian King to profit by the occasion, could be made manifest by the letters written with his Christian Majesty's own hand, if those soldiers who made prey of all the pontifical papers, as well as of other things, would either restore them to us or would send them to the Emperor. And all these things, with many others, performed to the intent of rendering secure and tranquil the succession of the prince, now Emperor, and tending to place in his

hands the mastery of Spain, even during the life of his grandfather, were done by the Cardinal de' Medici, not for any private advantage of his own, but rather in direct opposition to his particular interests, seeing that he had then no revenues of importance but such as were derived from the realm of France, and that he never sought to secure any equivalent from that of Spain.

"Then followed the death of the Emperor Maximilian, and Pope Leo was disposed to forward the claims of the most Christian King to that dignity, opposing himself to those of his present imperial Majesty but the Cardinal de' Medici took pains, before the election, to induce Pope Leo to refrain from impeding it; and after it was over, he further prevailed on his holiness to give it his sanction, and to absolve the Emperor from simony and perjury, for that he, being King of Naples, could not seek, as declared by the papal constitutions, to become Emperor—as also to reinvest his imperial Majesty in the Kingdom of Naples, and to confer upon him that kingdom anew. In all which, if the great affection of the Cardinal de' Medici for his imperial Majesty, and the opinion he held of his goodness, prudence, and piety do not excuse him, then I do not know which was the greater—the service which he may very freely say he has rendered his Majesty, or the injury done to his brother—that is, to the Pope and the Church—by thus promoting and favoring a power so great, and of which he ought to have considered that one day this river might burst its bounds and cause such outrage and devastation as have now been witnessed. But the cardinal, seeing those two powers of Spain and France divided in such a manner that peace could hardly be hoped for unless the one were balanced equally against the other, first sought to secure this equality by adding power and authority to the King of Spain, who being thus equal to the most Christian King, the latter might be cautious of engaging in war, or if unhappily war should ensue from the desire to advance the King of Spain above the most Christian King, that then the Spanish power should be so firm and vigorous as to give fair hope that, being attacked, it would gain a prosperous issue and a certain victory. And this he proved by more than words. If peradventure those things above written may require some further evidence, let the league concluded with the Emperor against France bear witness of it; for so different were the conditions to be obtained from the one side to those offered by the other, that not only should Leo never have allied himself with the Emperor, being at full liberty and free arbiter to elect the side best suited to his interest, but even had he been previously allied with the Emperor, he should have made every effort to separate himself from the imperial side. And to show briefly that things were in effect as I have said, I may affirm that, at the time when Leo made that league with him, the Emperor was altogether destitute of authority, power, friends, or reputation. He had lost the allegiance of Spain, of which all the provinces were in rebellion; he had returned from the Diet held at Worms deprived of all the hopes he had formed of aid and service to be obtained from it;* and he had war already broken out in two portions of his territories, that is to say, in Flanders by means of Robert de la Marck, and in Navarre, which kingdom was already wholly alienated and reduced to the allegiance of the King favored by France.† The Swiss also, but a short time before, had entered into a new alliance with the most Christian King, and bound themselves by a special stipulation

* This is manifestly incorrect. The Emperor secured a vote of succor from the Diet of Worms to the extent of 20,000 foot and 4,000 horse.

† There are errors in the chronology

at this point of the statement. The treaty with the Emperor was ratified on May 8th (Du Mont, iv. 3, 97), while the French did not arrive in Pampeluna until the 20th.—Garibay, xxx. 523.

to the defence of Milan, which was in the possession of the French King, a thing which they would never before consent to do; and the most serene King of England, on whom the Emperor counted, perhaps because of the relationship existing between them and his natural enmity to France, showed a disposition to look contentedly on, as was proved by the effects, for he would not move to give the slightest aid to the Emperor, however pressing the necessity in which he saw him, and notwithstanding the urgent entreaties that were made to him, until after the death of Leo. The most Christian King, on the contrary, in addition to his vast collective resources, his immediate alliance with the most illustrious Signory, and his new compact with the Swiss, was all the more powerful by the real superiority of his force to that of the Emperor, as also by the many and infinite disorders in which, as above said, the affairs of his imperial Majesty were involved. The hopes and prospects of reward that were held out to the Church by the success of the respective sides were also very different; the most Christian King would have instantly conferred the States of Ferrara on the Papal See before engaging in any other enterprise. Further, in the event of acquiring the Kingdom of Naples, his most Christian Majesty was prepared to offer advantages so important to the Church, in regard to every point on which its benefit and convenience could be promoted, that, not to dwell on minute particulars, the papacy could scarcely have profited more had the whole kingdom been made over to it; while, on the other hand, there was nothing to be looked for from a league with the Emperor except a mere proposal for placing Milan in the hands of Italians, and a promise that Parma and Placentia should be recovered to the Church.* Yet, notwithstanding the obvious disparity of the two sides, notwithstanding the facility of the undertaking on the one hand, and the danger, so much greater, on the other, setting aside also the great inequality of the advantages presented by the one side over the other, so powerfully did the wish of the Cardinal de' Medici prevail with the pontiff, and so strongly was his most reverend lordship the cardinal impressed by the opinion he entertained of his imperial Majesty's goodness and piety, that when it was proposed in discussion to require some visible evidence, either in one place or another, of the imperial intentions, he would assent to no adverse views, and go into no inquiry, but gave himself up wholly and unreservedly to that part from which he hoped to derive results more satisfactory to a holy and Christian spirit than could be obtained from whatever amount of mere temporal rewards there might have accrued to him from the opposite course. And is it not known by all to be true, that when at the very beginning things did not happen as had been expected, and the funds remitted by his Majesty as his first contribution were all consumed; when also it was difficult to discover how more were to be provided—did not at this time the sacred memory of Leo for his part, and the Cardinal de' Medici still more on his, place the substance and means of his country, and of such friends and servants as he could command, at the Emperor's disposal? Nay, finally, even his own person was not spared, and of this he well knew the importance and the effects that ensued from it.

"At this time Pope Leo died; and though his most reverend lordship the cardinal found all the world opposed to him, because all those, (the French party,) whom he had offended had arranged themselves against his fortune and dignity, whether spiritual or temporal, while of those

* This also is incorrect. By the 13th article of the treaty, the Emperor is engaged to give aid against Ferrara. "Promittit Cesa. Mtas. omnem vim, omnem potentiam, ut ea (Ferraria)

apostolicæ sedi recuperetur." His imperial Majesty engaged to use all his force and all his power that Ferrara might be recovered to the Apostolic See.

on the side of the Emperor none would help him, and some were adverse to him, as your most reverend lordship and everyone can testify, yet the cardinal was not for a moment moved in the slightest degree from his purpose, either by the great danger he stood in, the large offers made him by the one party, or the ingratitude and enmity of the other: the opinion he had formed of his imperial Majesty was still his guide—the imperial advantage still his object; and as he could not suppose that the character he attributed to his imperial Majesty was the creation of his own imagination, nor from the shortness of time had room to suspect it, so he was prepared to endure all things, rather than suffer any change. Thus he proceeded as though all things had been the contrary of what they were, and was careful for nothing but to secure a pope equally welcome to his Majesty as advantageous to the Church and the common opinion; nay, the certainty of all men was that, to make Adrian pope was not very different from making the Emperor himself pope; everyone knows this; and it is equally well known that no one was more certainly the author and conductor of that creation than the Cardinal de' Medici.

“Now, this was the occasion when the Cardinal de' Medici might have made proof whether the judgment he had formed of his imperial Majesty was a right one; for before this, the protection and patronage of Leo, of sacred memory, had prevented the cardinal from experiencing the difference of fortune; and the mind of his reverend lordship was so fully occupied by the service of his imperial Majesty, that he had not thought of distracting it to the care of his own interest, or that of his friends; neither was he so covetous, so obtrusive, or so importunate, as to busy himself with calculations of the rewards proportioned to his merits. Rather in this respect he will seem to have served most perfectly, and to have merited sufficiently, for he had given his attention to no such objects, but had referred himself wholly, and without reserve, to his Majesty's discretion and liberality. It is true that more than two years before, and when his Majesty could have neither believed nor expected to receive so much benefit and service from the house of Medici, his Majesty had promised in writing, under his own hand, and repeated the assurance in other forms, that he would confer an estate in the Kingdom of Naples of 6,000 scudi, with a wife of 10,000 scudi in dower, on one of the nephews of Leo and of the cardinal; but they did not give any care to the gaining possession of the former, or to the securing of the latter, thinking themselves assured by the promise in his Majesty's own hand. Yet when Pope Leo was dead, and that no sign of advantage remained to the house of Medici, by which to remind it that it had so long possessed a pope, excepting only this promise, his reverend lordship the cardinal, sending to pay his respects, and to render an account of himself to his imperial Majesty, did give commission in this matter to those envoys, and directed them to conclude that business, and obtain the confirmation of the said grants and privileges. But the affair proceeded very differently from what not only we,* but also everyone else had expected; for instead of perceiving that our rewards were thought of, and that gratitude was rendered us in recognition of the benefits procured for his Majesty, whereby the house of Medici might have consoled itself in seeing that it had not made so great a loss by the death of Leo, we found such obstacles in the way of our business, as though it had not concerned a matter already fixed and due for many causes, besides being very inferior to the services performed. First, there were disputes

* It will be remarked that the writer has here lapsed into the use of the first person; whether because it is in fact

the Pope himself who is now speaking, or for some other cause, does not appear.—Tr.

—no otherwise than might have been had the house of Medici been an enemy—and such objections were made, as even in such case ought not to have been made, because the faith given, and the thing once promised, ought to be redeemed and kept, at all times, and under all circumstances. But replies were made to these objections, and the wrong done to the house of Medici was made manifest. Nevertheless, instead of having cause to hope further benefit, or of receiving, at the least, the whole of what was promised—an estate, that is, of 16,000, being 6,000 from his Majesty himself, and 10,000 for the dowry that was to be given—the whole amount was resolved into 3,000 scudi. At which time, the cardinal being well informed of all, if his reverend lordship had not been moved by his devotion to his Majesty to persevere—not as if treated in the manner above described, but as though he had been remunerated to satiety—it might be said that he had done so by force, the Emperor's potency being confirmed in such sort that he could not do otherwise; or that, having no interest with other princes, the cardinal was in the necessity of giving aid to the Emperor, rather than to others. But whoever remembers the state of things in those days—which is readily done, they being sufficiently fresh in memory—will know that the imperial army and cause were at that time in great peril in Italy, by reason of the new succor that the French had received from their league with the most illustrious Signory, by which they had gained increased strength to their army and forces. There was, moreover, no man in Italy who, by his condition, friends, relations, dependents, money, and people, had it more in his power to make the victory fall to whichever side it pleased him, than his most reverend lordship the Cardinal de' Medici, who remained, nevertheless, constantly fixed in his attachment toward the Emperor. Yet not only could he hope no aid from the imperialists, against those who sought to oppress him, but even the imperialists themselves would have got badly through their affairs, if they had not received every kind of help from his most reverend lordship toward gaining the victory, as well as toward maintaining it; for he had stripped himself even to the bones, and not himself only, but the country also, to pay a large contribution which was levied to support the army and to keep it united. And now, when counting up all the services, good offices, and infinite merits of the Cardinal de' Medici and his house, I would willingly specify also whatever proof of kindness or gratitude of any kind his Majesty may have shown toward them, as well for the sake of truth as to excuse in some sort that perseverance of attachment toward his Majesty which was never interrupted by any accident, and to defend it from those who may call it rather obstinacy than sound judgment. But since there has been nothing of the kind, I can specify nothing, unless it be that in exchange for 22,000 scudi of revenue, lost in France, his majesty commanded that the cardinal should have a pension on Toledo of 10,000 scudi, of which some part still remains unpaid. It is true that in the letters written by his Majesty to all his ministers, ambassadors, and captains in Italy, he made honorable mention of his most reverend lordship, enjoining them that they should pay great respect to him, and hold him in high esteem; nay, even commanding them, that if it pleased God to call to himself Adrian, of sacred memory, they should seek to make no other than himself pope. From this it came to pass that all of them had recourse to Florence for the furtherance of their affairs, making known all their difficulties to his most reverend lordship; and there was no man to whom they addressed themselves with more confidence, when they had to treat of moneys or other kinds of aid. He on his part favored them heartily, and also received from them a strong support against that ill-will of Pope Adrian which he had been

led to feel toward his most reverend lordship by the injurious informations which Volterra had insinuated against the said cardinal. But in regard to this matter, though not desiring to undervalue the good intentions which the Emperor may have herein shown toward the cardinal, I may well say that his Majesty did only what was most prudent, in taking measures to uphold a person who had so much authority in Italy, and who, however little acknowledgment he had received, had never varied a hair's breadth from his accustomed course. Nor could his Majesty have secured advantages and benefits so great and so obvious, whether in this or the other States, from any change in the form or order of things, as he obtained by causing the power of the Cardinal de' Medici to be preserved undivided in Florence.

"Adrian being dead, the cardinal was created Pope. But on this occasion, even if the ministers and other dependents of his Majesty did receive commands, yet many comported themselves as it pleased them, and others, who at the last consented to favor his election, declared beforehand that they would not have his holiness suppose they were acting at the instance of the Emperor, for that they did all from the mere movement of their own private will. Yet, having become pope, his holiness still continued the part taken by the Cardinal de' Medici so far as such a union was consistent with the dignity in which God had placed him; and if, in weighing these two demands, that of the duty of the pontiff, and that of his affection toward the Emperor, his holiness had not suffered himself to be ruled by the latter and made that preponderate, the world might perchance have been at peace many years since, and we should not be now enduring these present calamities. For at the time when his holiness was made pope, there were two large armies in Lombardy—that of the Emperor, and that of the most Christian King; but the former was oppressed by many difficulties and scarce able to keep its ground; so that if our lord the Pope had not given it his aid, as he did by suffering the people of the Ecclesiastical States and the Florentines to recruit it; by granting so many tithes from the kingdom, that it drew thence 80,000 scudi, and by causing contributions to be raised for it in Florence, while his holiness further supplied money himself, with many other kinds of aid; but for all these things I say, that war might perchance have had a different termination, a more moderate issue, one that might have given hope of an end to the troubles, instead of the beginning of new and greater tribulations. It was with such hope that our lord the Pope, who thought he had some influence with his imperial majesty, and who desired to counsel him for good, had supplied these further proofs of attachment, thus enabling him to restore his powers, and without this help the Emperor could not have conquered; because (and that I had forgotten) without these succors, the Signory would never have been able to bring its army into action. Yet the advice of his holiness that the army should by no means pass into France, was not only disregarded, but in many other occurrences evidence began to be given that his holiness was held in slight account, while Ferrara was favored to his prejudice. Then, instead of commending and thanking him for what he had done for them, the imperialists began to complain of all that had not been done according to their wishes, not first considering that all had been done from mere good-will, and without any obligation whatever, or taking into account that if the pontiff had even had infinite obligations to them, the force was much greater by which his holiness was drawn to perform his duty toward God than that to the Emperor.

"The issue of the war in France showed whether the advice of his holiness were good or not, for the most Christian King, coming down

upon the imperial army which was at Marseilles, compelled it to retreat in such sort, that, the King pursuing it with speed, it fell back upon Milan, to the great surprise of the people; while such was the terror of the viceroy on that day, as the man belonging to his holiness who was at the court of his excellency wrote, that there were no conditions which his lordship would not have accepted from the French King, and very prudently, he seeing himself utterly undone, but that chance came to his aid and made the most Christian King go to Pavia, and not to Lodi, where it was not possible for him to keep his ground with the forces collected there. Now such was the condition of things, besides seeming as much worse as, in cases of peril so suddenly occurring, men always imagine them to be. Our lord the Pope was on the worst of terms with the most Christian King, and had little hope of anything but evil from his Majesty, and of being infinitely hated by him, his holiness having governed himself, as I shall here say with that truth to which I am bound on all occasions, or to which I should be obliged by circumstances that might seem to demand it of me more urgently than even do those wherein I consider myself at this present.

“When our lord was made pope, the most Christian King immediately commanded to send instant messengers, supplicating his holiness that, as God had raised him to a position above all, so should he seek to raise himself above himself, and conquer whatever passions might have remained in him, whether of too much affection toward the Emperor, or of too much ill-will toward himself; and saying that he (the King) would hold himself much bound to God and his holiness, if he (the Pope) would guide all by one rule, interposing to do good, but not setting himself to favor one party against the other. But if, indeed, for his interests or designs, his holiness should judge it needful to have the particular support of any prince, whom could his holiness have better than himself, who, by nature, and being a son of the Church, and not its rival, desired and was accustomed to labor for its aggrandizement, and not its diminution? And as regarded good-will between man and man, he would offer him such conditions that his holiness should well perceive himself to have gained more by making known how much he merited even while offending and injuring him, than he would ever receive for aiding and favoring the Emperor—herewithal entering into most especial particulars.

“Now, the Pope, our lord, adopted the first suggestion—to wit, that he should be friendly toward all; but, in effect, he still leaned more toward the Emperor; and this he did not only from inclination, but also because he had firm hope that he could effect so much with his imperial Majesty as that he would let himself be guided and moved in such sort that his holiness should have less to consider what might offend the most Christian King, than what might be agreeable to himself in the arrangement and facilitation of such conditions as were necessary for the establishment of peace. But affairs turning out otherwise, and the King resolving to enter Italy, while the imperial army still lay at Marseilles, he sent a courier, I think from Aix, with *carte-blanche* to our lord the Pope, by the medium of Signor Alberto da Carpi, with favorable conditions, most ample terms, and with a manifestation of his feelings, such as he might certainly have sent to the Emperor himself; for although he desired then to gain possession of the State of Milan, in all besides he was content to refer himself wholly and in everything to the decision of our lord the Pope. But notwithstanding this, his holiness would not take his resolution until he had, not only once, but twice, received certain intelligence of the taking of Milan, and had received letters from his minister there that all was finished, and that

the viceroy did not judge it otherwise. Let anyone put himself in the place of his holiness, whether friend, servant, brother, or father, or even the Emperor himself, and let him see what he could have done for the benefit of the Emperor, in this sudden difficulty, or in the next that follows, which was not done by his holiness, and much better done: I say better, because I am certain that those from whom his imperial Majesty has perhaps expected, and may still expect, better service, would have made him pay a very different price for the obligation than his holiness has done. For his holiness having attained the means of putting a stop to all use of arms and prosecution of the war in the kingdom of Naples, with many other advantages, both public and private, obliged himself to nothing more in favor of the most Christian King than merely the placing him in the possession of that which the army of the Emperor had already given up for lost; and our lord the Pope restrained his Majesty, moreover, from moving forward to seize the Kingdom of Naples, in doing which it seemed that he would then have found no great difficulty. And whoever is disposed to glorify himself in regard to those events that turned out contrarywise, should rather thank God by whom it was thus miraculously determined for their advantage, and should attribute nothing to themselves, but acknowledge that the Pope made that capitulation to preserve himself and the Emperor, and not from evil intention. And then afterward, the King, finding to his misfortune that there was difficulty in the undertaking, because he had set about it in a manner different from what he ought to have done, the Pope left him for about two months at Pavia, without a breath in favor of his affairs; and although this was of great service to the Spaniards, yet he did not fail to do more for them, giving them all the succors that they could require from his dominions, and never ceasing to interpose his efforts to produce concord between them, in so far as it was possible. But no good order prevailing, and the King soliciting our lord the Pope to pronounce in his favor, that he might the more readily acquire the State of Milan—urging, also, that the Florentines should do the same, to which they were bound equally with his holiness—the Pope labored to avoid so pronouncing, or giving him any assistance, except the allowing him a passage through his territories, with provision for a part of his army, which his Majesty desired to send into the kingdom for the purpose of making a diversion, and thereby reducing the imperialists the more readily to come to terms. Oh! what a great service was this to the French!—yielding them a thing which it was in their power to take, if it had not been granted them—the Pope, too, being disarmed. Would it not, besides, have been too strange a thing if, having made a league with his most Christian majesty, and not having been willing to serve him in any other matter, his holiness should attempt to refuse him that which it was not in truth within his power to withhold, or prevent the publication of a feigned concord like that then promulgated, by denying a little food to his majesty, the granting which was a contrivance, whereby the King was led to endure with less resentment, that his holiness should fail to observe minutely the capitulation entered into? And if all the truth must be told, the most Christian King was rather injured than served by that separation of his forces; for the troops were so long detained, first in Sienna, and afterward in the Roman States, that the imperial army had time in Lombardy to effect what was done at Pavia; and since that victory was achieved, what reason had the Emperor or his people, or ineed any other person of his party, to be dissatisfied with his holiness, or to think of anything but doing him service and pleasure—to which last they were bound, not only by religion, but by the example of other

princes, who have not only refrained from offending such former popes as have chosen to remain neutral, but have even, when victory had been gained over that party to which the Church had attached itself, still held the pontiffs in the highest reverence, and have followed up their victories by entreating the pardon of the Pope, and by offering honor and service to the Church? But let us put religion aside for the moment; let us even suppose the Pope and the Church in the land of the Muscovite, and who has any right to make a charge against either person or State, when they have usurped nothing to which he has claim or pretension—nay, more, when it is remembered that assistance and favor have been afforded for a long period of years, whereby, indeed, all the victories obtained have been promoted and secured? And if the Pope adhered to the King at that time, he did so at a moment when he was not able to help either himself or others, and believed he perceived a divine occasion for securing, by means of the enemy, that effect which he could not produce of himself; for his holiness gave nothing to the most Christian King which his Majesty might not have taken by his own force, or compelled from the weakness of the Emperor. His holiness did no more than so contrive that when victory ceased to favor the French, he (the pontiff) appeared rather to have restrained them from further losses than driven them on. Then, what unheard-of inhumanity was it to direct the war against the Pope, precisely as though none of these motives had been influencing his actions, or as if he had been moved by causes altogether contrary! What cruelty—not to use a graver term—when the battle of Pavia had been gained, and the King taken prisoner, to make offers of peace to those States that might be justly accused of offending, and send an army against the Church! Either the imperialists had seen the articles of the league made by the Pope with his most Christian Majesty, or they had not seen them; but if they had seen them, as we are certain they did, because all his Majesty's papers fell into their hands, ought they not to produce them, and make manifest whatever was in those conditions that could offend, either in respect to the time when they were concluded or to any other particulars whatever that could be of injury to his imperial Majesty, thereby justifying in some measure that which they have asserted—if, indeed, any such justification could be found in them? Or if these conditions have not been seen by the imperialists, then wherefore these iniquitous proceedings against . . . ? But since they had not found anything to offend in written documents, nor made experience of such from facts or actions, they have indeed had no cause for being offended. And it was not from want of courage or from want of power that our lord the Pope forbore (that he has both courage and power they had long proved to their own benefit); neither has he lost so much of the vigor of his years as to be deprived of the first, while the dignity to which he had attained has greatly increased the second; nor was it because his holiness had intercepted certain letters of those gentlemen, from which it was easy to see that they were puffed up by the expectation of an opportunity for avenging themselves on his holiness, though they had certainly received no injury at his hands: but his holiness, without any consideration whatever of all these things, was moved solely by his regard for justice and by his confidence in the uprightness, duty, and good dispositions of his imperial Majesty, without whose participation it was not to be supposed that anything would be attempted; and his holiness could never have persuaded himself that his majesty would sanction what has been done. Yet the very contrary to what his holiness had expected took place, for suddenly, and without any delay, the imperial army was marched

into the States of the Church, and his holiness was constrained to redeem himself from that oppression by paying a sum of 100,000 scudi, and by making a league with those forces. Then further, when that treaty was sent into Spain, the proof that his imperial Majesty gave of his ill-will to that compact was, that whatever was in it to the advantage of our lord and the Church, that he refused to ratify, although the whole that had been agreed on in Italy was done with the most ample and express command of his Majesty; among other things, there was the restoration of such revenues as proceeded from the States of Milan and which had been taken from the Church, together with the restitution of Reggio, in regard to which he would do nothing. Then our lord the Pope, having found himself so often deceived, though he had always hoped that affairs would take a better turn on the Emperor's part, however much it might seem otherwise on the particular occasions referred to, yet finding that the contrary did constantly happen, at length began to give ear to those who had always maintained and affirmed that his imperial Majesty was proposing the subjugation of all Italy, and laboring to make himself absolute master in the land; and he listened to them the rather because it did in fact seem strange to his holiness that the Emperor should govern both by himself and by his officers in that country after the manner that he did, unless he had some such design. And finding cause for this suspicion, besides being dissatisfied that no faith or promise was ever kept with him, our lord the Pope thought it right and good to attach himself, both in amity and in measures, with those who had a common cause with his holiness, and who were seeking to find means for defending themselves against such violence as was offered. Then, since it was affirmed among other things that the Emperor proposed to deprive the Duke of Milan of his territories, designing to make himself master of them, and since the truth of these allegations was fully established by many indications, it was believed needful to lose no time, but rather to anticipate, and do to others what they proposed to do to us; nor could his holiness refuse to follow in the path of those who were embarked, I say, in a common cause with him. Thus it followed that when the kingdom of France, the signory of Venice, and the rest of Italy, resolved to unite for the relief of the States and the common safety, our lord the Pope gave intimation that he would not refuse his assent to what the others proposed: furthermore, his holiness confesses ingenuously that when it was proposed to him, in the name and on the part of the Marchese Pescara, that he, being malcontent with the Emperor, and also, as an Italian, did offer himself, to take part in that company when they should have to commence their proceedings, not only his holiness gave no refusal, but, hoping to receive effectual aid, would have given him all his demands; for matters having come to such a pass that he feared both for his States and his proper safety, his holiness verily thought that no method from which he could hope for aid was to be rejected. Now the marchese is dead, and God only knows the truth, or with what intentions Pescara entered on that affair; but this is most true and certain, that such proposals were sent to his holiness, in his name, and when his holiness sent to question him on that behalf, not only did he give no denial but even confirmed himself, what, by other means, his holiness had been given to understand. Now, although these proceedings did certainly take place, yet God knows that his holiness was led into them more by necessity than by choice; and of this truth the many letters written at that time to the nuncio of his holiness at the court of the Emperor may bear witness; for in these there were commands that his imperial Majesty should be made to understand

what evils and what ruin must ensue to the whole world from the bad course he was pursuing, and that he should be entreated, for the love of God, to adopt other plans, since it was not possible that Italy—even if he should obtain it—could be held by any other means than those of kindness and by a certain form of procedure, by which it was necessary that he should abide, to content the minds of all men. But all was of no avail; rather, his Majesty gave open testimony to the truth of the suspicion that he designed to make himself master of Milan, under the pretext afforded by Girolamo Morone, and that the duke was proposing to rebel against his imperial Majesty. Nevertheless, the Pope continued to seek an accommodation by fair means, condescending to that which his Majesty desired, since his Majesty would not agree to what he requested, provided only that the Duchy of Milan might remain in possession of the duke, to which effect it was that all these wars in Italy had been set on foot. But in all these efforts his holiness had so little success, that, when the Emperor had shown himself disposed to come to terms with the most Christian King, and this wish of his holiness was made known to him, he refused to make the agreement; and while his imperial Majesty would have made a more advantageous, as well as more solid, compact with the most Christian King if he would first have made agreement with the Pope, so by refusing to make an accord with the Pope he did not render that with the King more easy, but rather made it vain and of slight avail; for if the King were not disposed to keep the terms of his treaty, he would find himself surrounded by associates also malcontent, with whom uniting himself he would then make less account of his imperial Majesty. Nor can his holiness imagine from what cause that great aversion of his Majesty to an agreement with the Pope has proceeded, for at that time the Emperor had never yet received any offence whatever from his holiness, who had sent his own nephew as legate to do him honor, and to treat with him the more effectually of those matters, that he might see how much his holiness had them at heart. The Pope had, moreover, labored to content him in every manner—among other things conceding to him the dispensation of marriage, the importance of which, and its effect in drawing closer the bonds of friendship and good intelligence between those kingdoms, is known to all, or in any case it was the means of securing to his Majesty the money of the dower, as also that succession.* Yet his imperial Majesty, being in no degree moved by all these things, compelled the pontiff to listen to the proposals of those who were entreating him—for the Emperor would offer no terms—and to accept them to the great disadvantage of his holiness. Then, when it had happened that our lord the Pope had bound himself with the most Christian King, and with the other princes and potentates, to make a league for the common defence, and when the Emperor knew of it, he would indeed then have united himself with his holiness and sent to offer him, by Signor Don Ugo di Moncada, not only what his holiness had required and entreated, but even that which he had never hoped that he could obtain. And if his Majesty, either in his own defence or to the blame of our lord the Pope, should now say that these things, being offered to the pontiff by Don Ugo, as I said above, his holiness would not accept them; let not this be said in reproach of his holiness, who, while the matter was in his own hands, gave proof that he was ready to content himself with little enough, but let him rather blame the failure in judgment of those who, at the proper time, and when the opportunity is before them, will not agree to give one, but when the moment has passed will come out of season and be ready to throw

* This makes it obvious that the lapse of Portugal to the crown of Spain was thought of in 1525.

away a hundred. Since his Majesty refused to accept a treaty with honorable conditions at the proper time, and that the enterprises thereupon undertaken seemed likely to succeed in such sort that the common object could not fail to be recovered, his holiness was entirely justified in the course he adopted. And if anyone should affirm that the enterprise of the kingdom was not likely to prove an easy one, the contrary is made manifest by the affair of Frusolone and the taking of so many places, and considering, above all, that our lord the Pope could have sent the same force into the kingdom, while the imperialists, on the contrary, were not then in a condition to gather suddenly so great a body, or to make such preparation as they did but effect after many months of waiting for help from Spain. And even in hostility, his holiness did not fail to act the part of a friend, being more ready to take on him the office of the father who menaces without offering injury, than the enemy: proceeding with all sincerity and even descending beneath his dignity by entering into terms of agreement with the Colonnas, his own subjects, that so he might remove all cause of suspicion, and in no case drive the steel so far forward, but that at all times the wound might be easily cured when the sword was withdrawn. But against his holiness was even then contrived that treason which all the world knows, and the guilt of which, as it can never be expressed, so is it most eloquently spoken by silence. And in this matter, if it be true that his Majesty was not acting or consenting, neither did he show any great displeasure or make further demonstration of dissent; nay, rather, all the armaments and preparations that the Emperor could make were intended for no other purpose than to take vengeance for the justice that had been inflicted on the Colonnas by the Pope in the ruin of four of their castles. I will not dispute concerning the truce made this September in the castle by Signor Don Ugo, whether it were kept or not; but it is certain that the absolution of the Colonnas did not so bind our lord the Pope, that he could not, and ought not, to punish them, they being his own subjects. If it had been possible to hope for the observance of that truce made between our lord the Pope and the Emperor, it would have been observed from the first; nor was our lord ever the first to break it; but it was not observed either here or in Lombardy, for whilst the truce was still in force there came 12,000 lansquenets from Lombardy into the territories of the Church, and the bands that were there did the very worst that they could. The viceroy of Naples also wrote letters from the Council, which were intercepted, and wherein he besought the Signory to accelerate the arrival of their forces that our lord the Pope might be taken unprepared, and so that might be completed which had not been effected at the first blow. Then our lord could not so far fail in what was due to himself as to refrain from gathering troops from Lombardy; but though these forces arrived in time to have made a diversion in the kingdom, our lord would even then not permit them to pass beyond the frontiers. The ruin of those fortresses of the Colonnas took place rather because they had refused, in their disobedience, to give admission to the troops, than from any other reason. And in like manner leave was given to Andrea Doria for the interception of that armament, concerning which his holiness had received so many warnings that it was designed for his ruin. The many urgent and legitimate occasions on which his holiness refused to depart from his old love and regard for the Emperor could not possibly be related without subjecting his holiness to the censure of having little care for his own welfare and dignity; and after there began to be some division between them, how many times did not our lord the Pope show willingness, I do not say to accept offers

of accommodation, but even to go out of his way for the purpose of seeking such. Yet nothing but evil resulted to his holiness, whether from the first proposition or from the subsequent reconciliations. And now, while matters were in more violent commotion than ever, comes the father-general of the Minorites, to whom, when he was going to Spain at the beginning of the war, our lord the Pope had spoken much concerning his good-will to the Emperor, and had shown him what would be the best course for obtaining universal peace, but who brought back conditions which, though in words they were as ample as might be desired, yet in fact were they extremely hard. Still our lord desiring to find an issue from these troubles, and wishing once for all to have an explanation face to face with the Emperor, that if possible there might be found some mode of making peace, did agree to those things that were desired by the Emperor from the Pope, and accepted what his Majesty was willing to grant. When his holiness would have proceeded to a conclusion, and it became necessary to treat with the viceroy, who on his part had arrived at the same time in Gaeta, with words no less large and promising than those brought by the father-general; it was found that the conditions increased continually in severity till they extended beyond all possibility of acceptance or execution. In all these matters nothing afflicted his holiness more than the being constrained to make an agreement alone with the Emperor in Italy; and what induced him to do so, even to his great prejudice and disgrace, was the hope of effecting peace and union in Italy, and also the wish to continue acting with the Emperor: but this could not be done without the consent of the Signory of Venice; and for the purpose of obtaining their consent, the viceroy being at Frusolone, a suspension of arms for eight days was agreed on, within which time a reply might be had from Venice. Then the Signor Cesare Fieramosca, being the bearer of the same, did not arrive with it until hostilities having been recommenced and Frusolone liberated from the besiegers, nothing more could be done. Now, in all this negotiation, it is certain that his holiness proceeded with sincerity, and so did the most reverend legate, but the enemy being already in presence and with arms in his hands, it was not possible to manage two different things at the same time. It may well occasion astonishment, that, after having proved the disposition of the party, and finding himself deceived, injured, and disgraced, our lord the Pope should again venture to throw himself upon a peace or truce of this kind, and that deliberately and with full knowledge, without any force or necessity, not moved by the fear of losing, nay, certain of gain, far from sure of what friendship he might acquire, but certain of alienating and exciting the enmity of all the world, and more particularly of those who loved his holiness from their hearts. But his holiness had proved that it was not pleasing to God that war should be made, for since he had made every effort to avoid war, and then, having commenced it with so many advantages on his part, could yet obtain only disastrous results—this could be attributed to no other than the displeasure of God. We were ourselves afflicting and desolating unhappy Christendom in a manner insufferable to think of, and as though we had been resolved to leave the Turk little labor in completing its destruction; therefore his holiness judged that no human consideration, however weighty, should be suffered to move him from seeking peace in company with whomsoever he could, or if he could not have it in union with others, to make it for himself. Furthermore, also, the pontiff was fixed in these thoughts by the arrival of intelligence to the effect that the Emperor was disposed in a way that has been ever wont to move his holiness wonder-

fully; for there came at that time, through Signor Cesare and Paolo di Arezzo, such letters under his Majesty's own hand as were necessary to produce an agreement between his holiness and the Emperor, which agreement could not but be for the happiness of the whole world. How could it be imagined that a man could be born of a worse nature than the Emperor must have, if he were capable of contriving this means for the ruin of the Pope, which were indeed most unworthy of even the lowest and vilest man, how much more then of the greatest among Christians? But let us not even imagine such a thing; let us rather consider that God has permitted it to prove us, and to furnish occasion to his Majesty for the display of more piety, more goodness, and more faith, by giving him such opportunity for setting the world in order as was never before conceded to any sovereign born. The papers of his holiness having all fallen into the hands of the soldiers, there will have been taken by them, among others, a new treaty made by his holiness but five or six days at most before the fall of Rome; but by which, if his holiness, again uniting himself with the league, did consent to many things which were to the prejudice of his imperial Majesty, I do not think that any treating on the part of the Emperor will on that account have the right to avail themselves of it; nay, they cannot do so without making further discovery of their own defects and failings; for if we admit that Bourbon was not to be restrained from his purpose of proceeding to the ruin of the Pope, it is certain that there were many others in that camp, both of infantry, men-at-arms, and leading chiefs, who would have obeyed the commands of the Emperor if these last had been duly enforced on them; then if Bourbon had been deprived of that portion of his force, he would have been but little in condition for the carrying forward of his designs. Or admitting further that this could not be effected, yet there can be no cause given which shall avail to excuse the fact that, although his holiness had fulfilled all the conditions of the treaty that he had made with the viceroy, as your most reverend lordship will remember, and may see by reading again that copy of the treaty which you will bear with you, yet when his holiness required in return, that payment should be sent for those soldiers and men-at-arms who had attached themselves to his command, he could obtain nothing; so that our lord the Pope, not being fairly replied to on any point of that treaty, (because on the one hand things were done against him that ought not to have been done, and on the other, the succors that ought to have been given were not given;) I do not know with what face anyone can set himself to calumniate his holiness for a thing done by mere necessity—a necessity imposed by themselves, and which he so long delayed to do, that it was the very ruin of his holiness; or how any can take occasion to consider themselves offended by us on that account.

“In regard to the resolution taken by our lord the Pope to make approaches to the Emperor, even the enemies of his holiness cannot deny that he made it at a time when he could not be suspected of being moved by any other cause than by zeal for the welfare of all Christians, for he had that inspiration on a sudden, and instantly after the news was brought of the death of the King of Hungary and the loss of the kingdom, his holiness having consulted and resolved on that matter in consistory two or three days before the entry of the Colonnas into Rome. Nor do I believe that any one will be so gross as to suspect that our lord the Pope was induced to that show of favor toward the Emperor because his holiness had foreseen the storm, for it was not of such a character but that if he had had three hours' knowledge of it, to say nothing of three days, that would have enabled him to disperse it with very little effort or rumor.

“The conditions which the father-general proposed to our lord the Pope were these: first, the Emperor desired peace with his holiness; and if perchance the father-general, on his arrival, should find that the affairs of his holiness and of the Church were ruined, his imperial Majesty would yet be content that all things should be restored to their previous condition, and that peace should be granted to everyone in Italy, he having no desire to obtain a hand’s breadth of the country either for himself or his brother; on the contrary, he would have all men left in possession of that which they had held from old time. As to the difference respecting the Duke of Milan, that should be examined judicially, by judges to be deputed by his holiness and his Majesty. Then, if he were acquitted, his duchy should be restored to him; but if condemned, it should be given to Bourbon, when France would be content to make an agreement in money, a thing that had been previously refused; the sum named also was that which the most Christian King had sent to offer, namely, two millions in gold. These conditions our lord accepted instantly, that is, so soon as the father-general could make proof of their validity, and he subscribed them with his hand; but it is true that they were not approved by the others, who, as your most reverend lordship knows, affixed to them most heavy and intolerable demands. Now, since it cannot be supposed but that his imperial Majesty spoke in earnest, and with that sincerity proper to so great a prince, and these his embassies and propositions showing him to be so moderate of mind and so benignant toward our lord; whilst, indeed, his Majesty did not know what might be the mind of his holiness toward him, and believed the imperial arms so potent in Italy, by his lansquenets and the armada sent thither, that everything must have been yielded to them—seeing, I say, all these things, it is not to be supposed but that when his Majesty shall be informed that if he sent evidence of good-will to the Pope, equal amity was displayed on the part of his holiness, the Emperor will not only be like himself in proving his ready kindness and good-will to the Church, offering to her and to our lord all due reparation, but will also add force to that his natural disposition, in proportion as he will desire to avoid the charge and obloquy that must else ensue, thus changing it from an ignominy which could not easily have been obliterated to a perpetual glory, making his fame all the more illustrious and firm by his own actions, as others have sought, his own Ministers, for example, to depress and obscure it. And this he should do, the rather because so great a resistance was opposed to the imperial forces, that his holiness, in laying down his arms, was conferring a benefit instead of receiving one, as I said before, and as is most clear; so that all the subsequent calamities will be laid to the name and faith of his imperial Majesty, in whom our lord the Pope confided. And with regard to what things should be done to secure this end, as well for the Church in particular and for its restoration, as for Italy and all Christendom in general, these will be readily discovered, supposing the Emperor to be more inclined to securing the universal pacification than any other emolument. The benefits by which the sufferings of Italy may be cancelled will be very easily shown, provided only there exist the wish to know the right, with the disposition and judgment to decide wherein the true good consists and may be found.

“Not to enter into the causes whereby we were compelled to take up arms, which is a thing that would require too much time, we will only say that we never took them for any hatred or ill-will that we had toward the emperor, nor from any ambition to increase our territories, or advance those of our house, but solely because of the necessity in which it appeared to us that our liberty and State, with the liberties

of the Italian States in general, were then placed; and because we desired to make it manifest to all the world as well as to the Emperor, that if he sought to oppress us, we could not and ought not to endure it without making every effort to defend ourselves. Also, that his Majesty, if he had that intention, of which we never doubted, might see that he was not likely to succeed so easily as others perhaps may have given him to understand. Or, again, if we had been deceived in supposing that his Majesty intended to do us evil—if these suspicions should be shown to have had their birth rather from the proceedings of the Ministers than from any other cause, then that his imperial Majesty, making it clearly obvious that this was the fact, and giving us good assurance thereof, might enter with us into a good and lasting peace and friendship: nor with us only, but also with other princes and sovereign powers with whom we had associated ourselves, but for no other purpose than that of defending ourselves against the wrongs and offences offered us, and of obtaining such upright and reasonable conditions as might once more secure a peace for this unhappy Christendom. And if, when Don Ugo came hither, his Majesty had sent us such conditions as most justly appeared to us necessary for attaining that end, we should have thought it the most signal grace and favor that God could bestow upon us, to be thus permitted to lay down our arms on the same day, so to speak, as they had been taken up. The disposition in which we were found by the general of the Franciscans will bear good witness to the truth of our having always been minded as we have said; for a year ago, and when he was here, on his way to Spain, we made him acquainted with the causes which we and the other princes of Italy had to be malcontent with the Emperor: these we charged him to lay before his imperial Majesty on our part, causing him to understand that if he would listen to our counsels and prayers, which all tended to the praise and service of God, and to his benefit as well as to ours, he would always find us ready to prove that friendship which he had experienced aforesaid; and some months after that, when the said general was sent back to us from his Majesty, who replied to us most courteously that he was content, to use his own words, even to accept as a command that which we had sent to him as a counsel. And to give proof of this, the general bore, among other resolutions, the declaration that his imperial Majesty was willing to restore the sons of the most Christian King for that ransom, and on that condition which was offered by his most Christian Majesty, and which the Emperor would never before consent to do. Besides this, he promised that if all Italy, as there was a fashion of saying at the time when the father-general was in Rome, were in his power, he would be content to place all things therein on their primitive footing, that he might thus show the falsehood of those who desired to calumniate him by the assertion that he proposed to retain possession of the country. Further, he declared, that neither for himself nor for his most serene brother did he desire one palm's breadth of territory beyond what the crown of Spain had been wont to possess from old time in that country. And, to the end that his words might be accompanied by facts, the father-general brought the most ample commands for the arrangement of all things, either with Don Ugo or the viceroy, if the latter should have come to Italy at the time when the father-general himself arrived among us. How great was then our contentment, could not be expressed; and every hour appeared to us a thousand years, from our impatience to see the conclusion of some sort of general agreement for the laying down of arms. The viceroy also arriving at the same time, and sending us from St. Stefano, where he first took port

in that sea, by the commandant Pignalosa, the most friendly messages in the world, differing in no way from what the father-general had told us, we rendered thanks to God, that the satisfaction we had received from the embassy of the father-general was not to be disturbed by any doubt whatever, seeing that the same was confirmed to us by the signor viceroy, who by causing us to understand the commissions he had received from the Emperor, had comforted us mightily, at the same time that he sent to certify to us, that no one could be found who would set himself to execute the same with more good-will than he would do. Now, in what manner the total contrary took place, will require but little labor to tell, because there is no man who does not know the most hard and insupportable, nay, ignominious conditions, that were demanded on the part of the viceroy, we having interposed no delay whatever in sending to beg that he would not lose time in declaring to us the conditions of so much benefit. Then, while we were expecting to find still better than we had already been told, because it is customary ever to make reserve of the best things, that they may taste the more gratefully, not only did we fail to receive any of that which had been promised, but were met by propositions altogether the contrary. Firstly, no faith was to be placed in us, as if there were, in truth, no man who could produce testimony to the opposite effect; so that, for security, the best part of our States and of the Signory of Florence was demanded from us, together with a sum of money, impossible of attainment, even to anyone who should possess mountains of gold, much more than to us, who, as everyone knew, had not a groat. Next, it was required, to our infinite disgrace, or rather to that of the Emperor, that we should reinstate in their possessions, those who, in offence of all law, divine and human, and with so heavy a treason, had come to assail the person of our lord the Pope, to despoil the Church of St. Peter, and to sack the sacred palace. Furthermore, we were to be compelled, without the least respect, to bind ourselves immovably to the interests of his imperial Majesty, though all the world knew the zeal we had shown for those interests at a time when we were most of all flourishing and prosperous. And, not to insist on all other particulars, it was required that we should make a separate agreement of ourselves, apart and alone, which we could not do if we desired safely to conduct to a successful end that universal peace for which we were content to make this beginning. There was no hope of moving the viceroy from these his most insupportable demands; and he had, besides, come to invade our States, though we had always respected the territories of the Emperor in the Kingdom of Naples, and, during those few months that had elapsed, had in no way molested them. Next followed the arrival of Cesare Fieramosca, who, finding the viceroy already in the States of the Church, we believed to be the bearer of such commands from the Emperor to his excellency, that, had they been obeyed, would have prevented matters from proceeding to this pass. But his excellency the viceroy was intent on doing two very opposite things at one and the same time; the one being to show that he had not done amiss in proceeding so far, or in seeking to avoid the loss of the opportunity that he thought he had of winning the whole; and the other to give obedience to the commands of the Emperor, which were that by all means an agreement should be made; whence it followed that neither of the two has now been accomplished. For his excellency the viceroy found himself deceived, and discovered that he could not effect what he had proposed; and Signor Cesare Fieramosca returning with conditions for a truce of eight days, until a reply could be had as to whether the Signory of Venice would enter into the treaty,

when he arrived on the field he found the armies already engaged, so that, for that time, the matter could proceed no further. Yet, notwithstanding that occurrence, we, though knowing certainly that our position was most secure in Lombardy and in Tuscany, by reason of the large munitions and infinite force of troops of the whole league that there were in those parts, being well assured also that the affairs of the kingdom were in irremediable disorder, as experience had begun to make manifest—we, I say, did never dismiss from our mind the desire for peace, nor cease from seeking it. And when we found affairs promising to turn so prosperously for ourselves, we rejoiced in it, solely because that might serve to show that, if we desired peace, it was from sound judgment and our good-will, not because we were forced to it of necessity; and to prove to the Emperor that if he had spoken sincerely to the father-general, as we believe, in saying that, supposing all to be at his disposal, he would restore everything to its first condition, we, who were in that very case which he had supposed, were ready to execute what he had imagined and proposed to perform. To this our desire there was then added an extreme force, by various letters written with the Emperor's hand, more particularly two, which we received at the last by the hands of Cesare Fieramosca, and by those of our servant Paolo di Arezzo, which are of such a tenor that we should not believe ourselves to have erred if, on the faith of those letters alone, we had placed the whole world, nay, even our own soul, in the hands of his Majesty; so frequently does he therein conjure us to give credence to what he says, besides that all the words of those letters are full of such promise of aid, such assurance of satisfaction, that we, on our parts, could not even have wished for better. And as, while treating for peace, we did not in any way remit our preparations for war until we should be certain of the return we might expect, so, there being two chiefs in Italy, Bourbon and the signor viceroy, we labored to enlighten ourselves fully as to whether it would be sufficient to treat with one only, and that he would be answerable for all, or that we must negotiate with both separately; so that if that were to befall us, which has happened, the blame thrown upon others, for other causes, might not be cast upon us for our want of prudence. But having found that the power of treating with us was vested in the viceroy alone, we desired to put that matter in the clearest light, and were not satisfied to be told it by the father-general, Signor Cesare, the viceroy himself, Paolo di Arezzo, and Bourbon, but we required to be informed by the said Bourbon, not once only, but many times, and by divers persons, whether he would abide by the decision to be taken, and obey it; so that if it were proposed to treat with him particularly, he, refusing, should make no reply whatever to matters that belonged to the viceroy alone. Now it was an easy thing, and will ever be so to every man, to color any purpose he may have with a show of uprightness, and if he cannot bring his purposes to bear honestly and openly, to compass them by fraud, as it appears to us was done in our case; for from whatever quarter it may have come, this appears to us to have been the aim, though we cannot guess from whom it proceeded. It is clear that all the precautions that can be used to escape deception were used by us, and indeed so many of them were there that they appeared to us at times to be superfluous, and we thought ourselves deserving of censure for adopting them. We had the Emperor himself as testimony both by letters and word of mouth, to his own good-will, and to the obedience that Bourbon would pay the viceroy; nay, by way of caution, his Majesty gave new letters to Paolo touching this obedience to the viceroy, and directed to the said Bourbon. The treaty also was made with

powers from his Majesty, so ample that they ought to have sufficed; and Bourbon had professed to submit himself in all things to the viceroy, who, on his part, was afterward content to place himself in our power. Everything was done to draw us into our present condition, insomuch that I know not what more could be found in the whole world to render it possible that faith should again be given to the word of a private gentleman, after the many causes that concurred and intervened to that effect in our case. Furthermore, and to speak only of what concerns our own proceedings, it was both more lawful and much more easy for us, without incurring the infamy attached to a violator of his word, or any other disgrace, to use the opportunity that fortune had brought us of maintaining ourselves in all security in Lombardy; for we had there so good a position, that Bourbon could never have made his way forward if the army of the League had not been restrained and cooled by the serious negotiations for peace, or rather by its conclusion. Nay, we might have profited by that advantage to pursue the war in the kingdom, and first gaining two or three fortresses, might then have taken them all; thence extending our operations to the places surrounding, we might have inflicted both injury and disgrace on the Emperor; and attaching ourselves firmly to the company of the confederate princes, might have rendered all the designs of his imperial Majesty more difficult of execution. But because it appeared to us that the service of God and the suffering state of Christendom required peace, we proposed to ourselves to forego whatever great victory or gain we might have acquired, and were even content to offend all the Christian and Italian princes, without knowing in any manner what we were to receive in exchange, but believing we should secure enough, if the mind of the Emperor were such as his Majesty by so many intimations had labored to make us understand. For this we made but slight account of the offence given to the other Christian princes, who would indeed have found themselves in no long time greatly bound to us, if that had ensued which his Majesty had so amply promised, assuring us with redoubled arguments that if we made an accord with him he would submit to us and place in our hands the conclusion of peace, and the power to form an agreement with the Christian princes. And if any man believe that we were actuated by a different motive, such a one, knowing us, can in no way more manifestly make known his malignity; but if he did not know us, and will take pains to learn the actions of our life, he will find that we are well known never to have desired aught but good, or acted other than virtuously, to which end we have made every other interest subservient. And if now evil hath befallen us, though we receive with all humility from the hands of our Lord and God whatever he shall be justly pleased to inflict, yet shall it not be said but that we are most grievously wronged of men, and principally do we receive injury from them, who, although to a certain extent they may shield themselves by their power, and by the pretext of disobedience in others—albeit enough might be said of that matter if the question came to be discussed—yet now, and for some time past, they might well proceed very differently from that which they are doing, both as regards their own glory, and also in consideration of their duty, whether toward God or toward the world. We took part in the treaty afterward made at Florence with those of Bourbon's party, through the medium of the signor viceroy, and which afterward was not observed, because we did not wish to have the appearance of proposing to do evil against those who had been the cause of our being thus maltreated, whom may God judge with his just judgment! after whose mercy toward us and toward his Church, we have hope in no other than in

the piety, faith, and virtue of the Emperor; for seeing that we have been brought to the pass wherein we stand by our own trust in the opinion we held of him, so do we look that he should withdraw us from such condition, and place us high as we are now brought low. From whose majesty we expect such satisfaction for the infinite wrongs and disgraces that we have suffered as shall be suitable to his greatness, and to what is due, if indeed there be anything to be found in this world that may suffice to make amends for the least and smallest part of our injuries. And here we will not enter into particulars, by expressing which we might diminish the grace of those suggestions that we cannot but hope he will find occur to him, and which he will send to propose to us. Let us say, nevertheless, that we putting our demands at the lowest possible scale, it would be a disgrace to his Majesty if he did not grant more, as it would have been for us to ask less, rather than difficult to concede what we claim. Thus his Majesty ought to agree to the following provisions:

"That our person, the Sacred College, and the Court of our State, shall, in all things spiritual and temporal, be restored to that condition in which we were when the negotiations were commenced with the signor viceroy, and that we shall not be burdened by the payment of a single coin toward the expense.

"And if any shall be found who, hearing this, make a jest of our proposals, we reply, that if the matters above stated be true, and he marvel at our being appeased with so little, he is justified, and many will find it strange; but if indeed they appear to him extraordinary, let him consider with what rectitude he so judges, whether toward the Emperor or toward ourselves. As regards the Emperor, let him consider well that so long as there is not promised on his Majesty's part this and much more, he is made to be a participator in all the wrong that we have suffered; but in regard to ourselves we may say that this is an attempt iniquitously to defame us as none would venture to do directly and openly. Nor is our present position only to be considered, but also how we were led into it; and further, let it be remembered that it is better to effect at the call of sound judgment and virtue that which finally time must very certainly bring about, if not in our lifetime, yet assuredly in that of others."

No. 16

Sommario dell' Istoria d' Italia dall' anno 1512 insino a 1527. Scritto da Francesco Vettori. [Summary of the history of Italy, from 1512 to 1527; written by Francesco Vettori.]

This is a very remarkable little work; by the friend of Machiavel, a sensible man, and Guicciardini, who was intimately acquainted with the affairs of the house of Medici, as well as with those of the Italian peninsula in general. I found it in the Corsini Library in Rome, but could only take extracts; I should otherwise have requested permission to get it printed, which it well deserves to be.

The plague of 1527 drove Vettori from Florence, and it was at his villa that he wrote this review of the most recent events.

His attention is directed principally to Florentine affairs: in opinion he approximates closely to those of his friends above mentioned. In treating of the modes of government adopted in his native city by the Medici, in the year 1512, which were such that everything was in the hands of Cardinal Medici, afterward Leo X, he says: "The city was reduced to this, that nothing could be done there, excepting only what

it pleased Cardinal Medici to do." He adds, that this was called tyranny, but that he for his part knew no state, whether principality or republic, wherein there was not something tyrannical. "All those principalities or republics of which I have knowledge, whether from history or from personal observation, appear to me to have a certain odor of tyranny." The example of France or of Venice may be objected to him; but in France the nobles held the preponderance in the state and monopolized the church patronage. In Venice 3,000 men were seen to rule, and not always justly, over 100,000: between the King and the tyrant there is no other difference than this, that an upright governor deserves to be called a king, a bad one merits the name of tyrant.

Notwithstanding the intimate terms on which he stood with both the Popes of the house of Medici, he is far from being convinced of the Christian character of the papal power. "Whoever will carefully consider the law of the gospel will perceive that the pontiffs, although they bear the name of Christ's vicar, yet have brought in a new religion which has nothing of Christ but the name: for whereas Christ enjoins poverty, they desire riches; while he commands humility, they will have pride; and where he requires obedience, they are resolved to command all the world." It will be manifest that this worldliness of character and its opposition to the spiritual principle, contributed largely to prepare the way for Protestantism.

The election of Leo is attributed by Vettori above all else to the opinion entertained of his good nature. Two terrible Popes had preceded him, and people had had enough of them. "He had known so well how to dissemble, that he was considered a man of excellent moral conduct." The person who took the most active part in his election was Bibbiena, who knew the inclinations of all the cardinals, and managed to win them over even in opposition to their own interests. "When out of the conclave he induced some of them to promise, and when in it he led them to consent to the said election in despite of all the reasons against it."

The expedition of Francis I in the year 1515, with the deparment of Leo during that campaign, are admirably described by Vettori. That no more unfortunate consequences resulted from it to the Pope, he attributes principally to the clever management of Tricarico, who entered the French camp at the moment when the King was mounting his horse to oppose the Swiss at Marignano, and who afterward conducted the negotiations with the utmost prudence.

Then follow the commotions of Urbino. I have already described the reasons alleged by Vettori on the part of Leo. "Leo said that if he did not deprive the duke of his States (who, after he had taken service with him and received his money, had then gone over to the enemy in the very heat and ardor of the war, not considering that he was the Pope's subject, or being restrained by any other consideration), there was no baron so insignificant but that he would dare do the same or worse; that having found the pontificate respected he would leave it so. And it is certain that if the Pope desired to continue living as his predecessors had lived for many tens of years bygone, he could not permit the crime of the duke to go unpunished."

Vettori composed, besides, a life of Lorenzo de' Medici. He praises him more than any other writer has done, and places his administration of the Florentine government in a new and peculiar light. That biography and the summary we are now considering complete and explain each other.

He treats, also, of the election of the Emperor, which fell within that period, affirming that Leo assisted the efforts of the King of France

only because he was previously convinced that the Germans would not elect him. The calculation of Leo, according to Vettori, was that Francis I, in order to prevent the election of Charles, would give his interest to some German prince. I find the unexpected declaration, which I do not, indeed, desire to have implicitly accepted, that the King really did at length endeavor to secure the election of Joachim of Brandenburg. "The King . . . having turned his favor toward the Marquis of Brandenburg, one of the electors, was content that the money promised to those electors who would vote for himself should be given to such of them as would elect the said marquis." It is certain that the conduct of Joachim, on occasion of that election, was very extraordinary. The whole history of this occurrence—strangely misrepresented, both intentionally and unintentionally—well merits to receive, once for all, a satisfactory elucidation.*

The treaty of Leo with the Emperor Charles was considered by Vettori to have been imprudent beyond all comprehension. "The evil destiny of Italy induced him to do that which no prudent man would have done." He lays the blame of this more particularly to the persuasions of Geronimo Adorno. Of the natural considerations by which the house of Medici was influenced he does not choose to speak.

Of Pope Leo's death he relates certain of those particulars which I have adopted in the text. He does not believe him to have been poisoned. "It was said that he died of poison; and this is almost always said of great men, more especially when they die of acute diseases." He is of opinion that there was more cause for surprise at Leo's having lived so long.

He confirms the assertion that Adrian refused, in the first instance, to do anything against the French; it was only after receiving a pressing letter from the Emperor that he agreed to contribute some little aid toward opposing them.

It would lead us too far if we were here to adduce all the remarks made in this work with relation to the subsequent course of events; it is nevertheless remarkable and worthy of attention, even in cases where the author does but express his own opinion. In these, as we have said, he makes a near approach to Machiavel, and has an equally bad opinion of mankind. "Almost all men are flatterers, and are ever ready to say what is likely to please great men, even though they may think very differently in their hearts." He declares the violation of the Treaty of Madrid by Francis I to have been the best and most noble action that had been performed for many centuries. "Francis did a very proper and suitable thing in making large promises without any purpose of fulfilling them, that he might put himself in a condition to defend his country." A mode of thinking worthy of the "Prince."

But Vettori proves himself to have held a kindred spirit in other respects with the great authors of that age. The work before us is full of originality and spirit, and is rendered all the more attractive by its brevity. The author speaks only of what he actually knows, but that is of great importance. It would require a more circumstantial examination than we have given to do him justice.

*I have myself endeavored, since writing the above, to make a somewhat nearer approach, in my German history,

to the truth as regards this matter.—
Note to the second edition.

No. 17

Sommario di la relatione di S. Marco Foscari, venuto orator del sommo pontefice a di 2 Marzo 1526. [Summary of the report presented by Marco Foscari on returning from his embassy to the Supreme Pontiff, March 2, 1526.] In Sanuto, vol. 41.

Marco Foscari was one of those ambassadors who proceeded to Rome to offer allegiance to Pope Adrian VI. He appears to have remained in Rome from that time until 1526.

He treats, to a certain extent, of the times of Adrian; but his remarks in relation to Clement VII are all the more important from the fact that, in consequence of the close connection existing in those days between Venice and the Pope, he had uninterrupted and animated intercourse with that pontiff.

He describes Clement in the following manner: "A prudent and wise man, but slow to resolve, and thence it is that he is irresolute and changeable in his proceedings. He reasons well, and sees everything, but is very timid. In matters of state, no one is permitted to influence him; he hears all, but then does what he thinks most fitting. He is a just man, a man of God; and in the *segnatura*, which is composed of three cardinals and three referendaries, he will never do anything to the prejudice of others, and when he signs any petition he never revokes what he has granted, as Pope Leo used to do. This pontiff does not sell benefices, nor bestow them simonically. When he gives benefices, he does not take offices in their place that he may sell them, as Pope Leo and other popes have done, but will have everything proceed regularly and legally. He does not squander the revenue or give it in presents, nor does he take from others; hence he is reputed to be parsimonious. There is, likewise, some dissatisfaction in Rome on account of Cardinal Armelino, who has devised many expedients for raising money and has imposed new duties, even taxing those who bring thrushes and other eatables into Rome. . . . He is extremely continent, and is not known to indulge in any kind of luxury or pleasure. . . . He will have no jesters, comedians, or musicians; nor does he hunt. His only amusement is the conversation of engineers, with whom he talks about waterworks and such matters."

He next speaks of the Pope's advisers. He would not permit his nephew to exercise any power; even Giberto had very little influence in state affairs. "The Pope hears him, but then proceeds in his own manner." He considers that Giberto, "who is pious and wise," is favorable to the French, but that Schomberg, "who uses great freedom of speech," was disposed to the imperialists. The Emperor had a firm adherent also in Zuan Fioletta, who was less frequently in attendance on the Pope from the time that Clement had formed his league with France. Foscari alludes also to the two secretaries of the Pope, Giacopo Salviati and Francesco Vizardini (Guicciardini); he considers the latter the more able man, but quite in the French interest.

It is worthy of remark that the Pope was not on much better terms with the French than with the imperialists. He perceived clearly what he had to expect at their hands. He felt himself to be truly allied with Venice alone. "He knows that if it were not for our Signory he would be ruined and hunted out of Rome."

Rome and Venice maintained and fortified each other in their efforts for Italian interests, and considered their honor to consist in upholding them. The Pope was proud of having prevented Venice from coming

to an understanding with the Emperor. Our ambassador, on the other hand, directly asserts that it was himself (Foscari) by whom Italy had been made free. He tells us that Clement had already determined to acknowledge Bourbon as Duke of Milan, but that he had so earnestly dissuaded him from doing so, as at length to prevail on him, and he changed his purpose.

He affirms that the Pope would grant the Emperor the dispensation needful for his marriage only on certain conditions; a fact not alluded to in the instruction given above,* but that the Emperor had contrived to obtain it without these conditions.

There is a certain peculiarity to be remarked in respect to this "Relatione." When the ambassadors were directed at a later period to prepare and present their reports in writing, Marco Foscari did so as well as the others, but we are instantly struck by the fact that the second relation is infinitely feebler than the first. The latter was written immediately after the occurrences described in it, and while all was fresh in the recollection of the writer; but so many important events took place afterward, that the recollection of the earlier facts had become faint and obscure. We learn from this how much we are indebted to the diligence of the indefatigable Sanuto. This is the last report, of which my knowledge is derived from his chronicle. There follow others which were preserved in private copies revised by their authors.

No. 18

Relatione riferita nel consiglio di pregadi per il clarissimo Gaspar Contarini, ritornato ambasciatore del papa Clemente VII e dal imperatore Carlo V, Marzo, 1530. Informazioni Politiche XXV. [Report presented in the Council of the Senate by the Most Illustrious Gaspar Contarini on returning from his embassy to Pope Clement VII, and to the Emperor Charles V, March, 1530. Informationi Politiche, 25.] Berlin Library.

This is the same Gaspar Contarini of whom we have had occasion to speak so highly in our history.

After having been already engaged in an embassy to Charles V (his report of which is extremely rare—I have seen one copy of it only in the Albani palace in Rome—he was chosen as ambassador to the Pope in 1528, before the latter had returned to Rome, after so many misfortunes and so long an absence. Contarini accompanied the pontiff from Viterbo to Rome, and from Rome to the coronation of the Emperor at Bologna. In the latter city he took part in the negotiations.

Of all that he witnessed in Viterbo, Rome, and Bologna, he here gives a relation, to which we have but one objection, namely, that his narrative is so extremely brief.

The embassy of Contarini took place at that important period when the Pope was gradually becoming disposed again to enter into such an alliance with the Emperor as had formerly been concluded between that monarch and the Medici. The ambassador very soon remarks with astonishment, that the Pope, notwithstanding the grievous injuries and offences he had received from the imperialists, was yet more inclined to give his confidence to them than to the allies, a disposition in which he was confirmed principally by Musettola; "a man," says Contarini, "of sufficient ability and talent, but of still more loquacity and boldness." While the fortune of war remained undecided, the Pope would

* See No. 15.

come to no resolution; but when the French were defeated and the imperialists gradually evinced a readiness to resign the fortresses they had occupied, he no longer hesitated. In the spring of 1529, the Pope was already on good terms with the Emperor, and in June they concluded their treaty, the conditions of which Contarini could not obtain sight of without great difficulty.

Contarini also describes the persons with whom he acted.

The Pope was rather tall and was well formed. He had at that time scarcely recovered from the effects of so many misfortunes and those of a severe illness. "He is neither affected by strong attachment nor violent hatred," says Contarini; "he is choleric, but restrains himself so powerfully that none would suspect him of being so. He is certainly desirous of relieving those evils by which the Church is oppressed, but does not adopt any effectual measures for that purpose. With regard to his inclinations, it is not easy to form a positive opinion: it appeared for some time that he took the matter of Florence somewhat to heart, yet he now suffers an imperial army to march against the city."

Contarini remarks that many changes had been made in the ministry of Clement VII.

The datary Giberto always retained a larger share than any other person of his master's confidence; but after the measures adopted under his administration had resulted in so disastrous an issue, he retired of his own accord, and thenceforward devoted himself to his bishopric of Verona. Niccolò Schömberg, on the contrary, after an embassy on which he had been sent to Naples, had returned to take active part in the most important affairs. Contarini considers him to lean greatly to the imperialists, a man of good understanding and beneficent habits, but violent withal. Giacopo Salviati had also great influence, and was at that time still believed to be in the interests of France.

Although this paper is very short, it nevertheless supplies us with much instructive matter.

No. 19

Instructio data Cæsari a Reverendissimo Campeggio in dieta Augustana, 1530. ["Instructions" given to the Emperor by the Most Reverend Cardinal Campeggio at the Diet of Augsburg, 1530.] MS. Rom.

Up to this time political affairs had been treated as most important, but ecclesiastical matters now gradually obtained the larger share of attention. At the very commencement of this change we meet with that sanguinary proposal for the reduction of Protestantism to the Catholic power of which I have previously spoken, and which is here even called an "Instruction."

The cardinal remarks that, in conformity with the position he holds and with the commission of the Apostolic See, he would proceed to set forth the measures which, according to his judgment, ought to be adopted.

He describes the state of affairs in the following manner: "In certain parts of Germany, all the Christian rites which were given to us by the ancient holy fathers have been abrogated in accordance with the suggestions of these scoundrels; the sacraments are no longer administered, vows are not observed, marriages are contracted irregularly, and within the degrees prohibited by the laws," etc., for it would be superfluous to transcribe this *capucinade*.

He reminds the Emperor that "this sect" would not procure him any increase of power, as he had been promised; and assures him of

his own spiritual aid in the event of his adopting the counsels suggested. "And I, if there shall be need, will pursue them with ecclesiastical censures and penalties, omitting nothing that it may be needful to do. I will deprive the beneficed heretics of their benefices, and will separate them by excommunication from the Catholic flock. Your highness also, with your just and awful imperial ban, will subject them to such and so horrible an extermination that either they shall be constrained to return to the holy Catholic faith, or shall be utterly ruined and despoiled both of goods and life. And if any there be, which God forbid, who shall obstinately persevere in that diabolical course, . . . the aforesaid (your Majesty) will then take fire and sword in hand, and will radically extirpate these noxious and venomous weeds."

To the Kings of England and France, also, Campeggio proposes the confiscation of all property held by heretics.

He generally keeps his attention fixed, however, on the affairs of Germany, and shows how it was believed that the articles of the Treaty of Barcelona, to which he continually recurs, might be interpreted. "It will be well and to the purpose that when this magnificent and Catholic undertaking shall have been put firmly and directly on its way, there should be chosen, some few days after, efficient and holy inquisitors, who, with the utmost diligence and assiduity, should go about seeking and inquiring if there be any (but far be it from them) who persist in these diabolical and heretical opinions, nor will by any means abandon them, . . . in which case they shall be castigated and punished according to the rule and practice observed in Spain with regard to the Moors."

Happily all were not of this opinion; nor indeed can such recommendations be said to prevail to any great extent in the documents that we have examined.

No. 20

Relatio viri nobilis Antonii Suriani doctoris et equitis, qui reversus est orator ex curia Romana, presentata in collegio 18 Julii, 1533. [Report of the most noble Antonio Suriano, doctor and knight, on his return from an embassy to the Roman court, presented in the college July 18, 1533.] Archivio di Venetia.

"Among the most important circumstances," he begins by remarking, "that ambassadors accredited to princes are bound to observe, are the personal qualities of those sovereigns."

He first describes the character of Clement VII. He is of opinion that if the regularity of this pontiff's life and habits be principally considered, his unwearied diligence in giving audience and assiduous observance of all ecclesiastical ceremonies, he will be supposed to have a "melancholy temperament;" but that those who know him well declare him to be rather of "sanguine temperament," only cold at heart—so that he is very slow to resolve, and readily permits himself to be dissuaded from his resolutions.

"For my own part, I do not think that in matters pertaining to the State, his holiness proceeded with any great dissimulation, being cautious indeed; but such things as his holiness does not wish to be known, he passes over silently in preference to describing them under false colors."

With regard to the Ministers of Clement VII, those to whom the earlier reports allude most frequently, are no longer in power—they are not even mentioned. Giacomo Salviati, on the other hand, comes

prominently forward, holding the principal administration of Romagna and directing the government of the ecclesiastical dominions generally. With respect to these matters, the Pope relied implicitly on him. It is true that the pontiff perceived him to have his own interests too constantly in view, and had complained of this even in Bologna, but he permitted him to continue employed in public affairs.

But precisely for that cause, Salviati was detested by the other connections of the Pope. They considered him to stand in their way; and when Clement was less liberal to them than they desired, they ascribed it to Salviati. "It appears to them that he persuades the Pope to keep his hands closed, and not to furnish them with money according to their appetite, which is great for spending and dissipating."

But the kinsmen of Clement were also very much at variance among themselves. Cardinal Ippolito Medici would have preferred remaining in a secular state, but the Pope did but remark, in relation to this matter, that he was "a mad devil, and did not wish to be a priest." It was, nevertheless, exceedingly vexatious to the Pope when Ippolito really made attempts to expel Duke Alexander from Florence.

Cardinal Ippolito lived on terms of strict friendship with the young Catherine de' Medici, who is here called the "Duchessina." She was his "cousin, in the third degree, with whom he lives in great affection, being equally beloved by her in return; there is no one in whom she more confides, and in all her wants and wishes she applies to no one but to the said cardinal."

Suriano describes the child who was destined to hold so important a position in the world as follows: "Her disposition is lively, her character firm and spirited, her manners good. She has been brought up and educated by the nuns of the convent "Delle Murate," in Florence, ladies of excellent reputation and holy life. She is small in person and thin; her features are not delicate, and she has the large eyes peculiar to the house of Medici."

Suitors from all quarters presented themselves to seek her hand. The Duke of Milan, the Duke of Mantua, and the King of Scotland desired her as their consort; but various objections were made to all these princes: the French marriage was at that time not yet decided. "In accordance with his irresolute nature," remarks Suriano, "the Pope speaks sometimes with greater, and sometimes with less earnestness respecting this match."

But he thinks that the pontiff is certainly disposed to conclude the French alliance, in order that he may win the French party in Florence to his own side. On other points he treats of the foreign relations of the Papal See very briefly, and with much reserve.

No. 21

Relazione di Roma d' Antonio Suriano. [Report from Rome, by Antonio Suriano, 1536.] Foscarini MS. in Vienna and Library of St. Mark, Venice.

The copies of this report are of varied date, from 1535 to 1539. The correct date I consider to be 1536; first, because the Emperor's return to Rome is mentioned in the report, and this took place in April, 1536; and next, because there is a letter extant, from Sadolet to Suriano, dated Rome, November 1536, which proves that the ambassador must have left the papal capital before that date.

This is a letter (Epp. Sadoleti, p. 383), of which the purport is

greatly to the honor of Suriano: "You rendered to me those good offices which a brother is wont to lend a brother, or a kind father a son; although nothing on my part called forth these services."

Three days after the communication of the preceding report, on July 21, 1533, Suriano was again appointed ambassador to Rome.

The new report describes the further progress of those events previously alluded to, more particularly the conclusion of the French marriage, which does not appear to have been satisfactory to all the papal connections. "I will not conceal that this marriage was contracted against the wish of Giacompo Salviati; and still more against that of the Signora Lucretia, his wife, who labored to dissuade the Pope from it, even to the extent of using reproachful words." This was doubtless because the Salviati were then disposed to favor the imperialists. Suriano further treats of that remarkable interview between the Pope and Emperor, to which we have already called attention. The Pope conducted himself with the utmost caution and forethought, and would have no written agreement prepared. "Clement lent himself to all that was desired, with words of such a character that he made him believe his holiness to be disposed in all things to his will, but without making any arrangement in writing." The Pope wished to have no war—none, at least, in Italy; he desired only to keep the Emperor in check. "By means of these fears; to secure himself from the dread of a council."

Gradually the council became the principal consideration of the papal policy. Suriano discusses the points of view under which the Roman Court considered this question, in the commencement of the pontificate of Paul III. Already Schonberg declared that it would be agreed to only on condition that whatever was brought before it should be first submitted to the Pope and cardinals, to be examined, discussed, and determined on in Rome.

Section II.—Critical Remarks on Sarpi and Pallavicini

The Council of Trent, its preliminaries, convocation, twice repeated dissolution, and final assemblage, with all the motives contributing to these events, engrosses a large portion of the history of the sixteenth century. The immeasurable importance of its effect on the definitive establishment of the Catholic system of faith, and its relation to that of the Protestants, I need not here insist on. This council forms precisely the central point of those theological and political discords which mark the century.

It has accordingly been made the subject of two elaborate historical delineations, each original, and both in themselves of great importance.

But not only are these works directly opposed to each other, they have also been made a cause of quarrel by the world, in regard to the historian as well as to facts recorded. Thus, even to our own times, Paolo Sarpi is received by one party as honest and trustworthy, while Pallavicini is accounted fallacious and unworthy of belief; by the other party, Pallavicini is declared to merit implicit credence, while Sarpi is affirmed to be almost proverbially mendacious.

On approaching these voluminous works, we are seized with a sort of terror. It would be a sufficiently difficult task to make one's self master of their contents, even did they treat only of authentic and credible matters; but how much more formidable is that task rendered

by the fact that we have to be on our guard at every step, lest we should be falsely directed by one or the other, and drawn into a labyrinth of intentional deceptions!

It is, nevertheless, impossible to test their authenticity step by step, by means of facts better known to other authorities; for where could impartial information respecting this subject be found? And even could we find them, fresh folios would be required before we could effect a satisfactory investigation.

There is, then, nothing remaining to us but the attempt at gaining a clear comprehension of the method pursued by each of our authors.

For we are not to consider all that appears in the works of a historian as belonging to himself, more particularly in works so comprehensive and so rich in matter as those in question. He receives the great mass of his facts from various sources, and it is in the mode of treatment to which he subjects his materials, and the mastery he obtains over them, that we first become acquainted with the individual man, who is himself the pervading spirit of his work and in whom its unity must be sought. Even in these folios, from which industry itself recoils in terror, the presence of a poet makes itself felt.

Storia del Concilio Tridentino di Pietro Soave Polano.

It was in England, and by the agency of Domini of Spalatro, an archbishop converted to Protestantism, that this work was first published. Although Fra Paolo Sarpi never acknowledged himself to be the author, there is yet no doubt that it is due to him. It may be gathered from his letters that he was occupied with such a history. There is a copy in Venice, which he had himself caused to be made, and which has corrections by his own hand; and it may be affirmed that he was precisely the only man who could, at any time, have composed a history such as that now before us.

Fra Paolo stood at the head of a Catholic opposition to the Pope, the hostility of which proceeded originally from political motives; but this party held views similar to those of the Protestants on many points, from having adopted the principles of St. Augustine, and were indeed occasionally charged with Protestantism.

But Sarpi's work is not to be at once regarded with suspicion on account of these opinions. The whole world may be said to have been then divided between decided adherents and decided opponents of the Council of Trent; from the former there was nothing but eulogy to be expected, from the latter nothing but reproach. The position of Sarpi was, upon the whole, removed from the influence of both these conflicting parties; he had no inducement to defend the Council on every point, nor was he under the necessity of wholly condemning it. His position secured to him the possibility of examining passing events with an unprejudiced eye; it was only in the midst of an Italian Catholic republic that he could have gathered the materials requisite for that purpose.

If we desire to attain a correct idea of the mode in which he proceeded to his labor, we must first recall to memory the methods by which great historical works were composed down to Sarpi's time.

Writers had not then imposed on themselves the task either of gathering materials into a complete and uniform body, a thing always so difficult to do, nor yet of subjecting them to a critical examination; they did not insist on exploring original sources of information, nor, finally, did they elaborate, by intellectual effort, the mass of matter before them.

How few, indeed, are they who impose on themselves this labor, even in the present day.

At that time, authors were content not only to take those authorities which were generally considered authentic as the basis of their histories, but they proceeded further, and even adopted whole passages, simply completing the narration where that was practicable, by means of the new materials which they had brought together and which were interpolated at the points requiring them. This done, their principal care then was to give all this matter a regular and uniform style.

It was thus that Sleidan formed his work out of the documents relating to the history of the Reformation, as he could best procure them; these he then linked together without much discrimination or critical labor, transforming them by the coloring of his Latinity into one uniform whole.

Thuanus has transferred, without scruple, long passages from other historians to his own pages. He has taken Buchanan's "Scottish History," for example, has separated its various parts, and inserted them amid the different portions of his work. His English history was supplied to him from materials sent by Camden; the German he takes from Sleidan and Chytraeus, the Italian from Adriani, and the Turkish he has borrowed from Busbequius and Leunclavius.

It is true that this was a method whereby there was but little chance for securing originality, and, as one of its consequences, the reader frequently receives the work of another as that of the author whose name is on the title-page. It has been revived and again adopted in our own day, more especially by the writers of French memoirs, who are, indeed, altogether without excuse, for it should be the peculiar characteristic of these works to communicate the unaltered original.

To return to Sarpi. In the very commencement of his work he places before us the following undisguised account of his own position.

"It is my purpose to write the History of the Council of Trent. For, though many renowned historians of our age have touched upon separate points thereof in their various works, and Johann Sleidan, a very accurate writer, has related the previous causes which gave rise to it (*'le cause antecedenti'*) with infinite diligence, yet were all these matters put together, they would not present a circumstantial narration. As soon as I began to concern myself with the affairs of mankind, I felt a great desire to obtain a thorough knowledge of that history; and when I had gathered all that I found written regarding it, whether such documents as had been printed or those that had been scattered about in manuscript, I began to seek further among the papers left by the prelates and others who had taken part in the council, and so to examine such intelligence as they had furnished in regard to the matter, with the votes they had given, as recorded either by themselves or others, and all information transmitted by letters from the city of Trent at the time of the Council. In doing this, I have spared no pains or labor, and have had the good fortune to procure a sight of whole collections of notes and letters from persons who took a large part in those negotiations and transactions. When I had thus brought together so many documents, furnishing more than sufficient materials for a narrative, I resolved to put them in order and form a connected relation of them."

Sarpi has here described his position with evident simplicity. We see him on the one side placed amid the historians whose accounts he arranges and links together, but which he does not find sufficient, and on the other side we perceive him to be provided with manuscript materials, from which he completes what has been left deficient by his printed auxiliaries.

Unhappily, Sarpi has not supplied us with a detailed enumeration of these authorities, whether manuscript or printed, neither had that been the method of his predecessors; he gave his whole care, as they had done, to the purpose of weaving a well-ordered agreeable history, and which should be complete in itself, out of the mass of intelligence that he had found.

Meanwhile we are enabled to ascertain of what printed historians he availed himself, even without requiring these particulars, and we find that these were for the earlier periods Jovius and Guicciardini; next Thuanus and Adriani, but principally Sleidan, whom he has besides mentioned by name.

For example, in the whole of his narrative describing the state of affairs at the time of the Interim, and after the transfer of the Council to Bologna, he had Sleidan before him. It was but in a few instances that he consulted the sources whence that author had derived his information; in all other cases he has nothing but Sleidan.

It will repay our labor to examine his mode of proceeding, and will conduct us a step further in the examination we have undertaken.

He not unfrequently gives a direct translation of Sleidan—a free one certainly, but still a translation. In regard to the negotiations of the Emperor with the princes, for example, as touching their preliminary submission to the authority of the Council of Trent (Sleidan, lib. xix. p. 50):

“And the palatine was indeed afraid that unless he complied evil might ensue, because of the offence given the year before, of which the wound, as we have said, was scarcely closed. Maurice, also, desiring that his father-in-law, the landgrave, should be liberated, and having besides lately received advantages from the Emperor, perceived that something must be done. Thus when the Emperor had sent them by his envoys repeated promises and assurance of his friendly intention, entreating them to remit those matters to his good faith, they finally consented, on the twenty-fourth of October. All that remained was the free cities, but they perceived that it would be a perilous thing for them to submit to the decrees of the Council without exception. Then Granvella and Hasius labored with them for many days, and in the meantime it was declared throughout the city that those who refused to yield to what all the princes had approved, were to be held refractory; menaces also were bruited abroad to the effect that they would be curbed more sharply than before. Finally, a method was discovered by which the Emperor might be satisfied, and which was also safe for themselves. When, therefore, they were called before the Emperor, they declared that they did not take it upon them to correct the response of the princes; but at the same time they presented a document, wherein they had testified under what conditions they would approve the Council. The Emperor having heard their words, replied by means of Seld, that it was pleasing to him that they should follow the example of the others, and agree with the rest to leave the matter with him.” (Sarpi, lib. iii. p. 283.)

“Entreaties to the Elector Palatine were a kind of menace, on account of his recent offences, which had been lately pardoned: in the case of Maurice, Duke of Saxony also, there was a necessity for compliance, because of the many benefits that he had just received from the Emperor, and also because he desired to liberate the Landgrave, his father-in-law. For which causes, and on the Emperor's promising them that he would take measures to secure them all due satisfaction from the Council, at the same time that he requested them to confide in him, they ultimately consented to do so, and were followed by the ambassadors

of the Elector of Brandenburg, and all the other princes. The cities refused, considering it a dangerous thing to submit themselves indifferently to all the decrees of the council. Granvella negotiated much, and at great length with their ambassadors, charging them indeed with obstinacy for refusing to agree to that which had been approved by the princes, adding a sort of threat that they should be condemned in a larger amount than that already paid. Wherefore they were finally compelled to yield to the Emperor's will, but taking caution, nevertheless, for the observance of the promises. Then, being called into the presence of the Emperor, and questioned as to whether they would conform to the resolution of the princes, they replied that it would be too bold in them to wish to correct the answer of the princes, and together with this, they gave in a writing containing the conditions on which they would be willing to receive the council. The paper was received but not read; and they were commended by the Chancellor, in the Emperor's name, for having remitted all to the Emperor, and confided themselves to him according to the example of the others: the Emperor himself also made a show of being much pleased with this. Thus both parties chose to be deceived."

Even in this translation it is obvious that Sarpi does not adhere with strict truth to the facts laid before him. It is not affirmed by Sleidan that Granvella threatened the cities; what the German describes as a mere common rumor, the Italian puts into the mouth of the minister. The expedient adopted in the matter of the cities is more clearly expressed in the original than in the translation, and as in this instance, so it is in innumerable other passages.

If that were all, there would be nothing further to remark: the reader would merely require to bear constantly in mind that he had a somewhat arbitrary paraphrase of Sleidan before him: but we occasionally meet with alterations of a more important character.

In the first place, Sarpi had not acquired an accurate idea of the constitution of the Empire; he has, in fact, always in his thoughts a constitution consisting of three estates—the clergy, the temporal sovereigns, and the cities. He not unfrequently alters the expressions of his author, for the purpose of bringing them into harmony with his own peculiar and erroneous conception of the matter. Sleidan, for example (lib. xx. p. 108), discusses the votes given in respect of the Interim in the three colleges. 1. In the Electoral College. The three ecclesiastical electors are in its favor, the three secular electors are opposed to it: "It is true that the other three electors were not of that opinion, especially the Palatine and Maurice; but both had causes for not dissenting from the will of the Emperor." 2. By the College of Princes: "The other princes, who are for the most part bishops, reply in the same manner with Mayence and his colleagues." 3. "Of the cities no great account was taken." Now, from this Sarpi makes what follows (lib. iii. p. 300): the votes of the three ecclesiastical electors he gives as Sleidan has done, but proceeds thus: "To the opinion of whom, all the bishops attached themselves; the temporal princes remained silent, that they might not offend the Emperor; and, led by their example, the ambassadors of the cities spoke little, nor was any account made of that little." Thus, what Sleidan has said of two electors, is here extended to all the temporal princes. The bishops are made to appear as if giving their votes separately, and all the odium is thrown upon them. The high importance to which the council of the princes of the empire had at that time attained, is completely misunderstood. Even in the passages cited above, Sarpi affirms that the princes had gone over to the opinion of the electors; while the fact was, that they had already expressed a

decision of their own, which differed from that of the electoral princes on very many points.

But it is of still higher moment that Sarpi, while adopting the statements he finds in Sleidan, and inserting them together with statements which he finds elsewhere, and which he extracts or translates, has also interwoven his own remarks and observations through the whole course of the narrative. Let us examine the nature of these, for this is extremely remarkable.

For example, the worthy Sleidan (lib. xx. p. 58) repeats, without the least suspicion, a proposal of the Bishop of Trent, wherein three things are demanded: the reinstatement of the Council in Trent, the despatch of a legate into Germany, and a regulation, fixing the manner in which proceedings should be continued, in the event of a vacancy occurring in the Papal See. This, Sarpi translated literally, but interpolates the following remark: "The third requisition was added," he says, "to remind the Pope of his advanced age, and his approaching death, that he might thus be rendered more compliant and disposed to greater concessions, for he would surely not wish to leave the resentment of the Emperor as a legacy to his successor."

Such is the spirit of his observations throughout the work: they are steeped in gall and bitterness, one and all. "The legate summoned the assembly, and gave his opinion first; for the Holy Spirit, which is wont to move the legates in accordance with the wishes of the Pope, and the bishops in accordance with those of the legates, inspired them on this occasion in his usual manner."

According to Sleidan, the Interim was sent to Rome—"for there was still something conceded to the Protestants in it." According to Sarpi, the German prelates insisted on this, "for," says he, "they have labored from old times to maintain the papal authority in reverence, because this was the only counterpoise that could be presented to that of the Emperor, which they could not withstand but with the aid of the Pope, especially if the Emperor should once compel them to do their duty according to the practice of the primitive Christian Church, and should seek to restrain the abuses of the so-called ecclesiastical liberty within due limits."

It is obvious that Sarpi differs widely, upon the whole, from the compilers who preceded him. The abstract that he makes, the epitome he gives, is full of life and spirit. In despite of the foreign material that he works on, his style has an easy, pleasant, and agreeable flow; nor does the reader perceive the points of transition, when he passes from one author to another. But with these qualities there is, without doubt connected, the fact that his narration assumes the color of his own opinions: his systematic opposition to the Roman court, his ill-will or his hatred to the papacy, are constantly apparent, and so much the greater is the effect produced.

But Paolo Sarpi had, as we have seen, materials wholly different from any to be found in printed authorities; and from these it is that by far the most important part of his work has been derived.

He has himself distinguished the "interconciliary" and preliminary events from the proper history of the Council. He tells us that he desires to treat the former more in the manner of an annual register, or book for annals; the latter in that of a diary. He has also made another difference, which consists in this, that for the former he has for the most part adhered to the well-known and current authors; while for the latter, on the contrary, he has drawn from new sources, and used original documents.

The question first, in regard to these authorities, is, of what kind and nature they were.

And in reference to this, I cannot believe that he could obtain much information as to particulars from such a man as Oliva, secretary to the first legate sent to the Council; or from Ferrier, French ambassador to Venice, who was also at the Council. With respect to Oliva, indeed, Sarpi has committed a great error, since he describes him as leaving the Council before he really did so. The French documents were very soon printed. The influence of these men, who belonged to the malcontent party, with Sarpi, consisted in this, that they confirmed and strengthened the aversion he felt to the Council. The Venetian collections, on the other hand, supplied him with the original acts and documents in great number and completeness: letters of the legates, for example, as those of Monte; notes of secret agents, such as Visconti; reports of the nuncios, Chieragato, for example; circumstantial diaries, that had been kept at the Council; the "Lettere d' Avisi," and other memorials in vast numbers, and more or less authentic. Sarpi was in this respect so fortunate that he had opportunity for availing himself of some documents which have never since come to light, and which Pallavicini, notwithstanding the important and extensive aids afforded him, was not able to procure. For these, the inquirer into history must have recourse to the pages of Sarpi through all time.

There now remains only the question of how he employed these materials.

He has, without doubt, directly transferred some portions of them to his own work, with very slight modifications. Courayer assures us, that he had held in his hands a manuscript report on the congregations of the year 1563, which had been used and almost copied by Sarpi: "Que notre historien a consultée, et presque copiée mot pour mot."

I have in my possession a manuscript "Historia del S. Concilio di Trento scritta per M. Antonio Milledonne, Secr. Veneziano," which was also known to Foscarini (Lett. Venez. i. p. 351) and to Mendham, by a contemporary and well-informed author, and this, notwithstanding its extreme brevity, is by no means unimportant, in relation to the later sittings of the Council.

Now, I find that Sarpi has occasionally adopted this manuscript word for word. For example, Milledonne says: "Il senato di Norimbergo rispose al nontio Delfino, che non era per partirsi dalla confessione Augustana, e che non accettava il concilio, come quello che non aveva le conditioni ricercate da' protestanti. Simil risposta fecero li senati di Argentina e Francfort al medesimo nontio Delfino. Il senato di Augusta e quello di Olma risposero, che non potevano separarsi dalli altri che tenevano la confessione Augustana." The following are the words of Sarpi (p. 450):

"The Senate of Nuremberg replied to the nuncio Delfino, that they would not separate themselves from the Confession of Augsburg, and did not accept the Council, because the conditions required by the Protestants had not been accepted. The Senates of Strasburg and Frankfort made him a similar reply. The Senates of Augsburg and of Ulm, also, declared that they would not separate themselves from the others who held the Confession of Augsburg."*

Sarpi refrains from following Milledonne there only where the latter has used terms of praise, even though these eulogies are wholly unprejudiced.

* The translation here given is of the passage from Milledonne. The differences in Sarpi are simply verbal, and

would scarcely be appreciable in a translation.—Tr.

Thus Milledonne remarks that "Cardinal Gonzaga is well versed in affairs of state, from having governed the Duchy of Milan many years after the death of the duke, his brother, and while his nephews were in their minority. He is a gentleman of handsome presence, and elegant manners, frank and simple in speech, of upright mind and good disposition. Seripando, Archbishop of Salerno, is a Neapolitan and an Eremite friar; he is a most profound theologian, exceedingly conscientious, and singularly kind-hearted; he sincerely desires the universal welfare of Christendom."

Sarpi is much more reserved and frugal of praise in regard to these men: he remarks, for example: "He selected for the Council Fra Girolamo, Cardinal Seripando, a theologian of much renown." That he considers to be enough.

The letters of Visconti, which Sarpi had before him, were subsequently printed, and we perceive, on comparing them with his pages, that he has in some places kept very close to them. We have one example of this in vol. ii. p. 174, of Visconti, "*Lettres et Négotiations*:" "But some of the Spaniards who were there had received orders to affirm, in speaking of the institution of bishops and of residence, that these opinions were as true as the precepts of the Decalogue. On these two questions Segovia followed the opinion of Granada, declaring it to be an obvious truth that the residence and institution of bishops was of divine appointment, and that no one could deny it; adding, that it was all the more needful to make such a declaration in order to condemn the opinion of the heretics who held the contrary. Cadiz, Aliffe, Montemarano, and many other Spanish prelates adhered to the opinion of Segovia and Granada, but it pleased God that they should ultimately come to a right determination."

Then follows Sarpi, viii. 753: "Granada declared that it was an unworthy thing to have so long derided the fathers, by bringing the fundamental principle of the institution of bishops into question, and afterward entirely neglecting it; he required a declaration of divine right, affirming that he marvelled wherefore they had not maintained that point to be most true and infallible. He added, that they ought to prohibit as heretical all books that should assert the contrary. To which opinion Segovia adhered, declaring that it was manifest truth, that none could justly deny it, and that it ought to be affirmed, for the purpose of condemning the opinion of the heretics who held the contrary. Then followed also, Cadiz, Aliffe, and Montemarano, with the other Spanish prelates, of whom some maintained that their opinion was as true as the precepts of the Decalogue."

We perceive that Sarpi was no common transcriber, and the more we compare him with his sources, the more we become convinced of the talent he possessed for completing the connection of his materials, and for giving force and elevation to the manner of his authorities by some slight turn of expression. But equally obvious are the efforts he makes to strengthen all impressions unfavorable to the Council.

His unprinted sources are treated precisely in the same manner with his printed materials; nor could we indeed expect that it should be otherwise.

But it will be readily perceived that this method has occasionally much influenced his mode of presenting matters of fact. This appears among other instances in his account of the most important of the German religious conferences—that held at Ratisbon in 1541.

He here again follows Sleidan, and very closely; he had also, without doubt, the report which Bucer drew up in relation to this conference before him.

But in his mode of using these German authorities he again commits the same faults. The States twice returned replies to the proposals of the Emperor in this Diet, and each time they were divided among themselves. The electoral college was favorable to the Emperor's purpose; the college of princes was opposed to it. But there was a further difference, namely, that the princes gave way the first time, and did not do so on the second occasion; on the contrary, they returned a dissentient reply.

Sleidan seeks to explain the opposition of the college of princes by remarking that there were so many bishops among its members—certainly a very important point as regarded the constitution of the empire. But Sarpi completely destroys the essential meaning of this passage by persisting in calling the college of princes directly "bishops." Speaking of the first reply, he says, "the bishops refused;" of the second, "the bishops, with some few Catholic princes;" whereby, as we have said, he completely misrepresents the constitution of the empire.

But we will not dwell further on this point. The principal question is, in what manner he used those secret sources that were attainable to himself only, and which he might venture to believe would long remain unknown.

Toward the history of that Diet, he had the "Instructions" given to Contarini, and which Cardinal Quirini afterward caused to be printed, also from a Venetian manuscript.

And here we have first to remark, that what Sarpi found in the "Instructions," he has interwoven here and there into the conferences held between the legate and the Emperor.

We find in the "Instructions" for example: Those articles with respect to which they cannot agree among themselves, let them remit to us, and we, on the faith of a good pastor, and as universal pontiff, will give them due labor, either by a general council or by some other equivalent method, to see that an end be put to these controversies, not precipitately, but after mature consideration, and as a work of so much moment demands, to the effect that the remedy which is to be applied to these evils shall endure as long as may be."

Sarpi makes Contarini require, "that everything should be referred to the Pope, who promised, on the faith of a good pastor, and as universal pontiff, to secure that all should be determined by a general council, or by some equivalent means, with uprightness and without bias of human affection, not precipitately, but maturely."

In another place the "Instructions" proceed as follows: "Wherefore, from the beginning of our pontificate, to the end that this religious dissension might the more easily be brought back to the primitive concord, first, we very frequently exhorted the Christian princes to peace and true agreement by letters and by our nuncios; afterward, for that same cause, a general council was signified by us to Christian kings and princes, even by our own nuncios. Many things were treated and done in Germany on account of religion, without that reverence which is due to our authority, whereunto belongs the cognizance, examination, and judgment of all things appertaining to religion, the which we have understood not without heavy sorrow of heart. Yet, moved by the state of the times, and by the promises and assurances of imperial and royal sovereigns or their ambassadors, that the things there done had been done for the sake of some good end that was to follow, we have patiently borne for a time, etc."

Sarpi adds to this: "As his holiness in the beginning of his pontificate had for this very cause sent letters and nuncios to princes for the

convocation of a council, and afterward signified the place and sent his legates to it, so if he had endured that religion and its concerns should so often have been spoken of in Germany with little reverence toward his authority, to which it belongs to treat of them, he had done so because his Majesty had given him assurance and promises that this was done for a good end."

We have said enough to show that the declarations which Sarpi puts into the mouth of Contarini are taken directly from the "Instruction" itself; and when we are once made aware of how the matter stands, we can readily excuse him; yet it is not to be denied that truth is sometimes placed in jeopardy by this method of proceeding. The legate received instructions constantly altered to meet the exigencies arising from daily changes in the course of events. Sarpi represents him as proposing reasons for referring to Rome only the points on which no agreement had been come to, at a time when it was required in Rome that all should be submitted to the approbation of the Roman Court, not excepting even those points on which the parties had already agreed.

But to this first departure from his authority, where he has applied the words of an "Instruction" to a case for which they were never intended, he adds others of still greater importance.

The Pope declares himself in the "Instructions" to be strongly opposed to a national council: "You will recall to the memory of his imperial Majesty how much he always detested that council, and as well at Bologna as elsewhere, and said that nothing could be equally pernicious to the apostolical and to the imperial dignity as a national council of the Germans. He confessed also that there was no better way to avoid this than a general council; and furthermore, that his Majesty, after the Diet of Ratisbon in 1532, had ever labored, as was to be expected from his singular prudence, to prevent the holding of any imperial diet from that time forth, lest from that imperial diet there should arise occasion for a national diet."

This also Sarpi gives literally, and even cites it as taken from the "Instruction," but still with a remarkable addition: "That he should remind the Emperor how much he had himself detested the national council when he was at Bologna, as knowing it to be pernicious to the imperial authority; because subjects, taking courage from finding themselves granted power to change affairs of religion, would next think of changing matters of state; so that his Majesty, after 1532, would nevermore have an imperial diet held in his presence, that he might not give occasion for demanding a national council."

Who could avoid supposing from this that the Emperor had himself expressed the idea of a nation readily changing the form of its government, when once it had altered that of its religion? Yet, on this point, I cannot believe the author simply on his own assertion; nothing of the kind is to be found in the "Instruction": it is, indeed, a thought that did not obtain currency in the world until after the events of a later period.

I do not think my criticism will appear too minute. How shall we ascertain whether a writer speaks the truth or not, except by comparing him with the original authorities that he has had before him?

And I discover a deviation still more important than those that we have already observed.

Even in the first conference that he describes as taking place between the Emperor and Contarini, we find him interweaving the words of the "Instruction"—those important words to which we have already referred.

The Pope excuses himself for not having given to the cardinal so

full and extensive an authority as the Emperor and King desired to see him invested with. "First, because it is, before all, to be seen whether the Protestants will agree with us in our most essential principles, of which kind are these; that the primacy of this holy seat was instituted by God Himself and by our Saviour; those concerning the holy sacraments of the Church, with certain other matters which have been always observed and approved, as well by the authority of holy writ as by the perpetual observance of the Church, and with which we know you to be well acquainted; if these things were at once admitted from the beginning, an argument might be attempted on all other points of controversy."

Sarpi makes Contarini say, "That his holiness had given him all power to agree with the Protestants, provided they would admit the first principles, which were, the primacy of the Apostolic See instituted by Christ, and the other things determined in the bull of Leo, offering, in respect of all other questions, to give full satisfaction to Germany."

We see how a great difference is here; it was in the vague and undefined character of the Pope's words that the only possibility of an amicable issue lay. The conference could have had no conceivable object if this expedient had not left it the prospect of such an issue; but in Sarpi this is altogether done away with. The Pope is not merely desiring "*quædam quæ tibi nota esse bene scimus,*" but openly demands the recognition of the decrees contained in Leo's bull, the condemnation, that is, of the Lutheran tenets; this was a thing which was utterly impracticable.

Sarpi will by no means acknowledge that the Papal See gave proof of a disposition to conciliatory measures of any kind whatever. According to him, Contarini was compelled to assert the papal authority in its most rigorous forms. In Sarpi, Contarini begins at once with the declaration that "the Pope could by no means share the power of deciding on doubtful points of faith with any person whatsoever; to him, alone, was the privilege of infallibility accorded, in the words, 'I have prayed for thee, Peter;'" matters concerning which, in the "Instructions" at least, there is not a word to be found.

Upon the whole, Sarpi considered the papacy in the light proper to his times. After the restoration was accomplished, it became much more despotic and inflexible than it had been during the times of its danger and depression. But it was in its plenitude of power and in the perfection of its self-confidence that it stood before the eyes of Sarpi. He transferred to earlier times what he perceived and felt in his own: all the information he obtained, all the documents that passed through his hands, were interpreted in this spirit, which was entirely natural to him, and was derived from the position held by his native city, and by his party in that city, as also from his own personal condition.

We have yet another historical work by Paolo Sarpi, which relates to the dissensions between Rome and Venice in the year 1606: "*Historia particolare delle cose passate tra 'l summo pontefice Paolo V. e la Serenissima Repubblica di Venetia; Lion, 1624.*" This is written, for the most part, in a similar spirit. It is a masterly delineation, and, upon the whole, is true; still it is a party work. With regard to those dissensions existing among the Venetians themselves, which broke forth on that occasion and formed so important a characteristic of their domestic history, there is little or nothing to be found in Sarpi. To judge from what he says, it would appear that there was but one opinion in Venice; he is continually speaking of the "*princeps,*" by which name he designates the Venetian government. The employment of this

fiction scarcely permits him to attain to any very minute or exact representation of internal relations. He glides very lightly over such things as were but little to the honor of Venice—over that peculiar case mentioned in the text of the delivering up of the prisoners, for example, speaking as if he did not know why they were first given up to the ambassador, and then, with a different form of words, to the cardinal. Nor does he mention the fact that the Spaniards were favorable to the exclusion of the Jesuits. He had vowed an implacable hatred to both, and will not give himself the trouble to remark that their interests were on this occasion at variance.

It is much the same with his "History of the Council"; the original authorities, the sources of information, are collected with diligence, elaborated carefully, and used with the highest intelligence. Neither can we affirm that they are falsified, or that they are frequently and essentially perverted; but the conduct of the work is in the spirit of a decided opposition.

By this method, Sarpi laid open a new path. To what had been mere compilation, he gave the unity of a general and definite tendency. His work is disparaging, reproachful, and hostile. It is the first example of a history in which the whole development of the subject is accompanied by unceasing censures. The character of his work is far more decided in this respect than that of Thuanus, who first made a slight approach to that manner wherein Sarpi has found innumerable followers.

Istoria del Concilio di Trento scritta dal Padre Sforza Pallavicino della Compagnia di Gesu, 1664.

A book like the "History" of Sarpi, so richly furnished with details never before made known, so full of spirit and sarcasm, treating of an event so important, and one of which the consequences exercised a commanding influence on those times, could not fail to produce the deepest impression. The first edition appeared in 1619, and between that year and the year 1622 four editions of a Latin translation had been published. There were, besides, a German and a French translation. The Court of Rome was the more earnestly determined to have this work refuted, from the fact that it contained many errors which were immediately obvious to all who were accurately acquainted with the events of that period.

A Jesuit, Terentio Alciati, prefect of the studies in the Collegio Romano, immediately occupied himself with the collection of materials for a refutation, which should be also a circumstantial exposition of the subject. His book received the title of "*Historiæ Concilii Tridentini a veritatis hostibus evulgatæ Elenchus*;"* he amassed an enormous body of materials, but died in 1651, before he had brought them into order.

The general of the Jesuits, Goswin Nickel, selected another member of his order, Sforza Pallavicini, who had already given evidence of some literary talent, for the completion of the task, and for this purpose relieved him from all other occupations. The general appointed him to that work, we are told by Pallavicini himself, "as a *condottiere* appoints one of his soldiers."

He published the results of his labors in three thick quartos, of which the first appeared in the year 1656.

It is a work comprising an immense accumulation of material, and is

* It is so called in Mazzuchelli.

of the utmost importance to the history of the sixteenth century, beginning, as it does, from the commencement of the Reformation. The public archives were all thrown open to the author, and he had access to all that could promote his purpose, in the several libraries of Rome. Not only were the acts of the Council, in all their extent, at his command, but he had also the correspondence of the legates with Rome, together with various other collections of documentary evidence, and sources of information innumerable, all at his entire disposal. He is far from attempting to conceal his authorities; he rather makes a parade of their titles on the margin of his book; the number he cites is nearly countless.

His principal object is to refute Sarpi. At the end of each volume, he places a catalogue of the "errors, in matters of fact," of which he maintains that he has convicted his opponent; he reckons 361, but adds that he has confuted innumerable others which do not appear in the catalogue.

In his preface he announces that he "will not suffer himself to be drawn into any slight skirmishing; whoever shall propose to attack him may advance in full order of battle, and refute his whole book as he had wholly refuted Paolo Sarpi." But what an undertaking were that! We are not to be tempted into any such mode of proceeding.

We must be content, as we have said, with giving the means of forming an idea of Pallavicini's method by the collection of some few examples.

Since he drew from so many concealed records and other sources previously unknown, and in fact derived his whole work from their combination, our first inquiry must be directed to the manner in which he availed himself of these resources.

We shall do this with the more facility in cases where the original authorities used by Pallavicini have since been printed; but I have also been so fortunate as to have had a whole series of such documents as never have been printed, and which he has quoted, laid open to my examination; our first business must now be to compare the originals with his elaboration of their contents.

I will do this in respect to some few points consecutively.

1. And first, it must be acknowledged that Pallavicini has in many instances made very satisfactory use of the "Instructions" and other papers laid before him, and given faithful extracts. I have compared an "Instruction" received by the Spanish ambassador in November, 1562, for example; as also the answer returned to him by the Pope in March, 1563, and the new instructions despatched by the Pope to his nuncio, with the extracts made from these papers by Pallavicini, and have found them to be throughout in perfect harmony. (Pall. xx. 10: xxiv. 1.) He has simply availed himself of a right, when, in certain cases, he has made transpositions which do no injury to truth. It is indeed true that he occasionally softens the strength of the expression; as for example, where the Pope says that he had opened the Council again, only because he relied on the support of the King, and in the persuasion that the King would be his right arm, a guide and leader in all his purposes and proceedings. "The reliance we placed on the promise of his Majesty and his Ministers that they would assist us, caused us to enter boldly into this undertaking, expecting to have his Majesty for our right arm, and as a guide or leader in our every thought and action." He thus makes the Pope merely say that he would not have reopened the Council had he not cherished the expectation that the King would be his right arm and leader; but since he has suffered the substance to remain, there is no great cause for censure. In regard to

the mission of Visconti to Spain, and that of another ambassador to the Emperor, Sarpi is of opinion (viii. 61) that their commission to propose a meeting was a mere pretence; but this is too subtle a suspicion; the proposal for a congress, or a conference as it was then called, is one of the points most urgently insisted on in the "Instruction." Pallavicini is without doubt quite right in maintaining this.

2. But Pallavicini is not always the more correctly informed of these two writers. When Sarpi relates that Paul III had proposed to the Emperor Charles V, at the conference of Busseto, the investiture of his nephew, who had married a natural daughter of Charles, with the Fief of Milan, Pallavicini devotes an entire chapter to the refutation of this assertion. He will not believe the historians in whose works it appears. "How," he exclaims, "could the Pope then have ventured to write letters to the Emperor in such a tone as that he employed?" The Emperor might have at once reproached him with shameless dissimulation (*simulatione sfacciata*). Now, since Pallavicini is so much in earnest, we must needs believe that he is here writing *bonâ fide*. Yet the facts as related by Sarpi are nevertheless founded in truth. By the despatches of the Florentine ambassador, "Dispaccio Guicciardini, 26 Giugno, 1543," this is established beyond contradiction.

In a manuscript life of Vasto may be found still more circumstantial details respecting this matter. We will here cite a "Discorso" of Cardinal Carpi which tends to the same purpose. Nay, the Pope had not given up this idea even in the year 1547—Le cardinal de Bologne au roy Henry II., Ribbier, ii. 9: "One—the Pope—demands Milan, which he will never have; the other—the Emperor—requires 400,000 scudi, which he will not get without giving up Milan." Notwithstanding this, Pope Paul III did certainly write those letters.

3. But the question next arises whether Pallavicini's errors are generally made *bonâ fide*. This cannot have been the case in every instance; it sometimes happened that his documents were not so orthodox and Catholic as himself. While the passing events of the time were still in progress—while they were displaying themselves in all their varying aspects, and presenting the possibility of changing development and differing results, it was not possible to take views so rigorous in regard to them as were entertained when all was again established on its former basis. Such an agreement as that made at the Peace of Augsburg could not possibly be approved by the rigid orthodoxy of the seventeenth century. Pallavicini accordingly bemoans the most heavy injuries (*detrimenti gravissimi*) resulting from it to the Roman See; he compares it with a palliative which only brings on a more dangerous crisis. He had nevertheless found the report of a nuncio in relation to it, by whom its necessity was clearly perceived. This was Delfino, Bishop of Liesina. Pallavicini brings forward the report presented by that bishop to Cardinal Caraffa, and has, in fact, made use of it. But in what manner has he done this?

All the reasons by which Delfino proves the absolute necessity for this agreement, are changed by Pallavicini into so many grounds of exculpation alleged by the Emperor Ferdinand in defence of himself.

The nuncio says that there was at that time no prince and no city which had not some quarrel with its neighbors; these he specifies, and declares that the land was going to ruin—Brandenburg, Hesse, and Saxony, as if constituting an opposition diet, affirmed that they would hold together. The King had entreated the Emperor to make peace with France and to direct his attention to Germany, but he refused to do so. In the midst of all these disorders, the States assembled; the King then confirmed the points on which both parties had agreed, and

so joyfully had they done this (*si allegramente*), that since the days of Maximilian, Germany had never been so quiet as it then was.

Now on all these matters Pallavicini also touches (l. xiii. c. 13); but how much does he weaken the effect by placing these remarks in the mouth of a prince who is merely seeking to excuse himself!

"He excused himself for that by alleging that he had requested specific orders from the Emperor exhorting him to peace with France; and had reminded him that this was the only weapon wherewith they could crush the pride of the Protestants, etc." Let us contrast these ambiguous phrases with the words of Delfino. "The most serene King beholding these proceedings, wrote to his imperial Majesty, entreating him to make peace with the most Christian King, to the end that he might attend to the affairs of Germany, and might make himself obeyed, etc."

It is without doubt a great inaccuracy, and in a writer who boasts so loudly of his authentic information, altogether unpardonable, that he should convert the relation of a nuncio into the exculpation of a prince; but the worst aspect of this proceeding is, that the correct view of the occurrence becomes obscured by it.

The whole of the documents used are generally translated from the style of the sixteenth century into that of the seventeenth; but they are dishonestly treated.

4. If we confine ourselves to the relations existing between the Pope and Ferdinand I, we have still some few remarks to make. We know that the Emperor pressed and wished for a reform which was not very agreeable to the Pope. In the course of the first months of the year 1563, Pius twice sent his nuncios—first Commendone, and afterward Morone—to Innsbruck, where the Emperor resided at that time, in the hope of prevailing on him to desist from his opposition. These were very remarkable missions, and had important consequences as regarded the Council. The manner in which Pallavicini (xx. 4) has given the reports of these missions is an interesting subject of observation. We have the report of Commendone, February 19, 1563, which Pallavicini had also before him.

And respecting this we have first to remark that Pallavicini materially weakens the expressions employed at the imperial court, as well as the purposes entertained there. With regard to the alliance subsisting at that time between the Emperor and the French, as represented by Cardinal Lorraine, he makes Commendone say: "It was to be expected that they would confirm each other in opinion, and promise aid each to the other in their undertakings." Commendone expresses himself in a totally different manner. The imperial court did not merely propose to seek reform in common with the French. "They seem intent on ways and means for securing the greater weight and authority in the present Council, that, in conjunction with France, they may carry through all their measures."

But there are many things that Pallavicini omits entirely. An opinion prevailed at the imperial court that, with a more conciliatory disposition and by more earnest reforms, much better progress might have been made and more good effected with regard to the Protestants. "The sum of the matter is, that I think I have seen, not indeed in his Majesty, but in the principal Ministers, such as Trausen and Seld, a most earnest desire for reform and for the progress of the Council, with a firm hope that by remitting somewhat of the positive law, and by the reform of morals and discipline in the Church, they might not only preserve the Catholics in their faith, but even win over and bring back heretics; but there is also too fixed an opinion and impression that there are some here

who are resolved against all reform." I will not attempt to discover who those Protestants may have been from whom there was ground for expecting a return to the Catholic Church in the event of a regular reform; but these remarks are much too offensive to the courtier prelate to permit of Pallavicini's reporting them. Allusion being made to the difficulties found in the Council, Seld answered laconically: "Just counsels ought to have been adopted from the beginning." The complaints in respect of difficulties presented by the Council are reported by Pallavicini, but he suppresses the reply.

But, on the other side, he gives at full length a judgment pronounced by the chancellor in favor of the Jesuits.

We have said enough to show that he dwells on whatever he finds agreeable to his own ideas, but whatever does not suit himself and the Curia he passes lightly over, or chooses to know nothing of it. For example, the legates were opposed to the purpose of the bishops, who desired to exclude abbots and the generals of religious orders from voting on the question on the ground that they might not give offence to so many thousands of the regular clergy, among whom, in fact, the true theology must nowadays be sought." ("Registro di Cervini, Lettera di 27 Decem. 1545." Epp. Poli, iv. 229.) Here Pallavicini takes occasion to set forth the motives actuating their decision in a light very honorable both to the bishops and the orders. "They desired the admission of the regular clergy, because it was among them that the theology, whereby the tenets in dispute were to be judged, had taken up its abode, and it was manifestly desirable that many of the judges should possess the clearest comprehension and the most finished judgment respecting the articles to be submitted to their decision."

5. Now it is obvious that this method cannot have failed to impair the accuracy of the views presented by Pallavicini to his reader.

For example, in the year 1547, the Spaniards brought forward certain articles of reform known under the name of Censures. The transfer of the Council followed very soon afterward, and there can be no question as to the fact that this event was greatly influenced by these Censures. It was, without doubt, of the utmost importance that the immediate adherents of the Emperor Charles should present demands so extraordinary at the very moment when he was victorious. Sarpi has given them at full length, lib. ii. p. 262, subjoining the replies of the pontiff shortly after. But demands so outrageous on the part of orthodox prelates do not suit the purpose of Pallavicini. He tells us that Sarpi relates many circumstances concerning this matter, of which he can find no trace; and says he can discover nothing more than a reply of the Pope to certain proposals of reform presented to him by several fathers, and which had been made known to him by the presidents, "*sopra varie reformazioni proposte da molti de' padri.*" What these were he takes good care not to say. To have done so might have impeded him in his refutation of Sarpi's assertion that the transfer of the Council was attributable to worldly motives.

6. In the art of holding his peace in relation to such matters as may not conveniently be made public, he has proved himself quite a master.

In the third book, for example, he has occasionally cited a Venetian report by Suriano. And in allusion to this report, he says that the author asserts himself to have made diligent search, and acquired unquestionable information respecting the treaties between Francis and Clement; nor does Pallavicini think of contradicting him on this point, (III. c. xii. n. i.) He adopts portions of Suriano's work, on the con-

trary, and gives them in his own narrative; such, for example, as that Clement had shed tears of pain and anger on hearing that his nephew was taken prisoner by the Emperor. It is evident, in short, that he puts faith in Suriano's statements. He declares also that this Venetian is directly opposed to his countryman Sarpi. The latter affirms, namely, that "the Pope negotiated an alliance with the King of France, which was rendered more stable, and concluded by the marriage of Henry, the second son of the King, with Catherine." Respecting this matter Pallavicini exclaims aloud. "The Pope," says he, "did not ally himself with the King, as P. Soave so boldly maintains." He appeals to Guicciardini and Suriano. Now what does Suriano say? He traces at great length the whole course of the inclination of Clement toward the French, shows when and where it began, how decidedly political a color it bore, and finally speaks of the negotiations at Bologna. He certainly denies that matters had proceeded to the formation of an actual treaty, but he merely refutes the assertion that a positive draft in writing was prepared. "Clement agreed to all the wishes of the King, using such words as to make him believe his holiness disposed to comply with his requisitions in every particular; but, nevertheless, without having made any condition whatever in writing." He subsequently relates that the King had pressed for the fulfilment of the promises then made to him. "His most Christian Majesty required that the promises of his holiness should be fulfilled." And this, according to the same author, was one of the causes of Clement's death. Here we have the extraordinary case of falsehood being in a certain sense truer than the truth itself. There is no doubt that Sarpi is wrong, where he says that an alliance was concluded; the treaty, commonly so called, never was put into legal form. Pallavicini is right in denying the existence of this treaty; and yet, upon the whole, Sarpi comes much nearer to the truth. There was the closest union, but it was entered into verbally only, and not by written forms.

7. Similar circumstances may be remarked in the use made by Pallavicini of the letters of Visconti. Sarpi has sometimes borrowed more from these letters than is literally contained in them: for example, he says, vii. 657, "In respect to the decree for enforcing residence, that Cardinal Lorraine had spoken at great length and very indistinctly, so that it was not possible to ascertain whether he was favorable, upon the whole, to that decree or not." Hereupon he is stoutly attacked by Pallavicini: "*Si scorge apertamente il contrario*" (xix. c. 8); he even cites Visconti to support his contradiction. But let us hear Visconti himself, (Trento, 6 Dec. in Mansi Misc. Baluzii, iii. p. 454:) "None but a few prelates could follow his words, because he enlarged greatly." Thus it was perfectly true that his hearers could not follow him, and that his meaning was not properly understood. Further on Pallavicini is enraged with Sarpi for having given it to be understood that the cardinal had refrained from appearing in one of the congregations, because he desired to leave the French at full liberty to express their opinions, and that he made the intelligence he had received of the death of the King of Navarre his pretext for absenting himself. Pallavicini protests, with vehemence, that this was the true and sole motive of the cardinal. "Nor do I find among so many records full of suspicions that this had ever occurred to anyone." How, was there no one in whose mind this absence had awakened suspicion? Visconti says, in a letter published by Mansi in another place: "Lorraine called those prelates, and told them that they were to speak freely of all they had in their minds without fear of anyone; and there were some who thought that the cardinal had remained at home for that express pur-

pose." Of the assertion that the cardinal had used the King's death as a pretext, it is true that Visconti says nothing, unless, indeed, he did so in other letters; which is the more probable, from the fact that Sarpi had evidently other sources of information under his eyes at this place. But as to the true point in question, that the cardinal was suspected of remaining at home for the reason assigned, that is certainly to be found literally expressed in these writings. And what are we to say to this, since Pallavicini unquestionably saw them?

8. The general purpose of Pallavicini is, in fact, to refute his opponent without having any interest in the question as to how truth might best be brought to light. This is in no case more obvious than in that part of his work which relates to the conference of Ratisbon, of which we have already treated so fully. Pallavicini also was acquainted with the "Instruction" here referred to, as will be readily imagined, only he considered it to be more secret than it really was; but from the mode in which he handles it, we gain a perfect acquaintance with himself. He makes a violent attack on Sarpi, and reproaches him for representing the Pope to declare that he would accord entire satisfaction to the Protestants, provided they would agree with him in the main points already established of the Catholic tenets: "That when the Lutherans should agree to the points already established by the Roman Church, entire satisfaction should be given to Germany in other respects." He affirms this assertion of Sarpi's to be directly contrary to the truth: "This is directly contrary to the principal point, the chief head of the 'Instruction.'" How! Can he venture to affirm that the opposite of this was the truth? The Pope's "Instruction" is thus expressed: "It must first be seen whether they will agree with us in the principal points, . . . which being admitted, an agreement might be attempted on all other controverted questions," and the other words which have been quoted above. It is true that Sarpi has here fallen into an error by restricting the legate more closely than the truth would demand. He has also said too little of the conciliatory disposition of the Pope. Instead of discovering this error, as it most obviously was, Pallavicini describes Sarpi as saying too much. He enters into a distinction between articles of faith and others, which had not been made in the bull, and brings forward a number of things which are true indeed, but which are not the only things that are true, and cannot do away with the words really to be found in those "Instructions," nor invalidate their force. In matters altogether unessential, he is strictly correct; but he totally misrepresents and distorts things of vital importance. Nay, we sometimes find him attempting to convict Sarpi of intentional and deliberate falsehood—lib. iv. 13, for example: "Soave asserts a falsehood, when he attributes the long extension of the Diet (of Worms), without having produced any effectual result, to the acts of the popes." Yet it is clear that such was the case, as results from the whole correspondence of Morone relating to that convention, as we now have it before us.

In short, Pallavicini proceeds as might an advocate who had undertaken to carry through his sorely-pressed client, on every point, and at whatever cost. He labors hard to place him in the best light, and brings forward all that seems likely to help his course; but whatever he thinks likely to do it injury, he not only leaves out of view, but directly denies its existence.

It would be impossible to follow Pallavicini through all the lengthened discussions into which he enters; it must suffice that we have made ourselves acquainted, to a certain extent, with his manner.

It must be allowed that we do not gather from our researches the most encouraging results as regards the history of the Council.

It has indeed been affirmed, that from these two works combined, the truth may be elicited. This may perhaps be maintained if we confine our remarks to very general views, and regard the subject merely as a whole; but when we examine particulars, we find that it is not the case.

These authors both deviate from the truth; this lies between them, without doubt, but we can never obtain it by conjecture. Truth is something positive; it is an independent and original existence; it is not by a mere reconciliation of conflicting assertions that we can arrive at truth—we acquire it only by a perception of the actual fact.

Sarpi, as we have seen, affirms that a treaty was concluded at Bologna; Pallavicini denies it: now from no conjecture in the world could we deduce the fact that the treaty was made but verbally only, and was not prepared in writing, by which the contradiction certainly is reconciled.

The Instructions given to Contarini are misrepresented by them both; their discrepancies can never be brought into harmony; it is only by examining the original that we can arrive at the truth.

They possessed minds of totally opposite character. Sarpi is acute, penetrating, and sarcastic; his arrangement is exceedingly skilful, his style pure and unaffected; and although the Crusca would not admit him into the catalogue of classic writers—probably on account of certain provincialisms to be found in his works—yet are his writings, after the pompous display of words through which we have to wind our way in other authors, a true enjoyment. His style is well adapted to his subject, and in power of description, he is, without doubt, entitled to the second place among the modern historians of Italy. I rank him immediately after Macchiavelli.

Neither is Pallavicini devoid of talent. He frequently makes ingenious parallels, and often defends his party with considerable address. But his intellect has something weighty and cumbrous in its character. His talent was for the most part displayed in making phrases and devising subterfuges: his style is overloaded with words. Sarpi is clear and transparent to the very bottom. Pallavicini is not without a certain flow of manner, but he is obscure, diffuse, and shallow.

Both are positive and thorough-going partisans. The true spirit of the historian, which, apprehending every circumstance and object in its purest truth, thus seizes and places it in the full light of day—this was possessed by neither. Sarpi was doubtless endowed with the talent required, but he would never desist from accusing. Pallavicini had talent also, though in an infinitely lower degree; but at every cost he is resolved on defending.

Nor can we obtain, even from both these writers together, a thorough and complete view of their subject. A circumstance that must be ever remarkable, is the fact that Sarpi contains much which Pallavicini never succeeded in eliciting, numerous as were the archives and resources of all kinds laid open to his research. I will but instance one memoir, that of the nuncio Chierigato, concerning the deliberations at the Court of Adrian VI, which is of the highest importance, and against which Pallavicini makes exceptions that signify absolutely nothing. Pallavicini also passes over many things from a sort of incapacity; he does not perceive the extent of their importance, and so he allows them to drop. But, on the other hand, Sarpi was excluded from innumerable documents which Pallavicini possessed. Of the correspondence maintained by the Roman Court with the legates, for example, Sarpi saw but a small portion. His errors are for the most part attributable to the want of original sources of information.

But there were many important memorials to which neither of them had recourse. There is a short report of Cardinal Morone, who conducted the decisive embassy despatched to Ferdinand I, and which is of the highest moment in regard to the history of all the later sittings of the Council. This remains, without having been used by either of our authors.

Nor must it be imagined that Rainaldus or Le Plat has completely supplied this deficiency. Rainaldus frequently gives no more than extracts from Pallavicini. Le Plat often follows the latter or Sarpi, word for word, and takes the Latin translations of their text as authentic memorials of what he could not find authority for elsewhere. He has also used fewer unprinted materials than might have been expected. In Mendham's "Memoirs of the Council of Trent," there is much that is new and good. We find in p. 181, for example, an extract from the acts of Paleotto, together with his introductions, even to individual sessions, as to the 20th, for instance; but he has not given due care to the study and elaboration of his subject.

Would anyone now undertake a new history of the Council of Trent—a thing which is not to be very confidently expected, since the subject has lost much of its interest—he must begin anew from the very commencement. He must collect the several negotiations, and the discussions of the different congregations, of which very little that is authentic has been made known; he must also procure the despatches of one or other of the ambassadors who were present. Then only could he obtain a complete view of his subject, or be in a condition to examine the two antagonist writers who have already attempted this history. But this is an undertaking that will never be entered on, since those who could certainly do it have no wish to see it done, and will therefore not make the attempt; and those who might desire to accomplish it do not possess the means.

Section III.—Times of the Catholic Restoration down to Sixtus V

We return to our manuscripts, in which we find information that, even when fragmentary, is at least authentic and unfalsified.

No. 22

Instructio pro causa fidei et concilii data episcopo Mutinæ, Pauli III., ad regem Romanorum nuntio destinato. 24 Oct., 1536. MS. Barb. 3007, 15 leaves. [Instruction touching the faith, and the counsels given by Paul III to the Bishop of Modena, appointed nuncio to the King of the Romans. Barberini Library.]

A conclusive proof is afforded by this "Instruction" of the sense entertained by the Roman Court that it was highly needful to collect its strength and take heed to its reputation. The following rules were prescribed, among others, to the nuncio. He was neither to be too liberal nor too sparing, neither too grave nor too gay; he was not to make known his spiritual authority by notices affixed to the church doors, since he might thereby cause himself to be derided. Those who required his intervention could find him without that. He was not indeed entirely to remit his dues, except under peculiar circumstances, but he was never to exact them too eagerly. He was to contract no

debts, and was to pay for what was supplied him at inns. "Nor let him, on quitting his inn, be too narrow in payment of the reckoning, or perhaps, as some nuncios have done, refuse to pay it at all, whereby they have greatly exasperated the minds of those people against us. In his countenance and his discourse let him dissemble all fear or distrust of our cause. . . . Let them feign to accept invitations with a cheerful countenance, but in replying to them let them not exceed in any manner, lest, perhaps, to them there should befall that same mischance which once happened to a certain Saxon noble, private chamberlain to Leo X (Miltitz), who, being sent into Saxony to make a settlement of the Lutheran matters, brought back only so much fruit of his labor as that often, when confused by wine, he was led on by the Saxons to pour out things respecting the pontiff and the Curia—not only such as were truly done, but such as they, in the evil affections of their minds to upwards, imagined or wished done: and all these things being put down in writing, were afterward publicly brought against us at the Diet of Worms, and before the face of all Germany."

We learn from Pallavicini also (i. 18.) that the conduct of Miltitz had caused his memory to be held in very little respect at the Court of Rome.

The "Instructions" we are now considering, and which Rainaldus has adopted almost entire into his work, is further remarkable from the fact that it supplies us with the names of many less known defenders of Catholicism in Germany; among them are Leonh. Marstaller, Nicol. Appel, Joh. Burchard, preacher of his order, "who, although he has not published books against the Lutherans, has yet labored to the great peril of his life, even from the beginning of these tumults, in defence of the Church." Among those better known, Ludwig Berus, who had fled from Basle to Freiburg, in Breisgau, is particularly extolled and recommended to the nuncio, "both on account of the sound and excellent doctrine and moral probity of the man, and because by his weight and influence he can render the best service in the cause of the faith." It is well known that Ber had found means to make himself respected, even among Protestants.

No. 23

Instruzione mandata da Roma per l'elezione del luogo del concilio, 1537. [Instruction sent from Rome for the selection of the place wherein the council is to be held, 1537.] *Informationi Politt.*, vol. xii.

It was now without doubt the intention of Paul III to convoke a council. In the "Instruction" before us he affirms that he was fully resolved (*tutto risoluto*) on doing so; but his wish was that it should be assembled in Italy. He was equally disposed to choose either Piacenza or Bologna, places belonging to the Church, the common mother of all; or he would have been content to select a city of the Venetians, since they were the common friends of all. His reason was that the Protestants were by no means earnest in regard to the council, as was manifest from the conditions which they proposed respecting it. Even here we perceive the presence of that idea which afterward acquired so high an historical importance, namely, that the council was only an affair of the Catholics among themselves.

The pontiff, moreover, gives intelligence to the Emperor of his efforts for the promotion of an internal reform: "It shall be effectual, and not a matter of words only."

No. 24

Instruzione data da Paolo III. al Cl. Montepulciano, destinato all' imperatore Carlo V. sopra le cose della religione in Germania, 1539. Bibl. Corsini, nr. 467. [Instruction given by Paul III to Cardinal Montepulciano, who was sent to the Emperor Charles V to treat of the religious affairs of Germany, 1539. Corsini Library, No. 467.]

It was, nevertheless, most evident that the necessity for a reconciliation was first made obvious in Germany. On some occasions both parties were placed in opposition to the Pope from this cause. At the convention of Frankfort very important concessions were made to the Protestants by the imperial ambassador, Johan Wessel, Archbishop of Lund—a truce of fifteen months, during which all judicial proceedings of the Kammergericht should be suspended, and the promise of a religious conference, in which the Pope should take no part. This was, of course, altogether abhorrent to Paul III. Cardinal Montepulciano, afterward Marcellus II, was therefore despatched into Germany for the purpose of preventing so uncatholic an arrangement.

The "Instruction" accuses the Archbishop of Lund, in the first place, of being moved by corrupt personal motives, attributing the fault of these concessions to gifts, promises, and hopes of further advancement. "He received 2,500 gold florins from Augsburg, and a promise was made to him in addition of 4,000 florins yearly, to be paid out of the revenues of his archbishopric of Lund, then occupied by that Lutheran King of Denmark." He was further said to be desirous of remaining on good terms with the Duke of Cleves and Queen Maria of Hungary; for that sister of the Emperor, who was then governess of the Netherlands, was suspected of being very decidedly favorable to the Protestants. "She secretly shows favor to the Lutheran party, encouraging them to the utmost of her power, and by sending men to their aid, she purposely injures the cause of the Catholics." She had sent an envoy to Smalkalde and expressly exhorted the Elector of Trèves to abstain from joining the Catholic league.

Maria and the archbishop, that is to say, represented the anti-French and anti-Romish tendency of politics in the imperial court. They wished to see Germany united under the Emperor. The archbishop declared that this depended only on the yielding of some few religious concessions: "That if his Majesty would tolerate the persistence of the Lutherans in their errors, he might dispose of all Germany according to his own manner and pleasure."

The Pope replied that there were very different means for coming to an end with matters in Germany. Let us listen to his own words: "The Diet of Frankfort being therefore dispersed and broken up for the aforesaid causes, and his imperial Majesty, with other Christian princes, being advised that because of the evil dispositions of these times a general council cannot for the present be held, our lord the Pope, notwithstanding that he had so long before proclaimed this Council, and has used every effort and means for convening it, is now of opinion that his Majesty would do well to think rather of the convocation of an imperial diet for the prevention of those evils which are so especially to be expected from the convocation of a national diet. And his holiness believes that such evils might easily be brought about to the disturbance of quiet in Germany, both by Catholics and Lutherans, when the Catholics, having seen infinite disorders following on the proceedings of any royal and imperial Minister, should also per-

ceive that their Majesties were slow to apply the remedies. Nor would the said national Council be less injurious to the imperial and royal Majesty, for those secret causes of which his Majesty is aware, than to the Apostolic See; for it would not fail to give occasion to a schism throughout all Christendom, as well in temporal as in spiritual government. But while his holiness is of opinion that this imperial diet may be held in the event of his Majesty's being able to be present, either in Germany or in some place near to that wherein the said diet shall assemble, he is convinced that it ought not to be convoked if, on the contrary, his imperial Majesty, engaged by his other occupations, should not be able to continue thus close at hand. Nor would his holiness advise that his Majesty should depend on the judgment of others, however numerous, capable, or good, who should solicit and endeavor to procure the holding of the said diet in the absence of his Majesty; lest the same disorders should ensue that have followed upon other special diets where his Majesty was not present. It will, nevertheless, be advisable that the report should be continually bruited about from all quarters that his Majesty intends to appear in Germany and there hold the diet. All other honest means and ways should likewise be used to restrain and keep in tranquillity those princes who solicit and demand the said diet; then when his Majesty shall arrive in good earnest, he may proclaim and hold the same. But meanwhile, his Majesty, perceiving how good and useful it may be to promote the propagation of the Catholic league, should for the present give his attention principally to that matter, and he might write to his ambassador in Germany to that effect; or if it seem good to him, may send other envoys who should labor with all diligence, and by every possible means, to increase and extend the said Catholic league by acquiring and gaining over everyone, and this, even though at first they should not be altogether sincere in the true religion, for by little and little they may afterward be brought to order; besides that for the present it is of more consequence that we take from them, than that we truly acquire to ourselves. And for the furtherance of this purpose, it would greatly avail if his Majesty would send into Germany whatever sums of money he can possibly command, because the rumor of this, being extended through the country, would confirm others in their purpose of entering the league, which they would do the more readily on perceiving that the chief sinews of war are not wanting. And for the more effectual consolidation of the said Catholic league, his holiness will himself despatch one or more emissaries to those Catholic princes, to encourage them in like manner by promises of aid in money, and other benefits, when things shall have proceeded to such an extent for the advancement of religion and the preservation of the dignity, both of the Apostolic See and of his imperial Majesty, as to give warrant that there is good ground for expecting the outlay to produce its fruit. Nor in this will his holiness be forgetful of his Majesty. And it would not be ill-advised that among these means his Majesty should adopt the pretext of the Turkish affairs, to send, under that color, a certain number of Spanish and Italian troops into those parts, and by retaining them in the territories of his brother, the King of the Romans, to secure that in case of need there should be due assistance at hand."

Pallavicini was acquainted with this "Instruction" as well as with the preceding one (lib. iv. c. 14). We perceive, from what he says, that the notices relating to Germany in the latter of these documents were obtained from the letters of Aleander, who acquired so equivocal a reputation for himself in these negotiations. Rainaldus

also gives extracts from them; but this very instance will serve to show how needful it is to consult original authorities. In Rainaldus, the rather obscure passage just quoted is to the following effect: "He should meanwhile make every effort to extend the league of the Catholics, and to win over adherents from the side of the adversaries; he should likewise despatch the aid of gold, that so he might give courage to the league, and attract all who might be wavering to himself."

No. 25

Instructiones pro reverendissimo domino episcopo Mutinensi apostolico nuntio interfuturo conventui Germanorum Spiræ, 12 Maji, 1540, celebrando. Barb. 3,007. [Instructions for the most reverend lord the bishop of Modena, apostolic nuncio to the German convention about to be held at Spire, May 12, 1540. Barberini Library, 3,007.]

The religious conferences then took place. We here see the light in which they were regarded at Rome: "Nor let it seem strange to anyone if neither to legates nor to nuncios full power and authority are given to decide or to make agreement in matters of faith, because it would be most absurd and opposed to all reason, nay, in the utmost degree difficult and exceedingly perilous, that the sacred rites and sanctions commended to the universal Church by the experience of so many years, and so fully sanctioned by it, should be committed to the judgment of a few persons, and even those not competent, in so short a space of time, with so much precipitation, and in a place not entirely suitable; for, if any innovation were to be made, it should not be done except by decrees of a general council, or at least by the mature and well-discussed deliberation of the sovereign pontiff, the moderator of the Church.

"The most reverend lord nuncio ought nevertheless to hear and understand from Catholic doctors in his own house, whatever shall relate to those things which are to be treated of between them and the Lutheran doctors, that he may be able to interpose with his counsel and prudence, and direct everything to a good end; always guarding the authority and dignity of our most sacred lord and the Apostolic See, as hath often been repeated, because on this depends the safety of the universal Church, as saith St. Jerome. He ought, besides, with a certain skill and prudence, particularly to confirm the Catholic princes, as well spiritual as secular, in the faith of their parents and forefathers, and should admonish them not to suffer any change or innovation to be made in it rashly, and without the authority of the Apostolic See, to which all examinations of that kind belong."

No. 26

Instructio data reverendissimo Cardinali Contareno in Germaniam legato, 28 Jan. 1541. [Instruction given to the most reverend Cardinal Contarini, legate in Germany. Jan. 28, 1541.]

This has been already printed, and is often mentioned. The Roman Court was at length induced to make certain concessions.

Between the years 1541 and 1551, our collections present a number of letters, reports, and instructions by no means inconsiderable; they comprehend all parts of Europe, and not unfrequently throw a new

light on events. We are not yet prepared minutely to investigate them in this place, for the book which these extracts would further illustrate was not designed to give a complete representation of that period. I confine myself, therefore, without much scruple, to the more important.

No. 27

1551 *die 20 Junii, in senatu Matthæus Dandulus, eques, ex Roma orator*, [Matteo Dandolo, knight, ambassador, returned from Rome, appears in the Senate June 20, 1551.]

The above is the title of the report presented by Matteo Dandolo, who, as we see from the letters of Cardinal Pole (ed. Quir. ii. p. 90), was brother-in-law to Gaspar Contarini, after a residence of twenty-six months in Rome. He promises to be brief: "Those things that have been already written do not require to be put into the reports, excepting some that it is necessary to remark."

He treats first of the latter days of Paul III. Of this part I have already cited the most important facts. He then speaks of the conclave, and all the cardinals are mentioned by name. Dandolo asserts that he arrived with members of the college belonging to the University of Padua: we see how well he must have been informed. He then communicates a tabular account of the papal finances: "I received the computation from the treasury itself."

"1. The apostolic chamber possesses of yearly revenue, from the treasury of the March, 25,000 scudi; from the salt-tax of the said province, 10,000; from the treasury of the city of Ancona, 9,000; from that of Arcoli, 2,400; of Fermo, 1,750; of Camerino, 17,000; of Romagna, including its salt-dues, 31,331; from the patrimony (of St. Peter), 24,000; from Perugia and Umbria, 35,597; from the Campagna, 1,176; from Nursia, 600; from the salt-tax of Rome, 19,075; from the customs of Rome, 92,000; from the tax on horses in Rome, 1,322; from lights, 21,250; from the anchorage dues of Cività Vecchia, 1,000; from the triennial subsidy of the March, 66,000; of Romagna, 44,334; of Bologna, 15,000; of Perugia and Umbria, 43,101; of the patrimony, 18,018; of the Campagna, 21,529; from St. Peter's tax, 24,000; from the congregation of friars, 23,135; from the double tithes of the Hebrews, 9,855; from the malefactors of Rome, 2,000. Total, 559,473 scudi. Also from the tithes of the Ecclesiastical State, when they are available, 3,000 scudi; from the tithes of Milan, 40,000; from the kingdom, 37,000; from the tax on flour, 30,000; for the impost on contracts, 8,000; making, with some other items not mentioned, 220,000 scudi. The *datario* receives, for the offices that fall vacant, in compositions and admissions, 131,000; from the spoglia of Spain, 25,000; making, with certain deductions, 147,000 scudi. Total of the revenue, 706,473(?) Besides the five portions not brought forward, and which remain at the good pleasure and disposal of our lord the Pope.

"2. The annual expenditure of the chamber is:—to different governors and legates, and for certain forts, 46,071 scudi; to the officials of Rome, 145,815; for various gratuities, 58,192; in Rome, to the governor Bargello, guards of the chamber, and other offices, 66,694; to the captain-general, 39,600; for the galleys, 24,000; to the Roman people for the Capitol, 8,950; to the master of the palace, for the support of the household, 60,000; for various contingent expenses in Rome, 35,485; to Signor Balduino, the chamberlain, 17,000; to Signor Giovanni Battista, 1,750; to the cavalry, when it was kept in service, 30,000; to our

lord the Pope, for his private expenditure, and for pensions to the cardinals, and all the *datariato*, 232,000. Total of the whole expenditure, 705,557 (?) scudi."

He concludes with remarks on the personal qualities of Julius III. "Pope Julius, most serene Signory, most grave and most wise Council, is from Monte Sansovino, a small place in Tuscany, as I have already written to your excellencies. The first who gave a name, and some degree of reputation to his house, was his grandfather, a doctor of laws and very learned therein, and he was in the service of Duke Guido of Urbino, who, having sent him to Rome on matters concerning his State, he there acquired great favor, so that his nephew, having also made good progress in the study of the said faculty, did himself acquire so much approval and reputation that he was made Cardinal di Monte; and his nephew is this present Pope. Having arrived at court, his first step was to become chamberlain to Pope Julius II, and he was afterward made Archbishop of Siponto. When in that rank it was that he was sent to your excellencies, to demand from you Ravenna and Cervia, when you held possession of them after the sack of Rome. And by reason of his great merit, which was made manifest both in respect of his legal learning, and on many occasions where his counsels were available, as well as because of the great weight and influence of his uncle, who was the cardinal di Monte, this last having died, he was himself made cardinal. And being made Pope, he took instantly the name of Julius, who had been his patron, with the intention of seeking to imitate him.

"His holiness will be sixty-four years old on October 28th. He is of a very choleric nature, yet very kindly withal; so that, however angry he may be, it quickly passes away if any man can succeed in reasoning with him. It appears to me that he does not bear ill-will to anyone, but neither, perhaps, does he regard anyone with much affection, except indeed the Cardinal di Monte, of whom I will speak hereafter. Neither Cardinal di Marsa, nor the Cardinal of Trent, would consent to give a vote for his holiness; yet they were more immediately favored by him, and more highly rewarded than any one of those who had voted for him. His most favored servant, and one of many years' standing, was the Archbishop of Siponto, to whom, when he was himself made cardinal, he gave the archbishopric, and was always well served by him. Thus it was thought that he would immediately make him cardinal; but he has, nevertheless, been left "in minoribus," and is, in a manner, worse than when his holiness was but cardinal; for after becoming Pope he seemed to make little or no account of the archbishop, so that the poor man is almost brought to despair thereby." This manuscript is unfortunately too defective to make it advisable that we should copy at greater length, more particularly as the intelligence conveyed in it frequently degenerates into mere trivialities of detail.

No. 28

Vita di Marcello II., scritta di propria mano del Signor Alex. Cervini, suo fratello. Alb. Nr. 157. [Life of Marcellus II., written by his brother Signor Alex. Cervini, with his own hand.]

There is a most useful little work respecting Pope Marcellus II by Pietro Polidoro, 1744. Among the sources whence this author derived his work we find precisely the first that he mentions to be this biography by Alex. Cervini. Unfortunately, however, the original copy was

greatly injured so early as the year 1598, by a fire that broke out in the family residence of the Cervini at Montepulciano, and we have but a fragment of it remaining. I extract from it the following passage, which refers to the attempt at a reformation of the calendar made under Leo X, and which is not to be found in Polidoro:

"His father, therefore, having accustomed him to these habits, and exercised him in grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, and geometry, it chanced that he became also much versed in natural astrology, and more than he would have been in the ordinary course of things, the cause of which was as follows: His holiness our lord, who was Pope at that time, Leo X, caused to be made known by public edict that whoever might possess a rule or method for correcting the year, which up to that time had got wrong by eleven days, should make it known to his holiness; wherefore the above-mentioned Mgr. Riccardo (father of the Pope), as one who was tolerably well versed in that profession, applied himself to obey the pontiff, and therefore by long and diligent observation, and with the aid of his instruments, he sought and found the true course of the sun, as appears from his essays and sketches sent to Pope Leo X, to whom, and to that most glorious house of Medici, he had ever shown faithful service; more particularly to the magnificent Julian, from whom he had received favors and great offers. The death of that signor prevented the fulfilment of the design that Mgr. Riccardo should attend the person of his excellency into France, or wherever else he might go, as had been agreed between them. Neither could our lord his holiness execute the publication of the correction of the year, because of various impediments, and finally, because of his own death, which followed not long after."

It is, nevertheless, manifest that the mind of Italy was actively employed on this matter, even in the times of Leo X; and that the Bishop of Fossombrone, who recommended the reform of the calendar in the Lateran Council of 1513, was not the only person who gave attention to that subject.

No. 29

Antonio Caracciolo, Vita di Papa Paolo IV. 2 vol. fol. [Life of Pope Paul IV, by Antonio Caracciolo. 2 volumes folio.]

Antonio Caracciolo, a Theatine, a Neapolitan, and a compiler all his life, could not fail to apply himself diligently to the history of the most renowned Neapolitan Pope, the founder of the Theatines, Paul IV, and we owe him our best thanks for doing so. He has brought together a vast amount of information, and innumerable details, which but for him would have been lost. His book forms the groundwork of Carlo Bromato's elaborate performance: "*Storia di Paolo IV, Pontifice Massimo, Rom. 1748,*" and which presents an exceedingly rich collection of materials, in two thick and closely-printed quartos.

But, from the rigid severity of the censorship exercised in the Catholic Church, there resulted the inevitable consequence that Bromato could by no means venture to admit all the information afforded him by the sources to which he applied.

I have frequently alluded to a circumstantial report from J. P. Caraffa to Clement VII, and which was prepared in the year 1532. From this Bromato (i. p. 205) makes a long extract. But he has also made several omissions, and that of matters most particularly essential; for example, the remarks on the extension of Lutheran opinions in Venice.

“Let his holiness be implored that, for the honor of God and his own, this city not being the least or the vilest object in Christendom, and there being in the said city and in her dominions many and many thousands of souls committed to his holiness, he will be content to hear from a faithful witness some portion of their wants, which are indeed very great, but of which there shall now be set forth at least some part; and because, as the apostle saith, without faith it is impossible to please God, you shall begin with this, and acquaint his holiness with the heresies and errors in the life and conduct of many who do not keep Lent, do not go to confession, etc.—in the doctrine of others, who publicly speak of and profess these heresies, putting about also prohibited books among the people, without respect to rule. But above all, you will say that this pestilence, as well of the Lutheran heresy as of every other error, contrary to the faith and to sound morals, is chiefly disseminated and increased by two sorts of persons, that is to say, by the apostates themselves, and by certain friars, chiefly “conventuali.” Also his holiness should be made aware of that accursed nest of conventuals, the Friars Minorites; for he by his goodness having restricted some of his servants who would have moved in this matter, these friars have begun to put all in confusion; for, having been disciples of a heretic monk, now dead, they have determined to do honor to their master. . . . And, to say what are my thoughts in this matter, it appears to me that in so great an emergency we ought not to confine ourselves to the usual method, but, as in the menacing and increasing fury of war, new expedients are daily adopted, as the occasion demands, so in this still more important spiritual warfare, we should not waste our time in sleep.

“And since it is known to his holiness that the office of the Inquisition in this province is in the hands of those conventuals aforesaid, the Friars Minors, who will only by chance and occasionally persuade themselves to perform any real and fitting inquisition, such as was exercised by that master Martino of Treviso, of whose diligence and faith I know that his holiness was informed by the above-named Bishop of Pola, of honored memory—since he has been now transferred to another office, and is succeeded in the Inquisition by I know not whom, but, so far as I can learn, a very insufficient person, it will therefore be needful that his holiness should take the requisite measures, partly by arousing and exciting the ordinaries, who are everywhere no better than asleep, and partly by deputing some persons of authority to this country, and sending hither some legate, who, if it were possible, should be free from ambition and cupidity, that so he might apply himself to repair the honor and credit of the Apostolic See, punishing those rascal heretics, or at least driving them away from the midst of the poor Christians; for wherever they shall go they will carry with them the testimony of their own wickedness, and of the goodness of the faithful Catholics, who will not have them in their company. And since the pest of heresy is for the most part introduced by preaching, by heretical books, and by a long continuance in an evil and dissolute life, from which the passage to heresy is easy, it seems that his holiness would make a holy, honorable, and useful provision by taking measures in this respect.”

There are other notices of more or less importance contained in the work of Caracciolo, which have for the most part remained unknown, but which, in a work of greater detail than that here presented to the reader, ought not to be passed over. This Italian biography is wholly distinct from another of Caracciolo's writings, the “*Collectanea historica di Paolo IV.*” it is entirely different, and much more useful

work. There are, nevertheless, some things in the *Collectanea* which are also to be found in the "Vita"; as, for example, the description of the changes which Paul IV proposed to make after he had dismissed his nephews.

No. 30

Relazione di M. Bernardo Navagero alla Serenissima Repubblica di Venetia tornando di Roma ambasciatore appresso del pontefice Paolo IV, 1558. [Report presented to the most serene Republic of Venice by M. Bernardo Navagero, ambassador to Pope Paul IV, on his return from Rome.]

This is one of the Venetian reports which obtained a general circulation. It was used even by Pallavicini, who was attacked on that account. Rainaldus also mentions it, ("Annales Eccles. 1557," No. 10), to say nothing of later authors.

It is, without doubt, highly deserving of these honors. Bernardo Navagero enjoyed that consideration in Venice which was due to his learning. We perceive from Foscarini ("Della Lett. Ven.," p. 255) that he was proposed as historiographer to the republic. In his earlier embassies to Charles V, Henry VIII, and Soliman, he had become practised in the conduct of difficult affairs, as well as in the observation of remarkable characters. He arrived in Rome immediately after the remark of Paul IV.

Navagero describes the qualities required of an ambassador under three heads: understanding, which demands penetration; negotiation, which demands address; and reporting, which requires judgment, that he may say only what is necessary and useful.

He commences with remarks on the election and power of a pope. It is his opinion that if the popes would earnestly apply themselves to the imitation of Christ, they would be much more to be feared. He then describes "*le conditioni*," as he says, "the qualities of Pope Paul IV, and of those who advise him"—that is, above all, his three nephews. I have made use of his descriptions, but the author is not always to be followed in his general conclusions. He thinks that even Paul IV had no other object than the exaltation of his own house. Had he written later, after the banishment of the nephews, he would not have expressed such an opinion.

That event marked the point of change in the papal policy, from worldly views to those of a more spiritual character. From personal descriptions Navagero proceeds to an account of the war between Paul IV and Philip II: this also is quite as happily conceived, and is full of the most intelligent remarks. There next follow a review of the foreign relations of Rome, and reflections on the probable result of a future election. It is only with the most cautious discretion that Navagero proceeds to speak of this matter. "Più," he says, "more to satisfy your excellencies than myself, I speak of this part." But his conjectures were not wide of the mark. Of the two in regard to whom he perceived the greatest probability of succession, he names, in fact, the one who was elected, Medighis (Medici), although it is true that he considered the other, Puteo, to be a still more likely successor.

"But now," he says, "I am here again. I again behold the countenance of my sovereign, the illustrious republic, in whose service there is nothing so great that I would not venture to attempt it, nothing so mean that I would not undertake it." This expression of devotedness gives heightened color to the description.

No. 31

Relatione del Clarissimo M. Aluise Mocenigo Cavaliero ritornato della corte di Roma, 1560. (Arch. Ven.) [Report of the most illustrious M. Aluise Mocenigo, presented on his return from the Court of Rome, 1560.] Venetian Archives.

Mocenigo remained during seventeen months at the Court of Paul IV. The conclave lasted four months and eight days: he then conducted the embassy during seven months at the Court of Pius IV.

He first describes the ecclesiastical and secular administration, that of justice, and the court under Paul IV. He makes an observation respecting these things, of which I have not ventured to make use, although it suggests many reflections. "The cardinals," he says, "divide the different cities of the legations among themselves (in the conclave), and the arrangement afterward remains, but subject to the good pleasure of the Pope." May we then consider this the origin of that administration of the state by the clergy which was gradually introduced?

Nor does he forget the antiquities, of which Rome possessed a richer abundance at that time than at any other, as is testified by the descriptions of Boissard and Gamucci: "In every place, whether inhabited or uninhabited, that is excavated in Rome, there are found vestiges of noble and ancient structures; also from many places most beautiful statues are dug out. Of marble statues, if all were placed together, there might be made a very large army."

He next comes to the disturbances that broke forth on the death of Paul IV, and which were repeated in a thousand fresh disorders, even after they appeared to be allayed. "When the people had ceased, there flocked to the city all the broken men and outlaws, so that nothing was heard of but murders, and some were found, who for eight, seven, or even for six scudi would take upon themselves the charge of killing a man; and this went to such a degree that many hundred murders were committed in a few days, some from motives of enmity, others on account of lawsuits—many that they might inherit the property of the murdered, and others for divers causes, so that Rome seemed, as the saying is, to have become a very den of Baccaro."

The conclave was very joyous—every day there were banquets. Vargas was there whole nights, at least, "at the merry-makings of the conclave." But the person who really elected the Pope was Duke Cosmo of Florence. "The Duke of Florence has made him Pope; it was he who caused him to be placed among the nominees of King Philip; then by various means he had him recommended by the Queen of France; and finally, by great industry and diligence, he gained the Caraffa party to his side." How completely do all these intrigues, described in the histories of the conclaves, lie exposed in their utter nothingness! The authors of these histories, themselves for the most part members of the conclaves, saw only the mutual relations of those individuals with whom they were in contact; the influences acting on them from without were concealed from their perception.

The report concludes with a description of Pius IV, so far as his personal qualities had at that time been made manifest.

No. 32

Relazione del Clarissimo M. Marchio Michiel, Kr. e Proc., ritornato da Pio IV, sommo pontefice, fatta a 8 di Zugno, 1560. [Report of the most illustrious M. Marchio Michiel, knight and procurator, presented on his return from Pius IV, supreme pontiff. June 8, 1560.]

This is the report of an embassy of congratulation, which was absent from Venice only thirty-nine days, and cost 13,000 ducats. As a report it is very feeble. Michiel exhorts to submission toward Rome. "The jurisdiction of the Pope should not be invaded, and that the mind of his holiness may not be disturbed, the *avogadors* should pay him all those marks of respect that are proper, but which I have often remarked them to omit."

No. 33

Despatches of the Venetian Ambassadors—18th of May 21 of September, 1560. Informat. Politt., vol. viii., leaves 272.—Reports of the Venetian Ambassadors in Rome, 1561. Inform. Politt., vol. xxxvii., leaves 71.

The reports are also despatches, dated January and February, 1561, and are all from Marc Antonio de Mula, who for some time filled the place of ambassador. (See Andrea Mauroceni, "Hist. Venet.," lib. viii. tom. ii. 153.) They are very instructive, giving interesting particulars in regard to the circumstances of the times and to the character of Pius IV. The closing fortunes of the Caraffa family occupy a prominent place, and we learn from these documents that Philip II. then wished to save these old enemies of his. This was even charged against him as a crime at the court (of Rome). Vargas replied that Philip II had given them his pardon; "that great King, that holy, that Catholic monarch, not doing as ye Romans do." The Pope, on the contrary, reproached them with the utmost vehemence: "That they had moved Christians, Turks, and heretics to war, . . . and that the letters which came from France and from the agents in Italy, were all forged," etc. The Pope said he would have given 100,000 scudi to have it proved that they were innocent, but that atrocities such as they had committed could not be endured in Christendom.

I abstain from making extracts from these letters; it will suffice to have intimated the character of their contents.

No. 34

Extractus processus Cardinalis Caraffæ. Inff. tom. ii. f. 465 to 516. With the addition: *Hæc copia processus formati contra cardinalem Caraffam reducta in summam cum imputationibus fisci eorumque reprobationibus perfecta fuit d. 20 Nov. 1560.* [Extract from the trial of Cardinal Caraffa. Inff. vol. ii. folios 465 to 516. With the addition of the following note: This copy of the writ instituted against Cardinal Caraffa, with the charges brought by the exchequer, and the statements in denial of the same, was completed on the 20th of November, 1560.]

From the ninth article of the defence, under the word "Heresy," we learn that Albert of Brandenburg sent a certain Colonel Friedrich

to conclude a treaty with Paul IV. The colonel had even an audience of the Pope himself; but the Cardinal of Augsburg (Otho von Truchsess) made so many objections and representations against him that he was at length sent out of Rome. To this document is annexed: "The event of the death of the Caraffas, with an account of the manner in which they died, together with the day and hour, etc."

No. 35

Report of Girolamo Soranzo—1563. Rome. Venetian Archives.

The date, 1561, which is on the copy in the archives, is, without doubt, incorrect. According to the authentic lists of the embassies, Girolamo was certainly chosen as early as September 22, 1560, because Mula had accepted an appointment from Pius IV, and had on that account fallen into disgrace with the republic. But that offence was forgiven, and it was not until Mula had been nominated cardinal, in the year 1562, that Soranzo superseded him. The latter frequently makes allusions to the Council also, which did not, in fact, sit at all in the year 1561.

Girolamo Soranzo has remarked that the reports were agreeable as well as useful to the Senate: "They are willingly listened to, as well as maturely considered." He prepared his own reports with pleasure, no less than with diligence. It will amply repay our labor to listen to his description of Pius IV:

"Of the mental characteristics of his holiness I will speak sincerely, describing certain peculiarities which I was enabled to observe in him during the time of my embassy, or of which I obtained knowledge from persons who spoke of them dispassionately. The Pope, as I have said above, has studied the laws, his knowledge of which, and the practice acquired during so many years, in the important governments he has held, have given him an admirable certainty of judgment in all causes, whether of justice or mere favor, that are brought forward in the *Segnatura*; so that he never opens his mouth without proving that he well knows what may be conceded, and what ought to be refused, which is a quality not only useful, but necessary to a pontiff, on account of the many and important matters that from time to time he has to treat and decide upon. He is very well acquainted with the Latin tongue, and has always taken pleasure in studying its beauties; so that, according to what I have been told by the most illustrious *Navagiero*, who has so perfect a judgment in respect to that question, he expresses himself in the consistories, where it is customary to speak Latin, with great ease and propriety. He has not studied theology, and for this reason will never take upon himself to decide by his own authority such causes as are committed to the office of the Inquisition, but is in the habit of saying that, not being a theologian, he is content to refer all such matters to those who have charge of them; and although it is well known that the ordinary manner of the inquisitors, in proceeding with so much rigor against the persons examined, is not to his satisfaction, and that he has suffered it to be understood that it would please him better to see them use the methods proper to a courteous gentleman, rather than those of a rigid monk, yet he either does not choose, or does not dare, to oppose their decisions, with which, indeed, he but rarely interferes, the congregations being held for the most part without his presence. In affairs and deliberations of state he will not take counsel of any man, insomuch that it is said there

has never been a pontiff more hardy worked, and less advised, than his holiness. And it does not fail to be made matter of wonder to the whole court that he will not take the opinion at least of some cardinal, more especially for affairs of great importance, and the rather, as many of the cardinals are men of very sound judgment. I know that Vargas one day advised him to do so, remarking to him that although his holiness was, doubtless, most wise, yet that 'one man was no man' (*unus vir erat nullus vir*); but his holiness sent him off with a rough reply; and it is in fact very evident that whether because he considers himself capable of deciding all questions that come before him, or because he knows that there are few, perhaps no cardinals, who are not in the interest of some prince, and that all are thus incapacitated for giving a free unbiassed judgment, it is, I say, evident, that he will not accept the service of any, save Cardinal Borromeo and Signor Tolomeo, who being young men of little or no experience, and ready to obey the very slightest intimation from his holiness, may rather be called simple executors than counsellors. From this want of counsel it results that his holiness, who is by nature prompt in all his actions, takes his resolutions also very quickly in respect to all public affairs, however important they may be, but as readily abandons the determination he has taken, so that when his decisions are published, and there happens afterward to be brought to him some information of a contrary tendency, he not only changes his measures, but frequently does the very opposite of what he had first designed, a circumstance that occurred in my time, not once only, but on various occasions. Toward princes the conduct of his holiness is directly contrary to that of his predecessor, for the latter used to say that the position of the pontiff permitted him to place emperors and kings beneath his feet, while the present Pope declares that without the authority of princes it is impossible to maintain that of the pontiff. Thus he deports himself with great respect toward every prince, is extremely willing to grant them favors, and when he refuses them anything, he does it with infinite address and modesty. He proceeds in like manner with exceeding gentleness and affability toward all persons whatsoever who approach him in the conduct of affairs; but if at any time he be required to do a thing which displeases him, he becomes excessively vehement, and proves himself to be really terrible, nor will he suffer the slightest contradiction. Yet it is hardly ever necessary to use address with his holiness, for when he has become pacified, he finds it difficult to refuse any request. It is true that there is more difficulty in securing the subsequent execution than in obtaining the promise. He displays the utmost respect toward the most reverend cardinals, and willingly confer favors on them; nor does he ever diminish the value of the privileges conferred in the collation to benefices, as was done by his predecessor. It is true that among those of the cardinals who have the principal influence, there exists the desire that he would give them a more active part in the affairs that occur during times of so much movement than that which his holiness is accustomed to accord them; they are dissatisfied that resolutions of the highest importance should be adopted with so little advice and deliberation, and in this respect they consider your Serenity most fortunate. Toward the ambassadors his holiness evinces the highest demonstrations of respect and good-will—better could not be desired; nor does he omit anything that can tend to their satisfaction. He conducts himself most amicably in all negotiations with them, and if at any time he falls into anger on account of some demand that has displeased him, yet anyone who uses discretion may readily appease him, and can always succeed so far as to gain at least a very friendly reply, even though he may not obtain all he demands;

but whoever attempts to place himself in direct opposition to his holiness, may be assured of receiving neither the one nor the other. Therefore it is that Vargas has never possessed the favor of Pope Pius IV, for he has at no time proceeded with the modesty required from him. When the pontiff has finished the discussion of business matters, he converses courteously with the ambassadors; mentions any important notices or advices that may have reached him, and freely enters into discourse respecting the present state of the world. With myself, in particular, he has done that very frequently, as your Serenity will remember, for I have often filled whole sheets with his remarks. Toward his domestics he proceeds in such a manner that one cannot perceive any one among them to have any influence with him; he treats them all alike, not giving one of them liberty to do anything unsuitable to his position, nor permitting them to take anything upon themselves. But he retains them all in so poor and humble a fortune that the court would willingly see more esteem and regard displayed toward the more confidential chamberlains and other old servants. He makes earnest profession of being strictly just as a judge, and readily converses of the desire he has that justice should be done, more particularly toward the ambassadors of princes, with whom he will sometimes enter on such occasions into a justification of the death of Caraffa, and the sentences of Naples and Monte, which he declares to have been pronounced in an equitable manner; for it may have come to his ears that the whole court considered these sentences, and especially that of Caraffa, to have been marked by an extraordinary and excessive severity. The Pope is naturally inclined to a life of privacy and freedom, because it is obvious that he finds difficulty in accommodating himself to that majesty of deportment remarked in his predecessor: In all his actions he displays affability rather than dignity, permitting himself to be seen at all times and by all people, and going throughout all parts of the city on foot or on horseback, with a very small train. He has a very great love of building, and in this he spends willingly and largely, listening with great pleasure when the works he has in progress are praised; and it would seem that he desires to leave a memorial of his pontificate in this manner also, for there is now scarcely a place in Rome that does not bear his name; and he frequently remarks that the family of Medici has an especial love of building; nor does his holiness pursue the method of many other popes his predecessors, who have, for the most part, commenced large and magnificent edifices, which they afterward left imperfect; but Pope Pius, on the contrary, finds pleasure in restoring such as are falling to decay, and in finishing those already begun; yet he also constructs many new ones, causing divers buildings to be erected in many parts of the Ecclesiastical States; thus, he is fortifying Civit  Vecchia, is repairing the harbor of Ancona, and proposes to constitute Bologna a fortress. In Rome also, besides the fortification of the Borgo, and the building of the Belvedere and the palace, he is causing streets to be repaired in many parts of the city, is erecting churches, and restoring the gates, at so great a cost, that in my time there were more than 12,000 scudi per month expended on the buildings of Rome alone, for many months consecutively, and perhaps more than it is suitable that a sovereign should spend in this manner; so that it has been affirmed, by many of the older courtiers, that things had never been reduced to so close a measure or so strictly ordered as at present. And now, because I think that some particulars of the mode of life adopted by his holiness will not be unwelcome, so I will furnish information on that subject also. It is the custom of the pontiff to rise so early when he is in good health, as well in the winter as in the summer, that he is always on foot

almost before daybreak, and being quickly dressed, he goes out to take exercise, in which he spends much time. Then, having returned, the most reverend Cardinal Borromeo enters his chamber, with Monsignor Tolomeo, with whom, as I have said, his holiness treats of all important matters, whether public or private, commonly detaining them for two or three hours; when he has dismissed them, the ambassadors, who have been waiting an audience, are introduced, and when he has finished conversing with them, his holiness hears mass; after which, if the hour be not too late, he goes out to give audience to the cardinals and others. He then sits down to table, which, to say the truth, is not served very splendidly, or as that of his predecessor was, for the viands are common, and supplied in no great quantity, while the service is performed by his usual attendants. His diet is of the most ordinary kind, for the most part Lombard maccheroni; he drinks more than he eats, and his wine is Greek, of considerable strength, in which he mingles no water. He does not take pleasure, as did his predecessor, in receiving bishops and other dignified prelates at his table, but rather prefers the conversation of persons who are amusing, and possess some humor. He frequently admits cardinals and ambassadors to his table, and on myself, in particular, he has frequently conferred these favors with many gracious demonstrations of kindness. When he has finished eating, he withdraws to his room, undresses, and goes to bed, where he most commonly remains two or three hours. On awaking, he quickly dresses again, then says mass, and sometimes gives audience to some one of the cardinals or ambassadors; he then returns to his exercise in the Belvedere, which he never ceases until supper-time in summer, and which he continues in winter while any light remains."

Many other notices of interest and importance, from the illustrations they afford of the history of those times, are brought forward by Soranzo. He throws light, for example, on the otherwise scarcely intelligible secession of the King of Navarre to Catholicism, and explains it clearly. This prince had received assurance from Rome, that even though Philip II should not give him Sardinia as indemnification for the lost part of Navarre, yet that the Pope would, at all events, give him Avignon. It was not theologians, says the ambassador, that were employed to effect a change in his opinions—the negotiation sufficed.

No. 36

Instruzione del re Cattolico al C. Monsignor d'Alcantara, suo ambasciatore, di quello ha da trattar in Roma. Madrid 30 Nov. 1562. MS. Rom. [Instructions from the Catholic king to his ambassador Alcantara, touching matters to be treated of in Rome. Madrid, Nov. 30, 1562.]

These "Instructions" are accompanied by the Pope's reply. Pallavicini has made satisfactory extracts from this document (Pal. xx. 10), with the exception of the following passage, which he does not appear to have clearly understood: "In regard to the article of communion in both kinds, we do not hesitate to say, with all the freedom that we know we may use toward his Majesty, that it appears to us a great contradiction to demand so much liberty and license in the Council, and at the same time to desire that we should impede the said Council, and should prevent the Emperor, the King of France, the Duke of Bavaria, and other princes, from having the faculty of proposing this and many other articles, all requiring attention, and which these monarchs have

deliberately determined to have proposed by their ambassadors, even though their doing so should be contrary to the will of the legates. With relation to this matter, his Majesty must adopt such resolutions as shall appear to him most suitable. As to what concerns ourselves, we have contrived to defer the matter until now, and will do our utmost to prolong the delay, notwithstanding the urgent representations which have been made to us in respect of it, and which continue to be made, by the above-named princes, who protest to us that if it be not conceded to them, they will lose all their subjects, and these commit no fault, as they say, except in this one particular, for in all the rest they are good Catholics. And they further say that if this privilege be not granted to them, they will take it for themselves, joining with the neighboring sectaries and the Protestants, by whom, on their having recourse to them for this use of the cup, they are compelled to abjure our religion: let his Majesty then consider in how great a strait we are placed, and what perplexity we suffer. Would to God that his Catholic Majesty were near us, so that we might speak together, or indeed that we could both meet and confer with the Emperor; for his imperial Majesty ought, by all means, to have an interview with us, and perchance we might thus give better order to the affairs of the world; but otherwise, none will ever be able to amend them, save God alone, when it shall seem good to his Divine Majesty."

No. 37

Instruzione data al Signor Carlo Visconti, mandato da Papa Pio IV. al re Cattolico per le cose del Concilio di Trento. [Instruction given to Signor Carlo Visconti, sent from Pope Pius IV to the Catholic king, touching the affairs of the Council of Trent.] Signed —Carolus Borromæus, ultimo Oct. 1563.

This document is not comprised in the collection of the nuncio's letters, which includes those only to September, 1563, but is remarkable from the fact that it investigates the motives for closing the Council. Pallavicini (xxiv. lib. i.) has adopted the greater part of this "Instruction," but in an order different from that in which it was written. The most remarkable circumstance here made known, perhaps, is that, it was proposed to bring the affairs of England before the Council, a design that was abandoned only from motives of consideration for Philip II. "Up to the present time we have not been willing to speak, or to suffer that the Council should speak, of the Queen of England (Mary Stuart), much as that subject deserves attention, nor yet of that other, (Elizabeth,) and this from respect to his Catholic Majesty; but still a plan must, at some time, be adopted respecting these things, and his Majesty should at least take measures that the bishops and other Catholics may not be molested." It is here rendered manifest that the office of protecting the Catholics of England was imposed as a kind of duty on Philip II.

No. 38

Relatione in scriptis fatta dal Commendone ai Signori Legati del concilio sopra le cose ritratte dell' imperatore, 19 Feb. 1563. [Report made in writing by Commendone to the Lord Legates, in regard to the matters touched upon by the Emperor, Feb. 19, 1563.]

"In fact, I thought I could perceive, not indeed in his Majesty, but in the principal ministers, such as Trausen and Seld, a most earnest

desire for reform and for the progress of the Council, with a firm hope that by a certain remission of the positive law, and by a reform of the morals and discipline of the Church, not only might the Catholics be preserved, but some of the heretics also might be gained and recovered, together with an opinion or impression, perhaps too powerful, that there were many here who did not wish for reform."

The activity of the Jesuits in particular had made an impression. "Seld remarked that the Jesuits have now shown clearly in Germany what effects may be hoped for, since merely by their purity of life, their preaching, and their schools they have maintained, and still wholly support, the Catholic religion in that country."

No. 39

Relazione sommaria del Cardinal Morone sopra la legatione sua, 1564, Januario. Bibl. Altieri, VII. F. 3. [Summary Report of Cardinal Morone, touching his embassy in January, 1564.] Altieri Library, VII. F. 3.

This ought properly be given word for word. Unfortunately I did not find myself in a position to take a copy. The extract that I have inserted in the third book must therefore suffice.

No. 40

Antonio Canossa: On the attempt to assassinate Pius IV. See vol. i. p. 242.

No. 41

Relazione di Roma al tempo di Pio IV. e V. di Paolo Tiepolo, ambasciatore Veneto. [Report from Rome in relation to the times of Pius IV and V, by Paolo Tiepolo, Venetian ambassador.] First found in manuscript at Gotha, afterward in many other collections. 1568.

This report is described in almost all the copies as belonging to the year 1567; but since Paolo Tiepolo expressly says that he was thirty-three months at the Court of Pius V, and the latter was elected in January, 1566, it is clear that its true date must be some time after September, 1568. The despatches also of this ambassador—the first that were preserved in the Venetian archives—come down to this year.

Tiepolo describes Rome, the States of the Church and their administration, as well as the ecclesiastical power, which, as he says, punishes by interdicts, and rewards by indulgences. He next institutes a comparison between Pius IV and V, touching on the piety, justice, liberality, habits, and general dispositions of these pontiffs respectively. Venice had found a very mild Pope in the former, in the latter an extremely rigorous one. Pius V complained incessantly of the restrictions which Venice permitted herself to impose on the ecclesiastical immunities. He instances the taxation of monasteries, the trial of priests by the civil tribunals, and the conduct of the "*Avogadores*." Still, in despite of these misunderstandings, the comparison of Tiepolo tends entirely to the advantage of the more rigid pontiff, and to the disadvantage of the milder pope. We perceive clearly that the personal qualities of Pius V had produced an impression on this ambassador similar to that received from his character by Europe generally.

This report has been extensively circulated, as we have said; it has also been occasionally inserted in printed works; but let us remark the manner in which this has been done. In the "Tesoro Politico," i. 19, there is a "Relatione di Roma," in which all that Tiepolo says of Pius V is applied to Sixtus V. Traits of character, nay, even particular actions, ordinances, etc., are transferred without ceremony from one pope to the other. This report, thus completely falsified, was afterward inserted in the "Respublica Romana" (Elzevir), where it will be found, word for word, p. 496, under the title "De statu urbis Romæ et pontificis relatio tempore Sixti V papæ, anno 1585."

No. 42

Relatione di Roma del Clarissimo Signor Michiel Suriano K. ritornato ambasciatore da N. S. Papa Pio V., 1571. [Report presented by the most illustrious M. Suriano, ambassador to our lord Pope Pius V, on his return from Rome, 1571.]

Michael Suriano, with respect to whom, as we are told by Paruta, the study of literature placed talents for business in a more brilliant light ("Guerra di Cipro," i. p. 28), was the immediate successor of Paolo Tiepolo.

He describes Pius V in the following words:

"It is clearly to be seen that during his pontificate his holiness never addicted himself to the luxuries and pleasures of life as others that went before him did; that he made no change in his habits of living, and did not neglect the exercise of that office of Inquisition which he had held while in a private station; nay, that he was disposed to give up other occupations rather than that, esteeming all others to be of less account and importance; thus, although his dignity and fortune were changed by his elevation to the papacy, yet he was himself not changed either in his character or purposes. His holiness was of a grave presence; very spare and meagre, in person rather below the middle height, but strong and healthy; his eyes were small, but the sight was extremely acute; he had an aquiline nose, which denotes a generous spirit and one fitted to command; his complexion was bright, and he had venerable gray hair; he walked with a quick, firm, vigorous step, did not fear the open air, ate but little, drank still less, and went to bed at a very early hour; he suffered occasionally from strangury, as a remedy for which he used cassia, and sometimes asses' milk, living besides with great regularity and moderation. His holiness was of a choleric and hasty temperament, and his face would kindle and redden in a moment when anything occurred that displeased him; he was nevertheless very affable in giving audience, listened to all who came, spoke little and slowly, and often seemed to find difficulty in selecting the proper words, or such as would express the matter after his own liking. He was of exemplary life and irreproachable morals; with a most earnest zeal for religion, which he would fain have see all others partaking. He corrected his clergy accordingly, by reservations and bulls; while he punished the laity by decrees and admonitions. He made profession openly of sincerity and good faith, of avoiding all deceit, of never divulging matters confided to him in secret, and of rigorously keeping his word, all things which were the reverse of his predecessor's practice. He held all evildoers in abhorrence, and could by no means tolerate the profligate. He loved the good, or such persons as he believed to be good; but as no worthless man could ever hope to gain his favor, because he considered it impossible that an evil man could ever become good, so a worthy man was not yet beyond the danger of losing his good-will, if ever he

fell into any fault. He loved truth above all things, and if anyone were ever discovered by his holiness, though but one sole time, in a falsehood, he lost his favor forever; this was exemplified in the case of Signor Paolo Ghisilieri, his nephew, whom he drove from his presence because he had detected him in a falsehood, as his holiness told me himself, and would never again receive him to his favor, notwithstanding that many efforts were made to prevail on him to do so. He did not possess a very lively genius, but was of a hard and suspicious nature; there was no persuasion, nor reasoning, nor consideration of courtesy or policy that could avail to move him from the impression that he had once taken. He had no experience in state affairs, because he had never practised them till his latter days; whence it happened, that when involved in the perplexities constantly resulting from the intrigues of this court, and amidst the difficulties that always attend one who is new to these affairs, any person who was acceptable to his holiness, and in whom he had faith, found it easy to lead him at his pleasure; but others, in whom he had no confidence, could do nothing with him, nor could any reasonings, regulated by mere human prudence, suffice to persuade him; and if anyone attempted to prevail with him by force of authority and influence, or by seeking to alarm him, he would cut the whole matter short and throw all into confusion, or at the least he would burst forth in the face of the adviser, telling him he did not fear martyrdom, and that since God had placed him in that office, so he could also preserve him there, in despite of all human authority and power. These qualities and dispositions of his holiness, although they are entirely true, are yet hard to be believed by anyone who has not had opportunity for closely observing him, still more so for those who have been in personal contact with other popes, for to such it will appear impossible that a man born and brought up in lowly fortune should have preserved so pure a truthfulness and sincerity; that he should resist the greatest and most potent monarchs with so much boldness; that he should be so reserved in the granting of favors, graces, dispensations, and other things, which the pontiffs for the most part conceded with so much readiness; that he should think more of the Inquisition than of any other thing—and whoever would second his holiness in that might do anything with him; that in matters of state he would yield nothing to the force of argument, or to the authority of princes experienced in government, but would be guided solely by those in whom he had faith; that he never manifested an interested feeling, nor was to be moved by ambition or avarice, either for himself or for anyone connected with him; that he put little trust in the cardinals, believing them all, or nearly all, to be led by self-interest, and that whoever sought to avail himself of their mediation with his holiness, unless he did it with great moderation and judgment, became an object of suspicion to the pontiff, and lost credit, together with the intermediaries he had placed his hopes in. And those who did not know these things, but remembered the weaknesses, the facility, the bending to expediency, the passions and the capricious partialities of other popes, accused, contemned, and reproached the ambassadors, believing, not that they could not, but that they would not obtain, or did not possess the skill to obtain, those things which were so easily to be secured in other times."

There is no difficulty in believing that the ambassadors really occupied a trying position with a pope of these dispositions. When Pius became aware, for example, that the Venetians would not publish the bull, "In Cœnâ Domini," he fell into a violent rage: "*si perturbò estremamente, et acceso in collera disse molte cose gravi et fastidiose*" [he became excessively agitated, and kindling in anger, uttered many severe and

reproachful things]. These were circumstances by which affairs were rendered doubly difficult of control. Suriano lost, in fact, the favor of his republic. He was recalled, and a large portion of this report is written for the purpose of justifying his conduct; but through this part we cannot follow him.

No. 43

Informatione di Pio V. Inform. Politt. Bibl. Ambros. F. D. 181.
[Notice respecting Pius V. Inform. Politt.] Ambrosian Library.

This, it is true, is anonymous, but was written by some one who was accurately informed, and is corroborative of other descriptions. One of the facts we learn from this document, is the singular one that, notwithstanding all the rigor of this pious pope, yet factions prevailed in his household; the older servants were opposed to the younger, who attached themselves more particularly to the grand chamberlain, Monsignor Cirillo; the latter was generally accessible to all. "He would be easily won by those who would show a sense of his value and paid court to him. He has considerable elevation of mind, is on the most intimate terms with Gambara and Correggio, and is attaching himself to Morone."

No. 44

Relazione della Corte di Roma nel tempo di Gregorio XIII. Bibl. Cors.
No. 714. [Report of the Court of Rome during the pontificate of Gregory XIII.] Corsini Library, No. 714. Dated Feb. 20, 1574.

Anonymous, but nevertheless very instructive, and bearing the stamp of authenticity. The author considers it difficult to judge of courts and princes. "I will show how they judge in the court, and will say what I think of it myself."

"Having attained to the pontificate at the age of 71, he seemed desirous of changing his very nature, so that the rigor which he had always blamed in others was now apparent in himself, more particularly as regarded any freedom of intercourse with women, in relation to which he was more severe than his predecessor, enforcing all rules and regulations with a still more rigorous exactitude. He displayed equal severity in the matter of gambling, for certain persons of the most distinguished rank, having begun to amuse themselves in the commencement of his pontificate, by playing for a few scudi, he reproved them with acrimony. It is true that some thought this playing was discovered to be a mere pretext to conceal intrigues that were set on foot respecting a new pontiff, in consequence of a slight indisposition which his holiness had in the commencement of his reign. From that time, the opinion that his holiness had been made Pope by the most illustrious Cardinal de' Medici, and would be governed by him, began to lose ground, and it was made clearly apparent that his holiness abhorred the thought of anyone pretending to arrogate an influence over him, or to intimate that he had need of being guided, nor will he have it supposed that he is governed by any but himself. It is indeed certain that in all judicial matters he is highly competent to act, understanding them perfectly, and requiring no advice on the subject. In affairs of state, on the contrary, his holiness might advantageously be better informed than he is, because he has never studied them profoundly. Thus he is sometimes irresolute; but when he has well considered the matter

before him, he obtains a very clear perception of its different bearings, and after listening to various opinions, readily discerns the best and soundest. He is most patient and laborious, is never unoccupied, and takes very little recreation. He is constantly giving audience, or examining papers. He sleeps but little, rises very early, is fond of exercise and of the open air, which he does not fear, however unfavorable may be the weather. In eating he is most temperate, and drinks very little, preserving himself in perfect health without quackeries or nostrums of any kind; he is gracious in outward demeanor to those who have done anything to please him. He is not profuse, nor even what would be called liberal, according to the opinion of the unthinking, who do not consider or discern the difference there is between a sovereign who abstains from extortion and rapacity, and one who tenaciously keeps what he has. This pontiff does not covet the property of others; nor does he lay plots against them to make himself master of it. He is not cruel nor sanguinary, but being continually in fear of war, either with the Turk or with heretics, he is anxious to have a good amount of money in the treasury, and to preserve it there, without spending it on things useless. He is said to have about a million and a half of gold. Yet he is much disposed to magnificence, loves splendor, and is above all things desirous of glory; by which desire it is, perhaps, that he is sometimes led to do things that are not pleasing to the court. For these reverend "padri Chiettini," who know his character well, have gained the upper hand of him, by persuading him that the influence and authority which Pius V possessed were to be attributed solely to his reputation for piety and goodness. With this they hold his holiness, as it were, in leading-strings, and compel him to do things contrary to his character and inclinations, for he has always been of a kindly and gentle disposition, and they restrict him to modes of life to which he is not accustomed, and that are uncongenial to him. It is believed that to effect this, they have employed the expedient of causing letters to be addressed to them by the fathers of their order resident in Spain and other places, which letters are filled with repetitions of the praises everywhere bestowed on the holy life of the late pontiff, and continually insist on the great glory he acquired by his reputation for piety, and by his reforms; and in this manner they are said to maintain their authority, and to persevere in governing his holiness. It is rumored, besides, that they are also assisted by the Bishop of Padua, nuncio in Spain, a creature of Pius V and of themselves. And so powerful is the pontiff's desire of glory, that he denies himself and puts restraint on his own nature, even to the extent of refraining from those proofs of affection toward his son which would be accounted reasonable and honorable by everyone, because he is influenced by the scruples inspired by the aforesaid fathers. Thus the great fortune of his holiness in having attained his high dignity from so poor a condition, is counterbalanced by this state of things, and by his having kindred from whom he can derive no satisfaction, and who do not appear to his holiness possessed of capacity or ability for important affairs, nor proper to be intrusted with the business of the state."

He proceeds to describe the cardinals in a similar manner. Of Granvella he remarks that he did not maintain his credit, he was too earnestly intent on his own gratifications, and was considered avaricious. In the affairs of the League he had nearly occasioned an open rupture between the King and the Pope. Commendone, on the contrary, is highly extolled. "He possesses virtue, goodness, and experience, with infinite soundness of judgment."

No. 45

Seconda relatione dell' ambasciatore di Roma, clarissimo M. Paolo Tiepolo K——; 3 Maggio, 1576. [Second report of the most illustrious Paolo Tiepolo, ambassador to Rome; May 3, 1576.]

The anonymous report mentioned above speaks of Tiepolo also, and in the highest terms; he is described as a man of clear head and great worth.

"He is modest, and, unlike the usual habit of the Venetians, is courteous and liberal. He is extremely well received, gives general satisfaction, and shows great prudence in the government of his course through these toils and difficulties."

When the Venetians separated themselves from the league formed against the Turks, for example, he had to maintain a difficult position. It was believed that the Pope would propose in the consistory that the Venetians should be excommunicated, and certain of the cardinals were preparing to oppose any such purpose. "With the exception of Cornaro, (a Venetian), there was not one who would come to see me or send for me, much less would any of them advise, console, or assist me." The true cause of the separate peace, Tiepolo asserts to have been that the Spaniards, after promising to be prepared and armed, in April, 1573, declared, in that month, that their armament would not be complete until June. It tended greatly to mitigate the anger of the Pope, that Venice finally determined to create his son a Venetian "*nobile*." The manner in which Tiepolo expresses himself with regard to this son of the Pope is sufficiently remarkable:

"Signor Giacomo is son of the Pope; he is still young—about twenty-nine, that is; he is well versed in letters, graceful in manner, of a noble and liberal mind, with ability and judgment for anything to which he might apply his powers. There is little use in denying that the first, or it may even be said the sole, affection of the Pope is fixed on him, as indeed it is reasonable that it should be; wherefore, in the beginning of his pontificate, and when his holiness acted more in accordance with his natural inclinations, he first made his son castellan, and afterward governor of the holy Church, assigning him from that office an income of about 10,000 scudi yearly, and allowing him pay, besides, for a lieutenant-governor, colonels, and captains, to the end that he might make a more honorable appearance; but afterward, as if he had repented of proceeding so far in behalf of a natural son, and moved, as was affirmed, by the admonitions of certain ecclesiastics, who appealed to his conscience, and made the matter a point touching his honor, he began to retract, by refusing Signor Giacomo those favors and privileges that he asked from him, and by showing in all ways less regard for him than he had previously suffered to appear. Nay, further, as though, after having allowed him to be known to the world, he desired to conceal him, separating himself from his society, he sent him to Ancona, where he detained him for a considerable time, under pretence of fortifying that city, without ever providing him with a fixed income, or one so secured, that on his (the Pontiff's) death his son might be able to live and maintain his state with suitable dignity. For which cause, the poor gentleman, grieving over his hard fortune, which had raised him at one time only to abandon him at another, fell oftentimes into such despondency, that, shunning all converse and the society of every man, he would retire alone to a house, where he would shut himself up for many days. Then he would cause reports of perilous accidents that had befallen him to reach the ears of his father, to try whether he might thereby

move the tenderness of his holiness toward him. And in the end the natural love of the father prevailed, for vainly will a man set himself to expel or conceal it. Thus, conquered at last, the Pope, after the year of jubilee had passed, turned his thoughts toward his son, and applied himself to provide for him and give him satisfaction; then, first of all, he resolved to marry him."

Respecting the civil administration of Gregory XIII also, and more particularly in regard to the cardinal di Como, Tiepolo communicates many remarkable facts.

"He divided the arrangement of state affairs in such sort, that of those belonging to ecclesiastical matters, the cardinals, his nephews, received the care; while those relating to foreign princes were committed to the cardinal di Como. Now, as regards ecclesiastical affairs, they are, without comparison, of much less consequence, because they do not comprise either arms or fortresses, which are reserved to the general government; nor yet the finances, of which the apostolic camera and treasurer-general have the special charge; but relate merely to things of ordinary character, pertaining to the government of cities or provinces. Yet, not contenting himself with his nephews, the Pontiff has joined in authority with them a congregation, consisting of four influential prelates, among whom is Monsignor di Nicastro, who was formerly nuncio to your Serenity, with whom all matters are first discussed and to whom they must finally be reported. As regards affairs of state and negotiations with other princes, which have so much weight and importance, not only for the maintenance of a good understanding with those sovereigns, but also for the welfare and repose of all Christendom, he confides entirely and solely in Cardinal di Como, to whom the foreign ambassadors in Rome address themselves, together with the apostolic nuncios and other ministers of the Pope at the respective courts, for they write to him alone, and it is from him that they await their orders and directions. He is the Pope's sole counsellor, and it is he, as is universally believed, who suggests all the more important resolutions, gives all orders, and looks to the execution of them. It is true that some of the cardinals, those of experience and authority, and sometimes others also, will occasionally point out to the Pope what they judge fit to be done; and his holiness is accustomed to ask the opinion of some of the cardinals on certain occasions, or even of the whole College of Cardinals. This is most commonly done when it is likely to prove advantageous to him that the determination taken should be known to have resulted from the advice of large numbers, and more particularly when some request is to be refused. On certain special occasions, also, he is accustomed to depute a congregation of cardinals, as was done for the affairs of the league, and is done at this present time for those of Germany, of the Council, and some others; but for all final determinations, and in all questions of paramount importance, it is the Cardinal di Como whose advice prevails, and who ultimately acts in all matters of weight. Sometimes the Cardinal, although well convinced of his own sufficiency and judgment, will go to take counsel with Cardinal Morone or Cardinal Commendone, that he may not so absolutely rely on his own opinion as not also to avail himself of that of men so well informed and wise; but it is, nevertheless, true that all things finally depend on himself. He displays the utmost diligence and exactitude in business, and takes pains to relieve the Pope from all fatigues and anxieties, giving him such counsels as may best liberate him from daily toils and from expense, for there is nothing of which the Pope seems more desirous than of economy and repose. It is universally believed that the Cardinal is strongly disposed toward the Catholic King, not so

much because he is the vassal of his Majesty, and has the greater part of his benefices in his dominions, as on account of the many favors and advantages he has received from him in many things of great moment, and out of the usual course; in acknowledgment of which, he contrives on his part to show his gratitude on various occasions, and by certain ingenious methods which he knows how to put in practice without attracting much attention to himself. Toward your Serenity, I may also affirm, that he has, upon the whole, conducted himself tolerably well, more especially when it is considered that from the Ministers of other powers we cannot always secure what we desire; but that, on the contrary, we are often compelled to be content with a small amount of good-will."

Although this report has not been so extensively circulated as the previous one, yet it is in fact no less important and instructive as regards the times of Gregory XIII than the former is with respect to those of Pius IV and Paul V.

No. 46

Commentariorum de rebus Gregorii XIII.; lib. i. et ii. Bibl. Alb.
[Commentaries on the affairs of Gregory XIII; books i. and ii.]
Albani Library.

Unfortunately incomplete. The author, Cardinal Vercelli, when after certain preliminary observations he proceeds to speak of Gregory's pontificate, promises to treat of three things: the war with the Turks, the war of the Protestants against the Kings of France and Spain, and the disputes respecting the jurisdiction of the Church.

But unluckily we find in the second book that the war against the Turks is given no farther than to the treaty of peace with the Venetians.

With the relations subsisting between Eastern affairs and those of religion we are acquainted. Our author's explanation of the perplexities involving the affairs of the year 1572, is by no means a bad one. Intelligence had been received to the effect that Charles IX. was abetting the movements of the Protestants in the Netherlands. "Whereby Gregory, being offended, sent letters to the King of France, urgently requiring from him that he should not suffer his subjects to take part in that war, otherwise the pontiff would consider all these things to be done according to his wish, and at his instigation. The King promised to restrain his people with his utmost care, which he did to the best of his power; but yet, being somewhat moved by such a letter, which seemed rather menacing in its manner, being led also by certain conjectures to esteem himself almost insulted and provoked to war, he diligently placed his frontier towns in a state of defence, lest he should be attacked when unprepared; admonished his generals to take the measures needful to their safeguard, and at the same time made known all these things to Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, the relation and friend of both monarchs. Then Emanuel, who, by his singular prudence, well perceived how calamitous the dissension of these kings would be to his own people, as well as to the whole Christian commonwealth, declared all these matters to the Pope, whom he prays and beseeches to destroy this growing evil, nor suffer it to creep into strength and become inveterate. The pontiff, is nowise forgetful of what office he bore, considering that the King of France, a young man kindled with desire of glory, might, without great difficulty, be incited to this war by the enemies of the Catholic faith, whose influence was then very great in his court, yet thinking

that by the Queen, his mother, it would be utterly abhorred, both on account of her dignity and interest, did send thither Antonio Maria Salviati, the near kinsman of the Queen, and very acceptable to her, who might strengthen her in the duty of her position, and by her means the more readily persuade the King not to impede that accession of dominion and glory to the Christian commonwealth, which might be expected from the eastern expedition, nor to excite within it a deadly internecine war."

In so far, then, the Pope was certainly indirectly implicated in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The interest of the pontiff, doubtless, was to prevent by all possible means the outbreak of the war between Spain and France. It were greatly to be desired that we possessed this work—at least, so far as it relates to the religious dissensions.

I have been further induced to quote the above passage by the fact that the very first lines prove it to belong to the sources of which Maffei has availed himself in his "Annali di Gregorio XIII., Pontefice Massimo." Let the reader compare the passage with Maffei, i. p. 27. "He wrote angrily to Charles, that if he suffered his subjects and ministers to mingle themselves in that war, for the purpose of impeding it, he (the Pope) should attribute all the mischief to him and his evil intentions. And the pontiff contrived that the Venetians should, with all diligence, despatch an ambassador to the French King for a similar purpose. Charles replied modestly, that he would do his best to prevent his subjects from causing displeasure to the pontiff, and from giving the Spaniards suspicion of his intending what he had never even thought of. But he did not fail to complain to Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, of the angry manner in which the pontiff had written to him, saying it was his opinion that his holiness had suffered himself to be urged on by the Spaniards, who had themselves wished to interrupt the peace; and at the same time he began to garrison the cities of the frontiers."

I find, besides, that in various parts the work of Maffei is no other than an amplified transcript of the document we are examining. Yet I do not, in the least, desire to detract from the merit of Maffei's work by this remark; I am indebted to it for very valuable information, and though not entirely impartial, it is moderate, rich in matter, and upon the whole is worthy of confidence.

No. 47

Relazione di monsignore reverendissimo Gio. P. Ghisilieri a papa Gregorio XIII., tornando egli dal presidentato della Romagna, S. i. p. 389. [Report of Ghisilieri to Pope Gregory XIII., on his return from the presidency of Romagna.] See vol. i. p. 296.

No. 48

Discorso over ritratto della corte di Roma di monsignore illustrissimo Commendone all' illustrissimo signor Hier. Savorgnano. Bibl. Vindob. codd. Rangon. No. XVIII., fol. 278-395. [A discourse or sketch, relating to the Court of Rome, presented by the most illustrious Monsignore Commendone to the most illustrious Geronimo Savorgnano.] Library of Vienna; Rangone manuscripts. No. XVIII., fol. 278-395.

To all appearance, this work belongs to the time of Gregory XIII. I would not answer for the name of Commendone; but from whomever

it may proceed, the writer was a man of talent, and deeply initiated into all the more secret relations of a Roman life.

He describes the court as follows: "This commonwealth is a principality of the highest authority in a universal aristocracy of all Christians, having its seat in Rome. Its principle is religion. But if it be true (he further proceeds to say) that religion is the end, and that this is to be maintained by virtue and sound doctrine, it is impossible but that an alteration in the condition of men's minds shall involve the danger of confusion to the whole commonwealth."

He then treats principally of this conflict between the spiritual and secular efforts and interests; and above all things inculcates the necessity of a cautious foresight: "Close attention to every movement, and to all personal acts and proceedings. House, servants, equipages, should all be suitable; honorable and virtuous acquaintance only should be formed, nor should anything ever be affirmed that is not certainly known." The court requires "goodness, elevation of mind, prudence, eloquence, theology." But all is still uncertain: "This should be regarded as a voyage at sea, in which, although prudence may do much, and render most winds favorable to us, yet it cannot secure fair weather, or prescribe any determined time of arrival, neither will it give us certainty of reaching the port. Some there are who in the summer season, with a noble and well-furnished bark, will go down, or make but slow way; while others make a good speed, though the season be winter and they have but a frail or dismantled ship."

Section IV.—Sixtus V

I.—CRITICAL REMARKS ON LETI AND TEMPESTI, THE BIOGRAPHERS OF THIS PONTIFF

Vita di Sisto V., pontefice Romano, scritta dal Signor Geltio Rogeri all' istanza di Gregorio Leti. Losanna, 1669. [Life of Sixtus V, Roman pontiff, written by Signor Geltio Rogeri at the suggestion of Gregorio Leti.] Lausanne, 1669, 2 vols.; afterward published under less singular titles, in 3 vols.

The reputation of an individual, or the mode of view taken of an event, is far more frequently determined by popular writings which have succeeded in obtaining extensive currency, than by more important historical works, which often require too long a time in preparation. The public does not make minute inquiry as to whether all the relations presented to it be really founded in truth; it is content when the recollections presented in print are equally abundant and varied with those which are furnished by the general conversation, provided they are expressed with somewhat more of concision, and, by consequence, with a more piquant effect.

The biography of Sixtus V, by Leti, is a book of this kind; the most effective, perhaps, of all the works published by that voluminous writer. It has determined the position which the memory of Pope Sixtus was to assume, and given the idea which has ever since prevailed in the universal opinion with respect to that pontiff.

The reader invariably finds himself in the utmost embarrassment on his first attempt to study such books; he cannot deny to them a certain degree of truth, and they are not to be wholly disregarded; yet it in-

stantly becomes obvious that they cannot be trusted far, although it may generally be impossible to determine where the line should be drawn.

We do not obtain the power of forming a sound judgment on this question until we have discovered the sources of the author, and carefully examined the manner in which he has employed them.

By progressive and continued research we come upon the sources whence Leti drew his materials, nor can we excuse ourselves from the labor or avoid the necessity of comparing the accounts he has given with these authorities.

1. In the whole history of Sixtus V there is nothing more talked of than the manner in which he is reported to have attained the papacy, and his conduct in the conclave. Who is there that does not know how the decrepit cardinal, tottering along, bent and leaning on his staff, had no sooner been made pope than he suddenly raised himself, a vigorous man, threw away the crutch, and threatened with the exercise of his power those very men from whom he had won it by deception? This narration of Leti's has been received and obtained credence throughout the world. We ask whence he derived it?

There exist documents in regard to every papal election, adducing the motives, or rather describing the intrigues preceding it; and with regard to the election of Sixtus V, we find a so-called "Conclave," written as these papers usually were at the time, and evincing an accurate knowledge of the persons taking part in the election. "The Conclave by which Cardinal Montalto was created Sixtus V."

We perceive on the first comparison that Leti had this document in particular before him. It will be seen, indeed, that he has done little more than paraphrase it.

Concluding manuscript: "On Monday morning early they proceeded to the Pauline Chapel, where Cardinal Farnese, as deacon, read mass, and the cardinals received the communion from his hand; afterward they proceeded as usual to the scrutiny, in which Cardinal Albani had thirteen votes, which was the greatest number that any cardinal had. The cardinals, having returned to their cells, they set themselves to the canvassing, and Altemps began with great eagerness to conduct the canvass for Sirleto, assisted by Medici and by the creatures of Pius IV, having the utmost confidence in their own power to control the matter; but suddenly they were met by the exclusion of Sirleto; Este, Farnese, and Sforza having declared themselves against him." Leti: "At an early hour on Monday morning they all assembled in the Pauline Chapel, and Cardinal Farnese, in his office of deacon, celebrated mass and administered the communion to all the cardinals; then they commenced the scrutiny, in which Cardinal Albano had thirteen votes, which was the greatest number. After this the cardinals returned to their cells to dine, and after dinner, many set themselves to negotiate, but particularly Altemps, who began eagerly to conduct the negotiations for Guglielmo Sirleto, a Calabrian, aided by Cardinal Medici and by the creatures of Pius IV., for all of them felt confident of being able to decide the election; but in a short time the exclusion of Sirleto was made manifest, Este, Farnese, and Sforza declaring against him."

And, as with the principal facts, so with the accessories; for example, the manuscript has: "Farnese, inflamed and possessed by an incredible anxiety to become pope, began openly to avow his detestation of the canvass and its object, saying: 'I do not understand what those persons can mean who propose to make Sirleto pope.'" Leti: "The first who opposed him was Farnese, who was possessed and inflamed by an incredible desire to be pope, because it appeared to him that he was more deserving of that office, as in fact he was; wherefore he began publicly to express

detestation of that canvass and its object, saying in all the corners of the conclave, "I do not know what they mean by desiring to make Sirleto pope."

It is the same with regard to occasional observations; for example, the manuscript describes the effect produced on Cardinal Alessandrino by the disguise of Sixtus, and the offence it gave him. "But God, who has elected Montalto pope, did not permit those who were most in need of warning to receive any intimation, nor did he suffer either Farnese or his adherents to be awakened to opposition of the canvass, they believing that matters would never be carried to the extent of the adoration, but that there was merely a purpose of doing honor to Montalto in the scrutiny." Although so pious a mode of expression is foreign to the manner of Leti, he has yet found it convenient to copy this passage, and to insert it in his book; with some few slight changes he has transcribed it literally.

Now is this not rather an encomium on the often disputed fidelity of Leti, than an accusation against him?

But let us proceed to the one thing by which doubt is here excited—the conduct of the cardinal. It is remarkable that as regards this one point, Leti no longer agrees with his original.

Leti says: "Montalto remained apart in his chamber, and did not go into the conclave, pretending to be quite worn out and past all human aid. He went out very rarely, and when he did go to any place, as, for example, to perform mass, or to the scrutiny in the chapel, he would depart again with a certain semblance of being wholly indifferent to what was going forward."

The original, on the contrary, says: "Although he did not evince any open ambition, yet neither did he neglect the performance of those offices which the time and the place demanded, humbling himself to the cardinals, paying them visits, and making them offers, while on his part he received the visits and offers of the others."

The original says that he had taken these steps even before the conclave, with regard to Cardinal Farnese, and had afterward visited Cardinal Medici and Cardinal Este. It relates further that on the evening before his election he had paid a visit to Cardinal Madruzzi, and on the morning of the day had also visited Cardinal Altemps, receiving from both the assurance that he should be elected. In a word, Montalto is described in the original as a man in good health, active, and full of life; nay, that he was still so vigorous, and in the force of his years, is adduced as one of the motives for his election. The whole relation of his pretended debility and seclusion, and which has acquired so wide a currency, is an addition of Leti's; but the source whence he took this, whether he merely followed the popular rumor, a mere unfounded report, or found the story in some previous writer—these are questions to which we shall return.

2. A second material feature in the generally received opinion and reputation of Sixtus, is formed by the impression produced by his financial arrangements. This also is founded in part on the statements of Leti. In the second division of his book, p. 289, there is a summary of the papal revenue and expenditure, to which a certain degree of credit has been accorded, even by the most reasonable and well-informed observers: "The ordinary revenues possessed by the Apostolic See at the time when Sixtus entered on the pontificate." We ought at least to be able to give a general belief to his figures.

But even on this point, it is immediately manifest that affairs are not as Leti represents them. At the accession of Sixtus, in April, 1585, the contracts which Gregory XIII had made with the farmers of the revenue

in August, 1576, for nine years, were still in force. Of these we have an authentic statement, under the title "Revenues of the apostolic treasury under Gregory XIII, prepared in the year 1576." This document is very exact in its details, presenting, first, the sum contracted for; next, an account of such portions as were alienated; and, finally, the sums remaining—each separately stated. Now with this account, the details presented by Leti are far from agreeing. He has given the proceeds of the Roman customs and excise (*Dogana*) at 182,450 scudi, while the true amount was 133,000 only. Of all the sums that he has enumerated, there is not one correct. But where did he find the materials for this account? It is not possible that it should be altogether imaginary. There is in our possession another statement for the year 1592, two years after the death of Sixtus V. With this document the summary of Leti agrees in almost every item, and even in the order of their arrangement: in both, for example, we find the following articles in succession: "Dogana di Civita Vecchia, 1,977 scudi; di Narni, 400; di Rieti, 100; gabella del studo di Roma, 26,560; gabella del quadrino a libra di carne di Roma, 20,335," etc. But what a confusion is this! In these items all the changes effected by Sixtus were already commenced, and should have been here particularized. Neither does the confusion end here. Leti has apparently trusted to some very incorrect manuscript. If, indeed, he did not himself introduce intentional changes, it is at least certain that he has made the most extraordinary deviations from the authorities. The *Salara di Roma* produced 27,654 scudi; he makes it 17,654; the treasury and *salara* of Romagna brought in 71,395 scudi; he gives 11,395. But it will suffice to say that his statement is never correct for any one year; it is false and useless in all its parts.

3. We already perceive that he compiled without judgment or critical accuracy; he transcribed original documents, without doubt, but he did this too hastily. How, indeed, was it possible that in the restless and fugitive life he constantly led, he could have produced so many books, had he bestowed on them the due amount of labor? From what source, then, did he derive his materials on this occasion?

In the Corsini Library in Rome, there is a manuscript, "Detti e fatti di Papa Sisto V," which supplies us with sufficient information as to the life and proceedings of that pontiff.

It is manifest at the first glance that in this work are all the essentials of Leti. We have only to compare the first passages that present themselves.

The manuscript of the Corsini says, for example, "The parent of Sixtus V was called Francesco Peretti; he was born in the castle of Farnese, whence he was compelled, I know not by what accident, to depart. He set forth accordingly to seek his fortune elsewhere, and being poor and destitute he had not wherewith to live, being wont to sustain himself with what he gained at day-work, and laboring greatly, and he lived by his own industry. Departing then from Farnese, he went to seek an uncle of his."

Leti has, in like manner, in his first edition: "The father of Sixtus was called Francesco Peretti; he was born in the castle of Farnese, whence he was compelled, I know not by what accident that happened to him, to depart, which he did voluntarily, to seek his fortune elsewhere; while from the poverty of his family he had not wherewith to live, except by what he gained by his own hands at daily labor. Having set off from Farnese in the morning, he arrived in the evening at the caves to take counsel with an uncle of his."

This is obviously entirely the same account, with a few slight changes of expression.

Occasionally we find short interpolations in Leti, but immediately afterward the manuscript and his printed work correspond again.

When we further inquire whence proceed those additions with which Leti has been pleased to endow the narrative of the conclave, we shall find that these also are taken from this Corsini manuscript. The passage which we give above from Leti appears in the manuscript as follows:

“Montalto se ne stava tutto lasso con la corona in mano et in una piccolissima cella abandonato da ogn' uno, e se pure andava in qualche parte, come a celebrar messa, o nello scrutinio della capella, se ne andava,” etc.

“Montalto remained quite exhausted, with his rosary in his hand, and in a very small cell, abandoned by everyone; or if he did go anywhere, as for example, to read mass, or to the scrutiny in the chapel, he went,” etc. It is clear that Leti uses this text with only very slight modifications of style.

I will add one more passage on account of the importance of the subject. The manuscript says:

“Prima di cominciarsi il Montalto, che stava appresse al cardinale di San Sisto per non perderlo della vista o perche non fosse subornato da altri porporati, gli disse alle orecchie queste parole: Faccia istanza V. Signorina illustrissima che le scrutinio segua senza pregiudicio dell' adoratione: e queste fu il primo atto d' ambitione che mostrò esteriormente Montalto. Non mancò il cardinale di San Sisto di far ciò: perche con il Bonelli unitamente principì ad alzare la voce due o tre volte così: Senza pregiudicio della seguita adoratione. Queste voci atterrirono i cardinali: perche fu supposto da tutti loro che dovesse esser elette per adoratione. Il cardinale Montalto già cominciava a levar quelle nebbie di finitioni che avevano tenuto nascoto per la spatio di anni 14 l' ambitione grande che li regnava in seno: onde impatiente di tadersi nel trono papale, quando udì leggere la metà e più delli voti in suo favore, toste allungò il collo e si alzò in piedi, senza attendere il fine del scrutinio, e uscito in mezzo di quella capello gittò verso la porta di quella il bastoncello che portava per appoggiarsi, ergendosi tutto dritto in tal modo che pareva due palmi più longo del solito. E quelle che fu più maravigliose,” etc.

“Before beginning, Montalto, who stood near Cardinal San Sisto, that he might not lose sight of him, and might prevent him from being suborned by other prelates, said these words in his ear: ‘Your most illustrious lordship would do well to demand that the scrutiny should proceed without the prejudice of the adoration:’ and this was the first evidence of ambition outwardly displayed by Montalto. The Cardinal of San Sisto did not fail to do this, and together with Bonelli, he exclaimed two or three times, ‘Without prejudice of the adoration.’ These words confounded the cardinals, because it was supposed by all that the candidate was to be elected by adoration. Cardinal Montalto already began to throw off those clouds of dissimulation whereby he had kept concealed, for the space of fourteen years, the ardent ambition which reigned in his breast; so that, impatient to see himself on the papal throne, when he heard that more than half the votes were in his favor, he instantly raised his head and stood on his feet, without waiting to the end of the scrutiny, and walking forward into the midst of the chapel he threw toward the door of it a little cane which he carried to support himself with, raising himself entirely upright; so that he looked a good foot (two palms) taller than usual. And what was more extraordinary,” etc.

Let us compare with this the corresponding passage in Leti, i. p. 412. (Augsburg, 1669.)

"Prima di cominciarci Montalto si calò nell' orecchia di San Sisto, e gli disse: Fate istanza che lo scrutinio si faccia senza pregiudicio dell' adoratione: che fu appunto il primo atto d' ambitione che mostrò esterionmente Montalto. Nè San Sisto mancò di farlo, perche insieme con Alessandrino cominciò a gridare due o tre volte: Senza pregiudicio dell' adoratione. Già cominciava Montalto a levar quelle nebbie di finzioni che havevano tenuto nascosto per più di quindici anni l' ambitione grande che li regnava nel cuore: onde impatiente di vedersi nel trono ponteficale, non si tosto intese legger più della metà de' voti in suo favore che assicuratosi de ponteficato si levo in piedi e senza aspettare il fino dello scrutinio gettò nel mezo di quella sala un certo bastoncino che portava per appoggiarsi, ergendosi tutto dritto in tal modo che pareva quasi un piede più longo di quel ch'era prima: ma quello che fu più miraviglioso," etc. Here it is again obvious that, with the exception of a few unimportant literal changes, the passages are absolutely identical.

On one occasion Leti brings forward an authority for his narration: "I have conversed with a native of the March, who has been dead these twenty years, and was then very old, whose sole pleasure consisted in talking of Sixtus V, and who used to relate all sorts of particulars concerning him." Now, it seems in itself improbable that Leti, who arrived in Rome in the year 1644, at the age of fourteen, should have had intercourse with persons intimately acquainted with Sixtus V, or should have derived much assistance for his book from their conversation. But this is again another passage adopted from the above-mentioned manuscript: "And one day, speaking with a certain man from the March, who is dead, and who had no other pleasure than that of talking of Sixtus V." The twenty or thirty years are added by Leti, for the purpose of giving increased credibility to his relation.

Here, also, Leti appears to me to have used a defective copy. The manuscript tells us, in the very beginning, that the boy was often compelled to watch the cattle at night in the open fields—"in campagna aperta." Instead of this, Leti has, "in compagnia d' un' altro," which has all the appearance of an ill-corrected error in transcribing. The M. A. Selli of Leti, also, must have been, according to the manuscript, M. A. Siliaci.

In a word, Leti's Vita di Sisto V is certainly not an original work. It is merely a new version of an Italian manuscript that had fallen into his hands, with certain additions and alterations of style.

The whole question, therefore, is, what degree of credit this manuscript deserves. It is a collection of anecdotes, made after a considerable lapse of years, and apocryphal in its character throughout. His narration, in respect to the conclave in particular, is altogether unworthy of belief. Sixtus V was not the person of whom this story was first related; the same thing had already been said of Paul III. In the preface to the "Acta Concilii Tridentini, 1546," an extract from which will be found in Strobel's "Neue Beiträgen," v. 233, there occurs the following passage in relation to Paul III: "On the death of Clement, he at first dissembled very cunningly . . . that because of his age, he could scarcely stand on his feet. He smiled on all, offended no one, and, indeed, submitted his own will to the wish of the rest. . . . When now he heard himself declared Pope, he who had before pretended incapacity, disease, old age, and an almost timid complaisance, was then at once made active, vigorous, and haughty, and began to exhibit his unheard-of ferocity." We perceive clearly that this is the narrative given in the Corsini manuscript, and related by Leti.

Leti did not think of first examining the truth of his manuscript,

or of rectifying its errors. On the contrary, he has done his best to distort what he found in it still further from the truth.

He was, nevertheless, received with decided approbation; his work passed through edition after edition, and has appeared in many translations.

It is a remarkable fact that history, as it passes into the memory of man, always touches on the confines of mythology. Personal qualities stand forth in bolder relief, they become more sharply defined, and in one mode or another approach to a comprehensible ideal; events receive a more distinct and positive character of delineation, accessory circumstances and co-operative causes are forgotten and neglected. It is in this manner only that the demands of the imagination appear capable of receiving entire satisfaction.

At a later period comes the learned inquirer, who is amazed that men should ever have adopted opinions so erroneous: he does his best for the dissipation of these fantasies and falsehoods, but eventually becomes aware that his purpose is by no means easy of attainment. The understanding is convinced, but the imagination remains unsubdued.

Storia della vita e geste di Papa Sisto V., sommo pontefice, scritta dal Pre. Mro. Casimiro Tempesti. Roma, 1755. [Life and measures of Pope Sixtus V, etc., by Casimir Tempesti.] Rome, 1755.

We have already spoken of the moderate, cheerful, and well-intentioned pontiff Lambertini, Benedict XIV. His pontificate is further distinguished by the fact that almost all works of any utility, in respect to the internal history of the papacy, belong to that period. It was at that time that the Annals of Maffei were printed, that Bromato prepared his work in relation to Paul IV, and that biographies of Marcellus II and Benedict XIII appeared. Then also it was that Casimiro Tempesti, a Franciscan—as was Sixtus V himself—undertook to refute the errors of Leti in respect to that pontiff.

For this purpose all desirable facilities were accorded to him. He was permitted to make unrestricted search through the Roman libraries, where he found the most valuable materials in the richest abundance—biographies, correspondences, memorials of all kinds; and these he proceeded to incorporate in his work. Perhaps the most important of all this mass of documents is the correspondence of Morosini, the nuncio in France, which fills a large part of his book; for he has generally adopted his materials into his text, with but very slight modifications.

On this point we have but two remarks to make.

In the first place, he assumes a peculiar position in regard to the authorities he uses. He believes them and transcribes them, but he is persuaded that the Pope must have been on bad terms with these writers—that he must have offended them; so that they no sooner begin to find fault with the pontiff, than Tempesti renounces them, and labors to affix some different explanations to such actions of his hero as they call in question.

But he sometimes departs altogether from his authorities, either because they are not sufficiently zealous for the Church, or because he has not attained to a clear comprehension of the matter treated. An example of this will be found in the affair of Mühlhausen, in the year 1587. The manuscript that Tempesti designates as the "Anonimo Capitolino," and which he has in very many places directly transcribed, relates this occurrence with much perspicuity. Let us observe the mode in which he uses it.

In remarking the disputes that broke out at Mühlhausen, "about a little wood that was barely worth twelve crowns," as Laufer expresses himself ("Helv. Geschichte," xii. 10), the Anonimo very properly observes, "*in non so che causa*" (I know not for what cause). Of this Tempesti makes "*in urgente lor emergenza*" (in their pressing emergency). The people of Mühlhausen put some of their Senators in prison: "*carcerarano parecchi del suo senato*" (they imprisoned several of their councillors). Tempesti says, "*carcerati alcuni*" (some were imprisoned), without remarking that they were members of the Council. Fears were entertained lest the inhabitants of Mühlhausen should give themselves up to the protection of the Catholic districts, and separate themselves from the Protestants: "*Che volesse mutar religione e protettori, passando all' eretica fede con raccomandarsi alli cantoni cattolici, siccome allora era raccomandata alli eretti.*" This is in allusion to the fact that Mühlhausen, on its first entrance into the Swiss Confederation, was not acknowledged by Uri, Schwytz, Lucerne, and Unterwalden, as these cantons afterward refused it their protection on joining the Reformed Church. (Glutz Blotzheim, continuation of Müller's "Schweizergeschichte," p. 373.) Tempesti has not an idea of this peculiar position of things. He says very dryly: "*Riputarono che i Milausini volessero dichiararsi cattolici.*" (They believed that the people of Mühlhausen desired to declare themselves Catholics.) Tempesti proceeds in like manner, even where the author shows by his typographical signs that he is using the words of others. The "Anonimo Capitolino" says that Pope Sixtus V was about to send 100,000 scudi into Switzerland for the promotion of this secession, when he received intelligence that all the dissensions were appeased. Tempesti, nevertheless, declares that the Pope did send the money; for he is resolved to make his hero, above all things, magnificent and liberal, although it is certain that liberality was by no means the quality for which he was most remarkable.

I will not further accumulate examples. These are his modes of proceeding in all cases wherein I have compared him with his authorities. He is diligent, careful, and possessed of good information, but limited, dry, monotonous, and destitute of any true insight into affairs; his collections do not enable the reader to dispense with an examination of the originals. This work of Tempesti's was not calculated to counteract, by an equal impression, the effect of that produced by the book of Leti.

II.—MANUSCRIPTS

Let us now return to our manuscripts; for precise and positive information, we are, after all, constantly thrown back on them.

And first we meet with a manuscript by Pope Sixtus himself—memoranda written with his own hand, and made while he was still in his convent.

No. 49

Memorie autografe di Papa Sisto V. Bibl. Chigi, No. III. 70. 158 leaves.

This document was found in a garret by a certain Salvetti, who made a present of it to Pope Alexander VII. There is no doubt whatever of its authenticity.

"This book shall be for a memorial of my few small proceedings, written with my own hand, wherein that which shall be written to the praise of God shall be the naked truth, and so I pray every one who reads it to believe."

The book first contains accounts, of which, however, at least one leaf is missing, if not more.

"And here shall be written all that is owing to me, and all that I owe, with everything of moment that is done by me; and the truth will be such as shall here be found written."

To what I have already narrated in the text, I will here add one example more: "Andrea of Apiro, 'friar conventual' of St. Francis, came to Venice, and when departing, desired from me a loan of money to pay for goods which he had bought for his brother, who he told me, keeps a shop in Apiro, and I lent him thirty florins, there being present brother Girolamo of Lunano, and brother Cornelio of Bologna, and he promised to restore them to me at Montalto, paying them into the hands of Brother Salvatore, first taking all the present month of August, as appears in a writing under his own hand, of the ninth day of August, 1557, which writing is in my little chest."

We here gain an insight into these little monastic proceedings; how one lends money to another, the borrower assisting the little trade of his brother, while others serve as witnesses to the transaction. Fra Salvatore also makes his appearance.

Then follows an inventory of books—"Inventory of all the books, whether bound separately or together with others, that I, brother Felix Peretto of Montalto, have bought and possess, with the permission of my superiors. Those that are bound by themselves make separate numbers, but not those bound together with others." I am now sorry that I did not take notes from this catalogue; but it seemed to me to be very insignificant.

At length we find at page 144: "Memoranda concerning the years that I passed as a student, the offices I have held, my engagements as a preacher, and the commissions I have received."

These I will give at full length, although Tempesti has made extracts in various places of his work. It is important as being the only diary of a pope that we possess.

"In the name of God, on Wednesday, September the 1st, 1540, I entered on my studies in Ferrara, and finished the triennium there under the reverend Master Bartolomeo della Pergola. In 1543, after the chapter had been held in Ancona, I went to study in Bologna under the reverend Master Giovanni da Correggio; I arrived at Bologna in the month of July, on the day of St. James the Elder, and remained there until September, 1544, when the examiner sent me as convent-bachelor to Rimini, with the most reverend regent, Master Antonio, of the city of Penna, where I completed my time till the chapter of Venice in the year 1546. At the conclusion of the chapter I went as convent-bachelor to Siena with Master Alessandro da Montefalco, and there finished the triennium till the chapter of Assisi in 1549. But the examiner gave me a master's license on the 22d of July in 1548, and four days after I took the degree of doctor at Fermo. At the chapter-general of Assisi, I was made regent of Siena in 1549, and there I finished the triennium—Monsignore Gia Jacopo da Montefalco being general. At Naples, in the chapter-general of Genoa, I was made regent of Naples in 1553, by the most reverend general, Master Giulio da Piacenza, and there I finished the triennium. At Venice, in the general chapter of Brescia, in 1556, I was made regent of Venice, and there finished the triennium, and in the first year of my regency I was elected inquisitor

for the whole of the most illustrious dominion on the 17th of January, 1557. In the chapter-general of Assisi, 1559, Master Giovan Antonio da Cervia being elected general, I was confirmed regent and inquisitor in Venice as aforesaid. On the death of Pope Paul IV, in August of the same year, I went to visit my relations at Montalto, apostolic inquisitor. Induced by the great tumults prevailing, I returned to office on the 22d of February, 1560, with a brief from Pope Pius IV, and remained there until the end of June, when I was called to Rome. On the 18th of July, 1560, I was made assistant theologian to the Inquisition of Rome, and was sworn into office by Cardinal Alessandrino.

“(Preachings.) In the year 1540 I preached—as yet I had never chanted mass—in Montepagano, a place in Abruzzo. In the year 1544 I preached at Voghiera, a town of Ferrara, while I was a student at Ferrara. In the year 1542 I preached at Grignano, a town of the Polesine di Rovigo, and was studying at Ferrara. In the year 1543 I preached to the brotherhood of Badenara (Diedo and Manfrone were then living), and was studying in Ferrara. In the year 1544 I preached at Canda, a town of Badia, and was studying in Bologna. In the year 1545 I preached the festival sermons at Rimini in our own convent, because the pulpit of Monte Scutulo was already occupied by the master of the college in Bologna, and I was bachelor of the convent of Rimini. In the year 1546 I preached at Macerata di Montefeltro, and was bachelor of the convent of Rimini. In the year 1547 I preached at St. Geminiano, in Tuscany, and was bachelor of the convent of Siena. In the year 1548 I preached at St. Miniato al Tedesco, in Tuscany, and was bachelor of Siena. In the year 1549 I preached in Ascoli della Marca, having left Siena on account of the entrance of the Spaniards, who were introduced by Don Diego Mendoza. In the year 1550 I preached at Fano, and was regent at Siena. In the year 1551 I preached in the cathedral, being appointed by the most reverend bishop, and was regent at Siena. In the year 1552 I preached in the Church of the Holy Apostles, in Rome, and three most illustrious cardinals entertained me in Rome, and throughout that year I read the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans three days in every week. In the year 1553 I preached at Genoa, and the chapter-general was held there, when I was sent regent to Naples. In the year 1554 I preached at Naples, in the church of St. Lorenzo; and was regent there, and throughout that year I read the gospel of St. John in that church. In the year 1555 I preached in the cathedral at Perugia, at the request of the most illustrious Cardinal della Corgna. In the year 1556 I was called to Rome to the General Council, which was now commenced by his holiness Pope Paul IV, but I did not preach. In the year 1557 I was elected inquisitor of Venice and of its entire territory; and having to sit in court three days of every week, I did not usually preach, excepting three(?) days of the week at St. Catherine’s of Venice. In the year 1558 I preached at the Holy Apostles, in Venice, and four days of the week at St. Catherine, although I still performed the office intrusted to me by the Holy Inquisition. In the year 1559 I did not preach more than three days in the week at St. Catherine’s of Venice, because of the multitude of cases before the Holy Office. In the year 1560, returning to Venice as inquisitor, with the brief of his holiness, I preached in the afternoons only at St. Catherine’s, as aforesaid.

“(Commissions.) In the year 1548 I received from the very reverend Master Bartolomeo da Macerata, minister of the March of Ancona, a commission to Fermo, for the purpose of liberating Brother Leonardo della Ripa from the prison of the vice-legate. I liberated him accordingly, and conducted him to Macerata. In the year 1549 I

had commissions from the same reverend father for the whole district of Ascoli, from February to Easter. In the second year, and from the same person, I had a commission to the convent of Fabriano, and I there reinstated Brother Evangelista, of the same place. In the year 1550 I had from the same party a commission in Senegaglia, where I restored Brother Nicolo to his house, and examined his accounts. In the year 1551 I had a commission from the very reverend father-general, Monseignor Gia Jacobo da Montefalco, to visit all that district of Montefeltro, Cagli, and Urbino. In the year 1552 I received from the most illustrious cardinal-protector a commission with respect to a lawsuit pending between the guardian brother Tommaso da Piacenza, and a certain brother Francesco da Osimo, who had superintended the kitchen department in Santo Apostolo. The same year I had a commission from the most reverend father-general, Monseignor Giulio da Piacenza, to the convent of Fermo, when I deprived Master Dominico da Montesanto of the guardianship, and examined the accounts of the procurator brother Ludovico Pontano; and I banished brother Ciccone da Monte dell' Olmo from the province, for having inflicted certain wounds on brother Tommaso, of the same place. In the year 1555 I had a commission from the aforesaid most reverend general to go into Calabria, and act as minister, because he had heard that the minister was dead; but being informed he was alive, I did not go. In the year 1557 I had a commission respecting Gattolino di Capo d' Istria, and respecting Garzoneo da Veglia, with several commissions besides, of brother Giulio of Capo d' Istria. In the year 1559 I was made commissioner of the province of St. Antonio; I held the chapter at Bassano, and Master Cornelio Veneto was elected minister. In the year 1560 I was appointed inquisitor apostolic for all the dominions of Venice, and on the 16th of July, in the same year, was made assistant theologian to the Inquisition of Rome.

"At the chapter-general held in Brescia in the year 1556, I was elected promoter to masterships, together with Andrea and Master Giovanni da Bergamo; and at that time eight bachelors, promoted by us, were admitted to doctors' degrees by the very reverend general, Master Giulio da Piacenza; namely, Antonio da Montalcino, Ottaviano da Ravenna, Bonaventura da Gabiano, Marc Antonio da Lugo, Ottaviano da Napoli, Antonio Panzetta da Padova, Ottaviano da Padova, and Martiale, a Calabrian. Eight others were also promoted, but were not admitted to doctors' degrees, by the most reverend father: Francesco da Sonnino, Antonio da Urbino, Nicolo da Montefalco, Jacobo, an Apulian, Antonio Bolletta da Firenze, Constantino da Crema, il Piemontese, and il Siciliano. But with the authority of a knight of St. Pietro da Brescia, I did myself confer the degree of doctor on Antonio da Urbino, the Piemontese, and Constantino da Crema. In May, 1558, with the authority of the Cavalier Centani, I also admitted, in Venice, Brother Paolo da St. Leo, Brother Andrea d' Arimino, Giammatteo da Sassocorbaro, and Brother Tironino da Lunano, who were all my disciples, to be electors.

No. 50

De Vita Sixti V., ipsius manu emendata. Bibl. Altieri. 57 leaves.
[The Life of Sixtus V, corrected by his own hand.] Altieri Library.

This, it is true, is only a copy, but one in which the errors of the first writer, and the corrections made by the Pope, are faithfully transcribed. The corrections are seen written over the words that have been erased by a stroke of the pen.

It begins by describing the poverty of this Pope's parents, who earned their maintenance "*alieni parvique agricultura*" (by the culture of a narrow field, and that belonging to others). Above all other members of the family, he praises the Signora Camilla, who at the time he wrote had certainly but very moderate claims to notice. "Who so restrained herself within the bounds of her modesty and humility, that she cannot be said to have gained anything by the most high and exalted fortune of her brother, beyond the fame of innocence and frugality, and the praise acquired by her diligence in piously and liberally educating the grandchildren left by the family to her care." He enlarges on the education, advance, and early administration of the pontiff, and is particularly remarkable for the zeal with which he insists on the Christian principle obvious in the architecture of Rome, and the eulogies he bestows on that tendency.

This little work must have been composed about the year 1587. It was the intention of the author to depict the succeeding periods also. "We shall speak more fully when we shall attempt to relate his acts in a more extended order, which we will do, if life be permitted us, with our most earnest efforts; and from the magnitude of his conceptions, and his disdain of all mediocrity of glory, it seems probable that he will supply rich materials for writing many volumes of no ordinary character."

Now the most important question arising with respect to the document before us is, whether it really was revised by the pontiff.

Tempesti, who was not acquainted with the copy in the Altieri Library, was also in possession of a little work that had been recommended to him as having been composed by Graziani and revised by Pope Sixtus. He makes certain objections against it, and may possibly be correct in these remarks. But that work was not identical with this of ours. Tempesti draws attention, among other points (p. 30), to the fact that Graziani makes the Pope begin his first procession from the Church of the Holy Apostles, whereas, this procession, in fact, set forth from that of the Ara Coeli. But this is a mistake much more likely to escape the observation of a man who had become pope, and had the affairs of the whole world on his hands, than that of the father Maestro Tempesti. In our "*Vita*," however, this error is not to be found: the fact is there stated quite correctly: "But that he might begin by doing honor to God, from whom he had received his dignity, he decreed before all things that supplication should be offered, to which end he most piously proceeded on foot with the fathers and a vast crowd of people, from the church of the Franciscans, to that of Santa Maria Maggiore."

We have still further testimony to the authenticity of our little work. Another biography, the next which we shall examine, relates that Sixtus had made a note on the margin of certain commentaries, to the effect that "*sorum alteram tenera etate decessisse*" (another sister had died in her childhood); and we find that this very thing has been done on the manuscript before us. The first author had written "*Quarum altera nupsit, ex cujus filia Silvestrii profluxisse dicuntur, quos adnumerat suis pontifex*," etc. (Of whom one was married, and from a daughter of hers the Silvestri family is said to be descended, whom the pontiff numbers among his kindred.) These and some other words Sixtus struck out, and wrote in addition "*Quarum altera etate adhuc tenera decessit*."

This second biography further says: "In those commentaries, revised by Sixtus himself, I find written by him that Mariana, the mother of Sixtus, not indeed before the conception of her son, but before his

birth, was divinely premonished of his future greatness." This also we find in our manuscript. The author had said that Peretto had received the prediction in a dream, that a son should be born to him, who would one day attain to the highest dignities. The word "father" is marked out, and "*ejus uxor partui vicina*" (his wife near to her delivery) inserted.

By these corroborations our little work acquires a great authenticity: it proves itself to be immediately connected with that autograph of the Pope, and well deserves to be separately printed.

No. 51

Sixtus V., Pontifex Maximus. Bibl. Altieri. 30 leaves.

This is precisely the work by which we have been enabled to establish the authenticity of the preceding. I do not perceive that it was known either to Tempesti or any other writer.

The author wrote after the death of Sixtus. He already complains that the pontiff's memory was injured and misrepresented by many fabulous inventions. "Sixtus V," he begins, "Sixtus V, of memory dear to some, abhorred by others, but great in the opinion of all, shall be described by us carefully, and without false motives: our care is stimulated by the expectation of numbers (although the manuscript was never printed), and impending age precludes all selfish motives."

He considers his subject to be very important. "There have scarcely ever concurred events of greater magnitude with a pope of higher mind."

In the first part of his little work the author relates the life of Sixtus V to the period of his elevation to the papal throne. For this purpose he derives his materials from the above-named biography, the various correspondences of Sixtus, which he frequently cites, and oral communications from Cardinal Paleotto, or from a confidential member of the Pope's household, called Capeletto. From these sources he obtained many remarkable particulars.

Chap. 1. "*Sixti genus, parentes, patria.*"—We find here the strange story that Sixtus had desired in his youth to be called Crinitus (the long-haired); nay, that he even was so called in his monastery for a certain time. By this word he meant to signify a comet, and chose the name as expressing his hopes in his own future fortunes, "by reason of the illustrious name and station ever hoped by him, in consequence of the portents which I shall hereafter set forth." There is supposed to be allusion to this in the star of his armorial bearings; but that is certainly not a comet. The pontiff himself told Paleotto that the pears in his arms were meant to signify his father (Peretti), and that the mountains designated his native land; the lion bearing the pears was meant to imply at once magnanimity and beneficence.

2. "*Ortus Sixti divinitus ejusque futura magnitudo prænunciatur.*" "The birth of Sixtus and his future greatness is divinely foretold." Sixtus himself relates that his father once heard a voice calling to him in the night, "Rise, Peretti, and go seek thy wife, for a son is about to be born to thee, to whom thou shalt give the name of Felix, since he is one day to be the greatest among mortals." He was a strange fellow, without doubt, this Peretti. His wife was at that time in the service of the above-named Diana, in the town. Following the intimation of this prophetic encouragement, he stole away to the town through the night and the fogs, for he dared not show himself in the day, from

fear of his creditors. An extraordinary origin this! At a later period Peretti formally assured his creditors of their safety on the strength of his son's good-fortune. When he had the child in his arms he would declare that he was carrying a pope, and would hold out the little foot for his neighbors to kiss.

3. "*Nomen.*"—Peretti declared, when objections were made to him against the name of Felix: "*Baptismo potius quam Felicis nomine carbit.*" "Rather shall he be without baptism than without the name of Felix." The bed once took fire from a light left burning near it; the mother rushed to save her child, and found it unhurt and laughing; very much as it happened to Servius Tullius, the child of the slave-girl, whose predestined greatness was announced by the flame that played around his head while asleep. After so many centuries had passed, the prodigy was repeated, or at least the belief in it was revived.

4. "*Studia.*"—That the pontiff had tended swine was a fact that he was not fond of having repeated; and finding it inserted in the above-mentioned commentaries, he forbade their continuance. The narration in this chapter describes the rapidity of his early progress, and how he occupied his master too much for his five bajocchi. "He had scarcely passed another month with the master when the latter sent to Peretti, refusing to abide by the agreement; for that Felix took so many lessons out of the usual course, and beyond what the rest could comprehend, that he, the teacher, found it not expedient to labor so much more in teaching him than he did all the others, thus doing more work where he had least pay." The future pontiff was rather severely treated by Fra Salvatore. He got many a blow for not placing his food before him in proper order. The poor child raised himself on tiptoe, but was so little that he could still scarcely reach the level of the table.

5. "His conventual life."—This is what we have related in the text when describing his mode of study, and the disputation at Assisi, the first fame of his preaching. When on a journey, the people of Belforte stopped him, and would not permit him to leave them until he had thrice preached to an immense concourse of the inhabitants.

6. "The occasion of Montalto's forming an acquaintance with Ghislieri Cardinal Alexandrino."

7. "*Per magnam multorum invidiam ad magnos multosque honores evadit.*" (To the great envy of many, he arrives at great and numerous honors.)—In Venice particularly, where he carried through the printing of the Index, he had much to endure. He was on one occasion compelled to leave the city, and hesitated to return. Cardinal Carpi, who had been his protector from the time of the often-cited dispensation, gave the Franciscans of Venice to understand that unless Montalto were suffered to remain there, no one of their order should continue in the city. Yet he could not maintain his ground there. The brethren of his own order accused him before the Council of Ten, charging him with occasioning disorders in the republic, by refusing absolution, namely, to those who were in possession of forbidden books ("*qui damnatos libros domi retineant*"). He was compelled to return to Rome, where he became consultor to the Inquisition.

8. "*Romanæ inquisitionis consultor, sui ordinis procurator, inter theologos congregationis Tridentini concilii adscribitur.*" (Consultor of the Roman Inquisition, procurator of his order, he is inscribed among the theologians of the congregation of the Council of Trent.)—By the Franciscans of Rome also, Montalto was received only on the express recommendation of Cardinal Carpi, and the latter sent him his meals; he supported him in every position, and recommended him on his death-bed to Cardinal Ghislieri.

9. "*Iter in Hispaniam.*" (Journey into Spain.)—He accompanied Buoncompagno, afterward Gregory XIII. Even at that time there was by no means a good understanding between them. Montalto was sometimes obliged to travel in the baggage-wagon. "It happened occasionally, whether by way of affronting him or from necessity, that having no animal provided for his riding, he was compelled to take a place on the vehicle which bore the baggage." Many other slights followed.

10. "*Post honorifice delatum episcopatum per iniquorum hominum calumnias cardinalatus Montalto maturatur.*" (After an honorable fulfilment of the duties of his bishopric, Montalto's advance to the cardinalate was hastened by the calumnies of evil-minded men.)—The nephew of Pius V was also opposed to him, being anxious to advance some old boon companion of his own. The Pope was told, among other things, that four carefully closed chests had been taken into the apartments of Montalto, who had lodged himself with exceeding splendor and luxury. Pius hereupon went himself unexpectedly to the monastery. He found bare walls, and asked what were the contents of the chests, which were still in the room: "Books, holy father," said Montalto, "that I propose to take with me to St. Agatha" (St. Agatha was his bishopric), and he opened one of the chests. Pius was highly pleased, and soon afterward made him cardinal.

11. "*Montalti dum cardinalis fuit vita mores.*" (The life and habits of Montalto while in his cardinalate.)—Gregory deprived him of his pension, which many thought to be significant of his future pontificate: "For there has long been a weak superstition held about the court, that a certain secret aversion steals into the minds of the pontiffs against those who are to be their successors."

12. "*Francisci Peretti cædes incredibili animi æquitate tolerata.*" (The slaying of Francesco Peretti is endured with incredible equanimity.)

13. "*Pontifex M. magna patrum consensione declaratum.*" (Is declared supreme pontiff with the full consent of the fathers.)

Then follows the second part.

"*Hactenus Sixti vitam per tempora digessimus: jam hinc per species rerum et capita, ut justa hominis æstimatio cuique to promptu sit, exequar.*" (To this point we have related the life of Sixtus in the order of time: his actions shall henceforth be arranged under their several heads, that all may readily form a just estimate of the man.)

But of this part only three chapters are to be found:—"*Gratia in benemeritis;—pietas in Franciscanorum ordinem;—publica securitas.*" (His favor to the deserving, his attachment to the Franciscans, and the public security.)

The last is by far the most important, on account of the description it furnishes of the times of Gregory XIII. I did not make a complete transcript of the whole, but will at least give an extract: "It is true that, at the first, those only who were outlawed for murder and robbery had commenced this kind of life, to escape from the hold of the magistrates. Debarred the use of fire and water, concealed in the coverts of the woods, and lurking like wild beasts among the pathless wilds of the mountains, they led an anxious and miserable existence, sustained by almost necessary thefts. But when, by the love of rapine and the hope of immunity, numbers of most depraved men were afterward allured to the same course, robbery began to be followed as though it were a permitted kind of trade or commerce. Companies of outlaws and assassins were accordingly associated for violence, murder, and robbery, under certain chiefs, distinguished for their crimes and cruelties. These chiefs esteemed their followers in proportion to their audacity and guilt; the most atrocious criminals, and those who

had dared the most savage outrages, were most extolled and held in highest honor, being endowed with titles, almost in the manner of soldiers, and made decurions or centurions. These now infested the open fields and the roads, not as mere wandering marauders, but as men who had the just right to the rule of them. . . . Then, finally, they lent out their services for money, slaughtering the enemies of those who hired them, deflowering virgins, and committing other iniquities from which the soul recoils, being ever ready to perform villainies for those who needed and would pay for the aid of desperate hands. And things had proceeded so far that he whom these outlaws agreed to protect from the consequences of crime believed himself able to commit evil with impunity, so that reckless and savage men of this sort began to be thought needful, not by the wicked only, who required their help, but even by those who were not depraved, but who considered them useful as protectors from danger. . . . These things were openly tolerated and practised by the great and nobles; . . . and Giacomo Buoncompagno was long involved in deadly feuds with the great men, because he had violated the immunities of their houses. For numbers of the nobles, either overwhelmed by debts, induced by ambition and love of pleasure to exceed their means, or led on to deeds of cruelty and violence by quarrels and revenge, afforded their patronage to robbers, and even entered into leagues with them, hiring their services to do murder in return for impunity and shelter. Then, when it became known who was the patron of the several assassins, he who had suffered robbery or violence addressed his plaint to this patron, when he, pretending to meditate, became the plunderer of both, extorting a part of their prey from the brigands, and taking reward for his pains from those who sought his help, though making a show of refunding it—the most cruel and iniquitous of all modes of plunder. Nor were there wanting men who even contrived attacks on merchants and rich persons, on their sons, their estates, or other possessions, and then sold their services to the aggrieved for the redemption or ransom of that which had been taken, pretending to so much compassion for that disaster, that they might have been believed to pity those sufferers from their hearts. . . . Lawsuits were instituted against certain others at the instance of bandits, some witnesses being compelled to swear by fear, while others by fear were prevented from bearing testimony. . . . Throughout the cities factions were established, each distinguished by head-dress or manner of wearing the hair, which some turned to the right side, and some to the left, while others raised it in knots, or brought it low on their foreheads. There were many who, to confirm their hold on the party they had adopted, killed their wives that they might marry the daughters, sisters, or other kinswomen of those with whom they desired to be leagued. Others slew the husbands of their kinswomen, either secretly or openly, that they might give the widows in marriage to those of their league. It was at that time a common thing for a man to obtain any woman to wife whose beauty or riches had pleased him, by the mediation of some noble, even though her kindred were unwilling; nor did it rarely happen that highly-born and very rich men were compelled to give their daughters in marriage with large dowries, to most abject outlaws, and men living by rapine, or to join themselves in marriage with the undowered daughters of those brigands. The most abandoned men constituted tribunals, announced their courts, arrogated judicial power, called the accused before them, urged witnesses to testify against them, extorted evidence by tortures, and finally passed sentence in regular form: or they would try those who had been thrown

into prison by the lawful magistrate, have the cause of such pleaded before themselves by attorney, then acquitting them, would condemn their accusers and judges in the penalties of the *lex talionis*. If the accused were present, immediate execution followed the sentence; if the decree were against the absent, no other delay was permitted than that needful for despatching the ministers of crime with orders written and formally sealed, who inflicted with grievous reality what had been determined in mockery of law. There were many who called themselves lords and kings of such provinces as they chose, not even dispensing with the solemnities of inauguration. . . . More than once, when they had plundered the churches of their sacred furniture, they bore the most revered and most holy Eucharist into the woods and haunts of robbers, there to desecrate it for the most execrable uses of wicked magic. The indulgent government of Gregory made bad worse. The great multitude of the outlaws easily furnished a large amount of bribes from their plunder to the servants of government, who connived at their proceedings, or only made a show of disapproving them. Then, those who would petition for an amnesty received that security; others took it of their own authority; nay, there were many of them appointed to command fortresses, towns, and soldiers. These, like men returning from some great action, were lauded wherever they went by the multitude who poured forth to behold them."

No. 52

Memorie del pontificato di Sisto V. Altieri XIV. a. iv. fol. 480 leaves.
[Memoirs of the pontificate of Sixtus V.] Altieri Library, etc.

This circumstantial work is not entirely new and unknown. Tempesti had a copy taken from the archives of the Capitol, and he describes the author of it as the Anonimo Capitolino.

But Tempesti is extremely unjust toward this work. He has copied it in numberless passages, yet in the general estimate at the commencement of his history, he declares it to be unworthy of credit.

It is yet without doubt the best work that has been written in relation to Sixtus V.

The author had the most important documents at his command. This is perfectly obvious from his narrative, and he has himself assured us of it; as regarded German affairs, for example, he says: "I have resolved to relate minutely whatever I find concerning them in authentic letters or relations."

With regard to the financial arrangements of Sixtus V he has the most exact information, and follows them step by step throughout. Yet he proceeds to this part of his task with infinite discretion. "*Gli vonivano*," says he. "The most extravagant and startling proposals were made to him for the raising of money, but all wearing a very plausible appearance: their character being such, I do not venture to commit them all to paper, and will but adduce some few, which I have seen set forth in the original letters of the inventors."

Our author had written a life of Gregory XIII, and therefore it is, perhaps, that he has been supposed to be Maffei; but I can find no other reason whatever for identifying him with that Jesuit.

It is to be regretted that this work also is only a fragment. Even from the beginning the earlier events are wanting. They were written, but the work—our manuscript, at least—breaks off in the midst of a sentence. The measures taken in the first years of the Pope are then examined, but the writer comes down only to the year 1587.

We might the better console ourselves for the loss of the first part, because we are elsewhere so well provided with good information as relates to that period; but the absence of the latter portion is exceedingly to be regretted. It is a kind of European history, which the author communicates from really authentic and credible authorities. With respect to the year 1558, the "Annus climactericus" of the world, we should, without doubt, have found most valuable information from this writer.

Let us observe the reasonable manner in which he expresses himself at the beginning of his work. "I have left no path untried by which I could arrive at the light of truth, but have diligently opened out all I could find, and walked therein with unwearied assiduity, as will be seen by the account I render of the writings and reports to which I have had recourse in the composition and texture of this history. I pray God, the author and father of all truth, that as he has given me the fixed determination to utter no falsehood with the view to deceive others, so he will grant me such light as that I shall never say what is false from having been myself deceived."

This is a prayer that is altogether worthy of an historian.

At the election of cardinals in 1587, he concludes with these words: "Hopes are often contrary to what they seem."

I have adopted a great part of his statements, after having compared them with those of other authentic sources: what remains could not be added here without exceeding the compass of this work.

No. 53

Sixti V. Pontificis Maximi vita a Guido Gualterio Sangenesino descripta. [Life of the Supreme Pontiff Sixtus V, by Guido Gualterio Sangenesino.] MS. of the Altieri Library, viii., f. 1. 54 leaves.

Tempesti alludes to a diary kept in the time of Sixtus V by an author of this name. It is the same author who wrote the biography now before us, and in this work he refers to the earlier one. His labors had been especially rewarded by Sixtus V.

The copy in the Altieri palace is entirely authentic and perhaps unique: it contains remarks in the author's handwriting. "When I was a boy in my native place, Sangeno," etc., he observes in these notes, so that there can be no doubt.

He wrote his work soon after the death of Sixtus V, in the early part of the pontificate of Clement VIII, of whom he often speaks. He mentions that the intelligence of the conversion of Henry IV had just arrived, so that we may with certainty assume the year 1593 as that in which he composed his book.

The author is also particularly worthy of credit. He was closely connected with the family of Peretti. Maria Felice, daughter of the Signora Camilla, was brought up in Sangeno; the wife of the author was her intimate friend. He was himself familiarly acquainted with Antonio Bosio, the secretary of Montalto's first protector, Cardinal Carpi. "*Summa mihi cum eo necessitudo intercedebat.*" Thus he was particularly well informed in regard to the earlier circumstances of the Pope's life.

He devotes to them the first part of his work.

He informs us how Fra Felice first became acquainted with Pope Paul IV. A Minorite church in the March had been burnt, but the

host remained uninjured. There must have been some particular circumstance connected with this fact; suffice it to say that a great consultation was held in relation to it. Cardinals of the Inquisition, generals of orders, and many other prelates, were assembled. Cardinal Carpi brought Montalto with him, and insisted that this favorite of his should also be allowed to give his opinion. Montalto gave it accordingly; all agreed that it was the best, and Carpi departed in great good humor. "His opinion was accepted by all. Then Cardinal Carpi, rising, said: 'I knew well what kind of man I had brought hither.'"

The description of the future pontiff's Aristotelian labors is remarkable.

The edition of Posius, who was in fact a disciple of Montalto, is directly ascribed by Gualterius to Montalto himself. "Having procured copies of the works of Aristotle and Averroes from many ancient libraries, he amended their text, and collected their works, arranged in due order, into eleven volumes, as they are called. He adapted the greater commentary of Averroes to the text of Aristotle, forming all into books, with a fitting distribution and final exposition. He discovered the medium commentary of Averroes in seven books of metaphysics, expounded them, and restored the "*epitomata quæsitæ*" of the said Averroes, and his epistles to their places. He further added one hundred solutions of contradictions to those published by the most learned Zunara."

He next delineates the character of his hero: "He merited the praise of magnanimity, but yet was prone to anger. Most sparing of food, and very temperate in sleep: never seen idle, but even when at leisure ever meditating either of study or business."

Thus he arrives at the conclave. Whereupon he begins to describe the acts of Sixtus V, classed under his different virtues: "*Religio, Pietas, Justitia, Fortitudo, Magnificentia, Providentia.*"

Singular as this classification is, we are, nevertheless, made acquainted with many beautiful things in proceeding through it.

Earnestly has Gualterius labored to defend the Pope against the complaints made of him on account of his imposts. But let us observe how he has done this. "First they appear not to know that the Roman pontiff has command, not of our possessions only, but also of our very persons." What would the present times say to such a right on the part of the State?

He has devoted particular attention to the architectural works of Sixtus V, and his remarks on this subject are very interesting.

He describes the condition of the old Lateran. "There was a very large hall called the hall of the council; there were also porticoes and galleries, with chapels, and cells from the hall to the chapel of St. Saba, which was called St. Salvatore; there were the steps of a holy staircase, with a most ancient portico, from which the elder pontiffs, who had inhabited the Lateran, were wont to bless the people. These ancient buildings were held in the highest veneration by the people, because there were in them no few monuments believed to have been brought even from Jerusalem. But perhaps this credence had degenerated into superstition: wherefore Sixtus, for just reasons as it is fair to believe, preserving the more assured and authentic monuments, and transferring the holy stairs to another place, demolished all the rest."

We perceive that the author submits, but he is sensible to the wrong done. No less remarkable is the description of St. Peter's as it was at that time (1593).

"In the Vatican he completely finished the great dome and the

smaller domes, and also the enclosure which they call the greater chapel, together with other smaller chapels, and the whole building of the new church dedicated to St. Peter the Apostle. But, prevented by death, he could not cover the roof with lead, nor add the ornaments, nor lay the pavement of the church, as he had intended. But such things as remain to be completed, it is believed that Clement VIII will continue and perfect; he has already covered the roof with plates of lead, has raised the banner of the blessed cross in gilded brass, has made level and beautifully laid the pavement of the church, and is giving diligent labor to the completion, and fitting ornaments to the whole; which, when it shall have been fully executed after the form proposed by Michael Angelo, will assuredly surpass all antiquity."

We learn from this that there was still nothing else contemplated but the completion of Michael Angelo's plan, and it even appears as though the whole has been really completed (*penitus absolvit*).

We have already seen one remarkable notice of the colossal statues. I will here add another.

The author is speaking of the open space on the Quirinal. Of its adornment under Sixtus V he says: "He adorned it with a perennial fountain, and with the marble horses of Praxiteles and Phidias, which being injured by age as well as the men restraining them, he restored them, with their marble pedestal, to their pristine form, and from their ancient place before the baths of Constantine he transferred them to another part of the area, near the monastery of St. Paul." In old plates also, one of which is copied in Mier (see his "Geschichte der Kunst," ii. 299, and the plates belonging to that part, Table xv), the colossal statues appear in a greatly mutilated form, very much as the Venetian ambassadors describe them to be (see *ante*, p. 189). It is obvious that they were put into their present condition under Sixtus V.

No. 54

Galesini Vita Sixti V. Vatic. 5438. 122 leaves.

A manuscript without any particular title; on the first leaf is the following dedication:

"To the most holy father Sixtus V, supreme pontiff, most prudent prince, most wise moderator and governor of the universal Christian republic—this commentary on his life and actions, publicly and as pontiff performed from year to year, and from day to day, being arranged and clearly written, Pietro Galesino has dedicated to his great, supreme, and most benignant patron, in perpetual evidence of his singular duty and respect."

These words suffice to show that we have in this instance rather a panegyric than a biography before us.

The author considers it remarkable that Sixtus should have been the fourth child born to his parents: "For the sun was created on the fourth day," and that he was elected Pope on the day of the foundation of Rome.

Our author's narrative of the pontiff's early years is of very fragmentary character. But here, also, we find another proof that a young man of talent attains to the best development of his faculties under poverty and severity of discipline. In the Peretti family, the rule of the mother appears to have been a rigid one: "When he discovered himself to have committed any fault, he trembled in every limb for fear of his mother."

His labors at his villa are thus alluded to: "He wrought with his hands in the culture of his garden, and the planting of trees, changing their places, grafting them, and practising the most careful processes, after the manner of the most diligent husbandman."

In the various acts of his pontificate, the strict religious tendency to which Sixtus devoted himself comes very prominently forward, in regard to his buildings, for example: "That the works of the city, and the images of idolatry, monuments of a vain and false glory, and of an insane superstition, preserved too long, and made inveterate by an idle admiration of Roman things of old time, but abhorrent to Christian worship, might be converted into ornaments of Christian piety."

The origin of the Lateran palace: "The pontiff scarcely finding a chamber that might fitly lodge him, forthwith commanded buildings worthy of the pontifical majesty to be erected in the Lateran, for he thought it very absurd and inconsistent that the leading basilica of the Lateran, the mother of all the churches, the peculiar bishopric of the Roman pontiffs, should not have a dwelling suited to that high episcopal dignity."

He considers that Rome was upon the whole very religious. "It gives great proof of piety and integrity. The discipline of the clergy is nearly restored to the most holy standard of primitive manners. The mode of divine worship, and the administration of the sacred edifices, are brought back to the approved model of old times. Everywhere within the churches are seen genuflections; everywhere through nearly all the quarters of the city are found numbers of the faithful, who so miserably lacerate their own backs with stripes that the blood flows to the ground."

No. 55

Vita Sixti V. anonyma. Vatic., n. 5563.

A few leaves only relating to the early years of Sixtus V. His name Felix is here attributed to a dream of his father.

No. 56

Relatione al Papa Sisto V. [Report to Sixtus V.] 41 leaves.

From a member of the Curia who did not frequent the palace, and who knew only just so much as was known to everyone. It was originally addressed to a friend who desired to be informed respecting the acts of Sixtus V., and afterward to the Pope himself.

In works like that now before us, written by people of ordinary capacity, who do but come forth accidentally from the general crowd, we have an interesting subject of observation in remarking the general effect produced by a government on the great masses of the public.

In the little work before us, which is written throughout in the stricter religious spirit which began to prevail at the close of the sixteenth century, we perceive first of all the powerful impression produced by the conversion of pagan into Christian monuments. "The holy crosses on the summits of the obelisks, and the statues of the principal apostles on the columns, obliterate the memory of the ancient idolatries. In like manner the cross placed in the hand of the statue signifying Rome, which stands on the tower of the Capitol, shows that nowadays, Rome, that is the Pope, does not use the sword to subjugate the world, as did the

infidel Roman emperors, but the cross to mark the day of salvation to all mankind." It is a striking fact, that these ideas of spiritual domination should have been so popular even among people of inferior consideration. Further on, the author denies that the Pope intended to procure himself higher importance among foreign princes by means of his treasure, in order, as some said, to appear very wise—"per esser savione." He did not need this; his purpose rather was to reward obedient princes, and to punish the refractory. "By means of the treasure he will punish the princes who rebel against the holy Church, and will aid obedient princes in their Catholic undertakings." He applauds Sixtus for having excommunicated Henry IV. "Immediately on being made pope, he turned to God for aid, and then deprived the wicked heretical King of the kingdom of Navarre, and principally by these spiritual arms the popes have made and unmade emperors and kings." That priests and monks are to be considered as a kind of papal soldiery, is here for once admitted even by the Roman side. "The Pope has large garrisons in all kingdoms, which are the friars, monks, and priests; as numerous, well paid, and provided for in peace as in war. In affairs of religion, he is resolved to be sole and absolute master, as is the will of God; and blessed are those people who shall have the most obedient princes. If sovereigns would maintain the principle of discussing affairs of state rather with priests than with their secular counsellors, believe me, that they would keep their subjects obedient and faithful." All the assertions of the politico-ecclesiastical doctrine are here brought forward in the popular comprehension of them. But what was this secular authority of the Pope when compared with the power he possesses of exalting a poor servant of God to be a saint? This canonization which Sixtus V had renewed, our author cannot sufficiently praise. "For the greater glory of God, he has dedicated certain days as festivals to saints who were not in the calendar, partly to the end that Christians may have opportunity to spend so much the more time for the honor of God and the salvation of their souls through the intercession of saints, by abstaining from servile works, and partly that the friends of God may be duly honored." Among other motives he adduces the following: "To prove to infidels and false Christians, that the true servants of Christ the Saviour are alone able to make the lame to walk, the dumb to speak, and the blind to see, or to raise the dead to life."

No. 57

Relatione presentata nell' eccellentissimo collegio dal clarissimo Signor Lorenzo Priuli, ritornato di Roma. 1586, 2 Luglio. [Report presented to the College by Lorenzo Priuli on his return from Rome, 2d July, 1586.]

From the Roman documents, we proceed to those of Venice.

Lorenzo Priuli had witnessed the latter years of Gregory XIII and the earlier ones of Sixtus V; he is very diffuse in relation to the contrasts they present.

But we must not permit ourselves to be too much influenced by his opinions; the early years of a pope almost always produced a more favorable impression than his later life; whether because the powers required for governing a State necessarily decline with increasing years, or because there is gradually discovered in every man some attribute that one could wish absent.

But Priuli is not unjust. He considers that the administration of Gregory also became useful to the Church. "In respect to purity of

life, provision for public worship, observance of the Council, and enforcing the residence of bishops; in excellency of learning—the one legal, the other theological—they may be said to be much alike.” He thanks God for having given to his Church such excellent rulers.

We perceive that foreign ambassadors were also influenced by the modes of thought then prevailing at the Papal Court.

Priuli considers the election of Sixtus V as almost miraculous—the immediate interposition of the Holy Spirit. He reminds his native city that it had become eminent and prosperous by means of its good understanding with the pontiffs, and advises them above all things to maintain it.

No. 58

Relazione del clarissimo Signor Gio. Gritti ritornato ambasciatore da Roma, anno 1588. [Report of the most illustrious Giovanni Gritti on returning from his embassy to Rome, 1588.]

In the Venetian archives there is only a defective copy.

It was with the utmost eagerness that I took up another, which I found in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, but this also contains just so much as the former, and not a word more.

This is all the more to be regretted, because the author proceeds most systematically to his work. He proposes first to treat of the Papal States, and then of the person of the Pope, whose great admirer he announces himself to be; thirdly, he means to propound the views of the pontiff; and finally, to discourse of the cardinals and the court.

But there is only a small part of the first division remaining. The manuscript breaks off precisely where the author is about to show the manner in which the revenues increased under Sixtus V. Nevertheless, I cannot doubt that the work was completed. What we have is at least no sketch, but certainly part of an elaborate work.

Yet it is extraordinary that even in the archives there is only a defective copy to be found.

No. 59

Relazione di Roma dell' ambasciatore Badoer Kr. relata in senato anno 1589. [The ambassador Badoer's report from Rome, presented to the Senate, 1589.]

This report is not to be found in the Venetian archives. It is in the collection of the Quirini family, but only as a fragment.

There are eight leaves which contain nothing but a few notices relating to the rural districts.

Badoer remarks that Venice had estranged her adherents of the March by delivering them up so readily to the Pope, or by causing them to be put to death at his request.

The increase of the commerce of Ancona had been talked of but the ambassador does not fear that this would prove injurious to the Venetians.

“Two per cent. having been imposed on all merchandise by Sixtus V, which was afterward taken off on the complaints made by the people of Ancona. No ship had arrived in that port for the space of fourteen months.”

We perceive that the two imposts of Gregory XIII and Sixtus V, although afterward repealed, yet, from the uncertainty of gain to

which the merchants suddenly found themselves exposed, contributed very largely to the decline of trade in Ancona. At that time the principal part of the business was in camlets and furs, but the Jews found no suitable opportunity for exchange in cloth or other wares. The customs were farmed for 14,000 scudi only, yet even this sum was never realized.

Badoer is moreover desirous that the example of Spain should be followed, and that such friends as Venice may have in the March should be pensioned. He breaks off just as he is preparing to name those friends.

No. 60

Dispacci Veneti. 1573-1590. [Venetian Despatches.]

No one could suppose that with so rich a profusion of documents one could still feel in want of information. Yet this had nearly been the case in the present instance. We have seen what an evil star presided over the destiny of Venetian reports; the Roman records elucidate only the first part of this pontificate with any fulness of detail. I should have seen myself reduced to Tempesti for this latter part—one of the most important points notwithstanding—had not the despatches of the Venetian ambassadors come to my assistance.

In Vienna I had already copied the whole series of Venetian despatches preserved there, from 1573 to 1590, and which are found in the archives, partly in authentic copies, and partly in rubricaries prepared for the use of the government.

In making one's self master of the first, there is indeed a certain difficulty; in their voyage by sea they have received injury from the seawater; they crumble on being opened, and the breath is affected by an offensive dust. The rubricaries are more easily managed; they are protected by covers, and their abridged form facilitates the selection of matters that are really essential, from the thousand insignificant affairs which Italian States may have had to transact among themselves, but which do not merit historical reproduction.

We find here the reports of Paolo Tiepolo to 1576, of Antonio Tiepolo to 1578, of Zuanne Correr to 1581, of Lunardo Donato to 1583, of Lorenzo Priuli to 1586, of Zuanne Gritti to 1589, and of Alberto Badoer to 1591.

In addition to these regular ambassadors, there occasionally appears envoys extraordinary: Zuanne Soranzo, from October, 1581, to February, 1582, who was deputed on account of the dissensions concerning the patriarchate of Aquileja; the embassy of congratulation to Sixtus in 1585, which consisted of Marc Antonio Barbaro, Giacomo Foscarini, Marino Grimani, and Lunardo Donato, who caused their common report to be drawn up by the secretary Padavino: finally, Lunardo Donato was again sent on account of the political complications of the year 1589. The despatches of this last are by far the most important. The relations existing at that time between the republic and the Pope assumed importance, even for the general history of the world. They are fortunately to be found in all their extent, under the following title: "Registro delle lettere dell' illustrissimo signor Lunardo Donato Kr. ambasciatore straordinario al sommo pontefice; comincia a 13 Ottobre, 1589, e finisce a 19 Dicembre, 1589."

But we have not even yet enumerated all the collected documents relating to the proceedings of the ambassadors. There was besides a special and private correspondence of the ambassador with the Council

of Ten, and we find this very neatly written on parchment; the first volume has the title: "Libro primo da Roma; secreto del consiglio di X. sotto il serenissimo D. Aluise Mocenigo inclito duca di Venetia." The subsequent volumes have corresponding titles.

I am perfectly aware of the objections that may be made to the use of despatches from ambassadors. It is true that they are written under the impression of the moment, are seldom quite impartial; often bear upon particular circumstances only, and are by no means to be implicitly relied on, or directly adopted. But let any man name the memorials or writings that can be received altogether without hesitation. In all cases certain grains of allowance are indispensable. The ambassadors were at all events contemporary witnesses, present on the spot, and bound to observe what passed; they must therefore be wholly destitute of talent, if their reports, when read to some extent, do not give an impression of reality to the events which they describe, and make us feel almost as in the immediate presence of the occurrences.

Now our Venetians were men of great ability, and of much practical experience, and I consider these despatches highly instructive.

But whither should we be carried if I should proceed to give extracts in this place from this long series of volumes?

My readers will doubtless permit me to abide by the rule I have laid down, of avoiding extracts from despatches in this Appendix. A lengthened series of them would alone convey an adequate idea of their contents.

I will, on the other hand, yet touch upon two important missions, both falling within the times of Sixtus V.

No. 61

Relazione all' illustrissimo e reverendissimo cardinale Rusticucci segretario di N. Signore papa Sisto V. delle cose di Polonia intorno alla religione e delle azioni del cardinale Bolognetto in quattro anni ch'egli è stato nuntio in quella provincia, divisa in due parti; nella prima si tratta de' danni che fanno le eresie in tutto quel regno, del termine in che si trova il misero stato ecclesiastico, e delle difficoltà e speranze che si possono avere intorno a rimedii: nella seconda si narrano li modi tenuti dal cardinale Bolognetto per superare quelle difficoltà, et il profitto che fece, et il suo negoziare in tutto il tempo della sua nuntiatura; di Horatio Spannocchj, già segretario del detto signore cardinale Bolognetto. [Report presented to the most illustrious and most reverend Cardinal Rusticucci, secretary of our lord Pope Sixtus V, in relation to the religious affairs of Poland, and the proceedings of Cardinal Bolognetto during the four years that he was nuncio in that province: divided into two parts. The first treats of the injuries done by the heretics throughout that kingdom, of the extremity to which the unfortunate clerical body is reduced therein, and of the difficulties or hopes that exist respecting remedies. In the second part will be related the methods pursued by Cardinal Bolognetto for overcoming those difficulties, with the success that he obtained, and his government during the whole of his nunciatura: prepared by Horatio Spannocchi, formerly secretary to the said Cardinal Bolognetto.]

The secretary of Bolognetto, Spannocchi, who had been with him in Poland, employed the leisure of a winter's residence in Bologna for the preparation of this report, which is not only circumstantial, but also very instructive.

He first describes the extraordinary extension of Protestantism in Poland, "not leaving even the smallest town or castle untainted." He attributes this phenomenon, as may be readily supposed, principally to secular considerations; he maintains that the nobles inflicted fines on their vassals if they did not attend the Protestant churches.

There was besides in Poland, as in the rest of Europe, a state of indifference beginning to prevail: "The difference between being a Catholic or of a different sect, is treated with jesting or derision, as a matter without the least importance."

The Germans, of whom some had settled and married, even in the smallest towns, had a large share in the diffusion of Protestant doctrines; but, still more dangerous, according to our author, were the Italians, who propagated the opinion that in Italy and under the cloak of Catholicism, doubts were entertained even of the immortality of the soul; that they were only waiting an opportunity to declare themselves openly against the Pope.

He next describes the condition into which the clergy had fallen under these circumstances.

"Great numbers of the poor clergy are destitute even of food, partly because the rulers of the cities—for the most part, if not wholly, heretics—have taken into possession the goods of the Church, either to increase their own patrimony, to endow with them the ministers of their own sect, or to bestow them in different modes on profane persons; and partly, because they refuse to pay tithes, although due from them, not only by the divine law and that of the canon, but also more particularly by the especial constitution of that kingdom. Whence the unhappy priests in many places, not having wherewith to sustain themselves, abandon the churches. A third cause is, that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction has fallen to decay, together with the privileges of the clergy, so that nowadays there is no difference made between the property of churches or monasteries and that of secular persons—citations and sentences are set at naught. . . . I have myself heard the principal Senators declare that they would rather suffer themselves to be cut to pieces than consent to any law by which they should be compelled to pay tithes as a due to any Catholic whatever. It was publicly decreed in the Council six years since, that no one should be pursued for payment of these tithes by any court, whether ecclesiastical or laical; and since, from various impediments, the said composition was not made in the next Council, they continue to refuse payment, nor will the different officers execute any sentence in reference to the said tithes."

He considers it very difficult for a nuncio to effect anything. It would be impossible to introduce the Inquisition, or even more rigid laws respecting marriage; already the very name of the Pope was abominated; the clergy considered it their duty to defend the interests of the country against Rome; and there was only the King on whom they could reckon.

The Palatine Radziwill of Wilna had communicated to the King an exhortation to war against the Turks, composed by a disciple of Zuiniglius. The nation was herein recommended first of all to reform its proceedings, and above all to put away the images, the worship of which was considered by the author to be idolatry. The King would not suffer the discourse to pass in that form. He wrote the following words on the margin with his own hand: "It were better to omit this than to make false imputations, and render the admonitory discourse infamous by the slander of the most ancient religion. I would that the new sects could crown us with such lasting peace as the holy Catholic religion conferred on its true followers." A declaration on which the writer of this report builds great hopes.

He next proceeds to an investigation of Bolognetto's undertakings, which he classes under seven heads:

1. Restoration of the papal authority.
2. Persecution of heretics.
3. Reform of the clergy: "Methods for restraining the licentious—life of scandalous priests."
4. Re-establishment of divine worship.
5. Union of the clergy.
6. Defence of their rights.
7. Measures with respect to the whole Christian community.

I have already described in general terms the efficiency of Bolognetto in carrying out these designs. By way of example, I add the following more minute account of his influence on the English negotiation.

"The Queen of England requested from the King of Poland a license for her English merchants, that they might introduce their merchandise, and sell it freely throughout his kingdom, where the merchants of the kingdom in Dantzic only were now permitted to sell, requiring at the same time that they should have permission to open a public warehouse in Torogno, which is the most celebrated port of Prussia, after that of Dantzic. Also that they might thence afterward carry their wares themselves to all the fairs held in Poland, whither commonly none may carry merchandise except the merchants of the country, who are for the most part Germans, Prussians, or Italians. And on the same occasion this pretended Queen further requested that in the decree for this concession, it should be declared that no molestation was to be offered to her merchants on account of their religion, but that they should be suffered to execute it freely after their own manner whithersoever they might go throughout the kingdom. This proposal gave universal satisfaction to all the Polish nobility. The people of Dantzic alone opposed it bravely, showing that from this concession the most extreme injury would result to their port, so renowned and so famous through all the world, and that the hope of lower prices would prove fallacious, principally because the foreign merchants, when they should have the power of selling at their own good pleasure, and could hold their merchandise a long time in their hands, would only sell them for a much higher price than that now required by the merchants of the country. Nevertheless, the equal privileges which the Queen of England offered to the merchants of Poland, of power to do the same thing in England, seemed already to have induced the King to grant all that was demanded; which had no sooner come to the ears of Bolognetto, than he went to seek his Majesty, and showed him with the most effectual arguments, how monstrous a thing it would be to acknowledge so scandalous a sect by his public decree; and how it was not without some concealed hope or deceit of some kind that yonder pernicious woman desired to have the Anglican sect declared by public decree in possession of power to exercise its rites in that kingdom, where all the world knows but too well that every man is suffered to believe whatever he may please in matters of religion:—by these and other most sufficient reasonings, King Stephen became so fully convinced, that he promised to make no mention whatever of religion in any agreement that he should enter into with that Queen or her merchants."

It will be perceived that this report contains notices of a purely political nature.

In conclusion, the author goes more particularly into this part of subject.

He describes Poland as divided into a multitude of factions. Dis-

sensions, in the first place, between the different provinces, and then between the clergy and the laity in each province; between the Senators and the provincial deputies; between the more ancient and higher nobles and those of inferior degree.

The high-chancellor Zamoisky is represented as extremely powerful. The grant of all appointments was vested in him, more particularly since a vice-chancellor and a king's secretary had entered wholly into his interests: "Since Baranosky has been made vice-chancellor, and Tolisky secretary of the King, persons who but a short time before were unknown."

Generally speaking, the appointments made by Stephen Bathory had been far from securing universal approbation. Attention was already directed to his successor, Sigismund, "*amatissimo di tutti i Polacchi*" (greatly beloved by all the Poles).

No. 62

Discorso del molto illustre e reverendissimo Monsignore Minuccio Minucci sopra il modo di restituire la religione cattolica in Alemagna. 1588. [Discourse of the very illustrious and most reverend Monsignor Minuccio Minucci on the means of restoring the Catholic religion in Germany.]

A very important document, of which I have made extensive use, more especially vol. i. p. 494, and following.

Minucci served long under Gregory in Germany, and makes very frequent appearance in Maffei. In the documents before us, he endeavors to explain the existing state of things, to the end, as he says, that Rome might learn to refuse the patient dangerous medicines.

He complains from the beginning, that so little pains were taken on the Catholic side to gain over the Protestant princes.

He then proceeds—for his mission was during the times of eager and still undecided conflicts—to examine the attacks of the Protestants on Catholicism: "I have determined to relate the contrivances which the heretics daily put in practice for the purpose of drying up or utterly destroying the very root of Catholicism." Finally, he describes the manner in which they ought to be withstood.

He shows himself to be unusually well informed in German affairs, yet he cannot always repress a certain astonishment, when he compares the state of things as they then were with the tranquillity and order of Italy or Spain. We have ourselves alluded to the restless proceedings of Casimir of the Palatinate. Let us observe the amazement they occasioned to a foreigner:

"Casimir, after having set the authority of the Emperor at naught in a thousand ways, but chiefly in burning near Spires the munitions that were on their way to Flanders, under the safe-conduct of the Emperor; after having offended the King of Spain, not by that act only, but also by the frequent assistance afforded to his rebels in Flanders, and by having granted a site in his territories for the said rebellious Flemings to build a city (Franchendal); after having so frequently carried havoc into France, and so continually desolated Lorraine, sometimes in person, and sometimes by despatching his troops thither; after having put a decided affront upon the Archduke Ferdinand, by impeding the cardinal his son on the road to Cologne, with threats and even with violence; after being the declared enemy of the house of Bavaria, and acted in person against the Elector of Cologne—is yet permitted to re-

main securely in an open territory, and in the midst of those who have received so many injuries at his hands: yet he has neither fortresses nor soldiers to inspire him with confidence; neither friends nor relations who could give him aid or defend him. But he profits by the too long-suffering patience of the Catholics, who could instantly and with safety inflict such ruin upon him as he has inflicted so frequently on the States of others, if they would only resolve on it, and had the courage to do it."

Section V.—Second Period of the Ecclesiastical Restoration

No. 63

Conclaves

I do not fear being called to account for not having registered in this place every fugitive writing, every unimportant treatise which I have met with in manuscript during the manifold researches demanded for my work. I have rather, perhaps, already done too much. Many a reader who has given me his attention thus far, might very probably be dissatisfied with an unfashioned medley of various languages. Yet it would not be advisable to give a translation only of the original documents. To do this would diminish their usefulness as well as their authenticity. Thus I could not venture to insert the whole mass of my *collectanea* without further ceremony in this appendix.

Of the conclave, for example, with respect to which a vast number of manuscripts may be found, I will but present a summary notice.

After every election of a pope, more particularly from the second half of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth, there appeared a report of the proceedings; it was, indeed, only a written one, but was, nevertheless, so arranged as to obtain a very extensive circulation, so that it frequently called forth counter-statements. Occasionally these accounts were prepared by cardinals, but more commonly by their secretaries, who were present at the conclave under the name of "*conclavisti*," and who made it their business to watch the course of the different intrigues with a view to the interest of their masters, to whom respect for the deportment demanded by their dignity would have made such observation no easy matter. But there were occasions when others also took up the pen. "*Con quella maggior diligenza che ho potuto*," says the author of the "*Conclave of Gregory XIII.*," "I have gathered with the utmost diligence, as well from the *conclavisti* as from the cardinals who took part in the negotiation, the whole arrangement of that conclave, and all the truth relating to it." We perceive that he was not himself present. The accounts that fall into our hands are sometimes diaries, sometimes letters, but sometimes, also, they are elaborate narrations. Each little work is complete in itself; the universally known formalities are, however, here and there repeated. Their value is extremely unequal, as may be supposed. In some instances the whole sense is frittered away in incomprehensible details, while in others—but these are rare—the compiler has attained to an effectual perception and reproduction of the ruling motives in action. From nearly all, however, the reader may derive instruction, provided only that he have patience and do not become weary.

The great mass of writings of this kind still extant may be learned

from the Marsand catalogue in the Paris Library, as well as from other sources. They have also found their way into Germany. The 33d, 35th, and other volumes of our "Informations" (the Berlin *Informationi*) contain copies in great abundance. In Johann Gottfried Geissler's "Programm de Bibliotheca Milichiana," Görlitz, 1767, there is an account of the conclaves contained in the 32d, 33d, and 34th codices of the collection of that place. The most complete list with which I am acquainted is to be found in Novaes's "Introduzione alle Vita de' Sommi Pontefici," 1822, i. 272. He had access to the library of the Jesuits, in which there was preserved a tolerably complete collection of these writings.

It followed from the nature of the matter that these documents very soon reached the public in another way, at least in part. First they were incorporated into the histories of the popes. The conclave of Pius V, if not in its whole extent, yet in its commencement and at the close, was transferred into the history of Panvinius. Cicarella has translated the conclaves of Gregory XIII and Sixtus V, at least in great part; the latter with all the comments and reflections that appear in the Italian. The passage that Schröckh, "N. Kirchengesch.," iii. 288, brings forward as from Cicarella, is taken word for word from the conclave. Thuanus also has given a place to these notices; but, as we soon perceive on more minute comparison, it is from Cicarella, and not from the originals, that he takes them (lib. lxxxii. p. 27). In the "Tesoro Politico" also this last "conclave" is adopted, but in a few hastily made extracts only, and very imperfectly. And as with these, so also has it been with other conclaves.

But gradually, and first in the seventeenth century, the idea was entertained of making collections of these conclaves. The first printed collection has the title "Conclavi de' pontefici Romani quali si sono potuto trovare fin a questo giorno," 1667. It begins with Clement V, but has then a blank down to Urban VI, and a second chasm down to Nicholas V, from this time they go regularly forward down to Alexander VII. The purpose of this publication, at least the ostensible one, was to show by the examples to be there found, the little that human wisdom can avail against the guidance of Heaven. It is here rendered manifest that the most secret, disguised, and astute negotiations . . . by the secret operation of Heaven, are made vain, and result in effects altogether different from those contemplated." But this was not the view taken by the world at large, who were, on the contrary, principally eager to become possessed of the curious and sometimes discreditable matter to be found therein. A French edition appeared in Lyons, and as this was soon exhausted, a reprint, revised from the original, was brought out in Holland, dated Cologne, 1694, and by no means as Novaes gives it in 1594. This, enriched with further additions, has often been reprinted.

In this manner the original memoirs of the conclave have undergone various alterations. If we compare the French collection with the originals, we find it to be the same on the whole, but in particular passages there are considerable variations. Yet, so far as I can discover, these changes proceed rather from misapprehension than from evil intention.

But there are other collections also which have never been printed. I am myself in possession of one, which supplies the blank spaces that have been left in the printed editions, while it has at least an equal authenticity with any one of them. But for any detailed use of these documents, an examination of the originals will certainly be always desirable.

No. 64

Vita e successi del Cardinal di Santaseverina. [Life and Fortunes of Cardinal Santaseverina.]

An autobiography of this influential cardinal, of whom we have frequently had occasion to speak.

It is somewhat diffuse, and often loses itself in trifling details; the judgments it pronounces on individuals as well as on events are strongly marked by the personal qualities of the man; yet we find the work to communicate many peculiar and characteristic notices.

There remains only that we give here verbatim some few of those to which reference has occasionally been made in the text.

I. *The Protestants in Naples*

“The sect of the Lutherans still increasing in Naples, I armed myself against that thorn with the zeal of the Catholic religion, and with all my power, together with the authority of the Inquisition, by public preachings, written by me in a book called *Quadragesimale*; also by public and private disputations at every opportunity, as well as by prayer, I labored to diminish that grievous pestilence, and to root it out of our bounds. For this cause I suffered most bitter persecutions at the hands of the heretics, who sought to insult me by every means, and waylaid me on all the roads, thinking to kill me; of which I have written a little book, specially entitled ‘Persecutions incited against me, Giulio Antonio Santorio, servant of Jesus Christ, for the truth of the Catholic faith.’ There was a shrine in the corner of our garden, with an image of the most holy Mary having the infant Jesus in her arms, and before it there sprang up an olive sapling, which, to the admiration of everyone, grew very quickly to be a great tree, being in a close place, and shaded by trees. To this little chapel it was my wont to retire for prayer and discipline, whenever I had to preach or dispute against the Lutherans, and I felt myself wonderfully invigorated and emboldened, so that I was without any fear of evil or danger, although most certainly menaced with such by those enemies of the cross; moreover, I felt within me such joy and gladness that I desired to be slain for the Catholic faith. . . . Meanwhile, as the rage of those heretics whom I had brought to justice increased against me ever more and more, I was constrained at the end of August or beginning of September, in 1563, to take refuge in Naples, in the service of Alfonso Caraffa, cardinal of the title of San Giovanni and Paolo, Archbishop of Naples, where I served as deputy under Luigi Campagna di Rossano, Bishop of Montepeloso, who exercised the office of vicar in Naples. And after he had departed, to avoid the popular tumult excited against us by the burning of Giovanni Bernardo Gargano and Giovanni Francesco d’Aloys, called *Il Caserta*, which took place on the 4th of March, about the twentieth hour of the day, I remained alone in the government of that church; where, after many perils encountered, many threatenings endured, stones cast, and shots fired at me, a most cruel and venomous plot was contrived for my ruin by Hortensio da Batticchio, with *Fra Fiano*(?) di Terra d’Otranto, a relapsed Utraquist heretic, pretending that I, together with the Cardinal di Napoli and Monsignor Campagna, had required him to distil a poison of so much potency that it should infect the air, and so destroy Pope Pius IV, because of his enmity to the family of Caraffa; and the heretic had no doubt of making the Pope understand as much by means of Signor Pompeo Colonna.”

II. *Gregory XIII and Sixtus V*

"He scarcely thought that he should die, notwithstanding his great age, having always lived with exceeding moderation, and having passed through all the gradations of the court. When he had ceased to lecture at Bologna, he came to Rome, and was made assistant curator of the Capitol, held the office of deputy to the auditor of the treasury, and was appointed referendary, but the first time he brought a cause before the Segnatura he utterly failed: thereupon, overwhelmed by shame and confusion, he was determined to abandon the court, but was dissuaded from doing so by Cardinal Crescentio. When he ought by the rotation to have been made auditor, Palleotto was preferred, and placed before him by Julius III, when, being again discouraged by this double disgrace, he once more resolved to leave Rome, but was again consoled, and withheld from departure by the same Cardinal Crescentio. He was made Bishop of Vieste by Paul IV, was nominated consultor of the holy office, appeared at the Council of Trent, was made cardinal by Pius IV, and was despatched into Spain about the affair of Toledo. Then after the death of Pius V of sacred memory, with a wonderful unanimity, he was elected to the pontificate. Thus elevated, he lived with much charity, liberality, and modesty: he would indeed have been admirable, and even unequalled, if his worth and greatness of mind had not been mingled with that affection for his son, which in great measure obscured his most worthy actions and the Christian charity which he exercised toward both strangers and all others, so that he was truly the father of all. His death was instantly announced to the Sacred College by the cardinal-nephews, San Sisto and Guastavillano, when, after the performance of the obsequies, and of all other ceremonies usual on the occurrence of a vacancy in the see, the conclave was begun. And therein was Cardinal Montalto elected Pope, formerly our colleague both in the affair of Toledo and in promotion to the cardinalate. This being done by the special exertions of Cardinal Alessandrino and Cardinal Rusticucci, who won over the cardinals d' Este and de Medici to his interest, greatly to the displeasure of Cardinal Farnese; Cardinal San Sisto, on whom he had counted largely for and against his rivals and enemies, having broken his word with him, and Cardinal Riario having acted very earnestly against him; but afterward this last repented bitterly of this, for he did not meet with the gratitude that he had expected; as it happened also to Cardinal Alessandrino, who greatly rejoicing, believed he should be able to manage the pontificate after his own manner. Coming down from St. Peter's, I begged him to intercede with his holiness for Monsignor Carlo Broglia, rector of the Greek College, that he might obtain a benefice for which he had applied. He answered me very graciously, 'Do not let us trouble this poor old man, for we shall certainly be masters.' At which, smiling, I then replied secretly in his ear, 'God send that you have not cause to repent when this evening is over.' As in effect he had, for he was never cheerful at heart through all that pontificate, being constantly beset with difficulties, vexatious troubles, and sorrows. It is very true that he was himself to blame for the greater part of them, for he fell into them by neglect, inadvertence, or otherwise; besides that, he was inordinately arrogant, and continually enumerating the benefits, services, and honors he had done to his holiness. In the first conversation that I found means to procure with his holiness, I congratulated him upon his accession to the pontificate, telling him that it had been by the will of God, since at that very moment when he was elected the forty hours were ended. His holiness thereupon bewailed the malignity of the times with

much humility and with tears. I exhorted him to commence his pontificate with a general jubilee, and that he should also give his utmost care to the Holy See and to its affairs, knowing well that it was thence his greatness had taken its origin."

III. *Affairs of Ferrara*

"The Duke of Ferrara having come to Rome about the investiture, of which he pretended to have had hopes given to him, there was much confusion and many discussions. Then I, having vigorously opposed the grant, both in public and private, as also in the consistory, entirely lost the favor of the Pope, at the same time bringing on myself the anger of Cardinal Sfondrato, who went about Rome saying that I held false opinions respecting the Pope's authority, as he had also charged on Cardinal di Camerino, who showed great eagerness in the service of the Apostolic See. Finding myself offended by an accusation so far from my thoughts—I, who had gone to the encounter of so many perils in defence of the Pope's authority and the Apostolic See—I could not but be greatly indignant; and, as it was fitting that I should do, I composed an apology for Cardinal Santaseverina against Cardinal Sfondrato, wherein the office and duty of a cardinal are treated of. The Pope, who had been greatly disturbed in consistory, and very angry in the *camera*, afterward, in the palace of St. Marco, begged my forgiveness with tears and much humility; he also thanked me, repenting of the decree that he had issued to the prejudice of the bull of Pius V, against the alienation of fiefs. The duke having left Rome without gaining any concession whatever, from that time forth showed himself my enemy, saying that I had been the chief cause of his not having obtained the investiture of Ferrara for the person he should thereafter name. And that I, as being his old friend, should have spoken more indulgently, and not have been so violent against the measure,—as if I had been more bound to men than to God and to the holy Church."

IV. *Conclave after the Death of Innocent IX*

"The conclave opened at the beginning of the year 1592, when the malignity of my enemies was redoubled. Cardinal Sfondrato evinced the utmost animosity against me, not only from fear of his own interests, but even still more because of the anger he felt at the words of Cardinal Acquaviva, who, fearful and jealous on account of the Archbishop of Otranto, his relation, and other Neapolitan nobles, friends of mine, left no stone unturned against me. The cardinals Aragona, Colonna, Altemps, and Sforza had united together against me, they were bitter enemies to each other, but were perfectly agreed in their opposition to myself. Aragona, in despite of the continual attentions and deference that I had shown him, but using as a pretext the abbey that I had taken from the abbot Simone Sellarolo. Colonna, notwithstanding the many services that I had rendered him at all times, but he remembered that I had hindered the Talmud in opposition to the Jews, and he brought up again the death of Don Pompeo, with the discredit thrown on his sister. Altemps, as a return for the favors that I had done him, both with Pope Sixtus and the Senator Pellicano, in respect to his son, the ravisher of Giulietta, for which that worthy personage fell into disgrace with Sixtus; . . . but such were the commands of Galeotto Belardo, his master. Sforza, notwithstanding

that I had favored him in the affair of Massaino when Pope Sixtus was fulminating against him, for which he thanked me and kissed my hand in the presence of the good old Cardinal Farnese—to whom he had also proved himself ungrateful after having received from that good prelate the abbey of St. Lawrence without the walls (*S. Lorenzo extra mœnia*); but he said he could not desert his friends, though in fact he was full of fears, knowing what his conscience had to reproach him with. The ingratitude with which Palleotto treated me is known to all. The night of the 20th of January arrived, when they made a tragedy of my affairs, even Madrucci, formerly my dear friend and colleague in the holy office, giving a silent assent to my rivals for my downfall,* laboring in this way to obtain the pontificate for himself; but he had to swallow certain bitter morsels, which being unable to digest, he died miserably in consequence. I omit to mention the fraudulent proceedings of Cardinal Gesualdo, who as a Neapolitan, could not endure that I should be preferred before him, and who was even moved by envy against his own countrymen, for he had agreed with the other Neapolitan cardinals, Aragona and Acquaviva, all three having resolved to have no fellow-countryman their colleague in the cardinalate. But the act which Cardinal Colonna committed at that time was the most unworthy one ever heard of, disapproved even by his most intimate friends, and taken very ill at the Court of Spain. Canano had been wont to hold me in so much reverence that nothing could surpass it, and ever before he would always kiss my hand wherever he met me, but now, forgetful of all friendship, he thought only of obedience to his Duke of Ferrara. Borromeo, assisted by me in his promotion, from regard to the memory of that holy cardinal of St. Praxida, and who had always made profession of being my dear friend; yet, allured by the gain of certain abbeys resigned to him by Altemps, now raved like a madman; he who professed nothing but purity, devotion, spirituality and conscientiousness. Alessandrino, the contriver of all the plots, did not fail to adopt his usual course, persecuting his best friends and creatures, to the alienation of them all, and above all, he was made to feel this after the elevation of Sixtus, for he heard what he did not like in full conclave from the mouth of the Cardinal of Sens, who exclaimed publicly against him. On the other hand, the fervor of my friends and supporters was not inferior. Cardinal Giustiniano having proved himself more earnest than any other, that courageous and sensitive spirit was in grievous trials all that day and night—my cell had even been already despoiled. But the night succeeding was to me the most painful of any, however sorrowful, that I had ever passed, so that from my heavy travail of soul and bitter anguish, I sweated blood—a thing incredible to relate; yet taking refuge with much humility and devotion in the Lord, I felt myself entirely liberated from all suffering of mind and from every sense of mundane things, returning to myself and considering how fragile, how transient, and how miserable they are, and that in God alone, and in the contemplation of him, are true happiness, contentment, and joy to be found.”

* The Venetian ambassador Moro also remarks that Santa Severina was not chosen, “per il mancamento di Gesualdo

decano e di Madrucci” (because Gesualdo the deacon and Madrucci had failed him).

No. 65

Vita et Gesta Clementis VIII. Informatt. Politt. xxix. [Life and Acts of Clement VIII.]

Originally intended to be a continuation of Ciaconius, where, however, I do not find it.

A narration of the rise of the Pope, and of his first measures. "*Exulum turmas coercuit, quorum insolens furor non solum in continentem sed in ipsa litora et subvecta Tiberis alveo navigia hostiliter insultabat.*" (He repressed the troops of outlaws, whose insolent fury not only assailed the mainland, but who even attacked the coasts and insulted the ships in the channel of the Tiber itself.) So little had Sixtus put them down forever. With respect to the absolution of Henry IV, the opposition of Clement to the king is particularly insisted on, with the difficulty of obtaining the absolution from him: finally the conquest of Ferrara is described. "*A me jam latius caepa scribi opportuniore tempore immortalitati nominis tui consecrabo.*" (What I have already begun to write at more length, I will consecrate at a more fitting opportunity to the immortality of thy name.) But neither can I find anything of this. As the work appears, it is but of little consequence.

No. 66

Instruzione al Signor Bartolommeo Powsinsky alla M. del re di Polonia e Suetia. 1 Aug. 1593. Signed, Cinthio Aldobrandini. [Instructions to Signor Bartolommeo Powsinsky for his embassy to the king of Poland, etc.]

Ragguaglio della andata del re di Polonia in Suetia. 1594. [Report of the king of Poland's journey into Sweden, etc.]

I find nothing to add to the contents of these documents, which I have already used for the text, except perhaps the assertion in the second, that Duke Charles was in reality detested: "because he had monopolized almost all rights of purchase and merchandise, with all the mines of metals, more especially those of gold and silver."

No. 67

Relatione di Polonia. [Report from Poland.] 1598.

Drawn up by a nuncio, who complains bitterly of the unbridled love of freedom displayed by the Poles.

They desired a feeble king, not one of warlike disposition. They declared, "That those who are led by the desire of glory are of vehemence, and not moderate, character, consequently are not for permanence; but the mother of permanence in empires is moderation."

Nor did they desire any connection with foreigners, maintaining that it would never be difficult for them to defend their country. They could always bring 50,000 horse into the field, and, at the worst, could always recover in winter what they might have lost in the summer. They appealed to the example of their forefathers.

The nuncio bids them recall to mind "that the ancient Poles knew

not what it was to sell grain in the Baltic Sea, in Dantzic or Elbing, nor were they intent on cutting down forests to sow corn, nor on draining marshes for the same purpose."

The nuncio further describes the progress of Catholicism, which was at that time in the most prosperous condition. I have adopted the most important notices in the text.

No. 68

Relazione dello stato spirituale e politico del regno di Svezia. 1598.

[Report of the religious and political state of the kingdom of Sweden. 1598.]

This relates to the enterprise of Sigismund against Sweden, immediately before his second journey. Its essential positions have, in like manner, been given in the text.

But there still remain some few remarks of interest in relation to earlier events.

Erik is described in direct terms as a tyrant. "A device was made of an ass laden with salt, at the foot of a very steep mountain, with no path for crossing it, and the king was depicted with a stick in his hand, beating the said ass." The author explains this symbol, which was indeed sufficiently intelligible. The people were to be compelled by force to do what was impossible.

John is considered as a decided Catholic. "He being secretly a Catholic, as the King his son affirmed to the nuncio, made every effort to procure his son's return while he was himself alive, to the end that he, declaring himself openly Catholic, might compel the kingdom to embrace the same faith."

To these assertions I am, however, not disposed to subscribe. The worthy Sigismund probably imagined these things, that he might have the consolation of believing himself descended from a Catholic father.

On the other hand, the first enterprise of Sigismund is described with a manner bearing the full stamp of truth, and of a thorough knowledge on the part of the writer. The hopes connected with his second expedition are set forth in all the extent of their bearing on European interests in general.

INTERCALATION

Remarks on Bentivoglio's Memoirs.

In his sixty-third year—not, as the edition in the "Classici Italiani" affirms, in 1640, but in 1642, as Mazzuchelli also asserts—Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio (born 1579), having composed many other works on political subjects, began to write personal memoirs.

His original purpose was to include his first residence at the Roman Court, his nunciatures in France and the Netherlands, as also the period of his cardinalate. Had he completed his purpose, the history of the seventeenth century in its earlier half would have been enriched by one valuable work the more, and that replete with thought and discernment.

But he died before he had finished even the first part. His work, "Memorie del Cardinal Guido Bentivoglio," comes down only to the year 1600.

It conveys an impression of repose and comfort as enjoyed by the aged prelate, who, released from the weight of business, is passing life easily in the calm quiet of his palace. It is very agreeable reading, equally amusing and instructive; but the cardinal was naturally restrained by certain considerations proper to his position, from speaking so freely and fully as he evidently would have done.

The description, for example, that he has given with tolerable minuteness, of the cardinals by whom he found Clement VIII surrounded, has but a very general resemblance to those given of the same persons by other writers.

The very first, Gesualdo, deacon of the college, is described by Bentivoglio as "a distinguished man of amiable manners, who does not seek to mingle in public affairs, although he does not shun them:" but of what we learn from others, and what doubtless Bentivoglio also perfectly knew—how Gesualdo impeded the election of Sanseverina from mere personal dislike; the pretensions he advanced of superior rank over the other cardinals, who endured them very reluctantly; how all his subsequent efforts were given to the acquirement of friends by whose aid he might attain to the pontificate, and how he more particularly attached himself to Spain—of all these things we do not learn a word from Bentivoglio.

The second is Aragona. Of him Bentivoglio remarks: "He had led the cardinals in earlier conclaves, more particularly the younger: he governed Rome most admirably during the absence of the Pope: he was fond of handsome furniture, had a most beautiful chapel, and was continually changing the altar-pieces." But this is no description of the man. Aragona was, as we learn from Delfino, an old man tormented by the gout, and whose death might be expected soon to happen; but he only clung the more tenaciously to his hopes of obtaining the papacy. He was by no means so much respected by the Spanish Court as he desired to be; neither had he succeeded in obtaining admission to the congregation for the affairs of France, and it was known that he took this very ill. Yet he labored to maintain the closest intimacy with the Spanish ambassador, by way of promoting his views on the papacy.

That impression of repose and serenity which we have described this book to produce proceeds from the fact that the lights are designedly subdued; that life is not really depicted in the truth of its phenomena.

No. 69

Relatione fatta all' illustrissimo Signore Cardinale d'Este al tempo della sua promozione che dovera andar in Roma. Bibl. Vindob. Codd. Foscar. No. 169. 46 leaves. [Report made to the most illustrious Cardinal d'Este, when he was about to proceed to Rome on his promotion.] Vienna Library, Foscarini Manuscripts, etc.

In consequence of the treaty entered into with the family of Este by Clement VIII on his entrance into Ferrara, he included a prince of that house, Alessandro, in the promotion of the 3d of March, 1599.

It was this prince who was to be prepared for his entrance into the Roman Court by the instruction before us. Although it is without date, it must unquestionably be placed within the year 1599.

The purpose for which this report was written makes it at once entirely different from those of the Venetian ambassadors. It was intended to enable the prince to steer like a dexterous pilot, "that like a

prudent pilot he might the better catch the favoring breezes of the court." Of political relations it contains nothing. Even the misfortune that had just overtaken the house of Este is passed over in silence. The sole purpose of the writer is to describe the peculiar characteristics of the most important persons.

The pope, his nephews, and the cardinals are depicted.

Clement VIII—"Of blameless life, upright intentions, and a most capacious mind. It may be affirmed that he possesses within himself the whole theory and practice of politics, and the philosophy of government." We find here that Salvestro Aldobrandino had incited Paul IV to the war against Naples; that attempts had, nevertheless, been afterward made to reconcile that house at least with the Medici. "It is said that Pius V, desiring to promote Cardinal Giovanni, brother of the present pontiff, assured the grand duke Cosmo that the whole of this family would ever be most faithful to him, and that he sent this same Ippolito Aldobrandino, now Pope, to bear testimony to that fact to his highness, by whom he was very well received." At that time Giovanni Bardi was in the greatest favor with the Pope. "Among the servants of Clement, the nearest to his person, and the most favored, is the Signor Giovanni Bardi of the counts of Vernio, lieutenant of the guard, a man of great goodness, virtue, and nobility." The new cardinal was all the safer in connecting himself with Bardi, from the fact that he was attached to the house of Este.

The Nephews.—The pre-eminence of Pietro Aldobrandino over San Giorgio was decided. "San Giorgio having schooled his mind to his fortunes, and mortifying his pretensions, no longer struggles or contends with Aldobrandino, but either seconds his purposes or refrains from opposing him, and appears to be content with the *segnatura* of justice which he has obtained."

The cardinals were divided into two factions—the Spanish, to which Montalto was already attached, and that of Aldobrandino. The former had at that time twenty-five decided and firm adherents, the latter fourteen only. The author correctly points out as the most probable candidate for the papacy that one of them who really did afterward attain to it—Alessandro de' Medici, namely. The terms on which he stood with the Grand Duke of Tuscany were not known, but he was all the more in favor with Clement on that account—"per patria e conformità di humore" (from community of country and disposition), as much, indeed, as if he had been the Pope's own creature.

The historian of the Church, Baronius, is not unfavorably depicted. "Much beloved for his learning, goodness, and simplicity: he seems to be all spirit, wholly resigned to God: he makes a jest of the world, and even of his own exaltation."

No. 70

Relazione di Roma dell' illustrissimo Signor Gioan Delfino K. e Procuratore ritornato ambasciatore sotto il pontificato di Clemente VIII.
[Delfino's report on returning from his embassy to Clement VIII., etc.]

This also is one of the reports that have been widely circulated; it is very circumstantial (my copy has ninety-four quarto leaves), and is very instructive.

I. Delfino begins with a description of the Pope ("il nascimento, la natura e la vita del papa") and his nephews.

“Of the two cardinals (Aldobrandino and San Giorgio), I consider it in a manner necessary to speak collectively. The latter is forty-five years of age, a man of high spirit, proud, and well versed in general affairs; but I much fear that he is of a bad disposition, or that the course of events which have deprived him of those great hopes which he had cause to entertain at the commencement of the pontificate cause him to be so, for he conducts himself toward everyone, not only with severity, but even with reckless harshness. San Giorgio was greatly beloved, and held in high esteem by the Pope before he had attained to the pontificate, and afterward he had the principal management of affairs for a considerable time. It was even believed by everyone that he must certainly be the first nephew, because the other was younger, of no great promise, and possessing few acquirements. But, whether from his want of prudence to govern himself, as was needful he should do—having broken with the ambassador of Spain, when he threw down his cap, and with the Tuscan ambassador, when he told him that the Pope ought to drive him from the court;—from his having given offence to all, on a thousand occasions, or from the great prudence and address of the other, or from the natural force of blood—San Giorgio has daily declined in credit and authority, so that he has no one to follow him, and never obtains anything that he asks. It is true that he has still charge of Italian and German affairs; but the public ministers discuss the same with Aldobradino, and in all difficult points they have recourse to him. I had myself certain stormy interviews with this Cardinal San Giorgio at first; nay, even in the very first audience, I was compelled, by regard for the dignity of the republic, to remonstrate openly; and two or three times I have caused myself to be heard so freely that I know my words have produced their fruit with him. And the Pope took him to task, particularly on the last occasion, respecting Ferrara; but since that time there have constantly passed between us every possible demonstration of good-will, and I have always treated him with due honor. I believe certainly that he is ill-affected toward your Serenity, both by nature and circumstances;—his nature, I have already described, and will therefore speak of the circumstances only. First, your Serenity should know that for some time past he has thrown himself entirely into the hands of the Spaniards, and has shown himself little disposed to favor those who are united with the French; and this his evil disposition has been increased by his perceiving that Cardinal Aldobrandino has on all occasions protected the affairs of your excellencies, as if it were not possible that these two should concur in any measure, however just and reasonable it may be. All which may serve to make known the miseries endured by poor ambassadors and public representatives.”

2. The second chapter—that, at least, which in our copies is formally designated as such—relates to the form of government, the finances, and the military force. Delfino is amazed, as well he might be at certain portions of the financial administration: “While the revenues of the Church are mortgaged to their whole extent, both the ordinary and the extraordinary, and, what is worse, castles and jurisdictions are purchased from the subjects at $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 per cent. I understand this to mean that they yield so much, and mortgages are paid 9 or 10 per cent., it seems strange to all thinking men, that in the midst of such embarrassment these purchases should be made, and, what is more, when they desire to make a certain expenditure they do not supply the funds from the moneys in the castle, lest they should presently spend and consume the whole.” We perceive that there were people, even in those times, who were startled at the hoarding of

borrowed money. In respect to Ferrara, also, after the first short-lived satisfaction of the inhabitants, many discontents arose: "Nobles and people, all would willingly give themselves to any prince whatever, so they might but escape from the hands wherein they now are."

3. "*Intelligenze*."—These inform us of the doubtful terms in which the Pope stood with the Emperor and with Philip II (he awaited the death of the king with a sort of anxiety); how unfriendly were his relations with Florence, for all remembered perfectly well that the house of Aldobrandini belonged to the exiled families: "Things went worse with them than with any other, for they remembered that the Pope and his family went wandering about the world." How much more cordially he proceeded, on the contrary, with France and Poland, more especially with the latter, with which he had a community of interests and purposes. "Their interests for the present concurring, as well as their designs for the future." But for no one was Clement more interested than for the Prince of Transylvania: "The Pope has conducted himself with so much affection toward the Prince of Transylvania, keeping an apostolic nuncio at his court, giving him, during my stay, 60,000 scudi at three different times, and inducing the Emperor to perform a multitude of good offices in his favor, that he might be almost said to have become pledged and interested to the continuance of such protection. And I believe that the poor prince deserved it, because he had resolved on the war, in consequence of his reliance on the counsels and promises of his holiness, which was clearly manifest from the manner in which, at the commencement, now three years since, and even a year later also, his holiness extolled the virtue and excellence of the prince to the very skies, having told me many times that he alone had supported the war against the Turks. And, as is further evident from the cession that he recently made to him of his States, when he made a great talk about very little done, for we see clearly that though he promised both the Emperor and prince to make the latter a cardinal, yet he would have done nothing at all of the sort, wherefore I fully believe that his holiness has been much rejoiced by seeing him return to the government of his dominions."

4. Cardinals.—They are all discussed in turn, and more or less favorably pronounced upon.

5. "Of the persons considered most likely to obtain the pontificate."

6. "Affairs connected with Venice."—There were already a thousand disputes in progress. "If some provision be not made against these pretensions and disorders, there will arise some day embarrassments of great difficulty, principally through these new acquisitions (relating to the navigation of the Po); so that whenever I think of this matter, the knowledge I have of the nature of priests and of the Church causes me great alarm."

This fear was but too soon justified.

No. 71

Venier: Relazione di Roma. [Venier: Report from Rome.]

The dissensions between the Pope and Venice were already become tolerably earnest. The Venetians refused to send their patriarch to Rome for examination. Bitter contentions had arisen about the Goro mouth of the Po; it was in consequence of these disputes that Venier was sent to Rome.

He remained there but a short time: the description that he sketches of Clement VIII is nevertheless exceedingly useful.

“With respect to the character and designs of the Pope, so far as it belongs to me to consider them for the present conjuncture of the affairs that your Serenity is at this time transacting with his holiness, I have to remark that the Pope, at his present age of sixty-five years, is stronger and more healthy than he was some years since, having no other indisposition than that of chiragra or gout; and this, according to the physicians, is serviceable, as keeping him free from other ailments: its attacks are, besides, much less frequent than formerly, as well as less violent, from the careful regimen he observes, and his extreme moderation in respect of drinking, with regard to which he has for a considerable time past practised remarkable abstinence. These habits are, besides, extremely useful to him in keeping down the corpulency to which his constitution disposes him, and to reduce which he makes a practice of taking very long walks, whenever he can do so without interruption to business; his great capacity enabling him easily to accomplish all, so that there still remains a portion of time at his own disposal, which he spends in giving audience to private persons and others, who are in constant waiting upon his holiness. He applies himself to all important affairs with the most earnest attention, persisting throughout, without ever showing signs of weariness; and when he sees them happily completed, he rejoices wonderfully over the pleasure this affords him. Nor does anything gratify him more than to see himself esteemed, and to know that his reputation, of which he is exceedingly jealous, is respected: and whereas, from his very sanguine and choleric disposition, he is very easily exasperated, bursting forth with great vehemence into exagérations full of heat and bitterness; yet when he perceives that the listener is silent with his tongue, although his countenance becomes saddened, he recovers himself by an immediate effort, and with the utmost kindness endeavors to do away with all bitterness: and this is now so well known among the cardinals, that they give courteous warning thereof to their friends, as was given to myself at the first conference by the most illustrious the Cardinal of Verona, who thought he was giving me a very useful rule of conduct. The thoughts of his holiness are much turned to glory; nor can it be imagined how greatly sovereigns gain in his favor when they promote his inclination. Hence the Spaniards, in particular, who are ever on the watch to preserve and increase the great influence they possess in the Court of Rome, by no means neglect the opportunity; thus they have applied themselves with the utmost promptitude to set forth that expedition against the Turks which we have seen, while they endure and put up with no small hardships, to which they are exposed in their most important affairs in common with all others who reside in and transact affairs with the Roman Court, more especially in matters of jurisdiction: by these means the Spaniards are continually advancing their interests, and frequently obtain no small advantages. The pontiff is generally considered to be a person of great virtue, goodness, and piety, of which he is pleased to see the effects become manifest in great and important results. And though the cardinals perceive that in the present pontificate the authority they were accustomed to enjoy in times past is greatly diminished, although they find themselves almost entirely excluded from all participation in the most important affairs, since it often happens that they do not receive the notice, formerly usual, of negotiations until after their final conclusion; yet they appear to hold the pontiff in great esteem—they praise his holiness in terms of high reverence, exalting his prudence and other virtues in most expressive phrase, and affirming that if they had now to elect a pontiff, they would

choose none other than this same. But their thoughts are very secret and deep, and words and appearances are turned to suit the purposes of the speakers, more frequently perhaps in Rome than in any other place."

The ambassador succeeded in once more appeasing the contentions, although the Pope had already begun to talk of excommunication. He considers Clement to be, nevertheless, well disposed to the republic on the whole. Venice submitted to send her patriarch to Rome.

No. 72

Instruzione all' illustrissimo et eccellentissimo marchese di Viglienna, ambasciatore cattolico in Roma, 1603. Informatt. Politt., No. 26.
[Instruction to the most illustrious and most excellent Marquis Viglienna, Spanish ambassador to Rome, etc.]

Viglienna was the successor of Sessa. Our author very judiciously leaves it to the departing ambassador to give information respecting the Pope and his immediate dependents. He has himself supplied us with notices of the cardinals. His object is to point out the faction to which each prelate belongs. We perceive from his account that the state of things had greatly altered since 1599. There are now but ten cardinals enumerated as decidedly Spanish. In earlier times there was but little said of those inclined to France; but our ambassador counts nine of them—the remainder belong to no party.

This author also is deeply impressed with the importance of the Curia. "Here it is that differences and pretensions are arranged, that peace and wars are disposed of. . . . The character of the place invites the most active spirits, and those most covetous of greatness, so that it is no wonder to find the most acute minds flourishing there."

No. 73

Dialogo di Monsignor Malaspina sopra lo stato spirituale e politico dell' imperio e delle provincie infette d' heresie. Vallic. No. 17. 142 leaves. [Dialogue of Monsignore Malaspina on the spiritual and political state of the empire, and of the provinces infested by heresy.]

A dialogue between Monsignor Malaspina, the Archbishop of Prague, and the Bishops of Lyons and Cordova—churchmen, that is to say, of the four principal nations—about the year 1600. The occupation of Ferrara is discussed in it.

The special purpose of this paper is to compare what earlier popes had done for the progress of Catholicism with what had been effected by Clement VIII.

Under the earlier Popes: "1. The reduction of the Indies. 2. The celebration of the Council. 3. The holy league, and the naval victory. 4. The erection of colleges. 5. The offer from the heretics of the primacy of Peter to the patriarch of Constantinople(?). 6. The firmness of the Catholic King in refusing to make concessions to the heretics of the Low Countries in matters prejudicial to religion."

By Pope Clement VIII: "1. The pastoral and universal government. 2. The particular government of the dominions of the Ecclesiastical States. 3. The life of his holiness. 4. The possibility of vanquishing the Turk now made manifest by means of his holiness. 5.

Ferrara occupied. 6. The most Christian King of France made Catholic."

Malaspina concludes that this last was of more importance than all that the others had effected. Very naturally. The work is dedicated to the papal nephews.

I have not been able to discover more than one single passage worthy of notice in all this long paper.

The author was present at the Electoral Diet of Ratisbon, in the year 1575. He there conversed with the Elector Augustus of Saxony. This prince was still far from exciting hopes among the Catholics of his conversion to their faith. He declared, on the contrary, that he made but small account of the Pope, either as pope or as sovereign of Rome, and thought just as little of his treasurer, for that the papal treasure chamber was rather a cistern than a living spring. The only thing he considered worthy of attention was the fact that a monk like Pius V could unite so many powerful princes for a Turkish war: he might effect as much against the Protestants. In fact, Gregory XIII did propose such an attempt. Since he perceived that France declined taking any part in the Turkish war from fear of the Huguenots, he considered that a general confederacy of Catholic princes, directed equally against Turks and Protestants, was a thing needful. Negotiations were immediately opened in Styria for that purpose, both with the Emperor and the archduke Charles.

No. 74

Relatione delle chiese di Sassonia. Felicibus auspiciis illustrissimo comitis Frid. Borromei. 1603. *Bbl. Ambros. H.* 179. [Report concerning the churches of Saxony, under the fortunate auspices of the most illustrious Count Frederick Borromeo. Ambrosian Library, H. 179.]

This is another of the various projects of Catholicism, with a view to recovering possession of Germany.

The author has persuaded himself that people in Germany have gradually become wearied of Protestantism. The fathers are already but little concerned for the bringing up of their children in their own religion. "They leave them to themselves, to the end, as they say, that God may inspire them with that which shall be for the welfare of their souls."

In this conviction he forms designs on two leading Protestant countries, Saxony and the Palatinate.

In Saxony the administrator had already annihilated Calvinism. He must be won over by the hope of recovering the electorate. "*Mettergli inanzi speranza di poter per la via della conversione farsi assoluto patrone dell' elettorato.*" (Set before him the hope of becoming absolute master of the Electorate by means of his conversion.) The nobles of the country would also gladly see the probability of again acquiring the bishoprics.

With respect to the Palatinate, he expresses himself as follows: "Casimir had a sister, a widow, who had been wife to a landgrave of Hesse, and was living at Braubach, a domain on the Rhine. She appears to possess many moral virtues, and some degree of religious light: she is wont to practise many works of charity with much zeal, bestowing many alms, and consoling the sick of those districts, whom she provides with medicine. She converses willingly with certain

fathers of the Jesuit order, and with the Archbishop of Treves. . . . It is the opinion of many that with greater diligence, and by means of some Jesuit father in her favor, or of some Catholic prince or bishop, it would be an easy thing to bring her entirely over to the true faith; . . . for which, if the blessed God would grant his grace, and the thing were done with befitting secrecy, she would be an excellent instrument for afterward converting her nephew with his sister and another daughter left by Casimir."

The author is here alluding to Anna Elizabeth of the Palatinate, wife of Philip II of Hesse Rheinfels, who died in the year 1583. She had previously been suspected of Calvinism, and had even been wounded in a tumult on that account. We see that at a later period, while residing on her jointure estate of Braubach, which she was embellishing she was suspected of a tendency to the opposite creed of Catholicism.

This was the combination of circumstances on which our author builds. He thinks that if the young count palatine were then to be married to a Bavarian princess, the whole territory would become Catholic. And what an advantage would it be to gain over an electorate!

No. 75

Instruzione a V. Signore Monsignor Barberino, arcivescovo di Nazaret, destinato nuntio ordinario di N. Signore al re christianissimo in Francia, 1603. [Instruction to Monsignore Barberino, archbishop of Nazareth, on being sent papal nuncio to the most Christian king, etc.] MS. Rome.

Prepared by Cardinal P. Aldobrandino, who makes frequent mention of his own former embassy to the French Court. Its object is the furtherance of Catholicism in France, where it had already received a powerful impulse from the conversion of Henry IV.

Let us listen to some of the charges given to the nuncio (who was afterward Pope Urban VIII): "Your Excellency will proceed in such a manner with the King, that he shall not only give evidence of his desire for the conversion of heretics, but shall aid and favor them after their conversion. The idea of balancing matters so that both the parties shall be maintained in amity, is a vain, false, and erroneous proposition; it can be suggested only by politicians, evil-minded persons, and such as love not the supreme authority of the King in the kingdom. . . . Our lord the Pope would have you place before him (the King) for his consideration a most easy method (for getting rid of the Protestants), one that will cause no commotion, can be very easily executed, and produces its effect without constant labor. It is that which his holiness has on other occasions suggested to his Majesty, adducing the example of the King of Poland; namely, that he should confer no appointment or promotion on heretics. . . . Your Excellency will also remind his Majesty that he should occasionally give a shrewd rap to those fellows (the Huguenots), for they are an insolent and rebellious crew. . . . Your excellency must plainly tell the King that he ought to discontinue the *economati* (custody of vacant sees), and avoid the practice of giving bishoprics and abbacies to soldiers and women."

The right of the *regale*, which afterward occasioned so many disputes, had its origin in these *economati*: "The King nominates the *econo*, who, by virtue of a decree, and before the apostolic decision has been made, administers both spiritual and temporal affairs,

confers benefices, and constitutes vicars, who judge, absolve, and dispense."

The nuncio was also to labor for the confirmation of the King himself in the Catholic faith, for it was not possible that he could have received sufficient instruction during the war. He was enjoined to urge the appointment of good bishops and to promote the reform of the clergy; if possible, he was also to see that the decrees of the Council of Trent were published: the King had promised the cardinal on his departure that this should be done within two months, yet several years had now passed, and it was still delayed. He was further to advise the destruction of Geneva: "To do away with the nest that the heretics have in Geneva, as that which offers an asylum to all the apostates that fly from Italy."

But it is Italy that the Pope has most at heart. He declares it to be intolerable that a Huguenot commander should be sent to Castel Delfino, on the southern side of the Alps. His example would be deadly.

Clement was very earnestly occupied with the idea of a Turkish war. Each of the sovereigns ought to attack the Turks from a different point. The King of Spain was already prepared, and only required an assurance that the King of France would not raise a war against him meanwhile in other quarters.

No. 76

Pauli V. pontificis maxima vita compendiose scripta. Bibl. Barb.
[Epitome of the life of Pope Paul V.] Barberini Library.

A panegyric of no great value.

The judicial administration of this pontiff and that of his government generally, as well as his architectural undertakings, are all extolled at length.

"He was for the most part silent and abstracted, in all times and places; even at table he meditated, wrote, and transacted many affairs.

"To evil-doers no retreat was afforded. From the principal palaces of Rome culprits were dragged to punishment by an armed force. I do not say from the open halls only, but even from the innermost apartments of the noblest dwellings.

"In the beginning of his pontificate he was oppressed by many difficulties, and most of all by want of money. During sixteen years he was continually expending much gold in gifts, the reconstruction of buildings, or the raising of others entirely new; in fortresses also, and subsidies to foreign powers; being moreover at much cost for supplies of corn. He took nothing from the treasure of the castle St. Angelo, amassed there for the public safety, and relieved the burdens of the subject provinces. For so many vast works he contracted no new debt, but rather diminished the old; nor was he by any means reduced to want—nay, he enriched the public treasury from many sources, and even accumulated 900,000 pieces of gold in his private treasury."

This panegyrist does not appear to have considered the creation of so many new *luoghi di monte* as a loan.

Relazione dello stato infelice della Germania, cum propositione dell'i rimedii opportuni, mandata dal nuntio Ferrero, vescovo di Vercelli, alla Santità di N. Signore Papa Paolo V. Bibl. Barb. [Report on the unhappy state of Germany, with a proposal of the fitting remedies, presented by the nuncio Ferrero, bishop of Vercelli, to his holiness our Lord the Pope Paul V.] Barberini Library.

This is probably one of the first circumstantial reports that came into the hands of Paul V. The nuncio alludes to the insurrection of the imperial troops against their general, Basta, in May, 1605, as an event that had just occurred.

The unfortunate course taken by the war under these circumstances, the progress of the Turks, and that of the rebels who were in open strife with the Emperor, were without doubt his chief reasons for calling Germany unhappy.

For, on the other hand, he did not fail to perceive the many conquests which the Catholic Church was making in Germany.

"The immediate cause of these successes have been the pupils, both of Rome and various cities or other places of Germany, where the piety of Gregory XIII afforded them opportunity of instruction at the cost of the apostolic treasury, together with the colleges and schools of the Jesuit fathers, wherein heretics are received mingled with the Catholics; because the aforesaid students become prelates or canons."

He declares repeatedly that the Jesuit schools had won over large masses of young men to Catholicism; but he complains of an extraordinary dearth of Catholic parish priests, more particularly in Bohemia.

He enters also into the political state of the country. He considers the danger from the Turks to be rendered very menacing and serious by the feeble and ill-prepared condition of the emperors, and the internal dissensions of the house of Austria. The archdukes Matthias and Maximilian have reconciled their disputes, that they might the better oppose the Emperor.

"The Archdukes Matthias and Maximilian are now united in friendship, perceiving that by their divisions they were playing the game desired by the Emperor. Thus the second archduke has resolved to yield to the first, as to him in whom, by the claims of primogeniture, is vested the right to the Kingdom of Hungary, Bohemia, and the States of Austria. Albert also has promised to acquiesce in whatever shall be done, and by common consent they have required the Emperor by letters to adopt some resolution for the stability of the house; but he has fallen into so melancholy a state, whether because of their union, and vexation at not being able to avail himself of those seditions, or for some other cause, that he provides neither for the imperial house, for his States, nor for himself."

Many other remarkable circumstances are also brought to light—the fact, for example, that views were entertained by the house of Brandenburg upon Silesia even at that time. "Brandenburg does not despair, with the States that he has in Silesia, and with his own forces, of succeeding, at some period of revolution, in appropriating that province to himself."

No. 78

Relazione dell' illustrissimo Signore Franc. Molino cavaliere e procuratore ritornato da Roma con l'illustrissimo Signori Giovanni Mocenigo cavaliere, Piero Duodo cavaliere e Francesco Contarini cavaliere, mandati a Roma a congratularsi con Papa Paolo V. della sua assontione al ponteficato: letta in senato 25 Genn. 1605 (1606). [Report of Francesco Molino on his return from Rome with the most illustrious signors Pietro Duodo and Francesco Contarini, whither they had been conjointly sent to congratulate Pope Paul V on his accession to the pontificate: read in the senate Jan. 1605 (1606).]

The outbreak of troubles was already foreseen; the ambassadors observed Pope Paul V as minutely as possible.

“When Leo XI was declared Pope they delayed the pontifical investment for two hours; but this Pope was believed to be clothed pontifically almost before he was elected, and while yet but equal to the other cardinals; for he had scarcely been declared before he began to manifest the pontifical reserve and gravity so conspicuously, whether in looks, movements, words, or deeds, that all were filled with amazement and wonder, many perhaps repenting, but too late, and to no purpose. For this pontiff, wholly different from his predecessors, who, in the hurry and warmth of those first moments, all consented to the requests as well of the cardinals as others, and granted a vast number of favors. This Pope, I say, remained from the first most reserved and serious—nay, declared himself resolved not to grant or promise the most trifling request, affirming that it was needful and proper that he should take due consideration with regard to every request presented to him. Thus there were but very few who received any favors, and those after the lapse of some days. Nor does he at all enlarge his liberality; on the contrary, his reserve seems always increasing, so that the court is apprehensive of a continued scarcity of favors, and closer restriction on all points, whereat all are very sorrowful. Among the cardinals there is not one that can boast of having had so much familiarity or intimacy with him as to make sure of readily obtaining anything at his hands: and they all hold him in so much dread that when they have to wait upon him for the negotiation of affairs, they are quite bewildered and disconcerted; for not only do they always find him standing on his dignity, and giving his replies in few words, but he further encounters them with resolutions almost always founded on the most rigid letter of the law. He will make no allowance for customs, which he calls abuses, nor for the practice of preceding pontiffs, to which not only he declares himself incapable of reconciling his conscience, but he further says those popes may have done wrong, and have now perhaps to render an account to God, or else they may have been deceived, or that the cases have been different from those then before him; thus he dismisses the cardinals, for the most part, very ill satisfied. He is not pleased that any should speak long in dissent or argument, and if he does listen to one or two replies, when he has met them by decisions of law, by the canons, or by decrees of councils, which he cites in refutation of their opinions, he turns away if they proceed further, or commences some other subject; for he would have them to know, that after his labors for thirty-five years in the study of the laws, and in their continual practice, while exercising various offices in the Roman Court and elsewhere, he may reasonably pretend

(though he does not say this in express words) to so exact an acquaintance with the subject, as never to take any false step, whether in the decisions that he propounds or the determinations that he makes. He alleges also, that in matters of doubt, the judgment and interpretation, more particularly in ecclesiastical matters, belong to him as supreme pontiff. Things being thus, the cardinals, who for some time past have not been wont to contradict, as they formerly did, or even to offer counsels, but when they are requested and commanded to speak freely, take care to do so in conformity with the opinion they perceive to be entertained by the ruling pontiff, even though they do not think with him, restraining themselves with this Pope much more than even with his predecessors; and they will every day have more and more cause to keep silence, for their opinion is now asked less than by any others: Paul neither desires to hear it from the body collectedly, nor from any one of them apart, as Pope Clement and other pontiffs used to do. He makes all resolutions for himself, and announces them at once in the Consistory, where he will now complain of the evil of the times, and now inveigh against different princes with bitter words, as he did but lately while we were there, in reference to the surrender of Strigonia, complaining of it, and laying the blame on the Emperor and other sovereigns, with very pointed and biting expressions; or anon reminding the cardinals of their duties and obligations, will suddenly deal out protests against them, without precedent, order, or rule, by which he throws them into the utmost confusion, as he did, for example, when he signified to them the necessity for their residence, and, as I have said, not by way of command, as was usual with other pontiffs, who assigned the prelates a specific time, though a short one, to repair to their churches, but solely by declaring that he would not absolve the absentees from mortal sin while they received the revenues, which determination he founded on the canons and the Council of Trent. By this form of words, and a decision so unexpected, pronounced with so much heat, he caused such dismay among the cardinal-bishops that, knowing they could stay no longer in Rome, without heavy scruples and great remorse of conscience—without causing scandal, and above all, incurring the particular opinion of the Pope that they cared little for the warnings of his holiness, had little fear of God, and small regard for their own honor in the eyes of the world, they have taken the resolution either to depart to their sees, and some have even already set off, or otherwise to resign them, though some few, indeed, have requested a dispensation to remain until the rigor of the winter has passed, and then to go in the spring. Nor has he admitted their holding legations in the provinces or cities of the Ecclesiastical States as an excuse or means of defence. There are only two who are to be excepted from the necessity of residence: first, Cardinal Tarasio, Archbishop of Sienna, who is very old, and quite deaf, and even he will not be excused from renouncing his revenues; and the Cardinal of Verona, who is also exempted on account of his very great age, as well as because he has for many years had his nephew in the office of coadjutor; and this last has supplied the place of his uncle extremely well."

But in spite of this severity on the part of Paul V, the ambassadors made very good progress with him upon the whole. He dismissed them in the most friendly manner—the most gracious pontiff could not have expressed himself more favorably; they were therefore astonished that affairs should so soon afterward have taken a turn so entirely different, and at the same time so formidable.

No. 79

Instruzione a monsignore il vescovo di Rimini (Cardinale Gessi) destinato nuntio alla repubblica di Venetia dalla Santità di N. S. P. Paolo V. 1607. 4 Giugno. Bibl. Alb. [Instructions to the bishop of Rimini, nuncio from Pope Paul V to the Republic of Venice. June 4, 1607.] Albani Library.

Prepared immediately after the termination of the disputes, but still not in a very pacific temper.

The Pope complains that the Venetians had sought to conceal the act of absolution. In a declaration to their clergy there appeared an intimation that the Pope had revoked the censures, because he acknowledged the purity of their intentions ("che S. Beatitudine per haver conosciuta la sincerità degli animi e delle operationi loro havesse levate le censure"). Paul V nevertheless goes so far as to entertain a hope that the *consultores*—even Fra Paolo—would be given up to the Inquisition. This passage is very remarkable. "With respect to the persons of Fra Paolo, a Servite, and Giovanni Marsilio, with others of those seducers who pass under the name of theologians, your Excellency has received oral communication, and you ought not to have any difficulty in obtaining that these men should be consigned to the holy Inquisition, to say nothing of being at once abandoned by the republic, and deprived of that stipend which has been conferred on them to the great scandal of all." It was impossible that such suggestions should fail to exasperate the enmity of Fra Paolo, and to make it implacable. The Pope knew not the character of the enemy he was thus making for the papacy. His *monsignori* and *illustrissimi* are all forgotten, while the spirit of Fra Paolo still lives, at least, in one part of the opposition existing within the limits of the Catholic Church, even to the present day.

The resistance which the Pope had encountered in Venice made the most profound impression on his mind. "His holiness desires that the ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction should be manfully defended by your Excellency; but your Excellency will be also very cautious to adopt no cause for which you have not very good reason, since there is perhaps less evil in leaving a point undisputed than in losing one contended for."

No. 80

Ragguaglio della dieta imperiale fatta in Ratisbona l' anno del Signore 1608, nella quale in luogo dell' eccellentissimo e reverendissimo Monsignore Antonio Gaetano, arcivescovo di Capua, nuntio apostolico, rimasto in Praga appresso la M. Cesarea, fu residente il padre Filippo Milensio, maestro Agostino, vicario generale sopra le provincie aquilonarie. All' eccellentissimo e reverendissimo signore e principe il signore cardinale Francesco Barberini. [Report of the imperial diet held at Ratisbon in the year of our Lord 1608, whereat Father Filippo Milensio, general of the Augustines, and vicar of the northern provinces, was resident in the place of Gaetano, archbishop of Capua, and apostolic nuncio; who was detained at Prague by his imperial Majesty. Presented to the prince-cardinal Francesco Barberini.]

When the Emperor Rudolf summoned a diet in 1667, Antonio Gaetano was nuncio at his court.

Gaetano was instructed to effect the more complete introduction of the Tridentine decrees, and the acceptance of the Gregorian calendar, to which the three secular electors were already disposed—Saxony most decidedly so. He had already instructed his ambassador to that effect, and charged him to attend more particularly to the Catholic interests in the *Kammergericht*. The interruption experienced by the affairs of that court is accounted for in the Instruction, as follows:

“The Magdeburg heretic intruder, being supreme president of this tribunal, and desiring to exercise the duties of his office, was not admitted; thus from that time no causes have been heard, and the suits have accumulated, more especially the offences offered to the Catholics, the heretics insisting that they ought to have equal place in that tribunal with the Catholics, and continually laboring to usurp the ecclesiastical possession.”

It was easily to be foreseen that very animated discussions must arise in the Diet with relation to this matter, yet the nuncio himself could not be present. The Emperor sent the archduke Ferdinand thither as his representative, and would have considered it as an affront had the nuncio left him.

Gaetano sent the vicar of the Augustines, Fra Milensio, in his place. As the latter had passed some years in Germany, he could not fail to be in some degree acquainted with the position of things. But in addition to this, he was referred by the nuncio to Matthew Welser “for minute information respecting affairs of the empire”—and to that Bishop of Ratisbon, a letter from whom was at that time producing so great an excitement among the Protestants. He was also to attach himself to the counsels of Father Willer, the Emperor’s confessor.

It was not, unfortunately, till many years afterward that this Augustine drew up the report of his exertions in the Diet. The account he gives of his own proceedings is nevertheless highly remarkable; and we have already inserted it in the body of our work.

He attributes the whole of the disorders that had at that time broken out in the empire to the disputed succession: “The report prevailing that Rudolf intended to adopt the Archduke Leopold, younger brother of Ferdinand, and that afterward he had inclined to Ferdinand himself.” Matthias was exceedingly displeased at this. But he found in Klesel and in Prince Lichtenstein, who had so much power in Moravia, very faithful and influential adherents.

According to this report of the Augustinian’s, Dietrichstein and Gaetano had an important share in the conclusion of the agreement between the brothers.

No. 81

Relazione di Roma dell' illustrissimo Signore Giovan Mocenigo Cavaliere Ambasciatore a quella corte l' anno 1612. Inff. Politt. tom. xv. [Report from Rome by the most illustrious Giovanni Mocenigo, ambassador to that court in the year 1612. Inff. Polit. vol. xv.]

The first ambassador after the settlement of the dissensions was Francesco Contarini, 1607-1609. Mocenigo speaks highly of the advantage he had derived from Contarini’s prudent management. He himself, who had already been employed in embassies during eighteen years, remained in Rome from 1609 to 1611. The quiet tone of his report suffices to show that he also succeeded in maintaining a good understanding.

In the report before us, Mocenigo did not propose to repeat generalities or matters well known, but rather to exhibit the personal qualities of the Pope and his disposition toward the Venetian republic. "The qualities, purposes, and dispositions of the Pope and of the republic toward this republic. I will treat all with the utmost brevity, omitting such things as are rather curious than necessary."

1. Pope Paul V.—"Majestic, tall, and of few words: yet it is currently reported in Rome that there is no one can equal him in terms of politeness and good offices: he is truthful, guileless, and of most exemplary habits."

2. Cardinal Borghese.—"Of a fine presence, courteous, and benevolent, he entertains great reverence for the Pope, and renders all who approach him content, at least by good words. He is esteemed and respected by everyone." In the year 1611 he had already secured an income of 150,000 scudi.

3. Spiritual power.—He remarks that former popes had sought to acquire honor by granting favors; but that those of his times labored rather to retract the favors already granted ("*rigorosamente studiano d' annullare et abbassare le già ottenute gratie*"). Yet sovereigns earnestly endeavored to remain on good terms with them, because it was believed that the obedience of the people was founded on religion.

4. Temporal power.—He finds that the population of the Ecclesiastical States is still very prone to war; "most ready, in all factions, troubles, or battles, for the assault of an enemy, and all other military proceedings." The papal forces were, nevertheless, in utter ruin. There had formerly been 650 light cavalry kept against the bandits; but when these were put down, they had sent this body of cavalry to the Hungarian war, without raising any other in its place.

5. Form of government, absolute.—The cardinal-nephew, the datary, and Lanfranco had some influence; otherwise the cardinals were only consulted when the Pope desired to hear their opinions; and even when his holiness did consult them, they replied rather according to his wishes than their own views. "If he ask advice, there is no one who dares utter a word except in applause and commendation, so that everything is determined by the prudence of the Pope." And this was in fact the best thing to be done, because the factions of the court had turned all opinion into mere party spirit.

6. Relation to Spain and France.—The Pope endeavored to maintain a neutral position. "When anyone dependent on the Spaniards commenced a discussion as to the validity or invalidity of the Queen's marriage, he has evinced a determination to defend the motives and cause of the Queen. The few good Frenchmen in the Kingdom of France itself have not failed to prove that they were ready to take arms, provided they had received any favor from the Pope or the King of Spain.

"The King of Spain is more respected by the Court of Rome than any other sovereign. Cardinals and princes rejoice when they can have pensions from him, and be placed among his dependents. The Pope was formerly pensioned by him; and as a favored subject of his Majesty, was aided in his elevation to the papacy by singular and unparalleled benefits. He takes care to satisfy the Duke of Lerma, to the end that this latter may serve as the principal instrument of his purposes with his Catholic Majesty."

7. His Council: Temporizing and frequently dissembling with the pontiffs.—"When victors, they use their victory after their own fashion; when vanquished they accede to any condition imposed on them,"

No. 82

Relatione della nunziatura de' Svizzerai. Informazioni Politt. tom. ix. fol. 1-137. [Report from the Swiss nunciature, etc.]

Informatione mandata dal Signore Cardinale d'Aquino a Monsignor Feliciano Silva vescovo di Foligno per il paese di Svizzerai e Grisoni. Ibid. fol. 145-212. [Information from the Cardinal of Aquino to the bishop of Foligno in relation to Switzerland and the Grisons, etc.]

In Lebre's "Magazin zum Gebrauch der Staaten-und Kirchengeschichte," bd. vii. p. 445, will be found extracts from the letters sent by the Roman Court to the nuncios in Switzerland in the years 1609 and 1614. They cannot be called very interesting, standing alone as they do, without replies or reports that might illustrate their meaning: they are not even intelligible.

The first of these nuncios was the Bishop of Venafrò, the same whose report in relation to Switzerland has been cited by Haller ("Bibliothek der Schweizergeschichte," bd. v. nr. 783). "The papal nuncio," he remarks, "Lad. Gr. of Aquino, Bishop of Venafrò, has given proof of his discernment and ability in this work, which well deserves to be printed." Haller made a copy from it in Paris with his own hand, and this he deposited in the Library of Zurich.

The report he has eulogized is that now before us; but we have it in a more complete form than that in which it was known to Haller.

When the Bishop of Venafrò resigned the nunciature, which he had administered from 1608 to 1612, he not only communicated to his successor, the Bishop of Foligno, the instruction that he had received from Cardinal Borghese, but presented him also with a circumstantial account of the mode in which he had acted upon that instruction and had himself proceeded in his office. "*Di quanto si è eseguito sono al giorno d'oggi nelli negotii in essa raccomandatimi.*" This is the second of the manuscripts now before us. It begins with a description of the internal dissensions of Switzerland.

"And following the same order as that observed in the above-named Instruction, I proceed to say that for many years past there has been a great change going on in the Catholic cantons, more particularly in the good understanding and concord that formerly existed between them: for nowadays, not only are they divided by the Spanish and French factions, and by the pensions, but also by other interests, emoluments, and rivalries, so that there is now so little friendship among them that many grave evils may result from this state of things unless there be presently applied some special remedy. A particular diet is required for this, and should be held, to the sole end that it might renew the ancient leagues of friendship, brotherhood, and affection—a thing which I have often proposed with great applause, although I have never yet been able to bring it to an effectual end. Altorf is the ancient rival of Lucerne, and carries with it the other two cantons of Schwytz and Unterwalden, beholding very unwillingly the pre-eminence and first place taken by the nobles of Lucerne; for which reason it frequently opposes them in public affairs for no better reason than mere rivalry and want of understanding. Lucerne leads with it Friburg, Solothurn, and even Zug, thus making another party. Zug is divided within itself, there being very serious disputes between the townspeople and the peasantry: these last, also, desiring to be known

as masters. Thus in every Catholic canton there are many dissensions, both public and private, to the prejudice of the deliberations, and at the hazard of much greater evils, if there be not some remedy applied, which I am laboring to do with the utmost diligence."

At the same time that he sends this information, the nuncio promises a still more circumstantial account. "*Fra pochi giorni spero di mandarle copia d' una piena e più diffusa relatione di tutti li negotii della nuntiatura.*"

This is the first-named manuscript, and that known to Haller.

In this document the nuncio proceeds somewhat methodically to work. Chapter 1.—"Della grandezza della nuntiatura." He first describes the extent of the nunciature, which he declares to be as large as the kingdom of Naples, and including, moreover, inhabitants using the most varied tongues. Among these he does not forget to mention the Romance language, "a most preposterous speech, made up of eight or ten dialects."

2. "Of the ambassadors of princes residing among the Swiss, and of their views."

3. "Of the Diet, and of the time and place of the Swiss convocations."

4. "Of the passes that are in the Swiss nunciature." For the passes were precisely the principal object of contention between the various powers.

5. "Of the spiritual state of the Swiss nunciature." The most important, and, as was requisite, the most circumstantial chapter, pp. 28-104: and in this an account is given of various dioceses, and also a report concerning the abbeys.

6. "Office of the nuncio established to aid the spiritual power, and of the best and most effectual modes for doing so."

7. "Of what the nuncio should do to give satisfaction in regard to the temporal affairs of his nunciature."

The care with which all the more important points were discriminated and gone through will be at once perceived. The execution proves the writer's knowledge, no less of past times than those present: it shows zeal, ability, and discernment. The report, as might be expected, repeats the greater part of what was contained in the Instruction.

Yet our nuncio did not think even this sufficient. He adds to the report a "summary of what the Bishop of Venafrò has done in execution of the directions given him on leaving Rome," which he had prepared on another occasion, and which must have been almost identical with the "Information." He remarks this himself, yet he appends the little document, nevertheless. In the copies afterward taken, it was, without doubt, and very properly, omitted.

Instead of this paper there follows an "Appendice de' Grisoni e de' Vallesani," no less remarkable than the preceding.

"E questo," the writer at length concludes his voluminous work. "And this is the short summary promised by me of the state of the Swiss nunciature, and of the districts depending on it. Thanks be to God. Amen."

But he still thought that he had given only a brief outline of such things as were best worth noting; so little is it possible to represent the world in words.

I have used the notices here found only so far as they were subservient to my own purpose (see vol. ii. pp. 178, 182); the publication of the remainder must be left to the industry of the Swiss.*

* A translation of this report has in fact appeared since this was written. See "Taschenbuch für Geschichte und

Alterthümer in Süddeutschland," 1840, p. 280; 1841, p. 289; 1844, p. 29.

No. 83

Instruzione data a Monsignor Diotallevi, vescovo di S. Andelo, destinato dalla Santità di Nostro Signore Papa Paolo V. nuntio al re di Polonia, 1614. [Instruction to the bishop of St. Andelo, nuncio from Pope Paul V to the king of Poland.]

A general recommendation to promote the Catholic religion, the introduction of the decrees of the Council of Trent, and the appointment of tried Catholics to public employments, and never to endure anything that can result to the advantage of the Protestants.

There are traces, nevertheless, of a certain misunderstanding.

The Pope had refused to nominate the Bishop of Reggio cardinal, as the King had requested. The nuncio was directed to take measures for pacifying the King on that subject.

He is particularly enjoined never to promise money.

"For either because they do not perceive, or do not understand, the excessive embarrassments of the Apostolic See. Foreign princes, more especially those north of the Alps, are very ready to seek assistance, and if the least hope were given them, they would then consider themselves greatly offended if they should afterward be deprived of such hope."

Respecting the latter years of Paul V, we find but few ecclesiastical documents; we will therefore employ the space thus left by examining some others which refer to the administration of the State during that period.

No. 84

Informatione di Bologna di 1595. Ambrosian Library of Milan. F.D. 181.

The position and constitution of Bologna, with the sort of independence it maintained, were so remarkable and important that papers and documents relating to this city, though only a provincial one, were readily included in the collections.

In volume 22 of the "Informationi," we find a great mass of letters of the year 1580, addressed to Monsignor Cesi, legate of Bologna, and which relate to his administration.

They are almost all recommendations, chiefly intercessions.

The Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Tuscany intercede for Count Ercole Bentivoglio, whose crops had been sequestered. After a short time the Grand Duchess expresses her acknowledgments for the compliance granted to her request. The Duke of Ferrara recommends an actress of the name of Victoria; the Cardinal San Sisto, certain turbulent students of the University: "We, too," he remarks, "have been scholars." Giacomo Buoncompagno, son of the Pope, begs favor for a professor who had been deprived of his office; the cardinal of Como, who had at that time the chief management of affairs, for certain monks who had been disturbed in their privileges, but he does not use the tone of one who may command. There are, besides, petitions of a different character. A father, whose son had been murdered, entreats most urgently—nay, imploringly—that justice shall be done upon the murderer, who was already imprisoned in Bologna.

It was principally as regarded the administration of justice that

the influence of the governor was available. In all other matters the city was exceedingly independent.

"The Senators confer with the superior on all important affairs; and having all the customs and revenues of the city in their hands, excepting the duty on salt and wine, which belongs to the Pope, they dispose of the public moneys, controlled by an audit, which is made in the presence of the superior, and by a mandate, bearing his sign manual, with that of the *gonfaloniere*: it is signed also by the special officers appointed for each branch of revenue. They have the regulation of the taxes and imposts laid on the peasantry, whether real or personal, the tax on oxen and the capitation-tax; they have the care of the imposts paid by the rural districts, of the walls, gates, and enclosures; they see that the number of soldiers is kept up in each district, take care that no encroachments are made on the public rights, and that the beauty of the city is preserved; they regulate the proceedings of the silk-market; they elect every month for the civil tribunal (*ruota civile*) four foreign doctors, who must be doctors of at least ten years' standing, and these take cognizance of and decide all civil causes."

The question next arising is, to what extent the representatives of the government retained its influence in this state of things. It was manifestly, as we have said, principally in judicial affairs. "An auditor-general is joined with the *ruota* in the hearing of causes, and there is another special auditor for such causes as the auditor-general summons before his own tribunal; moreover, there is a judge of criminal cases called 'auditor of the great tower' of such place as he resides in; which last official has two sub-auditors as assistants, and all these functionaries are paid by the public."

There next follow certain statistical accounts. "The extent of country is about 180 miles: it sows about 120,000 bushels of corn, and gathers, one year with another, from 550,000 to 660,000 bushels. It has 130,000 inhabitants (the city 70,000—before the famine it contained more than 90,000); hearths, 16,000; consumption, 200,000 bushels of corn (the bushel containing 160 lbs.); 60,000 measures (costolate) of wine; 18,000 bushels of salt; 17,000 lbs. of oil: there are killed 8,000 oxen, 10,000 calves, 13,000 pigs, 8,000 sheep, 6,000 lambs; and 400,000 lbs. of candles are burned. . . . It is computed that one year with another there die in the city 3,000 persons, and 4,000 are born: there are 500 marriages, and from 60 to 70 take conventual vows; there are born to the poor 300 illegitimate male children in the year. There are 400 coaches and other carriages: 600,000 lbs. of silk cocoons are annually brought to the city, of which 100,000 lbs. are yearly wrought for the use of the city."

No. 85

Istruzione per un legato di Bologna. Vallic.

Of a somewhat later period we remark the following counsels:

"Invigliare sopra gli avvocati cavillosi et in particolare quelli che pigliano a proteggere a torto i villani contro li cittadini e gentilhuomini, . . . accarezzare in apparenza tutti li magistrati, non conculcare i nobili." (To keep special watch over the cavilling lawyers, and more particularly over such of them as take upon them wrongfully to protect the people of the rural districts against the citizens and gentlemen, . . . to make a pretence of caressing all magistrates, and not to be too hard upon the nobles.) The crying evil of the outlaws had risen to such a point, that some of them were to be found even among the matriculated students.

Other papers take us into the Campagna di Roma; they show us how the unfortunate peasant was harassed, what the barons received, and how the land was cultivated.

No. 86

Dichiarazione di tutto quello che pagano i vassalli de baroni Romani al papa e aggravi che pagano ad essi baroni. [Declaration of all that the vassals of the Roman barons pay to the popes, and of the imposts they pay to the barons themselves.]

"1. The different payments made by the vassals of the Roman barons to the Pope.—They pay the salt tax; they pay a quattrino on every pound of meat; they pay the tax imposed by Sixtus V for the support of the galleys; they pay the triennial subsidies; they pay for the dead horses, that is for the quartering of cavalry; they pay a certain tax called soldiers' money; they pay an impost called the *archivio*; they pay another called the tax of St. Felix; they pay the pint-tax, imposed by Sixtus V; and they also pay a certain impost called the *sale forastico*.

"2. Payments that are made by those same vassals to the barons.—They pay further to the barons, where there are mills, so much corn, and this is a heavy sum. They pay a fixed portion of wine, and the same of oil, where it is made; they pay for sending the swine into the chestnut and oak woods after the produce is gathered in, and this they call *ruspare*; they pay a tax on taverns; they pay on chandlers' or provision shops; they pay bakers' tax, and the tax on glass-makers; those who go to glean when the grain is cut also pay; they pay for their cattle going to pasture; they pay a fixed portion of their corn and oats. All these burdens amount, as may be seen by the revenues of Duke Altemps, to 2,803 scudi, which includes the mulctures taken from the vassals at the mill when their corn is ground. This sum is drawn from the vassals of Montecapuri(?), of the Duchy of Altemps, who count from 180 to 190 hearths; and this is given as an example from which a moderately accurate idea may be formed of the manner in which the vassals belonging to Roman barons of the Ecclesiastical States are burthened: and let it be observed that herein is not included what is paid to the treasury."

No. 87

Nota della entrata di molti signori e duchi Romani. [Note of the revenues of many Roman nobles and dukes.]

This document, like the preceding, belongs, without doubt, to the times of Clement VIII, who is simply called the Pope.

The Colonna family are distinguished by having vassals; other families possessed more allodial property. The revenues of the Contestabile Colonna are computed at 25,000 scudi, those of Martio Colonna of Zagarolo at 23,000.

We have seen how the public system of debt was imitated by the barons. The Sermoneta family, about the year 1,600, had an income of 27,000 scudi, but they had 300,000 scudi of debt. The Duke of Castel Gandolfo had 14,600 scudi revenue, with a debt of 360,000 scudi. The house of Montalto surpassed all others; its debts were to the amount

of 600,000 scudi. The collective revenues of the Roman barons were estimated at 271,747 scudi, and their domains were valued at 9,000,000 of gold.

The author considers these estates to be by no means neglected. "These lands, contrary to the common opinion and to what I myself believed, are managed with the utmost care and diligence, being ploughed four, six, or even seven times, and cleared from weeds twice or thrice—one of these weedings being in the winter. The weeds are taken up by hand, the land is cropped in rotations of four years, grain is sown in the fallows two years out of the four: where none is sown, the cattle are put in. The ears of corn are cut high, so that much straw remains: this is afterward burned, which makes the ground productive. The ploughs used for these lands do not generally go very deep, because the greater part of them have no great depth of soil, and they very soon reach the subsoil. The country is all cultivated by day laborers; reaped, sown, and weeded: all the labor it requires, in short, is done by strangers, and the people who work in the said Campagna are supported by the profits arising from their breed of horses. The country, good and bad lands taken together, and counting one year with another, may be said to yield six for one; but it must be observed that in many instances these nobles do not themselves cultivate the lands around their castles, but let them to their vassals for such terms as shall be agreed on; and this may suffice to say of the Campagna of Rome. The average rent of this land is of 50 giulj the rubbio: thus, to render it fertile, the land will cost 100 scudi and 10 giulj the rubbio."

There were computed to be at that time 79,504 rubbio in the Campagna, the collective product of which was 318,016 scudi yearly, four scudi the rubbio. Of this there belonged to the barons something more than 21,000; to religious institutions nearly 23,000; above 4,000 to foreigners, and 31,000 to the rest of the Roman people. At a later period this proportion was altered, because the Roman citizens sold so much of their part.

But let us proceed to more general relations.

No. 88

Per sollevare la camera apostolica. Discorso di Monsignor Malvasia. 1606. [Method of relieving the Apostolic treasury, by Mons. Malvasia.]

In despite of the heavy imposts, it was observed with alarm that the papal government possessed nothing. "The interest," exclaims our author, "consumes nearly the whole revenue." The meeting of the current expenses is a matter of continual difficulty, and if any extraordinary demand arises, the government knows not which way to turn. The imposition of new taxes would not be possible, and new retrenchments are not even advisable. "*Magnum vectigal parsimonia*" (parsimony is a great burden)—nothing remains but to reduce the rate of interest, and at the same time to take money from the castle. Instead of the numerous *monti*, with their varying rates of interest, there should be but one, a *monte papale* at four, or at the highest, five per cent. All the rest ought to be bought in, and the Government would be fully justified in redeeming them at the nominal value of the *luogo*, this right having usually been reserved to itself by the Apostolic See. Former popes, as, for example, Paul

IV, had been obliged to sell at 50 per cent. Clement VIII himself had received only 96½. The author next proceeds to show how far this method is practicable.

"It will then be seen that, taking into account the extreme abundance of money now in the market of Rome, with the addition made to it by the million drawn from the castle, and considering the difficulty and danger of sending money and gold abroad, because of the aforesaid prohibition (which he had proposed), it will be seen that the greater part of those whose *monti* and offices are extinguished will gladly enter this *monte papale*; and those who shall prefer to have their money in cash may be paid from the aforesaid million, and from the price of the *monte papale* which will be in course of sale. It may also be taken into the account that of the *monti non vacabili* a great part are bound and engaged to a reinvestment for the security of reserved dowries of pious institutions, and other claims: these will necessarily be transferred to the *monte papale*, and the holders will be in no haste to receive the money, for which they must have to seek another investment, as the fulfilment and satisfaction of the conditions and obligations to which they are subjected; so that thus also this affair will be greatly promoted and facilitated.

"The *Camera* may further take to itself all the *monti* of corporate bodies as well as of individuals, and reduce them as above, enjoying the overplus until they shall be extinguished by the said corporate bodies or individuals.

"All those who shall be willing to change their other *monti* and offices for the said *monte papale*, should have their patents made out for the first time without any expense whatever.

"In this manner your holiness may, in a short time, relieve and liberate the see and the apostolic treasury from these heavy debts and burdens; for, from the gains that will result from the aforesaid extinction and reduction of privileges and interests, which, according to the calculation given to your holiness by your commissioner of the treasury, amounts, the interest being reduced to five per cent., to at least 431,805 scudi per annum, there may be annually extinguished 331,805 scudi of debt, besides the 100,000 scudi which shall be assigned for the restoration to the castle of the million drawn out of it to make up the amount of the third million deficient."

It will suffice here to remark the earnest attention that now began to be given to the securing an orderly system of finance. It will not be necessary to produce the calculations. The Roman Court did not adopt any proposal of this kind, but continued to follow the more easy and convenient methods.

No. 89

Nota di danari, officii e mobili donati da Papa Paolo V. a suoi parenti e concessioni fatteli. [Note of the moneys, offices, and valuables bestowed by Pope Paul V on his relations, and of the grants conferred upon them.]

The Pope had been advised to call in the offices and *monti* bearing interest. We have here—1. "Note of the offices conferred on M. Antonio Borghese during the pontificate of Paul V of happy memory." There are in the whole 120 offices, the value of which is computed according to the ordinary market price. 2. "Nota di molte donazioni di *monti* fatte alli Signori Francesco Gioan Battista e M. A. Borghese de

Paolo V., con le giustificazioni in margine di qualsivoglia partito." Extracts are given from the official books, that is to say, in which these parts are entered. Under similar lists we find an account of the sums bestowed on them in hard cash, as well as other valuables, and also of the privileges and immunities conferred on them. The vouchers are appended in the following manner: "In the book of the secret treasury by Alessandro Ruspoli, fol. 17, and in two shorter ones—one under date of the 26th of January, 1608, and the other of the 11th of March, registered in the first book of the signatures of Paul V, in the acts of Felix de Tolis, fols. 116 and 131.—On the 23d of December, 1605, 36,000 golden scudi were given to Signor G. B. Borghese to pay for the palace, the remainder to be employed on its buildings, which 36,000 golden scudi proceed from the price paid for his nomination by Monsignor Centurioni, and being reduced to 24 rate of exchange, at 13 giulios to the scudo, make 46,800 scudi."

I have already shown to what extraordinary sums these donations amounted, and what was the influence exercised by the advancement of the papal families on the capital and the provinces.

No. 90

Relazione dello Stato Ecclesiastico dove si contengono molti particolari degni di considerazione, 1611. *Inform. Politt.* xi. ff. 1-27. [Report of the Ecclesiastical State, wherein are contained many particulars worthy of consideration, etc.]

We are told in the very beginning that the author was asked for this report in the morning, and that now in the evening of the same day he was sending it in.

It would be truly wonderful if he could have found means to dictate so circumstantial a report, and which is by no means ill arranged, and presents much that is remarkable, in a few hours. We here, for example, find the admission that in many parts of Italy the number of inhabitants was declining, either by pestilence and famine, the murders committed by banditti, or the overwhelming burden of the taxes, which rendered it impossible any longer to marry at the proper age and to rear a family of children. The very life-blood of the people was wrung from them by the taxes, while their spirits were paralyzed and crushed by the endless restrictions on trade.

At one point the anonymous author betrays himself. He remarks that he had written a book, "Ragione di Stato" ["Philosophy of Government"]. He says somewhere, "Ho diffusamente trattato nella 'Ragione di Stato.'" [I have treated of this at large in the "Philosophy of Government"].

By this we obtain a clew to the writer. In the year 1589 there appeared at Venice a book thus entitled—"Della ragion di stato libri X con tre libri delle cause della grandezza delle città." It is dedicated to that Wolf Dietrich von Raittenau, Archbishop of Salzburg, who was the first of the German princes to introduce a more rigid administration of government, modelled on that of Italy. Its author is the well-known Giovanni Botero, whose "Relationi universali" enjoyed in their day an almost universal circulation.

It is manifest that these "Relationi" must now be examined to see if they do not also include the one before us.

In what is properly to be called the main work, that wherein the Ecclesiastical State is mentioned in a summary manner, it is not to

be found; but there is a smaller book which is frequently appended to the former: "Relazioni del signor Giov. Botero Benese, . . . di Spagna, dello stato della chiesa, del Piamonte, della contea di Nizza dell' isola Taprobana," of which the dedication is dated 1611. Here, then, we find our report word for word.

The introduction alone is different. The "Relation" bears the title "A discourse respecting the state of the Church, taken from that part of the office of a cardinal which is not printed." It belonged, as we perceive, to a work on the duties of cardinals.

I leave it to the decision of the reader, whether the most credulous would be misled by the above-named introduction.

No. 91

Tarqu. Pitaro sopra la negotiatione maritima. 17 Ott. 1612. Vallic.
[Pitaro on foreign trade. Oct. 1612.]

Among other counsels, Botero recommends that of encouraging the trade of the States of the Church. There was, in fact, at that time a plan for excavating a new harbor for the city of Fano. It was expected that the commerce of the towns of Urbino would be attracted to the new port.

But our author opposes this plan with the most convincing reasons. He thinks that the projectors might read their own fate in the example of Ancona, which he declares, as did the Venetians shortly after, to have fallen into extreme decay: "The foreign merchants have left the city; the native traders are bankrupt; the gentry are impoverished, the artisans ruined, and the populace almost dispersed." To build a harbor with borrowed money was more likely to ruin Fano altogether than to promote its welfare—as had happened to Ascoli, which had raised a considerable loan to bring its Maremma into a state of cultivation, but had by no means succeeded in doing so.

It was, in fact, not advisable, for other causes, to make this attempt, since the towns of Urbino must in every case very soon lapse to Rome.

No. 92

Relatione della Romagna. Alt. [Report on Romagna.] Altieri Library.

About the year 1615: 1612 is expressly mentioned, but it is of great importance for the whole period from the pontificate of Julius III. The parties that divided the province are described. The transfer of estates, as consequent more particularly on the advancement of the papal families, is very clearly explained. I have frequently used this work, but will give place here to a remark in relation to San Marino, which in those early times gradually raised itself to freedom by progressive exemptions.

"The republic of San Marino is presumed to be free, except in so far as it is recommended to the Duke of Urbino. In 1612 it was proposed and carried in the Council, that on the failure of the heir of Rovere, the republic should declare itself under the protection of the Apostolic See; from which San Marino thereby obtained certain privileges, and particularly that of drawing corn and provisions from the Roman States. This territory, with two other domains annexed to it,

comprises about 700 hearths. It is situated among mountains, is a fortified town, and the gates are guarded by soldiers of its own. The inhabitants have the free administration of justice and grace. They elect their principal magistrates for the time being among themselves, and these are called conservators, and receive from the people of San Marino the title of most illustrious. In case of any serious offence, it is their habit to procure foreign officials for the conduct of the proceedings, having recourse in particular to the Ministers of his Highness the Duke of Urbino, on whom they confer such authority as they deem fitting. The State is poor, not having so much as 500 scudi of revenue; but some of the inhabitants are in easy circumstances, and others rich; the small extent of the country considered. They are wont to hire banditti of all kinds, but as scandals sometimes arise from this, they have decreed that banditti shall not be hired except on certain conditions; yet it is not easy to procure safe-conduct from them."

No. 93

Parole universali dello governo ecclesiastico, per far una greggia et un pastore. Secreto al papa solo. Informatt. xxiv. 26 leaves.
[Universal words of ecclesiastical government for making one flock and one shepherd, etc.]

In despite of the condition of the country, which was gradually becoming so manifestly worse, there were yet people who entertained the boldest designs.

But more extraordinary or more extravagant proposals were perhaps never brought forward than those made by Tomas Campanella in the little work before us.

For there cannot be a doubt that this unlucky philosopher, who fell under the suspicion of intending to wrest Calabria from the Spanish monarchy, and to have taken part in the extravagant plans of the Duke of Ossuna, was the veritable author of this work. "Questo è il compendio," he says. "This a summary of the book entitled the 'Ecclesiastical Government,' which remained in the hands of Don Lelio Orsino; and I, the author, have a copy of it in Stilo, my native place."

To this he adds, "These and much more are explained in the 'Monarchy of Messiah.'" Campanella was from Stilo: this "Monarchia Messiaë" was his work. We cannot doubt that he either composed or revised that now before us.

We may leave the date undetermined. He was probably accompanied through his whole life by notions of this kind.

He remarks that the Pope had very warlike subjects. "The people of Romagna and the March are naturally inclined to arms: thus they serve the Venetians, French, Tuscans, and Spaniards, because the Pope is not a warrior." But he advises the Pope also to become warlike. There was still the material for Ciceros, Brutuses, and Catos. Nature was not wanting; art only was deficient.

He thinks that the Pope ought to raise two armies; the one of St. Peter for the sea, the other of St. Paul for the land, somewhat after the manner of the Janissaries. Never had an armed religion been vanquished, especially when it was well preached.

For he does not in any wise leave that out of his reckoning. He recommends that the most able men should be selected from all the orders, who shall be freed from their monastic duties, and permitted to devote themselves to the sciences.

Law, medicine, and the liberal arts should be studied in the monasteries, as well as theology. The people should be preached to of the golden age, when there should be one shepherd and one fold—of the blessedness of liberated Jerusalem, and of patriarchal innocence. The longings of the people after these things should be awakened.

But when would so happy a state of things commence? "Then," he replies, "when all temporal sovereignties shall be put an end to, and the vicar of Christ shall rule over the whole earth." "There shall be in the world one flock and one pastor, and the age of gold sung by the poets shall be realized, with the perfect republic described by philosophers, the state of innocence of the patriarchs, and the felicity of Jerusalem delivered from the hands of heretics and infidels. And this shall take place when all mundane principalities being set aside, the vicar of Christ alone shall reign supreme throughout the world."

There should be set forth, as he advises, the doctrine that the Pope is lord in temporal as well as spiritual things—a priest such as Abimelech, not such as Aaron.

Such opinions were still entertained toward the close of the sixteenth century, or—for I will not attempt to determine the precise period—in the first ten years of the seventeenth century. We already know the extraordinary progress being made at that time by the Romish power. Before I return to the documents touching that period and progress, let me be permitted to add yet a word with respect to the historians of the Jesuits, who were then at the height of their influence.

INTERCALATION

Remarks on certain Historians of the Jesuit Order

Self-esteem and leisure gradually led the greater part of the religious orders to narrate their own histories in very circumstantial detail.

But no one of them all has done this so systematically as the Jesuits. It was their full determination to give to the world a connected and comprehensive history of their exertions, prepared by their own hands.

And, in fact, the "*Historia Societatis Jesu*," known under the name of Orlandinus, and of those who continued his book, is a work of the highest importance for the history of the order—nay, we may even say for that of the century also.

Nicolaus Orlandinus, a native of Florence, had for some time presided over the college of Nola and the novices of Naples, when, in 1598, he was summoned by Acquaviva to Rome, and appointed historian of the order. In his style of writing, as well as in the business of life, he was exceedingly careful, accurate, and wary, but very infirm. It was with difficulty that he brought down his work to the death of Ignatius. He died in 1606.

His successor in this occupation was Franciscus Sacchinus, from the territory of Perugia, who is, upon the whole, the most distinguished of the Jesuit historians. He was the son of a peasant; his father occasionally visited him in the Collegium Romanum, where he taught rhetoric, and it is recorded to his honor that he was not ashamed of his origin. On his appointment, he devoted himself to the composition of his history, at which he labored during eighteen years in the house of probation on the Quirinal at Rome, and very rarely quitted his residence. Yet he passed his life none the less in contemplation of the great interests of the world. The restoration of Catholicism was still making the greatest progress. What can be more inviting

for the historian than to describe the first beginnings of an event, of which the development and effects are passing in their living reality beneath his eyes? Sacchinus was fully impressed with the characteristic peculiarity of his subject—the universal conflict fought out in the enthusiasm of orthodoxy. "I describe wars," he says, "not of the nations with each other, but of the human race with the monsters and the powers of hell; wars not merely affecting single provinces, but embracing all lands and every sea; wars, in fine, wherein not earthly power, but the heavenly kingdom is the prize of battle." In this spirit of Jesuitical enthusiasm he has described the administration of Lainez, 1556–1564, that of Borgia to 1572, and of Everardus Mercurianus to 1580, each in one volume containing eight books, with the first ten years of Acquaviva's government in the same number of books. These form four tolerably thick and closely printed folio volumes; he nevertheless excuses himself for being so brief. Nor can he indeed be accused of prolixity, or of falling into tediousness. He is, as a matter of course, partial—partial in the highest degree; he passes over whatever does not please him: from the materials before him he frequently takes only what is honorable to the society, and so forth. But notwithstanding this, there is much to be learned from his books. I have compared him here and there with his authorities—with the "*Litteræ Annuæ*," for example, so far as they are printed and were accessible; for books of this kind are very rare in these parts, and I have been compelled to apply to the libraries of Breslau and Göttingen for aid. In every instance I have found his extracts to be made with judgment and propriety—nay, even with spirit and talent. But while occupied with this work, Sacchini had acquired so extensive and accurate an acquaintance with the affairs of the society that he was called to take part in them by the general Mutio Vitelleschi himself. It were to be desired for our sakes that this had not happened; for Sacchini would then have completed the history of Acquaviva's administration, and one of the most important epochs would have been more clearly illustrated than was the case at a later period. Sacchini died in 1625. Even his last volume was brought to a close, and published by Petrus Posinus.

But as time passed, so also did enthusiasm diminish. The "*Imago primi Sæculi*," in the year 1640, had already declined in richness of contents, was more credulous of miracles, more common-place. It was not until 1710 that there appeared a continuation of Sacchini by Jouveny, comprising the last fifteen years of Acquaviva's rule. Jouveny also has undeniable talent; he narrates in a perspicuous and flowing manner, though not without pretension. But the misfortune is that he took the word "*Historia*" much too literally, and would not write annals as Sacchini had done. Thus he distributed the materials that lay before him, arranging them under different heads. "The society agitated by internal commotions—the society disturbed and tossed by external troubles—oppressed in England—assailed—increased, etc." It resulted from this that he did not give due attention to that which was, without doubt, the most important point—the renewed extension of Catholicism in Protestant countries. The method of annals was, besides, much more suitable to a subject such as this. With all his historical labors, Jouveny has produced nothing but fragments.

Neither did he obtain much applause for his work. The order even entertained the purpose at one time of causing the whole period to be rewritten after the manner of Sacchinus. Julius Cordara, who continued the history from 1616 to 1625, confined himself closely to that model. But the spirit of earlier times was irrecoverably lost. The volume of

Cordara is very useful, but is not to be compared in freedom of power with his earlier predecessors, or even with Jouvençy. It appeared in 1750. After that time the society had to struggle too hard for its very existence to have leisure for thinking of a continuation to its history. What has since then been to relate would, besides, have made a much less magnificent display.

In addition to this general history, there are, as is well known, very many provincial histories of the order. These have, for the most part, the general history as their basis; they are, indeed, often directly copied from it. We remark this most strikingly in Socher, "*Historia provinciæ Austriæ*," where Sacchinus is copied even to particular terms of expression. The *puget referre* of the original, for example, is reproduced as *puget sane referre* by Socher. (Sacchin. iv. vi. 78; Socher, vi. No. 33.)

But I will not suffer myself to enter on a criticism of these authors; the field is much too wide; it is, besides, certain that they are not likely to mislead in the present day, when they receive too little credit, rather than too much. I will take leave to make one observation only on the history of Ignatius Loyola himself.

If we compare Orlandinus with the other two more important historians of Ignatius Loyola, we are at once struck by the fact that he agrees much more exactly with the one, Maffei—"De vita et moribus D. Ignatii Loiolæ"—than with the other, Pietro Ribadeneira. The manner of this agreement is also remarkable. Maffei's book appeared as early as 1585; that of Orlandinus was not produced until fifteen years later, and from the close resemblance between the two, Maffei might very well appear to have served as a model for the other. Maffei is, nevertheless, more elaborate and artificial in his manner throughout; Orlandinus is more natural, more simple, and has more force in description. The enigma is solved when we discover that both drew from the same source—the notes of Polancus. Maffei does not name him; but a special treatise by Sacchinus, "*Cujus sit auctoritatis quod in B. Cajetani vita de B. Ignatio traditur*," which is to be found in the later editions of Orlandinus, informs us that Everardus Mercurianus had laid the manuscripts of Polancus before him. From that same Polancus, Orlandinus also afterward drew the principal part of his work; no wonder, therefore, that they agree. But we have the original memoranda in a more genuine form in Orlandinus than in Maffei: the first is more diligent, more circumstantial, and better authenticated by documentary evidence; the latter seeks his renown in historical ornaments and correct Latinity.

But whence proceed the variations of Ribadeneira? He drew principally from a different manuscript authority—the memoranda of Ludovic Consalvus.

Consalvus, as well as Polancus, derived his information from the oral communications of Ignatius himself; but we can perceive thus much, that Polancus gathered more of the accidental and occasional expressions of the general, while Consalvus knew how to lead him at once into a circumstantial narrative; as, for example, in relation to his first spiritual call.

From this it results that we have here to distinguish a double tradition: the one, that of Polancus, repeated by Maffei and Orlandino; the other, that of Consalvus, repeated by Ribadeneira.

By far the most remarkable is that of Consalvus: he has given, so far as can be supposed possible, an account really delivered by Ignatius himself.

But in this, as in all other traditions, we very soon become aware

of an amplification of the simple material. This was commenced even by Ribadeneira. He takes the narration of the eight days' ecstasy, for example, which Ignatius had in Manresa, and from which he was awakened by the word "Jesus," out of the relations of the lady Isabella Rosel of Barcelona. "Examen Ribadeneiræ in comment. præv. AA. SS. Julii, t. vii. p. 590."

But his readers were far from being satisfied with him. Of many among the miracles already commonly believed, he took no notice, "I know not by what idea Ribadeneira was influenced, that he should pass over so many miracles of this kind." It was on account of these very omissions that Polancus commenced his collection, and that Mercurianus caused his work to be elaborated by Maffei, whence they were transferred to Orlandinus.

But even these narrations did not suffice to the wonder-craving Jesuitism of the seventeenth century. As early as the year 1606, people had gone so far as to affirm the sanctity of a cave in Manresa, which they affirmed to be the place wherein the "Exercitia Spiritualia" were composed, although neither the first nor even the second of these traditions mentions a word of this cave, and the Dominicans maintained, doubtless with perfect truth, that the cave (*spelunca*) of Ignatius was in their monastery.

The most violent dissensions between the Dominicans and Jesuits were just then in force, a motive sufficient to make the Jesuits choose another scene as that of the founding of their order.

We now return to our manuscripts respecting Gregory XV and Urban VIII.

No. 94

Relazione delli eccellentissimi Signori Hieron. Giustinian Cavaliere Procuratore, Ant. Grimani Cavaliere, Franc. Contarini Procuratore, Hieron. Soranzo Cavaliere, ambasciatori straordinarii al sommo pontefice Gregorio XV. l' anno 1621, il mese di Maggio. [Report of the most excellent Signors Hieron. Giustinian, Ant. Grimani, Francesco Contarini, and Hieron. Soranzo, ambassadors extraordinary to the supreme pontiff Gregory XV, presented in May, 1621.]

Of inferior importance, as are most of the reports of this kind.

The description of the new pope and of his government could not be more than a hasty sketch, after so short a residence; a few remarks on the journey, the conclave, the origin and previous life of the newly chosen pontiff, with the first proceedings of his administration, generally form the whole material of the report.

Something more might, nevertheless, have been expected on this occasion, because the ordinary ambassador, Geronimo Soranzo, who had resided five years at the Court of Rome, made one of the four ambassadors, and prepared the report in concert with the other three.

The interests of the Venetian Senate were, however, not identical with our own; they were political, not historical. The personal character and court arrangements of a departed prince no longer awakened curiosity, and had no essential importance. Soranzo contents himself with a few remarks. "I must not neglect to relate something of those more weighty matters which I was called on to settle in so long and so important an embassy."

The point of chief moment is that Soranzo explains the position

which Venice had assumed toward the See of Rome in the affairs that had shortly before been in discussion with Spain.

"The Spaniards submitted to the consideration of his holiness the favorable opportunity now presenting itself for reviving the claims of the Church in the gulf (of Venice). The ambassador labored to show the just, ancient, and indubitable possession of the gulf; adding that the republic would have recourse to foreign aid to defend it, and would avail itself of the English and Dutch—nay, even of the Turks themselves; and that if his holiness fomented the unjust and unfair pretensions of the Spaniards, he would throw all Christendom into the utmost confusion. One day his holiness said to me: 'We consider it necessary that the affairs of the gulf should remain unaltered: the innovations that have taken place there have displeased us greatly: we have said this to whomsoever hath spoken to us of the matter.'"

We perceive that there were once more precautions required, lest another outbreak of open hostility should ensue.

Soranzo labored only to convince Paul V that the republic was not disposed to the Protestants. "I made him fully sensible of the goodness and pure zeal of the republic."

The ambassadors entertained the conviction that the new Pope would not incline to the Spaniards. The character and manner of his election seemed to justify this expectation.

"In the election of Gregory XV the operation of the Holy Spirit was made manifest. Borghese, who had the command of six votes more than were required to make the pope at his own pleasure, had resolved to have Campori elected; but three of his creatures dissenting, and other obstacles afterward arising, he was induced to nominate his creature Ludovisi; but more by the instigation of others than by his own inclination. This cardinal possessed the good-will of Aldobrandino; he was believed by the Spaniards to entertain pacific dispositions, and the French considered him to be their friend."

The papal nephew seemed also to maintain himself still unfettered. "*Mostra sinora genio alieno da Spagnoli*" (He has hitherto shown himself averse to the Spaniards), say the ambassadors.

But all this too soon underwent a change.

No. 95

Vita e fatti di Ludovico Ludovisi, di S. R. Ch. vicecanc. nepote di papa Gregorio XV., scritto da Luc. Antonio Giunti suo servitore da Urbino. Cors. 122 leaves. [Life and measures of Ludovico Ludovisi, vice-chancellor of the holy Roman Church, nephew of Pope Gregory XV. Written by his servant, Luc. Antonio Giunti of Urbino.]

"Ludovico, who afterward became Cardinal Ludovisi, was born in Bologna on October 27, 1595. His father was Count Oratio, of the family of Ludovisi, his mother the Countess Lavinia Albergati." He was educated in the Jesuits' College at Rome, was admitted doctor in 1615, in 1617 he accompanied his uncle on the latter being sent nuncio to Bologna, and in 1619 he entered on the career of the prelacy: on the day after the coronation of his uncle, February 16, 1621, he was nominated cardinal, and thence obtained that eminent position in the world, which we have already described.

"I will give a certain idea of such things as were partly proposed by him, and brought about by his agency, or at the least promoted by his efforts during the pontificate of his uncle Gregory."

1. Traits of character.—“He heard all that was said with a more than common coolness. The ambassadors could never have enough of transacting business with him: he gave himself to all, that all might give themselves to him. He did justice and showed mercy at the same time, without passion or duplicity.”

2. Promotions.—He appointed the cardinals who had promoted the election of his uncle, to different legations: Orsino to Romagna, Pio to the March (of Ancona), Ubaldini to Bologna, and Capponi he made Archbishop of Ravenna. Thus their good services were rewarded. Nuncios were despatched to all the courts: Massimi to Tuscany, Pamfilii to Naples, Corsini to France, Sangro to Spain, Caraffa to the Emperor, Montorio to Cologne. Aldobrandino served as general, Pino as paymaster in Germany. The greater part of the Instructions furnished to those nuncios is still extant. The following account of the manner in which these documents were prepared is thus rendered all the more interesting. “Although they were drawn up by Monsignore Agucchia, a prelate of Bologna, yet the cardinal gave particular attention to them himself, by adding notes on the chief points, and making memoranda of the motives, intentions, and opinions of his holiness, together with such counsels and remedies as were suggested by his own foresight and knowledge.” We perceive, then, that the essential parts were supplied by the cardinal-nephew, while Agucchia, a fellow-townsmen of Ludovisi, undertook the completion.

3. Bulls relating to papal election.—The forms previously used were altered, secret scrutiny was introduced, the adoration was abolished. Giunti describes the disadvantages arising from the adoration: “It made the cardinals more diffident in the expression of their opinions; it produced and fomented serious antipathies between the excluders and the excluded; it caused the pontiff to be chosen without due deliberation, when the heads of the factions had made their inclinations manifest; it occasioned the result of the elections to depend, for the most part, on the younger cardinals.” It will be readily supposed that Ludovisi had other and more secret motives for this change, but these are not here brought forward.

4. The establishment of the Propaganda; the canonization of saints.—Of these we have treated in the text.

5. The transfer of the electorate; discussion of the personal share taken by Ludovisi in that event.

6. The acquisition of the Heidelberg Library: “On account of which (the Palatine Library), Cardinal Ludovisio exerted himself greatly, seeing that he considered the being able to obtain it among the most fortunate events of his uncle’s pontificate. Doctor Leon Allaccio, Greek writer in the said Vatican Library, was selected to go and receive it, and take charge of it to Rome.”

7. His protection of the Capuchins, whom Ludovisio esteemed very highly, as he did, even more particularly, the Jesuits.—Vitelleschi says, that by the “special protection which God has ever extended to that society, it has come to pass that some great cardinal has always stood forward as its patron—Alessandro Farnese, Odoardo Farnese, Alessandro Orsino, and now Ludovico Ludovisi.” The last-named cardinal had richly supported the Jesuit churches in Rome and Bologna from his private fortune; and, for the completion of the former, he finally bequeathed 200,000 scudi in his will. He had constantly bestowed 6,000 scudi a year toward that purpose during his lifetime. The author includes that sum in the alms he describes him to have given, and which he computes to have been exactly 32,882 scudi yearly.

8. The election of Urban VIII.—This is here ascribed to the car-

dinal: "Surmounting by his dexterity the difficulties that opposed it." His removal from Rome to his archiepiscopal see of Bologna was entirely determined by himself.

9. His subsequent life.—He preached occasionally in Bologna, and it was by him that the Bolognese were induced to add Ignatius and Xavier to the number of their heavenly protectors. But the principal thing related is that he placed himself in earnest opposition to the vacillating policy of Urban VIII, in accordance with the principles by which he had himself conducted the administration. When the victories of Gustavus Adolphus in 1631 were made known to him, he offered the Spanish Court 100,000 scudi, with the proceeds of all his Spanish abbeys, of which he held ten, during such time as the war should continue. Giunti gives the letter in which Ludovisi makes this offer, which he founds on "the present necessities of Germany, and of the most august house of his Majesty, the basis and support of the Catholic religion." This offer was not accepted in Spain, but Olivarez wrote to the cardinal in reply that, although his Majesty declined his proposal, he would yet not fail to show the cardinal whatever favors he could himself desire, and which might appear to be for interested purposes, if the offer were accepted.

Of the intention attributed by a Venetian to the cardinal of calling a council against Pope Urban VIII, we do not here find any trace.

Upon the whole, indeed, this biography is written very much in the tone of an official panegyric. Although containing much useful and authentic information, and many trustworthy particulars, it refrains from all communication of a more questionable character.

The cardinal died soon after. "La cui anima," says Giunti in conclusion, "riposi in cielo." [May his soul find rest in heaven.]

No. 96

Instruzione a monsignore vescovo d' Aversa, nuntio destinato da N. Signore alla M. Cesarea di Ferdinando II. Imperatore. Roma, 12 Apr. 1621. [Instructions to the bishop of Aversa, nuncio proceeding to his imperial Majesty the Emperor Ferdinand II. Rome, April 12, 1621.]

We have seen the important effects of Caraffa's exertions: the instruction furnished to him by Gregory XV on his proceeding to his nunciature would therefore be worthy of our attention, were it only on that account; but it becomes still more so from the fact that it reveals the views entertained at Rome after the battle of Prague.

Gregory commences by assuming that it was the purpose of the Protestants to root out the house of Austria, to wrest the empire to themselves, and then to press forward into Italy, despoiling and plundering that noblest part of the world. But God had given events a different direction; it must now be the part of man to turn this interposition to the utmost possible advantage.

He enjoins the nuncio to direct his attention to the following points:

I. Confirming the strength of the empire by means of the Catholics.—He promises aid to the Emperor, and urges that the victory should be promptly followed up.

II. The restoration of the Catholic religion.—The Pope is rejoiced at the progress it is making in Austria and Moravia. He is comforted by perceiving that in Silesia they have at least refused to tolerate the Calvinists. But he would not give his sanction to the toleration, even

of the Augsburg Confession in Hungary, although that confession certainly comes nearest to Catholicism: "The confession which, however criminal, yet departs less from the Catholic profession than many of the Catholic sects." But he is most of all anxious respecting Bohemia. For the restoration of Catholicism in that country he recommends the following measures:

1. "The foundation of a Catholic university in Prague."
2. "The re-establishment of the Catholic parish priests in the ancient parishes, and that of Catholic schoolmasters in the cities."
3. "The use of catechisms and good books for all, but for children and ignorant people (*idioti*) the ancient spiritual songs in the Bohemian tongue."
4. "Booksellers and printers should be Catholics, bookshops and printing presses of heretics should be subjected to visitation."
5. "The Jesuit fathers and other religious orders should be called into activity."
6. "The colleges for the poor should be restored to their efficiency by making over to them the alienated ecclesiastical property."

All means of instruction and education. But the nuncio is further reminded that he must oppose the appointment of Protestants to public offices. "The minds of men being more effectually moved by their own interests than by other motives, they will begin by degrees, more particularly the young, to bend their spirits to the Catholic religion; if for no other cause, yet for the sake of participation in public honors."

III. The re-establishment of the ecclesiastical tribunals.—On this subject the Pope has many complaints to make. The bishops are still reluctant to submit to the decrees of the Council of Trent; the canons pursue various corrupt practices; the chapters make a very bad use of the patronage they exercise; even the Emperor allows himself too much liberty. "The Emperor himself, under various pretences of *spolia*, rights of patronage, apostolic concessions, rights of advocacy of the imperial exchequer, and of plenary authority, retains the churches in vacancy for many succeeding years, during which time he takes their revenues for himself."

IV. Restoration of the papal authority.—The emperors appear to see with gladness that the Pope dares no longer come forward with his bulls and excommunications. The Papal Court has, moreover, lost a very large portion of the revenues in money formerly derived from Germany, and which amounted in earlier times to 200,000 scudi. Gregory will not give his approval to the proceedings with Klesel; but expresses himself with great moderation on the subject. "Non è mai piaciuto troppo quel fatto." [He was never greatly pleased with that matter.] Verospi, the auditor of the *rota*, was sent over to conduct the proceedings.

V. The relation of the Emperor to Italy.—This might be made useful, more especially in the affairs of the Valtelline. The consent of Spain had not yet been given to the demolition of the conquered fortresses. "It seems that the Duke of Feria and other Ministers of his imperial Majesty are opposed to that measure, as desiring to retain those forts, and with them the glory of that conquest." But the Pope clearly perceived the danger that might arise from this. The Protestants in Germany would desire nothing better than to see the sword unsheathed in Italy.

VI. The conduct and deportment of the nuncio.—He is above all things recommended in the first place to Eckenberg, as was to be expected; but it is highly remarkable that the papal nephew speaks of the Jesuits with the utmost reserve and caution only. "The nuncio

will make great account of Father Beccano, the Emperor's confessor, and must avail himself skilfully of his assistance—not neglecting meanwhile to observe the language and opinions of that father, the better to discover his purposes, and to acquaint me with them; and in like manner he will have recourse to the Jesuit fathers with a wary confidence.” “With a wary confidence!”—a very useful piece of advice.

We are meanwhile made aware of the magnificent designs already conceived by the Pope. Even at that time he contemplated the restitution of all church property. With this remarkable passage we will conclude our extract. “In proportion as progress shall be made in the acquirement of territories previously held by heretics, your Excellency will urge on his Majesty with the utmost earnestness that he should recover the ecclesiastical possessions occupied by them, and restore them to the Church and their true patrons. An application to this effect was made by order of Pope Paul V when the marquis Spinola took possession of the Palatinate, and the Emperor replied that the time was not yet come for treating of that matter.”

We perceive then that the idea of the Edict of Restitution was conceived by Paul V in 1620, but was at that time rejected by the Emperor as premature and inopportune.

The nuncio of Gregory XV was now to press anew for that measure, and was to represent to the Emperor the merit he would acquire by it.

No. 97

Instruzione a Monsignore Sangro, patriarcha d' Alessandria et arcivescovo di Benevento, per andar nunzio di S. S. al re cattolico. 1621. [Instruction to Monsignor Sangro, patriarch of Alexandria and archbishop of Benevento, when proceeding as nuncio from his holiness to the king of Spain. 1621.]

Sangro is reminded that the power of Spain is now for the most part in the hands of Uzeda and of the grand inquisitor. He must, therefore, more particularly remind the latter of his spiritual duties.

To make himself master of things kept secret, he is recommended to attach himself to the ambassadors of Venice and Tuscany; “de' quali si suol cavare molto” [from whom there is usually much to be drawn.]

The affairs of immunity, of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and of the *collettoria* are afterward discussed minutely; but I am obliged to confess that the defective and illegible copy which I found deterred me from entering more fully into those subjects.

The principal matter is still the discussion of the political relations.

The nuncio is directed above all things to demand the renewal of the war with Holland.

He was to remind the Spanish Court that Prince Maurice was already old and feeble, and that his death was daily to be expected; that the division between the Arminians and Gomarists weakened the Provinces, where Count Henry was hoping to obtain the supreme power by the aid of the former, while Count Ernest founded similar hopes on the assistance of the latter; that the Zeelanders were poor, and the Hollanders hated by the different sects for their encroachments. “Thus the King could not turn his forces against them at a better time or more fitting opportunity.”

No. 98

Instruzione a V. Signore Monsignore di Torres, arcivescovo di Antrinopoli, nuntio destinato da N. Signore in Polonia. 30 Maggio, 1621. [Instruction to Torres, Archbishop of Antrinopoli, nuncio elect to Poland.]

The misunderstanding between Paul V and Sigismund III was not altogether without importance. "Se la pietà del re," says Gregory XV in this Instruction. "If the piety of the King, and the reverence which he bears to this see, had not entirely quenched, or at least subdued, the sparks of their resentments, the fires of open discord would certainly have been enkindled from them by the breath of others."

Gregory now labors to pacify all these dissensions. He is impressed by the merits of this King, who could not have been made a better Catholic even in Rome itself.

The nuncio is reminded that he must above all things be careful to let his deportment be such as to incur no blame: "Because all eyes are fixed on the nuncio, and take example from him in holiness of manners, and the King himself proposes him as a model to his prelates." To give diligent attendance at the banquets of the great, would certainly not in itself be an unlikely means of obtaining influence, but in the end it would diminish the respect which it was necessary for a nuncio to receive.

It were to be desired that the nuncio would visit the churches in person, as was formerly done.

But the point principally insisted on was still education. The institution of the Dottrina Christiana, as subsisting in Italy, was to be introduced into Poland also. Care must be taken to provide catechisms, and worldly or Protestant songs must be superseded by others of Catholic import.

No. 99

Instruzione a V. Signore Monsignore Lancellotti, vescovo di Nola, destinato da N. Signore suo nuntio in Polonia. [Instruction to Lancellotti, bishop of Nola, nuncio elect to Poland.]

I do not know whether belonging to 1622 or 1623, but certainly still under Gregory XV.

The Instruction furnished to Torres was communicated to the present nuncio also. At the command of the Propaganda, all bishops had, since that time, been compelled to present reports on the state of their dioceses: from these documents the nuncio was directed to procure further information.

Political relations are brought more prominently forward. The nuncio was enjoined to do his utmost for the preservation of the good understanding subsisting between the Poles and the house of Austria: the Turks and the rebellious subjects of the Emperor are thereby held in check.

The Poles would gladly have concluded a peace, or at least a truce for twenty years, with Gustavus Adolphus. The latter also proposed that the Polish line should succeed to his throne in the event of his dying without children, but Sigismund rejected every overture. "Although Gustavus offered the express condition that in case of his dying without children his Majesty and his line should succeed him,

he yet refused to accept these proposals." It was only from consideration for the Poles that he agreed to a short truce.

The affairs of the United Greeks have already been discussed in the Instruction given to Torres, but were clearly and thoroughly explained in this paper.

"The Greeks in the time of Clement VIII, being influenced by Rupaccio Pacciorio, who was first bishop or *vladica* of Vladimiera, and afterward Metropolitan of Chiovia, their bshops or *vladici* agreed, those of Leopoli and Premisla excepted, who remained in their obstinacy, to unite themselves to the Church of Rome, and to acknowledge the Pope for their head, as they did in 1595, according to the form and profession of faith contained in the Florentine Council. But so many dissensions arose out of this, and so earnestly did the Greek nobles, favored by the heretics, oppose themselves to that union in the Diet, that the kingdom had nearly been turned upside down, because very few of the clergy, and still fewer of the people, were willing to accept it, affirming that all had been done for the private designs and ambition of a few, without their participation. Thus, though the Catholic bishops and pastors do still subsist, yet they stand alone, without finding flocks willing to follow them. Moreover, they run great risk of being driven from their sees, and of having those churches taken from them which were previously wrested from the schismatics and conferred upon them. There is, accordingly, great noise made about this in all the diets; and in the past year it happened that a bishop, or perhaps it might be the schismatic Patriarch of Jerusalem, sent into Muscovy and Russia by the Patriarch of Constantinople, fixed himself among the Russians, and created there as many schismatics as there were United Greeks, besides exciting the Cossacks, who are all schismatic Greeks, to demand in the Diet, with very large offers, because the kingdom had need of them for the war with the Turks, that their ancient pretensions should be satisfied. The Bishop of St. Angelo, now nuncio, nevertheless contrived to divert the blow, so that, between his exertions and the public necessities, which left no leisure for new conflicts, the matter was reduced to silence by authority of the King. There is yet continual apprehension from the United Greeks, and the most intelligent prelates prognosticate that evil will ultimately arise from them, if some precaution be not taken to prevent it. Hence there are some who think that it would have been better if this union had never been made; for they affirm that it would have been much more easy to lead the nobles separately, and family by family, into the Catholic Church; and of this they adduce as proof the fact that all those who have singly abandoned the Greek rite and the schism remain fixed in their attachment to our Church."

No. 100

Relazione fatta alla congregazione de Propaganda Fide da Dionysio Lazari sopra alcune cose che possono essere di servizio alla santa fede cattolica. 1622. [Report presented to the congregation "de Propaganda Fide" by Dionysio Lazari with respect to certain things which may be useful to the holy Catholic faith.]

Dion. Lazari had been in England for some time, or, as he expresses himself, "molti mesi" [many months], and here suggests the means by which Catholicism may be restored there.

He considers that the methods to be pursued are three: negotiation with one, or with many, or measures of violence.

He is of opinion, however, that much might be effected with King James personally, his Majesty being indifferent as regarded his creed, and very timid. "From the knowledge that I have of him, I consider him altogether indifferent in matters of religion." It would be well to foster his suspicions, even by means of forged or supposititious letters. "To contrive that some minister of his, out of the kingdom, should receive seeming advices from some person believed trustworthy, and to manage that some letter in a feigned name should be found in the kingdom, which might treat of these matters with forms of secrecy." Buckingham, also, might well be gained over; his wife was the daughter of a Catholic, and was secretly a Catholic herself ("è segreta cattolica figlia anche di segreto cattolico"). Buckingham attached great importance to alliances with foreign powers; it was through these that he might be most easily won, and the rather as he was always in danger from the Parliament. "The Parliament being for the most part composed of Puritans, he would esteem it an efficient kind of vengeance to lead the King into Catholicism."

Influence to be gained over the people. It would be very useful if they could only obtain freedom of preaching: "Which might be accomplished by means of money, proposing, so to speak, a toll or tax on preachers and hearers, for the King is often led, by the gain to be made, into things contrary to his will."

He says that violent measures were not to be thought of. But we see clearly that even peaceable ones, such as he proposed, could not have been carried out.

Lazari belongs to that class of people who believe that they can influence the progress of events by means of intrigue and cunningly contrived plans, but which can never, in point of fact, be accomplished.

He has no hopes from the present generation, which has been wholly nurtured in the Protestant opinions. The prince alone, afterward Charles I, appears to him to give some promise. "I have the greatest hopes of him, perceiving him to be of an extremely ingenuous disposition, of sufficiently generous character, and very temperate in expressing aversion to the Catholics."

No. 101

Instruzione al Dottor Leone Allatio per andare in Germania per la libreria del Palatino. Court libr. in Vienna, MS. Hohenb. [Instructions to Doctor Leone Allatio, for going into Germany to fetch the library of the Palatine. 1622. Court Library at Vienna, MS. Hohenb.]

The Instruction by which Leo Allatius, then scriptor to the Vatican, was empowered to take possession of the Heidelberg Library.

This document is found not only in Vienna, but also in many other libraries; for example, in the Chigi Library at Rome, among the collections of Instructions by Gregory XV. The literary interest attached to the subject has also caused it to be made known in Germany. Quade, Baumgarten, and Gerdes, one after the other, had it printed in Latin.

Having once come within the domain of Protestant literature, it was at length inevitably made the subject of discussion. In the history of the formation, despoiling, and destruction of the ancient Heidelberg collections of books (Heidelberg, 1817), p. 235, our learned fellow-citizen and friend Herr G. R. Fr. Wilken has suggested serious doubts of its authenticity.

And the Latin translation is in fact executed in a manner that cannot fail to awaken mistrust. But fortunately this disappears when we have the original manuscript before us.

In the Latin, for example, we find the following words in relation to the medals furnished to Allatio for the soldiers of Tilly: "One stratagem we suggest to the reverend doctor, to wit, that he should gather a large quantity of coins, which he may feign to have been canonized by the saints." It is without doubt incredible that the Roman court should have expressed itself in this manner to one of its servants.

We find accordingly, on consulting the original, that it is in truth quite different. "And here I may add that you shall be furnished with a great number of medals, with the indulgence of the canonization of saints made by his holiness." By this I understand medals commemorating the canonization of the saints who had been placed in the calendar by Gregory XV, with an indulgence attached.

There is just as little to be found in the original, of Allatio addressing the Duke of Bavaria in German, as the Latin version will have him to have done.—"Tradito," we find it in Baumgarten. "Having delivered the brief of the holy father committed to him, addressing him in the German tongue." In the original, on the contrary, we have, "Presenting to his highness the brief of our lord the Pope, you shall speak in the name of his holiness according to the tenor of the same."

This is a translation which is an outrage of the Italian, as well as of all probability.

But when we examine the original, and remark how much more judiciously it was composed, and in circumstances that leave no room for doubt, we can no longer question its authenticity.

It is, nevertheless, certainly true that Allatio was commanded to circulate a rumor to the effect that the library was to be transferred to Munich, and not to Rome. "In every case it will be advisable to put about the rumor that it is to be taken to Munich only, and not to Rome." We have already seen how often the most wary caution was impressed as a duty on the papal envoys. Further instructions of similar character were given to Allatio; for example: "It will be always advisable, more particularly in the suspected countries, that you should appear in a short coat, like one occupied in commerce from the Venetian territories." So much dissembling and disguise were thought needful to success.

That such directions should be given in writing should scarcely excite our wonder. In that court, and more particularly in the chancery of Ludovisio, they were fond of writing. The Instructions prepared by Aguchia are not wanting in important political views, but they are also loaded with trifles of this kind. The compiler desired to have the credit of thinking of everything.

There was, besides, much cause for apprehending the rage to be awakened among the inhabitants of Heidelberg by this loss to their metropolis, more especially among the reformed. The library was to be escorted by a detachment of cavalry.

No. 102

Instruzione al padre Don Tobia Corona, de' chierici regolari, mandato da Papa Gregorio XV. al re di Francia e prima al duca di Savoia per l'impresa della città di Ginevra. 1622. [Instructions to Father Corona, of the clerks regular, sent by Gregory XV. to the king of France, and first to the duke of Savoy, respecting the enterprise against the city of Geneva.] Library of Frankfort on the Maine, MSS. Glauburg, tom. 39, n. 1. 26 leaves. 4to.

The commencement of this paper is as follows: "Italy, which has been elected by eternal Providence to govern at one time the temporal, at another the spiritual empire of the world."

To this spiritual domination, Geneva is above all things abhorrent; "not only as being full of men infected with pestilence, but as itself the very seat of pestilence."

To chastise it, to destroy that city, was a task especially befitting the Pope as the vicar of Christ, and the Duke of Savoy, who still calls himself Count of Geneva. And accordingly, the popes and dukes had frequently attempted that enterprise, but had constantly been impeded by the protection that France had extended to the city. Now, however, the state of things is altered. "France is occupied with the task of subduing the rebel heretics, and will be pleased to see that they are deprived of strength and reputation in other quarters, by measures similar to those she is herself adopting, and without any cost to her."

The Pope had formed the plan of this attack from the very commencement of his pontificate, and thought the way might be prepared for its execution by the mission of a conventual ecclesiastic. "Since our motive is that of religion, it will be advisable that we should avoid all rumor, concealing our proceedings as much as possible; therefore we will send a monk thither. Your reverence will conduct this affair throughout as originating in the mind of his holiness, without any other inspiration than that of the Holy Spirit."

He is first to awaken in the Duke of Savoy "the propensities of a warlike heart"; but if he should require help, he must represent to him how greatly the support accorded to the Emperor and the League had exhausted the Apostolic See, how many claims the Poles were making, and the heavy expenses occasioned by Avignon; yet he was by all means to lead him to hope for some assistance. "That his holiness would not be parsimonious toward his highness in supplying him with all those aids that can be given with confined resources." The envoy is also directed to request all needful information respecting the rights of Savoy to Geneva.

But the most important part of his mission was the kind of representations that he should make to the King of France. 1. That the King must beware of incurring the suspicion that he was persecuting the Protestants solely from regard to his political interests. 2. That even these interests, rightly understood, required the destruction of Geneva. "If Geneva had not afforded shelter to Calvin, his Majesty would not now be compelled to bear arms against his obstinate and perverse Huguenot subjects; nor would republics be seen rising up against the monarchy. . . . There are popular republics (those of the Huguenots) that have their citizens and adherents on every hand's breadth of ground; nay, even in the court itself, and perhaps in the very chamber of the King. . . . Already the republic of the Huguenots is founded; already are its laws published; already are magis-

trates, counsellors, and commanders of armies appointed in every province. There remains nothing more for them to do than themselves to take up arms against the King and drive him from his throne."

How prominently the element and tendencies of monarchy were brought forward in the midst of these Catholic endeavors is here made manifest. Geneva was to be destroyed as the chief and adviser of the Huguenot republics. It could now look for no assistance, since all other Protestant communities were fully occupied with their own affairs, and the English were bound fast by treaties.

And of what importance could this augmentation of Savoy be considered, in comparison with the might of France? The pass could not be defended against the Swiss, since the King held possession of Bresse. "The Catholic cantons, with which the crown is most closely allied, will be gratified as well as benefited by the change. The Canton of Friburg, surrounded by Bernese heretics, although it be valiant and not afraid of them, will none the less prefer to have for its neighbors on the side of the lake, that city become Catholic, and placed under the dominion of a friendly and Catholic prince, rather than the same remaining free and heretical."

Cardinal Retz, the Constable (Luines), and Père Arnoux are the persons named to Corona as those from whom he may more particularly expect support.

We shall presently speak of the results of this mission.

No. 103

Relazione di Roma fatta nel Senato Veneto dall' ambasciador Rainiero Zeno alli 22 di Nov. 1623. Informat. Politt. tom xiv. 101 leaves.

[Report from Rome, presented to the Venetian Senate by the ambassador Rainiero Zeno, on November 2, 1623.] *Informat. Politt., etc.*

The ambassadors, returning from their missions, usually express themselves with modesty and deference, as well toward the princes from whom they return as toward their hearers. Rainiero Zeno is the first who gives evidence of a great self-complacency. He not only declares that he lays before the Senate a clear view and balance of the papal revenues and expenditure, which he had compiled with the most diligent care (f. 80), but even reminds them of the lively colors with which he had portrayed first one and then another of the cardinals in his despatches (f. 111). Of Pope Urban himself, he says, without ceremony, "with two words I brought his arguments to nothing." He asserts, in express terms, that "the Divine Majesty had given him the talent of penetrating the innermost thoughts of the most reserved men;" and makes Cardinal Ludovisio utter an encomium on the Venetian Republic, because she always selected men of the most approved ability for the embassy to Rome.

Rainier Zeno appears some years later in the Venetian troubles of 1628. Here, also, whatever proceeds from his pen has that stamp of self-approval manifest in the report before us, and which betrays itself in so many Italians and Spaniards of that century.

Among men of this character there could not fail to be many collisions; Rainier Zeno accordingly experienced the most unpleasant incidents in the course of his embassy.

These took place for the most part in the pontificate of Gregory XV. Ludovisio desired a display of reverence and observance that Zeno would not accord him; they consequently soon fell into violent dissensions.

In the latter part of his report Zeno describes these contentions. He boasts of having frequently given sharp replies to the papal nephew—of reducing him to silence. He derived especial satisfaction from having arrived by secret means at the knowledge of things which the cardinal nephew believed to be veiled in the deepest secrecy, and respecting which he would then let him see that he was perfectly well acquainted with the whole. It rejoices him to think of the vexation this occasioned to Ludovisio. "He saw that with me he must give up his mighty conceit of being impenetrable to everyone." But he will not have it supposed that much evil came to this; on the contrary, the republic was thereby advanced in reputation. When it was proposed to leave the Valtelline as a deposit in the hands of the Spaniards, there was nothing so much dreaded by Ludovisio as the noise of the Venetian protests—"il fracasso che era per far io, il rimbombo delle mie proteste" (the uproar that I was sure to make, the resounding of my protestations).

But these times had, meanwhile, passed away. Urban VIII had ascended the papal throne, and Rainier Zeno makes it his particular care to describe the personal character, the court, and political administration of that pontiff, so far as they had at that time become known.

He declares repeatedly that the cardinals made it their only thought to speak in such a manner as might satisfy the Pope. He considers it perfectly right that no man should think of attempting to bring the papal finances into order. There is no instrument, he says, so well fitted to throw all Christendom into confusion as the head of a pope.

He thereupon sketches a portrait of Urban VIII. "He is a prince of grave and venerable aspect, tall in stature, of an olive complexion; his features are noble, and his hair black, beginning to turn gray; more than commonly elegant in appearance, singularly graceful in his gestures and the movements of his body. He speaks admirably well, and on whatever subject you enter with him, he has arguments at will, and displays extraordinary proficiency in every matter. He has hitherto shown a great love for poetry, which he has never ceased to cultivate, even in his most serious occupations and studies. Those who are well acquainted with this art, and with what is called humane letters, have been always well received by him, and he has courteously favored them in all that came within his power; yet this taste does not abstract his attention from things of greater importance, and which were more essential to the due performance of his duties in such offices as have successively passed through his hands. I speak of the study of law, in which he has labored incessantly from his earliest youth even to these last years, and that with the extraordinary closeness of application required by his charge of prefect to the *segnatura* of justice, a magistracy demanding severe study, extreme acuteness, and the most exact accuracy, because of the variety of the affairs brought before it. He is so well versed in the business of the world and the interests of princes, that it might be thought he had passed his whole time in the schools of politics."

It is by no means necessary that we should extract further. The resemblance of this portrait is only in the general outline; the more delicate features of that intellectual physiognomy are not to be found here, whether because they were not developed until a later period, or that Zeno had not the power of comprehending them.

The case is precisely similar with the following descriptions of the Pope's relatives and the cardinals, of whom the author gives a circumstantial account.

One thing only demands notice, that he advises the Senate to expect no kind of service from the Venetian cardinals. "*Priuli*," he says, "*languido di spirito come di corpo*" (Priuli, feeble in mind as in

body). So contemptuously does he treat them! Of Venier he will not speak at all, in order that he may have no contentions with his kinsmen.

He next proceeds to the political relations. He declares himself at least content that this time a Pope has been elected who is not in love with the Spaniards. Albuquerque had found the soil exceedingly stubborn, and could not get what he wanted. The relations of Urban VIII to France are described by Zeno in the following manner:

"It is not to be doubted that the pontiff has a most friendly disposition toward the Kingdom of France, a thing pointed out to us as most highly probable by many circumstances; for first his greatness took its rise in that court. Since, although it is true that he rose by his own merits, yet he does not himself deny that he received great assistance from the attestations of Henry IV to the satisfaction produced by his mode of transacting business, and to that monarch's assurance of the pleasure it would give him to see him participate in the honors usually conferred on other residents who had held the same charge. The frank and ingenuous proceedings of the French, wholly free from the artifice and duplicity common to other nations, are in perfect accord with the disposition of his holiness; there is also a certain conformity in the modes of study to which the French apply themselves, and in which they excel, with those in which his holiness takes pleasure—the more polite literature, that is to say, the more graceful kinds of erudition, poetry, and the study of languages, in which he also delights, and has engaged, in so far as his active duties have permitted. He esteems that kingdom as much as words can say, because he considers it as a counterpoise to the ambition of the others, which unquestionably aim at universal monarchy."

The Pope took it very ill that the Venetians should connect themselves with heretics and unbelievers. He thought there could certainly have been other assistance found for them.

Zeno concludes by once more recalling to mind the toils and struggles that his office had cost him; his incessant watchings, his sleepless nights, and the bitter vexations by which his health had been impaired. "Yet am I more rejoiced," he says, "to have worn out my life in the service of my native land, than if I had lived at ease for a whole century, but remained inactive."

No. 104

Relazione degli eccellentissimi signori ambasciatori straordinarii, Corner, Erizzo, Soranzo, e Zeno, ritornati ultimamente da Roma, letta all' eccellentissimo senato 25 Febr. 1624. (i.e. M. V. 1625.)
 [Report of the most excellent, the ambassadors extraordinary, Corner, Erizzo, Soranzo, and Zeno, lately returned from Rome, read to the most excellent senate Feb. 25, 1624. (i.e. M. V. 1625.)]

When Gregory XV declared that he would no longer transact business with Rainier Zeno, the Venetians sent Geronimo Soranzo to take his place. Yet Zeno was still in Rome, as we have just seen, when Urban VIII was elected. Both were commissioned to congratulate the new pontiff, Corner and Erizzo appearing to complete the embassy.

The report which they prepared in common is free from those effusions of self-love to which Zeno alone gave indulgence; it acquires a certain importance from the fact that the affairs of the republic had again become complicated by the matter of the Valtelline.

Pope Urban appears to have been greatly dissatisfied by the Venetians having taken part with the French in their attack on the papal garrisons.

“That the cannon of the republic should have been turned against places held in deposit by his holiness, and which might therefore be called the fortresses of the Church itself.”

“Nor are there wanting in Rome men of every rank, and of all characters, who proposed to his holiness, as he told us himself, that he should utter the ecclesiastical censures against the most excellent Senate.”

They labored to excuse themselves as well as they possibly could; they affirmed that it was the purpose of the Spaniards to possess themselves of universal monarchy. “To make themselves masters of those passes, and thereby facilitate their attainment of the sovereignty of that province.” They alleged that religion had been perfectly secure, and that their having formed a league with Ultramontanes was the less to be brought against them as a ground of reproach, because they had been forbidden by the popes themselves to raise troops in the States of the Church.

Urban had believed that they would make him some conciliatory proposal in relation to that affair; but they had no commission to that effect. On his side, also, he was on that account inaccessible to their requests. They were obliged to content themselves with merely perceiving that his displeasure was mitigated: “*Non si impetrava altro che mitigamento dell’acerbità mostrata del suo animo.*” (They gained nothing further than a mitigation of that animosity which was in his mind.)

But this could not have been a very difficult matter to attain, since the aversion of Urban to the Spaniards had already made itself manifest. He declared “that he dared not speak above his breath, so closely was he surrounded by Spaniards, and that at Madrid they were calling him a heretic; but that if he were armed he would make himself respected.”

His subsequent opinions and conduct were already shadowed forth in these words.

It is principally with interests of this kind that our report is occupied, but it also attempts to give an intimation of affairs in general. Let us observe how it describes the chiefs of the government in the first years of Urban VIII.

“With regard to those who are now in the highest authority with the pontiff for the most essential affairs, they are restricted to two persons, namely, Cardinal Magalotti and Don Carlo Barberino, brother of his holiness. It is true that both affect to be quite unconscious of this authority, and not to possess it; they avoid all official interviews, pretend to know nothing of the affairs in hand, do not approve of being frequently visited; and by this mode of proceeding, very unlike that adopted by the kindred of other popes, they more effectually sustain the reputation of his holiness, desiring to have it understood that all depends entirely on his commands alone.

“In events of very grave importance, his holiness was sometimes wont to summon to his councils the cardinals Bandino, Melini, Scaglia, Santa Susanna, and some others; because, knowing them to be of very severe character, he sought by this appearance to give proofs of esteem for the Sacred College and for their persons; not that he was in effect much inclined toward them, or confided greatly to their opinions. And this conceit of his holiness, which is clearly perceived by the said cardinals as well as by others, is complained of by everyone, all affirming that after his determination respecting affairs is taken, he communicates with them, but not with any intention of accepting their advice. They perceive also that he becomes daily more negligent in making these communications, omitting, indeed, altogether to hold consultations with

the cardinals. It is true that though greatly induced to this by the wish to retain absolute dominion and authority in his own hands, yet he is the more confirmed in it because he knows them to be dependent on one or other of the foreign sovereigns, and attached to the interests of those princes; so that he considers this course to be most advantageous for himself.

“With respect to matters touching the republic, Monsignor Gessi and Monsignor Montefiascone are admitted to the consultations, as having been nuncios to this city and well acquainted with its affairs. Occasionally also, Anzolo Badoer is also invited, but he lives in Rome under another name and surname, having become a priest and fixed himself there finally, residing for his greater security in a house attached to the monastery of the Frati della Scalla, in whose church he generally says mass. But, as we have said, the Cardinal Magalotti and Signor Carlo Barberino are the fixed stars of that firmament; and all negotiations, being confined to those two heads, are conducted with the closest secrecy; so that what we could not attain to by conjecture, it was very difficult to know by any other means, unless we were directly informed by the pontiff himself.

“Don Carlos displays a similar independence of princes to that possessed by his holiness. He is fifty-eight years old, of good constitution, and strong. He is disposed to give satisfaction to the people by keeping the cities well supplied with all things. In his private affairs he is a careful economist, and is anxious to make himself rich, knowing well that the reputation of men is enhanced by wealth—nay, that gold exalts and distinguishes its possessor advantageously in the eyes of the world; besides that, it is the generally received opinion that it is not reasonable or suitable for a man who has once been the kinsman of a pope, to remain after his death in narrow circumstances. He is a man of few words, but sensitive. He has shown the highest reverence for the most serene republic, but we having said to him, on paying our compliments, that we wished his holiness a long reign, he replied with a certain bitterness, that if the Pope were to be respected and honored as Pope—alluding to matters then proceeding in the Valtelline—he should desire long life for him; but that if it were to be otherwise, he should pray the Almighty to take him to Himself as soon as possible.

“Cardinal Magalotti also professes to live in perfect independence. He is a sagacious and prudent man, showing great vivacity of mind and restlessness of spirit, and it is believed that he might be gained. As the cardinal-nephew increases in age and experience, it is thought that they will scarcely go on well together, and that the Pope will therefore take care to avail himself of the cardinal’s services at the right moment, in some legation.”

No. 105

Instruzione a Monsignore Sacchetti, vescovo di Gravina, nunzio destinato di N. Sre. per la Mta. cattca. 1624. Barb. fol. 26 leaves.
[Instructions to Monsignor Sacchetti, bishop of Gravina, nuncio elect from our lord the pope to the king of Spain.]

The directions of Sacchetti refer, first, to the domestic affairs of Spain; secondly, to those of Europe generally.

1. There were at all times manifold rivalries and disputes between Rome and Spain. The Roman Court was just then, for example, extremely displeased that a cardinal such as Lerma should be deprived of his revenues and summoned before a secular tribunal. But while

the Pope labored to put a stop to these proceedings, he caused Lerma to be admonished, at the same time, that he must resign all hope of worldly greatness—that nothing further, indeed, could be done, since Olivarez was so high in favor; wherefore he would do well to make up his mind, and after having lived so long for others, at length to live to God and himself. On the other hand, the nuncio was referred to Olivarez, with whom the Roman Court was at that moment still on good terms. The following remarkable circumstance is brought forward on this occasion: “It has come to pass that the jealousy of the Queen, aroused by some suspicion that the King had bestowed his affections elsewhere, has led her to complain to the King of France, her brother, in such sort that the latter had taken a resolution to make it a matter of public dispute with his brother-in-law. But the predecessor of your excellency wrote about the business, and said he had found a remedy by establishing confidence between Count Olivarez and the Queen, who had before been exceedingly distrustful of him.”

The nuncio is also recommended to have recourse to the grand inquisitor, and was directed to stimulate that official to increased watchfulness against the introduction of heretical books into Spain and the Indies.

2. There had been conceived in Spain the idea of securing the German line in more peaceful possession of their late acquisitions by means of two new marriages. The hereditary Prince Palatine and Bethlem Gabor were both to be married to princesses of the imperial house. By these means it was hoped that the Hungarian troubles, and still more certainly those of Germany, might be got over. This purpose did not at first obtain credence in Rome, but on the receipt of further intelligence, it was no longer possible to doubt. The Pope hastened to make remonstrances to the King against this design. It had appeared from certain letters, that it was by no means the purpose of the English to suffer that the Prince Palatine should become Catholic, even though he did go to the imperial court, and would they venture to confide in so unstable a man as Gabor? He (the pontiff) could neither believe nor sanction such proposals, and charged his nuncio to oppose them with his utmost power. “Your Lordship—but with address and watching your time—will do everything to impede them (those two marriages) that, humanly speaking, you may.”

We know that Pope Urban himself had a large part in defeating these, if far-sought, yet well-intentioned plans. The mission of Rota, which we have before mentioned, is explained by these expressions.

No. 106

Instruzione a V. S. arcivescovo di Damiana e chierico di camera per la nuntiatura ordinaria al re christianissimo. 23 Genn. 1624. [Instructions to the Archbishop of Damiana, clerk of the chamber, nuncio in ordinary to the king of France.]

This “Instruction” is the counterpart of that given to Sacchetti.

Here also the Pope condemns the above-described plan for the restitution of the Palatinate in the most violent manner. He calls on the King to use his influence for inducing Saxony to abstain from impeding the progress of the Bavarian power. After that he wishes for nothing more earnestly than the destruction of Orange, which was only a gathering-place for heretics.

But the most important part of this document refers to the internal

affairs. King Louis XIII is described as follows: "The King is beyond measure virtuous, and abhors all those vices which are wont to accompany sovereign power. He is not haughty, but most affable. He is not too much attached to his own opinion, but rather loves to receive good counsels. He is no lover of ease, but is devoted to labor, which he bears bravely; he knows no pleasure but that of the chase; he cherishes no abject or grovelling thought, but is most desirous of glory, yet without neglecting the duties of piety. His Ministers of state, as also his attendants at the chase, whom he readily accosts, may enjoy a degree of liberty with his Majesty which the rigid etiquette of the great rarely permits. Among those who have access to his Majesty on account of the chase, his principal favorite is the Sieur de Toiras, a wary and prudent man, who does not mix himself up with state affairs, that he may the better conceal his influence, but is very capable of acting in them."

Under this monarch, Catholicism was making the most brilliant progress. The nuncio is enjoined to promote all the missions to the very utmost of his power, more particularly those in the south of France; he is directed to defend their interests on all occasions at the Court of the King.

But even at that time a constantly renewed and insuperable opposition was arising from the Gallican principles.

There was at least a portion of the members of the Sorbonne by whom the doctrine of the independence of the temporal power and the divine right of bishops was put forward and defended. Some even propounded the opinion that parish priests had a right to as much power in their parishes as the bishops in their bishoprics. These doctrines the Pope considers abominable; it grieves him sorely that though Richer, who defended these opinions with especial earnestness, was excommunicated, yet that he paid no regard to that circumstance, but continued to read mass as before. The Parliaments were meanwhile taking active measures to limit the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The appeals "*comme d'abus*," the inquiries into the despatches of the *dataria*, the encroachments on the jurisdiction of the bishops, appeared to the Pope like so many usurpations. "They favor all who appeal to them, and in this manner they seek to subjugate such provinces as are not yet subjected to them, as, for example, Brittany, Provence, and Bourg-en-Bresse."

In the prohibition of books, also, the Parliament interfered. Gladly would the nuncios have forbidden works such as those of De Thou and Richer, but they found it impossible. The new nuncio is directed to prevent the coming out of mischievous books, rather than to wait for their appearance: "The printing-presses are true hotbeds of all false doctrines, and it will be necessary that the nuncio should seek to make friends of the booksellers, that they may give notice from time to time of what books are in the press, seeing that when once they are printed, there is difficulty in obtaining the prohibition."

We see clearly that the entire conflict between the Curia and Gallianism had already commenced—that conflict which, under its various forms, kept different periods of the old Bourbon monarchy in constant commotion.

No. 107

Instruzione a V. S. Monsignore Campeggi, vescovo di Cesena, destinato da N. Signore, suo nuntio al Serenissimo Signore duca di Savoia. 1624. [Instruction to Monsignor Campeggi, bishop of Cesena, papal nuncio to the most serene duke of Savoy.]

An "Instruction" that is remarkable, particularly as throwing further light on the previously named mission of Don Tobia Corona. We perceive that the enterprise against Geneva was brought to nothing, principally by the opposition of Luines and Rohan, who were still powerful, but also in part by the respect in which the Huguenots generally were held. We also learn, however, that the hope of it was not by any means relinquished on that account.

"From whom the first suggestion of this enterprise proceeded, whether from the Pope or the Duke, is not well known. It is true that the Pope sent briefs and letters of exhortation to the Duke himself, and to the Prince of Piedmont, whence it might be conjectured that the Pope was the author of it; but his highness the duke displayed so prompt a readiness to receive exhortation, that it does not seem likely to go very wide of the truth if we believe him to have induced the Pope to write to him. The difficulties encountered by Father Corona did not originate with the King or Queen, who readily yielded to the pontifical persuasions; they arose from the constable Luines, followed by the principal ministers, who were moved either by their own interests or by their wish to pay court to the constable, and by certain *grande*s of the Huguenot party. It is believed that the aversion to this enterprise displayed by Luines was inspired by the Duc de Rohan; and if we inquire the motive that could impel the latter to oppose the undertaking, we find no other than his own desire for the maintenance of the heretics, he being one of them, and the fear he felt of losing a large body of followers in France from his adherents having to go to the succor of the Genevese. The negotiation of Father Tobia resulted in this, that not only the King was not displeased by that mission, but that none—even of those who well perceived all its purport—dared openly to blame it. All that was said was, that some declared the time was not come for attempting so great an undertaking; and others said the duke ought not to have placed the King in that strait till after the thing was done, because that then his Majesty would not have been able to refuse his approbation to the piety and magnanimity of the duke, while previously to the fact his Majesty could not violate that faith under which the Genevese believed they were reposing in security. From that time to the present it has been believed that the duke intended to attempt a surprise; and now there is no longer any doubt of this, because his Highness has declared himself to his holiness, entreating his assistance. His holiness has replied that he will grant it willingly, and in a manner similar to that adopted by Pope Gregory. But as that course would not be compatible with the secrecy demanded for a surprise, his Highness has preferred to content himself with the promise of our lord the Pope, that he will use his influence with the most Christian King, so that after the thing has been done, his Majesty shall not be indignant thereat."

There is, moreover, mention in this document of certain affairs more especially touching Piedmont. They showed that a path was opening to the disputes of a later period. The duke claimed the privilege of nominating to episcopal sees; the Pope would acknowledge nothing

further in him than the right of recommending, and evinces displeasure at certain burdens that were laid on the clergy.

No. 108

Ragguaglio dello stato di religione nel regno di Boemia e sue provincie incorporate. 1624. [An account of the state of religion in the kingdom of Bohemia and its incorporated provinces. 1624.]

In May, 1621, Carlo Caraffa arrived in Prague, and proceeded immediately to the work with which Gregory XV had especially charged him—the superintendence, namely, of the restoration of Catholicism in Bohemia.

Eighteen months after this, as he himself informs us, consequently in November, 1622, he prepared a report of his labors, under the title "Relatio Bohemica," which he despatched to the newly founded Propaganda. I had sight of the original work, that which circulated among the members of the Congregation: these were Cardinals Sauli, Bandini, Barberini (afterward Urban VIII), Borgia (at a later period the violent opponent of Urban), Ubaldini, Santa Susanna, Valerio Sagrato, and Zollern, with the prelates Vives, Agucchi, and Scala. Zollern was deputed to take a copy and report from it.

This first report Caraffa enlarged fourteen months afterward, consequently in June, 1624; and sent it, under the title given above, to Urban VIII, in order, as he says, "to kindle his paternal zeal into still greater love toward the Bohemians."

There is an elaborate printed work by Caraffa still extant, "Commentaria de Germania sacra restaurata," which is one of the most important sources for the history of the first ten years of the Thirty Years' War; but, in the first place, he could not there enter so fully into the details of his Bohemian labors, to which he always looks back with complacency, as in a report especially devoted to that purpose; and there were, besides, certain other considerations required for a printed work, certain restrictions imposed by various motives. The report, on the contrary, speaks out in full freedom, giving all the facts in detail.

It does not, indeed, comprise more than the beginning of the changes effected in Bohemia; but as respects these it is, in fact, of great importance.

I have already availed myself of these details in the narrative, but necessarily with close compression. I will here add a few particulars, from which it will be seen under what difficulties, chiefly created by the government of the country, the nuncio carried his views into effect.

1. The introduction of the Latin ritual.

"Having held a conference respecting that matter with Plateis, and considering that those few Bohemians who were Catholics frequented without any restriction the churches of our ritual; where, nevertheless, they always heard the divine offices performed in the Latin tongue, I judged that we ought not to despair of causing the same to be done by those also who should be newly converted, more especially if it were insinuated to them by the preachers that this tongue is, as it were, in a certain sort of its essence most suitable for the divine offices in use through all Catholic countries, and particularly in those churches which are comprised beneath the rule of the Western Empire, as a sign of the superiority and predominance of the Roman Church over all others. Wherefore, I gave orders to the said Plateis that at the first

possible moment he should employ his utmost diligence toward restoring the use of the aforesaid idiom in such churches as were already taken from the hands of the heretics. Accordingly, on the day of the holy apostles Saint Simon and Jude, in the year 1621, on the occasion of the church of St. Stephen, the principal parish of the Terranova, being provided by the archbishop with a Catholic incumbent, which parish was inhabited by the very meanest of the people, among whom there were very few Catholics, the most immaculate sacrifice of the mass was celebrated in the presence of a very great number of heretics in the aforesaid church, in the Latin tongue, with aspersion of holy water, invocation of saints, and all the Roman rites, two centuries after the Latin tongue had been excluded from that church, and wherein the mass had not been celebrated for very many years, either in one idiom or the other. This example was afterward followed, not only by the churches of the city, but by those of all other places in the kingdom, without any complaint or outcry whatever on the part of the people; and I, being in Prague, have seen the said people conduct themselves with much attention at the divine offices."

2. Deprivation of the cup.

"Then when I had learned the desires and views of the sacred congregation of the holy office, from the letters and documents sent me at that time, I determined to forbid it (the cup) altogether, and to give no further ear to the clamors and prayers of those inhabiting the said kingdom, arguing that if they were disposed to be obedient sons of holy Church, they would walk in this as well as in every other matter in concert with the rest of the Catholic body; but if they should shun to return from this abuse, rooted in the minds even of Catholics by that pretended concession of Pius IV, it must be held as a proof of pride and obstinacy, and as a sign that they were not true Catholics. Whence, laying aside all other considerations, and disregarding the dangers alleged by politicians, who imagined that insurrections and irremediable evils would proceed from this innovation, I caused all the parish priests to be prohibited from offering to anyone the species of the wine, commanding them that, whosoever should demand both species of them, they should ask if he were a Catholic, and on his declaring himself to be such, should set forth to him the necessity of giving obedience to the Roman ritual, which excludes the laity from the cup. Then many who were not touched by true zeal, hearing this, persisted in their obstinacy, not communicating in either form, and we meanwhile kept fast to our purpose that the cup should not be offered; but there was not one of those priests who had returned to their allegiance, and who had the reconciled churches in their cure, who would have had courage to offer the single species of bread in the face of the heretics who frequented the said churches, if the Chancellor Plateis had not so intrepidly given commencement to that holy enterprise in the parish of St. Martin, as hath been noted above. Which usage, being introduced to the praise of God in the other churches, is observed in them with perfect tranquillity, although the statesmen gave me trouble enough in the matter. For the heretics, seeing the design that they had formed of compelling true Catholic priests to administer the sacrament under both kinds to be blown to the winds, had recourse, in the year just passed, 1622, to the aid of the said statesmen; but in what manner they comported themselves on that occasion it is not my business at this time to relate. Let it be sufficient to say that they extorted a letter from Prince Lichtenstein, who was then here, in virtue of which, as though it were by order of his Majesty, summoning the two parish priests of the Tein and Santo Enrico, who had formerly been Domini-

cans, they commanded them that, in the solemnities of Easter, they should present the sacrament indifferently to everyone, to whatsoever ritual he might belong, under both species. Accordingly, on Thursday, 'in Cæna Domini,' by the pure perfidy of the said statesmen, there was committed the greatest abomination; more than two thousand wicked heretics receiving the venerable body of the Lord consecrated under the two forms of bread and wine, from the hands of the legitimate priests, the holy thing being thus given to dogs by the fault of Catholic men. To this Plateis did not fail to make such opposition as might have been expected from him; but nothing could avail against their temerity; wherefore, to maintain the prohibition of the use of the cup, he resolved to take courage, and to dispense the sacrament publicly, under the form of bread alone, as he did three days after in the church of St. Martin. And I, having had notice of that impious crime, went instantly to make a bitter complaint of it to his Majesty, beseeching, in every manner most likely to prevail, that his Ministers should not take it upon themselves to intermeddle in those things which concerned the reverence due to the awful sacrament of the altar, which belonged solely to the spiritual power, as relating to the salvation of the soul; lamenting, further, that they, without fitting respect, should venture to interfere with the ministers of religion, not showing any signs of obedience toward God and the holy Roman See, of which his Majesty had ever proved himself so observant. By all which the Emperor, being beyond measure affected, instantly gave most rigid command to the said statesmen to the effect that they should leave the care of ecclesiastical affairs and of religion to churchmen, reprehending them severely for the presumption they had committed. Thereupon they rose violently against myself and Plateis, as being those from whom they were persuaded that the rebuff they had received from his Majesty had originated; and besides that they bitterly threatened Plateis, they did not abstain from assailing my authority also, intimating to Monsignor the Archbishop that he was not bound to obey me in a matter of so much importance as the suppression of the use of the cup in Prague, unless I showed him a special brief from his holiness to that effect; neither did they omit to stir up the aforesaid parish priests, bidding them be of good courage, and persuading them that they need have no fear either of me or the archbishop, since they would be always protected and upheld by the political government, to which, in that kingdom, the ecclesiastics were subjected by ancient usage. By these means they contrived that the curate of the Tein, again prevaricating, committed an act of open disobedience, and had the boldness to preach to the people that they should not suffer the papists, who sought to tyrannize in everything, to take away the use of the cup, and that they should pray to God for him, the true defender of that ancient rite of their fathers, in such sort that the populace made some little tumult, presenting themselves that evening to the number of 2,000 at the house of that curate, as if in his defence. But this having come to my knowledge, I at once incited his Majesty to indignation, and obtained command that the said priest should be arrested, and given over to Monsignor the Archbishop. This was executed without any delay whatever; and that populace which had first shown so much eagerness for his security, did not make the slightest movement, although they beheld him carried away in the face of day, and before all the people. And he, after some weeks of incarceration, having died in prison, his place in the curé of that church, which is the principal one of the 'Terra vecchia,' was supplied by another priest, a Catholic, and further by the preaching of the canon Rottua, a man distinguished

both for learning and zeal, who still administers the duties of that charge with great advantage, and the attendance of a vast concourse, both of Catholics and heretics, all of whom willingly hear the preaching of that good priest, attracted by his efficacious word and pleasing manner."

3. General mode of proceeding.

By decree of his Majesty, and in conformity with the resolutions adopted by the preliminary congregation held in Vienna, all the cities of the kingdom have since been reformed, the heretical ministers and preachers being driven out of them, and from the districts around them. In each of them, besides the priest, there have been placed a captain, judge, president of the council and chancellor, all Catholic—the heretical worship being banished from their borders forever; for the Emperor had become convinced by experience and the example of the fidelity of Budweis, and the perfidy of almost all the others, how great a difference was made by the question of whether the cities were heretic or Catholic. And although the Prince of Lichtenstein, who was already drawing back from the reform now commenced, because of the many rumors of the displeasure it caused in Saxony, continued to promote it on my causing the order to be repeated to him, yet he remained undecided respecting the circles of Egra and Culm, on account of their bordering on Saxony, and that they claimed to hold of the empire, and not of the crown of Bohemia. From all this it comes to pass that there still remain certain preachers in the kingdom who are protected by heretic barons, or by Catholics of little faith; more particularly do they abound in the circle of Leitmeritz, supported by a Catholic baron, who, professing great intimacy and friendship with the Elector of Saxony, is persuaded that in this manner he does a thing highly pleasing to the said Elector. It is true that from my having exhorted him to drive them forth, and caused him to be spoken to by others to the same effect, he has promised to send them away; but I doubt that, withheld by his wife, who is a heretic, he will neglect to do so until compelled by force. Some of the preachers have also remained in those cities wherein heretic soldiers are quartered, the royal commissioners not having been willing to expose themselves to the peril of tumults by reforming these cities; but now that the expectation of war is diminishing, they will either disband these heretic soldiers, or will assign them to other quarters, in order that the reform may take place. There is one also yet remaining in the city of Kuttemberg, the Prince of Lichtenstein excusing himself for not being able to expel him by declaring that, if he did so, the men of that place would not labor in the mines worked there. Nevertheless, on the return of the Emperor to Prague, I trust in God that a remedy will be applied to all these things. Nor should I omit to mention that in my passage from Ratisbon to Prague, having traversed a great part of Bohemia, and thence from Prague to Vienna I have found the reformation effected everywhere; the city Jaromir, where certain regiments of infantry belonging to the Colonel-Duke of Saxony were quartered excepted; but I afterward sent strict orders from his Majesty that this should be remedied, and also that in each of those cities the children should be educated in the Christian doctrine, teaching them to pray in the Latin tongue.

"All conventicles of the heretics have been prohibited under heavy penalties, both within the city of Prague and beyond its walls, with whatever pretext they might be assembled. The order for this was given many months since, at my request; but although I had repeatedly called for its execution from the government of Prague, it had never before been enforced.

"All the heretics have been removed from the Senate of the city of Prague, their places being supplied by Catholic members; and they have been deprived of all effectual authority, having left to them only a certain appearance of power in matters of no great importance, and all the privileges prejudicial to the Catholic religion, accorded to them by former kings, being formally annulled, the Emperor having an excellent opportunity for doing this, because he had reconquered the kingdom by force of arms, after it had been in open rebellion. The academy or college of Carlo IV has been restored to its primitive institution, to the glory of God and the Catholic religion, being placed under the care of the Jesuit fathers, who have also the superintendence of all the schools in the kingdom; and they are, besides, using their best diligence to prevent the printing or selling of books that are contrary to Catholic truth, the booksellers and printers being subjected to their censorship. There has been some difficulty with respect to the aforesaid academy, for there was a wish for the appointment of a lay president, which I did not willingly listen to; but I hope that eventually the care of this matter will be left to the archbishop, who, by his ancient privileges, lays claim to be chancellor of the kingdom.

"An additional sum of 4,000 thalers yearly has been assigned to the house instituted in Prague for the poor by Ferdinand III, so that the number of persons supported there has been increased from 80, which they were at first, to 200. There have also been given to the Jesuit fathers 20,000 thalers at one time, to be expended on the building of their college; and in this matter it has not been requisite that they should employ my good offices, having no need of any one to mediate between them and the Emperor, because of the evident utility of their proceedings. Estates producing 6,000 thalers yearly have been assigned to increase the revenues of the chapter of the cathedral, and 24,000 for the augmentation of the archiepiscopal income: but the estates of the archiepiscopate being considerably deteriorated and decayed, Monsignor the Archbishop desires to remain for a certain time Bishop of Ossegg, that see being already assigned to the revenues of the archbishop by Rudolf, in place of the pension from the treasury, which was paid with difficulty. The parish churches of Prague, and of the whole kingdom, have been replaced at the disposal of Monsignor the Archbishop, even those which were originally possessed by individual nobles, who were all rebels; the Emperor having reserved that right to himself, while the estates of those rebels have also been sold, care being taken that for many leagues around Prague all the lands should be bought by Catholics."

No. 109

Relatione alla Santita di N. Signore Papa Urbano VIII. desse cose appartenenti alla nuntiatura di Colonia per Monsignore Montorio, vescovo di Nicastro, ritornato nuntio di quelle parti l'anno di N. Signore 1624. [Report to his holiness our lord Pope Urban VIII, of matters appertaining to the nunciature of Cologne, held by Monsignor Montorio, bishop of Nicastro, the nuncio returned from those regions in the year 1624.]

It was in the midst of the disorders of war that Montorio arrived in Germany. He sets forth the danger in which the Catholics would have been involved if Mansfeld, who held the Upper Rhineland from Strasburg to Mayence, and the Bishop of Halberstadt, who commanded Westphalia, could have succeeded in effecting a junction with Baden

Durlach. But all these leaders suffered defeat. He then describes the advantages that had proceeded from these victories, the position to which the German Church had attained.

In Fulda, the counter-reformation had again commenced with the utmost energy. The Catholic party had made its way into Osnaburg by the aid of the infanta and the army of the leagued princes. In Minden they had hope of obtaining an archduke for their bishop. In Bremen, also, great effort had been made by special missions to prevail on the chapter to elect a Catholic coadjutor; but for this time a Danish prince had gained the day; yet the nuncio hoped at least to see toleration granted to the Catholic religion in all the Hanse Towns. It appeared to him that the Emperor might directly demand this, more particularly as those towns derived great advantages from the Spanish and Portuguese trade. A church had already been opened in Altona, from which many hopes were formed for Catholicism in the North. "As that they might be enabled after some time to found a seminary, whence they might procure laborers, who, after they shall have learned the Norwegian and Danish tongues, may bring those more northern nations to the light of the true faith."

To secure this progress, Montorio considered internal reform in the German Church indispensable. The prelates adopted the dress of the laity, and made no scruple of going to the wars: concubinage prevailed openly, and the nuncio had refused, on account of that offence, to admit a certain Hornberg, who was otherwise a very eligible candidate, to the bishopric of Würzburg. The German bishops were also said to think little of the Pope; they nominated to benefices during the reserved months, and by means of their officials engrossed to themselves many unlawful things. "They grant dispensations for marriage within the prohibited degrees; also in respect to holy orders and for vacant benefices, though there might exist a defect of birth, they make concessions '*extra tempora*'; give dispensations to those under age, and have even sometimes granted them for the marriage of persons in holy orders." They called themselves bishops "by the grace of God," without any mention of the Apostolic See, and treated their ecclesiastical possessions almost as if they were their real property. Nor were matters any better in the convents. The abbots conducted themselves as so many absolute lords. In the towns, nothing was thought of but feasting, companies wherein men and women banqueted together. In the convents of rural districts they gave themselves up to the chase, and nothing was seen but hounds and huntsmen.

The nuncio would very fain have set his hand to the needful reform, but he was prevented by contagious diseases, the tumults of war, and political affairs.

He treats of these also with great ability. I have not been able to adopt into my text the whole of his remarks on the transfer of the Electorate, and will therefore insert it here.

"The affairs that have occurred up to the present time are perhaps known to your holiness; and I, although the briefs that were sent me by Pope Gregory, to the effect that I should proceed to the Diet assembled for those matters in Ratisbon, arrived somewhat late, proceeded nevertheless, during the utmost rigor of winter, and at very great cost, much discomfort, and many perils, to present myself there. But having reached Würzburg, and having made known my coming to the ministers of your holiness, and to the electoral princes congregated there, it was signified to me that my presence was no longer necessary, since the conclusion of the affair was retarded by a more important cause than the absence of agreement among the princes there

assembled, and that the seeing so many apostolic ministers gathered there would but increase the difficulty by awakening the jealousy of the Protestants, and causing them to think this transfer treated rather as a matter of religion than of state policy. I abstained, therefore, from going thither, and the more readily because the Elector of Mayence, who, as dean of the electoral college, was, so to speak, the arbiter of the matter, having been treated with by me some months before, remained firm in the promises then made me, that he would promote the designs of the Pope and the Emperor. The commissioners from Trèves had orders from their prince, given at my instance, that they should not dissent from the resolutions made by the Electors of Mayence and Cologne. I will not pause here to point out to your holiness the difficulties which I encountered in disposing Mayence to agree to the said transfer, for at one time he would say that he abhorred the city of Ratisbon, because its air was injurious to his health; at another time he affirmed that he was entirely drained of money, and could not support the expenses which a suitable appearance in that city would require; then, that the business was not ripe, the consent of Spain and Saxony not having been obtained; anon, that he feared the menaces of the King of England, of the duke, and of other sectaries; and, finally, that this transfer would kindle a new and more sanguinary war in Germany, to the obvious detriment of the Catholic religion, whilst the ecclesiastical princes who had hitherto borne all the burden of the war, and must continue to bear it, exhausted by their previous contributions to the Liga, despoiled of their possessions by the insolence and rapine of our own soldiers, no less than by those of the enemy, not only were destitute of means to prepare for a new war, but were reduced to such extremities that they had been constrained to dismiss their households and to live almost privately. Nor did he fail to bring forward the claims of the Duke of Neuburg, as being the nearest kinsman of the Palatine, and not likely to awaken so much jealousy among Protestants, who dreaded the aggrandizement of the Bavarian, to whom, in conformity with the imperial constitutions, according to the golden bull, that dignity was due as to the nearest claimant, the said duke protesting that to his last breath he would never consent that others should be preferred to him. But let it suffice to say that in four or five days, during which I stayed with him in Aschaffenburg, and after long discourses, both by word of mouth and in writing, I obtained the decision that I desired. The transfer was effected, and is still maintained. The Palatinate is occupied in part by the Bavarian, in part by the Spaniards; nor does anything remain to the Palatine except the city of Frankenthal, deposited for a certain period in the hands of the most serene infant of Flanders, in concert with the English King.

“While I was in Aschaffenburg respecting this affair, the news of the taking of Heidelberg arrived there; and I, having already made efforts, by commission of his holiness, with the Duke of Bavaria for the Palatine Library, and having received the offer of it, sent instantly an express to Count Tilly, urging him to look to the preservation of the same, since I had been assured that, both for the quality and quantity of the books, principally manuscript, it was of inestimable value; and his excellency replied that all was in his possession, and carefully preserved according to the duke’s orders. Whereof, when I had given my report to the masters, they having sent a person to take it, the said library was, after some months’ delay, conveyed to Rome.”

No. 110

Instruzione a V. S. Monsignore Caraffa, vescovo di Tricarico, destinato da N. S. suo nuntio in Colonia. 26 Giugno, 1624. [Instruction to Monsignore Caraffa, bishop of Tricarico, despatched by our lord the pope as his nuncio to Cologne.]

Ludovico Caraffa was the successor of Montorio: he was nuncio to Cologne at the same time that Carlo Caraffa administered the nunciature of Vienna.

The Pope communicates his views respecting German affairs to the nuncio in a very circumstantial "Instruction."

He therein discusses all those points respecting the internal discipline of the Church which had been suggested by Montorio. The Apostolic See had already suffered great losses, both in revenue and consideration; the nuncio is exhorted to labor for the recovery of these lost advantages. "Your most reverend lordship will give your utmost attention to whatever shall best sustain the apostolic authority; and will more particularly be careful to extract from it the due benefits and provisions." It is to be remarked that instructions are here given to the nuncio which are directly founded on the counsels of Minuccio Minucci. He is required, for example, to send a list to Rome of such German ecclesiastics as were most worthy of promotion. "Of the most exemplary, of the most learned, of the most noble, of those best supported by the authority of the respective Catholic princes. We shall thus have such notices that the Apostolic See may carefully provide pastors before it be too late." This is precisely the proceeding which Minucci had recommended in 1588. But time had also suggested other measures. The most important of these was that a Catholic coadjutor might be appointed to any see, even during the lifetime of the bishop, on his becoming too old for its due administration. This had already been done in Paderborn as well as in Münster, and with the best results.

The principal matter, nevertheless, was still the more extensive diffusion of Catholicism.

The Catholic league (Liga) was to be maintained by every possible effort. The nuncio is charged to see that all pay their contributions to that object. There was an ecclesiastical society founded in Cologne for the conversion of Protestants, in which the princes of Austria and Bavaria took part, and which possessed a good revenue: the nuncio was instructed to be careful that it did not decline. Certain princely houses were fixed upon as presenting hopes that they might the most readily be won over to Catholicism; namely Darmstadt, and Saxony. The nuncio was exhorted to stimulate this disposition, "that these princes might not withstand the grace which God may show them." He was, above all, to promote the erection of seminaries, and the introduction of the Jesuits. This passage is perhaps the most important of the whole "Instruction," and may be subjoined in full.

"It will be a work most worthy of your lordship to labor for the promotion of the seminaries already founded, and to cause that new ones shall be instituted; and for these and similar works, who does not see that the Jesuit fathers are admirable? Therefore the predecessor of your most reverend lordship took measures to procure their introduction into Frankfort, writing the most earnest letters on that subject to the Emperor; and the Elector of Cologne was equally willing to act in that matter. Then our lord the Pope, in furtherance of this good

purpose, caused his nuncio at the court of the Emperor to be written to, that he might in no case be displeased thereat; and your lordship will concert with him for what remains to be done, advising him of the progress made, and the hopes that may be entertained. The Elector of Mayence has made representations to his holiness that by divine favor the Catholic religion is gaining hold on the Lower Palatinate, and that nothing is judged more expedient as a means for its propagation than the erection of seminaries and houses wherein the nobles of the Rhine may be brought together: to do which, he has suggested to his holiness that the property of certain monasteries might be very suitably applied, more especially those of Germersheim, Spanheim, and Odernheim, situate in the diocese of Mayence, and formerly occupied by the princes palatine of the Rhine. And this proposal was considered to be of great moment by his holiness; but before deciding upon it he desired that the predecessor of your lordship, having diligently taken precise information, should report to him distinctly respecting the condition of the said monasteries, with his opinion of the matter; but the shortness of the time not having permitted him to execute all these things, his holiness desires that your lordship should complete what remains to be done with the utmost diligence and exactitude.

“The Elector of Cologne also desires to found a university in his city of Münster, and the question has been discussed in the Sacred Congregation ‘*de propaganda fide*,’ his holiness being disposed to favor the institution of the said university, but on condition that, in addition to the sciences, the canon and court laws shall be taught therein. And this shall serve for the guidance of your lordship, so that you may treat with the said Elector on this understanding, when his Highness shall speak to you of having obtained the apostolic permission for the said institution.”

No. III

Relatione dell' illustrissimo et eccellentissimo Signore Pietro Contarini Cavaliere, ritornato dell' ambasceria ordinaria di Roma, presentata alli 22 Giugno, 1627, e letta il medesimo giorno nell' eccellentissimo senato. [Report of the most illustrious and most excellent Pietro Contarini, returned from the ordinary embassy to Rome, presented on June 22, 1627, and read to the most excellent senate on the same day.]

P. Contarini had passed more than three years and a half (forty-four months) at the Court of Urban VIII when he presented this report.

He makes four divisions, and in these he treats of the temporal government, the spiritual administration, the most important affairs of the court, and its most influential members.

He is particularly full and instructive on the extension of the spiritual jurisdiction. He considers that it had never before been exercised in Italy with so much rigor. By its double purpose of maintaining an immediate command over the ecclesiastical body, and the unrestricted disposal of all church property, the Roman Court must become very dangerous to temporal princes. He describes Urban VIII as often remarking that if a Venetian noble were seated on the Roman throne he could not be more disposed toward the Venetians than himself, the reigning pontiff. But notwithstanding this, they could never obtain the smallest favor at his hands.

Generally speaking, the ambassador had a bad opinion of the whole Roman system. The ruling principle of the entire administration was nepotism.

“The disposition of the popes to aggrandize their nephews gives the moving impulse in the present day to all actions, all declarations, and all transactions with other princes. At first the pontiffs think of undertakings against the infidel, or the acquirement of dominion; but as the years are short, and the difficulties many, this purpose is abandoned without producing any effect whatever, and then they take another and more easy course, accumulating great riches, and buying estates.”

He describes the immediate circle of Urban in the following manner:

“The pontiff most commonly takes counsel with Cardinal Magalotti, whose sister his brother married, and who still holds the office of Secretary of State, all the public despatches passing through his hands. The cardinal is a man of extensive and powerful intellect, and is much esteemed by the Pope, who always desires to have him near his person, more especially in the legation of Bologna, where he gave him the vicegerency of that government. Thus if there be any man who has been able to attain a high position in the opinion of his holiness, this is that one; nor is it known whether this proceeds from a real inclination on the part of the pontiff, or from the great prudence of the cardinal, who, being well acquainted with the character of one whom he has served so long, is aware of the proper means for maintaining himself in his position, and avails himself of them; but it is certain that he may be said to have the sole management of all important affairs. He takes great pains, however, to adjust his proceedings to the inclinations of the pontiff, contradicts him as rarely as possible, and labors to bring his own opinions into conformity with those of the Pope, to the end that he may preserve his position with the credit and reputation that he derives from being always employed in the most momentous transactions. He seeks to escape the enmity entertained for the most part against those who are seen to be near the prince, and who share his power and favor, by abstaining from all ostentation of authority, by avoiding the regular audiences of Ministers belonging to foreign princes, of cardinals, and of almost all others, treating only of such matters as are expressly committed to him. And this he does above all to avoid awakening the jealousy of Cardinal Barberino, who did not seem at first entirely satisfied at seeing him so greatly advanced, and that the pontiff employed him more than himself; so that words were often heard from Barberino by which his sentiments were made known. But he now permits things to take their course, and seems to confide in his uncle, either because he is willing to remain free from the weight of business, or because he does not know the extent of authority, or perhaps has not power to impede the fortunes of Magalotti. All things, however, are shared with the said Cardinal Barberino, St. Onofrio, and Don Carlo.

“The first, as nephew, is truly beloved. His holiness would indeed be glad to see him apply more diligently to business, but he appears to be really averse to it, nor does his disposition seem in any wise formed thereto. It appears to be almost by force that he attends, where, by the office he holds, he cannot possibly do otherwise, throwing the weight of the most important affairs on that very Cardinal Magalotti, and even being content to despoil himself of things that ought to belong to him for the sake of investing his uncle with them, contrary to the practice in former pontificates, whether from weakness, or from not knowing how to avail himself of that authority which he who attains to so eminent a station should possess. He is a man of the most exemplary, virtuous, and praiseworthy habits, of a most kindly nature, and one who gives the solitary example of refusing every kind of

present. He will, nevertheless, be equal to any other cardinal in wealth and grandeur, should the Pope have long life. He must now have somewhere about 80,000 scudi yearly from ecclesiastical benefices; and with the governments and legations that he holds, this must approach to 100,000 scudi. Investments of moment are also beginning to be made, and the best of all that is acquired will be for him. Moreover, he spends but little, and will therefore shortly accumulate immense wealth.

“Cardinal St. Onofrio, having constantly lived among the Capuchins, and having always led a most devout life, never intermeddles with anything not directly committed to him. Of the affairs of the world he knows little, and understands less; and his inability in this respect was made fully manifest during the absence of Barberino, because it then became necessary to transact business with him. He has now gone to reside at his church of Senegaglia.

“Don Carlo, brother of the pontiff, is general of the holy church; and all that appertains to the army, to fortresses, or the galleys, is under his command. He is a man of intelligence and prudence, cautious in discussing and transacting business, and perfectly conversant with the care of the exchequer and management of the revenue, having been well practised in affairs, and being skilled in those matters. He has to a certain extent relaxed from his early applications to business, that he may not too heavily burthen his advanced years (he being the elder of the brothers), and also in part from inclination for that repose.

“His holiness has two other nephews. Don Taddeo, whom he has chosen to found the family, a young man of about twenty-three, most noble in manner, of highly ingenuous character, and greatly beloved by the whole court. The pontiff has some intention of making him prefect of the city after the death of the Duke of Urbino, who now enjoys that title—a most dignified office, taking precedence of all others, being held for life, and not liable to change even on the death of the pontiff. The second of these two nephews is Don Antonio, a commander of Malta, and aged eighteen: he has about 14,000 scudi from his commandery; is of prompt and vivacious character, and in good time will certainly be ready to secure his own share in the exaltation of his house. He is desirous of being also raised to the cardinalate, and it is believed that his holiness will gratify his wish. Many of those who do not love the Cardinal Magalotti would willingly see him promoted to that dignity as soon as possible, because they think that he might attain to what his brother has not been able to compass—to counterbalance Magalotti, that is, and to form an opposition to him.”

We have the affairs of the Valtelline here discussed in their whole extent.

“The other important affair is that of the Valtelline, on which his holiness has indeed bestowed great labor, but with varying results; although it is said that he might at first have applied himself more earnestly to it, and with more decided remedies; but the having entered on a matter so arduous in the first days of his pontificate, and when just recovering but by no means restored from the effects of a long illness, with his thoughts, beside, more given to the papacy than to this affair, may perhaps have caused him to suffer many things to take their course, which it was not difficult to provide against at that time, but which it was impossible to remedy afterward. It was in the hands of Gregory XV that the Valtelline was deposited by the Spaniards, and they consigned Chiavenna with its surrounding territory, under the same conditions, to the present pontiff. The first negotiations were effected by means of the Commendator Sillery, with so much caution and secrecy

that not only was the certainty of their existence withheld from the ministers of your Serenity, who had, nevertheless, to take so important a part in the transaction, but it was with difficulty that they acquired a knowledge of the real nature of what was transacted. The pontiff concerned himself for nothing more than the receiving security for the payment of the garrisons that he maintained in the forts of the valley; and after many complaints and much pressing, he obtained, I believe, between the two kings, about 200,000 scudi. This money tended somewhat to diminish his disapprobation of that deposit; which he nevertheless always greatly condemned, both before and afterward, esteeming it to be adverse to his interests, but not considering the injury that might result from his procrastination and irresolute management of the matter.

“The people of the Valtelline offered themselves to the Pope as vassals, assuring him that the duties he might impose on wines and cheese would suffice to maintain the garrisons required in ordinary times for the defence of that valley. Many represented to the pontiff that to restore the Valtelline to the Grisons, and to replace Catholics in the hands of heretics, was not to be thought of by the Pope, and could not be done without the greatest scandal and injury; that no one would consent to see it made over to the Spaniards, who on their part would not suffer it to be given up to the French or other temporal powers; neither would there be any better course than that the Valtelline should be preserved to the Church, since there was nothing of any moment in that country except the passes, which can be held or claimed only for going or coming beyond the mountains; thus, if these should remain to the power of the Pope, the common father, he would always have them kept open, according to the wants and requirements of all. The arguments thus stated did not fail to make an impression, as arguments mostly do, even though but slightly founded; nay, sometimes they will even persuade the hearer, though feeble in themselves, where there appears some prospect of advantage or utility. His holiness suffered himself to listen to the suggestion, and even added that if there should be any difficulty in the retention of the Valtelline by the Church, they might invest one of his nephews with it. The plan had at first been promoted by the Spaniards, but eventually it did not please them any more than the French; and there was finally concluded by Sillery that treaty, well known to your Serenity, which was not approved in France by the King, principally for that article of it which allowed passage to the Spaniards for their troops going into Flanders, and for the same, but not otherwise, on their return. The formation of the Valtelline into a fourth league, which the Spaniards desired so eagerly, the pontiff would still less consent to permit. The ambassador was changed on that account, or perhaps because of the fall of the chancellor, and of Puysieux the secretary, the one the brother, and the other the nephew of the said Sillery. There then arrived in Rome a minister of wiser counsels and more extended views, as well as more determined character, Monsignor de Bethune; he annulled the decisions of his predecessor, insisted on the treaty of Madrid, which he firmly upheld; absolutely refused to permit the pass to the Spaniards for any purpose whatever, and pressed the pontiff in frequent audiences to come to some resolution, since the league could not consent to more protracted negotiation or longer delay.

“The pontiff, who had not expected to find so much resolution among those of the League, nor had any thought that they would take arms on this account, being also constantly assured by letters from his nuncios in France and Switzerland that the Marchese de Covre would never raise the standard of the King where the ensigns of his holiness were

floating, continued nevertheless in his irresolutions, and the more the difficulties increased and were made manifest, the more he persuaded himself (nor were there wanting those who confirmed him in his idea) that at the end of the contest the Church would remain mistress of the point in dispute. Wherefore Bethune signified ultimately to the Pope that the King and the League together jointly entreated him to remit the fortresses to the Spaniards, in conformity with the terms of the deposit, to the end that if there were a necessity for appealing to arms, they might avoid the reproach of acting disrespectfully by advancing against those of his holiness, and that if the Pope would now take the resolution that he ought to adopt of offering the forts to the Spaniards, all would yet be adjusted to his honor and to the satisfaction of others; for the Spaniards would not have received them, not finding themselves in a condition to defend them, while all cause of complaint would cease by the Pope's fulfilment of the conditions of the deposit in due time, nor could anyone oppose their being left to the Grisons. Some days elapsed, when at length the Marchese de Covre surprised Plata Mala, and the Pope then made various pretexts, first demanding three months of time, but afterward restricting himself to so much only as was required to write to Spain and make the offer, affirming that the Ministers in Italy did not possess authority for receiving the fortresses. But the enterprise of the marquis being already far advanced, and its success increasing from day to day, it was not considered advisable, and might even have proved injurious, to suspend the proceedings while awaiting replies from Spain which could not but be uncertain. The Pope was accordingly deprived by degrees of all that he held in deposit, the only places remaining to him being Riva and Chiavenna, which alone had been secured by the Spaniards. His holiness complained that these last, although appealed to from the beginning to defend the passes, never came to his assistance, while they complained that they had not been summoned in due time; so that the Spaniards were much dissatisfied, the French by no means content, and his holiness, infinitely displeased by the little respect that had been displayed toward his banners, complains of it continually and bitterly to everyone. The Spaniards do much the same, attributing all the disasters that have occurred to his holiness, and complaining of him more than of anything else; and although the pontiff subsequently despatched his nephew as legate both to France and Spain, with the purpose well known to your Serenity, and knew that the Italian arms had made a still more important movement, and that the dangers would become more serious if the powers proceeded earnestly, he has nevertheless not yet been able to get rid of his first notion, that all the mischievous results experienced have proceeded from the early arrangements having been unskilfully made. But the French as well as the Spaniards attributed the vexations and difficulties encountered in that negotiation to the pretensions of the Pope, who required that the fortresses should be consigned to him without any declaration on his part as to what he would do with them, but positively refusing to demolish them; thus rendering it extremely difficult to find any suitable expedient for arranging the matter, causing the loss of so much time, while so many attempts have been made uselessly; and the matter was finally taken to Spain, because in Rome there was too much difficulty in bringing it to a termination."

No. 112

Relazione dello stato dell' imperio e della Germania fatta da Monsignore Caraffa nel tempo che era nuntio alla corte dell' imperatore, l'anno 1628. [Report on the state of the empire and of Germany made by Monsignore Caraffa, while nuncio at the court of the emperor, 1628.]

This Report is, upon the whole, the most circumstantial that I have met with; in a Roman copy it extended to 1,080 folio pages. It is not rare even in Germany. I bought a copy in Leipsic, and there is another in a private library in Berlin, in a beautiful folio volume with a splendid title-page; this was presented by a certain Wynman to the Bishop of Eichstadt in the year 1655.

It consists of four parts. In the first, there is a general description of the German troubles; in the second, the situation, possessions, and various relations of Ferdinand II are described; in the third, the German principalities are treated of according to the circles; and in the fourth, the alliances that had been formed in Germany, more particularly those recently concluded.

The author declares that he will write nothing which he has not himself seen, or had otherwise ascertained to be worthy of belief. "Protesting that whatever I shall write will be what I have seen and partly acted in myself, during the eight years that I have been in Germany, or what I have heard from persons worthy of credit; and partly what I have read in letters, diaries, and official papers, both of friends and enemies, which have been intercepted at different times, and whereof some have been printed, but others not."

We perceive that an elaborate arrangement was here contemplated from the outset.

The printed commentaries of Caraffa follow the order of time. This work is composed more in the manner of a report; the events are arranged in chronological order in the first part only.

But I will not conceal that I have often entertained doubts as to the genuine character of this report.

The compilation is extremely loose. We have first a repetition of the Bohemian report, with some slight omissions; we then find a very remarkable passage relating to the election of a king in Hungary in 1625, but inserted out of its proper place; and, finally, what is of still greater importance, a report of the year 1629, respecting Germany, the Emperor, and the princes, but which does not present a trace of being composed by Caraffa himself; and though here, indeed, it is somewhat amplified, yet is otherwise copied word for word. Many other points also are evidently "borrowed wares." Of King James I of England there is mention as "the present King of England"—and this could not be said in 1628.

One might suppose that some mere compiler had arranged these documents without judgment or any fixed purpose.

But on further consideration, this ceases to appear probable.

To the old account (*ragguaglio*) of Caraffa there are here added various notices, highly impressive and important, relating to more recent times, and such as no mere compiler could have furnished.

Intelligence is supplied which could not have become known to any but the initiated. The author is acquainted, for example, with that negotiation of Urban VIII in England, carried on by means of the Capuchin Rota, and which was so carefully kept secret.

The nuncio also speaks not unfrequently in the first person.

I conclude, then, that this work really proceeds from the hand of Caraffa, but that it was never brought to completion by him; whether because the author wanted time, inclination, or even it may be power, to do this, does not appear; but even his Bohemian report has something diffuse and formless in its character, to say the least. He may probably, after his return to Aversa, have proposed to employ some of his leisure hours in the arrangement of his materials.

But even in its present form this work is, at all events, worthy of our best attention.

The reports which it has embodied, and more or less carefully elaborated, are of high value. The historical remarks, also, are entirely distinct from those contained in the printed commentaries.

I extract a few notices which appear to me particularly worthy of attention.

1. Decline of the German principalities; for it is a matter of course that German and Austrian topics are much more minutely discussed in this place than Roman or ecclesiastical affairs.

"In former times there was so great an abundance, that the princes of Germany could with difficulty themselves know the vast amount of royalties, dues, silver, and other riches that flowed to them from all quarters; whereas they now can scarcely devise any means to procure them at all; they seem to have the means of living only from day to day, so that what one day yields, the next consumes. There is but little money gathered there, except from things renounced by creditors, and which are rather nominal than real. For so much negligence, so little economy, and such constant mismanagement, various causes are assigned. Some ascribe the whole to the liberality of the princes, some to the evil character of the times, some to the frequent wars, some to the seditions common among the citizens, while others finally attribute the blame to the ministers, prefects, and vicars. And truly there are certain officials to be seen who constantly seek to grasp the very utmost they can wring from all around them, and who carry, beyond all measure, the advantages extorted by governors; add to this, the absence of all good counsel, the interests of individuals always preferred to that of the commonwealth—things that were proved capable of destroying the great Roman Empire, and wherefore should they not destroy the German? The ruin of Germany may further proceed from the indolence of the princes, and from their excessive sensuality, or from the small amount of their talents, or from the premature old age by which they are overtaken; or, lastly, from their being so averse to the labors of government that they are glad to make over the management of public affairs to others, although they frequently acknowledge the utter incapacity of these substitutes. Thus, after the manner of certain ancient Eritrei, they make a sort of secondary princes, differing from themselves in name only, but equal to them in administrative power, as was Joab with David, and others under other princes. These managers, being taken from the people, have abused, and do abuse, their delegated power, and being themselves ruled rather by passion than by the moderation of virtue, and given up as a prey to parasites and flatterers, have employed, and do employ, other worthless subordinate Ministers, who for gain, from partiality to their kindred, or moved by ambition, have corrupted, and do corrupt justice; and neighboring princes being led to follow this example, they have raised that which was but private interest into custom and justice."

2. Election of a king of Hungary.

"The votes of the Kingdom of Slavonia and Croatia, which were

almost all Catholic, being added to the Diet, and that addition causing the Catholic party and adherents of his Majesty to exceed by no small number the party of the heretics and dissidents, the rumor circulated respecting his Majesty's wishes in regard to that election, became daily better understood and more listened to. Yet the Emperor's envoys, the better to assure themselves of the votes at the Diet, thought it expedient, before proposing the election of the archduke, to make trial of their strength by the election of the Palatine, which was rendered necessary by the death of Thurzo. His Majesty greatly wished to have a Catholic elected, and above all, he desired the above-named Count Esterhazy, although in conformity with the laws and constitutions of that realm he had proposed four candidates to the estates—two Catholics and two heretics; and the matter succeeded most happily, for the said count was elected by 150 votes, the opposite party not having more than 60. This experiment having been made, the Emperor's adherents and friends were greatly encouraged by it; the Ministers of his Majesty, nevertheless, considered, that in addition to the 150 votes aforesaid, it would be well to gain over a good part of the 60, which had been adverse, by favors and gifts, that so the election might be decided to the greater satisfaction of the kingdom; and by expending, as was said, some 20,000 florins, the greater part of them were secured, as was experienced in the other affairs of the Diet. The party of Bethlem, and his adherents, considering it certain that the Emperor would desire to have the archduke elected king, although his Majesty's will had not then been made publicly known, did not fail to do everything possible for the counteraction of that purpose.

"I will here add an instance of boldness displayed by a lady on this occasion, from the extraordinary character of which, the efforts of the dissentient party may be inferred. The mother of the Baron Bathiany, who is one of the principal nobles of Hungary, whether as to rank, possessions, or followers, had the boldness to represent to the Empress, that she ought not to suffer this election to take place, since it might eventually prejudice her Majesty's own interest, for should anything befall the life of the Emperor, she, as crowned Queen of Hungary, would have the government of that kingdom during the interregnum, and until a new king could be elected. But the Empress, dissembling with extreme prudence, replied that she thanked her for her care, but that after the death of the Emperor, she, if she should survive him, would think of nothing but the interest of the sons of his Majesty her husband; to whom she instantly repeated the above-named suggestion.

"But although the business of the election was now considered secure, it was nevertheless impeded for many days by the violent dispute that arose among his Majesty's chief ministers; the Archbishop of Strigonia and the new Palatine also taking part in it, with the chancellor and others who had interest in the matter, such as the Spanish ambassador and myself, as unworthy apostolic minister. The contest turned on the question whether the coronation should follow immediately on the election. Some thought it should, because thus the archduke would be formally assured in the kingdom, which he would not be if he were merely elected, as was intimated by the previous election of Bethlem Gabor; the Hungarians being extremely changeful men, and for the most part unbelievers and little to be depended on; secondly, they maintained that if the coronation were effected, it would be of considerable use in the first imperial Diet, should the Emperor attempt to have his Highness elected King of the Romans; they alleged thirdly, that this was desirable in reference to the marriage projected with the Spanish infanta, it having been declared in Spain that they would first have the

archduke elected and crowned King of Hungary. Others, on the contrary, among whom were myself and the father confessor of the Emperor, affirmed that this coronation ought not to take place just then, because the States of that kingdom would never permit his Highness to be crowned, until he should first have promised and sworn to them, as well in regard to politics as to religion, all those things which his father had promised when in a much more perilous condition; wherefore, since the dangers then existing were no longer dreaded, and since time might still further ameliorate and strengthen the position of his Highness, either by the death of Gabor, the more prosperous aspect of affairs in the empire, or other events, it would not be expedient to embarrass the conscience of that young prince by closing the door against the progress of religion, which he would desire to promote; and at the same time prevent him from acquiring a more extended political authority and dominion within that realm. Those of this opinion said secondly, and the people of the treasury more particularly, that heavy expenses would have to be incurred for the coronation, as also now for the augmentation of the court of his Highness; wherefore, as the large expenditure of the journey to Ulm was inevitable, and must be provided for at once, it would be well if that of the coronation could be deferred to another time, no great injury being likely to result from this delay, for if Gabor desired to find a pretext, such as might arise from the death of the Emperor, he would do so none the less for the archduke being crowned; as he had done against the Emperor himself, though he was elected and crowned; that with respect to his being elected King of the Romans, and to his marriage with the infanta of Spain, it would suffice that the archduke were really King of Hungary, which he could certainly entitle himself by virtue of his election alone. The contest standing thus, although the ambassador of Spain insisted further on the coronation, saying that the Spanish Court would not otherwise have concluded the marriage of the infanta with the archduke, as not esteeming the succession to the kingdom to be secured without it, yet his Majesty with his accustomed piety declared that he would not have it performed, believing, in accordance with the counsels of his father confessor, that it would be against conscience, if the archduke should have to swear, what his Majesty himself had been compelled to swear, in those great dangers which did not now exist."

No. 113

Relatio status ecclesie et totius diœcesis Augustanæ, 1629. [Report on the state of the church, and of the whole diocese of Augsburg, 1629.]

A document of no particular importance. It is principally occupied with the affairs of the city of Augsburg.

The activity, labors, and final expulsion of the Protestant "Pseudo Doctors" from Augsburg, is the chief subject of the author.

He hopes that when this has been completely effected by the Emperor's sanction, obtained principally by the efforts of Hieronymus Imhof and Bernhard Rehlingen, the inhabitants would all soon become once more Catholic.

No. 114

Legatio apostolica. P. Aloys. Carafa, episcopi Tricaricensis, sedente Urbano VIII. Pont. M. ad tractum Rheni et ad prov. inferioris Germaniæ obita, ab anno 1624 usque ad annum 1634. Ad Cardinalem Franc. Barberinum. [Apostolic legation of P. A. Caraffa, bishop of Tricarico, to the district of the Rhine and the province of Lower Germany, from 1624 to 1634, under the pontificate of Urban VIII. Addressed to the cardinal Francesco Barberino.]

A very circumstantial report of 204 leaves; it is perhaps somewhat diffuse, but contains some useful matter.

We have, first, an account of the journey, and here much space is lost in mere trifling detail. Among other places the nuncio visits Fulda, and makes a great merit of having reduced the number of sixteen quarterings (ancestors) required to qualify a man for the dignity of that abbacy, to eight.

He is extremely minute in description of the dispute existing between Liège and the bishop, in which he took himself an active part; he transferred the seat of the nunciature from Cologne to Liège.

The most remarkable passage of this document is without doubt the description of the Catholic monasteries at that time existing within the limits of the nunciature.

We perceive from these details how entirely the higher branches of instruction were at that time in the hands of the Jesuits. They were the masters in Treves and Mayence. Paderborn, Münster, and Osnaburg, where a high school had been recently founded, were completely in their hands; but they taught only the classics (*humaniora*), philosophy, and theology. Judicial studies were entirely neglected. In Cologne, which still continued the first of these universities, medicine was taught by two professors only, who had very few attendants on their lectures. The principal evil in Cologne had formerly been that the professors were much too amply provided with prebendal stalls. "By the wealth of these, they being supplied with means for an easy and pleasant life, rarely or never taught the sacred doctrines in their own person, but constantly used the vicarious labors of others. Thus the students were instructed without solidity or method, and fifteen years were not unfrequently suffered to pass before they had gone through a course of theology, which thing was heretofore of no small inconvenience to the arch-diocese of Cologne, and especially to the jurisdictions of Juliers, Cleves, and Mons, because parish priests and clergy proper to the cure of souls and able to repair the ruins of the Catholic religion, could not on this account be there appointed until after very long delays."

This the Jesuit fathers reformed. The college of the Three Crowns, which was made over to them, enjoyed a high reputation; in 1634 it had more than 1,200 students. But the taste for a life of enjoyment above alluded to, was not so easily eradicated. The feasts of the masters increased the costs of promotion and encouraged luxury. "Through Lent there are daily drinking-parties among the students." Our bishop describes the Catholicism and good living of the Cologne people by no means badly. "The people of Cologne hold most firmly to the religion of their ancestors, which they have never departed from since it was first adopted. It is true that some few families of the sectaries are tolerated in the city, but all exercise of their creed is forbidden to them, and they are heavily fined if they are discovered to hold private conventicles, or are caught listening to the bellowing trumpeters of Luther

or Calvin. In the Senate itself none may be elected who are not Catholics; but none of them who have been enrolled and come to the court, can express an opinion or give a vote, unless they have that same day been present at the sacred rites in the chapel nearest to the senatorial palace. By night the citizens themselves hold watch in the principal parts of the city, nor need any fear violence or insult, because, if clamors arise, they hasten thither to give aid; but robbers and assassins they place in bonds. All the streets are, moreover, closed at night with iron chains; nor do they permit free circulation, so that the people for the most part proceed very tranquilly. Among other advantages possessed by the people, there should first be commemorated the fact that each is permitted to purchase oxen and pigs at the beginning of winter, which he preserves in his house by means of smoke, drying them for the consumption of the year ensuing; of these they eat largely. An entire year is allowed them to pay the price, which is meanwhile advanced to the merchant by those appointed to that effect by the Senate. Nor will any of the artisans, however poor, suffer a want of good faith to appear in this matter; because in that case they could never again enjoy that signal advantage in the purchase of their food thus afforded them by the public moneys. There are also public tables in the various districts, where all may eat together at a fixed and moderate price, when festivals held on the week-days occur."

But it is not towns and universities alone that our author describes; princes and events are also depicted; Ferdinand of Cologne, "in gravity of manners, piety of conduct, and cultivation of intellect he is second to none." Frederic of Würzburg, "well versed in tongues, even of foreign lands, of a most prudent address, and endeared to all by a certain gentle gravity of manner." Casimir of Mayence, "a man eloquent in his German tongue, and who has filled the office of legate."

Respecting the remarkable events of that period also, Caraffa supplies many remarkable notices. I know not whereon the opinion has been founded, that Wallenstein could have taken Stralsund, "if, as many believe, he had not more desired to take money than the city." He considers it a great misfortune that Tilly did not dare to throw himself on Saxony at the first movement made by that country. His description of the state of Cologne after the battle of Leipsic, and of the views first manifested by the French at that moment, is also very remarkable.

"By the blow received at Leipsic, the forces and the spirits of the Catholics were alike broken, and fear or want of ability in the defence of their fastnesses, suddenly opened a vast inlet for the victorious enemy, so that he could at once invade the very centre of the empire, with such force of arms that Fulda, Würzburg, Bamberg, Mayence, Worms, Spire, and other cities and towns were in a short time either taken by storm or surrendered. Cologne remained the refuge of the exiled princes, and treasures were brought into that city, belonging as well to the Church as to the laity, and comprising all that it had been possible to carry away before the outbreak of that vehement and sudden tempest of war. Here the princes with anxious and doubtful care took counsel whether, as the French ambassador had proposed, it were expedient that neither those princes nor yet the city itself should, from that time forward, turn their arms in favor either of the Emperor or King Gustavus. This, the ambassador of the most Christian King recommended to Cologne, but he affirmed it to be necessary that garrisons from the legions of his own sovereign should be introduced into that city, and also into other places belonging to the electoral princes; for that thus, King Gustavus, respecting Cologne, would turn his arms elsewhere; or if, notwithstanding, he should resolve on coming as an enemy, he would justly

provoke the most Christian King, and the alliance being ended, would begin to experience his enmity and anger. Heavy indeed seemed that condition of admitting garrisons from the cohorts of a foreign king into the cities and strong places of the empire; but much more grievous were the other conditions, by which it was proposed that they should thenceforth assist neither party, because, in a war so dubious, to give no aid to the Emperor, but as it were to desert him, seemed wholly adverse to the most ancient habit and feeling of the princes and cities, as well as foreign to the principles of the empire itself. Yet that this was the only advice to be adopted, the only post of safety that remained, was equally the opinion of the apostolic nuncio at Paris, to whom I had written concerning the enormous blows inflicted on the Catholic religion, its temples and altars, by King Gustavus."

There follows further a minute account of the catastrophe of Wallenstein, which I shall give elsewhere.

No. 115

Relazione della corte di Roma del Signore Cavaliere Aluise Contarini, dell' anno 1632 al 1635. (Arch. Ven.) [Report on the court of Rome by Aluise Contarini, 1632 to 1635.] Venetian Archives.

A very copious report in 35 chapters, containing 140 pages and doubly important, because Aluise Contarini had proceeded directly from France to Rome, and was therefore more capable of forming a judgment respecting the very peculiar position assumed at that time in politics by Urban VIII.

He first describes the spiritual and temporal administration of the Pope.

He considers it to be entirely monarchical. Of all the old congregations, one only, that of the Inquisition, assembled regularly. They have no other privileges than that people still drew up their carriages when they met them, that they were invested with the purple, and retained a voice in the election of the pontiff; but the Pope is so little disposed toward them, that in affairs of weight he would rather use the services of inferior prelates, whose hopes depended principally on himself, than of cardinals, who were already possessed of more independence.

But the more closely the rein is drawn, so much the more does authority become weakened. "The ancient veneration is nowadays much diminished."

The inhabitants of Urbino were more particularly discontented. "The subjects of that duchy complain much of the change, calling the government of the priests a tyranny, they having no other care than that of enriching and advancing themselves." The author perpetually complains that Urbino should have fallen into the hands of the Pope, lamenting it as a great loss to Spain and Venice.

In a second part, he describes the personal qualities of those concerning whom he treats. "Pope Urban VIII was born in April, 1567 (others say 1568); thus he is approaching the 69th year of his age; but he preserves the force of his constitution, which is not subject to any malady, as well as the vigor of his intellect. He is of middle height and dark complexion, his hair is white, his eye quick, his utterance rapid, his temperament sanguine and bilious. He lives rigidly by rule. He regulates his actions in great measure by the motions of the heavens, with respect to which he has great knowledge, although he has prohibited the study of them to all others under pain of the heaviest censures. His move-

ments are sudden, and so violent, that they sometimes border on absurdity; for he cannot take patience and restrain them; but he says that *this commotion of the bile from time to time is very useful, by stimulating the natural heat to the preservation of his health.* He rides, takes pleasure in the country, walks, and is fond of exercise. He does not trouble himself when things go wrong; and all these things concur to make it probable that he will yet have some years of life, although he fell off very considerably during my sojourn at his court.

“He attained to the pontificate after an uninterrupted service at court of more than thirty years. He was first a prelate of the Segnatura, and afterward Governor of Fano. Soon after this second promotion, he bought offices at court, and ultimately the clerkship of the chamber; this he did with the help of his paternal uncle, Francesco Barberini, a prelate of little repute, but of great wealth, accumulated with Florentine parsimony. Clement VIII employed him in various offices, but particularly in relation to the new cutting of the Po, and from this have arisen in great measure the present contentions with the republic respecting boundaries, which result in part from the knowledge he possesses of this matter, and in part from his resentment at the affair not having been conducted at that time according to his wishes. He was then, by the same Clement, sent as nuncio into France, first as nuncio-extraordinary for the baptism of the present King, and afterward as nuncio-in-ordinary to his father, Henry IV, when he proved himself a most zealous defender of the ecclesiastical immunities. Paul V, successor of Clement, confirmed him in the said legation of France, and afterward made him cardinal and legate in Bologna. On his return to Rome he was appointed prefect of the Segnatura of Justice, a very honorable office, and an employment of high importance. Finally, in 1623, he attained to the pontificate by means of very crafty practices, in the place of Gregory XV, being then in his fifty-sixth year, and now he is going through the thirteenth year of his reign, to the displeasure of the whole court, to which, no less than to sovereigns, short pontificates are the most advantageous, for in these there is more regard paid to everyone, there is a greater abundance of favors, and the pontiffs do not proceed as if the papacy were an hereditary succession; the court, moreover, finds that in general there proceed more employment and better fortunes from the frequency of change.

“In every position, the Pope always held a high opinion of himself, desiring to rule over others, and showing contempt for the opinions of all. He seems now to proceed more liberally, since he finds himself in a position eminent above all others. He has great talent, but not sound judgment; talent, for in things that depend on himself alone, and which concern his person and house, he has always attained to the objects he has proposed to accomplish, without shrinking from those intrigues and artifices which are, indeed, entirely congenial to his nature, as was seen in his canvass for the papacy, during which he found means to reconcile in his own favor the two opposite factions of Borghese and Ludovisio, merely by making each believe him the enemy of the other. But in general affairs, wherein judgment is demanded, that the interests of the Apostolic See may be brought into harmony with those of other princes, the Pope has been observed to be always deficient in it. This was made evident in the affair of the Valtelline, and in the war of Mantua, which would not have occurred if the Pope had declared against the first innovator; in the loss of Mantua, attributed to the supplies received by the Germans from the Ecclesiastical States, and without which they must have raised the siege or perished; and in the act of conferring the prefecture of Rome on his nephew, thus depriving the Apostolic See of the

presence of so many ministers of foreign princes, who form its finest ornament, while he burdened the nephew himself with a load of envy, vexations, and cares, the post, too, being absolutely untenable after the death of the pontiff. A further proof of his want of judgment may be found in the unworthy mode of treatment adopted toward the ambassador of your Serenity, my predecessor, in suffering him to depart without satisfaction; as also in the last joint protection of France, first advised and consented to through Cardinal Antonio, his nephew, then retracted and forbidden, with a manifestation of excessive artifice, not to say deceit, which was evident to the whole world, and to the production of a division in his own house. I say nothing of the great injury received by the Catholic religion in Flanders and Germany under the present pontificate; the perils caused to Italy by his refusal of dispensation to the Duke of Mantua, and still more by the Pope's having conducted himself in a manner that has disgusted all princes, great and small, to such an extent that no one of them is friendly toward him, so that he is rendered incapable of exercising toward them those offices of authority and of paternal advice by which they might have been pacified and drawn together for the defence of religion; yet these offices have always been so carefully exercised by previous pontiffs and considered so peculiarly their own, that to maintain their title of common father, whence proceeds all the veneration professed for them, and to preserve union among the Christian princes, which is to them the source of great authority, they have exposed themselves to many hazards, journeyings, and perils, their name of father excusing them from attention to those punctilios which serve as so effectual an impediment to the intervention of other princes.

“The present Pope has always professed to be neutral, making it his glory that he has enriched and aggrandized his house without bargaining for domains in the Kingdom of Naples, or submitting to receive favors from great princes. His secret inclinations are, nevertheless, toward the French; their promptitude and determined boldness being most congenial to the character of his holiness, as was manifested by the great demonstrations he made when La Rochelle was taken. He recommended peace with the English, that France might hasten to the aid of Casale, then besieged by the Spaniards; advising the French at the same time to seize and retain Pinarolo for the requisite preservation of an equilibrium in Italy. He constantly discovered pretexes for deferring or diminishing the succors required by Germany, so that an opinion prevailed, and still exists, that his holiness was grieved for the death of the King of Sweden, and that he rejoices more, or rather fears less, for the progress of the Protestants, than that of the Austrians. It is also generally believed, that even though the Pope should be led to some union with the Spaniards by Cardinal Barberino, who is altogether Spanish, it would most probably terminate in a rupture more decided than ever. And the cause is this: that as the Pope proceeds by artifice and intrigue, and believes that the Spaniards do the same, there must always be more apprehension of mutual deceptions between them than of the confidence proper to a sincere union.”

We do not think it necessary to repeat the description of the nephews given by Aluise Cantarini. Even Francesco Barberino, although most of all beloved by the Pope, and completely devoted to business, was yet entirely dependent on his uncle. “There has never been a papal nephew more assiduous in the labors of the State than he, who never permits himself to take the slightest recreation; but it is also true that none has ever effected less than he has done.”

Cantarini declines all description of the cardinals, remarking that a

confirmed hypocrisy prevailed through the whole body. "One cardinal, though in perfect health, shall make pretence, to facilitate his path to the popedom, of being most infirm; tottering in his walk, coughing at every word; and if he stir abroad, it is only close shut in his litter. Another, being an able statesman, shall nevertheless pretend to be averse from and ignorant of all business; while others talk, he is dumb; if questions are asked, he shrugs his shoulders; or if he reply, it is only in general terms." One might be tempted to believe that we have here the original of the fable invented with respect to the elevation of Sixtus V.

Next comes the third part; and this describes political relations. It is full of the most acute, impressive, and animated observation; and as we have said, is for us the most valuable part of the report.

However well disposed to the French, Pope Urban might be, he did not always comply with their requests as regarded ecclesiastical affairs. "It must however be confessed that they have required very difficult concessions; such, for example, as the right of nominating to the abbeys of Lorraine, the annulling of the marriages of Duke Charles of Lorraine, and of Monsieur, with others of similar character." Neither was Francesco Barberino so well disposed to the French party as his uncle; but though the French no longer hoped for any express declaration in their favor, they also knew that the Pope would not act against them. Even this was a great advantage for their side, since being considered favorable to France, the opposite party did not trust him.

But all the more dissatisfied were the Spaniards. They reproached Cardinal Borgia for having permitted Urban VIII to be elected; and it was affirmed that this cardinal had been won over to do so only by the promise of manifold favors. In the negotiations relative to the Valtelline, in the general policy of the French, and in the position maintained by Bavaria, the Spaniards affirm that the influence of Urban's disinclination might be constantly perceived. Barberino, on the other hand, maintained that the concessions he had made to Spain had been met by no acknowledgment from them. It is obvious that the misunderstanding was mutual.

Contarini discusses the relations of Rome to Venice more fully than all besides. He considers the difficulties between them to arise chiefly from this; that whereas other States were either feared by Rome, as more powerful than herself, or neglected by her as less powerful, Venice was regarded and treated as an equal.

It was already a source of displeasure to Rome that the English and Dutch should enjoy certain immunities in Venice. But if once the temporal jurisdiction presumed to lay hands on the person of an ecclesiastic, a general storm immediately arose.

The ambassador is nevertheless of opinion that the Venetians must not permit themselves to be trifled with. The nuncio was enjoined to maintain the most friendly relations with all such Venetian priests as were favorites with the people, and had the largest number of penitents to confess. "And your Excellencies may rest assured that by means of such men, the nuncios contrive to extract the very marrow of all secrets." So much the more needful was it that the republic should in no case relinquish her authority over them.

In addition to all this, there were moreover continual disputes about the boundaries. Urban VIII was in no respect to be regarded as the promoter of Venetian interests. He was in particular disposed to advance Ancona to the prejudice of Venice.

No. 116

Discorso della malattia e morte del Cardinal. Ippolyto Aldobrandino, camerlengo di Santa Chiesa col fine della grandezza del Papa Clemente VIII. 1638. [Account of the illness and death of Cardinal Ippolyto Aldobrandino, chamberlain of the holy church, and of the close of the greatness of Pope Clement VIII. 1635.]

An extraordinary impression was produced in Rome by the sudden downfall of the Aldobrandini family, which had been so lately founded.

It was under the influence of this impression that the little work before us was written. "That great genius has been overwhelmed by death," it begins. Of the whole house, the daughter of Giovanni Giorgio Aldobrandino alone remained—and would necessarily inherit incalculable riches.

The state of society in Rome is not badly depicted in the following passage: "The Marquis Lodovico Lanti, Count Giovanni Francesco da Bagni, Berlingieri Gessi, and Bernardino Biscia, all four emulously hoping for the pontificate of their uncles, are desiring to receive the Princess Aldobrandina in marriage." In the prospect of their uncle's elevation to the papacy, the nephews-presumptive were struggling for the hand of the richest heiress.

But neither the marriage they sought, nor the power of "the nephew," was to be attained by any one of them.

Ippolyta married a Borghese. Our author is in the utmost astonishment at this, because Paul V had persecuted the Aldobrandini, and had imprisoned the father of Ippolyta himself, yet now she gives her hand to his great-nephew.

In later life, however, as we know, she did in fact fall to the lot of a nephew to the reigning pontiff, Innocent X, to whom she was destined by the circumstances and interests of the Roman Court.

No. 117

Relatione di q. Zuanne Nani Cavaliere Procurator ritornato di ambasciatore straordinario da Roma, 1641, 10 Luglio. (*Arch. Ven.*) [Report of Zuanne Nani, on returning from his embassy extraordinary to Rome, July 10, 1641.] Venetian Archives.

Disagreements of various kinds were continually arising between Rome and Venice; in the year 1635, there occurred one of the most extraordinary kind.

A magnificent inscription, in pompous terms, had been erected in the Sala Regia of the Vatican, by Pius IV, to record an achievement of the Venetians on which they prided themselves greatly, and which made a splendid figure in their annals, a victory, namely, gained over Frederick Barbarossa, and by which, as they affirmed, they had saved Alexander III from destruction.

But the terms of this inscription had gradually come to be thought unwarrantable in Rome. That the phrase "By the benefits of the Venetian Republic, the dignity of the pontiff was restored" should be exhibited, was held by the constantly increasing rigor of orthodoxy to be a kind of affront. The spirit of contention for rank then ruling the world seized on this long past and almost forgotten incident, and the truth of the narration, as it appears in Venetian writers of history,

began moreover to be generally called in question. Disputants appeared in print on both sides of the question.

This is a question that even to the present day has been more than once revived.

I cannot believe that anyone possessing the slightest notion of historical examination and criticism can remain doubtful respecting it.

But however that may be, it was at all events not historical conviction alone, but political jealousy, in addition, that induced Urban VIII first to alter that inscription, and, finally, to erase it altogether.

It was in the same light that the matter was viewed by the republic; the disputes respecting the boundaries, and those concerning the precedence of the new prefect becoming daily more embittered, Venice, for some time, sent no regular ambassador to Rome.

Accordingly, Nani, who went thither in the year 1638, was only ambassador-extraordinary. He remained nevertheless nearly three years and a half, and his report shows that he had acquired a considerable acquaintance with the court.

The chief purpose of his mission was to prevail on the Pope to support the Republic in case of her being attacked by the Turks, which at that time seemed highly probable.

It is an extraordinary fact that this request came at a moment which made it particularly acceptable to the Pope. He could oppose this necessity of the republic to the perpetual demands of the house of Austria, then so hardly pressed by the Protestants and the French.

The ambassador would gladly have moved him to a mediation also between the belligerent powers; but the Pope did not enjoy the general confidence indispensable to such an attempt. "There were so many causes of bitterness continually arising between the pontiff and the crowns, that his authority had become powerless, not to say hateful, among them."

This ambassador also remarks the inclination of Urban to make a display of military force. Whoever desired to stand well with him must turn the conversation to his fortresses; to which he frequently alluded himself. He even declared that he could bring together more than 20,000 men within the space of twenty days. He further enumerated the territories that he possessed. For immediate necessities he had laid by 400,000 scudi, and it was believed that of the 5,000,000 scudi left by Sixtus V, 3,000,000 still remained in the castle at St. Angelo.

Let us now observe in what manner Nani describes the person and mode of administration adopted by Urban VIII:

"The pontiff is in the beginning of the seventy-third year of his age, and at the close of the seventeenth of his pontificate; no pope has enjoyed so long a period of government for a space of 324 years. He is robust and vigorous, and is gratified at being so considered; indeed, if we except occasional attacks of internal disorders to which he appears subject, his constitution and health are such that he may still last many years. He adopts the most useful measures for the preservation of his health, and as he now feels himself becoming older, he applies less to business, with regard to which, however, he has rarely inflicted on himself more labor than was pleasant to him. The morning is passed in giving audience and other affairs, the afternoon is reserved for rest and conversation with those of his immediate circle, in which he is cheerful and facetious, as in more important discourse he is learned and eloquent. Even while giving audience he willingly passes from the matter in negotiation to subjects of an interesting or studious character, to which he is much devoted. He possesses great talents and great qualities, has a wonderful memory, with courage and energy that

sometimes render him too firmly fixed to his own ideas. He has extensive powers of intellect, increased by experience of government and the world. He thinks very highly of his own opinion, and therefore does not love taking counsel, nor does he much regard the qualities of his Ministers, who might nevertheless give increased force to his measures. He is not much disposed to confer favors, and is of hasty temper; so that even with the Ministers of sovereign princes he cannot always dissemble his impetuosity. He likes to be treated with delicate address, and if there be any method by which the mind of his holiness can be diverted from its determination, it is by this alone; or if one cannot always succeed by it, there is in any case one good result, that if he will not yield, at least he does not break off in anger.

"It were much to be desired that the present government had a more extensive and more efficient '*Consulta*,' because, where discussion is wanting, reason will sometimes be wanting likewise; and it is certain that the Ministers are but few, and still fewer are those who have any authority or weight at the palace. With the pontiff himself, no one is known to have influence, and his holiness places his own opinion above that of all: the others are wont either to applaud, or at least conform to it. In former times it was usual for the pope to have three or four cardinals near his person, with whom all more important affairs were discussed before they were determined on, and it was then held to be part of the nephews' secret policy to introduce their own dependents into the confidence of their uncle, to the end that these might lead or win him over on occasions where they could not themselves appear, or did not wish to reveal their inclinations.

"Barberino has not chosen to circumvent the freedom of the Pope in this manner, but reserving to himself exclusively the place immediately next the ear of his holiness, he compels all others to remain at a distance, and to submit their own opinions to his sole judgment, not seeming pleased that any should speak to the Pope on business without having first communicated with himself. Yet he does not avail himself of this authority, which he alone enjoys, with that liberty which might perhaps be advantageous to the public good, and to his own interests; so that, not daring to lift a breath against the resolutions or opinions of the Pope, he frequently assumes the appearance of being equally obstinate with his holiness himself, and by this means has subjected himself to the displeasure of kings and other sovereigns, with the dislike of their Ministers, for not diverting or preventing many strange and disagreeable occurrences.

"Under the pontificate of the present Pope, the cardinals complain accordingly, more particularly those created by him, of not being treated with openness or confidence. The cardinal-nephew employs the services of very few Ministers, while the vast amount of business and other causes might seem to make him require many. Pancirola and Ricchi, auditors of the *Rota*, are those most admitted to his intimacy and most frequently employed.

"Pancirola is a man of advanced age and great experience; he was employed in Piedmont respecting the peace, even from the time when the wars of Mantua commenced. He is employed in affairs connected with the administration of the Ecclesiastical States, and as I have not had to transact any business with him, I have nothing to relate concerning his personal qualities.

"Ricchi is a man of high character, prompt and sagacious; he directs almost all affairs with foreign princes, and has more particularly the management of those pertaining to the republic. He is entirely dependent on Barberino, a circumstance which renders him par-

ticularly acceptable to the lord cardinal; he has encountered many vexations from some of the foreign ministers, but is upon the whole greatly liked. He has no other experience than that derived from his present employment, which is an important one; my business has always been transacted with him, and your Excellencies will remember to have seen him frequently described in my letters, as well as in his official documents. In the management of affairs he displays address and coolness, with equal ability and diligence. He speaks of the most Serene Republic with all possible expressions of reverence and devotion. He has it much at heart to secure a certain matter touching the pensions of the cardinal his brother, respecting which I have written at other times.

"To these I will add Monsignore Cecca, Secretary of State, because he is at present assisting in the negotiations of the League. He has not more than ordinary talent, but from long experience in his office has a competent knowledge of business. He is considerably advanced in years, and is believed to be near to the cardinalate; though not greatly beloved by the nephews, he is much respected on account of the regard borne to him by his holiness. When the present pontiff was nuncio at the Court of France, Cecca was in the service of his secretary, and by a marvellous change of fortune, yet one not uncommon in the Roman Court, he stepped into the place of his master, who is still living in no very prosperous circumstances, while Cecca enjoys an important office with good revenues, and has prospects of more than common advancement. There are none beside in the circle of Barberino possessing either credit or talents to merit observation.

"For the government of the State, there is a 'Consulta' of cardinals and prelates, which meets for the discussion of various matters twice in each week. The other congregations are those of the Inquisition, of 'Propaganda Fide,' of the Council, of the regular clergy, of ceremonial rites, and other interests of a similar character. But the whole affair resolves itself into mere talk, because the decision rests entirely with his holiness and the nephew. A congregation of state is held from time to time in the presence of the Pope, for purposes of high importance; but none take part in these councils excepting the cardinals created by himself or others in his confidence, or who have served in nunciatures. Even this, too, serves rather for the ratification of decisions than for the determination of them by discussion, because nothing is deliberated on, or presented as a decree, except in conformity with the opinion either expressed or suffered to be understood as that of his holiness; and indeed the pontiffs are wont to complain that they have not anyone in whom they may confide, all the cardinals living with their eyes turned on those foreign princes with whom their interests are connected."

No. 118

Racconto delle cose più considerabili che sono occorse nel governo di Roma in tempo di Monsignore Gio. Batt. Spada. [Relation of the most important events that have taken place in the government of Rome during the time of Monsignore Gio. Battista Spada.]

Respecting the latter days of Urban VIII, replete with pictures of life and manner, more especially of circumstances falling within the department of justice and the police of the States, and recorded with unquestionable authenticity.

We find the old contentions still prevailing among the ancient fam-

ilies of Rome, between the Gaetani and Colonnese for example; not only was it difficult to effect any agreement between them, but many days were required even for drawing up the document, wherein the history of their quarrels was of necessity related, with a view to such agreement; so difficult was it to make a report by which one or the other would not feel himself insulted.

Disputes were also frequent between the French and Spaniards. They would meet for example in taverns, each drank to the health of his own sovereign; offence was soon taken; but the weaker party remained moderately quiet, until, being reinforced, it could meet its opponent on equal ground; then, assembling on the public places of the city, they would come to blows, and it was not without the utmost difficulty that the *bargello* could separate them.

But although thus divided among themselves, they all do their best to oppose the court, and rival each other in resistance to the policy of Rome.

The ambassadors were most especially difficult to manage; they gradually set up those pretensions which were subsequently the cause of so many serious disputes. They not only declared their palaces to be sanctuaries and free, permitting unlawful games to be established in them; but they even claimed the right of extending their protection to the neighboring houses. Monsignore Spada naturally opposed these pretensions. "For if so much courtesy had been extended to the lords ambassadors as that none should enter their houses or families, the extent to which they now desired to carry the matter was too great, being no less than that no execution should be permitted in the neighboring houses, or even in the same cluster of buildings (*isola*)."

Historically considered, the most important incidents here described are two attempts on the life of Urban VIII, which are given with the most satisfactory authenticity.

1. "Concerning the trial of Giacinto Centini, nephew of Cardinal d'Ascoli, and of certain of his accomplices.—The substance was to this effect: it having been prognosticated that the cardinal would succeed to the present pontiff, Giacinto Centini, led away by this prophecy, and desiring to see it instantly fulfilled, had formed a compact with Fra Serafino Cherubini of Ancona, of the Friars Minor; Fra Pietro da Palermo un Eremita, who assumed the name of Fra Bernardino; and Fra Domenico da Fermo, an Augustinian, for the purpose of seeking to shorten the life of our lord the Pope by diabolic acts; and to that effect it was resolved to make a figure of wax, representing the Pope, which was executed; and after many invocations of demons, and sacrifices offered to the same, this was melted, destroyed, and consumed at the fire, with the firm belief that the said figure being so consumed, the life of Pope Urban must terminate with it, and thus make way for the succession of Cardinal Ascoli, uncle of Giacinto."

2. "The confession of Tommaso Orsolini of Recanate.—That by the instigation of Fra Domenico Brancaccio of Bagnarea, an Augustinian, he had gone to Naples for the purpose of making a pretended discovery to the viceroy of a supposed agreement among the princes for the invasion of the Kingdom of Naples, wherein his holiness also was to take part, and the remedy proposed was, that either the Pope or one of the confederates was to be put to death. This the aforesaid Father Bagnarea offered to do himself, provided they would furnish him with 3,000 scudi, which he would give to the sacristan of his holiness, who was now become incapable of labor; when he, Bagnarea, having succeeded to that office, would have put poison into the host, which his holiness would have to consecrate in the mass; or other-

wise, if he could not succeed in becoming sacristan, he would have contrived that the apothecary Carcurasio, his relative, should poison the medicaments applied to the setons of his holiness; but he did not proceed to the extent of describing all this to the viceroy, because, having intimated to him that the Pope must be put to death, he saw that the viceroy did not entertain that proposal."

No. 119

Historica relatione dell' origine e progressi delle rotture nate tra la casa Barberina et Odoardo Farnese duca di Parma e Piacenza. In the Library of Vienna. Historia Prof. N. 899. 224 leaves. [Historical relation of the origin and progress of those disputes that have occurred between the house of Barberina and Odoardo Farnese, duke of Parma and Placentia.] Library of Vienna. Historia Prof. N. 899. 224 leaves.

This is the work of a partisan, given in the form of a letter, in which the origin of these contentions is wholly attributed to the ill-will of the Barberini. The *monti* of the barons are connected by this author, as well as others, with those of the State. The Pope readily granted the necessary permissions, because he thus rendered the barons more subservient to himself. "When such *monti* were erected, the prince became security, reserving to himself the right to demand their extinction at his pleasure."

I do not find that this work, although voluminous, makes any important disclosures; and since we are not in this case in any want of such, it has no great value. The most remarkable part of it is, without doubt, the description of Pope Urban's anti-Austrian, and in a certain sense anti-Catholic tendencies.

"He would sometimes give it to be understood, that though the progress made by the Catholics against the heretics was very pleasing to him, yet that there was cause to fear lest this prosperity should some day turn to their injury by the jealousies that would be excited throughout the world, lest the empire should absorb the last remaining vestige of liberty. A report was current in all the courts that it was to Urban the suspicions of Duke Maximilian were to be ascribed, and which caused a great schism in the union of those Catholic princes, who were exposed to the chances of reactions, for they supposed that once the heretics were subdued, the arms of Austria would be turned to the injury of those who had been ministers to the greatness of that house; and to say all, there were some who in those days boasted of knowing that the mission of Ceva, the confidential minister of the house of Barberina, sent into France with the title of nuncio-extraordinary, had received in the most profound concealment a secret command to excite the French King to mingle in the commotions of Germany, to the end that, acting in concert with Bavaria, he might devise a method for raising up some barrier against the increasing power of the house of Austria."

This proves at least that such views were prevalent at the time.

No. 120

Della vita di Papa Urbano VIII. e historia del suo pontificato, scritta da Andrea Nicoletti. Eight volumes in folio MS. [The life of Pope Urban VIII and history of his pontificate, by Andrea Nicoletti.] Eight volumes in folio MS.

It is much to be regretted that there are so few good, or even available biographies of the persons most eminent in history.

The cause of this deficiency must not be ascribed to indifference to their memory; this was, indeed, most commonly very highly estimated, if not overrated, by those connected with them; it may be attributed to the following cause:

At first, when the remembrance is still fresh, and materials might readily be gathered, certain scruples are felt with regard to contemporaries; the whole truth is not told; a multitude of individuals would be compromised, and numberless animosities called forth against the subject of the memoir himself.

At a later period, and when contemporaries also have disappeared, when courage might be found for speaking, the memory of the hero has also become faint, the materials are scattered, the interest itself has declined, and awakens only in the minds of those who desire to investigate the facts for historical purposes.

In this state of things, the following expedient was frequently adopted in Italy.

The materials existing were handed over to some trusted friend or servant of the house, who, being well and personally informed of the general facts, then placed them together, arranged them duly, and formed them into a connected narrative; yet this was not intended for the press, it was preserved in manuscript among the family annals.

In this manner the susceptibilities of the contemporary were spared; while yet the possibility was retained of reviving the rapidly fading memory at some future time, and presenting it in all the fulness of truth.

To this class of works belongs the biography of Andrea Nicoletti.

It contains the recollections of the Barberina family respecting the personal character and various transactions of Urban VIII. But the mass of the work, and that which gives the volume its bulk, is the collected correspondence, of which all is inserted, of the ambassadors belonging to the twenty-one years of Urban's pontificate.

This biography is, in fact, essentially formed of a compilation of the despatches from the different nunciatures.

Not the final reports, the *relazioni*, properly so called, but the despatches themselves, as was most fitting to a biography. The Pope constantly appears in this work as himself directing, determining, and acting.

I have observed that similar compilations were attempted in Venice; but as the active proceedings of the republic do not appear, and only the mass of the reports presented is placed before us, without any of their effects becoming apparent, the attention very soon becomes distracted and wearied.

In the work of Nicoletti the case is totally different; the vocation of the papacy, the complicated political position of Urban VIII, the immediate bearing of each report on some important circumstance of general history—all tend to produce unity of purpose, and awaken interest.

It is obvious that the notices here presented in relation to the period of the Thirty Years' War must needs have especial importance; and in fact they throw light on it at every point.

It must be allowed that where the author attempts a judgment, or relates a fact from his own authority, we cannot follow him altogether without reserve. Here and there he may probably have been unable to procure authentic information; but the official is not to be concealed, even in the origin and first conception of such a work. I will cite but one example. In the third volume of his work, p. 673, Nicoletti affirms that Urban VIII had heard of the conclusion of peace between France and England with much bitter grief (*"Il rammarico fu acerbissimo"*), while from Aluise Contarini, who took a personal share in all the negotiations, we learn that the Pope had even advised those negotiations and that conclusion. The error of Nicoletti proceeds from the fact that amidst the enormous accumulation of correspondence before him this notice had escaped his observation, and that he judged the Pope according to his own idea of what was demanded from Urban's ecclesiastical position. Many similar instances occur, but these do not prevent us from believing the author where he merely gives extracts.

It is the practice of Nicoletti to insert the papers in their whole extent, with such changes only as are demanded by the form of narrative. The utmost deviation that he can have made is to misplace certain particulars or omit certain documents. Yet, from the nature of his charge, which merely consisted in arranging the papers given him, and from the character of the work, which was not intended for the public, this was not of necessity to be anticipated, nor have I found any trace of its being done.

Although I have proceeded diligently through all these volumes, and have not neglected the opportunity of making myself acquainted with historical materials of so much importance, it would nevertheless be impossible to give a more minute account of them in this place. Whoever has occupied himself with the examination of correspondence will remember how much he has been compelled to read before attaining to a clear perception of any one fact. For materials so diffuse I cannot find space in this work.

There follows, however, the description of the last moments of Urban VIII, which is highly remarkable; as also of his personal character, as Nicoletti conceived it.

Volume viii., near the close: "In those days (toward the end of June) the heat in Rome was excessive, and even much more perilous than common; nevertheless, the Pope, believing himself to be somewhat recovered from his malady, and knowing that seventeen churches were without their bishops, while Cardinal Grimaldi, who had returned from the nunciature of France, had not received the hat of his cardinalate, declared that he would hold a consistory on the approaching Monday. Cardinal Barberini thought that he might also induce him to complete the promotion of some cardinals; for which cause he did not oppose his purpose by representing his dangerous state of weakness, and the slow fever that might be redoubled by that exertion, but rather applauded his intention and encouraged him, as though he had been in good health. The report of the intended consistory getting about, while the Pope was believed by some to be dying, and by others even dead, but that his death was concealed, the greater part of Rome was seen to be alarmed, although all put on glad looks and pretended to rejoice at the restoration of the pontiff's health. But Cardinal Barberini, perceiving afterward that the Pope would not proceed to the promotion of any cardinal, although eight were wanting to the Sacred College,

either because he was not satisfied with the persons proposed to him, or because he desired to leave that office to his successor, then made an earnest attempt to dissuade him by powerful reasons and pressing entreaties from holding the consistory at that time; and he labored all the more eagerly because he saw that, besides the probable injury to the Pope, he should himself be discredited and lose in the general esteem, since the cardinals of his proposing not being promoted, the report universally prevailing of his having lost favor with the Pope on account of the wars, would receive confirmation, and the opinion that if Urban's life were prolonged, the Cardinal Antonio would obtain the supremacy, would be strengthened. The pontiff not being moved by these arguments and prayers, Monsignor Roscioli, knowing that he should oblige Cardinal Barberini and help to preserve the life of his holiness by dissuading him from the said resolution, and confiding in the good-will of the Pope toward himself, determined to adopt every means, even using the names of the cardinals and of the whole city to prevail on him for the abandonment of that consistory. Having taken, therefore, a befitting opportunity, he entered the apartments of the Pope, and kneeling before him, declared that he did not propose to supplicate him in the name of his Ministers, nor on the part of his nephews, or of the house of Barberini, but of the whole city of Rome; for that his holiness having been chosen for the welfare of the nations, and for the safety of the Church, when abandoning the care of his own person by exposing himself, while still weak, to the danger of accident, abandoned at the same time the whole city and the government committed to him by the Church, to the extreme grief of all: that his welfare or peril was of more consequence to Christendom in general than to the house of Barberini, or to his holiness himself; and that, therefore, if he would not defer the fatigue of that consistory at the prayers of his nephews, he should do so at least for the entreaties of all Rome, which implored him to comply. The Pope, after reflecting for a time, replied that he did not desire to prolong his life further, knowing that the pontificate was a burden no longer suited to his strength, and that God would provide for his Church. After this reply having remained silent for a time, Monsignor Roscioli perceived that the Pope had his eyes full of tears, and, raising them to heaven with sighs, he burst into fervent prayers to God, imploring the Divine Majesty to release him from this present life, wherewith he seemed to be grievously wearied.

"The Monday appointed for holding the consistory having arrived, a vast multitude of people assembled at the palace, curious to see the Pope, whom but shortly before they had believed dead. Scarcely had he entered, before the cardinals perceived that his life was indeed approaching its end, for he looked languid and pale, and had almost lost the power of utterance; toward the end of the consistory more particularly he appeared to have become almost insensible. This was attributed to the excessive heat of the season, increased by the crowd of people who had found their way in; but neither did the ministers nearest to the Pope's person, nor Cardinal Barberini himself, escape reproach for not having prevented the pontiff from exposing himself to that fatiguing office, the people not knowing the efforts that had been made to divert him from this purpose; for anyone seeing him in that state of suffering and weakness, would have been moved to pity, since it was manifest that the malady had shaken his mind and deprived him of all sound judgment respecting the affairs before him. After the propositions concerning the churches had been made, and after having given the hat to Cardinal Grimaldi, he left the consistory with his disorder greatly aggravated, as had been foretold.

“On the following day he performed an action by which he acquired the fame of great piety, and which is worthy of record as an example to all ecclesiastical princes. This was to summon before him certain theologians, who were very eminent in that science, and also for probity, being besides considered by the Pope to be incapable of adulation. To these divines he first caused a full statement to be given of all the ecclesiastical estates and revenues wherewith he had enriched the house of Barberini during the time of his pontificate, commanding them to declare whether he had in any wise exceeded his power and authority; since he was prepared to take back from his nephews whatever might burden his conscience before the tribunal of God. The theologians were Cardinal de Lugo, Father Torquato de Cupis, of the Order of Jesuits, and some others. And the Pope was encouraged to this act by the serenity he perceived on the countenance of Cardinal Barberini, when having summoned him first of all, he made him acquainted with his purpose; so that, notwithstanding the late shadows of doubt between them, he seemed almost disposed to take his advice on the subject. The cardinal applauded the piety of his holiness, and showed particular satisfaction respecting that intention, hoping still greater blessings from the most bountiful hand of God, since all this was to be done solely for the satisfaction of the Divine Majesty. It is said that the unanimous opinion of the theologians was this; that his holiness, having enriched his nephews, might with a safe conscience permit them to enjoy all the wealth he had conferred on them, and that for two reasons: First, that having promoted many persons to the cardinalate without having provided them with revenues suitable to their positions, the nephews would thus be in a condition to supply them according to their need. The other reason why the conscience of the Pope should be tranquil was that the nephews aforesaid having in that long reign, and during the wars, incurred the hatred and hostility of various princes, it was reasonable that they should be left in a condition to defend themselves and maintain their rank; it was even necessary to the credit of the Apostolic See that they should not be condemned, as frequently happens to those who are reduced from an eminent position to an inferior one; thus the being well provided with riches and with the goods of fortune, would but tend to make them more respected; besides which, the said nephews were by nature endowed with so much Christian charity, that they would apply those revenues to the benefit of the poor and for other pious uses. By these and similar reasonings the pontiff appeared to be tranquillized.

“He proceeded then to prepare for death, which he felt in himself to be approaching; but amidst these thoughts and dispositions he yet showed himself in all his conversations to be full of a just anger against the princes of Italy; feeling a deep grief that it must remain recorded of his pontificate how those potentates had leagued themselves against him, and had assailed the States of the Church with their armies. For this cause he sometimes broke out into bitter reproaches against them, as men without piety, without religion, and without laws; imploring on them the just vengeance of Heaven, and that he might live to see them punished, or at least repentant. Peace had already been concluded with them, as hath been said elsewhere, being ratified and signed by his holiness; but in this the two cardinals Barberini were not included or named; whence their more faithful adherents were of opinion that while—on account of the life of the Pope—the house of Barberini was still feared, all possible efforts should be made to have the said cardinals declared parties to and included in that peace, by the Italian princes. And Cardinal Bicchi, who went as plenipotentiary to those princes on

the part of France, affirmed that, not being assured of the Pope's death, they would show no reluctance to negotiate and accept that treaty; but Cardinal Barberini forbade the attempt in express terms, commanding Bicchi to do nothing whatever in that behalf, even though the princes should of themselves propose the arrangement; nor would he listen to any counsels on that head, alleging as a reason that the desire to be included and named in the articles of peace was no other than an admission on their parts that they were the authors and promoters of the war, to say nothing of the fact that it was not usual to name the ministers or agents in treaties of peace, but only the princes and chiefs who had taken part in the war.

"At that time there were, as we have said, eight vacancies in the Sacred College of cardinals, for which cause there was infinite agitation at court, so great a number being capable of occasioning no small change in the position of the established factions. The Pope, as Cardinal Barberini frequently remarked to us, desired that the cardinals should possess a greater extent of influence and more abundant revenues, wherefore he proposed to reduce the Sacred College, by an especial 'constitution,' to the number of fifty, for which reason it was that he had decided to make no further promotions. Barberini, however, knowing that the Pope would not attain his purpose by leaving so many vacancies, but would confer great benefit on the faction of his successor, entreated him continually to yield to the general opinion, and promote as many persons as were then worthy of the purple; but all their efforts were vain; the Pope replied that he would not put it in the power of any of his successors to quote his example for creating cardinals at the close of life, thus privately and indecorously, even on his death-bed; that he had received an example from Gregory XV, which he desired to transmit with equal glory to his successors. Other personages then labored to move him, more particularly Cardinal de Lugo, who sought to enforce the arguments of Cardinal Barberini by suggesting that the Pope might confirm the consistorial decree of the three cardinals already elected, and which had been drawn up after the consistory in which the last promotion had taken place; he affirmed that Cardinal Barberini, as vice-chancellor, was bound to lay this before his holiness, not that he might promote, as was the case of Gregory, but merely that he might declare the cardinals already created and reserved '*in petto*,' an announcement which appeared reasonable to all the Sacred College, and for which no new consistory was required. But the pontiff, either because he was displeased with Cardinal Barberini for having proposed persons not agreeable to his holiness, or that he believed he should thus have a more glorious memory, remained immovable to all entreaty, commanding that none should venture again to speak to him of promotion.

"The aspect of Pope Urban was extremely cheerful, yet full of majesty. There was a certain melancholy in his temperament, so that when it was necessary to bleed him, which usually occurred in the spring, there proceeded from his veins small particles, as if congealed by that humor. Nor without this could he have made so much progress in letters, since philosophers tell us that melancholy contributes to facilitate the acquisition of the sciences, and to their retention in the mind. The proportions of his body and limbs were nobly adjusted; his stature rather tall, his complexion olive, his figure rather muscular than fat. His head was large, giving evidence of a wonderful intellect and a most tenacious memory. His forehead was ample and serene, the color of his eyes a light blue, the nose well proportioned, the cheeks round, but in his latter years greatly attenuated; his mouth was full of grace, his

voice sonorous and very agreeable, so that with the Tuscan idiom which he retained all his life, there proceeded from those lips the sweetest words, full of eloquence, adorned with flowers of polite learning, of sacred letters, and of ancient examples. From the time of his elevation to the prelacy he wore his beard of a moderate length and square form, and this, with his gray hair, gave him an extremely venerable aspect. He was in truth so amiable, that, with the exception of a too great openness—unless when restrained by the importance of the matter in hand—there was no fault that the most observant critics could blame in him. And if he was sometimes excited to anger, he soon returned to his previous good humor. It was the opinion of sagacious persons, that with Pope Urban it was necessary to be profoundly learned, or else to possess little, perhaps no learning; for as he did not disdain to be won over by the acquirements of the speaker in the one case, so in the other he so greatly compassionated the condition of the person, that he would himself assist and console him; but this always supposes that the latter was not presuming or arrogant, abusing the humanity and good disposition of the Pope, who was ever most harsh and inflexible toward the proud and arrogant, as he was gentle and benevolent toward the respectful and modest. . . . He was considerate toward his aforesaid servants, and toward his own relations, choosing such times for employing them as were regulated rather by their convenience than by his own; nor did he disdain occasionally to listen with patience to expressions of feeling or of complaint from them. In his maladies also, he seemed to grieve more for the vigils and fatigues of his attendants, than for his own illness and pains. He was not, indeed, very patient of clamors and loud lamentations, but he disliked to refuse or to see anyone leave him dissatisfied. He was most cheerful and pleasant with his more confidential servants, and would sometimes jest with them and indulge in witticisms. . . . He never forgot his old friends, even when absent or dead, and his benevolence, in this respect, was admirable, whence he commanded Cardinal Biscia, a cardinal of his own creation, and one of those in whom he most confided, that he should be careful to give him frequent intelligence of them; and if they were dead, that note should be taken of their descendants, to the end that they might be provided for as opportunity should offer.

“There was the utmost plenty of all things in Rome during this pontificate, and the Pope was accustomed to say that he had derived his birth from Florence, but had received all his greatness from Rome. He desired that everyone should enjoy the prosperity of his pontificate—that the salable offices of the chancery should produce large gains to their purchasers; thus he was most liberal in transacting the affairs of the *dataria*; he wished that the artisans should make large profits at their trades, but lawfully, and without fraud; to merchants of all sorts he was equally favorable—whence it followed that money circulated so freely during his pontificate, as to make all persons, of whatever profession, content and satisfied. He gave especial orders for the supply of corn, and endured the expense willingly in consideration of the abundance maintained. His greatest enjoyment was to know that the husbandman was not deprived of those gains which he considered the risk of life and means incurred by those who toiled on the vast extent of the Campagna, and were exposed to its insalubrious air, to merit; then, when it appeared to him that the sea-coast was principally useful for agriculture, he turned his thoughts in that direction, and frequently talked of draining the Pontine Marshes, to recover those immense districts now under water, and that entirely for the public benefit; but other cares would not permit him to enjoy the completion of so glorious

a design. Neither would he permit that the price of grain or other food should be fixed; but to maintain the abundance aforesaid, he would have all free, thus preventing monopoly. Hence, the merchants, filling their granaries, vied with each other in selling cheaply, and the city of Rome became rich.

“That literature should flourish during his pontificate cannot be matter of surprise, since he had no more agreeable recreation than the society of the learned, whom he always received with kindness and treated liberally. He was also a great lover of the other noble professions, as painting, sculpture, and the various fine arts, so that he did not disdain frequently to visit their professors; more especially one day, when going to visit the Seven Churches with all the Sacred College, and having arrived at Santa Maria Maggiore, and offered his prayers in that basilica, he entered with the aforesaid train of cardinals into the house of the Cavaliere Giovanni Lorenzo Bernino, which stood near, to examine certain renowned works of sculpture from his chisel.

“Having been compelled by various causes to impose many burdens and taxes, he was sometimes seen to weep over such measures, saying that he would willingly give his own blood or that of his kindred, rather than hear of the afflictions suffered by the nations and by Rome, or the embarrassments of the apostolic treasury. And to Monsignor Lorenzo Raggi, treasurer of the same, who went to receive audience during his last illness, he said that he desired to live two months longer, but not more, and that for three reasons: first, that he might have a longer time for repentance and to seek the forgiveness of God for his sins; next, that he might complete the restoration to the castle of all the moneys taken out of it for the war of Castro; and thirdly, that he might see the building of the walls enclosing the Borgo and Trastevere completed, and the city of Rome secured.

“If the heroic actions of the Pope, from the weakness of my pen, shall be set forth without eloquence, without dignity of style, and in fine, without due proportion to the worth of so great a pontiff, they have, nevertheless, been recorded with pure and sincere truth, which was particularly enjoined and inculcated by those who held supreme authority over me; that is to say, that I should write simply as a historian, and should wholly abstain from all adulation and vanities, also from rhetorical amplifications, attending more to things than to words.

“But we return to consider his application to sacred matters. Beside that he caused the Roman ritual to be corrected and reprinted, he did not neglect to give many regulations for the pontifical chapel, although, either from the negligence of the ministers or from the pressure of other affairs, the principal things only have been retained and observed; and it is certain that he also reformed the use of indulgences, that he might close the mouths of the heretics.

“Finally, if Urban had not engaged in war—or, to speak more exactly, if he had not been provoked and drawn into it by force, which even greatly hastened his death—there could not have been desired a pontiff more glorious, nor a sovereign of more exalted qualities, by means of which, for many years of his pontificate, he attached to himself the affection of all Christendom, so that to this day his memory is blessed by the nations for those happy years, during which they enjoyed tranquillity and peace.”

Section VI.—Later Epochs

In the preceding section we have thrown together whatever has immediate reference to Urban VIII; there still remain some few writings which connect his times with those directly succeeding.

No. 121

Relatione della vita del Cardinale Cecchini, composta da lui medesimo.
[Life of Cardinal Cecchini, composed by himself.] Barberini
Library. p. 275.

These are personal memoirs, which do not throw much direct light on important matters of State, but which present a very interesting example of the life of an ecclesiastic; private, indeed, but always passed in the midst of important events, and under remarkable circumstances.

The author informs us that he composed these memoirs for his own gratification: "Among those things that afford to man the highest pleasure, one is the remembrance of past events."

Cecchini left Perugia for Rome in the year 1604, being then at the age of fifteen.

He had placed his hopes on the Aldobrandini family, with which he was remotely connected; but Clement VIII died too soon for his interests, and after his death, the power of the Aldobrandini departed. It is true that Cecchini might have flattered himself that he had found a new source of hope, seeing that in Perugia he had formed an acquaintance with Scipione Caffarelli, the same who, under Paul V, contrived to make his position of nephew to the reigning pontiff so extensively advantageous; but Caffarelli did not choose to remember this acquaintance, and the youth was compelled to seek protection elsewhere.

But it was then his good-fortune to attach himself precisely to the two prelates (Monsignori) who afterward attained to the highest dignities, Ludovisio and Pamfilio.

The opinion that Ludovisio would obtain the tiara very early prevailed in Rome. Thus when Ludovico, nephew of the cardinal, was admitted to the prelacy in 1619, many regarded him as the future "*cardinal-padrone*." All eyes were directed toward him; his friends and dependents were already laboring, each to supplant the other. Cecchini himself complains that some had attempted to displace him, but that he contrived to retain his position; he was even enabled to render his patron important services; being a kinsman of the Aldobrandini, he was in a condition to effect an alliance between the two houses. Cardinal Aldobrandini promised his vote to Ludovisio.

The requisite measures were soon taken with a view to Ludovisio's elevation. That cardinal long hesitated whether or not he should accept a pension of 1,200 scudi offered him by the Spaniards, after the conclusion of peace with Savoy; fearing lest he should incur the enmity of the French. Cecchini was called on to speak of this matter with the French ambassador, and remove from his mind all suspicions that might arise from that cause.

Under these circumstances, Cardinal Ludovisio came to the conclave held in Rome after the death of Paul V, already expecting to be chosen. Cecchini hastened to meet him. "I conduct the Pope to Rome," he exclaimed in his joyous zeal. "We have but to be on our guard against the Cardinal of Aquino," replied Ludovisio, "and all will be well."

"Ludovisio felt so secure of the pontificate, that he asked me in jest who was to be pope, and when I replied that the Pope was not in Rome, but that I was conducting him thither, he answered me with the utmost confidence, 'Defend me from Cardinal d' Aquino, and we shall do well.'"

All succeeded to their wishes. Ludovisio was really elected. The nephew embraced Cecchini for joy, and made him his auditor.

The latter was thus brought into contact with the supreme power. He was not without a certain share in public business, or was at least admitted to the knowledge of affairs, but his next important occupation was still the arrangement of the cardinal's money matters: the revenues from Avignon and Fermo passed through his hands. The cardinal did not wish to have the exact sums that he expended made known, for he was in the highest degree magnificent in his habits. When Ludovisio became grand chamberlain, Cecchini was raised to be auditor of that office.

The most singular abuses are here brought to our notice. Certain orders, called "*non gravetur*," were issued in the name of the cardinal-nephew, and whoever possessed these was secured from arrest—people sought to defend themselves from their creditors by a "*non gravetur*;" there were even artisans who were thus protected. But our author relates things much worse than this. Under Pope Paul V a suit had been instituted against the Prior and Prince Aldobrandini. Cecchini declares that the fiscal-general employed false witnesses to obtain sentence of condemnation against them. It was not their death that was desired; the object proposed was to force the Aldobrandini into resigning certain castles and domains to the Borghese family. Under Gregory XV, the fiscal-general was imprisoned for this affair. "Pietro Maria Cirocchi, who was fiscal-general under Paul V, was imprisoned by Gregory XV for many imputed crimes; among the chief of these was this, that in the criminal process instituted against the Prince and Prior Aldobrandini, in which they were condemned to suffer loss of life and goods, he had caused the examination of false witnesses, as without doubt he did; and the said sentence was pronounced for no other end than that of forcing Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini to yield the castles of Montefortino and Olevano, which he had bought of the Duke of Zagarolo, to Cardinal Borghese, in return for which the said condemnation of the nephews was to be remitted; and he agreed to do it, they being also sent prisoners to the castle St. Angelo, where they remained four months." Acts of baseness that are hateful as they are atrocious—the duty of the historian forbids him to be silent respecting them; but we must not fail to remark that Cecchini was naturally an adherent of the Aldobrandini family.

On the death of Gregory XV, Urban VIII was elected Pope. Cecchini had previously found an occasion for rendering him an important service, though it was only by remaining silent. In a moment of violent anger, and while yet cardinal only, Urban had once said that a certain something should be borne in mind, to Cardinal Ludovisio's cost. Now there was nothing that would so fatally have injured Urban in the conclave, where Ludovisio was so powerful, as this menace; but at the entreaty of Magalotto, Cecchini remained silent on the subject.

This pontiff appears in extremely characteristic colors on another occasion in this biography.

Urban VIII felt deeply mortified by the protest of Borgia; he attributed to the cardinals Ubaldini and Ludovisio some share in this matter, and desired to punish them for it. He would have thrown Ubaldini into prison had not the fiscal steadfastly opposed himself to that pur-

pose; but the cardinal was at least compelled to absent himself, nor would the Pope suffer even Ludovisio to remain in Rome. He therefore called Cecchini, who was still in the service of Ludovisio, to his presence, and bade him notify to the cardinal that he must depart for his bishopric of Bologna within fourteen days. He announced this determination with expressions of the most violent anger. "For a good hour," says Cecchini, "was I compelled to listen to him; while the Pope threatened, with the most insulting expressions, that Borgia should be punished also, I dared not interrupt him, and he repeated that Ludovisio must depart, or that he should be driven out by the *sbirri*." On this occasion also it would have been better for Cecchini to have held his peace, but he thought it necessary to report what had passed to his patron, and the character of this court is intimated by the fact, that in doing so he injured himself with everyone. Ludovisio thought that Cecchini ought not to have submitted patiently to the violent language of the Pope, but should rather have brought matters to an open rupture. Cardinal Barberini was displeased, because Cecchini had not first spoken of the matter to him, the cardinal-nephew; but most of all was the Pope himself enraged, and the more so as the affair had become to a certain extent misrepresented in travelling round to him again. He caused the luckless Cecchini to be once more summoned, and made a scene in which his old anger against his enemies was mingled with regret for the violence of his late expressions; repentance for what he had done, and now wished undone: the conviction of his omnipotence as pope, with the consciousness that the other had, after all, not acted wrongfully, were very strangely blended together. But Urban VIII was a man who was sure to recover himself after a time. Ludovisio left Rome, and soon afterward died. Cecchini, it is true, lost the post he had previously held, but he obtained a new one, and this even furnished him with occasional opportunity for approaching the pontiff. "Monsignor Cecchini," said the latter one day, "forgive us; we went too far with you." Cecchini says that the tears rose to his eyes on hearing this, and that he replied with the most profound devotion. The Pope's master of the household paid him a visit that same day, declaring that his holiness had for four years been awaiting that hour, and rejoiced from his heart that it had at length arrived.

Cecchini then again attached himself principally to the Aldobrandini; we find him actively occupied with the marriage of Olympia, the rich heiress of that house. Cardinal Ippolyto had died without having definitively arranged that matter, and it was feared that the Barberini would not allow so rich an inheritance to escape them. Olympia was obliged to feign sickness. With aid from the general of the Jesuits, whom it was necessary to consult on all occasions, they contrived to bring about her marriage with the young Borghese; this was in accordance with the last wishes of Cardinal Ippolyto, and took place six days after his death.

But the Barberini did not suffer Cecchini to drop on that account; when they had made inquiry as to whether he were in any manner connected with the Farnesi also, they employed him to promote the measures adopted for the defence of the city.

Cecchini soon discovered that a new impost laid on the wines of Roman growth was causing extreme dissatisfaction. He declared to Cardinal Barberini that this was a tax which the Romans never had endured, and which had caused them to revolt against Eugenius IV; he succeeded in fact, although there had already been a *monte* founded on the proceeds, in prevailing on the cardinal immediately to summon the contractor. This man willingly resigned his contract, perceiving that

there would be great difficulties in levying the amount. Cecchini hastened to the Capitol, where the people of Rome were holding an assembly, and at once imparted his intelligence. At first he was not believed, but he caused the contractor to come forward, by whom the statement was confirmed. All cried, "*Viva Monsignor Cecchini! viva Papa Urbano!*" The people kissed his hands and his clothing.

But Cecchini had not yet attained his highest position. He had the good-fortune to see another of his old protectors, and perhaps the most earnest of all, Cardinal Pamfili, ascend the papal throne.

In the first days of the new pontificate, the Barberini were in favor with Innocent X. Cecchini received an invitation to appear in the presence of the Pope with the two cardinals. "Has Cardinal Barberini told you anything?" inquired Innocent. "No." The pontiff turned first to Francesco and then to Antonio, bidding them to speak. Both declined to do so. "We will no longer keep you in suspense," said the Pope at length; "we have made you our datary; you are indebted for this to the cardinals Barberini, who requested this favor from us, and we have willingly granted their request."

But this office had much that was unpleasant attached to it. The Pope was changeful, obstinate, and distrustful. We learn from other sources that the administration of Cecchini was not wholly free from blame. Donna Olympia Maidalchina could not endure him, if for no other reason than that her sister-in-law, Donna Clementia, also received presents from him; but of these things I have already spoken; they possess a certain importance in relation to the government of Innocent X, since they occasioned the most revolting and disgraceful scenes. Cecchini was rejoiced that Donna Olympia had at length been expelled the court. It was during the time of her disgrace, and shortly after the death of Panzirolo, who died in November, 1651, consequently about the beginning of 1652, that he wrote this little work.

It appears to me that the prevalent character of this performance is entirely modern. I find evidence of this, not only in its modes of thought, but even in its various expressions; they are those that might depict the daily life of the Roman prelate in our own times, or in those immediately preceding them.

No. 122

Diario veridico e spassionato della città e corte di Roma, dove si legge tutti li successi della suddetta città incominciando dal primo d' Agosto 1640 fino all' ultimo dell' anno 1644, notato e scritto fedelmente da Deone hora Temi Dio, e copiato dal proprio originale. [A true and dispassionate diary of the city and court of Rome, wherein may be read all the events of the aforesaid city, commencing with the 1st of August, 1640, to the end of the year 1644, noted and written faithfully by Deone, now Temi Dio, and copied from the original itself.] Informatt. Politt. vol. xl. to the close of 1642; vol. xlvii. to the end of 1644; vol. xlii. continuation, 1645-47; vol. xliii. 1648-1650. Altogether more than 2,000 leaves.

I have not succeeded in finding any other information respecting the author of this unusually extensive diary, than that occasionally communicated by himself.

We discover from this, that he was in the Spanish service, and was employed in affairs arising between the people of the Netherlands and the Roman See, more particularly with the *dataria*. I should judge this writer to have been a Spaniard, and not a native of the Netherlands.

During the carnival he translated comedies from the Spanish into Italian, causing them to be acted by young people before a very brilliant company. He entertained a religious veneration for the Spanish monarchy, to which he belonged, and often speaks of the "holy monarchy," but for which, the bark of St. Peter would soon be overwhelmed. He sets his face against all dissidents and apostates with the most violent and undisguised abhorrence. The Catalans, who for a certain time had maintained themselves in independence, he considered to be a nation of barbarians; and when any of their number applied to him for a recommendation to the *dataria*, he bade them first become good servants of the king before begging favors at his hands. He finds it still less endurable that the Portuguese should have set up a king for themselves; his book is filled with invectives against that nation. He considers that at least all those belonging to it who had settled in Rome were inclined to lapse into Judaism. Yet, bad as matters were, he did not despair. He still hoped that Holland would once more submit to the King of Spain, and that in his own day. Heresy he thought had its stated periods, and must be suffered to come to an end. He was an enthusiastic and orthodox devotee of the Spanish monarchy.

Every fourteen days, this determined servant of Philip IV dictated a letter or report of the remarkable occurrences taking place within that period, which he then transmitted to one or other of the Spanish grandees. They were originally "*avvisi*," so common at that time; written in a collected form, they constituted a journal.

That before us is composed entirely in the spirit proper to the author. The disposition of Urban VIII to France, and the whole character of the political position he had adopted, were regarded with infinite displeasure, and most unfavorably construed. Pope Innocent X, on the contrary, who pursued a different policy, was viewed with much more friendly eyes.

There is no subject which this author does not handle: ecclesiastical and literary affairs; histories of the religious orders and of courts; the most intimate domestic relations, and the most extended foreign policy; political considerations in general, and accounts of cities in particular.

If we look more closely into the sources of his information, we shall find them, I think, to be principally the following: In the antechambers of the cardinal-nephews, all who had business in the palace were accustomed to assemble on certain fixed days. A general conversation ensued; each communicated the intelligence he possessed; nothing was likely to attract great attention that had not been discussed there; and, so far as I am enabled to conclude from intimations given here, our author derived the greater part of his information from this source.

He proceeds to his purpose with great probity; takes pains to obtain accurate information; and frequently adds notices previously omitted.

But he was also in occasional contact with the Pope, the cardinal-nephew, and the most influential statesmen; he is most scrupulous in specifying whatever he received from their conversations, and it is sometimes sufficiently remarkable.

We cannot affirm that the reading of so diffuse a performance is altogether very interesting, but we derive from it an acquaintance with persons and things which becomes gradually almost equal to that afforded by personal intercourse, so frequently and in positions so varied are they placed beneath our notice.

But it would not be possible to give insertion to extracts that would present even a moderately sufficing idea of a work so voluminous; we must content ourselves with those passages to which I have already alluded.

"1. One of the most beautiful monuments of this former mistress of the world is an ancient relic, of a round form and very great circumference, made of the finest marble" (a mistake, without doubt, for the monument is of Travertine); "it is near St. Sebastian, and is called Capo di Bove. Bernino, a famous statuary of the Pope, had thought to turn this to his own purposes; he is planning a gorgeous façade to the Acqua Vergine, called the Fountain of Trevi, and obtained a brief from the Pope empowering him to cast that most beautiful structure to the earth, which he had commenced doing; but when the Roman people perceived that, they prevented him from proceeding, and the work has been stopped, that there might not be commotions.

"2. On Tuesday morning the Roman people held a general council in the Capitol, which was the most crowded ever seen, from the fact that it was joined by many of the nobles who had never presented themselves on former occasions. The business proposed for discussion was this: that the Roman people being oppressed by the taxes which Pope Urban had imposed, they should petition his holiness to take off at least the tax on ground corn, and the rather, as this had been imposed only for the duration of the war then proceeding, but which had now ceased. The petition was agreed to, and six Roman gentlemen were deputed to present it at once to the Pope. Then there appeared Don Cesare Colonna, uncle of the Prince of Gallicano, who demanded audience from the Roman people on behalf of the Signora Donna Anna Barberina. He was directed to come forward, and having mounted the temporary rostrum, drew forth a memorial which he said was from Donna Anna Colonna (Colonna-Barberina), and demanded that he might read it. It was read, and was to the effect, that the Pope ought not to be asked for the repeal of taxes lawfully imposed for a legitimate purpose by Pope Urban, whose zeal for justice, and many services rendered to this city, forbade them to abrogate what he had decided. All were amazed at such a proposal for impeding the relief required by the people, but it was at once comprehended, that the good lady concluded this tax likely to be repealed at the expense of the riches held by the Barberini. The reply returned to Colonna was, that the Senate and people did no more than lay before his holiness the necessities of the people: and with this he ran in all haste to Donna Anna, who stood waiting for it at the church of the Ara Cœli.

"On Wednesday, Cardinal Colonna, having heard of the extravagant proposal made by his sister, sent to the Roman Senate, assuring them that he had no part whatever in that absurdity, but was ready to aid the just petition of the people. On Friday morning the Roman people again convoked a new council, when a report was presented, to the effect that his holiness had been pleased to take off the tax on ground corn, taking the property of Don Taddeo Barberini for that purpose. Thus the contrivance of Donna Anna Barberina was very shrewdly devised."

No. 123

Del stato di Roma presente. [Report of the present state of Rome.] MS. of the Vienna Library. Foscarini Papers, No. 147. Also under the title of *Relatione di Roma fatta dall' Almaden.* [Report on Rome prepared by Almaden.]

I will not venture to decide whether this belongs to the latter days of Urban VIII or the earlier part of Innocent X, but it is of great importance for its elucidation of domestic affairs relating to the former

period; as, for example, the state of the Tiber and Arno, the increase of the malaria (*aria cattiva*), the revenues of the Romans, financial affairs in general, and the condition of families. This little work may possibly proceed from the author of the above diary; there are certain intimations that might lead to such a conclusion.

But I will not give extended extracts, because I think I have seen an old printed copy in the possession of the late Fea. I will but quote the passage which follows, and to which I have referred above (see page 81 of this volume).

“Gregory XIII, considering the large amount of money sent from Rome and the Ecclesiastical States in payment for corn which came by sea from Barbary and other places, this, too, being frequently heated and spoiled, or else arriving too late, nay, sometimes failing altogether, commanded that, to obviate all these inconveniences, the country should be cleared of wood for many miles around, and should be brought into cultivation, so that Rome has from that time rarely needed foreign corn, and the good pontiff Gregory in so far obtained his intent. But this clearance has opened a passage to the pestilential winds, which occasion the most dangerous insalubrity, and cause a disease called by Alessandro da Cività, the physician, in his treatise on the diseases of the Romans, ‘*Capiplenium*,’ a most distressing complaint, even more troublesome to foreigners than to natives, and which has increased since the formation of so many waterworks; because Rome, being already low and thus humid from its position, has been rendered more so by the abundance of waters for the fountains. Moreover, as Gregory XIII cleared the country below Rome and toward the sea, which was rich and well calculated for the cultivation of corn, so did Sixtus V clear that above the city, though less fertile, that he might destroy the haunts of the robbers who infested the highways; and truly he succeeded in his object, for he rooted out all the assassins.”

The author approves the proceedings of Sixtus V because they procured a free passage for the Tramontana; but how many evils have since been attributed to the Tramontana!

No. 124

Compendio delli casi più degni e memorandi occorsi nelli pontificati da Gregorio XIII. fino alla creazione di Clemente IX. [Compendium of the most important and most remarkable events occurring in the pontificates from Gregory XIII. to the accession of Clement IX.] 50 leaves.

The author declares that he saw the clouds which darkened the Quirinal on the death of Sixtus, August, 1590. Since then this little work extends to 1667, it is obvious that it cannot proceed from one sole author; it must have been continued at a later period with a similar purpose to that with which it was commenced, namely, the formation of a collection of Roman anecdotes and remarkable events. We read in it, for example, of the French monks in Trinità di Monte having quarrelled with those from Calabria and elsewhere, and having driven them out, so that the latter built “*Andrea delle Frate*,” which was then still surrounded by gardens; of how the Jesuits aroused all other orders to the performance of their duties; of miracles that were performed, together with notices of buildings erected by the popes.

But there is much in all this that deserves attention. The following narrative, for example, describing the death of Bianca Capello.

"The Grand-Duchess of Tuscany, Bianca Capello, desiring to poison her brother-in-law, Cardinal Ferdinand, in a certain confection, the grand duke Francesco, her husband, ate of it first; when she perceived this, she ate of it also herself, and they both died immediately; so that Cardinal Ferdinand became grand duke." And the next, relating to removal of Cardinal Clesel from Vienna, to which the Jesuit-confessor of Ferdinand II would never consent. "One day Verospi found an opportunity for being alone with the Emperor, and free from the Jesuit's presence; then, with much address, he made the Emperor understand that he could not withhold the said cardinal from the Pope, who was his sole and proper judge. He so wrought on the Emperor as to make him weep, and the cardinal was at once consigned to him." We find traits of manners also. A rich prelate inserts a clause in his will to the effect that his nephew shall inherit his property, only in the event of his dying a natural death; otherwise, it was to go to pious institutions. Again, Duke Cesarini would never pay any debt until preparations were made for selling the pledge that he had given for it. . . . An Orsino threatened to throw a creditor, who entreated for his money, from the window; the creditor implored that he would first let him confess to a priest; but Orsino replied that none should come into his presence without having confessed beforehand ("*che bisognava venirsi confessato*"). A necromancer arrived in Rome in a carriage drawn by two dogs; these were reported to be a pair of devils, who conducted him wherever he pleased to go; the courier, from Milan, affirmed that he had left him in that city, yet now found him in Rome. The supposed wizard was therefore arrested and put to death.

Were these notices the work of writers possessing higher powers of mind, they would be invaluable, and would have placed the life and manners of those times before us, without the necessity of studies so toilsome as that of the above-named diary.

We will now proceed to the writings immediately relating to Innocent X.

Remarks on "Gualdi, Vita di Donna Olimpia Maldachina." [Life of Donna Olympia Maldachina, by Gualdi.]

When we learn that Gregorio Leti, with whom we are sufficiently acquainted, was the author of the work before us, we find little motive remaining for a discussion of its credibility; there are the strongest presumptions against it.

But since a French translation of it appeared in 1770, and one in German in 1783, since also the German Schröckh considers that its principal facts at least may be relied on, from the circumstance that they have never been contradicted, it may not perhaps be superfluous to say a word on that subject. The author, on his part, affirms boldly that he will relate nothing which he has not himself seen, or of which he has not procured the most authentic information.

But from the first outset he pronounces his own condemnation by a narrative, to the effect that the Maldachini family, which he considers to be of Rome, having once undertaken a pilgrimage to Loretto, were joined at Borgheto by the young Pamfili, who fell in love with Donna Olympia, the daughter of the house; that he married her on the return of the family to Rome. But Olympia was very soon more intimate with her husband's brother, at that time a young "*abbate*," and afterward

pope, than with her husband himself. To this intimacy the influence subsequently possessed by Donna Olympia over Innocent X is attributed.

But we may confidently affirm that of all this, not one word is true.

The Maldachina family was not Roman, but from Acquapendente. Donna Olympia was a widow when she was married to Pamfili. Paolo Nini, of Viterbo, the last of his race, was her first husband, and as she inherited his wealth, she brought a rich dowry into the house of Pamfili; it was on this wealth, and not on the imaginary intimacy with the Pope, that the influence she enjoyed in the family was founded. When this marriage was concluded, Innocent X was very far from being "a young *abbate*." On an inscription placed by the head of the house in the Villa Maldachina at Viterbo, we find it notified that he had adorned this villa in the year 1625, before his sister had married into the house of Pamfili. In Bussi's "Istoria di Viterbo," p. 332, the whole inscription is given. The marriage then could scarcely have taken place until 1626, at which time Giambattista Pamfili, afterward Innocent X, was already fifty-four years old, and for twenty years had been no longer an *abbate*, but a prelate. He was at that very time occupied in various nunciatures. If any conclusion may be drawn from his own expressions, the merit of Donna Olympia in his eyes was, that she then, as well as subsequently, assisted him from her own possessions. He was thus enabled to maintain that splendor of appearance which was then essential to advancement. It was in accordance with this beginning that their whole connection afterward proceeded; since Donna Olympia had promoted the rise of the prelate, she had some share in securing his elevation to the papal dignity, and desired to obtain a certain amount of the advantage resulting from it.

In the circumstantial diary above alluded to, which follows Donna Olympia step by step, and wherein all the mysteries of the papal household are discussed, not the slightest trace of an illicit intimacy between the pontiff and his sister-in-law is to be discovered.

This little work of Leti's is also a romance, composed of apocryphal assertions and chimerical stories.

No. 125

Relazione degli ambasciatori straordinarij a Roma al sommo pontefice Innocentio X., Pietro Foscarini Cavaliere, Zuanne Nani Cavaliere Procuratore, Aluise Mocenigo I fu di q. Aluise, e Bertucci Valier Cavaliere. 1645, 3 Ott. [Report of Pietro Foscarini, knight, Zuanne Nani, knight procurator, Aluise Mocenigo, (?) Aluise, and Bertucci Valier, knight, ambassadors extraordinary to the supreme pontiff Innocent X. Oct. 3, 1645.]

After the death of Urban VIII a complete change ensued. Innocent X was not liked by the French, and would on his part gladly have aided the emperor had he possessed the power to do so; toward the Venetians he was very friendly. He may, perhaps, have shown a certain degree of indecision in his policy, from the irresolution natural to his character. The ambassadors considered it, therefore, doubly imperative on the republic to avoid all quarrels arising from private grounds, and not to throw away the papal favor on account of a dissolute monk.

The previous history of Innocent X is related in the manner following:

"The present pontiff, Innocent X, formerly called Giovanni Battista, Cardinal Pamfili, was born of the house of Pamfili, which originated

from Ugubbio, a city of the State of Urbino. His family came to settle in Rome during the pontificate of Innocent VIII; the Pamfili allied themselves with the first houses of the city, living always in high repute and honor. The mother of his holiness belonged to the family of the Marquis of Buffolo, a noble and princely house, of which the Pope now makes great account, more than one of its members being in his service at the palace. His holiness was brought up by his paternal uncle, Cardinal Gerolamo Pamfili, who lived in great credit, and was himself near being pope. He was created cardinal by Clement VIII, while auditor-dean of the *rota*, and was illustrious for his virtues and the blameless purity of his life. His holiness is in his seventy-second year, of height above the common, well proportioned, majestic in person, full of benevolence and affability. Thus, whenever he comes forth from his apartments to hold consistories, appear in the chapels, or on other occasions, he willingly and promptly gives audience to all persons, of whatsoever condition and however poor and miserable, who present themselves before him; he receives their memorials with great patience and charity, endeavors to relieve everyone, and comforts all; his subjects heartily applauding him, and finding a great difference between the present pontificate and that preceding. The Pope was first consistorial advocate, and next, auditor of the *rota*, elected by Clement VIII. He was sent nuncio to Spain by Gregory XV, and was employed under Urban VIII in the French and Spanish legations of Cardinal Barberino, with the title of datary. He was elected patriarch of Antioch by the same Urban, was sent nuncio into Spain, and afterward promoted to the cardinalate on the 9th of November, 1627. As cardinal he had the reputation of being severe in character, inclined to rigor, exact in all ecclesiastical affairs. He was always chosen for the most important congregations, and may be said to have exercised all the principal offices of the Roman See to the general satisfaction: modesty, patience, integrity, and virtue, having always made their abode in his mind; his purpose ever being to offend none, to be friendly to all, and to forgive injuries. He enjoys good health, and has a tolerably robust constitution, is temperate in his diet, loves exercise, attends in the chapels and at other services with great majesty, and performs all his ecclesiastical duties with extreme pomp, decorum, and punctuality, as also with particular enjoyment to himself. He proceeds with the gravest deliberation in all important affairs, and will have time to examine and determine them. In all his past life he was accustomed to rise late and go late to bed; he pursues a similar method in his pontificate, so that he rarely retires before midnight or rises until some hours after day. He was formerly much inclined to make great account of the sovereigns, and wished to give them all just satisfaction on every occasion; he affirms himself to remain in the same dispositions, nor will he show partiality to either of the two crowns, desiring to be the affectionate father of all. He feels that he has not been well treated, either by the one or the other, and has spoken his sentiments very freely on that matter with us. He believes that each complains merely to advance his own interest, although both know well the necessity that exists for his maintaining his independence, to which he is bound as well by his natural love of peace, as by the position of sovereign pontiff in which he is placed. He encourages himself in these views, receiving great support from his confidence in the most serene republic, which he believes capable by its influence, counsels, and friendship, of proving his most effectual safeguard; indeed, a person of great eminence, and in whom we entirely confide, has admitted to some of us, perhaps by order of his holiness, that the pontiff might be easily disposed to ally himself with your Excellencies by a particular

treaty, when he thought the state of public affairs favorable. Whereunto a reply was made in general terms, but with respect, that no bond could more effectually unite princes than sincerity, concord of hearts, and uniformity of purposes and interests."

No. 126

Relazione dell' ambasciatore Veneto Aluise Contarini fatta al senato dopo il ritorno della sua ambasceria appresso Innocentio X. 1648. [Report presented to the senate by the Venetian ambassador, Aluise Contarini, on returning from his embassy to Innocent X. 1648.] 22 leaves.

This pontificate also was far from turning out so advantageously as had been expected. To the first and somewhat honorable report, are already added by Aluise Contarini, the son of Niccolo (the earlier Aluise was a son of Tommaso Contarini), many particulars that are much less favorable.

In his youth, Innocent X had preferred knightly exercises and light amusements (*passatempo amorevoli*) to study. He had acquired but little consideration during his nunciature in France; and for his perpetual evasions and refusals he had received the by-name of "Monsignore That-can't be" (Mr. Non-si-puol). In Spain, on the contrary, his frugality of words had obtained him the reputation of being a wise man.

What made him pope? Answer: three things—he talked little, dissembled much, and did—nothing at all.

"He now shows but little disposition to confer favors, is difficult and punctilious. . . . He is considered by all to be slow of apprehension, and to have but small capacity for important combinations; he is, nevertheless, very obstinate in his ideas; he seeks to avoid being thought partial to any sovereign." A friend to repose and to justice, not cruel, and a good economist.

The immediate circle of the Pope:—Donna Olympia, dear to him because she had brought a large dowry into the house and assisted him with it. "A woman of masculine mind and spirit; she proves herself to be a woman only by her pride and avarice." Pancirolo: "Of pleasing manners and vigorous intellect; courteous, both in look and word." Capponi: "He conceals his malice of purpose beneath a smiling countenance." Spada: "He plumes himself on his valuable endowments of mind." We perceive that our author does not always express himself in the most respectful terms. With a pope of Innocent's character, the want of a nephew was doubly felt.

Then follow certain features of his administration: "There is a remark current among the courtiers to the effect that whoever has to treat with the Pope believes his business all but completed in the first audience; in the second he discovers that it has yet to be commenced; and perceives to his amazement, in the third, that the thing has gone against him. . . . The pontiff considers that prince contemptible who neglects to keep a good amount of ready money at hand to be used in case of emergency. To save himself from expenditure, he is content to endure the most opprobrious buffetings of adverse fortune; the yearly supplies of Rome being diminished by the failure of those resources which had in fact been utterly destroyed by the results of the Barberina war. His holiness knowing the supply of corn in particular would be scanty, has repeatedly intimated his intention of advancing a large sum of money to make up the deficiency; but his very nature revolting from the dis-

bursement of money, he has been laboring to fulfil his intent by other means, and has done it very inadequately. . . . The municipalities are all so exhausted and ruined by the Barberina war that it is impossible they should ever recover from its effects. The private revenues of the Pope are 800,000 scudi, consisting of the gains from compositions with the *dataria*, and from the vacancies of offices in that department as well as in the chancery, together with those proceeding from a kind of *monti vacabili*, of the auditor and treasurer of the *Camera*, clerks of the *Camera*, and other offices of similar character. This entire amount, which flows into the privy purse, and not into the public treasure, is at the pontiff's absolute disposal; he may expend the whole at his pleasure, and give it to whom he pleases, without fear that any amount of it will be demanded by his successor." His buildings on the Capitol, at St. Peter's, and the Lateran: "In the latter, while he renewed the three naves of the church on a new model, he permitted all the essential parts of that beautiful and well-imagined entablature to remain untouched." In the Piazza Navona: "By the casting down of certain buildings that were near St. Giacomo de' Spagnuoli, the place assumed the form of a square."

It will be remarked that Contarini, notwithstanding the unfavorable impression produced on him by the court, was yet on the whole impartial, and is extremely instructive.

No. 127

Memoriale presentato all Santità di N. Signore Papa Innocenzo X. dai deputati della città di Fermo per il tumulto ivi seguito alli 6 di Luglio, 1648. [Memorial presented to Pope Innocent X by the deputies of the city of Fermo, touching the commotion that occurred there on the 6th of July, 1648.]

In the "Historia delle Guerre Civili di questi ultimi tempi," Ven. 1664, by Majolino Bisaccioni, will be found, as we have already observed, together with the most important events, with facts concerning Charles and Cromwell, and with accounts of the insurrections of Portugal and Catalonia, a "History of the Civil Wars of Fermo," an account of a tumult, that is, wherein the papal Governor, Visconti, was killed.

The memorial before us is that with which two Deputies, Lorenzo Nobile and Lucio Guerrieri, appeared before the Pope, to implore forgiveness for that offence.

According to their narration, which is much more authentic and more life-like than that of Bisaccioni, and which affords us an insight into the domestic condition of cities at that period, the corn harvest had failed, and bread was unusually dear, yet the Governor was determined to export corn from the district of Fermo notwithstanding. He would listen to no warning. With his carbine at his side, and pistols on the table before him, he declared that he would rather die as became a governor and a soldier, than yield to the pressure. He forbade the meeting of the Council, to which deputies had come from the neighboring communes, and drew together his forces. But these troops of his "came from the fields they had reaped, from the barns wherein they had thrashed the corn." They knew the privations to which the country was exposed, and instead of assailing the insurgent people, they adopted their party. The Governor saw himself compelled to yield, in despite of his boastings, and the corn was suffered to remain within the territory of the city.

But scarcely was quiet restored, when a body of Corsican soldiers, called in by the Governor, appeared at the gates. The people would not be persuaded but that Visconti still proposed to carry through his purpose by means of these troops. An insurrection ensued; all exclaimed, "We are betrayed! To arms!" The alarm bell was rung, the palace was stormed, and the Governor slain.

The deputies protested their fidelity, and deplored the occurrence. . . . At which the nobles more particularly were troubled: "To see a prelate, who had been given to them by your holiness for their government, thus slain by men of the people, while they could do nothing to prevent it."

No. 128

Relazione della corte di Roma del Cavre. Giustiniani data in senato l'anno 1652. [Report from Rome, presented to the senate in the year 1652, by the Cavalier Giustiniani.] Copy in the Magliabechiana Library, Florence, 24-65.

From admiration and hope the Romans soon passed, under Innocent X, also, first to doubt and disapprobation, and finally to complaint and reproach.

Zuan Zustinian (for thus it is that the Venetians write and pronounce this name) proceeded, after many other embassies, from Vienna to Rome, where he resided from 1648 to 1651. With the events of these years his despatches are filled, and it is to that period that his report refers.

His description of the court is by no means cheering.

He affirms that whatever good qualities the Pope possessed were turned to the advantage of Rome, or at most of the Ecclesiastical States; while his faults were injurious to all Christendom. But even in the States of the Church, crying evils resulted from the practice adopted of remitting the severest punishments for money. "I am assured, on the most unquestionable authority, that during the seven years of his pontificate, there have been extracted from the compositions with persons under criminal process, no less a sum than 1,200,000 scudi, which make nearly 2,000,000 ducats." The influence of Donna Olympia Maldachina is here described as a sort of public calamity. "A woman of great spirit, but her sole title to influence is that of a rigid economist. When offices fell vacant at court, nothing was decided without her good pleasure; when church livings were to be distributed, the ministers of the *dataria* had orders to defer all appointments to them, until, notice having been given to her of the nature of those benefices, she might then select such as best pleased her, for her own disposal; if episcopal sees were to be conferred, it was to her that the candidates applied; and that which most effectually revolted every upright mind, was to see that those were preferred who were most liberal in giving."

The author proceeds thus throughout his work; but I cannot be quite certain that the report is really genuine.

It is not to be found in the Venetian archives. In the Magliabechiana Library at Florence there are two copies, but they do not agree perfectly throughout. I have confined myself to the more moderate of the two.

I was fortunately not reduced to this report for materials; since the diary above named (see No. 122), with the notices supplied by Pallavicini in his life of Alexander VII, offered much better resources.

No. 129

Relazione dell' ambasceria straordinaria fatta in Roma alla Siz. di N. Signore Alessandro VII. dagli Eccellentissimi Signori Pesaro, Contarini, Valiero, e Sagredo per rendere a nome della Serenissima Republica di Venetia la solita obediienza al sommo pontefice l' anno 1656. [Report of the extraordinary embassy of Signors Pesaro, Contarini, Valiero, and Sagredo, sent by the most serene republic of Venice to render the accustomed homage to his holiness our lord the sovereign pontiff Alexander VII, in the year 1656.]

The same Pesaro, in whose embassy it was that the dispute arose between Urban VIII and the republic, and who had from that time been considered an adversary of the clergy, was placed at the head of this embassy of congratulation, and was intrusted by his colleagues with the preparation of the report; and, whether because his opinions had from the first been very moderate, as he affirms, or that the years which had passed since his previous embassy had produced a change his views, it is certain that his report is extremely reasonable, impartial, and instructive.

It is true that he expresses disapprobation of Innocent X and his government, but not in terms so extremely severe as those used by others. "In addition to the insatiable cupidity prevailing in that house, there was a further evil arising from the want of ministers capable of administering so important a sovereignty; for the suspicious character of that pontiff rendered him incapable of putting trust in anyone. Thus it came to pass that almost everything was regulated by the immoderate demands of a woman, by which there was afforded ample scope to satirical pens; and good occasion was offered for making the disorders of that government seem even worse than they really were."

Now, however little this may sound like eulogy, yet it is a very mild judgment, as we have said, when compared with the violent declamations of other writers.

But the principal object of this report is the new pontiff, Alexander VII.

The opinion of Pesaro, and the conviction of all else at that time, was that the elevation of Fabio Chigi was attributable to the fame of his virtues, and the reputation he had gained in his nunciatures; but that the Medici had not been sincerely gratified by the promotion of one of their subjects to the papacy. "A more righteous election could not have been hoped for, even from a senate of men, who, although they may sometimes have their minds distracted by worldly affairs, yet could not fail to be finally influenced by that Holy Spirit which they suppose to be present at an act of such high moment."

He describes his early progress, and gives a general sketch of his first measures as pope: "He appears to be but slightly acquainted with financial affairs, although profoundly skilled in those relating to the Church; he is by no means immovably attached to his own opinions." Pesaro speaks also of his connections, but we need not repeat what we have already said on that subject; affairs very soon took a different direction from that which had been expected.

"The world is in too much haste, as it seems to us (remarks Pesaro), in exalting to the skies these opinions of the Pope respecting his kindred: to judge properly, there must be time for observing how he may withstand the pretences of affection to which he will be subjected." Even then, so many representations were made to the pontiff from all sides that it seemed impossible for his firmness to avoid being shaken.

But this mission had another and more important object than that of congratulating the pontiff on his accession; it was charged to entreat the Court of Rome for assistance in the war of Candia.

The envoys enlarged upon the efforts made by Venice to withstand the enemy, upon the means they had adopted for defraying the costs of the war: they had taken up loans at heavy interest, some by way of life annuity, others perpetual; they had effected sales of allodial and feudal domains; had extended the dignities of the State, which had hitherto been closely restricted, to large numbers; nay, they had even conferred on many the honors of Venetian nobility, although conscious that its value was maintained by the rarity of the grant. But all their resources were now exhausted; nothing was to be hoped from the other potentates of Christendom, who were too completely occupied by dissensions among themselves: their only refuge was the See of Rome.

The Pope did not hear all this without marks of interest; he replied by an eloquent eulogy on the republic, who had opposed the fury of the barbarians, not with iron only, but with gold; with regard to the principal question, however, he declared that he was not in a condition to help them. The papal treasury was so completely exhausted that he did not even know by what means he was to provide the city with bread.

The envoys did not yet resign their hopes; they represented that the danger was so pressing as to justify his having recourse to the ancient treasure laid up by Sixtus V, "Before the urgency of events that may arise becomes more pressing, and for the support of religion; but most especially for that of his own ecclesiastical dominions." The Pope was particularly impressed by the consideration that the enemy would be emboldened by perceiving that a new pope also refused the succor so greatly needed. Alexander was fully convinced that something must be done; he suggested that a certain portion of their ecclesiastical property might be confiscated.

How remarkable it is that measures of this kind should be first recommended by the Roman Court. Innocent X had already proposed to the Venetians the abolition of two orders—those of the "Canons of the Holy Spirit," and of the "Cross-bearers" (*Cruciferi*): it was the design of that pontiff to form secular canonries from their revenues. But the Venetians were afraid, in the first place, that the Roman Court would reserve to itself the patronage of these canonicates; and secondly, they considered these institutions as a refuge for the poor nobility. This proposal Alexander now renewed.

"The pontiff, seeming to reflect on what could be done for our relief, began by saying that, for some time past, the Apostolic See, considering, not the abundance only, but the superfluity of religious institutions, had become convinced that some of them, degenerating from the first intentions of their founders, had lapsed into a total relaxation of discipline, that it was equally advisable for the Church as for the laity to adopt the expedients used by prudent husbandmen, when they see that the multitude of branches has impoverished their vines, instead of rendering them more fruitful. That a commencement had been made in that matter by the suppression of some orders, but that this was not enough; rather it was obviously necessary to restrict this great number, and reduce them to such as retain, or can at least be brought back to the primitive form of their institutions. That to open a way for this purpose, there had been suppressed a great number of very small convents, wherein the rigor of monastic seclusion had been suffered to relax with but little observation; and that it was proposed

to continue the work by proceeding to the final abolition of certain others, which, by their licentious mode of life, filled the world with scandal and murmurs, instead of presenting good examples and affording edification. But he further said that he proceeded slowly, because he desired, in a matter of so much importance, to obtain the good-will of the secular princes, who, not having well examined the motives of the Apostolic See for this resolution, had given evidence of some dislike to the execution of the papal briefs: but that hoping to find all eventually ready to help forward a resolve so well matured, he placed it meanwhile before the most serene republic for consideration. The Venetian territory, he further remarked, abounding in this kind of religious orders, an easy method was presented of promoting the upright intentions set forth by him who has the supreme direction of the Church, and at the same time of obtaining a considerable sum in aid of the present war against the infidels: that none could know better than ourselves to what an extremity of dissolute excesses the canons of San Spirito in Venice had proceeded, the serene republic having been compelled to restrain the disorders of that convent: that, not content with a total departure from all conventual observances, the brethren had furthermore so indecently abused the wealth which might have been made to serve for the maintenance of a number five-fold larger than their house contained, as to be always deeply in debt: that the same might be said of the Cruciferi, among whom there was scarcely a vestige of monastic life discernible. His holiness accordingly thought it desirable that these two orders should be suppressed, and that measures might be taken into consideration with regard to the rule of their possessions, the produce whereof might be converted to the uses of this war, since the same was directed against the most terrible enemy of the Christian name."

This time the envoys were inclined to the opinion that such a proposal was not to be rejected. They computed the large capital that would result from these sales, compared with the small and soon to be extinguished annuities, and the advantages to be secured to the cultivation of the country by the secularization of estates so important. Their mode of considering a question then so new, and which was afterward so universally treated, may deserve to be given in their own words.

"In effect, when we have made the suitable assignments to the monks, which, for both orders, will not amount to more than 10,000 ducats per annum, should their estates, returning a revenue of 26,000 ducats, be sold, as might be expected, for 600,000 ducats, the public will have but two per cent. to pay in annuities—nay, rather less. And the arguments usually put forward against transactions of this kind fall to the ground in face of the annual provision to be made for the surviving brotherhood. Moreover, by thus dismembering from the ecclesiastical body so vast an amount of property, situated in the best parts of the Venetian dominions, the laity will enter into possession of the same without offering wrong to the piety of those great souls who had the firmness to deprive their descendants of so rich a possession to found and establish religion in these lands; for if now these benefactors could see how well religion is rooted among us, they would give no other expression to their sentiments than this, that if it had been satisfactory to them to be the founders of so many monasteries for the retreat of holy men, no less would they rejoice to know that these same riches, seeing that religious orders superabound, should be converted to the repulsion of that impious enemy who is menacing to destroy the piety, which they, with their own inheritance, had labored to promote."

After the affairs of Venice, which here again present an aspect of great importance, the concerns of Europe generally are discussed.

The undertakings of Charles X and Gustavus produced a powerful impression in Rome, and money was collected in aid of King Casimir.

But a thing still more sensibly felt by the Court of Rome was that the French were not only disinclined to make peace with Spain, but that Mazarin even allied himself with England—a cardinal with Protestants, the most Christian kingdom with a usurper who had expelled the legitimate princes; and that he should do this, without any necessity, without being driven to it by any pressing danger—this shocked the Curia extremely.

Were it not for these troubles, the Pope would direct his every effort for the entire restoration of Germany—where his personal reputation stood so high—to the Catholic faith. The conversion of the Queen of Sweden excited the hopes of all on that subject.

The ambassadors saw the splendid preparations making for the reception of that queen. They could in no wise approve the unsettled life she led “incompatible perhaps with her age and with her maiden state,” as they very discreetly express themselves, yet they render full justice to the vigor and boldness of her determination.

“You have here in few words what we have thought it suitable to relate,” says Pesaro at this point of the narration.

To this concluding phrase he further subjoins the good advice that the best possible understanding should always be maintained with the Pope.

His holiness had expressed himself explicitly as to the satisfaction it would give him if Venice would consent to the readmission of the Jesuits at his request. The ambassador is disposed to think that this should be conceded.

“It appears to me that the time has come for deciding whether this return is to be permitted, or whether—to avoid occasions, arising from time to time, for becoming on bad terms with the pontiffs, by reason of these Jesuits—the subject should be consigned to perpetual silence. . . . We may perhaps find a motive for complying with the desire of the Pope in this respect by considering that these men, being, as they are, very active instruments for supporting the rights of the Church, all reigning pontiffs will be likely to renew the request for their readmission, and the constant rejection of the same at the commencement of each pontificate may give occasion to ill-will.”

No. 130

Vita, attioni, et operationi di Alessandro VII., opera del Cardinale Pallavicini. 2 vols. fol. Bibl. Cors. [Life, acts, and proceedings of Alexander VII, by Cardinal Pallavicini. 2 vols. folio.] Corsini Library.

In the Barberini Library, in Rome, a manuscript was one day placed in my hands, with the title “*Alexandri VII. de vita propria liber primus et tertius cum fragmentis libri secundi.*” It contained about 300 leaves, and was as full of corrections as only an autograph could be; but, by an unhappy chance, the whole was in utter confusion. The bookbinder had arranged the sheets, which were to have been read separately, in groups of five. It was almost impossible to make anything of it.

It begins thus: “Although it has been usual, both now and in former times, that a man should record the transactions of his own

time, yet many of these works have been the less approved or trusted, because of the difficulty experienced by the writer in divesting his mind of hope, fear, love, or hatred, clouds which obscure history, the light of truth." Wherever I examined this manuscript I found interesting notices, derived from good authority, respecting the youth of Alexander, the invitation of his kindred to Rome, the arrival of Christina, etc.; but was it possible that the Pope, amidst the occupations of the supreme power, could yet have found time, not only to write his own life, but also to correct the style throughout with so much diligence?

It soon became evident that, notwithstanding the title, this could not have been the case.

The author affirms, among other things, that he was enabled to undertake this work by an intimate acquaintance with the Pope: "It was a benefit of consenting fortune that, with this prince, in his inferior station, I should have had a singular agreement of opinion, and mutual exchange of thought, both by word of mouth and by letter."

The question then became, who was this intimate acquaintance, nay, confidant of Alexander VII?

Under date of the year 1656, Muratori informs us that the Jesuit Pallavicini had prepared himself—at the commencement of Alexander's pontificate, which awakened hopes so brilliant—to write the life of that pontiff; but that after the invitation of the nephews to court, and the changes connected with that measure, "the pen fell from his hand." Pallavicini was without doubt personally intimate with Alexander: in the beginning of his pontificate he saw the Pope every day. This fragment may, therefore, very possibly have been the work of Pallavicini.

After some further researches a biography of Alexander VII, attributed to Cardinal Pallavicini, was found in the same library. It is true that it was written in Italian; but the question was worth the trouble of collating the two for the purpose of solving it.

The first glance showed that the Latin and Italian were the same work. The first paragraph runs thus: "It is the opinion of many that no history should be written but that of things long past, and with respect to which, hope and fear, love and hatred toward the persons commemorated, have no longer place, nor can obscure the truth." The second passage that I have quoted is thus expressed in Italian: "Because it fell to my lot, in the less advanced fortune of this prince, to hold with him the most intimate intercourse of friendship and confidence of communication, now by word of mouth, and now by the pen, for the space of full thirty years."

And thus it proceeds. The Latin copy was clearly proved to be a translation of the Italian, only somewhat freely rendered, and with a slight change in the mode of thought.

But the resemblance was unfortunately closer than I could have wished; for as the Latin copy, as announced in its title, was but a fragment, so was the Italian also throughout in a most dilapidated condition. After some intimations of Alexander's early youth, the narration proceeds at once to his election, and the first measures of his pontificate.

To seek earnestly, yet with insufficient results, does but increase the eagerness of inquiry. I sought through all quarters, and ultimately found another copy in the Albani Library, but this also is equally imperfect.

And now I believed that I must needs content myself with this, since in an anonymous life of Pallavicini I found a fragment only of this history cited, the very books, that is to say, which were already

known to me; but at last I was so fortunate as to meet with a more complete copy (it is that of which the title is given above), in two folio volumes.

The work here bears the name of Pallavicini on its front, and proceeds without interruption to the second chapter of the sixth book; in this state it is that we first attain a full perception—as will be at once perceived—of the value attached to this book in relation to the history of the period.

The first book contains the early history of Alexander VII: "Race, parentage, birth, and childhood of Fabio Chigi; studies and occurrences of his boyhood; his philosophical and legal studies; his private friendships." These chapters were all comprised in the Latin and Italian copies, but to which the Corsini copy further adds: "Pious actions and exercises; vicelegation of Ferrara under Sacchetti; nunciature of Cologne."

In the second book the government of Innocent X, and the part which Chigi took in the administration, are described in fourteen chapters, which bring the narration down to the time of the conclave.

The third book treats of the commencement of Alexander's pontificate; describes the state of Europe generally, with that of the Ecclesiastical States; alludes to the first financial measures, and refers to those respecting the *monti vacabili*. The writer further discusses the conversion of Queen Christina of Sweden, which he does minutely, and with manifest pleasure. I hold the opinion that when it has been affirmed, as, for example, by Arckenholtz, "Mémoires de Christine," iv. 39, that Pallavicini wrote a "Historia di Christina regina di Suezia," this assertion has rested merely on an imperfect acquaintance with these fragments. In the Latin copy Christina's conversion is accounted for in the manner following:

"Perceiving in the works of Cicero, on the 'Nature of the Gods,'* that there could not be more than one true religion, but that all might be false, she labored in thought on that passage for many days. She was also brought to doubt whether any true difference existed between good actions and bad, freely performed, unless as one might be beneficial to the world and the others injurious, which would decide their nature. She doubted also of Divine Providence, its regard or indifference to human actions; and as to the Divine Will, whether it required a certain worship and settled faith. There was no author of repute who had written on these subjects, whom she did not examine; no man eminently learned in these matters through the Northern lands, with whom she did not seek to converse; and she was inclined meanwhile to the opinion that it was sufficient to follow in public the religion of one's country, and for the rest to live according to nature. Finally, she came to this opinion—that God, the best of beings that is, would be rather the worst of tyrants, if he had crucified the whole human race by bitter stings of conscience which were yet false; if, after giving to mortals the common idea that their sacrifices are pleasing to him, and their vows accepted, he were then to render no regard to these things."

In the fourth book, of which a part only is given in the Latin and older copies, the author begins with the summoning of the papal kindred to Rome—"Motives which induced the Pope to summon the nephews. Remarks concerning this in Rome." So far is it from being true that "the pen dropped from Pallavicini's hand" on approaching this subject, that he describes it, on the contrary, at full length, and discusses the opinions prevailing in Rome respecting it. Next follows the position of Queen Christina in Rome, with the support accorded

* See Cicero, lib. i. c. 2.

to her by the Pope. "The Queen, who had lived with that prodigality which impoverishes without deriving either pleasure or honor from its expenditure, and consisted not in giving, but in permitting herself to be robbed, had pledged all her jewels at the time of her residence in Rome, with the hope of future remittances, on which account she had not a scudo to provide for her intended journey. But as necessity conquers shame, she was at length compelled to do herself violence, and request aid from the Pope, but in a manner that should be as far as she could devise from begging; and because letters do not blush she wrote to beg that his holiness would cause some merchant to lend her money, with a promise of entire restitution." The Pope did not think it would redound much to his honor to make himself surety for the whole burden of her debts without any advantage to himself. He preferred therefore to send her, through an ecclesiastic, who was in his confidence, probably Pallavicini himself, a purse of 10,000 scudi as a present, together with certain medals in gold and silver, which had been struck at the time of the Queen's entry into Rome in honor of that occasion. "Excusing the smallness of the sum by the exhaustion of the treasury,' the Queen in thanking him wept more than once, from the mixture of feelings that arise on such occasions." To the reinstatement of the Jesuits in Venice, Pallavicini also devotes a circumstantial elucidation, entirely in the spirit which we have already observed him to display in his history of the Council of Trent.

The fifth book is occupied by the history of the year 1657; promotions of cardinals; buildings in Santa Maria del Popolo, and della Pace, as also on the Piazza di S. Pietro; Queen Christina in France, and the affair of Monaldeschi, whose death is here described in the following manner: "While Christina was residing at Fontainebleau, Ludovico, the brother of Sentinelli, and rival in the favor of his mistress of Giovanni Rinaldo Monaldeschi, a principal gentleman of these parts, conveyed to her certain notices, transmitted to him, as is said, from Rome, by the aforesaid brother, which revealed proceedings of Monaldeschi, convicting him, as she thought, of breach of trust; for which cause, having first drawn a confession from his lips, she gave him but one hour to provide for his conscience by the aid of a priest, and then, a thing which would scarcely have been permitted in Stockholm when she governed there, she caused him to be put to death by the very hand of his rival."

In the sixth book the author returns to the internal affairs of Rome. He concludes with the arrangements relating to the prelature, for which Alexander demanded a fixed amount from the revenues.

But even this, the most complete copy of the biography, is far from comprising the entire life of the Pope.

No. 131

Paolo Casati ad Alessandro VII., sopra la regina di Suecia. Bibl. Alb. [Paolo Casati to Alexander VII, respecting the queen of Sweden.] Albani Library.

Malines and Casati were the two Jesuits despatched by the general of the order to Stockholm for the conversion of the Queen.

A private letter from Malines, in regard to this undertaking, will be found in the "Mémoires" of Arckenholtz, vol. iv., Appendix, No. 27.

But a much more circumstantial, and, so to say, official account of this matter, was presented by Casati to Alexander VII. It was writ-

ten with his own hand, was addressed "Alla Santità di Nro. Signore Alessandro VII.," dated from the *Collegio Romano*, December 5, 1655, and signed "The most humble and most obedient son in Christ of your holiness, Paolo Casati, of the Company of Jesus." We have here a far more minute and satisfactory account of the particulars.

"In obedience [he begins] to the wishes of your holiness for a short memorial of what passed in regard to the Queen of Sweden's resolution to renounce her kingdom for the purpose of becoming Catholic, I am compelled to go back a step, that I may explain the cause thereof—in conformity with statements received from the mouth of the Queen herself; to whom I am assured that it cannot be other than pleasing to know that your holiness is truly informed of the whole matter."

But the notices given by this author respecting earlier times are not of much importance, since he has no acquaintance whatever with Swedish affairs; he becomes worthy of attention only when he discusses the interests of religion.

"Having acquired thus much knowledge, she began to reflect that many tenets of the Lutheran sect, in which she had been educated, could not be sustained, and beginning to examine them, she found many discrepancies. Thus she began to study matters of religion and points of controversy with more diligence, and finding that the faith in which she had been brought up had no semblance of truth, she applied herself with extraordinary curiosity to gain information respecting all, and to weigh the difficulties of each. In this occupation she employed the space of five years, suffering much disturbance of mind, because she could find no settled point of conviction; and judging everything by mere human reason, she thought that many things might be simply political inventions, intended for the restriction of the common people. The arguments that any sect used against its adversary, she acquired the habit of turning against itself; thus she compared the works of Moses among the Hebrew people with the proceedings of Mahomet amongst the Arabs. From all which it resulted that she found no religion which appeared to her to be true. And I have heard her more than once accuse herself of having been too profane in desiring to investigate the most sublime mysteries of the divinity, for she did not permit one mystery of our religion to escape her examination, while she sought to give rest to her mind by the final discovery of a religion. Then, since she read every book treating on that subject, she sometimes encountered many assertions of the ancients, the gentiles, and the atheists; and although she never fell into such blindness as to doubt the existence of God, or his unity, which she held to be greater and clearer than all else, yet she suffered her mind to be disturbed by many difficulties, of which, at various times, we discoursed largely. But, finally, she could arrive at no other conclusion, than that it was expedient to proceed in externals as others did, believing the whole to be a matter of indifference, and that it signified nothing whether she followed one religion or sect or another; it was sufficient, she thought, if she did nothing contrary to the dictates of reason, or for which, having done it, she should have cause to blush. By these principles she governed herself for a certain time, and she seemed even to have found some repose for her mind, particularly after having discovered that other persons (summoned indeed from distant lands) whom she believed to be learned and wise, were of opinions but slightly different from her own—they being without the pale of the true Catholic religion, which they considered to be mere childishness. But the Lord God, who desired to have mercy on this Queen, nor would suffer her to perish in the errors of her intellect, since she had the most perfect will and

desire to know the truth, and in doing as she did, allowed herself to be guided by the light of sound reason; for she has frequently assured me that she never suffered herself to do anything for which she ought to blush (that being her form of expression). God, I say, began to make her perceive that when the eternal safety of the soul is in question, every other interest must give way, and that error in a matter so momentous is of eternal prejudice; accordingly, she reverted to the thought that there must be some religion, and having granted that man must have a religion, then among all that she knew in the world, none appeared to her more reasonable than the Catholic. Wherefore, reflecting more attentively upon that subject, she found that its tenets and institutions were not so absurd as the Lutheran ministers (they call them pastors) would make people believe."

Now as we cannot give place to the whole work, the following minute description of the first introduction of the Jesuits to the Queen may be permitted to suffice:

"Departing from Hamburg, after staying two days at Rendsburg, we joined ourselves to the Signor Senator Rosenhan, who was returning to Sweden, and with him we proceeded as far as Roschilt, where the kings of Denmark are buried, with the exception of Saint Canute, whose head is at Ringstede. The Senator then went direct to Elsinore to cross the straits, and we to Copenhagen. This acquaintance with the Senator Rosenhan was afterward very useful to us in Stockholm, causing us to be less suspected; and the Queen remarking to him one day that she did not know what to think of those two Italians, he told her that there was nothing to fear from us, that we were good people, and he always treated us with great courtesy. We had also the good-fortune to be in company for some days on our journey with General Wachtmeister, grand equerry of the kingdom, who was in like manner of no small use to us; for when we arrived in Stockholm, on the 24th February, according to the old style, and I having sought on the day following to speak with John Holm, gentleman of the chamber to her Majesty, that I might be introduced, to present the letter given to me in Rome by the father vicar-general, but not being able to find him, the said General Wachtmeister was, that evening, the occasion of her Majesty's hearing that I had arrived. And the manner was this: While the Queen was at supper, two gentlemen complained that it was very cold, and the general reproached them, declaring that two Italians who had come thither in his company had shown no such fear of the cold. The Queen hearing this contest, and inquiring the cause of their contending, heard that two Italians were come, and asked if they were musicians; but the general replying that they were two gentlemen travelling to see the country, her Majesty said that she would by all means like to see them. We were immediately informed of all this, and advised to go to court on the following day: on the following morning we were accordingly conducted thither by Signor Zaccaria Grimani, a Venetian noble, and who introduced us to pay our respects to Count Magnus de la Gardie, her Majesty's Prime Minister, that through him we might obtain the honor of kissing the hand of her Majesty. He received us with much courtesy, and assured us that her Majesty would have much pleasure in seeing us. It was then the hour of dinner, and her Majesty came out into the *vierkant*, when we were directed to approach her Majesty, and, having kissed her hand, we made a short compliment in Italian (for so she had commanded, although she had caused us to be informed that she would reply in French, since she understood it), suitable to the character we had assumed, and she replied with the utmost urbanity. Immediately

afterward the marshal of the court, and with him all the other gentlemen, set forward toward the hall wherein the table was laid for dinner, and I found myself immediately before the Queen. She who, during the night, had thought over the matter of the two Italians, and reflecting that it was precisely the end of February, about which time it had been written to her from Rome that we should arrive, had begun to suspect that we were the persons whom she was looking for; thus, when we were but little distant from the door, and that nearly all the company had already gone out of the *vierkant*, she said to me in a low voice, 'Perhaps you have letters for me?' and I, having replied, without turning my head, that I had, she rejoined, 'Do not name them to anyone.' While we were discoursing after dinner on the matters that had occurred, we were joined by a person, who made us various compliments in French, and then proceeded to inquire if we had letters for her Majesty. I began at once to give ambiguous replies, that we were not there for business; that we had no letters of recommendation, etc., until at length he repeated in order all that in our short and fortuitous colloquy the Queen herself had said to me. I then perceived that he could not be sent by any other than herself, yet, for the greater security, I asked him his name, and hearing that he was John Holm, I gave him the letter. The following morning, nearly two hours before the usual time for going to court, John Holm gave us to know that her Majesty would speak with us. We went immediately, and had scarcely entered the *vierkant*, where there was then no one but the officer on guard, than the Queen came forth, and appeared to be surprised, either because none of the gentlemen were yet there, or because we had been the first to arrive. She put some few questions to us concerning our journey; then, hearing the officer, she asked him if any of the secretaries had yet appeared. He replying that they had not, she commanded him to go and call one of them, when he did not return for an hour. When he was gone, her Majesty began to thank us in the most courteous terms for the pains we had taken in making that voyage on her account; she assured us that whatever danger might arise to us from being discovered, we should not fear, since she would not suffer that evil should befall us; she charged us to be secret, and not to confide in anyone, pointing out to us by name some of those to whom she feared lest we might give our confidence in process of time. She encouraged us to hope that if she should receive satisfaction, our journey would not have been made in vain; she questioned us respecting the arrival of Father Macedo, and how we had been selected to visit her court; and related to us in what manner the departure of Father Macedo had taken place."

No. 132

Relatione della corte Romana del Cavaliere Corraro. 1660. [Report relating to the court of Rome, by the Cavalier Corraro. 1660.]

Very brilliant hopes had been conceived of Alexander VII. Court and State awaited their restoration from his hand; and the Church expected a renewal of the primitive discipline: even among the Protestants there were many who were well disposed toward the new pontiff. The amazement and anger were therefore general when he began to govern precisely as his predecessors had done; the good opinion that had been entertained of him was abandoned for the most violent ill-will.

The first ambassador sent to Rome by the Venetians, after the em-

bassy of congratulation above mentioned, was Geronimo Giustiniano. His despatches belong to the year 1656. He died of the plague.

His successor was Anzolo Corraro, at that time podesta of Padua. He delayed his journey so long that another was already chosen in his place; but he thereupon hastened to Rome, where he remained from 1657 to 1659.

The report which he presented on returning from the Papal Court was by no means a favorable one. The Pope and his family were loaded with censure.

A particular circumstance has meanwhile rendered it unnecessary that we should give a more minute account of this report.

This is no other than the fact that the work produced so profound an impression as at once to have found its way into public notice.

A French translation appeared at Leyden: "Relation de la cour de Rome faite l'an 1661 (0), au conseil de Pregadi, par l'excellme. Seigneur Angelo Corraro," chez Lorens, 1663. This represents the Italian original most faithfully in all the passages which I have compared, and is not rare, even at the present time.

It was printed at that moment when the contentions between the Chigi and Crequi caused the general attention to be directed toward Rome. The publication was both calculated and intended to inflame the public indignation against the Pope. It was dedicated to Beuningen, who had not yet said, "*Sto sol.*"

No. 133

Relatione di Roma, dell' eccellentissimo Signore Nicolo Sagredo.
1661. [Report from Rome, by the most excellent Signor Nicolo Sagredo. 1661.]

This is a report of which I have seen no authentic copy, and which is also found under the name of Anzolo Corraro.

But since no doubt can exist of the preceding report being by Corraro, whose activity in the war against the Barberini is expressly mentioned in it; while in that before us, on the contrary, the author declares his wish, that, released from his twenty-seven years' wanderings, he might now devote himself at home to the education of his children; which would by no means apply to Corraro, whose previous office had been that of podesta in Padua; so I have no hesitation in deciding that the name of Sagredo is the true one. Sagredo, as we know, had already been once sent to Rome, and afterward to Vienna. He now went to Rome for the second time. Upon the whole, he was indeed one of the most frequently employed statesmen of Venice, and ultimately became doge.

This report is not nearly so severe as the last; but neither is its tone that of eulogy: it has indeed the impress of entirely dispassionate observation.

With respect to the promotion of the nephews, Sagredo remarks that Pope Alexander was even then constantly exclaiming against the riches of the Borghesi, Barberini, and Ludovisi, although he was already taking care to neglect no opportunity for increasing the wealth of his own family.

His description of the Pope runs thus: "Placid and gentle of disposition; but in matters of business neither easy to deal with, nor particularly ready of comprehension; he is by nature irresolute in questions of importance, whether from fear lest they should not succeed,

or because he is unwilling to endure the fatigue of carrying them through; he fancies himself pierced by every thorn, however distant."

He thought he had done enough for the Venetians by the suppression of the two orders previously mentioned, and eventually the Candian war did not appear even to him of a very perilous character. He was much more nearly affected by the fact that Parma and Placentia were supported in their claims on the Ecclesiastical States by France. Neither was the Portuguese affair settled. "The absolute want of bishops in that kingdom, and the ruined state of the revenues in all the churches, being made manifest, not only have many clamors been occasioned, but most earnest entreaties have been made on the part of Orsino, the cardinal-protector, to the effect that this should be remedied; but the Pope has never been prevailed on to do it."

Moreover, we find the papacy already at variance with most of the Catholic States. There was not one which the judicial or pecuniary claims of the Curia had not utterly revolted.

Among the affairs then proceeding in Rome itself, our author chiefly specifies the architectural undertakings of Alexander. He informs us that in the general opinion the "Cattedra di San Pietro," in the church of St. Peter, was greatly preferred to the Colonnade. The embellishments of the city were occasionally carried forward in a somewhat arbitrary manner. "Many streets of the city have been rendered straight by the casting down of houses and palaces; the columns and other impediments that stood before the doors of individuals have been removed; and at the instance of the Jesuits belonging to the Collegio Romano, the Piazza Colonna has been enlarged by the destruction of that most noble pile, the Salviati palace. The projections and signs of the shops have been restricted within due limits; all works, that while they doubtless increase the beauty of the city, yet as the weight of them falls on private purses, they cannot fail to excite many murmurs: the seeing one's own nest thrown to the earth, and being compelled to contribute large sums for the adjustment of streets which produce no advantage to those who thus pay for them, is but ill compensated by the pretext that their dwellings will have a more agreeable appearance or enjoy a finer view; nor are they thus consoled for the burdens they suffer, and the force by which they are compelled to consent to these changes."

No. 134

Relatione di Roma del Cavaliere Pietro Basadona. 1663. [Report from Rome, by Pietro Basadona. 1663.]

In the manner of Corraro, who is however greatly exceeded, I will give place to some few passages.

First, in relation to the dispute with France, without doubt the most important event that took place during this embassy. "With regard to the present commotions, I know that I have sufficiently extracted the marrow from the bones on that subject (*dispolpate le ossa di tal materia*): but must not conceal the fact that if the imprudent pride of the Chigi family has caused them to fall into the ditch, their ambitious blundering has miserably entangled them in it. These people persuaded themselves that Rome was the world; but the King of France has given them to know, and that at their own cost, that they had not studied geography well. Much gossiping has caused the general feeling to be pretty well known in respect of the insolence of Cardinal Imperiale and Don Mario concerning the immunities of the French ambassador. I

will not say that they were blameless, but I can positively affirm that to their ill-will there was conjoined some fault of chance, which not unfrequently diminishes or increases the effect of human labors. This it is in part which has constituted their guilt, and now compels them to make full satisfaction to such claims as the King of France may legitimately found on the affronts that he has too certainly received in the person of his ambassador. And since I knew the truth of this matter, so did I use indefatigable efforts to cool down the rage of Crequi, and apply the balsams of negotiation to this schism, before it had extended to what was manifest ruin. But there were too many fancies in the heads of those Chigi (*teste Chigiarde*), and too much obstinacy to permit their condescending to a suitable humiliation toward the King, whose bravadoes they would not believe, considering them a mere pretence, and nothing more than a little ephemeral French heat. And this went so far that his holiness told me the Roman hearts were not to be frightened by the rhodomontade of a French stripping. To which I replied that it was sometimes more dangerous to have to do with hare-brained boys than with older and wiser heads, since the first would rush to the very edge of the precipice for the gratification of some favorite caprice; moreover, that to play with those who, if they have whims in their heads, have also armies at their side, and millions under their feet, was not a fit game for the popes, who have nothing but their two raised fingers.* I also represented to him, more than once, when it became obvious that the King was in earnest, that the States of the Church were but too completely ruined by the 14,000,000 scudi spent in the Barberini war; that the millions in which the treasury is indebted exceed fifty; and that, in fine, his holiness could not provide arms without ruining himself, could not fight without destroying himself, while the enemy could ruin him even without fighting. But all these, and a hundred other powerful reasons, were equally vain, he having too much affection for his kindred to send them away, and being, besides, too much displeased about the matter of Castro. And one day that I found him in the vein, he said to me in these precise words: 'Every one cries out that Castro must be given up, but no one says that Avignon ought to be restored; every one declares that the King must receive satisfaction for the affronts offered him, but no one utters a word of the compensation that should be made to ecclesiastics for the injuries they have endured; and if it were true, as it is known not to be, that Cardinal Imperiale and our brother Mario had given orders for what was done with respect to the ambassador, and that so the King might pretend to satisfaction as against those two, why should Castro be brought into the question? and then if Mario be innocent, why should we send him away from us?'

Thus does the whole report proceed. It is filled with self-sufficient invectives, and betrays profound contempt for the whole ecclesiastical system — a tone of feeling entirely modern. The possibility of the French becoming masters of Rome was already contemplated. The reader is sometimes tempted to doubt whether such statements ever could have been ventured upon before the Senate. But the improbability is greatly diminished, when we consider that the most violent attacks were just then made on the Roman See from all quarters (the fiercest satires were then appearing—“*Le putanisme de Rome*,” for example, wherein it was directly declared that the Pope must be allowed to marry for the prevention of other evils, and that the papacy might be made hereditary), and if we remember that this was the period when

* “*Le due dita alzate*,” alluding, as the reader will perceive, to the two fingers raised by the pontiff in the act of benediction—*Te*.

the credit of the Roman Court began to decline in the general estimation. Our author was, upon the whole, well acquainted with the court and city. He also deserves to be heard in person with relation to the Ecclesiastical States.

"It is an obvious truth that the ecclesiastical dominions are utterly borne down by their burdens, insomuch that many proprietors, finding it impossible to extract from their lands sufficient to pay the public impositions, increased beyond all measure, have made necessity their counsellor, and throwing up their estates, have gone to seek the good-fortune of being allowed to live in countries less rapacious. I do not speak of the duties and imposts on all things eatable, without any exception, but the personal taxes, tolls, donations, subsidies, and other extraordinary oppressions and extortions, studiously invented, are such as would excite compassion and amazement, if the terrible commissaries, whom Rome despatches into the subjected cities with supreme authority to examine, sell, carry off, and condemn, did not exceed these, as well as all belief. There is never a month that these griffons and harpies, wrapped in the cloak of commissioners, are not sent flying to their different posts, either for the buildings of St. Peter, or to gather pious bequests; or else they are commissioners of the *spoglia*, or of the archives, or of some dozens of other Roman tribunals: by which the already exhausted purses of the helpless subjects are pressed to the last coin. Accordingly, if we except Ferrara and Bologna, toward which there is some measure used, and which are favored by nature and art with the richest lands, and with an industrious trading community, all the other cities of Romagna, of the March, of Umbria, the Patrimony, Sabina, and the Territorio di Roma, are miserable in every respect. Nor is there to be found (oh! shame on the Roman governors) in any of these cities the manufacture of wool or of silk, to say nothing of cloth of gold, two or three little villages of Fossombrone, Pergola, Matelica, Camerino, and Norcia, alone excepted; although from the abundance of wool and silk, every kind of profitable manufacture might be introduced. But the ecclesiastical territory is as an estate leased out to tenants, and those who rent it do not think of improving, but only of how they may best press forth whatever can be extracted from the poor ill-treated soil, which, exhausted and dried up, cannot offer to the new tenant any better return than sterility. And then the papal treasury seems to be consumed in an all-devouring abyss. It was thought proper to take arms twice, as if the first error, which cost 2,000,000 scudi, was a thing fit to be imitated. There was some pretence of defending the State, although every consideration of prudence commanded that an accommodation should have been sought at the very first, that France might be deprived of all pretext for demanding heavier terms. By a calculation which I made of the reduction of interest in the *luoghi di monti* from four and a half per cent. (or in our mint seven per cent.) to four per cent. I found that at half a scudo per cent. on 50,000,000 of debt, the treasury would gain 250,000 scudi per annum, which at four per cent. would form a capital of 6,500,000."

No. 135

Vita di Alessandro VII. Con la descrizione delle sue adherenze e governo. 1666. [Life of Alexander VII. With a description of his adherents and government. 1666.]

This is not a biography, at least not such a biography as Pallavicini wrote; but a general description of the transactions of this pontiff, ac-

ording to the impression produced by them in Rome: the author was a well-informed and, upon the whole, conscientious contemporary.

"He is in truth of a pious mind," he remarks of the Pope; "religious and devout, he would fain work miracles for the preservation of Christianity. . . . But he is indolent, timid, and irresolute, and very often does ill, by doing nothing." He denounced all nepotism in the first instance, yet afterward carried it to extremity. Financial affairs were all in the hands of the nephews—they enriched themselves greatly. The contentions with Crequi were entirely to be attributed to them. The Pope retained only the management of foreign affairs for himself; and to these he did not give sufficient attention. He had literary meetings in his apartments, which occupied much time. In the evenings Rospigliosi had audience for one short hour. Business proceeded in fact but very indifferently. The Pope replied in general terms only to the different applicants; yet he had no minister to whom the parties seeking could be referred.

The conclusion is not of the most cheering character. The author sums up his relation in the following words: "Ambition, avarice, and luxury rule the palace; and yet piety, goodness, and zeal govern Alexander VII."

No. 136

Relatione di Roma di Giacomo Quirini Cavaliere, 1667 (8), 23 Febr.
[Giacomo Quirini's report from Rome.]

Giacomo Quirini was at the Court of Rome three years and a half under Alexander VII; he was afterward accredited for a certain time to Clement IX: his report relates to the whole of this period.

He first describes the last years of Alexander VII, not with the animosity of his predecessor, it is true, but essentially to the same purpose.

"In forty-two months during which I served Alexander VII, I perceived that he had but the name of a pope, not the exercise of the papal power; as supreme head, he thought only of securing his own tranquillity; he rejected all business with fixed determination; and the virtues by which he was so eminently distinguished as cardinal—his readiness of mind, discrimination of judgment, promptitude in difficulties, freedom in resolve, and extraordinary facility of expression, were all entirely destroyed." He also describes the abuses of nepotism. From the building of the colonnades of St. Peter's, for which Bernini has been blamed, he predicts evil as follows: "It will depopulate the Leonine city forever; the houses being levelled, the waters required for the fountains will increase the humidity, while the fires (hearths) will have been taken away; the result of which will be malaria." He investigates the abuses of pensions, and the mode of bestowing places, with especial reference to Venice, whence the sum of 100,000 ducats was yearly sent to Rome. It is remarkable that Alexander VII on his side was greatly dissatisfied with the cardinals; he complained that they attached themselves to the party of the princes even in the affair of Castro; that they could never aid him even by useful advice. "He bewailed himself, because there was neither learning nor virtue among those purple prelates; nor did they ever suggest expedients or measures that he had not first thought of himself." It was a decay and degeneracy pervading all things.

The conclave was mastered by the subserviency of Chigi to the *Squadron volante*. It was afterward seen that Chigi had proceeded

very prudently in this; to that subserviency he was indebted for the share of power accorded to him by Clement IX.

Quirini declares Clement IX to have been physically weak, and worn by various diseases, but firm, nay, obstinate in his opinions; he would sometimes prohibit his ministers from speaking again on a subject respecting which he had taken his resolution. A musician named Atto, a native of Pistoja, well known in Venice, was admitted to a confidential intercourse with the pontiff. The determination of Clement to remit a portion of the taxes, Quirini considers heroic. "He displayed heroic piety, by taking off two giulios per measure from the tax on ground corn, thus depriving himself of 2,000,000 scudi."

He next comes to the family of Clement IX, more particularly Cardinal Rospigliosi, whom he describes as follows:

"Although the promotion took place on the day before my departure only, the abbate Rospigliosi attaining the cardinalate just as he had finished his thirty-eighth year, yet having known him at two separate times in Spain, and transacted business with him in Rome on various occasions when he was cupbearer to Cardinal Chigi, I can relate thus much to your excellencies from distinct knowledge, that the Pope, speaking to me frequently during the audiences, permitted himself to allude with a just warmth to the abbate as a prudent minister, and in attributing merit and worth to him did but speak as all by common consent were doing; and in this I think it certain he is not deceived, for no nephew of a pope has ever appeared on the scene more highly informed than he, who was always employed during the long nunciature at the Court of Spain; he was, besides, sole director in the office of secretary of state in Rome, dictating all letters and replies to the affairs of foreign princes. Then, on occasion of the troubles respecting those most injudicious determinations adopted toward the ambassador Crequi, he was first sent to St. Quirico, and afterward to Leghorn, but rather to be the bearer of the palace flatteries than to satisfy the ambassador-duke; and when that affair was finally adjusted, he was sent to France in the legation of Chigi to arrange the formalities of the treaty; whence returning to Rome with the title of internuncio, he passed into Flanders. When Pope Clement was raised to the pontificate, the hope and opinion were entertained that he would be able to conciliate all differences, at once preserving the advantages of peace and averting the perils of war; then Rospigliosi received full powers for the adjustment of all disputes between the two crowns. In these journeys and employments, as well as in his earlier days, he lavished much gold with great generosity; but having fallen grievously sick at Susa, he thought proper to squander a vast amount with extreme prodigality, insomuch that the apostolic treasury was burdened to the extent of 140,000 scudi. He is upon the whole of a character naturally melancholy; a man of few words and retired within himself. During all these years of intercourse and meetings in ante-rooms, he has evinced indifference to all, seeming to feel a cordial friendship for and confidence in none, being too reserved, rather than frank in discourse. And now, in consequence of the sufferings that he has endured, he sometimes remains fixed in a sort of mental abstraction, and halts in the business before him; then he seeks to divert his mind by visits, and mingles in the movements of the court. On this account the cardinal Azzolini now directs the office of secretary of state, signing the orders to the legations, as well as those to the nunciatures of princes. Up to the present time, he has been provided by the munificence of the Pope with 3,000 scudi of pensions, and with abbacies formerly held by the pontiff himself; he has derived 4,000 scudi from the death of Cardinal Palotta, and has 12,000 from the legation of Avignon as cardinal-padrone."

No. 137

Relatione della corte di Roma al re Christianissimo dal Signore di Charme. 1669. [Report from Rome, presented to his most Christian majesty the king of France, by the Seigneur de Charme. 1669.]

This report has been printed both in French and Italian, yet it contains very little deserving attention, and this is, perhaps, the very reason why it was printed.

The embarrassments of the apostolic treasury are discussed here also; the little that had been accomplished by the restrictions imposed on his nephews by Clement IX is alluded to; it is affirmed that no congregation could do anything effectual, and that a general bankruptcy was to be apprehended.

The remarks of Grimani respecting the want of able men, with his observations on the uprightness of intention, but absence of energy conspicuous among the Rospigliosi; on the state of the prelature and that of the country, are here confirmed.

He adds certain reflections, of which we perceive that many have been taken directly from Grimani.

I have myself felt a doubt whether this work proceeded from a French ambassador; but if it did, it must have been from the duke de Chaulnes, whom we find to have been ambassador to Rome during the negotiations relative to the Spanish succession ("Négotiations relatives à la succession d'Espagne," p. 579); but in any case, it was obviously written by a contemporary who was not without good information.

No. 138

Relatione della corte di Roma del Signore Antonio Grimani, ambasciatore della republica di Venetia in Roma durante il pontificato di Clemente IX. 1670. [Report of Antonio Grimani, ambassador from the republic of Venice to the court of Rome during the pontificate of Clement IX. 1670.]

We have seen that Quirini expressed himself doubtfully with regard to the virtues of Clement IX. The experience gained from Alexander VII had probably rendered him cautious. Grimani, on the contrary, breaks forth into unbounded praise, at least with respect to moral qualities. "In good sooth, meekness, modesty, affability, moderation, clemency, candor, and purity of conscience, are his especial gifts." He declares that he had never known a better man.

He first discusses the moderation with which Clement had endowed his nephews, yet it is obvious that in Rome there were many things said to the contrary. Grimani is even of opinion that the people of Pistoja would avenge themselves at some future time on the nephews for the unexpected neglect with which they were treated.

But amidst these conflicting statements, thus much remains certain—that Clement adopted no effectual measures for the abolition of other abuses. Men soon exclaimed that if another Sixtus V did not appear, the pontificate would incur the danger of utter ruin.

Grimani points out the principal evils—the sales of offices, which resulted in the absence of all able and useful men, and the ruinous financial arrangements; he also specifies the neglect of the religious orders. "The monks are now held in so much contempt, that they have desisted

of their own accord from appearing at court, to save themselves from the insults of the lowest hangers-on about the palace. Bishoprics and the purple are considered to be debased when conferred on the regular clergy, and in all competitions, coarse, ignorant, and even vicious priests, will obtain the prize in preference to a learned and upright monk. The nephews have no regard for the regular clergy, because they cannot receive so much court from them as from the priests. If burdens are to be imposed, the monasteries are first thought of; if reforms are to be effected, it is not the priests who are referred to, but the monks. In fine, they deprive men of all inclination for study, all care for the defence of the Church from those false doctrines which the enemies of Rome are constantly disseminating; those enemies, too, increasing daily, while the number of learned and exemplary monks is as constantly diminishing; from all which the court itself may soon come to suffer no little injury. Wherefore it is my opinion that the pontiffs would do well to take measures for the restoration of the regular clergy to their former credit, by conferring on them from time to time certain offices of dignity; and this they could the better do, from the fact that the number of monks being so great, they would be able to select from them such men as might be required. By this means, men of distinction would be led to enter the orders, whereas, nowadays, the very bankrupt traders think scorn of covering their shoulders with the robe of the monk; nor are any seen to enter the monasteries but people of the working classes." Yet, unhappily, no remedy was to be expected from Clement IX—he was too lukewarm, too easy in temper.

After this description of the Pope, the ambassador proceeds to his nearest connections, and first to Cardinal Rospigliosi, of whom hopes had been entertained "that he was he who should redeem Israel" ("*quod esset redempturus Israel*"). He points out how and wherefore this hope had been disappointed. "There are three things, in my opinion, which cause the aforesaid cardinal to walk with leaden foot, and to be accused of mental indolence and want of application. The first is his great anxiety to do everything well, and to please all the world, a thing which can hardly be done by a man who is not absolute master. The second is, that his will is restrained and rendered uncertain by the Pope, who, although he loves this nephew, nay, regards him with extraordinary affection, yet he likes to do everything in his own way. Whence, Rospigliosi, fearful of having his decisions rendered null by the negation of the pontiff, and desirous, on the other hand, of contenting the applicants and parties interested, is deterred from arriving at any conclusion whatever. Thirdly, the very extent of his own capacity is injurious to him, more particularly in matters which depend on himself; for although he abounds, as is said, in those qualities required for maintaining the post of papal nephew, yet a real penury in practice results from this abundance, because he loses the greater part of the most precious hours in meditating and sifting the materials before him, which, while he is pondering and laboring to choose so as not to miss the best selection, the time flies, and the occasion for acting flies with it." Rospigliosi must, however, not be refused the justice of an admission that he did not enrich himself, "having neglected many opportunities for enriching himself, when he might have done it without scruple, and with a clear conscience." It was indeed believed that he favored Chigi, principally to the end that he might one day become Pope by his aid; but the ambassador contradicts this assertion. The extent to which the character and habits of thought, distinguishing the Pope and cardinal-nephew were reflected in the inferior members of this government, is remarkable. They were not destitute of good intentions or of ability,

yet, from one cause or another, they produced no effectual result. "For the current affairs of the day, the cardinal employs two ministers in particular. The one is Monsignore Agustini, a prudent man and of exemplary life; it may be said of him as of Job, 'an upright man and one that fears God' (*'vir simplex et timens Deum'*); but slow withal; procrastinating and irresolute, so greatly desirous, moreover, of doing well, that he will not act at all, from the fear of doing ill. With this character, he has found means to get so completely into the favor of the cardinal-padrone, that the latter extols him in all places as an oracle, and esteems him the most able minister of the court, although those who continually hear him in the congregation form a different opinion of him, holding him to be but a very ordinary kind of person, the Pope also being of the same opinion. The other is Monsignore Fiani, on whom the office of secretary of the Consulta was conferred; a trust which imperatively demands the most perfect confidence on the part of the cardinal-padrone. Rospigliosi has therefore done wisely to select this man, who knows the duties of a friend, and who has all the capacity for government that can be desired; but he is almost unfitted for the exercise of his office, being very infirm, and much afflicted by gout; he therefore also protracts all business, to the extreme annoyance of the court, where he is but little liked, in part perhaps because he is reported to have a ready hand for receiving presents; but my opinion is, that this report is the mere malignity of evil speakers."

It is not necessary to repeat the further particulars given respecting the papal family, which never attained to any permanent influence. The brother of the Pope, Don Camillo Rospigliosi, deserved, as our author says, to have been canonized even during his life, had that been a thing customary. He had five sons, of whom two only require to be named here; the second, Don Tommaso, who had already turned his thoughts toward effecting improvements in the manufactures of the Ecclesiastical States; and the youngest Giambattista, "a youth of most comely aspect, and of acute and penetrating mind," who married a Pallavicina of Genoa, and founded the house of Rospigliosi. It will suffice to give a general description of the new relations in which these nephews were placed. "Among all the popes who have occupied the Vatican, there has perhaps never been seen one more prudent or moderate in his deportment toward his nephews than Clement IX, who enjoyed their society, but would never suffer himself to be ruled by them; on the contrary, the more affection he displayed for them, the more he kept them back, excluding them from all share in his more secret thoughts. And the excellence of the nephews themselves came in aid of the Pope's good intention to remove from the Church that scandal so long subsisting of the delegation of almost all the authority vested in the Vatican to the nephews of the pontiffs. Wherefore, it may be said with good cause, that never have kinsmen of the Pope been seen in Rome more modest, more humble, more charitable, or more disinterested than the Rospigliosi; and what is more important, all endowed with such piety and excellence, that one must be devoid of human feeling not to love them; nay, we may even affirm that the Pope never loved them to the extent of their merits, since he treated them rather as strangers than as kinsmen, and never confided to them any matter of importance; and hereby he was himself rendered unhappy, because on the one hand he voluntarily deprived himself of that satisfaction so needful to princes—the relief of unbosoming himself with his own family; and, on the other hand, was prevented from unburdening his mind with his immediate attendants, who were, for the most part, untaught people, and of very slight capacity. It is believed that the Pope does not intrust the more important matters of

the court to anyone but Cardinal Chigi, who being crafty and dexterous, has found means to ingratiate himself most completely with the pontiff."

Then follows a description of the cardinals, and of the ambassadors residing at the court; but the persons thus described are of no great importance, and the interests treated of were too fleeting and transient to warrant our giving them any further attention.

No. 139

Relatione della stato delle cose di Roma del mese di Sett. 1670. [Account of the state of Rome in the month of September, 1670.] Altieri Library, 9 leaves.

To the Venetian reports, and those purporting to be French, some that were Spanish are also added; the account before us was unquestionably drawn up for Spain. Allusion is made in it to another, which had been sent to the Spanish Court, and the notices contained in which were on that account omitted in the one before us.

Clement IX, "whose disposition is most gentle, so that none present themselves at his feet to whom he would not fain do some kindness. . . . He is very economical in expenditure, and exceedingly parsimonious in giving to his kindred." Cardinal Altieri: "He does everything himself, and is little influenced by others. Ages have passed since a papal nephew was seen in Rome of greater weight, of higher ability, or of more integrity." We remark that under this pontificate also, the greater part of the officials were permitted to retain their employments unchanged.

But the most important circumstance communicated by this author is the division of the court. Chigi, Barberini, and Rospigliosi were connected in the closest intimacy with Altieri. This league had been effected principally by the Spanish ambassador. Opposed to it stood the faction of the *squadronisti*, that is to say, the cardinals created by Innocent X, who had exercised so powerful an influence on the last papal elections, and had placed their dependents in the public offices during the last two pontificates. To this party belonged Omodei, Ottoboni, Imperiali, Borromeo, and Azzolino. Into the disputes of these two factions the queen of Sweden entered with extraordinary zeal. We know the high estimation in which she held Azzolino. In this document she is called his faithful servant. She is charged with planning a thousand intrigues to promote the views of the *squadronisti*.

No. 140

Memorie per descrivere la vita di Clemente X., pontefice massimo, raccolte da Carlo Cartari Orvietano, decano degli avvocati consistoriali e prefetto dell' archivio apostolico di castello S. Angelo di Roma. [Memoirs toward a life of the supreme pontiff Clement X., collected by Carlo Cartari, of Orvieto, dean of the consistorial advocates, and prefect of the apostolic archives of the Castle St. Angelo in Rome.] Altieri Library, 211 pages.

Composed immediately after the death of the Pope, and completed in October, 1676; the author expressly imposes on himself the duty of avoiding all flattery and speaking only the simple truth. "From these sheets, flattery, my irreconcilable enemy, shall be entirely banished; I

shall restrict myself exclusively to the pure and candid truth." But this work, as the author had proposed, was a collection of materials only, to be used by some future biographer.

It would at first appear as if this declaration had merely proceeded from modesty on the part of the author.

The father of the Pope, the old Lorenzo Altieri, with whom Cartari had been well acquainted, is most agreeably described, as a man of powerful mind and majestic deportment, but very modest withal, as was manifest from his countenance. Although only a collector of materials, our author has not abstained from subjoining a conceit, altogether in the spirit of that age. "He was adorned externally by his beautiful gray hair, as intrinsically by his purity of life, and the rare piety with which he was wonderfully endowed."

Emilio Altieri was born in 1596; received the degree of doctor in 1611; passed a certain time in study under Pamfili, who was afterward pope, and in 1624 accompanied Lancellotti, Bishop of Nola, whose "Instruction" is still extant, to Poland. On his return, he was appointed Bishop of Camerino, in the place of his brother Giovanni Battista, who had entered the College of Cardinals. It has been asserted, though Cartari has no word respecting it, that Emilio himself had even at that time been selected for the cardinalate, and would have been more cordially received than his brother, but he had the self-command to leave Rome at the decisive moment, and thus resigned the place to his elder brother. Pope Innocent X sent Emilio as nuncio to Naples, where he is said to have contributed largely toward the settlement of the commotions excited by Massaniello. Alexander VII appointed him secretary to the congregation for bishops and monastic clergy, a position which all had found to be exceedingly tiresome. It was not until his seventy-ninth year that he was effectually promoted. On November 29, 1669, Clement IX appointed him cardinal; but this pontiff had not even time to give him the hat; without having yet received that sign of his dignity, Altieri proceeded to the conclave, which ended by the election of himself as pope, on April 29, 1670. He refused this dignity for a certain time, declaring that there were persons of higher merit that might be chosen, and even naming Cardinal Brancacci; but eventually he consented to ascend the papal throne.

So far was the new pontiff advanced in years he had not even a near relation by his side; but it was necessary that he should select a kinsman to share with him the weight of affairs.

"His holiness was in the eightieth year of his age; wherefore, on that account, and after the example of his predecessors, who, well knowing the heavy weight of the pontificate, had esteemed it necessary for their own relief to depute some portion of it to a cardinal, with the title of general superintendent of the Ecclesiastical States, he was pleased on that same day to declare the cardinal Paluzzo Paluzzi degli Albertoni, his connection, to be charged with that laborious office, changing his name for that of Altieri."

Proceeding to the transactions of this pontificate, we find that the author gives his first attention to those which took place in Rome itself.

The arrival of the ambassadors from Ferrara and Bologna to proffer their allegiance; the discovery of the monument of Constantine at the foot of the steps of St. Peter's; the decoration of the bridge of St. Angelo with ten angels of Carrara marble; the building of the Altieri Palace, on which nearly 300,000 scudi were expended, which could not, however, be called a loss, because they went to the benefit of the poor; the erection of a second fountain on the Piazza di San Pietro, but which the Pope did not see completed. These are the principal circumstances on which

Cartari dwells. Speaking of the palace, he also describes the library: "In almost the highest part of the said palace, there was a space reserved for the library, equally noble in extent, and delightful for the charming view to be obtained from it of the city and country surrounding; here magnificent ranges of shelves are filled, by the generosity of Cardinal Altieri, with precious books in all sciences, amounting to the number of 12,000." Well do I know that place—how often have I mounted those steps! He then speaks of the fountains: "The fountain of Paul V was transported by means of wonderfully powerful machinery—I might almost say in one piece, from the position where it formerly stood, to that where it is now to be seen, corresponding to the lateral entrances of the theatre; and as an accompaniment of the same, he ordered that a second should be constructed exactly similar in front of the Cesi gardens, as was done."

But the most remarkable fact that Cartari relates on this subject, is that respecting that pretended mosaic of Giotto, the "Navicella di San Pietro." It had suffered frequent change of place after the destruction of the old basilica, where it had originally stood, having been removed by Paul V to the palace, by Urban VIII into the church, and having been taken by Innocent X again into the palace. Alexander VII once more found it unsuitably placed there; but despairing of effecting its removal as it was, he decided on having it taken to pieces, the small stones belonging to each figure being put into a separate bag. Under Clement X, Cardinal Barberini proposed that it should be restored after a copy taken in the pontificate of Urban VIII. It was then once more put together, and placed in the lunette over the middle entrance of the vestibule; but how this was managed we must let Cartari tell in his own words: "As the recess was not large enough, it was suggested that the figures might be left in their proper form, but that the spaces between them might be lessened; and this was very diligently accomplished." We perceive from this, that those who attribute the work in its present form to the new master, are not without some ground for their opinion.

The author at length applies himself to affairs of state; but respecting these he is very defective. He asserts that Clement X, notwithstanding his financial necessities, would never proceed to any new reductions of the *monti*, from consideration to the numerous families, and still more to the many pious institutions which must suffer by such a measure. He preferred to make retrenchments, and even the cardinal-nephew also proposed to resign his own emoluments as *sopraintendente dello stato*. The Curia still contrived to sent money to Poland, then hard pressed by the Turks; 30,000 scudi at one time, at another time 16,000 scudi, and again a third sum of 70,000 scudi, were forwarded to that country. The cardinals had themselves made a special collection.

This is all I find respecting foreign affairs; but neither are those concerning the States of the Church very profoundly treated. "Some effort was made to procure the free introduction of foreign merchandise, and all exemptions from the regular customs-duties were recalled; regulations were made respecting the *officii vacabili* of the *dataria*, and the proceeds of the same; the tax of a quatrino imposed on artists, was repealed; and it was enacted that the Romans and other nobles of the Ecclesiastical States might engage in commerce without prejudice to their nobility." This is in fact all that he tells us of essential importance.

The transactions of the papacy in reference to the internal state of the Church are scarcely even alluded to.

No. 141

Clementis Decimi Pontificis Maximi vita. [Life of the supreme pontiff Clement X.] Altieri Library, 288 pages.

It was the opinion of Cartari that many would be found to write the life of Clement X, and it is to these persons that he dedicates these materials. An author did, in fact, soon appear to undertake that office; but this was a Jesuit, writing at the command of his general Oliva. He was supplied with his materials by Cardinal Pauluzzi Altieri.

This author does not mention Cartari; it is nevertheless manifest that he had his work before him. He frequently does nothing more than translate and amplify that writer.

But if Cartari was careful to avoid flattery, the Jesuit is equally careful to infuse it. He sets forth the opinion that in the year of Clement's birth—when the Tiber had produced violent inundations, this took place. "As though the river of the imperial city had foreseen the increase of the Roman glory that was to proceed from the infant then born."

But he has also occasionally made more useful additions. He relates that characteristic trait of Clement's having voluntarily given way to his brother.

In subsequent chapters he also enters on the affairs of the Church. "During his reign, the realm of Hungary saw numbers return to the way of truth; so that he made the country, to use the words of Cardinal Francesco Nerli, almost wholly Catholic." This is indeed a strong hyperbole, for not only was Hungary at that time far from being so nearly Catholic, but Clement X had contributed very little toward promoting even what Catholicism there was. "He labored with judicious industry for the propagation and preservation of the true religion in Ireland. . . . Bohemia and the realms attached to her saw many, and among them great princes, retrace their steps to the Vatican. The Tyrol (Rhætia) also beheld many, as did the valleys on her confines; a great body proceeded from Holland, and still more from France." But the Jesuit's assertions are mostly in general terms only.

While he lauds the justice and love of his subjects displayed by Clement, he excuses him for having raised contributions to support the Poles against the Turks by taxes on the clergy, and for having taken up new loans; he maintains that the Pope had repealed oppressive taxes, and in their stead had laid imposts on luxuries—foreign wines and tobacco for example; he extols the extreme moderation shown by Clement in regard to his kindred. About the building of the Altieri Palace, there should not be too much said; people should rather remember how few estates the Altieri family had acquired. "Within how small a space are those towns and villages comprised which are subject to the Altieri princes, while the rule of others was most widely extended."

No. 142

Nuovo governo di Roma sotto il pontificato di Papa Clemente X. [New government of Rome, under the pontificate of Pope Clement X.] Barberini Library, 17 leaves.

The family connections of Pauluzzi are here discussed, with his singular elevation to the position of papal nephew.

The brother of the pontiff, and chief of the house of Altieri, had left an only daughter, and had commanded that the husband whom she might marry should take the name of Altieri.

A nephew of Cardinal Pauluzzi married this heiress of the house of Altieri, and the two families were thus united.

All the other connections, the Gabrielli, for example, who would else have been the nearest, were compelled to retire.

This government seems upon the whole to have been less lenient, even from its commencement, than the preceding one had been, and this proceeded from the fact that Clement IX had loaded with debts even those portions of the revenue which had previously always been reserved. The disbanding of the little army had already begun. The author is of opinion that even the trifling diminution of the taxes effected would cause the whole State to be disarmed.

Even this writer complains of the forms of administration, and of the recklessness which had then become habitual with the authorities of the Ecclesiastical States. "Perceiving themselves to be detested and abhorred, they harden themselves all the more, and, drawing their hats over their eyes, they look no one in the face; but making every herb help to increase their pack, they care for nothing but their own interest, and are without a thought for the public welfare."

No. 143

Relatione dello stato presente della corte di Roma, fatta all' eccellentissimo principe di Ligni, governatore di Milano, dall' illustrissimo Signore Feder. Rozzoni, inviato straordinario da S. E. alla corte appresso Clemente X. [Report on the present state of the Court of Rome, presented to the most excellent prince de Ligni, governor of Milan, by the most illustrious Federigo Rozzoni, ambassador extraordinary from his excellency to Clement X.] 24 leaves.

Written somewhat later than the preceding report.

The position of parties had already changed. Rospigliosi and Chigi were neglected by the reigning house, which was seeking an alliance with the *Squadronisti*.

The relations subsisting between the Pope and Cardinal Altieri are described in the following manner:

"The Pope has no power of application whatever, partly because of his declining years, but partly also because it is natural to him to regard his own repose, and to retire from those heavy cares which might disturb the serenity of his mind, which is solely bent on living in tranquillity. Thus he cannot be made acquainted with the proceedings of justice, or of other political affairs relating to the court and the Ecclesiastical States. Wherefore, the having recourse to him avails nothing to those who are oppressed by his ministers; and to give himself a better excuse for not interfering in these matters, he frequently affects illness; but not on that account abstaining from his private *conversazioni*, which he holds every day after dinner, with the playing of cards, and enjoyment of music and singing.

"He leaves the government of the Church entirely to Cardinal Altieri, and does not meddle with it except when required to give his assent by voice or writing; in all besides, he has so completely resigned everything to his decision that he has frequently shown fear of him, giving alms, granting favors, and doing other things in secret. But the appointment to benefices and bishoprics, with the selection of those who

are to be raised to the purple, remains exclusively with the cardinal, who is a man of cool temper, not easily roused to anger, and, even when offended, not seeking to avenge himself. He is well calculated to sustain the post he occupies, and is, in fact, determined to know and to direct all affairs, whether great or small, not of the court only, but of the whole ecclesiastical dominion. This is attributed by some to a great avidity as respects his own interests, concerning which he is most vigilant, never suffering any occasion whatever to pass without making profit of it. At a fixed hour of each day, he gives audience to all the ministers of the court and their secretaries, himself imparting to them their orders and instructions—not in general only, but also in particulars, in such sort that the judges, and even the governor himself, are not permitted to exercise any discretion of their own in their different charges.

“The principal minister of the aforesaid cardinal, both is and has been the abbate Piccini, a man of poor capacity and inferior parentage, who was chamberlain to Clement X before his elevation. Thus, by the access that he has to the cardinal, or, as some say, by the power he has of determining his resolutions, he has got together an annual income of 12,000 scudi, and a capital of 200,000, having filled his head with smoke as completely as he has filled his purse with gold. But the favoring gale that he has enjoyed has ceased just now, some say from political causes, and not because his high influence has been diminished by the union of the four royal ambassadors; although the said abbate Piccini and the commissioner of the treasury, called Monsignor Zaccaria, are more intimately about the person of the cardinal than any others. But as to all this, it is merely an affair of interest, to which this cardinal desires to appear indifferent. Thus he would fain suffer the blame of that avarice with which the common opinion loads him, to fall on the shoulders of these two ministers or interpreters.

No. 144

Relazione della corte di Roma del N. H. Piero Mocenigo, che fu ambasciatore a Papa Clemente X., fatto l' anno 1675. [Report from the court of Rome, by N. H. Piero Mocenigo, late ambassador to Pope Clement X, presented in the year 1675.] 44 leaves.

Piero Mocenigo had previously been in England; he then proceeded to Rome, which presented him, more particularly in a commercial point of view, with so totally different an aspect. He was here involved in rather earnest contention with the house of Altieri, having assumed the office of leader to the ambassadors, whom the Curia sought to deprive of some of their immunities. We cannot wonder that he does not seem to have been much edified by what he perceived, and by all that he experienced.

He divides his report into three parts:

1. “The character of that court, its authority, as well spiritual as temporal, with additions respecting the treasury and forces. The whole thought of these rulers,” he begins by observing, “is absorbed by their determination not to leave their own house exposed to the persecutions and scorn that wait on poverty. Thus the pole-star of that court is private interest, and the application they affect to business and the public weal is a mere specious appearance.” The result of the favor shown to the great families now, was, that not only the middle classes, but even the inferior nobility were deprived of all advancement—not possessing sufficient wealth to raise themselves by their own power, yet

feeling too much independence of spirit to debase themselves by imitating the subserviency of the really indigent.

"This country," observes Piero Mocenigo, "is the very home of flattery; there are nevertheless many who console themselves for their disappointed hopes by slander and evil-speaking; and they propound this maxim—he will never be mistaken who judges the worst."

The more important congregations were those of the Inquisition, of Ecclesiastical Immunities, of the Council, of the Propaganda, the Bishops and Monastic Clergy, and the Index. When the court desires to refuse any request, it refers the affair to these congregations, which cling fast to their canons and to the practice of past ages; the merest trifles are thus magnified into importance; but if the court be favorably disposed, it then takes the matter into its own hands.

It is more particularly in secular affairs that this absolute power of the court is displayed. Cardinals would never have sanctioned the declaration of war. (We may add that for a considerable time this had no longer happened.)

The condition of the country became daily worse. In the course of forty years, as the author was informed, the number of inhabitants had decreased by one-third. Where a hundred hearths had formerly been counted, there were now found no more than sixty; many houses were pulled down, although this was forbidden by the *Consulta*; less land was daily cultivated; marriages decreased; parents sought refuge for their children in the cloister.

He estimates the interest of the public debt—of the *monti* and *officii vacabili* that is—at 2,400,000 scudi; and the deficit at many hundred thousand.

2. "The present government of Clement X, his household, the Sacred College, and correspondence with princes."

Clement X.—It is true that he gave audience at stated hours to the datary, the secretary of briefs, the secretary of state, and Cardinal Altieri, but he merely went through the formality of signing papers; disagreeable things were concealed from him—an object to which Cardinal Altieri gave his whole attention. The ambassador affirms that the Pope had no knowledge whatever of the affairs of the world—he had never been employed as nuncio. We know that this is false. "It is said in Rome that the pontiff's business is to bless and to consecrate—that of Cardinal Altieri, to reign and govern."

Cardinal Altieri: "His constitution is delicate . . . his character is ardent, impetuous, and impulsive; he is accustomed to the Roman courtesy of refusing nothing, but on the contrary, to show the utmost readiness of agreement, with many obliging words, on first hearing a request; but after he has considered the matter, he retracts, nay, will even deny the promise given, and display marks of anger. . . . He is elevated by slight hopes, as, on the contrary, he is depressed by unimportant fears." In these expressions, we clearly perceive the operation of personal dislike.

It is in a similar spirit that the other persons here described are treated. Laura Altieri, to whom the family owed its prosperity, was, according to our author, not content with her position in it, and for that reason was never permitted to approach the Pope; but I do not fully believe this assertion.

The remarks of Mocenigo, when describing the union of the court with the *Squadronisti*, are less liable to suspicion—we have already seen how the way was prepared for this. Barberini, Chigi, and Rospigliosi were now but slightly esteemed; the *Squadronisti* particularly insisted on the independence of the Curia on foreign courts. They had drawn

the Altieri completely to their party. The author affirms that the perplexities in which the court became involved were to be attributed to them.

He enters more minutely into the detail of these embarrassments, but with the irritable manner usual with him.

According to him, the court was obliged to propitiate the Emperor from time to time by spiritual presents, *Agnus Dei*, etc. It had so many contentions with France, that to see the French involved in war was a cause of rejoicing in Rome. How then could the Pope negotiate a peace? Spain complained of this among other things, that robbers from Naples were received into the Roman States, and were suffered to sell there the property they had stolen. "But they give no ear to these complaints, because it is thus that the quiet of the frontier is secured; the bandits engaging themselves to maintain peace in those confines." Mocenigo declares that Rome neglected to press the Poles earnestly to the war against Turkey, merely to avoid being compelled to give aid; that it would not acknowledge the title of the Czar, and therefore entered into no relations with him, although they might have derived so important an assistance from such a connection, against the hereditary enemy. "From the fear of involving themselves in the obligation to remit and contribute large succors, they suffered the proposals made by a Polish envoy to fall to the ground; these being, that the King of Poland would pass the Danube, enter Bulgaria, and promise to carry the war into the heart of the Ottoman Empire." I notice this only because we learn from it that such hopes were entertained even at that time; but what the Roman Court could have done toward the matter, it is not easy to perceive, more especially if the papal treasury and dominions were in the condition described above. Mocenigo says, further, that the court would not concede to the King of Portugal the patronage of his churches situate beyond the seas, nor an "indult" to the Duke of Saxony for appointing to the vacant bishoprics in his own territory. These claims to ecclesiastical independence were now put forward in Tuscany also, and even in the smaller principalities.

The annexation of Castro to the treasury turned out to be a positive loss. The debts thus undertaken required 90,000 scudi for their interest; while the farmer of the revenue paid only 60,000. The people of Rome declared that it was not thus a prince should reckon.

3. *Corrispondenze colla Repubblica*.—This was but very short, and principally in relation to personal contentions. "A most difficult employment." All in the same spirit.

They had already been prepared in Venice for a report in this tone. Even before Mocenigo's return, there had appeared a "Letter written to Venice by a person well informed respecting the embassy [another hand has here added, 'infamous embassy'] of the Signor Mocenigo," wherein the little man with the great wig, who is forever talking of England, is somewhat roughly dealt withal. He was described as "now sitting closeted day and night with a scribe, that he may blacken the Court of Rome in his report:" "a government, than which there has not been a better for the secular princes from the times of St. Peter till now—conciliatory, moderate, and given to no cavils."

It is certain that Mocenigo has gone too far; but we are not on that account to reject all that he has said.

Everyone, after all, impresses the mode of his own opinions on the affairs that he describes. It is for the reader to see that he makes the right distinction between object and subject.

No. 145

Scrittura sopra il governo di Roma. [Treatise on the government of Rome.] MS. Rome.

This document will be found among writings relating to 1670-80, and belongs to somewhere about that time. "It is as cheerless as ever" were the bewailings of Sacchetti. 1. "On the wretched state of the people, and how they always, in every pontificate, can find means to bestow ten, or even 150,000 scudi on one house, but cannot make it possible to take 50,000 scudi from the burdens of the overloaded people; and the worst of all is that they will not allow their subjects to fill their purses by seeking from lawful trade those gains which others unduly appropriate to themselves by favor of the authorities." 2. "Concerning the great poverty, and the great luxury of the land." A mere rhetorical contrast. 3. "On the corn-laws and the wine-trade." This relates principally to abuses arising from the duties and regulations respecting corn. "The ministers of the sovereign choose to play the part of merchants. Hence proceed the many bankruptcies of the true merchants, and of dealers in corn; the many embarrassments of families and pious institutions, whose principal possessions consist of lands; hence, too, the quantity of grain left to spoil in the granaries of those who would not submit to the extortions of so detestable a traffic." 4. "Of the delays of justice, and of the interests due from the *monti*." Even the *Depositarii de' Monti* are accused of dishonesty and arbitrary proceedings. 5. "Touching irreverence in the churches," which he says were treated like theatres. 6. "On the luxury and splendor of banquets in the palace." 7. "Concerning the abuse of religious ceremonies." The author disapproves of the frequently repeated *Sanctissimus*; it revolts him that people should dare to say, as in the procession of Corpus Christi, "*Sanctissimus, sanctissima portat*," "the most holy (pontiff) bears the most holy (symbol)." 8. "On ecclesiastical immunities." He bewails the fact that an asylum was granted to criminals in the churches. 9. "On the neglected state of the public ways." This is a well-meant report, and is upon the whole a true description; but the views of the writer are not very extensive.

No. 146

Vita del servo di Dio Papa Innocentio XI., raccolta in tre libri. [Life of the servant of God Pope Innocent XI, comprised in three books.] MS. Rome.

A very beautiful copy on 144 leaves, probably prepared for special presentation to some later pontiff.

The first book is occupied by the early life of Innocent XI. The author has not spared his labor in the search of authentic information respecting it. He denies that the Pope had made a campaign in his youth; the question had been asked of his holiness himself. He affirms also, that it was Cardinal Cueva (to whom the young man had been recommended by the Governor of Milan) who had directed the attention of the future pontiff to the advantages presented by the career of the Curia.

The second book comprises the earlier administrative measures of Pope Innocent, his financial arrangements, the repeal of useless appointments, decrease of interest on the *monti*—even as touching corporate

bodies, the restriction of usury, which was carried on with particular activity in the Jewish quarter (Ghetto), and the imposition of new taxes on ecclesiastical fees. His maxim is said to have been that "he was not the master of things appertaining to the Holy See, but the administrator, and under the rigorous obligation to distribute them, not in accordance with preferences for kindred, but in conformity with the laws of justice. . . . He said of himself, that from his elevation to the cardinalate he had begun to be poor, and as pope he had become a beggar." The author alludes, moreover, to English affairs, and does not hesitate to say that King James desired to render all England Catholic: "Proposing to send back his people into the Roman fold, he began by employing Catholic ministers."

In the third book, the part taken by Innocent XI in the Turkish war is discussed, and his personal qualities are described. He is here presented as he really was—energetic, impartial, and honorable. His conduct and proceedings are described with much penetration, and infinitely better than in the small work of Bonamicus, which we find in Lebrét, and which is really nothing more than a hollow panegyric.

Remarkable instances are also given here of the opposition aroused by the practical measures of this pontiff. How innumerable were the objections put forward against the proposal of a bull for the abolition of nepotism. "The unthinking populace, seeing many offices in the palace suppressed, while the duties attached to them were united to those of other ministers, without considering the motives, cast reproach on the character of Innocent, as incapable of rising to his sovereign condition." This disaffection was made manifest, now in one way, and now in another.

No. 147

Memoriale del 1680 al Papa Innocenzo XI., concernente il governo e gli aggravi. [Memorial presented to Pope Innocent XI. in the year 1680, concerning the government and the public burdens.] Valli-cellà Library.

The holy zeal of the pontiff, as this document assures us, was acknowledged by all, but unhappily the effect of his endeavors was a general discontent. By the reduction of the *monti*, many families had been ruined; the cardinals were not listened to; no favors were granted to the temporal princes; the prelates were bereaved of their hopes; the poor were deprived of alms; all Rome was one great scene of misery.

Who could believe this? Scarcely does a pope give ear to the incessant complaints respecting nepotism, and abolish the abuse, than the people demand its restoration! Therefore, says our "Memorial," after adducing certain reasons, "it is a great favor of fortune for a prince to have kinsmen who are good and capable of governing; for these, having more powerful motives for taking interest in his reputation and glory than any mere minister can have, may also give him their opinions with greater frankness and sincerity."

No. 148

Ode satirica contra Innocenzo XI. [Satirical ode against Innocent XI.] Library at Frankfort-on-the-Main, MS. Glauburg, No. 31.

In writings such as those above cited, the expression of disapproval is still subjected to moderation; but whether some previous fault really

committed, or a mere rumor, gave occasion for censure, certain it is that it found a voice in the most vehement outbursts, as in the passage following:

"I do not find a more wicked monster even in ancient annals, nor one who, clothed in hypocrisy, more deeply tinged with blood his beak and wings. He was zealously rigid with others, but nevertheless permitted his kinsmen to buy up corn at two scudi the rubbio, and to sell it again at nine."

No. 149

Discorso sopra la soppressione del collegio de' secretarij apostolici fatta per la Santità di N. Signore Innocenzo XI. [Discourse on the suppression of the college of apostolic secretaries decreed by his holiness our lord Pope Innocent XI.]

In despite of this violent opposition, Pope Innocent proceeded with his reforms. This "Discourse" describes the manner in which they were conducted in certain individual cases.

We are first made acquainted with the origin of these secretaries, whom we find from the time of the schism, and with the abuses attached to their existence. These proceeded principally from the fact that no share in the administration was connected with the office. "The possessors of these offices have not, in fact, any administrative duties or services to perform for the despatch of business; while the secretary of briefs, as well as the secretary of letters and mandates to sovereigns, being conversant with the business, are wont to be deputed at the good pleasure of the Pope, and out of the limits of the college. Neither does the office bring with it an assurance of the prelacy, being conferred on laymen, for the most part incompetent, and frequently even on mere children, in the manner of those other popular offices, which are constantly on sale, and exist only for pecuniary purposes."

The rates of interest being enormous, the treasury had to pay 40,000 scudi for the 200,000 scudi which it had received. Innocent resolved to suppress the college, and commissioned a "congregation" to estimate the claims of the shareholders.

The Pope wished to pay back no more than the treasury had actually received, but the shareholders required at least as much as would equal the current price of the offices. The congregation could not come to any decision.

Our author is of opinion that the Pope was not bound to pay more than the nominal price—he considers this to be decided by the practice of the Roman See.

Other writings are to be found which treat of this subject; for example—"Stato della camera nel presente pontificato d'Innocenzo XI.;" but they consist of calculations, which are not capable of being made useful in extracts.

No. 150

Scritture politiche, morali, e satiriche sopra le massime, istituto e governo della compagnia di Gesù. [Political, moral, and satirical writings on the maxims, institution, and government of the Company of Jesus.] Corsini Library.

A collection of all sorts of writings, concerning the Jesuit order; some of which, as for example "A Consulta of Acquaviva," are satirical

and mere invention, while others are entirely in earnest, and are derived from the best sources.

The most important is, "In the name of Jesus—a discourse respecting the Jesuit fathers and their mode of governing." This of itself contains nearly 400 leaves. It was written about the time when Noyelle was general, consequently between 1681 and 1686. It is certainly unfavorable to the order, yet is so treated that we perceive in every word the evidence of profound knowledge on the part of the author, of all connected with the society from the middle of the century. He adopts the following method:

I. First, he arranges the defects, which he notices under different heads. "Of some of their maxims." The opinion, for example, that their order is the chief and principal of all; that all their prayers are heard, and that all who die members of their company were sure of salvation. 2. "Of their greediness and avarice." Touching their tricks for obtaining bequests, a multitude of stories of their dexterous proceedings for extracting presents from the people; of their trafficking, and many worse things. The larger part of his attention is given to their trade, of which they found the circle too narrow, being principally Rome and the Ecclesiastical States. 3. "Of their government." Concerning the abuse of the monarchical power—the deposition of Nickel, see p. 120. 4. "Peculiar characteristics of the government." For example, "*Flagello sordo*," which means the penalties inflicted on those who were punished without having their crime properly specified; denunciation without previous warning; the superiors also availed themselves occasionally of inferior officers as superintendents, which was subversive of all order. 5. "Government in respect to their inmates and pupils." Their dishonoring punishments. 6. "The multitude of their rules." They frequently contradicted each other—there was no one who knew them all.

II. The author then seeks, after some repetitions as to the cause and effect of these evils, to point out some means of cure. It is remarkable that among the latter he considers the most important of all to be the appointment of a vicar-general, which had been so often demanded, but to which the order itself would never agree. "To constitute a vicar-general for the provinces of Spain, Germany, France, and the Indies—to subject the too plethoric body to phlebotomy—to have fixed laws for well-defined offences."

He then reverts to his old method of enumerating the faults of the institution under various heads. A multitude of particulars are thus brought into discussion, bearing marks of a more or less assured authenticity. The most important of all is perhaps the last section, "Of their Indian missions." This is derived from the correspondences preserved in the papal archives, and is treated with great care, insomuch that each original is separately indicated. The acts of disobedience against the Pope of which the Jesuits had been guilty in India are here adduced—even so long before the times of Père Norbert.

This work is without doubt unfavorable to the Jesuits, but is at the same time extremely instructive. It unveils the defects of the institution with so shrewd a penetration that we obtain a much clearer insight into the nature of its internal economy than could otherwise have been possible. It cannot be described as directly hostile, since it acknowledges the good existing in the order. But we are enabled to perceive from this work the heavy storms that were gathering in the depths of men's minds against the Company of Jesus.

No. 151

Relazione di Roma di Gio. Lando Cavaliere, inviato straordinario per la serenissima repubblica di Venetia ad Innocentio XI., et ambasciatore straordinario ad Alessandro VIII. in occasione della canonizzazione di S. Lorenzo Giustiniani. [Report from Rome by Giovanni Lando, envoy extraordinary from the most serene republic of Venice to Innocent XI, and ambassador extraordinary to Alexander VIII, on occasion of the canonization of St. Lorenzo Giustiniani. 1691.] 17 leaves.

It is to be regretted that we have no report in relation to the important government of Innocent XI which is worthy of the name, or from which we might gather an impartial elucidation of the results produced by the efforts of that pontiff. The affairs of the Republic were managed in the first years of Innocent's pontificate, 1678 to 1683, by Cardinal Ottobono, a Venetian, and afterward Pope Alexander VIII, but who never returned to Venice, consequently never reported. To him succeeded Giovanni Lando, but without any proper official character. It is true that Lando, nevertheless, presented a final report, but not until after the conclave which followed the death of Alexander VIII had already assembled; moreover, his report unluckily departs from the tone usually adopted by the Venetian ambassadors.

He begins by exalting the divine right of the papacy, and laments that its rule is not universal—nay, the number of heretics was even greater than that of the Catholics. Have not even the accursed Quietists set up their machinations and workshops in Rome? At the Roman Court they would not believe that they were themselves to blame for this, and yet that was the case. They would still show far less regard to a man who labored to benefit the Church by profound learning, or by the example of his holiness of life, than to the Canonists, who wrote in defence of the papal dignity. Yet their encroachments were directly producing the effect of causing the secular princes to set themselves in opposition to the Roman Court.

After having first attempted to define the limits of the spiritual and temporal power, he at length slowly approaches the affairs of the world. Of the condition of the Ecclesiastical States he gives a deplorable account. "Desolated of her children, ruined in her agriculture, overwhelmed by extortions, and destitute of industry." He estimates the debts at 42,000,000 scudi. Alexander VIII had lessened the expenditure by 200,000 scudi per annum, and had thereby restored the balance between the payments and receipts. In the Dataria the Pope had, as it were, a vein of gold; but that money could by no means be kept in Rome; in small portions it came in, but was poured out in a full stream. Innocent XI had certainly despatched 2,000,000 scudi to Hungary in aid of the Turkish war. Of those 42,000,000 of debt, perhaps 15,000,000 had been used for the benefit of Christendom in general.

He considers still that Rome is nevertheless the common country of all; it yet formed the gathering-place of all nations, although each one came thither merely for his own interest. Of Germans and French but few were to be seen, because their promotion did not depend on the Roman Court; and the Spaniards were only of the inferior classes. If each prince of Italy were also to possess the power of appointing to the ecclesiastical offices in his own dominions, the Roman Court would soon fall into utter decay. But Italy, as a compensation, enjoyed all the patronage of the papacy. "The whole court, all dignities, all employments, the whole ecclesiastical state, remains at the disposal of

Italians." And how much was involved in the maintenance of this, considering the insecurity of succession in all Italian houses, the safety of Italy was absolutely dependent on the union between Venice and Rome. He takes occasion to enlarge on the necessity for a good understanding between these two States. But he thinks that much might yet be conceded by Venice; the protection extended to the turbulent friars, and certain jurisdictional pretensions, were taken very ill at Rome.

Now these are all very good and useful observations, as will be at once admitted—they indicate rectitude of intention on the part of the speaker; but those who, like ourselves, are seeking for positive information respecting the administration, cannot be satisfied with them. Of the two popes with whom he served, Lando, upon the whole a singular writer, and one who, among all the figures of speech, likes none so well as the *anacoluthon*, has told us only what follows. "When I reflect on what I have heard affirmed without reserve against Innocent XI, who was accused of not giving audience, of harshness and cruelty, of being the inflexible enemy of princes, of delighting in controversy, of being irresolute and yet obstinate, of destroying bishoprics and ecclesiastical property generally: because he had suffered many years to pass without providing incumbents*—when I reflect that this pontiff was charged with having suppressed the *monti*, yet not relieved the State by any advantage resulting from that suppression, of having upheld the extortion, as they call it, of the corn-laws, of being too indulgent to the Quietists, and many other things; there was no one who did not exclaim against him, and the unthinking vulgar then thought that there was nothing commendable in that pontificate, although it was most remarkable for a constant alienation of the papal kindred, and an unspotted disinterestedness, having left untouched whatever was in the treasury, save only what was used for the wars against the infidels; and so they desired a pope who, if even a little too indulgent to his own family, would also be a little so to others, and who should be endowed with such virtues as they then believed the more necessary, because they supposed them to be wanting in their then pontiff. But afterward, when I saw that Alexander VIII, having been once elected, was also maligned, and although he was all humanity, easy of access, gentle, compassionate, pliable, considerate toward princes, averse to intrigues and disputes, upright in business and contracts of all kinds, a benefactor to the State, which he relieved from imposts to the amount of 200,000 scudi, and from the vexation of the corn-laws; who fell like a thunderbolt on the Quietists, and silently put an end to that most troublesome affair of the right of asylum in the ambassadors' precincts; who also promoted the war against the Turks, and arranged important affairs of every kind during the very brief period of his pontificate: yet because he, on the other hand, did show affection to his kindred; because he was more disposed to intrust important charges to them than to others; because he wished to provide for them with a certain liberality, though much less than had been exercised by many before him; and because in that respect he gave evidence of some human feeling and indulgence for his own kin, so he, too, was made the very mark of their malignant invectives, and so continued even to his death. But these invectives were equally unjust in the one case as the other."

Finally, he refers to his own services, telling us how in the course of his official duties he had written more than 700 despatches.

* The reader will find in the obscurity of manner pervading this passage, which obscurity has yet been partially removed in

translation, a complete justification of the author's remark that Lando was addicted to the use of the figure *anacoluthon*.—Tr.

Among all these, there may possibly be discovered the facts that we mainly seek here. They are to be found partly in Venice and partly in Rome.

No. 152

Confessione di Papa Alessandro VIII. fatto al suo confessore il Padre Giuseppe, Gesuita, negli ultimi estremi della sua vita. [Confession of Pope Alexander VIII., made to his confessor, Father Giuseppe, a Jesuit, in the last moments of his life.] MS. Rome, 21 leaves.

It is seriously affirmed by G. B. Perini, a writer in the Vatican archives, that among other papers of the time of Alexander VIII he found also the document now before us. He wrote this assertion on April 9, 1796, when no one could have had any motive for slandering a pope who had already had so many successors. This little work is thus worthy of our attention, notwithstanding its ominous title. And what is it that the Pope herein confesses?

He begins by declaring that since the year 1669 he had never regularly confessed; but, assured of absolution by voices from heaven, he will now do so. And hereupon he confesses to such acts as the following: He had made use of the permission, granted him at one time by Pope Clement, to sign papers in his stead, for making the most unwarrantable concessions; he had incited Innocent XI to take the measures adopted by that pontiff against France, and yet had secretly conspired with the French against the Pope. When himself exalted to the papacy, he had knowingly and deliberately promoted unsuitable and unworthy, nay, profligate men; had thought of nothing but enriching his kindred, and had, moreover, permitted justice and mercy to be sold even in the very palace, with much besides of the same character.

It soon becomes obvious that no confession of a pope is to be found here; that would be a totally different matter, would reveal particulars altogether unlike these. I believe it to be one of those satirical writings of which many appeared at that time. It may, perhaps, represent an opinion then prevalent respecting Alexander, but by no means the truth. It became mingled very probably among the documents of that period, and being then found in that position by some zealous official of the archives, was received as genuine. In the Venetian archives likewise I met with some papers that were manifestly not authentic.

No. 153

Relazione di Domenico Contarini Cavaliere. Roma, 1696, 5 Luglio. [Report by Domenico Contarini. Romc. July 5, 1696.] Venetian Archives, 18 leaves.

Contarini had already been accredited to the French and imperial courts before he was despatched to that of Rome. He was originally sent to Alexander VIII, but this pontiff was even then so ill that he could not be presented to him. His report is consequently in relation to Innocent XII.

Antonio Pignatelli, born 1615, was descended from the ducal family of Montelione, in the Kingdom of Naples, and was early admitted to the prelature. He became vice-legate of Urbino, inquisitor of Malta, and Governor of Perugia, a career which in itself was certainly not to be despised, but which offered little to satisfy ambition. There were

times when Pignatelli was disposed to abandon the ecclesiastical profession altogether; but he finally succeeded in obtaining a nunciature, which he believed to present the most certain path to promotion. He was nuncio to Florence, administered the Polish nunciature during a period of eight years, and then proceeded to that of Germany, which was most commonly followed by the cardinal's hat. But whether, observes Contarini, from the influence of inauspicious stars, or from disinclination toward him in the then government of Clement IX, instead of being rewarded, he was recalled and despatched as Bishop to Lezze, on the extreme boundaries of Naples. Under these circumstances he was compelled to exert the whole force of his mind, and the most manly firmness; all the court was, in fact, astonished at the moderation and resigned spirit of which he gave proof. With a supernatural serenity he even returned thanks for that appointment, "because he should now no longer have to endure the heavy burden of the nunciature." Contarini understands that it was Clement IX by whom Pignatelli was banished to that bishopric, and that he was recalled by Clement X; but we are told by the Roman authors that both events took place under Clement X. Be that as it may, and whether Cardinal Altieri desired to atone for injustice committed by himself or by another, he gave Pignatelli the post of *maestro di camera* to his uncle. Innocent XII found him in his office, and confirmed his appointment.

But his fortunes now took a sudden spring. He was made cardinal in the year 1681, immediately afterward Bishop of Faenza, legate of Bologna and Archbishop of Naples. He was thought of in the conclave after the death of Innocent XI; and after that of Alexander VIII, even the French, a thing that no one had expected, declared in his favor, and voted for him—a Neapolitan. The cause of this was that they required a mild and peaceable man. He was therefore elected, although not until after a tedious conclave of five months, by which all the cardinals were wearied out.

Innocent XII also confirmed the secretary of briefs, Panciatichi, whom he found in office, as also the datary Albano, although both were indebted for their fortune to his predecessor. The nomination of Spada to be secretary of state was received with universal approbation. This took place by the advice of Altieri. The nephews of Alexander VIII alone were refused confirmation in their offices: the new pontiff adhered entirely to the example of Innocent XI. "He labored to imitate Pope Innocent XI, by whom he had been promoted to the cardinalate, and whose name he had assumed, seeking to make the practice of that government serve as the model of his own, but departing from the austerity and harshness which had failed to meet approval in the rule of Innocent XI." We perceive that he endeavored to surpass his model by adding clemency to the good qualities he desired to imitate. He gave audience most readily, and owed much of his reputation to the facility of access afforded to the poor by his public audiences; and although these did not, as the applicants had hoped, insure the speedy termination of their difficulties, they yet served to restrain the violent proceedings of the superior classes. "All confessed that this public audience was a powerful check on the ministers and judges; for the means of approaching the ear of the prince were thus afforded to all, and made it easy to disclose to him things which had previously been concealed from the pontiffs, either by the authority or the craft of those who surrounded them."

An unfortunate accident suspended the efforts of Innocent XII for a certain time, but he soon resumed the activity of his habits.

The French affair was arranged, the most important reforms were

commenced. The bull respecting nepotism appeared, and in this it was enacted that the benefices and church revenues, henceforth to be conferred on a kinsman of the Pope, could never exceed 12,000 scudi per annum. Innocent XII also abolished the sale of appointments so important as were those of the clerks of the chamber (*chierici di camera*), and paid back the price advanced for them—1,016,070 scudi. "He thus deprived gold of its power, and made it once more possible for virtue to attain to the highest places." Many other reforms were already looked for. "The Pope," says Contarini, "has nothing in his thoughts but God, the poor, and the reform of abuses. He lives in the most abstemious retirement, devoting every hour to his duties, without consideration for his health. He is most blameless in his habits, and most conscientious; he is also extremely disinterested, nor does he seek to enrich his kindred; he is full of love to the poor, and is endowed with all the great qualities that could be desired for a head of the Church. Could he only act for himself on all occasions, he would be one of the first of the popes."

But these modes of proceeding were not agreeable to all. Contarini laments that Innocent had no nephews, who might have felt a personal interest in the glory of their uncle—a circumstance which left too much power in the hands of the ministers. "Those great and resplendent virtues were seen to be obscured by the craft of the ministers, who were but too well practised in the arts of the Court." They are accused of having taken measures for giving a different direction to the zeal of Innocent XII by turning his attention exclusively on the support and relief of the poor. The hospital of the Lateran was proposed. This soon engrossed all the thoughts of the Pope. "*Questo chiodo fermò l'ardente volontà del papa di riformare*"—"That nail effectually barred the Pope's eager progress in reform."

The author is persuaded that this pontiff had saved and laid by nearly 2,000,000 scudi. He is deeply impressed by the purity of his intentions, and calls him a man of the most irreproachable—nay, the most faultless character.

No. 154

Relazione di Roma di Niccolò Erizzo Cavaliere, 1702, 29 Ottobre. [Report from Rome by Nicolo Erizzo, Oct. 29, 1702.] 40 leaves.

N. Erizzo had already accompanied Piero Mocenigo on his embassy to Clement X: he was now himself ambassador. He arrived in Rome during the pontificate of Innocent XII, and remained there through the earlier years of Clement XI. The fact that he was so long acquainted with Rome gives increased value to his report.

He first treats of preceding popes, and after a few general observations comes to Innocent XI: "that holy man, who did not certainly possess distinguished merit in learning and science, but who possessed, in compensation, great knowledge of financial economy, and not only succeeded in restoring the balance between the revenues and the expenditure, but also found means to supply most liberal aid to the Emperor and the Poles in their conflicts with the Osmanli." Neither could Alexander VIII be charged with giving the money of the treasury to his nephews, but he suffered immense losses by the failure of the house of Nerli, and many persons attributed his death to that misfortune. Innocent XII closed the abyss of nepotism; and although he did so much for the poor, lightened the public burdens, erected buildings for the court, and completed the construction of harbors, he yet left a con-

siderable amount in the treasury. But he lived too long for the College of Cardinals, whom he, on his side, did not esteem very highly. The cardinals considered him to sacrifice the interests of the Papal See, by too conciliatory a deportment toward the sovereign courts.

At length he died, September 27, 1700, and the cardinals threw themselves eagerly into the negotiations of the conclave. Their intention was to elect a pope who should indemnify them for the injuries that they fancied the see to have sustained. They turned their eyes, therefore, on Cardinal Marescotti, a man "of a stout heart, worthy to be a ruler, unbending in his purposes, and of immutable resolution." Erizzo calls him a great man. He was supported by the imperial and Spanish ambassadors. But a great display of zeal is frequently dangerous in the papal elections, and was fatal to Marescotti. The French, who feared to find in him a declared enemy, succeeded in excluding him. Many other candidates were then proposed, but objections were made to all; one was too violent, another too mild, a third had too many nephews; the friends of the Jesuits opposed Cardinal Noris, because he had touched them too closely in his "History of Pelagianism." The *zelanti*, who were first so called on this occasion, would have willingly elected Colloredo, but the rest considered him too austere. At length, on receiving intelligence of the death of Charles II, "the cardinals," says Erizzo, "were manifestly touched by the hand of God, so that they at once cast off the influence of their passions, abandoned the hopes with which each had been flattering himself, and cast their eyes on Cardinal Albani, with that internal conviction which is the clearest evidence of a divine impulse." Cardinal Albani refused the honor, and Erizzo believes the opposition he made to have been sincere, and meant in earnest. He seemed to yield at length, more from certain scruples, and to escape from their entreaty, than of his own free-will.

Erizzo then proceeds to relate the origin and describe the personal qualities of the pontiff-elect.

Albani drew his origin from Urbino. When the old Francesco Maria of Urbino resolved to resign his duchy to Urban VIII, even before his death, he despatched a member of the Albani family, and one who had recommended that determination, to make the Pope acquainted with his purpose. Twice was the emissary sent forth. On the first occasion Francesco repented, and recalled his ambassador. Erizzo affirms that he altered his mind the second time also, and issued a countermand; but Albani did not return in consequence on that occasion, he proceeded, on the contrary, and delivered the act of abdication to Urban VIII without delay. As a reward for this, he was nominated Senator of Rome; his son became *maestro di camera* to Cardinal Barberini; and the son of this *maestro di camera* was Giovanni Francesco Albani, the Pope whose election we have just described.

Giovanni Francesco Albani devoted himself to literature and to the ecclesiastical career. He was so fortunate as to have early personal intercourse with the pontiffs of the period. "Under Innocent XI," says Erizzo, "he learned to deliberate before resolving, more carefully than he was by nature inclined to do, and to persevere in what he had once determined on. Under Alexander, he adopted freer and bolder forms of negotiation; he was remarked as at once cautious and determined, prompt and circumspect, in outward appearance, also, well disposed to everyone. These acquirements he then practised under Innocent XII. That suspicious old man could not endure either his datary or his secretary of state; Albani alone had access to him, and found means to become indispensable both to the Pope and the court."

Clement's first step after his election was to inform the ambassadors that he proposed to abolish many innovations which had been suffered to glide in by his predecessors. He summoned the *governatore* to his coronation, a call that was very unwelcome, on account of the disputes existing with respect to precedency; he revoked all privileges of asylum; the ambassadors declaring that he did so only to produce an impression on the court.

The appointments which he next proceeded to make did not appear to Erizzo particularly fortunate. Clement XI surrounded himself with men of weak capacity exclusively. "The boldness of these ordinances being happily followed by success, and by the respect of the royal representatives, his holiness did not think he had need of very distinguished ministers in the palace; whence he chose Cardinal Paulucci, who had very little experience, for his secretary of state, and appointed Cardinal Sacripante datary—a man of indefatigable diligence in that office, but only remarkable as a good follower of rules. Next he conferred on his kinsman, Monsignor Olivieri, the secretariat of briefs, which had been formerly conducted admirably under his own direction. In the offices nearest to his person, he placed his old friends and relations, as Monsignor Paracciani, a good lawyer; Monsignor Origo, whom he made secretary of Latin letters; and Maffei, whom he appointed confidential cupbearer—all people of very little account, belonging to Urbino, or the neighboring townships, and who, having seen no place but Rome, had by consequence very little knowledge of princes, and still less acquaintance with the affairs of the world in general. He does not wish to have cardinals of great ability about him, nor Ministers who would be dependent on such cardinals; preferring his own authority and quiet to those counsels which he is secured from having offered to him by the persons aforesaid, they having no practice in public affairs, and being besides at variance and jealousy among themselves. Still less will he suffer his brother Don Orazio to share his counsels; this last is father of three sons of high promise, and is a man of singular modesty and integrity; but the pontiff has left him to his straitened fortunes, that he may display his own observance of the bull against nepotism, to which his holiness made attestation on the day of his enthronement, with evidence of proposing entirely to avoid the scandal of that practice, which will, nevertheless, as many believe, be always forbidden, but always retained (*semper vetabitur et retinebitur semper*).

The most formidable difficulties immediately presented themselves. The contentions respecting the Spanish succession soon became extremely dangerous to the Court of Rome. Clement XI at first conducted himself with extraordinary weakness and vacillation. The ambassador believes his whole proceedings to have resulted from excess of cunning; he considers that when Clement proposed an Italian league to the Venetians, he did so only to the end that he might ascertain the opinions and intentions of Venice.

From these observations of politics and affairs in general, Erizzo proceeds to those of the Church, more particularly to the disputes which were continually arising between Rome and Venice. Rome, he remarks, has a twofold character: the one sacred, in so far as the Pope is the guardian of the sanctuary and of the divine law; this must be revered: the other secular, in so far as the pontiff seeks to extend his power, which has nothing in common with the practice and usage of the early centuries; against this, men should be on their guard. Erizzo is unable to control his displeasure that Venice should have been passed over on occasion of a promotion of cardinals during the

last pontificate: he laments that the republic no longer possessed the power of nominating to its own bishoprics as it formerly did—for how many poor nobles could she not in such cases assist; but now Venetian subjects sought advancement by indirect paths, and had recourse to the intervention of foreign princes. Cardinal Panciatici had introduced into the *dataria* the maxim that those persons who were most independent of the sovereigns in whose dominions the diocese was situated, were precisely the persons who ought to be favored and promoted. The ambassador further declares it an abuse that the papal nephews should have so large an interest in the ecclesiastical property of his native land; and wherefore, too, should the rank of Venetian *nobili* be so readily conferred on them? Other States, even the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, had a list of the nuncios sent them, and could make choice of such as they preferred, while no such honor was enjoyed by the republic: again, the title of *Carissimo* was refused by Rome to the Doge of Venice. We perceive that in addition to the old causes of contention new subjects of dispute were continually added.

The ambassador therefore recommends his republic to give more earnest attention to Roman affairs. If a Pope could no more afford so effectual an assistance as formerly, it was still in his power to do considerable injury, more especially if he were young, energetic, and economical.

No. 155

Relatione del N. U. Gio. Franc. Morosini Cavaliere fu ambasciatore al sommo pontefice Clemente XI. 1707, 17 Dec. [Report of Giovanni Francesco Morosini, ambassador to the supreme pontiff Clement XI. Dec. 17, 1707.] 36 leaves.

Morosini, the successor of Erizzo, resided at the Court of Clement XI from January, 1702, to November, 1706; during his embassy the government of that pontiff first displayed its peculiar character in the utmost extent of its development.

Morosini describes minutely the zealous manner in which the pontiff imitated his most distinguished predecessors. Even the tears with which he refused the supreme dignity were not without precedent; he performed all those external observances by which a man is supposed to give a good example. "Of a sober and well-regulated life, he is frequent in public devotions at the Scala Santa, in visits to churches, and in the service of hospitals; he is accurate to edification in all sacred rites, and in the most solemn or most humble duties, which he fulfils even to the injury of his health. As regards self-interest also, he is equally blameless, having first advised, and afterward acted on the bull against nepotism. He confers gratuities on the poorer bishops with the utmost readiness, sustaining many pious laborers, and promoting many pious works from his own resources. In the selection of bishops, a matter of essential importance to the church, he proceeds with all due deliberation, seeking information from the most authentic sources, and admitting but very sparingly the influence of favor. He sometimes examines the candidate himself, after the manner of the ancient popes. With respect to other ecclesiastical dignities and benefices also, he proceeds so carefully and deliberately to their distribution that even from his own relations he exacts attention to the propriety of proving themselves possessed of the requisite learning, and of commendable habits."

Jurisdictional matters were treated by Clement XI in the same spirit; that is to say, with all the zeal which his office demanded. In

some places, and on certain points, he even gained ground. The new King of Spain, for example, found himself moved to beg his permission for compelling ecclesiastics to appear before the secular tribunals and for the levying of tithes. The King of Poland presented certain members of the high clergy before the judgment-seat of the pontiff. The Viceroy of Naples, after long resistance, submitted to the papal commands at the critical moment when the Germans were advancing upon Lower Italy—" *un trionfo che sarà registrato nelli annali della chiesa*"—a triumph which will be registered in the annals of the Church. Savoy and Lorraine were then attacked with all the more vigor. The Pope well understood the art of seizing the most favorable moment—" *studiosissimo d' ingrandire con i motivi di pietà la potenza*"—being most careful to assign motives of piety for the increase of his power. Morosini considers the whole court to be inspired by a similar spirit. They would not hear of any distinction between Church and State. The Church was everything. Every congregation styled itself "sacred." Whatever might be the subject of its deliberations, no difference was admitted between pastors of the Church and prelates of the Court, since the former also were frequently excused from the duties of their office, and employed in the affairs of the State. Piety, moreover, was used as a sort of coin, indispensable to the advancement of such as sought promotion. Four of the congregations are specified as particularly worthy of attention: 1st. The Inquisition, which deserved a zealous support as the guardian of purity in doctrine; but it was an extraordinary circumstance that the worst of all heresy was to be met with in Rome (he here alludes to Quietism). 2d. The Propaganda; but unhappily few were to be found who would devote themselves with true earnestness of purpose to the affairs of the missions. 3d. The Congregation for Bishops and Monastic Clergy, which exercised a much required supervision, more particularly over the latter; and, lastly, the Congregation of Immunities, which was posted like a sentinel to watch the boundaries of the spiritual and temporal authority. Could all things have been arranged in accordance with the desires of this body, the power of the temporal sovereign would soon have been annihilated.

Morosini now proceeds to the condition of the Papal States. He repeats the complaints that had for some time been so frequent of a decline in population and the decay of agriculture. The Pope would gladly have introduced improvements, as, for example, the cultivation of the Campagna; but the end of all was merely a forming of splendid projects. The ambassador remarks that the spiritual dignity of the pontiff increased his temporal power. He considers the power of the Roman Senate to be a mere mockery of such a name. The barons he describes as placed on a level with the lowest of the people, in respect of punishments; the Pope kept them under rigorous supervision—knowing that their position rendered them liable to be tempted to acts of violence. At length Morosini alludes to the political relations of Rome; the most important passage, which treats of the position of the Pope in reference to France and the Emperor—on which all was once more at that time depending, must be given word for word. "Whether the Pope had had either hand or part in the testament of Charles II, I will not venture to decide. Nor is it easy to ascertain the truth with certainty; but two facts I will mention, and only two. The one is that this secret was made public—with what truth is not known—in a manifesto which was issued by the printing-office of Rome in the first months of my entry on the embassy, and at the time when war was waged on both sides with arms as well as letters. The other is that the Pope did not refrain from uttering public eulogies on the most Chris-

tian king for that he had refused his sanction to the partition, receiving the monarchy entire for his kinsman. Reflecting on these premises, there can be no cause for astonishment at the consequences seen to have resulted from plans so unsettled and discordant among themselves, for it is not possible that uniformity of action can ever spring from diversity of principles; yet such was manifestly the Pope's obligation to evince that impartiality proper to the common father, on the one hand, and his secret inclination and engagement, entered into without sufficiently mature deliberation, as to the advantages and merits of the case, on the other. His holiness piously considered the dignity and profit that would result to religion from the exclusion of heretics from all they had usurped. He entertained a hope—suggested by his partiality to the French—that there would be no war, or that it would be waged in vain against the forces of that unconquered nation; and since it seemed probable that the monarchy would be maintained entire, he did not imagine that his anticipations would be proved erroneous, having miscalculated the Spanish subtlety, which in this case was moved by necessity rather than policy. The result made manifest those other considerations which ought to have presented themselves earlier. Then there gathered and burst that fierce tempest, raised by jealousy, envy, and interest, in the confederate powers, and urging them to combat the suspected machinations of France for universal monarchy. This still rages, and is fatal alike to friends and foes. The French long succeeded in maintaining their reputation of being invincible with the Pope, who, full of confidence in them, and implicitly following their counsels, was lauded by the unthinking for proceedings which threw those of others into shade; for whereas the most serene republic in particular, observing a sincere neutrality, endured losses in the substance of its people, injuries to its dignity, and the resentment of both parties; he, on the contrary—by professing neutrality, while he threatened at the same time to break it instantly against either party that should offend him, and yet maintained a secret understanding with the French in the meanwhile—was courted by the latter, and found himself defended at no cost, and treated with respect by the imperialists, that they might not provoke him to abandon even the pretence of neutrality. His States, too, for a time, enjoyed immunity: he saw his censures respected in the midst of arms, while heretic fleets appeared in his seas without committing the slightest offence against his coasts. But the reverses sustained by France, more especially in Italy, have caused all to discern whether the eulogies aforesaid were due either to his conduct or fortune, and whether those upright and judicious suggestions repeatedly made to him by your excellencies through the medium of your ambassadors, to the effect that he should maintain a real impartiality as father of all, that so he might be a revered arbiter, to his own benefit, and that of all Christendom—increasing his troops meanwhile under good officers, the better to sustain respect against the intemperance of others, should have been rejected as counsels proved unsound, even by the experience of those who proffered them. The fruit of having preferred oblique practices and devices of economy—the worst counsellor in politics, was the suffering since, and now, of such evils as are known to all—but what is more, of not suffering without added reproach from the tribunal of fame, which is the sovereign, even of princes. He despatched—as he adduces in his defence—extraordinary nuncios for the arrangement of universal peace, without regard to the expense; and in despite of that insulting exclusion encountered at Vienna, he proposed alliances, agreements, truces, for the particular quiet of this province, but he did this only when the time had passed for doing it

effectually; and after the proofs he had given of partiality in the beginning and during the progress of events had introduced a canker-worm among the best seeds; thus, having once rendered himself suspected, his zeal was despoiled of its authority, and the principal instrument of peace was thereby reduced to impotence. It will in fact be very difficult for his holiness to clear himself from this imputation, or from that of having contributed to induce all the princes of Italy to act in accordance with his views, and in favor of whomsoever he favored; for not only was the conduct of his feudatory Parma most notorious, but that of the house of Florence also; he was indeed restrained solely by the unvarying prudence of the most serene republic, which at the same time gave a lesson to others; but in return for this, Venice incurred the unmerited animosity of the French, which was discharged upon her by his holiness."

No. 156

Lorenzo Tiepolo Cavaliere Procuratore Relazione di Roma, 1712. [Report from Rome by Lorenzo Tiepolo, 1712.] 40 leaves.

The contests existing between the spiritual and temporal jurisdictions attracted increased attention every year. Tiepolo treats at once of this matter.

But he does so with unusual earnestness. The question, he says, has been designedly complicated; to disentangle these perplexities, to give the temporal sovereigns their own, and yet not to violate the reverence due to the Papal See, a man would need a double measure of the grace of God.

He first describes anew the personal qualities of Clement XI; he, too, expressing admiration of his zeal, learning, affability, and moderation. Yet he thinks it was possible that all these endowments were not directed toward their only true aim—the advancement of virtue, but were warped by considerations merely human, and might therefore not secure the blessing of God. It might be that the zeal with which he devoted himself to his administrative duties was accompanied by too high an opinion of his own merits, and was excited less by the thing itself than by the applause and dignity to be derived from it. Praise could effect everything with him. His physician, for example, took advantage of this weakness to maintain his influence over him; it was by flattery that he was incited to uphold the honor of the Holy See. Thence it happened that he paid so little regard to the rights of temporal sovereigns and States; those of his immediate circle even ventured to speak of temporal powers in terms of so much offence that they were neither suited to the high place of the Pope, nor yet, perhaps, compatible with Christian charity.

Tiepolo proceeds from the pontiff to his Ministers; whom he, like his predecessors, considers to be but little remarkable; men fit only for the occupation of subordinate offices, and not competent to conduct affairs of state. 1. Cardinal Albani. The Pope had waited until after his mission to Germany before conferring on him the cardinal's hat. The Court approved this nomination, hoping to find in him a means for making interest with the Pope, and a channel to the ear of his holiness; but Clement XI permitted him to exercise little or no influence. "It is certain that the authority of the cardinal-nephew does not make itself manifest to the degree that has been customary at that court." 2. The Secretary of State. Cardinal Paulucci, a thoroughly

good-hearted man, but one of no great ability, and depending on the Pope with a sort of terror. 3. Corradini, the Pope's auditor. "Learned in the law, but not equally well informed respecting the interests of princes; holding firmly to his engagements, but amenable to reason." The only person to whom a man might safely commit himself: it was very advantageous to bring matters before him with respect to which one was decidedly in the right, but much less so if that were doubtful. Corradini was not on good terms with the nephew; it was even believed that the latter had promoted his elevation to the cardinalate for the purpose of removing him from the vicinity of the Pope. 4. Orighi, secretary of the *Consulta*, a rival of Corradini, and on that account attaching himself closely to the cardinal-nephew. "He seems to have advanced his fortunes by address and adulation rather than by firmness and sincerity." 5. Cardinal Sagripante, the datary, had become rich by the exercise of a rigid frugality only; was strict in the discharge of his duties, and took no part in politics. The *Dataria* was daily finding its income decrease; the fraudulent rapacity of that office was no longer tolerated even in Spain. Thus it followed that those cardinals who had not learned to manage their property could no longer maintain their former splendor. "It may be said to be entirely characteristic of such abbasies as belong to cardinals that their houses are left to decay and their churches in ruins." When another papal election took place, the cardinals created by Clement XI would scarcely attach themselves very closely to Cardinal Albani, because he possessed so little influence.

And now Tiepolo proceeds to a description of political relations. His views, as we have said, are of a politico-ecclesiastical character; he discusses the dissensions between the Roman Court and the temporal princes. The Pope was said to have an equal love for all; but it would be more to the purpose to say that he had an equal indifference and equally slight esteem for all.

"It is perfectly true that if few popes have gone so far in assuming a display of superiority over the temporal powers, so we are compelled to say that few pontiffs have had so much ill-fortune as the present Pope, in not being able to escape from engagements voluntarily made with princes, without a certain loss of honor. If he have any secret inclination, it is toward France, although that Court is continually complaining of his partiality toward the house of Austria; and in many cases the event has certainly justified its lamentations; but these were occasioned solely by fear. With respect to that, the Court of Vienna, whether by chance, or guided by its knowledge of the pontiff, made the profitable choice of adopting menaces and fears."

These general remarks conduct him eventually to further detail respecting individual States until he comes to Venice, on the affairs of which, now no longer of extensive interest to the world, he dwells at the greatest length.

No. 157

Relazione di Andrea Corner Cavaliere ritornato dall'ambasceria di di Roma, 1724, 25 Luglio. [Report presented by Andrea Corner on returning from his embassy to Rome, July 25, 1724.] 24 leaves.

So vivid were the antipathies excited by Clement XI, in despite of the best intentions and the most blameless conduct. But in the report before us, wherein he again appears, but after his death, we find that opinions had then at least materially altered. Then everyone admired

him; even those who had but just before been reviling him now joined in the applause. It was now discovered that if he had sometimes promised more than he could perform this had really proceeded from a kindness of intention which none would previously admit. It came to light that he had distributed the most liberal alms from his own private revenues, the amount of these being not less than a million scudi for the twenty years of his reign; a sum which he might, with a clear conscience, have conferred upon his own family. Corner relates that Clement XI had entreated pardon of his nephew, Cardinal Hannibal, a short time before his death, for that he had left the house of Albani so poorly provided. "It will be thought that the pontificate of Clement was but ephemeral, although it was one of the longest."

The change that had been expected in the conclave took place. The whole college had been renewed, with few exceptions, under Clement XI; but, since Cardinal Albani had taken as little part in those nominations as in the administration generally, the cardinals divided according to their respective nations. Paulucci, who had been Secretary of State, as we have seen, to the previous Pope, was at first proposed, but the imperial ambassador, Count Althan, declared that his master would never acknowledge Paulucci as pope: this he submitted for the consideration of their eminences. Certain friends of the house of Albani had already directed their attention toward Michael Angelo Conti; and one of his party, Monsignor Riviera, was secretary to the conclave. He first spoke of the matter with Cardinal Spinola, who, after having tried the ground, and ascertained that Conti was not disliked, willingly placed himself at the head of the party, and proposed him. Count Althan made inquiries of his court, without delay, and the interests of Conti were promoted by the circumstance of his having been nuncio in Portugal, where he had won the favor of the Queen, Anna Maria of Austria, sister of Charles VI. The Austrian Court declared for Conti, and his adherents found that they might rely on the whole Austrian connection, more especially on Portugal and Poland. The Spanish ambassador also made inquiries of his court, and the answer was not favorable, but it arrived too late; Innocent XIII had meanwhile been already elected (May 8, 1721).

The new pontiff possessed admirable qualifications for the spiritual as well as temporal government, but his health was extremely delicate, which caused him to be very sparing in granting audiences. As a compensation, however, one audience was found to serve in place of many, and the fact of having received one conferred a certain importance on the recipient. Innocent XIII apprehended the question proposed with extreme readiness, and gave apposite and decisive replies. The ambassador of Malta, says Corner, will long remember how the pontiff, after a somewhat impetuous entreaty for assistance, gave him his blessing on the spot, and rang the bell for his departure. When the Portuguese ambassador required the promotion of the above-mentioned Bicchi to the dignity of the cardinalate, Innocent at length refused to listen to him any longer, "not finding any merit in the prelate, and being wholly uninfluenced by the many causes of consideration which he might have had for a crown of which he had been the protector."

The Roman families connected with Innocent XIII, and who had hoped to be promoted by him, found themselves completely deceived; even his nephew could not obtain without difficulty the enjoyment of those 12,000 ducats annually, which had now become the usual income of a nephew.

The principal endeavors of the Pope were directed toward the settlement of the disputes in relation to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but

in this he was by no means universally successful. With the imperial court alone a better understanding was effected, as it might have been expected that there would be, from the mode of the pontiff's election.

No. 158

Relazione del N. H. Pietro Capello Cavaliere ritornato d' ambasciator di Roma, 1728, 6 Marzo. [Report presented by Pietro Capello on returning from his embassy to Rome, March 6, 1728.] 14 leaves.

On March 7, 1724, and after a reign of little more than thirty-four months, Innocent XIII died.

Capello, who had been accredited under Innocent, agrees with his predecessor in his description of that pontiff. He considers him disposed to peace, possessed of sound judgment, deliberate and steadfast of purpose. He confirms the report, that the nomination of Dubois to the cardinalate, to which he had permitted himself to be persuaded from considerations of the power and influence wielded by this man, occasioned the pontiff to be disturbed by very painful scruples in his last moments. "His death did truly present a subject for deep moral reflection. Assailed by scruples of conscience, a worm that faileth not to gnaw the mind even of a pope, he could not be prevailed on to complete the nomination of four persons for the vacant hats, which were of that number; and, so far as could be ascertained, he was believed to refuse his assent to the consummation of such election by reason of his repentance, for having previously decided a choice in a manner calculated to trouble his delicate conscience. So unusual an event produced fatal consequences to his house, since there was no party disposed to adhere to it after his death; but there was, nevertheless, most palpable reason for judging well of his character, for by his excellent sentiments, he had displayed a spirit equally noble and resigned."

He was followed by Benedict XIII, who was chosen on May 29, 1724. Capello found him very different from his predecessor—particularly determined and vehement respecting all ecclesiastical affairs. In the College of Cardinals, Capello remarked but few distinguished men; no powerful faction, and no prospect of any such being formed under Benedict XIII, the rivalry already subsisting between Coscia and Fini not permitting things to go so far. There was a faction of the temporal crowns, but it had no fixed character. A great impression had been produced on the court by the fact that the Duke of Savoy had, at length, attained his purposes. Capello concludes, from his having done so, that in Rome everything might be brought about with the help of time; nothing was required but tranquillity, the zeal of the applicant must never be suffered to break forth in complaints.

Capello then goes more minutely into such interests as were peculiarly Venetian. He first repeats the assurance that Venice must assume a position of more dignity and importance in Rome. He again suggests the mode of conduct proper to be adopted toward the Pope—he should be continually conciliated by spiritual concessions, and imperceptibly brought to form an inclination for Venice. He next treats more in detail of political affairs, more especially those connected with trade. It is obvious that in the beginning of the eighteenth century the Roman State was devoting its attention very earnestly to commercial and manufacturing improvements.

The people of Dulcignote and Ragusa carried on a trade with Ancona, which was not beheld with favor by the Venetians. They were

particularly active in the importation of wax, which had formerly been supplied by Venice, and which was now beginning to be prepared in the Papal States.

Innocent XII had begun to build the town of St. Michael a Ripa, which had been enlarged by Clement XI. At the time when Capello wrote, it had risen into importance by means of its wool and silk manufactures. "From the buildings of a hospital, wherein many young people were fed by charity, it was converted, by the extension of its site and the addition of numerous workshops, into a house of commerce, wherein there are now manufactories of wool and silk." The cloths of St. Michael already competed with those of France, and were exported through Ancona to Turkey and Spain. I will give the whole passage respecting this as it stands in Capello. "Into this sumptuous edifice they have introduced the manufacture of hangings, which they have carried to a degree of perfection equalling that of France or Flanders; they have also established a woollen-factory, into which the wool enters untouched, but issues thence in cloth completed in the most perfect manner. The manufacture of silk in connection with this place is carried on in many districts of the Roman territories, and that of wool is divided into various kinds, adapted to the usage of the country, that so there may be realized a ready sale and quick return of profit. All kinds of cloth for the soldiery are manufactured at St. Michael's, as are also the stuffs for the dress of monastic bodies, and different sorts of cloth for the crews of the galleys. These fabrics are divided into various classes, which are distributed in given quantities, the merchants being under obligation to dispose of all. Of late there has also been a commencement of manufacturing colored cloths in the French manner, which are sent to Ancona and Sinigaglia to be exchanged for the commodities brought from Turkey. In short, the institution of St. Michael is one of the grandest conceptions that could have been carried into effect by a great prince, and would certainly be the emporium of all Italy, if it were not established in a city where people concern themselves with anything rather than trade and commerce; these great capitals being governed by a congregation of three cardinals, among whom is the Secretary of State, whose attention is always occupied and diverted by the most important affairs of the State. But in despite of all this, the establishment is in a prosperous condition and feeds thousands of laborers, its manufactures realizing a prompt return. The making of tapestry is carried on apart, because it is established for the profit of private individuals; and the great result of all these works is that most desirable one for a State, namely, that money is not sent forth to fatten foreign nations."

How extraordinary a thing it is that a Venetian should recommend his native city to take a manufacturing establishment of the popes as its model! Institutions had also been founded for intellectual culture, and these also he proposes as examples for their imitation. "In addition to the mechanical, there are also the liberal arts, which serve for the adornment and advantage of the State. The mere name of Rome, and the fame of its ancient monuments, attract many foreign nations to its halls, more especially those beyond the Alps. Many academies have been established in the city (wherein the study of painting and sculpture flourishes no less than that of polite literature), besides that of the Capitol, which subsists under the protection of a remnant, which is still to be found, of that authority exercised with so much renown in past ages by that illustrious republic. There are moreover other institutes founded and governed by foreign nations; and among these, that bearing the name of the crown of France is greatly distinguished."

It is the author's opinion that a similar academy should be established in Venice, for there also were assembled some of the finest monuments of antiquity. "Even Bologna has been able to undertake something of the kind with great success."

Moreover, there were other tendencies of a similar character associated with those pointed out by Coŕrer, and respecting which we obtain information from other documents.

No. 159

Osservazioni della presente situazione dello stato ecclesiastico con alcuni progetti utili al governo civile ed economico per ristabilire l'erario della reverendissima camera apostolica dalli passati e correnti suoi discapiti. [Observations on the present condition of the Ecclesiastical States, with certain projects, useful toward enabling the civil and financial government to repair the deficiencies of the most reverend apostolic treasury, both past and present.] MS. Rome.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century a conviction had become prevalent through the whole south of Europe, that the nations were in a deplorable condition, and that the interests of mankind had been neglected in a manner wholly unjustifiable; both the necessity and the desire to bring about a better state of things was universally felt. How much was written and attempted in Spain for the restoration of commerce and the finances! In the States of the Church, the "Testamento politico d' un academico Fiorentino" (Colonia, 1734), which shows the means whereby commerce, agriculture, and the revenues of the State might be improved, is still in good esteem. And it is in fact a well-intentioned, clever work, going deeply into its subject, and full of sound observations. Nor were these aspirations for the amelioration of the general lot confined to private persons; in the collections of those times we find a multitude of projects, calculations, and plans for the same purpose, and of a character more or less official. The "Observations" before us are an essay of this kind; they were intended for Clement XII himself, and are of the same period as the "Political Testament." The author is particularly anxious to specify those disorders and abuses which most urgently demanded reform.

After dwelling for a time on the melancholy spectacle of so many assassinations continually occurring in the States of the Church, computed at a thousand yearly, even exclusive of Rome and the four legations—the author being of opinion that the measures taken by other powers for the prevention of such crime should be inquired into—he then comes to the finances. He estimates the yearly deficit at 120,000 scudi, and makes the proposals that follow: 1. The dismissal of officers who received large pay without even residing in their garrisons. 2. Reduction of the expenditures in the palace. 3. Administration of the *dogana* by the State itself, instead of farming it out; which last he condemns on the further ground that the farmers opposed all prohibitions of foreign manufacture. 4. Restriction of the influence exercised by subordinate officials, who derived an advantage from the increase of taxes. He remarks that the *annona* could not maintain itself, because there was so large an importation both from Turkey and the North, that the corn-dealer could not make head against the competition. He is above all amazed and shocked to see so much money sent out of the country for cattle, oil, and wine, all of which were possessed in superfluity at home. "What could it signify if people did pay a little more for these

articles, when by this means the money, 'the life-blood of the State,' was circulating where it ought?" The holders of the *monti*, who drew their interest from the country without residing in it, should at least be taxed, as was done in the case of absentee feudatories in the neighboring kingdom of Naples.

Capello regards the state of the March, where the number of inhabitants diminished yearly, as particularly deplorable. He attributes this deteriorated condition of Ancona principally to the heavy restrictions imposed on the exportation of corn. This was absolutely prohibited between the months of June and October, and permitted during the rest of the year only after payment of certain dues, the produce of which was but of trifling importance to the treasury, while their effect on the market was that they caused the foreign customer to seek cheaper corn elsewhere. The fair of Sinigaglia proved injurious, because it rendered the districts surrounding dependent on foreign supplies. To be convinced of this, one need only pass through Urbino, the March, and Umbria, where neither arts nor prosperity were any longer to be found, but all was in a state of profound decay.

The author conjures the Pope to appoint a congregation, for the purpose of seeking escape from these evils; he recommends that the members should be few, but carefully chosen; and above all, that able and upright officials should be retained, while all others should be punished. "These," he concludes, "are the hopes cherished by the subjects of your holiness."

No. 160

Provedimento per lo stato ecclesiastico. [Precautionary and remedial measures for the Papal States.] MS. Rome. Autograph for the officers of state.

We have here a further proof that in these dominions also there were plans formed for the introduction of the mercantile system, which was at that time so greatly approved in Europe; and if these had been vigorously acted on, a certain impulse might perhaps have been imparted to the commerce of the country. But the misfortune of the Roman administration was, that each succeeding pontiff was anxious to adopt measures directly opposed to what had been thought good by his predecessor. We have an example of this in the document before us.

In the year 1719 the importation of foreign cloths from Venice, Naples, and more than all from Germany, had increased to such an extent that Clement XI considered it necessary to prohibit it altogether. We find the two decrees to that effect, of August 7, 1719, and August 1, 1720, alluded to in Vergani, "*della importanza del nuovo sistema di finanza.*" But when Vergani denies that they did any good, he is doubtless in error. Even in the year 1728, the impulse received by the industry of the Roman States is remarked on by Pietro Capello. In our "*Provedimento,*" which was composed under Clement XI, it is expressly affirmed that manufactures had shown an immediate increase, the direct consequence of that very prohibition. Innocent XIII and Benedict XIII confirmed it. "In a few years new manufactories for woollens, etc., were erected at the cost of private individuals in many towns and districts of the State, together with fulling-mills, dye-houses, and other buildings, more particularly in Rome, Narni, Perugia, etc."

But in the year 1735, a congregation appointed by Clement XII thought it best to remove this prohibition, and to permit the importation of cloth, at a duty of 12 per cent. in the provinces, and 20 in Rome.

The consequence was—at least as the document before us affirms—that the manufactories so lately established went to ruin. The author calculates that 100,000 scudi were sent out of the country for cloths; he desires a renewal of the prohibition, and would have it extended to silk goods; but I do not find that his representations produced any effect.

No. 161

Altri provvedimenti di commercio. [Further commercial regulations.]
MS. Rome.

This document presents a confirmation of the remark that the Roman manufactures had received a momentary impulse from the above-mentioned prohibition, and renews the old complaints against the prohibition of exports. There were so many things brought from Tuscany; but if anyone were to export but a measure of corn, he would be punished by confiscation of his property, excommunication—nay, even the loss of life. An extreme confusion of the currency had moreover taken place in the Ecclesiastical States as well as in Germany. The papal coin was too heavy, although Innocent XI and Clement XI had already issued some that was lighter. A quantity of foreign money, on which great loss was suffered, obtained currency. The Pope was pressed to coin money of a lighter sort on his part also, as he had already begun to do in respect of the zechins.

Many other documents of a similar import lie before us; but to make extracts from all would lead us too far into detail. It must suffice us to have remarked, that in the Roman States also, the commercial and economic tendencies prevailing in the rest of Europe had found acceptance, although they were prevented from producing their due effect by peculiar circumstances—the constitution of the papal State, and its ineradicable abuses. They were besides opposed by the listless habits of the aristocracy, the pleasures they found in a life of mere enjoyment—without any other object—the delights of doing nothing. The German, Winckelmann, was enchanted on arriving in Italy soon after this period. The habits of life prevailing there were to him as a deliverance from the restless activity and rigid subordination to rule, of his native regions; and the man of learning was right, so far as he was himself concerned; he had need of leisure, and of a place where the importance of his favorite studies was acknowledged; he required to breathe a freer air, and these were things that for the moment and for private life might be fairly placed in the balance. But a nation can become prosperous and powerful only by the exertion of its most strenuous efforts, steadily put forth on all sides.

No. 162

Relazione 28 Ottobre, 1737 del N. U. Aluise Mocenigo IV. Cavaliere e Procuratore ritornato di Roma. [Report presented on his return from the Roman embassy by Aluise Mocenigo IV, Oct. 29, 1737.]
Venetian Archives.

We are here made acquainted with the impediments presented by the Roman government to the prosperity of its subjects. Mocenigo is by no means addicted to cavilling, he acknowledges the increase of trade in Ancona, and even considers it a subject of some anxiety for Venice; he admits the administration of justice also to be in a sound condition,

more especially in the Rota, but he declares the general government to be corrupt from the very foundation; breach of trust and dishonesty were the order of the day—the expenditure exceeded the income, and there was no prospect of a remedy. Pope Clement had betaken himself to the expedient of lotteries; but Mocenigo declares them to be pernicious in the highest degree—“*l'evidente estermínio e ruina de' popoli,*” “the obvious destruction and ruin of the people.”

The ambassador considers Pope Clement XII to have been more distinguished by the qualities of a gentleman and magnificent prelate, than by the talent and power acquired for sustaining the ponderous burden of the papacy. He describes the pontiff and his government by the following few outlines only:

“The present pontificate is principally favorable to such undertakings as present an aspect of nobility and magnificence, these having been ever the inclination of the Pope from his youth up—a taste which is still maintained in his declining and decrepit age by the character and influence of his nephew, Cardinal Corsini, who is more distinguished by his love of the fine arts, and by his courteous mode of transacting business, than for any real efficiency in the affairs of government. The course of events in the declining pontificate—during which his eminence has for the most part conducted the government—renders clear testimony to this fact, and it may be affirmed that the violent contentions entered into with almost all the courts must have totally overwhelmed the cardinal, had he not been sustained by the credit acquired by his disinterestedness of character, and from its being known that his failures are attributable to want of talent, rather than to evil intentions. It is true that Rome does not excuse him from the determination with which he insists on disposing of all political affairs, and his extreme jealousy of his authority; for this has induced him to remove Cardinal Riviera from the ministry, although he was the most able of the Ministers, and to substitute Cardinal Firau in his place, that he may control all things as he pleases and suffer no contradiction. As respects other matters, however, whether it be from inclination or virtue, certain it is, that throughout the pontificate of Clement XII, and after having had the absolute disposal of the pontifical treasures for seven years, the house of Corsini has not increased its patrimonial revenues by 8,000 scudi yearly—a very rare example.”

But the nephew of the Pope had once more extensive power, though he did not enrich himself; the Secretary of State was entirely dependent on him, and no one could venture to confide in the expressions of the latter, if he were not sure of the nephew.

From domestic affairs Mocenigo proceeds to the relations with foreign courts, which, as before remarked, became daily more difficult. I extract the following passage entire, on account of its importance to the history of the contentions arising from ecclesiastical rights:

“The Court of Naples labors continually for the abolition of the accustomed investiture, availing itself of all arguments, legal, historical, and natural; nor would its success be improbable, if the king Don Carlo would consent to a solemn renunciation of all his claims to Castro and Ronciglione. But this is not all; for the Neapolitans, led on by the arguments of their law-schools, are so profoundly inimical to the Court of Rome, that they seek by every means to withdraw from their dependence on the Pope in all temporal matters; thus new regulations are daily made, and new pretensions constantly put forward, all so well sustained by their able writers, that the Roman Court is more than ever embarrassed, and has already been compelled to relinquish a large part, that it may keep the rest in safety. The point of the matter is, that

these reforms tend principally to enrich the royal treasury, and thereby to diminish the pontifical revenues and authority in those States. Father Galliani, a man of profound learning and ability, is the great advocate of the Court of Naples in Rome, and is the more efficient, from the fact that, during his long practical acquaintance with the Roman metropolis, he has penetrated the mysteries of the papacy to the very bottom, and possessing a most felicitous memory he is enabled to use all his acquirements at the most useful moment.

“The great support of the Neapolitan Court is that of Spain, where the irritation appears of late to have risen to excess, and to have given occasion for those noisy demands of reform in the *dataria*, and for the restoration of the royal right of patronage, concerning which I have frequently had the honor of writing to your Serenity in my respectful despatches; these are now set at rest, but by an arrangement more favorable to the Court of Spain than to that of Rome.

“The Court of Turin, holding a steady course of policy, and protected by the bulls and concessions of Benedict XIII, has never suffered itself to depart for a moment from those essential principles which have now been shaken, and too lightly assailed by the present pontificate. Cardinal Albani, a man who has not his equal for sagacity and resolution, has hitherto maintained the cause of that Court with the utmost efficiency, and that with such effect that he has never suffered the menaces of the present pontiff to be carried into execution, and is likely to proceed quite as prosperously with his successor.

“The Court of France has also found some cause of quarrel in the affairs of Poland; but they were of so little moment, that the French Court may be still considered the only one well disposed and firmly attached to the present pontificate; and that because in regard to ecclesiastical affairs, France has little or nothing left to discuss with Rome, both parties steadfastly adhering to the concordats and the pragmatial; or chiefly, perhaps, because Rome proceeds more cautiously toward France than toward other countries, with respect to the introduction, maintenance, or opposition of any innovations that may present themselves. Cardinal Fleury, who is ever to be extolled as the grand exemplar of profound statesmanship, has always found means to hold political relations in subjection to those of religion, without ever permitting the spiritual authority to be confounded with the temporal power, and this has caused the Court of Rome constantly to confine herself within her due limits throughout all his ministry—nay, she has displayed so much condescension toward him, that she would have constituted him the arbiter of all her differences if the other potentates had not dreaded the perfect equity and impartiality of that great master in statesmanship.

“There were very serious embarrassments, and they are not yet entirely adjusted with the Court of Portugal, where the character of the King makes his pretensions acquire more vigor and obstinacy in proportion as they are resisted; and to speak in plain words, the dissensions of the papal State with Portugal and Spain, having suspended for some time past the rich revenues derived from those vast kingdoms, have almost broken up the Court and city of Rome, where thousands of families have been reduced of late years from opulence to poverty, and an equal number from a sufficiency to absolute want. The consequence of this is that the disposal of a large number of benefices in Spain, Portugal, and the Kingdom of Naples remains suspended; and since there is a probability that the patronage of these livings will be ultimately vested in the temporal authority under those sovereigns, very many of their subjects, both of the secular and regular clergy, formerly

contributing to the maintenance of the Roman Court, now abandon it; besides that not a few of the Romans themselves are induced to cultivate the favor of those foreign powers, either by their avarice or their necessities. The conduct of the Court of Rome with respect to the claim of that prince to have the cardinal, his son, made patriarch of Lisbon, has been very singular and curious. It was considered by the King to be an indispensable condition to the arrangement of the questions pending between the two courts, that this distinction should be conferred; and the Pope, proceeding in this respect accordingly to the wonted Roman fashion, appeared sometimes almost eager to comply with the wishes of the King, while at other times he seemed altogether averse to the proposal. The matter is not yet decided, and in whatever manner it shall be settled is certain to present argument for no small discussion, and even, perhaps, for contentions among the other sovereigns.

“The pretender was formerly an object of extreme interest to the Court of Rome, which flattered itself with the hope of obtaining support from the French and Spanish courts, since both were united in the house of Bourbon; but now that the jealousy existing between the elder line and the younger branch has become manifest, and since it has been made evident that the Queen of Spain has in truth no other interest in view than the aggrandizement of her two sons, the exiled pretender and his deserving family have at once become objects of anxiety, rather than of hope, to many in Rome.

“The Emperor has caused the present Ministry of Rome to tremble; nay, does so still, because it is seen that he has himself set the example of introducing into his Italian States such reforms of abuses as must in time present an example extremely prejudicial to the Romans; but what is still more serious for them, he had scarcely sent his troops into Tuscany before similar measures were entered on there, so that among all the States beyond the dominion of Rome, there is not one which continues to walk blindly in the footsteps of past ages. The Court of Vienna, having some time since made the distinctions conferred on the Spaniards, who are little loved by the Roman people, a decided ground of quarrel, has thus completely gained to itself the favor of the Romans, both in the city and State; and this has been maintained by most sagacious proceedings on the part of the imperial ministers and emissaries, so that we have the marvellous state of things, of the whole Roman people declaring in favor of the Emperor. The interest of the Corsini is, nevertheless, so strong in the present day, that no sacrifice is refused that can help to gain the friendship of the Emperor; a fact of which the most excellent Senate has abundant proofs in the direction of affairs now in progress.”

No. 163

Relazione del N. H. Franc. Venier Cavaliere ritornato ambasciata di Roma, 1744, 24 Apr. [Report presented by Francesco Venier on his return from the Roman embassy, April 24, 1744.]

This is unfortunately only two loose leaves relating to Benedict XIV. Venier assures us that the cardinals would never have elected this Pope of themselves. “He was exalted rather by his own rare virtues, by the peculiar events of that conclave, and by its well-known protraction, than by any actual desire on the part of the cardinals who elected him. It was the work of the Holy Spirit alone.”

“The pontiff,” he proceeds to remark, “endowed with a sincere and upright mind, would never practise any of those arts which are called

'Romanesque;' the same open character which he displayed without reserve as prelate, he continued to exhibit as Cardinal Lambertini, and may be safely said to have shown no other as pope."

No. 164

Relazione di Aluise Mocenigo IV. Cavaliere ritornato ambasciata di Roma, 1750. 14 Apr. [Report presented by Aluise Mocenigo IV on his return from the Roman embassy, April 14, 1750.]

This ambassador is not the "Aluise Mocenigo IV" whose report of 1737 we have given above (see No. 162). The first was a son of Aluise Mocenigo III; the present ambassador is a son of Aluise Mocenigo I.

Unfortunately he also has contented himself with three leaves. In the absence of any large amount of authentic intelligence relating to the Roman Court at this period, I will give the most important passages entire.

"The reigning pontiff, Benedict XIV, has not only been employed in no nunciature to any court, but he has never been even charged with any legation. He was raised to the rank of cardinal when Bishop of Ancona, and was elevated to the supreme station which he now holds when Archbishop of Bologna. He is well versed, by long practice from his earliest years, in the affairs of the Curia, and is certainly not unmindful of that advantage; besides which he piques himself on being a profound canonist and finished lawyer; nor does he consider himself inferior as a decretalist, his studies in which department he does not neglect even to the present day. He is very partial to his auditor Monsignor Argivilliers, for this cause, that he also pursues the same course of learning. This conformity of dispositions and of maxims between the Pope and his auditor renders the latter a man of importance in this pontificate; for whereas in his official duties, which are restricted to civil inspections only, he would enjoy no other advantage than that of daily access to the sovereign, he is now admitted to give his opinion respecting affairs of state. To say the truth, he is a man of probity, but of no experience in the affairs of foreign courts; he is austere and inaccessible, reserved in general intercourse, not only with strangers, but even with the members of the Curia themselves. By the extraordinary favor shown to him, he seems to dispute with Cardinal Valenti, the Secretary of State, those advantages of access to the Pope which the high qualities of that prelate, whenever he is pleased to demand them, must yet always obtain for him, and which belong to him on all occasions of great importance or difficulty. But I am falling into prolixity and needless repetition; for my most excellent predecessors will have told you all that was required, concerning this eminent person, so profoundly versed in affairs of state and policy, a minister of so much prudence and experience, and of manners so courteous; nor have I anything to add respecting him, except that the office of chamberlain of the Holy Church has been conferred on him by his holiness during my embassy. That very honorable and lucrative charge has indeed been confirmed to Cardinal Valenti, even after the death of the pontiff, and this will cause him to be still necessary and sought after, even though jealousy, envy, and ill-will should seek to employ their strength against him, when he no longer holds the office of Secretary of State. He is for the present exempt from these assailants, not because he is guarded on all sides, so much as because he is ever prepared to confront them and to parry every blow; if he think the matter deserving of notice, he joins combat;

if otherwise, he lets it pass. In addition to the above-mentioned auditor of the Pope, there is also the datary, Monsignor Millo, no great friend of his; for although in my time there was an appearance of reconciliation between them, yet there was no reality in their friendship, and the said datary is rather of the party of the auditor. These three persons may be said to be all who have any real participation in state affairs, or who understand them; but if the two prelates are accepted for the reasons aforesaid, and the cardinal manages to make himself necessary for many well-known causes, there are, nevertheless, occasions on which the Pope, though hearing them all, will afterward decide after his own manner, and contrary to their counsels. And further, if there be other very distinguished men among the members of the Curia, they have no great influence in the present pontificate, at least in relation to the principal affairs of state. One is Cardinal Passionei, a man of most studious habits, and attached to science; he is a minister of experience, having held many nunciatures, yet he is only employed as secretary of briefs. Among the chief favorites of the Pope is Cardinal Girolamo, *promajorduomo*, and uncle of the young prelate, Monsignor Marcantonio Colonna, *maggiorduomo*; but he gives himself no trouble respecting anything that does not affect his own particular wishes. The secretary of accounts, Monsignor Antonio Rota, is known to the Pope, to the Sacred College at large, and above all to the congregations *coram sanctissimo*, as a man of the most refined policy and most subtle powers of thought, than whom no better could be found when the adjustment of some foreign difficulty is demanded, or some trait of sagacity is required; but although his utility is so well understood that he is admitted into all congregations and appears in despite of his gout, yet he has no more important matter confided to his control than those of his office, and the casualties arising from it."

No. 165

Girolamo Zulian Relazione di Roma, 15 Dicembre, 1783. [Report from Rome by Girolamo Zulian, Dec. 15, 1783.]

Toward the close of the republic, there was seen to be a falling off in the disposition which had formerly existed toward this kind of political activity.

The reports became shorter. The observations they present are not to be compared with those of the older writers for penetration and comprehensiveness.

Zulian, whose report is the last that I have seen, no longer discusses questions of policy, of foreign affairs, or the personal qualities of the pontiff Pius VI. He confines himself entirely to certain leading features of the internal administration.

He informs us that the papal treasury exhibited a considerable deficit, which was further increased by the extraordinary expenditure, the building of the sacristy of St. Peter's, and the labors proceeding in the Pontine marshes, which together had perhaps already cost 2,000,000 scudi. Attempts were made to meet this deficiency by anticipation of the revenue, and by the creation of a paper currency. There was, besides, much money sent out of the country. "The hemp, silks, and woollens exported from the State do not compensate for the salt-fish, lead, drugs, and great variety of manufactures imported, more particularly from Germany and France. The principal means of balancing the commerce of the nation ought to be the corn-trade; but the necessity for regulat-

ing it by artificial arrangements, that Rome may always be assured of a supply of corn at low prices, renders that trade a poor and often losing one. From these causes agriculture is depressed, and there often happen dearths of such a kind as to make it needful that corn should be purchased at high prices from foreign countries. It is thus the general opinion that this trade, upon the whole, produces very little profit to the nation. The State is in debt to almost every country with which it is connected; to which must in great measure be attributed that rapid outpouring of money which depresses its credit, causes its bills to be always at a discount, and aggravates the poverty of the papacy. It is the common belief that Rome is more profitably connected with the exchange of Venice than with any other, on account of the various kinds of merchandise which the pontifical States furnish to those of your Serenity."

The measures adopted for the relief of the country by Pius VI are well known. They are discussed in this report, but with no very great depth of thought.

Zulian remarks that Pius VI had rendered the cardinals yet more insignificant than they previously were. On the return of the pontiff from Vienna, he had put off the Sacred College with obscure and insufficient notices. It is true that he may be said to have had but very little to relate; but the fact is true. The Secretary of State, Pallavicini, an excellent and distinguished man, was incapable of effecting much in the way of business, because he was continually out of health. The author is of opinion that Rezzonico was the person whose influence was most powerful with the pontiff.

THE END.