



BX 955 .R2913 1841 v.1
Ranke, Leopold von, 1795-
1886.
The ecclesiastical and
political history of the



THE
ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL
HISTORY
OF
THE POPES OF ROME



DURING THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

✓
BY LEOPOLD RANKE,
PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY SARAH AUSTIN.

~~~~~  
IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL I.  
~~~~~

PHILADELPHIA:
LEA & BLANCHARD.

.....
1841.

T. K. & P. G. COLLINS, PRINTERS.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE reputation of the following work is so well established throughout Europe, and its character and merits have been so ably exhibited to the English public,* that it would be more than superfluous to insist on them here.

It is, therefore, only needful that I should say a few words on the version of it now offered to the public. The gravity and importance of the subject, the undiminished interest which it excites, and the conspicuous good faith and impartiality with which it has been considered and treated by the author, seem to demand some explanation of the views by which I have been guided in the execution of my task. I undertook it not without an earnest sense of the responsibility of rendering into English a history of that great divergence of religious opinions, which has so long occupied the attention and inflamed the passions of Europe, and my anxiety to acquit myself of it faithfully was greatly increased by the bad faith of a French translation which appeared in 1838. It is impossible not to be struck with surprise and mortification that, in this age of the world, any man should be found so blinded by antipathy, as not to perceive how much both catholics and protestants have suffered by misrepresentation; how much both have to gain by truth; how much, therefore, both are interested in preserving the integrity of a history, to which both may appeal from prejudice and calumny.

Independently of the obligation to truth and fairness which this consideration imposed upon the French translator, he was bound by the duties generally imperative on those who undertake to convey to one nation the thoughts which are embodied in the language of another. "Every translator," says Goethe,

* See the articles in the Quarterly Review, Nos. cx. and cxvi.

“ought to regard himself as a broker in the great intellectual traffic of the world, and to consider it his business to promote the barter of the produce of mind. For whatever people may say of the inadequacy of translation, it is and must ever be one of the most important and dignified occupations in the great commerce of the human race.”*

But besides these duties towards the public, every translator is bound to fidelity by a duty which he owes to his author; for if there be any thing which may be truly called a man's own, it is surely the sum of his opinions on a most momentous and difficult subject, arrived at by years of patient toil and mature reflection, weighed with consummate impartiality, and enounced with historical calmness.

Unfortunately, however, such is the tendency to postpone the real and permanent interest which all men have in truth and charity, and the most sacred rights of individuals, to the pursuit of some momentary and illusory party advantage, that the French translation is not only full of particular inaccuracies arising from ignorance or carelessness, but is infected with the sectarian spirit from which the original is so remarkably and so laudably exempt.

Professor Ranke, not without reason, regards his reputation for impartiality, and (what to such a writer is far more important) the effect of his book on the public mind, as seriously endangered by the appearance of the French version.

Accordingly, when I announced to him my intention of translating his work, and my wish to attend to any suggestions he might have to make, I received an answer containing the following words.

* I give the whole passage for the German reader.

“Wer die deutsche Sprache versteht und studiert, befindet sich auf dem Marke wo alle Nationem ihre Waaren anbieten; er spielt den Dolmetscher, indem er sich selbst bereichert.

“Und so ist jeder Übersetzer anzusehen dass er sich als Vermittler dieses allgemein geistigen Handels bemüht und den Wechselltausch zu befördern sich zum Geschäft macht. Denn was man auch von der Unzulänglichkeit des Übersetzens sagen mag, so ist und bleibt es doch eines der wichtigsten und würdigsten Geschäfte in dem allgemeinen Weltverkehr.

“Der Koran sagt, ‘Gott hat jedem Volke einen Propheten gegeben in seiner eigenen Sprache.’ So ist jeder Übersetzer ein Prophet in seinem Volke.”—*Goethe, Kunst und Alterthum.*

“My book needs to be set right in the eyes of all but German readers, after the unconscientious treatment it has received at the hands of a catholicising French translator. I look to England to redress the wrong done to me in France.”*

I have endeavored to render the original with scrupulous fidelity, at the risk of occasionally sacrificing facility of expression to this paramount object, and to my desire of counteracting (as far as it rested with me to do so) the effect of this great offence against the author and against truth. The English reader will perhaps accept such a guarantee as Professor Ranke's opinion may afford, that I have not wholly failed in my purpose. In a letter acknowledging the receipt of the sheets (which have been regularly transmitted to him) he expresses himself fully satisfied with the “care and conscientiousness” of the translation.†

I have translated from the Second Edition, which contains some additions, especially in the third volume. The First Edition was published at Berlin in 1835-6; the Second Edition of the first volume in 1838; the Second Edition of the third volume, not till the end of 1839; which caused some delay in the completion of this translation.

The title does not appear to me to represent accurately the subject of the book, which is not so much a history of the popes, as a history of the great struggle between catholicism and protestantism, between authority and innovation, in which the popes were indeed actors, but generally rather as the servants than the rulers of events.

The chief interest of the work lies in the solution it affords of the greatest problem of modern history. It is impossible to contemplate the rapid and apparently resistless progress of the Reformation in its infancy, without wondering what was the power which arrested and forced back the torrent, and reconquered to the ancient faith countries in which protestantism seemed firmly established.

* “Für das ausserdeutsche Publicum bedarf es ohnehin, nach der gewissenlosen Behandlung durch einen katholisirenden französischen Übersetzer, einer Rehabilitation; eine englische Frau wird das Unrecht wieder gut machen das mir in Frankreich begegnet ist.”

† “Wo ich immer aufschlage finde ich Sorgfalt und Gewissenhaftigkeit, und fühle mich höchlich befriedigt.”

The ebb and flow of this mighty wave are traced with singular vividness as well as accuracy in the following pages.

In them also will be seen how many of the elements of protestantism lived and moved in the bosom of the catholic church;—and, on the other hand, how many of the institutions, and how much of the spirit of the ancient church have adhered to some forms of protestantism.

Nor is the connection between the aspirations of man after the beautiful, and those after the good and the eternal, forgotten. In the 16th century, as in the 14th, the Church appears as the inspirer and the patron of Art.

We are likewise struck by several examples of those great oscillations of the human mind, of which each succeeding generation is the unconscious witness, though each appears to regard its own mental condition with an exclusiveness and intolerance little befitting a creature so changeful, and so dependent on circumstances for his opinions, as man. A period of laxity in religion and morals is as invariably succeeded by one of rigor and asceticism, as that again is sure to engender an impatience of restraint, an inordinate craving for indulgence, and a coldness, not to say aversion, to the exercises of devotion.

It is not within the humble province of a translator to insist on the lessons of moderation to be drawn from such views of the invariable laws which govern the moral world. Those lessons will best be learned by an attentive consideration of the facts presented to our view in the following work.

S. A.

London, April, 1840.



AUTHOR'S PREFACE.



THE power of Rome in the early and middle ages of the Christian Church is known to the world, and modern times have beheld her resume her sway with somewhat like the vigor of renovated youth. After the decline of her influence in the former half of the sixteenth century, she once more rose to be the centre of the faith and the opinions of the nations of Southern Europe, and made bold, and not unfrequently successful, attempts to bring those of the north again under her dominion.

This period of the revived temporal power of the church, her renovation and internal reform, her progress and her decline, it is my purpose to exhibit, at least in outline; an undertaking which I should not have ventured even to attempt, had not opportunity presented to me some materials and aids towards its accomplishment (however defective that may be) hitherto unknown.

It is my first duty to indicate the general character of these materials, and the sources whence they are derived.

I had already, in a former work, given to the public whatever our Berlin MSS. contain. But Vienna is incalculably richer than Berlin in treasures of this kind.

Besides the German, which is its chief and fundamental ingredient, Vienna possesses another European element: manners and languages the most various meet in every class, from the highest to the lowest, and Italy especially has her living and full representation. The various collections too have a comprehensive character, which may be ascribed to the policy of the state; to

its position with regard to other countries; to its ancient alliance with Spain, Belgium, and Lombardy, and its intimate connection, both from proximity and from faith, with Rome. From the earliest times, the taste for acquiring and possessing such records has prevailed at Vienna. Hence even the original and purely national collections of the imperial library are of great value. In later times some foreign collections have been added. From Modena a number of volumes, similar to the Berlin 'Informazioni,' have been purchased of the house of Rangone; from Venice, the inestimable manuscripts of the Doge Marco Foscarini, and among them his own labors preparatory to the continuation of his Italian Chronicles, of which not a trace is anywhere else to be found. Prince Eugene left a rich collection of historical and political MSS., formed with the enlarged views which might be expected from that accomplished statesman. It is impossible to read through the catalogues without emotions of pleasure and hope. So many unexplored sources whence the deficiencies of most printed works on modern history may be corrected and repaired!—a whole futurity of study! And yet, at the distance of but a few steps, Vienna offers still more valuable materials. The imperial archives contain, as we might anticipate, the most important and authentic documents illustrative of German and of general history, and peculiarly so of that of Italy. It is true that by far the greater part of the Venetian archives are restored, after long wanderings, to Venice; but a considerable mass of papers belonging to the republic are still to be found in Vienna; despatches, original or copied; extracts from them, made for the use of government, called rubricaries; reports, often the only copies in existence, and of great value; official registers of the government functionaries; chronicles and journals. The details which will be found in this work concerning Gregory XIII, and Sixtus V, are for the most part drawn from the archives of Vienna. I cannot adequately express my sense of the boundless liberality with which access to these treasures was granted to me.

And here I ought to enumerate the many helps towards the execution of my project which I have received, both abroad and at home. But I feel, I know not whether with reason or not, some hesitation in doing so. I should have to mention a great many names—some of them very eminent: my gratitude would appear vaunting, and would give to a work which has every reason to present itself with a modest front, an air of ostentation which might ill become it.

After Vienna, my attention was chiefly directed to Venice and to Rome.

It was an almost universal custom among the great houses of Venice to have a cabinet of manuscripts attached to their library. These of course chiefly related to the affairs of the republic, and represented the share which the particular family had taken in public business: they were carefully preserved, as memorials of the history and importance of the house, for the instruction of its younger members. A few of these private collections are still remaining, and were accessible to me; but a far greater number perished in the general ruin of the year 1797, and subsequently. If more has been saved out of the wreck than might be imagined, the world owes it chiefly to the librarians of St. Mark, who exerted the utmost powers of their institution to effect that object. The library of St. Mark contains a valuable store of manuscripts which are indispensable to the domestic history of the city or republic, and important even to that of their relations with Europe. But too much must not be expected from it. It is almost a new acquisition, casually formed of private collections, without completeness or uniform plan. It is not to be compared with the treasures of the state archives in their present condition and arrangement. In my inquiry into the conspiracy of 1618, I have already described the Venetian archives, and shall not repeat what I there said. The documents most appropriate to my Roman objects were, the Reports of the ambassadors on their return from Rome. I should have been extremely glad how-

ever to be able to have recourse to other collections, since none are free from deficiencies, and these archives have sustained many losses in the course of their various wanderings. I collected, in all, forty-eight Reports on Rome—the earliest of them of the year 1500; nineteen of the sixteenth, twenty-one of the seventeenth century, forming an almost unbroken series; of the eighteenth century only eight, but these too, very instructive and valuable. In by far the greater number of cases, I saw and used the originals. They contain a great many interesting facts which were stated on personal observation, and have passed away with the lives of the contemporaneous generation. These first gave me the idea of a continuous narrative, and the courage to attempt it.

In Rome alone, it is needless to say, could the means of authenticating and of amplifying these materials be found. But was it to be expected that a foreigner and a heretic would there be allowed free access to the public collections—would be enabled to reveal all the secrets of the papacy? It would not perhaps have been such bad policy as it appears; since no investigation can bring to light anything worse than the assumptions of groundless conjecture, or than those rumors which the world now receives as true. I cannot boast, however, of having enjoyed any such permission. I was enabled to ascertain what were the treasures of the Vatican, and to use a number of volumes; but I was not so fortunate as to obtain the full liberty of access which I desired.

Luckily, however, other collections were laid open to me, from which extensive and authentic, if not complete, information could be extracted. In the palmy days of aristocracy—that is, in the seventeenth century particularly—the great families who were at the head of public affairs all over Europe, were in possession of a part of the public documents. Nowhere was this so remarkably the case as in Rome. The kinsmen of the reigning pope, who in every pontificate possessed the supreme power, usually bequeathed as an heir-loom to the princely houses which they

founded, a considerable quantity of state papers, accumulated during their administration. They were thought a part of the hereditary possessions of a family. In the palace which they built, there were two or three rooms, generally in the highest story, appropriated to books and manuscripts, and enriched by the contributions of each succeeding generation. The private collections of Rome are, in a certain sense, the public ones; and the dispersion of the archives of the state in the different houses of the families successively at the head of affairs, was sanctioned by common usage; in the same way as a part of the public revenues were permitted to overflow into the hands of the papal families; or as some private collections, such as those of the Borghese or Doria palaces, far surpassed that of the Vatican gallery, in extent or historical importance.

It thus happens that the manuscripts which are preserved in the Barberini, Chigi, Altieri, Albani, and Corsini palaces, are of incalculable value for the ecclesiastical and political history of the popes of Rome—the Church and State over which they presided. The state-archive office, which has not been very long arranged, is peculiarly important, as regards the middle ages, from its collection of registers, which would amply reward an inquirer into the history of that period for the labor of research; but so far as my knowledge extends, I cannot say that it contains much calculated to throw light on more modern times. Its value shrinks into nothing, (unless I have been purposely deceived,) before the splendor and the riches of private collections. Each of these, of course, embraces more especially the epoch in which the pope of the particular house reigned; but as the kinsman of each retained a very eminent position; as all men are eager to enlarge and complete a collection once begun, and as ample facilities for doing so were afforded in Rome, where a literary traffic in manuscripts had grown up, there is not one which does not contain many documents tending to throw great light on other ages, both remote and proximate. By far the richest (in consequence

of some valuable bequests,) is the Barberini; but the Corsini was, from its very foundation, planned and arranged with the greatest care and choice. I had the good fortune to be allowed access (in some cases with unlimited freedom) to all these collections, as well as to others of less importance. They afforded me an un-hoped-for harvest of authentic materials apposite to my purpose. Correspondences of the *nuntiaturæ*, with the accompanying instructions, and the reports which were brought back; lives of several popes, written in great detail, and with all the freedom of communications not intended to meet the public eye; lives of distinguished cardinals; official and private journals; explanations of particular incidents and situations; official opinions and deliberations; reports of the administration of the provinces, their trade and manufactures; statistical tables; accounts of income and expenditure; by far the greater part of them unknown, usually constructed by men who had a thorough and practical knowledge of their subject, and of a credibility which, though it by no means precludes the necessity for examination and criticism, is equal to what is universally accorded to the testimony of well-informed contemporaries.

Of these MSS., the oldest of which I made any use, concerns the conspiracy of the Porcari against Nicholas V. A few others related to the fifteenth century; from the commencement of the sixteenth, they became at every step more numerous and full; upon the whole course of the seventeenth, they throw a light which is doubly precious from the dearth of authentic information about Rome relating to that period; while, from the beginning of the eighteenth, again, their number and value decrease. Both the state and court of Rome had then lost much of their influence and importance. I shall go through these Roman MSS., as well as the Venetian, in detail, in the Appendix, and shall quote whatever appears to me worthy of attention which I have not found a fit opportunity of noticing in the body of the work.

For the very mass of the materials, both in manuscript and in

print, which lie before us, renders it necessary to impose strict limits on the text.

An Italian, a catholic, would set about the task in a totally different spirit from that in which the present work is written. By the expression of personal veneration, or it may be (in the present state of opinion,) of personal hatred, he would impart to his work a characteristic, and, I doubt not, a more vivid and brilliant coloring; and in many passages he would be more circumstantial, more ecclesiastical, or more local. In these respects a protestant and a North German cannot hope to vie with him. The position and the feelings of such a writer with respect to the papacy are less exposed to the influences which excite the passions, and therefore while he is enabled to maintain the indifference so essential to an historian, he must, from the very outset of his work, renounce that warmth of expression which springs from partiality or antipathy, and which might perhaps produce a considerable effect on Europe. We are necessarily deficient in true sympathy with purely ecclesiastical or canonical details. On the other hand, our circumstances enable us to occupy another point of view, which, if I mistake not, is more favorable to historical truth and impartiality.* For what is there that can now make the history of the papal power interesting or important to us? Not its peculiar relation to us, which can no longer affect us in any material point; nor the anxiety or dread which it can inspire. The times in which we had any thing to fear are over; we are conscious of our perfect security. The papacy can inspire us with no other interest than what arises from its historical development and its former influence.

The papal power was not so unchangeable as is commonly sup-

* No change has been produced in this respect by the events which have occurred since the publication of the first edition of this book. On reviewing it, the author has found no cause to make other than slight additions and alterations, which do not affect the main thread of the narrative.

posed. If we recur to the principles which are the conditions of its existence, which it cannot abandon without condemning itself to ruin, we find that it has always been as profoundly affected by the vicissitudes which have befallen the nations of Europe, as any other government. As the fortunes of the world have varied, as one nation or another has predominated, as the whole fabric of society has been shaken, the papal power has shared in the universal movement; complete metamorphoses have taken place in its maxims, objects, and claims; and above all, its influence has experienced the greatest variations. If we look through the catalogue of all those names so often repeated through the whole series of centuries, from Pius I, in the second, down to our contemporaries, Pius VII and VIII, in the nineteenth, it produces the impression of an unbroken stability; but we must not suffer ourselves to be misled by this appearance, since in truth the popes of different ages are distinguished from each other by differences nearly as essential as the dynasties of a kingdom. For us, who stand aloof, these transformations are precisely the most interesting object of attention. In them we trace a portion of the history of the world, of the progress of the whole human race; not only in the periods of the undisputed supremacy of the catholic church, but perhaps still more in those marked by the shock of action and counteraction—as in the times which the following work is intended to embrace—the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; in which we see the papacy threatened and shaken to its foundations, yet maintaining and strengthening, and even re-extending its power; in which we see it for a time advancing, conquering, but then again checked, and tottering once more to its fall; periods in which the mind of the western nations was peculiarly busied with ecclesiastical questions; and that power which, deserted and attacked by the one, was upheld and defended with fresh zeal by the other, necessarily asserted a high and universal importance.

This is the point of view which from our natural position invites us to consider it;—a task I shall now endeavor to fulfil.

It seems fitting that I should begin by recalling to the memory of my readers the situation of the papal power at the commencement of the sixteenth century, and the course of events which had led to that situation.



CONTENTS.

VOL. I.

BOOK I. INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

EPOCHS OF THE PAPACY.

§ 1. Christianity in the Roman Empire. - - - - -	25
2. The papacy in connection with the Frankish Empire. - - - - -	30
3. Relation of the popes to the German emperors—Internal growth and progress of the hierarchy. - - - - -	35
4. Contrasts between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. - - - - -	40

CHAPTER II.

THE CHURCH AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATES IN THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

§ 1. Extension of the States of the Church. - - - - -	46
2. Intrusion of a secular spirit into the church - - - - -	53
3. Intellectual tendency of the age. - - - - -	55
4. Opposition to the papacy in Germany. - - - - -	62

CHAPTER III.

POLITICAL STATE OF EUROPE.—ITS CONNECTION WITH THE REFORMATION.

Under Leo X. - - - - -	65
Under Adrian VI. - - - - -	72
Under Clement VII. - - - - -	75

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

BEGINNING OF THE REGENERATION OF CATHOLICISM. - - - - -	95
§ 1. Opinions current in Italy analogous with protestantism. - - - - -	96
2. Attempt at internal reforms and at a reconciliation with the protestants. - - - - -	103
3. New religious orders. - - - - -	115
4. Ignatius Loyola. - - - - -	120
5. First sitting of the Council of Trent. - - - - -	130

6. The Inquisition. - - - - -	136
7. Progress of the institution of Jesuitism. - - - - -	140
Conclusion. - - - - -	150

BOOK III.

THE POPES ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

§ 1. Paul III. - - - - -	154
2. Julius III. - - - - -	171
3. Marcellus II. - - - - -	175
4. Paul IV. - - - - -	177
5. Remarks on the progress of protestantism during this reign. - - - - -	192
6. Pius IV. - - - - -	196
7. Later sittings of the Council of Trent. - - - - -	202
8. Pius V. - - - - -	215

BOOK IV.

STATE AND COURT; THE TIMES OF GREGORY XIII AND SIXTUS V.

Introduction. - - - - -	231
§ 1. Administration of the patrimony of the church. - - - - -	231
2. Finances. - - - - -	243
3. Gregory XIII. - - - - -	253
4. Sixtus V. - - - - -	263
5. Extermination of banditti. - - - - -	268
6. Characteristics of the administration. - - - - -	270
7. Finances. - - - - -	275
8. Public Buildings.—Sixtus V. - - - - -	280
9. General change in the intellectual tendency of the age. - - - - -	287
10. The curia. - - - - -	296

BOOK V.

COUNTER-REFORMATION.

First period, 1563—1589. - - - - -	309
§ 1. State of protestantism in the year 1563. - - - - -	310
2. Resources possessed by the papacy for active contest. - - - - -	318
3. The first Jesuits' college in Germany. - - - - -	321
4. Beginning of the counter-reformation in Germany. - - - - -	327
5. Disturbances in the Netherlands and in France. - - - - -	336
6. Resistance of the protestants in the Netherlands, France and Germany. - - - - -	344
7. Contrasts exhibited in the rest of Europe. - - - - -	350
8. Crisis in the Netherlands. - - - - -	357
9. Progress of the counter-reformation in Germany. - - - - -	367
10. The League. - - - - -	385
11. Savoy and Switzerland. - - - - -	391
12. Attempt upon England. - - - - -	393
13. Assassination of Henry III. - - - - -	399

BOOK VI.

COUNTER-REFORMATION.

	Introduction. - - - - -	405
§ 1.	Theory of the connection between church and state. - - - - -	406
2.	Conflict of opinions. - - - - -	412
3.	Latter Times of Sixtus V. - - - - -	416
4.	Urban VII, Gregory XIV, Innocent IX, and their Conclaves. 1590, 1591. - - - - -	427
5.	Election and character of Clement VIII. - - - - -	432
6.	Absolution of Henry IV. - - - - -	437
7.	Ferrara under Alfonso II. - - - - -	448
8.	Conquest of Ferrara. - - - - -	455
9.	Dissensions among the Jesuits. - - - - -	461
10.	Political situation of Clement VIII. - - - - -	475
11.	Election and first proceedings of Paul V. - - - - -	482
12.	Disputes between Rome and Venice. - - - - -	485
13.	Issue of the affairs of the Jesuits. - - - - -	500
	Conclusion. - - - - -	502



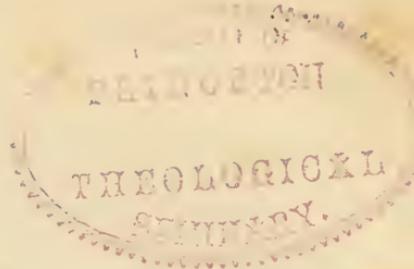
LIST
OF
POPE S AND EMPERORS
DURING THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

	POPES.	EMPERORS.
1493	Alexander VI.	Maximilian I.
1503	Pius III.	-
1503	Julius II.	-
1513	Leo X.	-
1520	-	Charles V.
1522	Hadrian VI.	-
1523	Clement VII.	-
1534	Paul III.	-
1550	Julius III.	-
1555	Marcellus II.	-
1555	Paul IV.	-
1558	-	Ferdinand I.
1559	Pius IV.	-
1564	-	Maximilian II.
1566	Pius V.	-
1572	Gregory XIII.	-
1576	-	Rudolph II.
1585	Sixtus V.	-
1590	Urban VII.	-
1590	Gregory XIV.	-
1591	Innocent IX.	-
1592	Clement VIII.	-
1605	Leo XI.	-
1605	Paul V.	-
1612	-	Matthias.
1619	-	Ferdinand II.
1621	Gregory XV.	-
1623	Urban VIII.	-
1637	-	Ferdinand III.
1644	Innocent X.	-
1655	Alexander VII.	-
1658	-	Leopold I.
1667	Clement IX.	-
1670	Clement X.	-
1676	Innocent XI.	-
1689	Alexander VIII.	-
1691	Innocent XII.	-
1700	Clement XI.	-



BOOK I.
INTRODUCTION.





CHAPTER I.

EPOCHS OF THE PAPACY.



§ 1. CHRISTIANITY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

IF we survey the ancient world in its remoter ages, we find it peopled with a number of independent tribes. They dwelt around the Mediterranean Sea, spreading from its coasts to the interior as far as it was known; severed by various divisions; all originally confined within narrow boundaries; all in states of peculiar character and institutions. The independence which they enjoyed was not merely political. Every country had given birth to a religion of its own; the ideas of God and divine things were local; national deities of the most dissimilar attributes divided the faith and homage of the world; the law which their worshipers observed was indissolubly connected with the law of the state. We may say that this strict union of state and religion, this double independence, (only slightly qualified by the relations of a common origin) had the greatest share in the civilisation of antiquity: the boundaries to which each was confined were narrow, but within these the vigorous abundance of youth was left to develope itself according to its own free impulses.

This aspect of things was totally changed by the ascendancy of Rome. We see all the self-governing powers which filled the world, bend, one after another, before her rising power, and vanish. The earth was suddenly left void of independent nations.

In other times, states have been shaken to their foundations because religion had lost her power over them; in those days, the subjugation of states necessarily involved the fall of their religions. Dragged in the train of political power, they congregated in Rome; but what significancy could they retain, torn from the soil to which they were indigenous? The worship of Isis had perhaps a meaning in Egypt; it deified the powers of nature, such as they appear in that country: in Rome it was a senseless idolatry. The contact of the various mythologies was necessarily followed by their mutual hostility and destruction. No philosophical theory could be discovered capable of reconciling their contradictions.

But even had this been possible, it would no longer have satisfied

the wants of the world. With whatever sympathy we may regard the fall of so many independent states, we cannot deny that a new life arose immediately out of their ruins. Independence fell; but with it fell the barriers of narrow nationalities. Nations were conquered, but by this very conquest they were united, incorporated. As the empire was called the world, so its inhabitants felt themselves a single connected race. Mankind began to be conscious of the common bonds which unite them.

At this stage of human affairs Jesus Christ was born.

His life was humble and obscure; his occupation, to heal the sick, to speak of God to a few fishermen, who did not always understand him, in hints and parables; he had not where to lay his head: but—at this point of our retrospect of the world, let us pause to say it—earth has seen nothing more innocent or more powerful, more sublime or more holy, than his conversation, his life, and his death. In all his discourse breathes the pure breath of God: his words, according to the expression of Peter, are the words of eternal life; the race of man has no tradition which can come into the most distant comparison with this.

If the national creeds had ever contained an element of true religion, this was now entirely obliterated; they had, as we have said, no longer a meaning; in Him who united the divine and human natures, appeared, in contrast with them, the eternal and universal relation of God to the world, of man to God.

Christ was born in a nation which indeed regarded the monotheism it professed only as a national worship, and held it mixed with an exclusive and narrow ritual law; but it had the immeasurable merit of holding fast to that faith with a constancy which nothing could shake. Now, for the first time, this doctrine received its full significancy. Christ annulled the law by fulfilling it: the Son of Man proved himself the Lord also of the Sabbath, according to his own expression; he revealed the eternal and essential import of forms which a narrow intelligence had never understood. Thus, amidst a people which had hitherto held itself aloof from every other, arose, in all the force of truth, a faith which invited all and received all into its bosom. It proclaimed the Universal God, who, as St. Paul taught the Athenians, “had made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the earth.” For this sublime doctrine the moment had, as we have seen, arrived. A race of men had arisen fitted to receive it. It lightened like a sunbeam over the earth, says Eusebius.* And in fact we see it in a short time spread from the Euphrates to the Ebro, the Rhine and the Danube, beyond all the wide frontiers of the empire.

Mild and innocent as it was, however, it could not, in the nature of things, but encounter the strongest opposition from the existing religions, which were bound up with so many of the interests of

* Hist. Eccl. II, 3.

life. I will point out only one crisis of this struggle, which appears to me peculiarly important.

The political spirit of the antique religions once more rose to view in a new form. The sum of all those independent powers which once filled the world had been concentrated in the hands of one; there was but one power which seemed self-dependent; to this they all attached themselves; they paid divine worship to the emperor.* Temples were raised and altars dedicated to him; they swore by his name, they celebrated festivals in his honor; his statues afforded sanctuary. The worship paid to the genius of the emperor was perhaps the only one common to the whole empire. All idolatries clung around this as to a common prop.

This worship of the Cæsar, and the doctrine of Christ, had, in relation to the local religions, a certain similarity; although there existed between them the strongest conceivable contrast.

The emperor considered religion under its worldly aspect—bound to earth and the goods of earth; to him be these surrendered, says Celsus, all that we have comes from him. Christianity viewed it in the fulness of the spirit and of superhuman truth.

The emperor united state and religion; Christianity emphatically distinguished that which is God's from that which is Cæsar's.

In sacrificing to the emperor, men avowed the most abject servitude. Even in that union of religion and state, in which, according to the earlier constitution, resided the most perfect independence, lay, according to the present, the seal of subjection. Christianity, in forbidding sacrifices to the emperor, accomplished the most glorious emancipation. It reawakened in the nations the primeval and innate religious consciousness (if it be true that such a sentiment was antecedent to all idolatry), and set it in hostility to this world-subjecting power, which, not satisfied with earthly, sought to grasp also at heavenly things. Hence man derived a spiritual element in which he was once more independent, free and personally unconquerable; the earth acquired freshness and new capacity for life; it was fertilised and prepared for new productions.

It was the contrast between the earthly and the spiritual; between servitude and freedom; between gradual decay and vigorous renovation.

This is not the place in which to describe the long conflict between these principles. All the elements of life were drawn into the vortex, gradually imbued with the spirit of Christianity, and borne along with this grand current of the human mind. The error of idolatry, says Chrysostom, has vanished of itself.† Paganism already appeared to him a conquered city, whose walls were

* Eckhel. *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, P. ii, vol. viii, p. 456; he quotes a passage of Tertullian, *Apol. c. 28*, from which it appears that the worship of the Cæsar was sometimes the most fervent of any.

† Λόγος εἰς τὸν μακάριον βαβύλαν καὶ κατὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ πρὸς Ἕλληνας.

overthrown, whose halls, theatres and public buildings were consumed with fire, whose defenders were slain; a few old men and children lingered among the ruins. Even these soon were found no more. A change, such as the world had never known, had begun.

The blood of the martyrs sprinkled the catacombs: on those spots where the Olympian gods were worshiped, amidst the very pillars which had supported their temples, arose shrines in memory of those who had scorned their worship and had resisted unto death. The religion which had arisen in deserts and in prisons was embraced by the world. Men saw with surprise a secular building erected by heathens, the Basilica, converted into a Christian temple. The change was most remarkable. The apsis of the Basilica contained an Augusteum,* the images of those Cæsars to whom divine honors were paid. The very places which they occupied received, as we still see in numerous Basilicas, the figures of Christ and his apostles. The statues of the rulers of the world, who had been regarded as gods, vanished and gave place to the likeness of the Son of Man—the Son of God. Local deities faded and disappeared. On every highway, on the steep summits of hills, in mountain-gorges and valleys, on the housetops, and on the tessellated floors, the cross was seen. The victory was complete and decisive. As we see on the coins of Constantine the labarum with the monogram of Christ above the conquered dragon, even thus did the worship and the name of Christ stand triumphant above prostrate heathenism.

Viewed even from this point, how full of infinite import and infinite consequences was the Roman empire! In the age of its ascendant, it crushed the independence, it overthrew the power, of nations; it annihilated that feeling of self-existence and self-reliance, the very essence of which lay in division: in the years of its decline, it beheld true religion arise out of its bosom; the purest form of a common consciousness, the consciousness of a community in the One true God; it nourished and reared to maturity the power of this faith. The race of man awoke to the sense of its nature and destinies; it had found its Religion.

This religion now stamped upon the empire its outward form for ever.

The sacerdotal offices of paganism were conferred in the same manner as civil employments. In Judaism one tribe was set apart for ecclesiastical authority. It was the distinguishing feature of Christianity, that a peculiar class or profession, consisting of members who entered it of their free choice, consecrated by the laying on of hands, removed from all worldly cares and occupations, devoted themselves "to spiritual and godly things." At first the church was governed according to republican forms, but these dis-

* I borrow this account from E. Q. Visconti, Museo Pio-Clementino, vii, p. 100. (Ed. 1807.)

appeared in proportion as the new faith attained the mastery.— Gradually the clergy separated themselves altogether from the laity.

It appears to me that this was the result of a certain internal necessity. The rise of Christianity involved the liberation of religion from all political elements. From this followed the growth of a distinct ecclesiastical class with a peculiar constitution. In this separation of the church from the state consists perhaps the greatest, the most pervading and influential peculiarity of all Christian times. The spiritual and secular powers may come into near contact, may even stand in the closest community; but they can be thoroughly incorporated only at rare conjunctures and for a short period. Their mutual relation, their position with regard to each other, form, from this time forward, one of the most important considerations in all history.

The constitution of the ecclesiastical body was necessarily formed upon the model of that of the empire. The hierarchy of bishops, metropolitan patriarchs, arose, corresponding to the graduated ranks of the civil administration. Ere long the Roman bishops assumed pre-eminency above all others. The pretence that primates whose supremacy was acknowledged by East and West existed in the first centuries of the church, is, indeed, utterly groundless; but it is unquestionable that they soon acquired a consideration which raised them above all other ecclesiastical authorities. Many things contributed to secure this to them.

If the importance of every provincial capital conferred on its bishop a peculiar weight and dignity, how much more must this have been the case in the ancient capital of that vast empire to which it had given its name!* Rome was one of the most eminent apostolical seats; here the greatest number of martyrs had perished; during the persecutions, the bishops of Rome had displayed extraordinary firmness and courage; their succession had often been rather to martyrdom and death, than to office. But now, independent of these considerations, the emperor found it expedient to favor the rise of a great patriarchal authority. In a law which became decisive for the supremacy of Christianity, Theodosius the Great ordains, that all nations who were subject to his grace, should receive the faith which had been delivered by St. Peter to the Romans.† Valentinian III forbade the bishops, both in Gaul and in the other provinces, to depart from ancient usages without the approbation of the venerable man, the pope of the holy city. From this time the power of the Roman bishops grew up under the protection of the emperor himself. It is true that this political con-

* Casaubon, *Exercitationes ad Annales Ecclesiasticos Baronii*, p. 260.

† *Codex Theodos.* XVI, 1, 2. "Cunctos populos quos elementariæ nostræ regit temperamentum in tali volumus religione versari, quam divinum Petrum apostolum tradidisse Romanis religio usque nunc ab ipso insinuata declarat." The edict of Valentinian III is also mentioned by Planck, *Geschichte der christlich-kirchlichen Gesellschaftsverfassung*, I, 642.

nection operated also as a check upon it. Had the imperial power been vested in an individual, one supreme ecclesiastical power might also have taken firm root; but to this the partition of the empire presented an obstacle. It was impossible that the emperors of the East, who so jealously asserted their ecclesiastical rights, should favor the extension of the power of the patriarchs of the West within their territories. The constitution of the church, in this respect also, corresponded with the constitution of the empire.

§ 2. THE PAPACY IN CONNECTION WITH THE FRANKISH EMPIRE.

Scarcely was this great change accomplished, the Christian religion planted, the church founded, when new events disturbed the world. The Roman empire, so long accustomed to conquest and domination, was now in its turn attacked by its neighbors, overrun, conquered.

Christianity itself was shaken in the general convulsion. In the hour of their utmost peril the Romans once more remembered the Etrurian mysteries; the Athenians believed that Achilles and Pallas would save them; the Carthaginians prayed to the Genius Cœlestis; but these were mere transient impulses; whilst the empire in the western provinces crumbled into ruins, the edifice of the Roman church remained solid and entire.

It was exposed, however, as was inevitable, to various dangers and calamities, and experienced an entire change of position. A heathen nation subdued Britain. Arian kings conquered the greater remaining part of the West. In Italy, the Lombards, for a long time Arians, and always dangerous, hostile neighbors, founded a mighty kingdom at the very gates of Rome. But while the Roman bishops, hemmed in on all sides, strove to become masters at least in their ancient patriarchal diocese, and displayed consummate prudence in the attempt, they were assailed by a new and yet greater calamity. The Arabs, not only conquerors like the Germans, but imbued to fanaticism with a dogmatical and haughty creed fundamentally opposed to Christianity, poured themselves over the West as well as the East; after repeated attacks they conquered Africa; one assault made them masters of Spain; Muza boasted that he would force his way through the gates of the Pyrenees, across the Alps into Italy, and cause the name of Mahomed to be proclaimed in the Vatican.

In the beginning of the eighth century Roman Christendom was in the most critical position.

While the Arabs began to rule over the whole coast of the Mediterranean, and to carry on a war of extermination against all unbelievers, Christendom was divided against itself. Its two chiefs, the emperor at Constantinople and the pope at Rome, took opposite

sides in the iconoclastic dissensions, which now raged with the most rancorous fury. The emperor often practised against the life of the pope. Meanwhile the Lombards perceived how advantageous this division was to them. Their king Astolphus took possession of provinces which had hitherto acknowledged the emperor; he marched upon Rome, and with furious threats, summoned that city to pay him tribute, and to surrender.*

With these intestine divisions on the one side, and the decisive predominancy of a hostile and mighty power on the other, nothing was to be anticipated but the utter downfall and extinction of the church, if it did not receive powerful and permanent succor from some quarter.

Such succor was at hand. Christianity, in accordance with its original destination, had long found its way beyond the limits of the empire. It had taken peculiar hold on the Germanic people; a Christian power had arisen in the midst of them, towards which the pope had only to stretch out his hands, in order to find willing allies against all enemies, and energetic aid in all dangers.

Of all the Germanic nations, the Frankish alone, from its first rise in the provinces of the Roman empire, had become catholic. This conversion had been very advantageous to it. In the catholic subjects of their Arian enemies, the Burgundians and Visigoths, the Franks found natural allies. We read much of the miracles which are said to have happened to Clovis; how St. Martin sent a hind to show him the ford through the Vienne; how St. Hilary went before him in a pillar of fire: we shall hardly err greatly if we presume that these legends were but types of the succors which the natives afforded to their fellow-believers, to whom, as Gregory of Tours says, they wished success "with eager inclination."

This disposition to Catholicism, which was proved from the very first by such mighty results, was afterwards renovated and strengthened by a very singular influence proceeding from another quarter.

Pope Gregory the Great happened to see some Anglo-Saxons in the slave-market at Rome, who attracted his attention and determined him to cause the Gospel to be preached to the nation to which they belonged. Never did a pope resolve on an undertaking more big with consequences.

Not only did the doctrine take root in Germanic Britain, but with it a veneration for Rome and the Holy See such as no other country had ever evinced. The Anglo-Saxons began to make pilgrimages to Rome; they sent their youth thither; King Offa introduced the tax of the Peter's penny wherewith to pay for the education of the clergy and to aid the pilgrims. The nobles and men of importance journeyed to Rome, that they might die there and thence be

* Anastasius Bibliothecarius: *Vitæ Pontificum. Vita Stephani III*, ed. Paris, p. 83. "Fremens ut leo pestiferas minas Romanis dirigere non desinebat, asserens omnes uno gladio jugulari, nisi suæ sese subderent ditioni."

received with greater acceptance among the saints in heaven. It was as if this nation transferred to Rome and the objects of Christian worship the old German superstition; that the gods were nearer to some favored spots than to others.

A much more important circumstance was, that the English now communicated their own devout and catholic spirit to the continent and the Frankish empire. The apostle of the Germans was an Angly-Saxon. Boniface, filled as he was with the reverence of his nation for St. Peter and his successors, promised from the very beginning to conform faithfully to all the decrees of the See of Rome. This promise he most rigorously performed. He imposed extraordinary obedience on the German church which he founded. The bishops bound themselves by an express vow to remain subject, unto their life's end, to the Roman church, to St. Peter and his successors. Nor did he persuade the Germans alone to these acts of submission. The bishops of Gaul had hitherto maintained a certain independence of Rome. Boniface, who on some occasions presided in their synods, availed himself of the opportunity to bring this western portion of the Frankish church into the same obedience. From that time the Gallic archbishops received the pallium from Rome. The submissiveness to ecclesiastical authority which had characterised the Anglo-Saxons thus extended itself over the whole Frankish empire.

This empire was now become the central point of all the Germanic tribes of the West. It mattered not that its royal house, the Merovingian race, destroyed itself by the atrocious and muderous acts of its members. Another line immediately raised itself in their stead to the supreme power; all men full of energy, of potent will and matchless vigor. While the surrounding kingdoms crumbled into ruins, and the world threatened to become the spoil of the Moslem sword, this race it was, the house of the Pepins of Heristall, afterwards called the Carlovingian, that opposed the first and the decisive resistance. It was this race also which fostered the growing development of the religious spirit: we early find it on good terms with Rome. Boniface enjoyed the especial protection of Charles Martel and Pepin le Bref.*

Let us now observe the position of the papal power with respect to the rest of the world. On the one side, the eastern empire, decaying, feeble, incapable of maintaining Christianity against Islamism, or even of defending its own territory in Italy against the Lombards, yet claiming supremacy even in spiritual things: on the other, the Germanic nations, robust, powerful, victorious over Islam; attached, with all the freshness of youthful enthusiasm, to authority,

* Bonifacii Epistolæ; ep. 12, ad Danielem episc. "Sine patrocinio principis Francorum nec populum regere nec presbyteros vel diaconos, monachos vel ancillas Dei defendere possum, nec ipsos paganorum ritus et sacrilegia idolorum in Germania sine illius mandato et timore prohibere valeo."

to which they, as yet, had no claim; filled with unconditional, willing devotedness.

Already Gregory II felt what he had gained. With the consciousness of his own importance, he writes to the iconoclast emperor, Leo the Isaurian, "All the nations of the west have their eyes turned towards our humble person; they regard us as a god upon earth." His successors felt more and more the necessity of separating themselves from a power which imposed duties, while it afforded no protection, although it inherited the name and the empire of Rome; while, on the contrary, they contracted with the great captains of the west, the Frank princes, an alliance, which grew closer from year to year, afforded great advantages to both parties, and at length exercised a prevailing influence on the history of the world.

When Pepin the younger, not contented with the substance of kingly power, chose to possess its name also, he felt that he stood in need of a higher sanction. This the pope granted him. In return, the new king undertook the defence of the pope, "of the holy church and the republic of God," against the Lombards. To defend them did not satisfy his zeal. He very soon compelled the Lombards to surrender the exarchate, the Italian territory which they had wrested from the eastern empire. Justice would indeed have demanded that it should be restored to the emperor, to whom it had belonged. This was proposed to Pepin. He replied, "that he had not gone to battle for the sake of any man, but for the honor of St. Peter alone and to obtain forgiveness for his sins."* He caused the keys of the conquered cities to be laid upon the altar of St. Peter's. This is the foundation of the whole temporal dominion of the popes.

The alliance continued to acquire strength from the lively reciprocity of good offices. At length Charlemagne delivered the pope from the oppressive and dangerous neighborhood of the Lombard princes. He himself manifested the most profound submission; he repaired to Rome; kissing the steps of St. Peter's he ascended the vestibule where the pope awaited him; he ratified the donations of Pepin to the church. In return, the pope was his unshaken friend; the relations of the head of the church to the Italian bishops facilitated Charlemagne's conquests over the Lombards, and his acquisition of their territory.

This course of things soon led to still greater results.

In his own city, torn by contending factions, the pope could no longer stand his ground without foreign aid. Once again did Charlemagne repair to Rome to defend him. The aged prince was now crowned with fame and conquest. In a long series of battles he had gradually subdued all his neighbors, and had united nearly all the Romano-Germanic Christian nations; he had led

* "Anastasius: affirmans etiam sub juramento, quod per nullius hominis favorem sese certamini sæpius dedisset, nisi pro amore Petri et venia delictorum."

them to victory against their common enemies; it was remarked that he was possessor of all the seats of the western emperors, in Italy, Gaul and Germany, and heir of all their power.* These countries were, it is true, become a totally different world; but did that affect the dignity of their ruler? Pepin had thus earned the kingly diadem, because to him who has the power, the honor, of right, belongs. On this occasion also the pope resolved on the course to be pursued. Penetrated with gratitude, and fully conscious of his own need of a permanent defender, he crowned Charlemagne on the Christmas-eve of the year 800, with the crown of the western empire.

This was the consummation of the whole series of events which had occurred since the first irruption of the Germans into the Roman empire.

A Frankish prince filled the throne, and wielded all the power, of the emperor of the West. Charlemagne executed unquestioned acts of the highest authority in the territories which had been surrendered to St. Peter. His grandson, Lothaire, nominated his own judges at Rome, and annulled confiscations which the pope had imposed. It is clear that the pope substantially belonged to the Frankish empire; and in this consisted the novelty of his situation. He severed himself from the East, where his authority gradually ceased to be acknowledged. The Greek emperors had long since stripped him of his patriarchal diocese in their dominions.† On the other hand, the western churches (the Lombard, to which the institutions of the Frankish had been transferred, not excepted) paid him an odiedience which he had never before received. By permitting the establishment at Rome of schools for Frieslanders, Saxons and Franks, by which the very city was Germanised, he laid the foundation of that union of German and Roman elements, which has, from that period, formed the characteristic of the West. In the moment of his uttermost weakness and peril, his power struck its roots into a fresh soil. When it seemed nodding to its fall, it arose in renewed vigor and acquired a stability which was destined to endure for ages. The hierarchy which originated in

* I so understand the *Annales Laureshamenses*, ad annum 801. "Visum est et ipsi apostolico Leoni,—ut ipsum Carolum, regem Francorum, Imperatorem, nominare debuissent, qui ipsam Romam tenebat, ubi semper Cæsares sedere soliti erant, et reliquas sedes, quas ipse per Italiam seu Galliam nec non et Germaniam tenebat (he probably means to say, 'ipsi tenebant:;) quia Deus omnipotens has omnes sedes in potestatem ejus concessit, Deo justum eis esse videbatur, ut ipse cum Deo adjutorio—ipsum nomen haberet."

† Nicolas I deplures the loss of the patriarchal power of the papal chair "per Epirum veterem Epirumque novam atque Illyricum, Macedoniam, Thessaliam, Achaïam, Daciam ripensem, Daciamque mediterraneam, Mœsiam, Dardaniam, Prævalim;" and the loss of the patrimonial possessions in Calabria and Sicily. Pagi (*Critica in Annales Baronii*, iii, p. 216.) compares this letter with another by Adrian I, to Charlemagne, whence we learn that these losses had been caused by the dispute with the iconoclasts.

the Roman empire poured itself abroad over the Germanic nations. Here it found a boundless field for unwearied and successful activity.

§ 8. RELATION OF THE POPES TO THE GERMAN EMPERORS—INTERNAL GROWTH AND PROGRESS OF THE HIERARCHY.

We shall pass over some centuries that we may arrive at a nearer and more distinct view of the events which they generated and matured.

The Frankish empire has crumbled into pieces; the German has arisen full of energy and might.

Never was the German name more potent and illustrious in Europe than in the tenth and eleventh centuries, under the Saxon and the early Salic emperors. From the eastern frontiers, where the king of Poland had been compelled to do personal homage and to submit to a partition of his territory, and where the Duke of Bohemia was condemned to imprisonment, we see Conrad II march westward to defend Burgundy against the pretensions of the French nobles. He defeated them in the plains of Champagne; his Italian vassals crossed Mount St. Bernard to his assistance; he caused himself to be crowned at Geneva, and held his diet at Soleure. Immediately afterwards we meet him in Lower Italy. "On the frontiers of his empire," says his historian Wippo, "in Capua and Benevento, he settled all differences by his word." Not less powerful and glorious was the reign of Henry III. At one time we find him on the Scheldt and the Lys, victor over the counts of Flanders; at another, in Hungary, which he compelled, at least for a time, to do him feudal service; on the other side the Raab, where his course was checked by the elements alone. The king of Denmark repaired to Merseburg to meet him; one of the most powerful princes of France, the count of Tours, became his vassal; Spanish histories relate, that he demanded from Ferdinand I of Castile, victorious and powerful as that monarch was, an acknowledgment that he was liege lord of all the sovereigns of Christendom.

If we inquire what was the basis upon which so extensive a power, claiming supremacy over all Europe, internally rested, we shall find that it contained a very important ecclesiastical element.

With the Germans, conquest and conversion advanced together. The marches of the empire extended as the influence of the church extended, across the Elbe, towards the Oder, down the Danube; monks and priests heralded the German influence in Bohemia and Hungary. Hence the spiritual authorities every where acquired vast power. In Germany, bishops and abbots of the empire were invested, not only within their possessions, but also without them,

with the rights and privileges of counts or even of dukes, and church lands were no longer described as situated in countships, but countships in bishoprics. In Upper Italy almost all the cities were governed by the viscounts of their bishops.

It were a mistake to imagine that the aim of these measures was to give real independence to the spiritual power.

As the nomination to ecclesiastical offices belonged to the kings, (in recognition of which the chapters sent back the ring and staff of their deceased superiors to the king's court, whence these badges of office were granted anew,) it was generally advantageous to the prince to confer temporal authority on the man of his choice, upon whose attachment and obedience he could rely. Henry III, in defiance of his recalcitrant nobility placed a plebian devoted to himself on the chair of St. Ambrose at Milan. To this measure he was chiefly indebted for the obedience which he afterwards received from the north of Italy. The facts are illustrative of each other that, of all the emperors, Henry III was the most bountiful to the church, while at the same time he insisted with the greatest rigor on the right of nominating bishops.* Care was also taken that the endowment abstracted nothing from the power of the state. The property of the church was exempted neither from civil burthens, nor even from feudal service; we frequently see bishops take the field at the head of their vassals. What an advantage was it therefore to be able to nominate bishops like the archbishop of Bremen, who exercised supreme spiritual power in the Scandinavian kingdoms, and over numerous Wendish tribes!

If the ecclesiastical element was of such vast importance in the institutes of the German empire, it is self-evident how much depended on the relation in which the emperor stood to the head of the whole clerical body, the pope of Rome. This relation was not less intimate than that which had existed between the papacy and the Roman emperors, or the successors of Charlemagne. The political subjection of the pope was unquestionable.

It is true that, before the empire had definitively devolved on a German race, while it was yet in feeble and vacillating hands, the popes had exercised acts of supremacy over it. But as soon as the energetic German princes had possessed themselves of this dignity, they were not less sovereign lords of the papacy than the Carolingians had been before. With vigorous hand Otho the Great protected the pope whom he had placed on the throne;† his sons followed his example; and the revival of the Roman factions, who conferred or took away, sold or alienated, the popedom as their

* Examples of this strictness are to be found in Planc: *Geschichte der christl kirchl Gesellschaftsverfassung*, iii, 407.

† In Goldast. *Constitut. Imperiales* I, p. 224, we find an instrument (with the Scholia of Dietrich von Mein) transferring to Otho and the German emperors the right of Charlemagne to choose a successor to himself, and in future the popes of Rome. There is no doubt however of its being a fabrication.

family interests dictated, rendered the necessity for a higher intervention the most manifest. It is well known how resolutely this was exercised by Henry III. His synod at Sutri deposed the intrusive popes. From the time he had placed the patrician ring on his finger and had received the imperial crown, he selected at his good pleasure the successor to the papal chair. Four German popes nominated by him succeeded each other. When the highest ecclesiastical dignity fell vacant, the delegates from Rome who repaired to the imperial court to hear a successor appointed, appeared in no respect different from the envoys from other bishoprics.

In this state of things, it was for the interest of the emperor himself that the papacy should inspire respect and consideration. Henry III promoted the reforms which the popes his nominees undertook; the increase of their power excited no jealousy in him. That Leo IX, in defiance of the wishes of the king of France, held a synod at Rheims, appointed and removed French bishops, and received the solemn declaration that the pope was the sole primate of the universal church, could be nowise displeasing to the emperor, so long as he himself ruled over the whole papacy. This formed but a part of that pre-eminent authority which he claimed over all Europe. He stood in the same relation to the other powers of Christendom through the pope, as to those of the North through the archbishop of Bremen.

But his position was attended with great danger. The constitution of the ecclesiastical body in the Germanic and Germanised states had assumed a totally different character from that which it had worn in the Roman. A large portion of political power had been transferred to the clergy; they had princely rank and jurisdiction. As we have seen, they were still dependent on the emperor, the highest temporal authority; but how if this authority should once more fall into feeble hands, while at the same time the head of the church, armed with triple power, derived from his own dignity, (the object of universal veneration,) from the obedience of his subordinates and from his influence over other states, should seize the favoring moment, and place himself in opposition to the imperial power?

More than one inducement to such a course lay in the very nature of the case. The church contained within herself a peculiar principle, wholly at variance with so great a temporal influence, and this would of necessity manifest itself as soon as she had acquired sufficient strength. And, as it seems to me, it involved a contradiction, that the pope should exercise a supreme and universal spiritual power, and at the same time should be subject to the emperor. It had been otherwise if Henry III had succeeded in raising himself to be the head of entire Christendom. But as he failed, the pope might have found himself, in the various turns of political affairs, completely obstructed by his subordination to the

emperor, in the free exercise of that authority as common father of the faithful, which his office conferred on him.

Under these circumstances, Gregory VII ascended the papal chair. Gregory was a man of a daring, exclusive and haughty spirit; immovable in his adherence to logical consequences, and withal, equally skilful and subtle in eluding just and well-grounded opposition. He saw whither the course of things tended. In all the trifling affairs of the day, he discerned the vast contingent events with which the future was pregnant; he determined to emancipate the papacy. From the moment he clearly saw his object, without looking to the right or left, without a moment's hesitation, he seized on the decisive means of accomplishing it. The decree which he caused to be passed at one of his councils, that in future no ecclesiastical office could be granted by a temporal sovereign, shook the constitution of the empire to its very base. This, as we have remarked, rested on the connection between temporal and spiritual institutions; the link between them was the investiture; the stripping the emperor of this ancient privilege was equivalent to a revolution.

It is evident that Gregory would not have been able even to entertain the project of such a change, much less to effect it, had not the disorders of the German empire, during the minority of Henry IV, and the rebellion of the German nobles and princes against that monarch, favored the enterprise. In the great vassals he found natural allies. They too felt oppressed by the predominance of the imperial power; they too sought to shake off this yoke. In a certain sense the pope was, like them, a magnate of the empire. There was perfect accordance between the pope's declaring Germany an elective empire, by which the power of the princes must be immensely increased, and the little opposition he had to encounter from them when he emancipated himself from the empire. Even in the contest concerning investiture their interests went hand in hand. The pope was yet far from claiming the direct nomination of the bishops; he left the choice to the chapters, over which the higher German nobility exercised the greatest influence. In a word, the pope had the aristocratic interests on his side.

But even with these allies, what long and bloody struggles did it cost the popes to accomplish their projects? From Denmark to Apulia, says the eulogy on St. Anno, from Carlingen to Hungary, has the empire turned its arms against its own entrails. The struggle between the spiritual and temporal principles, which had formerly gone hand in hand, divided Christendom. How often have the popes been forced to retreat from their own capital and to see the apostolic seat ascended by antipopes!

At length, however, their success was complete.

After long centuries of subjection, after other centuries of an often doubtful struggle, the independence of the Roman see, and of the

principle on which it rested, was at length attained. The position of the popes at this moment was indeed most lofty and dignified. The clergy were completely in their hands. It is worthy of remark, that during this period the popes of the most resolute character, for example, Gregory VII, were Benedictines. By the introduction of celibacy they transformed the whole body of secular clergy into a sort of monastic order. The universal bishopric which they claimed had a sort of resemblance to the power of an abbot of Cluny, who was the only abbot of his order. The popes desired to be the only bishops of the church; they interfered without hesitation in the administration of every diocese;* they compared their legates even to the proconsuls of ancient Rome! While this order, firmly compacted within, dispersed over all lands, powerful by its possessions, and ruling every action of life by its ministry, constituted a body obedient to one head, political states were crumbling into pieces. As early as the beginning of the twelfth century Prior Gerohus ventured to say, "It will come to pass that the golden pillars of the monarchy will be utterly shattered, and every great empire will be divided into tetrarchies; not till then will the church be free and unfettered under the protecting care of the great crowned priest."† But little was wanting to the literal accomplishment of this prediction. For which, in fact, was more powerful in England in the thirteenth century, Henry III, or the twenty-four who for a time governed the kingdom? In Castile, the king or the Altshomes? The imperial power seemed almost superfluous from the time that Frederic granted to the princes of the empire the substantial attributes of sovereignty. Italy, like Germany, was filled with independent states. Almost the only comprehensive, centralising power was that possessed by the pope. The mingled spiritual and temporal character which life had assumed during that period, the entire course of events, inevitably tended to produce such a power, and to render him the depository of it. When countries long lost, like Spain, were at length rescued from Mahomedanism; when provinces yet unreclaimed, like Prussia, were won from paganism and planted with Christian people; when even the capitals of the Greek faith conformed to the Latin rite; when hundreds of thousands went forth to defend the banner of the cross on the holy sepulchre, must not the sovereign pontiff, who had a hand in all these undertakings, who received the allegiance of all these subjugated powers, enjoy immeasurable and pre-eminent consideration? Under his conduct, in his name, the nations of the West went forth as one people in countless swarms to the conquest of the

* One of the main points, concerning which I will give a passage from a letter of Henry IV to Gregory. (Mansi Concil. n. collectio. xx, 471.) "Rectores sanctæ ecclesiæ, videl. archiepiscopus, episcopus, presbyteros sicut servos pedibus tuis calcasti." We see the pope in this case had public opinion on his side. "In quorum conculcatione tibi favorem ab ore vulgi comparasti."

† Schröckh quotes this passage, Kirchengeschichte, vol. xxvii, p. 117.

world. We cannot wonder if he wielded an almost omnipotent authority, when a king of England received his kingdom from him as a fief; when a king of Aragon transferred his to the Apostle Peter; when Naples was actually given over by the pope to a foreign house. Wonderful physiognomy of those times, which no one has yet placed before us in all its completeness and truth!

It is the strangest combination of internal strife and of brilliant external success, of independence and obedience, of spiritual and temporal things. What contrarieties in the character of Piety herself! One while she retreats into the rugged mountain, or into the lonely forest, that she may devote all her days to the holy and peaceful contemplation of the divine glory. Waiting for death, she denies herself every enjoyment that life offers. When she abides among men, with what ardor does she strive to give utterance to the ideas in which she lives and moves, to clothe with life and form the mysteries which dimly float before her eyes! But in a moment we turn and behold her with altered mien; her who invented the inquisition, who exercised the terrible judgment of the sword upon those of another faith, who prompted the leader of the expedition against the Albigenses, when he said, "We have spared neither age, nor sex, nor rank; we have smitten every one with the edge of the sword."

Sometimes she appeared under both aspects at the same moment.

At the sight of Jerusalem the crusaders alighted from their horses, and uncovered their feet, that they might approach the sacred walls like true pilgrims; in the hottest of the battle they thought they received the visible aid of saints and angels. Hardly had they scaled the walls, when they rushed forth to plunder and carnage; on the site of Solomon's Temple they slaughtered thousands of Saracens; they burned the Jews in their synagogues; they sprinkled with blood the holy threshold on which they came to kneel in adoration. A contradiction which completed the picture of the religious spirit of that age and of those nations.

§ 4. CONTRASTS BETWEEN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

There are periods in the history of the world which excite in us a peculiar and anxious curiosity to search into the plans of the divine government, to investigate the phases of the education of the human race.

However defective be the civilisation we have delineated, it was necessary to the complete naturalisation of Christianity in the west. It was no light thing to subdue the haughty spirits of the north,

the nations under the dominion of ancestral superstitions, to the ideas of Christianity. It was necessary that the religious element should predominate for a time, in order that it might gain fast hold on the German mind. By this, at the same time, was effected the intimate blending of the Roman and Germanic elements. There is a community among the nations of modern times which has always been regarded as the main basis of the general civilisation; a community in church and state, in manners, customs, and literature. In order to produce this, it was necessary that the western nations should, for a time, form, as it were, a single state, temporal and spiritual.

But this too was only one stage in the great progress of things. As soon as the change was accomplished, new consequences appeared.

The commencement of a new epoch was announced by the simultaneous and almost universal rise of national languages. With slow but unbroken course they forced their way into all the various branches of intellectual activity; the peculiar idiom of the church receded before them step by step. Universality gave place to a new and nobler kind of individuality. Hitherto the ecclesiastical element had overpowered all national peculiarities. Under a new character and aspect, but once more distinct, they now entered upon a new career.

It seems as though all human designs and actions were subject to the silent and often imperceptible, but mighty and resistless march of events. The previous state of the world had been favorable to the papal domination; that of the moment we are considering was directly hostile to it. The nations no longer stood in their former need of the impulse given by the ecclesiastical power; they arose in opposition to it. They felt their own capacity for independence.

It is worth while to recall to our recollection the more important events in which this tendency manifested itself.

It was, as is well known, the French who made the first decisive stand against the pretensions of the popes. The nation unanimously resisted the bulls of excommunication issued by Boniface VIII. In several hundred acts of adhesion, all the popular authorities expressed their assent to the measures of Philip the Fair.

The Germans followed. When the popes attacked the empire with their old animosity, although it had lost much of its former importance, the electors, determined to secure it from foreign influence, assembled on the banks of the Rhine, in the field of Rense, to deliberate in their chairs of stone on some common measure for the maintenance "of the honor and dignity of the empire."

Their purpose was to establish its independence against all aggressions of the popes, by a solemn resolution. Shortly after, this was simultaneously proclaimed, with all due forms, by the whole body

of potentates; emperor, princes and electors. They made a common stand against the principles of papal policy.*

Nor did England long remain behind. Nowhere had the popes enjoyed greater influence, nor disposed more arbitrarily of benefices; till at length, when Edward III would no longer pay the tribute which his predecessors had engaged to pay, his parliament united with him and promised to support him in his resistance. The king took measures to prevent any further encroachments of the papal power.

We see one nation after another awakened to a consciousness of its own independence and unity.

The civil power will no longer acknowledge any higher authority. The popes no longer find allies in the middle classes; their interference is resolutely repelled by princes and legislative bodies.

It happened at the same time that the papacy itself fell into a weakness and confusion, which enabled the civil power, hitherto only acting on the defensive, to retaliate aggressions.

Schism broke out. We must mark its consequences. For a long time it rested with princes to attach themselves, according to their political convenience, to this or that pope: the spiritual power found within itself no means of putting an end to the division; the secular power alone could do this. When a council assembled for this purpose in Constance the members no longer voted, as formerly, by individuals, but by the four nations. Each nation was allowed to hold preliminary meetings to deliberate on the vote it was to give. They deposed a pope by common consent: the newly elected pontiff was compelled to sign with them, severally, concordats, which were, at least by the precedent they afforded, very important. During the council of Basle and the new schism, some states remained neutral; and this second division in the church could only be healed by the immediate intervention of the princes.† Nothing could possibly have a stronger tendency to increase the preponderance of the secular power, and the independence of individual states.

And now the pope was once more the object of the highest reverence and of universal obedience. The emperor still continued to lead his palfrey. There were bishops, not only in Hungary but in Germany, who subscribed themselves, "by the grace of the apostolic see.‡" In the north the Peter's penny was regularly levied. At the jubilee of the year 1450, countless pilgrims from all lands sought the steps of the apostles. An eye witness describes them as coming like swarms of bees or flights of migratory birds.

Yet, spite of all these appearances, the old relations no longer

* *Licet juris utriusque.* Ohlenschläger: Staatsgeschichte des röm. Kaiserthums in der ersten Hälfte des 14ten Jahrhunderts. No. 63.

† Declaration of Pope Felix in Georgius, *Vita Nicolai V.* p. 65.

‡ Constance, Schwerin, Fünfskirchen. Schröckh, *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. xxxiii, p. 60.

existed. In proof of this we need only call to mind the fervent zeal which characterised the early crusades, and compare it with the lukewarmness with which, in the fifteenth century, every exhortation to a general combined resistance to the Turks was received. How much more urgent was it to defend their own borders against a danger which was imminent on every side, than to know that the holy sepulchre was in Christian hands! Æneas Sylvius in the diet, and the Minorite Capistrano in the market places of cities, used all their eloquence, and we are told much of the impression they made; but we do not find that any body took up arms in consequence. What efforts were made by the popes! One fitted out a fleet; another, Pius II, (the same Æneas Sylvius,) repaired, feeble and sick as he was, to the port where the princes most immediately menaced by the Turks—if no others—were to meet. He insisted on being there, “that he might, like Moses, raise his hands to God during the battle, as he alone had authority to do.” But neither exhortations, nor prayers, nor examples could move his contemporaries. The youthful ardor of chivalrous Christianity was extinct; it was not in the power of any pope to rekindle it.

Other interests agitated the world. It was the period at which the kingdoms of Europe acquired compactness and solidity. The central power succeeded in subduing the factions which had threatened the security of the throne, and in uniting all classes of its subjects in fresh bonds of obedience. The papacy, which aspired to govern all and to interfere with all, soon came also to be regarded in a political point of view. The pretensions of the kings were infinitely higher than they had been at any preceding period. It is common to represent the papal authority as nearly unlimited up to the time of the reformation; but the fact is, that the civil governments had possessed themselves of no small share of ecclesiastical rights and privileges as early as the beginning of the sixteenth, or even the latter part of the fifteenth century.

How greatly did the pragmatic sanction, which for above half a century was regarded in France as the palladium of the kingdom, abridge the exercise of the papal prerogative! It is true that Louis XI was hurried, by that spurious devotion to which he was the more addicted from his total want of true religion, into concessions on this point; but his successors returned without scruple to their ancient law. When, therefore, Francis I concluded his concordat with Leo X, it was maintained that the court of Rome had regained its old ascendancy by that measure. And it is true that the pope recovered the annates; but he was obliged to relinquish many other sources of revenue, and above all, he ceded to the king the right of nomination to the bishoprics and other higher benefices. It is undeniable that the Gallican church lost its rights; but far less to the pope than to the king. The principles for which Gregory VII had set the world in motion, Leo X abandoned with little difficulty.

Things could not come to this pass in Germany. The Basle decrees, on which, in France, the pragmatic sanction had been formed,* in Germany, where they had also been received, were extremely modified by the Vienna concordat. But even this modification was not obtained without sacrifices on the part of the holy see. In Germany it was not enough to come to an understanding with the head of the empire; it was also necessary to gain over the several states. The archbishops of Mayence and Treves acquired the right of nomination to the vacant benefices, even during the months reserved for the pope; the elector of Brandenburg, the privilege of disposing of three bishoprics in his dominions; even less considerable states, such as Strasburg, Salzburg, and Metz, obtained concessions.† Yet even these failed to allay the universal spirit of opposition. In the year 1487 the whole empire successfully resisted a tithe which the pope tried to impose.‡ In the year 1500 the imperial government granted to the pope's legate only a third of the product of the preachings or indulgences; the other two thirds it took and appropriated to the Turkish war.

England without any new concordat, without pragmatic sanction far outwent the concessions of Constance. Henry VII possessed the undisputed right of nominating candidates to the episcopal sees. He was not satisfied with bestowing all clerical promotions, he also appropriated to himself the half of the annates. When, in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII, Wolsey obtained the dignity of legate in addition to his other offices, the temporal and spiritual powers were, to a certain extent, united in his person; and before protestantism was thought of by the English people, the property of many monasteries had been violently confiscated.

Meanwhile the nations and kingdoms of the south were not behindhand. The kings of Spain had also the right of nomination to the bishops' sees. The crown to which the Grand masterships of the religious orders were united, which had established and still directed the Inquisition, enjoyed a number of spiritual attributes and privileges. Ferdinand the Catholic not unfrequently opposed the papal functionaries. The Portuguese ecclesiastical orders of knighthood of St. Iago, Avis and the order of Christ, on which the property of the Templars had devolved, were, no less than the Spanish, under

* We perceive the connection from the following words of Aeneas Sylvius: "Propter decreta Basiliensis concilii inter sedem apostolicam et nationem vestram dissidium cepit, cum vos illa prorsus tenenda diceretis, apostolica vero sedes omnia rejiceret. Itaque fuit denique compositio facta—per quam aliqua ex decretis concilii prædicti recepta videntur, aliqua rejecta. *Æn. Sylvii Epistola ad Martinum Maierum contra murmur gravaminis Germanicæ nationis, 1457.*" In Müller's Reichstagstheaturum unter Friedrich III. Vorst. iii, p. 604.

† Schróckh's Kirchengeschichte, vol. xxxii, p. 173. Eichhorn Stats-und Rechts-geschichte, vol. iii, § 472, n. e.

‡ Müller's Reichstheaturum, Vorst. vi, p. 130.

the patronage of the crown.* King Emanuel demanded of Leo X, not only the third part of the *Cruciata*, but also the tenth of the ecclesiastical property, with the express right to distribute it according to his good pleasure, and to his opinion of the merits of the claimants.

In short, throughout all Christendom, in the south as well as in the north, a general struggle was made to curtail the rights of the pope. It was more especially to a share of the ecclesiastical revenues and the nomination to ecclesiastical benefices and offices, that the several governments laid claim. The popes made no serious resistance. They tried to preserve all they could; on other points they gave way. Lorenzo de' Medici, speaking of Ferdinand king of Naples, and of a dispute which he had with the see of Rome, says, "He will make no difficulty about promising; as to the fulfilment of his promises he will experience the indulgence at last which all popes have had for all kings."† For this spirit of opposition had found its way even into Italy. We are informed by Lorenzo de' Medici, that in this he followed the example of greater potentates: he obeyed the pope's commands just so far as he had a mind, and no further.‡

It were an error to see in these facts only manifestations of a contemporaneous caprice and wilfulness. The ecclesiastical spirit had ceased to pervade and direct the whole existence of the nations of Europe, as it had done in earlier times.

The development of national character and national institutions, the progress of civilisation, now exercised a mighty and conspicuous influence. The relation between the spiritual and temporal powers necessarily underwent a complete revolution; nor was the change in the popes themselves less remarkable.

* *Instruzione piena delle cose di Portogallo al Coadjutor di Bergamo*; nuntio destinato in Portogallo. MS. of the *informationi politiche* in the Royal Library at Berlin, tom. xii. Leo X granted this patronage of the ecclesiastical orders: contentandosi il re di pagare grandissima compositione di detto patronato.

† Lorenzo to Johannes de Lanfredinis. *Fabroni Vita Laurentii Medici*, ii, p. 362.

‡ Antonius Gallus de rebus Genuensibus: *Muratori Scriptt.* R. It. xxiii, p. 281, says of Lorenzo: "Regum majorumque principum contumacem licentiam adversus Romanam ecclesiam sequebatur de juribus pontificis, nisi quod ei videretur nihil permittens."

CHAPTER II.

THE CHURCH AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATES IN
THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

§ 1. EXTENSION OF THE STATES OF THE CHURCH.

WHATEVER may be the opinion we form of the popes of the earlier ages of the church, we must admit that they had always great interests in view: the guardianship of an oppressed religion, the conflict with paganism, the diffusion of Christianity over the nations of the north, the foundation of an independent hierarchical power. The ability to conceive, to will and to accomplish some great object, is among the qualities which confer the greatest dignity on man; and this it was that sustained the popes in their lofty course. But these tendencies had passed away with the times to which they belonged. Schism was at an end; the attempt to stir men to a general rising against the Turks was evidently hopeless. It followed that the head of the church pursued the interests of his temporal sovereignty with greater ardor and pertinacity than heretofore, and devoted all his activity to their advancement.

For some time things had strongly tended this way. "Formerly," said an orator in the council of Basle, "I was of opinion that it would be well to separate the temporal entirely from the spiritual power; but I have learned that virtue without force is ludicrous—that the pope of Rome, without the hereditary possessions of the Church, is only the servant of kings and princes." This orator, who had sufficient influence in the council to determine the election of pope Felix, does not think it so much amiss that a pope should have sons to take his part against tyrants.*

This matter was, at a later period, viewed in a different light in Italy. It was thought in the regular order of things that a pope should promote and provide for his family; people would have despised one who did not. "Others," writes Lorenzo de' Medici to Innocent VIII, "have not so long deferred their endeavor to be popes, and have troubled themselves little about the decorum and modesty which your holiness has for so long a time observed. Your holiness is now not only excused in the sight of God and man, but men may per-

* Extract from this discourse in Schröckh, vol. xxxii, p. 90.

haps even censure this reserved demeanor, and ascribe it to other motives. My zeal and duty render it a matter of conscience with me to remind your holiness that no man is immortal; that a pope is of the importance which he chooses to give himself; he cannot make his dignity hereditary; the honors and the benefits he confers on those belonging to him are all that he can call his own.”* Such was the advice of him who was regarded as the wisest man in Italy. It is true, he had an interest in the matter, for his daughter was married to a son of the pope. But he would never have ventured to express himself so unreservedly, had not these views been notoriously prevalent among the higher classes.

Two facts here engage our attention, between which there exists a profound but not obvious connection; the governments of Europe were stripping the pope of a portion of his privileges, while at the same time the latter began to occupy himself exclusively with worldly concerns. He felt himself, above all, an Italian prince. It was not long since the Florentines had defeated their neighbors, and the Medici had established their power over both. The power of the Sforzas in Milan, of the house of Aragon in Naples, of the Venetians in Lombardy had all been acquired and established within the memory of man. Might not the pope reasonably hope to found, in the domains which were regarded as the hereditary property of the church, but which were actually governed by a number of independent rulers, a still mightier personal domination?

The first who with deliberate purpose and permanent effect acted upon this idea was Sixtus IV. Alexander VI pursued it with the utmost vigor and with singular success. Julius II gave it an unexpected turn, which it retained.

Sixtus IV (1471-1484) conceived the plan of founding a principality for his nephew Girolamo Riario in the rich and beautiful plains of Romagna. The other powers of Italy were already contending for possession, or for ascendancy, in these territories, and, if there was any question of right, the pope had manifestly a better right than any other. But he was not nearly their equal in force, or in the resources of war. He was restrained by no scruple from rendering his spiritual power (elevated by its nature and purpose above all earthly interests) subservient to his worldly views, or from debasing it by a mixture with those temporary intrigues in which his ambition had involved him. The Medici being peculiarly in his way, he took part in the Florentine troubles; and, as is notorious, brought upon himself the suspicion of being privy to the conspiracy of the Pazzi, and to the assassination which they perpetrated on the steps of the altar of the cathedral; the suspicion that he, the father of the faithful, was an accomplice of such acts!

When the Venetians ceased to favor the schemes of his nephew, as they had done for a considerable time, the pope was not satisfied

* A letter by Lorenzo, without date, but probably of the year 1489, since the first year of Innocent VIII, is mentioned in it. Fabroni Vita Laurentii, ii, 390.

with deserting them in a war into which he himself had driven them; he went so far as to excommunicate them for persisting in it.* He acted with no less violence in Rome: he persecuted the opponents of Riario, the Colonnas, with savage ferocity: he seized Marino from them; he caused the prothonotary Colonna to be attacked, arrested and executed in his own house. The mother of Colonna came to San Celso in Banchi, where the body lay—she lifted the severed head by the hair and cried, “Behold the head of my son! Such is the faith of the pope. He promised that if we would give up Marino to him, he would set my son at liberty; he has Marino: and my son is in our hands—but dead! Behold, thus does the pope keep his word!”†

So much was necessary to enable Sixtus IV to obtain the victory over his enemies, at home and abroad. He succeeded in making his nephew lord of Imola and Forli; but it is certain that if his temporal dignity was much augmented, his spiritual suffered infinitely more. An attempt was made to assemble a council against him.

Meanwhile Sixtus was destined soon to be far outdone. Alexander VI ascended the papal throne shortly after him (1492).

Alexander’s great aim during the whole course of his life had been to gratify to the utmost his love of ease, his sensuality and his ambition. The possession of the highest spiritual dignity seemed to him the summit of felicity. Old as he was, he seemed daily to grow younger under the influence of this feeling. No importunate thought troubled his repose for a night. He only pondered on what could be of advantage to himself, how he could advance his sons to dignity and power; no other considerations ever seriously occupied his mind.‡

His political connections, which have exercised so great an influence on the affairs of the world, were founded exclusively on this basis. The question how a pope should marry, provide for, and establish his children, affected the politics of all Europe.

His son, Cæsar Borgia, trod in the footsteps of Riario. He started from the same point; indeed his first exploit was to drive Riario’s widow out of Forli and Imola. With daring recklessness he pressed onwards; what his predecessor had only attempted, he achieved. The means by which he accomplished his purposes may be described in few words. The states of the church had hitherto been divided by the two parties, the Guelfs and Ghibelines, the Colonna and Orsini families. Alexander and his son, like the other popes, like Sixtus IV allied themselves at first with the one party—the Orsini-Guelfic. By means of this alliance they soon succeeded

* In 1829, the *Commentarii di Marino Sanuto* on the Ferrarese war were printed at Venice; p. 56, he touches on the defection of the pope. He refers to the speech of the Venetian ambassador. “Tutti vedranno, aver noi cominciato questa guerra di volontà del Papa; egli però si mosse a rompere la lega.”

† Alegretto Alegretti; diari Sanesi, p. 817.

‡ *Relazione di Polo Capello*, 1500, (MS.)

in subduing all their enemies. They drove the Sforzas out of Pesaro, the Malatestas out of Rimini, the Manfredi out of Faenza.— They took possession of these important well-fortified cities, and made them the seat of a considerable power. Hardly, however, had they reached this point, hardly had they crushed their enemies, when they turned their arms against their friends. Herein lay the great difference between the power of the Borgias and that of any of their predecessors, who had never been able to shake off the trammels of the party to which they had attached themselves.— Cæsar turned his arms against his allies with very little hesitation. He entangled the Duke of Urbino, who had been one of his constant supporters, as in a net, before the duke had the slightest suspicion of his designs. The victim narrowly escaped—a persecuted fugitive in his own territory.* Vitelli, Baglioni, the heads of the Orsini, determined to show him that at least they could offer some resistance. “It is well,” said he, “to betray those who are masters of all treachery.” He enticed them into his snares with deliberate and far-calculated cruelty, and put them to death without pity. After he had thus extinguished both parties he assumed their place, drew around him the nobles of inferior rank and took them into his pay. He ruled the countries he had conquered with stern and terrible sway.

Alexander thus saw his warmest wishes fulfilled, the barons of the land annihilated, and his house about to found a great hereditary power in Italy. But already he had begun to feel of what excesses hot and unbridled passions are capable. Cæsar would share his power neither with kinsman nor favorite. He had caused his brother, who stood in his way, to be murdered and thrown into the Tiber. His brother-in-law was attacked and stabbed on the steps of the palace by his orders.† The wounded man was nursed by his wife and sisters; the sister cooked his food, in order to secure him from poison, and the pope set a guard before his house to protect his son-in-law from his son: precautions which Cæsar derided. He said, “What is not done by noon, may be done by evening.” When the prince was recovering from his wounds, Cæsar burst into his chamber, drove out the wife and sister, called an executioner, and ordered the unfortunate prince to be strangled. He used his father as a means to power; otherwise he was utterly regardless of

* In the great MS. Chronicle of Sanuto many remarkable notices concerning Cesare Borgia are found throughout the fourth volume; also some letters from him; one to Venice, Dec. 1502; one to the pope; in the last he subscribes himself “*V^{rae} S^{us} hulissimus servus et devotissima factura.*”

† *Diario de Sebastiano di Branca de Telini, MS. Bibl. Barb. N. 1103, enumerates the atrocities of Cesare in the following manner: Il primo, il fratello che si chiamava lo duca di Grandia, lo fece buttar in fiume: fece ammazzare lo cognato che era figlio del duca di Calabria, era lo più bello giovane che mai si vedesse in Roma; ancora fece ammazzare Vitellozzo della città di castello et era lo più valenthuomo che fusse in quel tempo. He calls the Lord of Faenza lo più bello figlio del mondo.*

him. He killed Peroto, Alexander's favorite, while clinging to his patron and sheltered by the pontifical mantle. The pope's face was sprinkled with blood.

There was a moment at which Rome and the papal states were in Cæsar's power. He was a man of the greatest personal beauty; so strong, that at a bull-fight he cleft the head of a bull with one stroke; liberal, and not without traits of magnanimity, but voluptuous and sanguinary. Rome trembled at his name. Cæsar wanted money and had enemies; every night murdered bodies were found in the streets. Men lived in seclusion and silence; there was none who did not fear that his turn would come. Those whom force could not reach were taken off by poison.*

There was but one point on earth where such a state of things was possible; that, namely, at which the plenitude of secular power was united to the supreme spiritual jurisdiction. This point was occupied by Cæsar. There is a perfection even in depravity. Many of the sons and nephews of popes attempted similar things, but none ever approached Cæsar's bad eminence: he was a virtuoso in crime.

Was it not one of the primary and most essential tendencies of Christianity to render such a power impossible? And now Christianity itself, and the position of the head of the Christian church, were made subservient to its establishment.

There wanted, indeed, no Luther to prove to the world how diametrically opposed to all Christianity were such principles and actions. At the very time we are speaking of, the complaint arose that the pope prepared the way for antichrist: that he labored for the coming of the kingdom, not of heaven, but of Satan.†

We shall not follow into its details the history of Alexander. It is but too certain that he once meditated taking off one of the richest of the cardinals by poison: his intended victim however contrived by means of presents, promises, and prayers, to gain over his head cook, and the dish which had been prepared for the cardinal was placed before the pope. He died of the poison he had destined for another.‡ After his death, the consequences which resulted from his schemes were totally different from those he had contemplated.

Every papal family hoped to establish a lasting sovereignty, but with the life of the pope the power of his descendants invariably ended. They relapsed into the obscurity from which they had emerged. The calmness and indifference with which the Venetians

* To the various notices extant on this subject, I have added something from Polo Capello. When any remarkable deaths occurred, people immediately thought of poisonings by order of the pope. Sanuto says of the death of the cardinal of Verona: *Si judica, sia stato atosicato per tuorli le facultà, perchè avanti el spirasse el papa mandò guardie attorno la caxa.*

† A loose sheet, MS. out of Sanuto's chronicle: See the Appendix.

‡ *Successo do la Morte di Papa Alessandro.* MS. Ibid.

viewed the career of Cæsar Borgia, though in part attributable to other causes, was mainly to be ascribed to this. They judged that it was only a fire of straw, and that after Alexander's death things would return of themselves to their former posture.*

In this expectation, however, they were deceived. Alexander's successor evidently desired that his character and conduct should stand in the strongest contrast to those of the Borgias; but to that very cause he owed his power of carrying out all their designs. He arrived at the goal they had aimed at, but by the opposite path. Pope Julius II enjoyed the inestimable advantage of finding an occasion of satisfying the claims of his family in a peaceful manner. He procured for them the patrimony of Urbino. From that time he could give himself up uninterruptedly to his own peculiar passion, war and conquest: always, however, for the advantage of the church, for the aggrandisement of the holy see. Other popes had sought to gain principalities for their sons and nephews: it was the sole ambition of Julius to enlarge the states of the church. He is therefore entitled to be considered their founder.

He found the whole territory in the utmost disorder. All the fugitives who had escaped from Cæsar were returned; the Orsini and Colonna, the Vitelli and Baglioni Varani, Malatesta and Montefeltri; in every part of the country factions had revived; they fought in the very Borgo of Rome. Julius has been compared to the Neptune of Virgil, rising out of the waves with storm-allaying countenance, and hushing their tumults.† He had the address to rid himself even of Cæsar Borgia, to get possession of his castles and to seize upon his dukedom. He kept in check the less powerful barons, by means which Cæsar had prepared and facilitated: he was careful not to give them leaders, in cardinals whose ambition might stir up their old insubordination.‡ The more powerful, who refused obedience to him, he attacked without hesitation. His accession to power sufficed to reduce that Baglione who had once more taken possession of Perugia, within the limits of lawful subjection; Giovanni Bentivoglio in his extreme old age was compelled to abandon, without resistance, the splendid palace he had erected at Bologna, bearing the inscription wherein he had boasted too soon of his felicity. These two powerful cities acknowledged the immediate sovereignty of the holy see.

But Julius was yet far from the bourne he proposed to himself. The Venetians possessed the greater part of the coast of the papal

* Priuli Cronaca di Venezia MS. "Del resto poco stimavano, conoscendo, che questo acquisto che all' hora faceva il duca Valentinois sarebbe foco di paglia, che poco dura."

† Tomaseo Inghirami, in Fea, Notizie intorno Raffaele Sanzio da Urbino, p. 57.

‡ Machiavelli (Principe, c. xi.) is not alone in remarking this. Jovius, Vita Pompeji Colonna, p. 140, relates, that the Roman barons under Julius II, complained; principes urbis familias solito purpurei galeri honore pertinaci pontificum livore privari.

states. They were not at all disposed to make voluntary cession of them, and in physical force they were far his superiors. He could not conceal from himself that if he attacked them he would excite a movement in Europe, the end of which it would be difficult to foresee. Should he risk it?

Old as Julius was, worn by all the vicissitudes of good and evil fortune which he had experienced in the course of his long life, by the toils of war and exile, enfeebled by intemperance and debauchery, he yet knew not what fear or caution meant. Age had not robbed him of the grand characteristic of vigorous manhood—an indomitable spirit. He cared little for the princes of his time; he thought he towered above them all. He hoped to gain in the tumult of an universal war; his only care was to be always provided with money, so as to be able to seize the favorable moment with all his might: he wanted, as a Venetian aptly said, “to be lord and master of the game of the world.”*

If we inquire what enabled him to assume so commanding an attitude, we shall find that he owed it mainly to the state of public opinion, which permitted him to avow the designs he cherished; indeed not only to avow, but to boast of them. The re-establishment of the states of the church was at that time regarded by the world as a glorious nay even a religious enterprise; all the pope’s measures had this sole object, all his thoughts were animated by this idea, were, if I may use the expression, steeped in it.

He seized the most daring combinations: he risked all to obtain all; he took the field himself and made his entry into Mirandola as conqueror over the frozen ditches, through the breach. The most decisive reverse could not move him to yield, but seemed rather to call forth the resources of his bold and inventive spirit.

He was successful. Not only did he wrest their strongholds from the Venetians, but in the hot struggle which this excited, he at length gained possession of Parma, Piacenza and even Reggio, and founded a power such as no pope had ever attained to. He was master of all the beautiful region between Piacenza and Terracina. He endeavored everywhere to appear as a liberator; he treated his new subjects wisely and well, and secured their attachment and fidelity. The rest of the world saw, not without alarm, so many warlike populations in allegiance to the pope. “Formerly,” says Macchiavel, “no baron was so insignificant as not to despise the papal power; now, a king of France stands in awe of it.”

* *Sommario de la relation di Domenigo Trivixan, MS.* “Il papa vol esser il dominus et maistro del jocho del mundo.” There also exists a second relation by Polo Capello, of the date of 1510, whence a few notes are inserted here. *Francesco Vettori: Sommario dell’istoria d’Italia, MS.*, says of him: Julio più fortunato che prudente e più animoso che forte, ma ambizioso e desideroso di grandezze ultra a modo.

§ 2. INTRUSION OF A SECULAR SPIRIT INTO THE CHURCH.

It was obviously impossible that the entire institution of the church should not partake of the character and inclination of its head; that it should not co-operate to give activity and effect to his designs, or that it should not be reacted upon by the very results to which it contributed.

Not only the most exalted posts in the church, but all, from the highest to the lowest, were regarded as secular property. The pope nominated cardinals from personal favor, or to please some prince, or, not unfrequently, for direct payment in money. Was it rational to expect that men so chosen could fulfil their spiritual duties? Sixtus IV gave one of the most important offices, the Penitentiaria, (which involved a large portion of the power of granting dispensations,) to one of his nephews, at the same time extending its privileges. He issued a bull for the express purpose of enforcing them, in which he calls all who should doubt of the justice of such measures, a stiff-necked generation and children of iniquity.* It followed of course that the nephew regarded his office as a benefice, the revenues of which he was at liberty to raise to the highest possible pitch.

At this period the greater number of bishoprics already conferred a large share of secular power; they were granted as sinecures, from family considerations or court favor. The Roman Curia sought only to extract the greatest possible profit from the vacancies and appointments. Alexander took double annates and levied double and triple tithes. Almost everything was put up to sale; the taxes of the papal chancery rose from day to day; it was the duty of the director to remove causes of complaint, but he generally left the revision to the very men who had fixed the amount of the taxes.† Every mark of favor which the office of the Dataria granted was paid for beforehand with a fixed sum. The disputes between the potentates of Europe and the Curia generally arose entirely out of these contributions, which the court of Rome strove to increase, and every country to reduce, as much as possible.

The nominees of such a system were, down to the very lowest class, of necessity actuated by the same motives. Men renounced

* Bull of the 9th of May, 1484. *Quoniam nonnulli iniquitatis filii elationis et pertinaciæ suæ spiritu assumpto potestatem majoris penitentiarii nostri—in dubium revocare—præsument—deceat nos adversus tales adhibere remedia, etc.* Bullarium Romanum, ed. Cocquelines, iii, p. 187.

† Reformationes cancellariæ apostolicæ S^{mi} Dⁿⁱ N^{ri} Pauli III, 1540. MS. in the Barberini Library at Rome, Num. 2275, enumerates every abuse which had crept in since the time of Sixtus and Alexander. The gravamina of the German nation relate more particularly to these “new contrivances” and offices of the Romish chancery. § 14, § 38.

their bishoprics indeed, but retained the greater part of their revenues, and sometimes even the collation to the dependent benefices. Even the laws enacting that no son of an ecclesiastic should inherit his father's living, that no priest should bequeath his living, by will, were evaded. As every man, by dint of money, could obtain as coadjutor whomsoever he pleased, benefices became, in fact and practice, hereditary. The natural result was, that the performance of religious duties was in general completely neglected. In this brief statement I shall confine myself to the remarks made by well-intentioned prelates of the court of Rome itself. "What a sight," exclaimed they, "for a Christian who traverses the Christian world, is this desolation of the church! The shepherds have all deserted their flocks, and have left them to hirelings."*

In all places inefficient and unfit men, without examination, without election, were raised to the administration of ecclesiastical affairs. As the possessors of livings were only intent on procuring substitutes at the lowest salaries, they found among the mendicant friars men most suited to their purposes. Under the title (unheard-of in this sense) of suffragans, they had possession of bishoprics; under that of vicars, of benefices.

The mendicant orders already possessed extraordinary privileges, which had been augmented by Sixtus IV, himself a Franciscan. The right of hearing confession, of administering the sacrament of the Lord's supper, of giving extreme unction, of burying in the ground, and even in the habit, of the order, rights which conferred both consideration and profit, he had granted to them in all their extent; and had threatened the parish priests who were refractory and troubled the Orders, especially as to successions, with loss of their benefices.†

As the latter obtained the administration of bishoprics and even of parishes, it is clear that the influence they exercised was immense. All the higher situations and more important dignities, all the revenues, were in the hands of the great families and their dependents, the favorites at princely and papal courts; the real management of church affairs was in the hands of the mendicant friars. In this the popes protected them. The sale of indulgences, which at this time was amazingly extended, (Alexander VI being

* *Consilium delectorum cardinalium et aliorum prælatorum de emendanda ecclesia S^{mo} D^{no} Paulo III, ipso jubente conscriptum, anno 1538; even at that time frequently printed; and important on this account, that it points out, in a manner to leave no doubt, the root of the evil, so far as it lay in the administration. In Rome, even long after it was printed, this document was still incorporated in the collection of the manuscripts of the Curia.*

† *Amplissamæ gratiæ et privilegia fratrum minorum conventualium ordinis S. Francisci, quæ propterea Mare Magnum nuncupantur, 31 Aug. 1474. Bullarium Rom. iii, 3, 139. A similar bull was published for the Dominicans. At the Lateran council of 1512, this Mare Magnum occupied much attention; but privileges are more easily given than revoked; at least such was the case at that time.*

the first who officially declared that they delivered souls out of purgatory) was conducted in part by them. They too were sunk in utter worldliness. What eager grasping for the higher posts! what atrocious schemes for getting rid of opponents or rivals at the time of election! The former were sent out of the way as preachers or as administrators of a distant parish; not only poison, but the dagger or the sword were unscrupulously employed against the latter.* The comforts and privileges of religion were sold. The mendicant monks, whose regular pay was very small, greedily caught at any chance gains. "Alas!" exclaims one of the prelates of that day, "who are they that make my eyes to be a fountain of tears? Even those set apart have fallen away. The vineyard of the Lord is laid waste. If they went alone to destruction, it were an evil, but one that might be borne. But as they are spread over all Christendom, like veins through the body, their iniquity must bring with it the ruin of the world."

§ 3. INTELLECTUAL TENDENCY OF THE AGE.

If the book of history lay open to our view in its authentic reality, if the fleeting forms of speech stood before us in the durability of the works of nature, how often should we discover in the former, as in the latter, amidst the decay we mourn over, the fresh and quick germ! how often behold life springing out of death!

However we may deplore this contamination of spiritual things with things of earth, this corruption of the institutions of religion, yet, without these evils the human mind could hardly have received one of its most remarkable impulses—an impulse leading to vast and permanent results.

It cannot be denied, that however ingenious, varied and profound are the productions of the middle ages, they are founded on a fantastic view of the world, little answering to the realities of things. Had the church subsisted in full and conscious power, she would have exactly perpetuated this state of the human intellect. But in her present condition she allowed the spirit of freedom to unfold itself in a new manner and from a totally different point.

In those ages, it was a narrow horizon which circumscribed the minds of men within impassable limits: the revived acquaintance with antiquity was the power that burst these bounds, that opened a higher, more comprehensive and grander view. Not that the middle ages had been altogether ignorant of the classical writers.

* In a long report from Caraffa to Clement, which appears only in a state of mutilation in Bromato's *Life of Paul IV*, it is said in the manuscript of the monasteries: *Si viene ad homicidi non solo col venens ma apartamente col coltello e con la spada, per non dire con schiopetti.*

The ardor with which the Arabians, from whose intellectual labors so much passed back into the south, collected and appropriated the works of the ancients, did not fall far short of the zeal with which the Italians of the fifteenth century did the same; and caliph Maimud may be compared, in this respect, with Cosmo de' Medici. But let us observe the difference. Unimportant as it may appear, it is in my opinion decisive. The Arabians translated, at the same time they often destroyed the original. As their own peculiar ideas impregnated the whole of their translations, they turned Aristotle, we might say, into a system of theosophy; they applied astronomy only to astrology, and astrology to medicine; and medicine they diverted to the development of their own fantastic notions of the universe. The Italians, on the other hand, read and learned. From the Romans they advanced to the Greeks; the art of printing disseminated the original works throughout the world in numberless copies. The genuine expelled the Arabian Aristotle. In the unaltered writings of the ancients, men studied the sciences; geography directly out of Ptolemy, botany out of Dioscorides, the knowledge of medicine out of Galen and Hippocrates. How could mankind be so rapidly emancipated from the imaginations which hitherto had peopled the world, from the prejudices which enslaved the mind? It would however be exaggeration to represent this as the development of an original philosophical spirit; to talk of the discovery of new truths and the utterance of great thoughts. Men sought only to understand the ancients; they did not attempt to surpass them. Their influence was less powerful in stimulating to productive intellectual activity, than in exciting to imitation.

This imitation was pregnant with the most important consequences to the civilisation of the world.

Men strove to rival the ancients in their own tongues. Pope Leo X was an especial promoter of these labors. He read aloud to his own company the well-written introduction to the history of Jovius, and declared that since the time of Livy nothing like it had been written. A lover of Latin improvisation, we may imagine how captivated he was with the talent of Vida, who could describe such things as the game of chess in the stately music of well-cadenced Latin hexameters. He invited to his court a mathematician from Portugal celebrated for expounding his science in elegant Latin. It was so that he wished to see jurisprudence and theology taught: it was so that he would have had the history of the church written.

But things could not remain stationary at this point. To whatever perfection this direct imitation of the ancients to their own languages was carried, it could not embrace the whole field of intellectual activity. It was essentially inadequate and unsatisfactory, and was too commonly diffused for its defects not to become obvious to many. A new idea sprang up; the imitation of the

ancients in the mother tongue. Men felt themselves in the same relation in which the Romans stood to the Greeks; they would no longer contend with them in detail, they would emulate them in an entire body of literature. To this field they rushed with youthful ardor.

Fortunately, just then a general taste arose for the culture and improvement of language. The merit of Bembo, who appeared exactly at the right moment, consists less in his pure and polished Latin, or in his attempts at Italian poetry, than in those well-conceived and successful efforts to give correctness and dignity to his mother tongue, and to construct it after fixed rules, which excited the peculiar admiration of Ariosto. To these rules his experiments only served as examples.

If we take a cursory review of the works formed on the antique pattern out of a material so skilfully prepared, so incomparable for flexibility and harmony, the following considerations press themselves on our attention.

The most rigorous and servile copies were not the most successful. Tragedies like Ruccellai's *Rosmunda*, which, as the editors say, was framed on the model of the antique, didactic poems, like the *Bees* of the same author (in which reference is made from the beginning to Virgil, who is used in a thousand ways in the course of the poem,) had no popularity and produced no permanent effect. Comedies were less fettered. Their nature demanded that they should assume the color and impression of the present time; but they were almost always founded on a fable of antiquity, or on some comedy of Plautus;* and even the talents of Bibbiena and Macchiavelli have not been able to secure to their comic works the unqualified admiration of later ages. In other branches of poetry we find a sort of conflict between the ancient and the modern elements of which they are compounded: in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, for instance, how strangely do the prolix, latinised periods of the prose, contrast with the simplicity, earnestness and music of the verse!

It can be no matter of wonder if, spite of this great advance, success was not complete. At least a great example had been given, a great and most pregnant experiment made; but the genius of modern literature could not expand its wings with full freedom while bound down by the rules of classical composition. It was

* Amongst much else that is remarkable, Marco Minio gives an account to the Signory of one of the first representations of a play in Rome. He writes on the 13th of March, 1519. "Finita dita festa," (he speaks of the carnival,) "se andò ad una comedia che fece el reverend^{mo} Cibo, dove è stato bellissima cosa lo apparato tanto superbo che non si potria dire. La comedia fu questa che fu fenta una Ferrara, e in dita sala fu fata Ferrara preciso come la è. Dicono che Monsignor Rev^{mo} Cibo venendo per Ferrara e volendo una comedia li fu data questa comedia. E sta tratta parte de li suppositi di Plauto e dal Eunucho di Terenzio molto bellissima." He means without doubt the *Suppositi* of Ariosto; but we see, he does not mention the name of the author, nor the title of the piece, only the sources whence it was taken.

under the dominion of laws essentially foreign and inappropriate to its nature.

And indeed how could anything great be achieved by mere imitation? There is, doubtless, an influence exercised by models, by master works; but it is the influence of mind on mind. We are now come to the unanimous conviction that the office of beautiful types is to educate, to mould, to stimulate; but that they ought not to enthral.

The most extraordinary creation necessarily arose, when a genius imbued with the spirit and the tendencies of that age tried its powers in a work departing both in matter and form from the standards of antiquity, and in which their more profound and hidden influences were alone perceptible.

Such was the process which gave birth to the peculiar character of the romantic epic. The poet found prepared for his subject a Christian fable of mingled religious and heroic interest; the principal figures, drawn in a few broad and strong and general lines, were at his command; he had ready for his use striking situations, though imperfectly developed; the form of expression was at hand, it came immediately from the common language of the people. With this was blended the common tendency of the age to ally itself with antiquity. Plastic, painting, humanising, it pervaded the whole. How different is the Rinaldo of Bojardo—noble, modest, full of joyous gallantry—from the terrible son of Aimon, of the ancient romance! How is the violent, the monstrous, the gigantic, of the old representation subdued to the comprehensible, the attractive, the captivating! The old tales have something engaging and delightful in their simplicity; but how different is the pleasure of abandoning oneself to the harmony of Ariosto's stanzas, and hurrying on from scene to scene, in the companionship of a frank and accomplished mind! The unlovely and the shapeless has moulded itself into a distinct outline—into form and music.*

It has been the exclusive privilege of a few favored and golden ages of the world to conceive and to express pure beauty of form. Such was the end of the fifteenth, and the beginning of the sixteenth century. How were it possible here to give the faintest outline of the entire devotion to art, of the fervid love, the unwearied study of it which then existed? We may confidently assert that all that is most beautiful in the architecture, sculpture or painting of modern art falls within this brief period. It was the tendency of the times; not in speculation and argument, but in practice and in application. In that men lived and moved. I may even assert, that the fortress which the prince erected to ward off his enemy, the note which the commentator inscribed on the margin of his author, have somewhat

* I have endeavored to work out this subject in a separate disquisition, which I have delivered in the Royal Academy of Sciences.

of the common character. The same spirit of severe beauty lies at the bottom of every production of that age.

At the same time we must not omit to notice, that while poetry and art had seized upon the religious element, they had not left its character unaffected by the alliance. The romantic epic, which is founded on legends of the church, is generally in complete opposition to its primitive spirit. Ariosto found it necessary to remove from his fable the back-ground which contains its original meaning.

At an earlier period religion had as large a share in all the works of the painter and the sculptor as art. From the time that art was touched by the breath of antiquity, she lost her profound attachment to the types consecrated and adopted by faith; a change which may be distinctly traced from year to year, even in the works of Raffaele. People may censure it if they will; but it seems not the less true, that an admixture of the profane element was necessary to the full development and bloom of art.

Was it not a most significant fact, that a pope should himself conceive the project of pulling down the ancient basilica of St. Peter, the metropolis of Christendom, every spot of which was consecrated, in which monuments of the piety of so many centuries were collected, and of erecting in its stead a temple on the model of those of antiquity? It was a purely artistical project. The two factions which then divided the world of artists, so easily moved to jealousy and contention, united to persuade Julius II to this undertaking. Michael Angelo wished to have a worthy place for the tomb of the pope, which he intended to execute with all the sublimity and grandeur that characterise his Moses. Bramante was yet more urgent. He wanted to put in execution the bold idea of raising a copy of the Pantheon as vast as the original, on colossal pillars. Many cardinals remonstrated, and it appears that the plan was generally unpopular. So many personal recollections and affections cling to every old church; how much more, then, to this chief temple of Christendom!* But Julius II was not wont to give heed to opposition. Without further hesitation he caused half of the old church to be pulled down, and laid the foundation-stone of the new one himself.

Thus, in the very centre of Christian worship arose once more the forms in which the spirit of the antique rites had found such an apt expression. At San Pietro, in Montorio, on the spot which

* Fea, *Notizie intorno Raffaele*, p. 41, gives the following passage from the unprinted work of Panvinus, *De rebus antiquis memorabilibus et de præstantia basilicæ S. Petri Apostolorum Principis*, &c. "Qua in re, (i. e. the project of the new building,) adversos pene habuit cunctorum ordinum homines et præsertim cardinales; non quod novam non cuperent basilicam magnificentissimam extrui, sed quia antiquam toto terrarum orbe venerabilem, tot sanctorum sepulcris augustissimam, tot celeberrimis in ea gestis insignem, funditus deleri ingemiscant."

had been sprinkled by the blood of the martyr, Bramante built a chapel in the light and cheerful form of a Peripteros.

If this involve a contradiction, it was identical with that which displayed itself at the same period in the whole condition and frame of society.

Men went to the Vatican, less to pray on the steps of the Apostles, than to admire the master-pieces of antique art, the Belvedere Apollo and the Laocoon, in the pope's dwelling. The pope was indeed, then as formerly, urged to set on foot a war against the infidels (as I find for example in a Preface of Navagero*); but it was not the interest of Christianity that occupied the writer's thoughts; his hope was, that the pope would find the lost writings of the Greeks, and perhaps even of the Romans.

In the midst of this full tide of study and of production, of intellect and of art, Leo X lived in the enjoyment of the growing temporal power attached to the highest spiritual dignity. His claim to the honor of giving his name to this age has been disputed, and perhaps he owed it less to merit than to fortune. He had grown up in the elements which formed the world around him, and he possessed sufficient freedom from prejudice and susceptibility of mind to foster and to enjoy its glories. If he had a peculiar delight in the Latin writings of direct imitators, he could not withhold his interest from the original works of his contemporaries. In his presence the first tragedy was acted, and even, spite of the objections to a play imitated from Plautus, the first comedy in the Italian language. There is scarcely one of which he did not witness the first representation. Ariosto was one of the acquaintances of his youth. Machiavelli wrote several things expressly for him. For him Raffaele filled chambers, galleries, and chapels with human beauty raised to ideal perfection and with life in its purest expression. He had a passionate love of music, which just then began to be cultivated throughout Italy in a more scientific manner. The walls of the palace daily echoed with the sounds of music; the pope was heard to hum the melodies that had delighted him. It may be that this is a sort of intellectual sensuality; if so, it is at least the only sensuality becoming a human being.

Leo X was full of kindness and sympathy: he rarely refused a request, or if he did, it was in the gentlest manner, and only when it was impossible to grant it. "He is a good man," says an observing ambassador to his court, "very bounteous, and of a kindly nature; if he were not under the influence of his kinsmen he would avoid all errors."† "He is learned," says another, "and a lover of learned men; religious, but yet disposed to enjoy life."‡ He

* Naugerii Prefatio in Ciceronis Orationes, t. 1.

† Zorzi. "Per il papa, non voria ai guerra ni fatiche, ma questi soi lo intriga."

‡ Marco Minio: Relazione. "E docto e amador di docti, ben religioso, ma vol viver." He calls him "bona persona."

did not indeed always maintain the decorum befitting a pope; sometimes, to the despair of his master of the ceremonies, he quitted Rome not only without a surplice, but even, as the distressed functionary observes in his diary, "what is the most vexatious, with boots on his feet." He spent the autumn in rural pleasures; he took the diversion of hawking at Viterbo, of stag-hunting at Corneto, and of fishing on the lake of Bolsena, after which he passed some time at his favorite seat at Malliana, where he was accompanied by men of those light and supple talents which enliven every passing hour, such as improvisatori. In the winter he returned to the city, which was in the highest state of prosperity. The number of inhabitants increased a third in a few years: manufactures found their profit—art, honor—every one security. Never was the court more lively, more agreeable, more intellectual; no expenditure was too great to be lavished on religious and secular festivals, on amusements and theatres, on presents and marks of favor. It was heard with pleasure that Giuliano Medici, with his young wife, thought of making Rome his residence. "Praised be God!" Cardinal Bibbiena writes to him; "the only thing we want is a court with ladies."

The debauchery of Alexander VI must ever be contemplated with loathing. Leo's gay and graceful court was not in itself deserving of censure; yet it were impossible to deny that it was little answerable to the character and position of the head of the church. These incongruities were not obvious during his lifetime; but when they afterwards came to be compared and considered, they could not fail to strike all men.

In such a state of things, genuine christian-mindedness and faith were out of the question; there arose indeed a direct opposition to them.

The schools of philosophy were divided as to whether the soul was really immaterial and immortal, but one, diffused through all mankind, or whether it was merely mortal. The most distinguished philosopher of that day, Pietro Pomponazzo, declared himself the champion of the latter opinion: he compared himself to Prometheus, whose vitals were preyed upon by a vulture for having stolen fire from heaven; but with all his painful toil, with all his acuteness, he arrived at no other result than this, "that when the legislator decreed that the soul was immortal, he had done so without troubling himself about the truth."* It must not be supposed that these opinions were confined to a few, or held in secret; Eras-

* Pomponazzo was earnestly attacked on this point, as appears in passages extracted from letters of the popes by Contelori and elsewhere. Petrus de Mantua, it is there said, "asseruit, quod anima rationalis secundum propria philosophiæ et mentem Aristotelis sit seu videatur mortalis, contra determinationem concilii Lateranensis: Papa mandat ut dictus Petrus revocet: alias contra ipsum procedatur. 13 Junii, 1518."

mus expresses his astonishment at the blasphemies he heard. An attempt was made to prove to him, a foreigner, out of Pliny, that there was no difference between the souls of men and of beasts.*

While the common people sank into an almost pagan superstition, and looked for salvation to mere ceremonial practices, the opinions of the upper classes were of an anti-religious tendency.

How astonished was the youthful Luther when he visited Italy! At the very moment that the offering of the mass was finished, the priests uttered words of blasphemy which denied its efficacy. It was the tone of good society in Rome to question the evidences of Christianity. "No one passed" (says P. Ant. Bandino)† "for an accomplished man, who did not entertain heretical opinions about Christianity; at the court the ordinances of the catholic church, and passages of holy writ, were spoken of only in a jesting manner; the mysteries of the faith were despised."

We see how everything has its place in the chain of events; how one event, or one state of opinion, calls forth another: the ecclesiastical claims of princes excite the temporal claims of the pope; the decay of religious institutions produces the development of a new tendency of the human mind; till at length the very grounds of belief are assailed by public opinion.

§ 4. OPPOSITION TO THE PAPACY IN GERMANY.

The relation in which Germany stood to the state and progress of opinion we have just been contemplating, appears to me singularly worthy of notice. She took part in it, but in a spirit and manner entirely different.

While Italy had produced poets, like Boccaccio and Petrarch, who excited in the nation a taste for classical literature, in Germany the study of the ancients originated in a religious brotherhood, the Hieronymites; a community bound together by a life of laborious study and retirement from the world. It was in the school of one of its members, the profound and blameless mystic Thomas a Kempis, that all those venerable men were formed, who were attracted

* Borigny: *Life of Erasmus*, I, 139. I will here also quote the following passage from Paul Canensius in the *Vita Pauli II.* "Pari quoque diligentia e medio Romanæ curiæ nefandam nonnullorum juvenum sectam scelestamque opinionem substulit, qui depravatis moribus asserebant, nostram fidem orthodoxam potius quibusdam sanctorum astutiis quam veris rerum testimoniis subsistere." The *Triumph of Charlemagne*, a poem by Ludovici, breathes a spirit of thorough materialism, as we see from the quotations by Daru in the 40th book of the *Histoire de Venise*.

† In *Caracciolo's Life*, MS. of Paul IV. "In quel tempo non pareva fosse galantuomo o buon cortegiano colui che de' dogmi della chiesa non aveva qualche opinion erronea ed heretica."

to Italy by the new light which broke from ancient literature, and returned to diffuse it over Germany.*

As the beginning differed, so likewise did the progress.

In Italy men studied the works of the ancients as a means to the acquisition of sciences; in Germany they used them as elementary books. There, they sought the solution of the highest problems that can engage the human mind, if not as independent thinkers, yet under the guidance of the ancients; here, the best books were devoted to the instruction of youth. In Italy men were captivated by the beauty of the form, and their first essays were imitations of the ancients; they succeeded, as we have shown, in creating a national literature. In Germany these studies took a religious direction: the names of Reuchlin and Erasmus are well known. If we inquire wherein consists the highest merit of the former, we shall find that he was the first writer of a Hebrew grammar, a monument of which he hoped, as confidently as the Italian poets did of their works, "that it would be more durable than brass." As he opened the way to the study of the Old Testament, Erasmus devoted his attention to the New. He first printed it in Greek; his paraphrase and commentaries upon it have had an effect far exceeding even his own expectations.

Whilst, in Italy, the public mind was alienated from the church, and even hostile to it, a somewhat similar state of things prevailed in Germany. There, that freedom of thought which can never be wholly suppressed, found its way into the world of letters, and in some cases amounted to decided infidelity. A more profound theology, springing from mysterious sources, though rejected by the church, had never been eradicated; this formed part of the literary movement of Germany. In this point of view I think it remarkable, that as early as the year 1513, the Bohemian brethren made advances to Erasmus, the turn of whose mind and opinions was so totally different from their own.† And thus on either side of the Alps the progress of the age was in a direction hostile to the ascendancy of the church. On the one side, it was connected with science and literature; on the other, it arose out of biblical learning and a more profound theology. There, it was negative and unbelieving; here, positive and believing. There, it sapped the very foundations of the church; here, it labored to build it up anew.— There, it was ironical, sarcastic and obsequious to power; here, it was earnest and indignant, and girded itself up to the most daring assault the church of Rome had ever sustained.

It has been represented as matter of accident that this was first directed against the abuses which attended the sale of indulgences;

* Meiners has the merit of having been the first to bring to light this genealogy from the *Daventria Illustrata* of Revius. *Lives of celebrated men belonging to the era of the revival of letters*, ii, 380.

† Füsslin: *Kirchen und Ketzergeschichte*, ii, 82.

but as the alienation of the most profoundly spiritual of all gifts (which was involved in the system of indulgences,) was the most striking symptom of the disease pervading the whole body—the intrusion of worldliness into religious things—it ran most violently counter to the ideas entertained by the profound and spiritual German theologians. To a man like Luther, whose religion was one of inward experience, who was filled with the ideas of sin and justification which had been propounded by German theologians before his time, and confirmed in them by the study of the Scriptures which he had drunk in with a thirsting heart, nothing in the world could be so shocking as the sale of indulgences. Forgiveness of sins to be had for money, must be the most deeply offensive to him whose consciousness of the eternal relation between God and man sprang from this very point and who had learned to understand the Scriptures for himself.

He certainly began his opposition to the church of Rome by denouncing this particular abuse; but the ill-founded and partial resistance which he experienced led him on step by step. He was not long in discovering the connection which existed between this monstrous practice and the general corruption of the church. His was not a nature to quail before the last extremity; he attacked the head of the church himself with dauntless intrepidity. From the midst of the most devoted adherents and champions of papacy, the mendicant friars, arose the boldest and most powerful assailant it had ever encountered. Luther, with singular acuteness and perspicuity, held up to view the principle from which the power originally based upon it had so widely departed; he gave utterance to an universal conviction; his opposition, which had not yet unfolded all those positive results with which it was pregnant, was pleasing to unbelievers, and yet while it attracted them, satisfied the earnestness of believers, hence his writings produced an incalculable effect; in a moment Germany and the world were filled with them.

CHAPTER III.

POLITICAL STATE OF EUROPE: ITS CONNECTION WITH THE REFORMATION.

THE worldly character which the papacy had assumed, the ambition and aggrandisement of the see of Rome, had produced two movements in society. The one was religious; already that falling away from the church had commenced which was big with such boundless results. The other political; the elements which had been brought into conflict were still in the most violent fermentation, out of which a new order of things was destined to arise. These two movements, their effects on each other, the contest which they excited, for centuries determined the history of the papacy.

Never let a sovereign or a state imagine that any good can befall them which they do not owe to themselves, which they have not won by their own exertions.

The Italian powers, by calling in the aid of foreign nations to overcome each other, had themselves destroyed that independence which they had enjoyed during the fifteenth century, and had held out their country as their common prize of victory. This must in great measure be attributed to the popes. They had unquestionably attained to a power which the Roman see had never before possessed; but they did not owe it to their own exertions. They owed it to the French, the Spaniards, the Germans, the Swiss. But for his alliance with Louis XII, Cæsar Borgia would hardly have been able to accomplish much. Vast and magnificent as were the views of Julius II, heroic as were his acts, he must have succumbed but for the help of the Spaniards and the Swiss. How could it be otherwise than that those who had won the victory should endeavor to profit by the ascendancy which it gave them? Julius II saw this clearly. His design was to preserve a sort of balance among the other powers, and to make use only of the least formidable, the Swiss, whom he might hope to lead.

But it fell out otherwise. Two great powers arose, who warred, if not for the sovereignty of the world, yet for the supremacy in Eu-

rope; each so powerful, that the pope was far from being able to cope with either. They fought out their battle on Italian ground.

First appeared the French. Not long after the accession of Leo X, they marched in greater force than had ever crossed the Alps, to re-conquer Milan. At their head, in the ardor of youthful and chivalrous daring, was Francis I.

Every thing depended on the question whether the Swiss could resist him or not. The battle of Marignano was important because the Swiss were completely defeated, and because, from the time of that defeat, they never again exercised an independent influence in Italy.

The first day the battle remained undecided, and bonfires were even kindled in Rome in consequence of the report of the success of the Swiss. The earliest tidings of the result of the second day and of the real issue of the battle, were received by the ambassador from Venice, which was in alliance with the king and had contributed not a little to decide the fortune of the day. At a very early hour in the morning he repaired to the Vatican to communicate the intelligence to the pope, who came half-dressed from his chamber to give him audience. "Yesterday," said the ambassador, "your holiness gave me news which was both bad and false; to day I bring you in return news which is good and true. The Swiss are beaten." He read letters which he had just received from men known to the pope, and which left no doubt on the subject.* Leo did not conceal his profound alarm. "What then will become of us, what will become even of you?" "We hope all good for both." "Mr. Ambassador," replied the pope, "we must throw ourselves into the king's arms, and cry *Misericordia*."†

The French did, in fact, acquire a decided preponderance in Italy by this battle. Had they followed it up with vigor, neither Tuscany nor the States of the Church, so easily stirred to rebellion, would have been able to make much resistance, and the Spaniards would have found it difficult to maintain themselves in Naples. "The king," said Francesco Vettori, "might become lord of Italy." How much at this crisis depended 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 the third, John, was prudent. This third was pope Leo X, and he now proved himself equal to the difficult position in which he was placed.

Contrary to the advice of the cardinals he proceeded to Bologna to confer with the king. Here they agreed on the Concordat by

* *Summario de la relatione di Zorzi.* "E cussi dismisiato venne fuori non compito di vestir. L'orator disse: Pater santo eri v' sant' 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.

† "Domine orator, vederemo quel fara il re christmo se metteremo in le so man dimandando misericordia. Lui, orator, disse: pater sante, vostra santità non avrà mal alcuno."

which they divided between them the rights of the Gallican church. Leo was likewise compelled to give up Parma and Piacenza; but at length he succeeded in allaying the storm, in prevailing on the king to return, and in retaining undisturbed possession of his territory.* How fortunate this was for him, appears from the consequences which immediately ensued upon the mere approach of the French. It is worthy of all remark, that Leo, after his allies had been defeated, and he had been compelled to cede a portion of his dominions, had still power to keep possession of two provinces but just acquired, accustomed to independence, and filled with a thousand elements of insubordination.

He has always been reproached with his attack on Urbino, a princely house, with which his own family had found refuge and hospitality in exile. The cause was, that the duke, being in his pay, had proved faithless to him at the decisive moment. Leo said, if he did not chastise him for it, there would not be a baron in the States of the Church so impotent as not to set himself in revolt against him. He had found the pontificate respected, and he would keep it so.† But as the duke had, at least in secret, assistance from the French, as he found allies throughout the papal states, and even in the college of cardinals, the struggle was a fearful one. It was not easy to repulse so accomplished a soldier as the duke; the pope was sometimes seen to tremble at the bad news he received and to lose all his self-possession. It is said that a plot was laid to poison him by means of the medicine administered for a disease under which he was suffering.‡ The pope succeeded in defending himself from this enemy, but we see with how much difficulty. The effect of the defeat of his party by the French extended to his capital and even to his palace.

Meanwhile the second great power had acquired strength and consistency. Strange as it seemed that one prince should rule in Vienna, Brussels, Valladolid, Saragoza, and Naples, and even in another continent, this vast concentration of power had been effected by a chain of domestic events, each link of which was so slight as scarcely to attract the attention of the surrounding states. The elevation of the house of Austria, which united so many different countries under its sway, was one of the greatest and most eventful changes that had befallen Europe. At the moment that the nations severed themselves from the point which had hitherto formed their

* Zorzi. "Questo papa è savio e pratico di stato e si pensò con li suoi consultori di venir abocharsi a Bologna con vergogna di la sede (ap.); molti cardinali tra i qual il cardinal Hadriano lo disconsejava pur vi volse andar."

† Franc. Vettori (Sommario della storia d' Italia), an intimate friend of the Medici, gives this explanation. The defender of Francesco Maria, Giov. Batt. Leoni (Vita di Francesco Maria), relates facts which approach very nearly to this. P. 166, et seq.

‡ Fea, in the Notizie intorno Rafaele, p. 35, has given, from the Acts of the Consistory, the sentence against the three cardinals, which expressly refers to their understanding with Francesco Maria.

common centre, they were attracted by political circumstances into a new connection, and incorporated into a new system. The power of Austria immediately presented itself as a counterpoise to the preponderancy of France. The possession of the imperial dignity conferred on Charles V lawful claims on the sovereignty of Lombardy at least. This state of Italian affairs was not long in leading to war.

The popes, as we have already remarked, had hoped by extending their territory to acquire absolute independence. They now beheld themselves hemmed in between two far superior powers. A pope was not insignificant enough to be able to remain neuter in the contest between them, nor was he powerful enough to throw a decisive weight into either scale; he must seek safety in a discreet use of events. Leo is reported to have said, that when he had concluded a treaty with the one party, he did not, on that account, cease to negotiate with the other.*

This double policy was the natural consequence of the situation in which he was placed. Leo, however, could hardly entertain any serious doubt to which he ought to attach himself. Even had it not been of infinite importance to him to recover Parma and Piacenza; had not the promise of Charles V (so entirely to his advantage), that he would place an Italian at Milan, been sufficient to determine him, there was yet another reason, and, as it appears to me, a thoroughly conclusive one. This lay in the state of the church.

During the whole period we are treating of, the princes desired nothing so much in all their disputes and difficulties with the popes, as to excite a spiritual opposition to them. Charles VIII of France had no more effective ally against Alexander VI than the Dominican, Geronimo Savonarola of Florence. When Louis XII had given up all hope of reconciliation with Julius II, he called a council at Pisa; a measure which, though attended with slight success, caused great alarm at Rome. Above all, when did a bolder and more successful enemy to the papacy arise than Luther? The mere appearance of such an actor on the world's stage was too significant a fact not to invest him with high political importance. In this light it was viewed by Maximilian, who would not suffer any violence to be done to the monk. He recommended him specially to the elector of Saxony—"One might have need of him some time or other:" and from that time Luther's influence increased from day to day. The pope had neither been able to conciliate nor to terrify him, nor to get him into his power. Let it not be imagined that Leo did not appreciate the danger. How often did he try to employ all the talents by which he was surrounded on

* Suriano. "Relatione di 1533, dicesi del Papa Leone, che quando 'l aveva fatto lega con alcuno prima, soleva dir che pero non si doveva restar de tratar cum lo altro principe opposto."

this arena! But there was yet another expedient. As, if he declared against the emperor, he had to fear that this alarming opposition would be protected and fostered, so, if he courted his alliance, he might hope for his aid in suppressing religious innovation.

At the diet of Worms in the year 1521, where the religious and political affairs of Europe were discussed, Leo concluded a treaty with Charles V for the reconquest of Milan. The outlawry which was proclaimed against Luther bears the same date as this treaty. Other motives might have conspired to prompt this act, but no one can persuade himself that it was not intimately connected with the political alliance.

And the twofold consequences of this alliance were not long in manifesting themselves.

Luther was seized on the Wartburg, and kept concealed.* The Italians could not believe that Charles had suffered him to escape, from a conscientious determination not to violate the safe conduct he had granted. "As he saw," say they, "that the pope greatly feared Luther's doctrine, he wished to hold him in check with that rein."† Be this as it may, Luther vanished for a moment from the stage of the world; he was to a certain extent beyond the reach of the law, and the pope had at all events caused decisive measures to be taken against him.

Meanwhile the allied imperial and papal arms were successful in Italy. One of the pope's nearest relations, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, the son of his father's brother, took the field in person and accompanied the victorious army into Milan. It was asserted in Rome that the pope destined this duchy for him. I find, however, no conclusive proof of this, and I think that the emperor would hardly have acceded to it so easily. But, even without this, the advantages to the Holy See were incalculable. Parma and Piacenza were reconquered; the French driven away; the pope must of necessity exercise great influence over the new ruler of Milan. It was one of the most eventful crises in history. A new current of political affairs had set in; a great ecclesiastical movement had begun. It was a moment in which the pope might flatter himself that he would be able to direct the one and to control the other. He was still young enough to hope to turn it to its full account.

Strange, deceitful lot of man! Leo was at his villa Malliana when the news of the entry of his troops into Milan was brought to him. He gave himself up to the feeling which is wont to accompany the successful termination of an enterprise, and contem-

* Luther was thought to be dead; there was a story, that he had been murdered by the papal party. Pallavicini (*Istoria del concilio di Trento* I, c. 28.) infers from the letters of Alexander, that the nuncios had been in danger of their lives on this account.

† Vettori: "Carlo si excusò di non poter procedere più oltre rispetto al salvcondotto, ma la verità fu che conoscendo che il Papa temeva molto di questa doctrina di Luthero, lo volle tenere con questo freno."

plated with pleasure the festivities with which his people were preparing to celebrate his triumph. Up to a late hour in the night he went backwards and forwards from the window to the blazing hearth;—it was in November.* Somewhat exhausted, but full of joy and exultation, he returned to Rome. The rejoicings for the victory were just ended, when he was attacked by a mortal disease. “Pray for me,” said he to his attendants; “I still make you all happy.” He loved life, but his hour was come. He had not time to receive the viaticum, nor extreme unction. So suddenly, so early, so full of high hope, he died “as the poppy fadeth.”†

The Roman people could not forgive him for dying without the sacraments, for spending so much money, and for leaving debts. They accompanied his body to the grave with words of reproach and indignity. “You glided in like a fox,” said they; “you ruled like a lion, you have died like a dog.” Posterity, however, has stamped a century, and a great epoch in the advancement of the human race, with his name.‡

We have called him fortunate. After he had surmounted the first calamity which befell not only him but other members of his house, his destiny led him on from pleasure to pleasure, from success to success. The adverse circumstances of his life were precisely those which contributed the most to his advancement. His life passed in a sort of intellectual intoxication and in the unbroken fulfilment of all his wishes. This was in part the result of his kindly and bountiful nature, his quick and plastic intellect, his ready acknowledgment of merit and gratitude for kindness. These qualities are the fairest endowments of nature, the true gifts of fortune; they can hardly be acquired, yet they affect the whole enjoyment of life. His pleasures were little interrupted by affairs of state. As he did not concern himself with details, and only exercised supervision over the whole, business was not oppressive to him; it only called into action the highest faculties of his mind. It was, perhaps, precisely because he did not devote every day and hour to it, that he was able to deal with it in a large and unfettered spirit; that, in all the perplexities of the moment, he could keep his eye steadily fixed on the one guiding thought which lighted the

* Copia di una lettera di Roma alli Sgri. Bolognesi a di 3 Debr. 1521, scritta per Bartholomeo Argilelli, in 32d vol. of Sanuto. The news reached the pope the 24th of November, whilst saying the Benedicite. This also he particularly regarded as a good omen. He said: “Questa è una buona nuova, che havete portato.” The Swiss immediately began to fire *feus de joie*. The pope sent to beg them to be quiet, but in vain.

† People immediately talked of poison. Lettera di Hieronymo Bon a suo barba a di 5 Dec. in Sanuto. “Non si sa certo se 'l pontefice sia morta di veneno. Fo aperto. Maistro Ferando judica sia stato venenato; alcuno de li altri no; è di questa opinione Mastro Severino, che lo vide aprire, dice che non è venenato.”

‡ Capitoli di una littera scritta a Roma 21 Debr. 1521. “Concludo che non è morta mai papa cum peggior fama dappoi è la chiesa di Dio.”

whole path on which he was about to enter. He himself was ever at the helm and directed the course of the vessel. In the last moments of his life all the currents of his policy mingled in one full tide of triumph and prosperity. It may be counted among his felicities that he died then. Other times followed; and it is difficult to believe that he could have opposed a successful resistance to their unpropitious influences. The whole weight of them fell on his successors.

The conclave lasted long. "Sirs," said the Cardinal de' Medici, who was alarmed at the return of the enemies of his house to Urbino and Perugia, and trembled for Florence itself; "Sirs, I see that from among us, here assembled, no pope can be chosen. I have proposed to you three or four, but you have rejected them all: those, on the other hand, whom you propose, I cannot accept. We must seek a pope among those who are not present." The cardinals, assenting to his opinion, asked him whom he had in his mind. "Take," said he, "the cardinal of Tortosa, an aged, venerable man, who is generally esteemed a saint."* This was Adrian of Utrecht,† formerly professor in the university of Lorraine, and teacher of Charles V, through whose personal attachment he had risen to the office of governor of Spain, and to the dignity of cardinal. Cardinal Cajetan, who did not belong to the Medicean party, rose to speak in praise of the proposed pope. Who would have thought that the cardinals, hitherto invariably accustomed to consult their own personal interests in the election of a pope, would agree to choose an absent man, a Netherlander, known to very few, and with whom none could hope to make terms for their private advantage? They suffered themselves to be hurried into this step by the surprise of so unlooked for a proposition. After it was taken, they themselves did not rightly know how they had been led into it. They were half dead with fear, says one of our authorities. It was affirmed that they had for a moment persuaded themselves that he would not accept the office. Pasquin represented the pope as a schoolmaster, and the cardinals as his scholars receiving chastisement at his hands.

It was long since the election had fallen on a man more worthy

* Lettera di Roma a di 19 Zener. in Sanuto. "Medici dubitando de li casi suoi, se la cosa fosse troppo ita in longo, deliberò mettere conclusione et havendo in animo questo c^{le} Dertusense, per esser imperialissimo disse, etc."

† So he calls himself in a letter of the date of 1514, which we find in Caspar Burmannus: *Adrianus VI sive analecta historica de Adriano VI*, p. 443. In original documents belonging to his own country, he is called Master Aryan Florisso of Utrecht. By modern writers he has occasionally been called Boyens, because his father signed himself Floris Boyens; but that also means merely Bodewin's son, and is no family name. See Burmannus in the notes to *Moringi Vita Adriani*, p. 2.

of his high and holy office. Adrian was of a most spotless fame; upright, pious, industrious; of such a gravity that nothing more than a faint smile was ever seen upon his lips, yet full of benevolent, pure intentions; a true minister of religion.* What a contrast, when he entered the city in which Leo had held his prodigal and magnificent court! A letter is extant, in which he says, that he would rather serve God in his priory at Louvaine than be pope.† And in fact he carried the life and habits of a professor into the Vatican. It is a characteristic trait, which we may be permitted to record, that he brought with him an old woman-servant, who continued to provide for the wants of his household as she had been accustomed to do. He changed nothing in his manner of living; rose at earliest dawn, said mass, and then proceeded in his accustomed order to business and to study, which were only interrupted by the simplest meal. It cannot be said that he was a stranger to the taste or culture of his age. He loved Flemish art, and valued erudition the more for being tinged with elegance. Erasmus confesses that Adrian was his only defender against the attacks of fanatical schoolmen.‡ He, however, disapproved the almost pagan tastes and pursuits which were then in fashion at Rome, and of the race of poets he would hear nothing.

No man could more earnestly desire to heal the distempers which he perceived in Christendom than did Adrian VI. (He retained his own name.)

The progress of the Turkish arms, the fall of Belgrade and of Rhodes, made him peculiarly anxious to bring about a peace between the Christian powers. Although he had been the emperor's preceptor he instantly took up a neutral position. When the war broke out afresh, the imperial ambassador, who hoped to induce him to make a decisive declaration in favor of his pupil, was obliged to leave Rome without effecting his purpose.§ When the news of the conquest of Rhodes was read to him, he remained

* *Literæ ex Victoriali directivæ ad Cardinalem de Flisco*, in the 33d volume of Sanuto, where he is described as follows: "Vir est sui tenax, in concedendo pareissimus: in recipiendo nullus aut rarissimus. In sacrificio cotidianus et matutinus est. Quem amet, aut si quem amet, nulli exploratum. Ira non agitur joci non ducitur. Neque ob pontificatum visus est exultasse, quin constat graviter illum ad ejus famam nuntii ingemuisse." In the collection of Burmannus there is an *Itinerarium Adriani* by Ortiz, who accompanied the pope, and was intimately acquainted with him. He asserts, p. 223, that he never remarked anything in him worthy of blame; that he was a mirror of every virtue.

† Florence Oem Wyngaerden: *Vittoria*, 15 Febr. 1522, in Burmannus, p. 398.

‡ Erasmus says of him in one of his letters: "Licet scholasticis disciplinis faveret, satis tamen æquus in bonas literas." Burm. p. 15. Jovius relates with complacency how much the reputation of a "scriptor annalium valde elegans" had done for him with Adrian, particularly as he was no poet.

§ Gradenigo, in his *Relatione*, names the viceroy of Naples. Girolamo Negro, by whom we find some very interesting letters concerning this period in the *Lettere di principi*, V. I, says, p. 109, of John Manuel: "Se parti mezo disperato."

with his eyes fixed on the ground, uttered not a word, but sighed deeply.* The danger of Hungary was imminent; nor was he without fear even for Italy and for Rome. His efforts were all directed towards the bringing about, if not a peace, yet at least a suspension of hostilities for three years, in order meanwhile to prepare a general expedition against the Turks.

Nor was he less resolved to anticipate the demands of Germany. It was impossible to avow more fully and distinctly than he did the abuses which had crept into the church. "We know," said he, in the instructions to the Nuntio Chierogato, whom he sent to the diet, "that for a long time many abominations have existed near the holy see; abuses of spiritual things, excess in the exercise of authority; everything has been turned to evil. From the head the corruption has spread into the members, from the pope to the prelates; we have all gone astray, there is none of us that hath done well, no, not one."

He proceeded to promise all that befitted a good pope; to promote the virtuous and the learned, to eradicate abuses, if not at once, yet by degrees; in short, he gave hopes of that reformation of the head and the members which had been so often demanded.†

But to reform the world is not so light a task. The good intentions of an individual man, stand he never so high, are wholly unequal to it. Abuse strikes too deep a root; it has grown with the growth, it lives with the life, of the body to which it clings.

The fall of Rhodes was far from moving the French to make peace; on the contrary, they saw that this loss would furnish fresh occupation to the emperor, and hence conceived greater projects against him. With the privity of the very cardinal in whom Adrian reposed the greatest trust, they established communications with Sicily, and made an attempt on that island. The pope found himself constrained at length to make a treaty with the emperor which was substantially directed against France.

Nor was it any longer possible to satisfy the Germans with what had been formerly called a reformation of the head and the members. And even such an one—how difficult, how impossible, to achieve!

If the pope wished to suppress the revenues hitherto enjoyed by the Curia, in which he detected an appearance of simony, he could not do so without violating the fairly acquired rights of those whose offices depended on these revenues—offices which they had generally purchased.

If he meditated a change in the dispensations of marriage, and a repeal of certain existing prohibitions, he was met by representations that church discipline would thereby be injured and enfeebled.

In order to check the monstrous abuse of indulgences he was

* Negro, from the relation of the Venetian Secretary, p. 110.

† "Instructio pro te Francisco Chierogato," &c. &c.; amongst other writers, in Rainaldus, vol. xi, p. 363.

very desirous of introducing the old penances: but the Penitentiaria remarked to him that he would thus incur the danger of losing Italy while striving to secure Germany.*

At every step in short he saw himself beset by a thousand difficulties.

These were aggravated by the circumstances of his birth and nation. He found himself in a new element, which he could not master, because he was not acquainted with it, and did not understand the secret springs of its existence. He had been received with joy. People told each other that he had five thousand vacant benefices to give away, and every one was full of hope. Never however did a pope show himself more cautious in the distribution of places. Adrian insisted on knowing for whom he provided, to whom he committed offices. He went to work with scrupulous conscientiousness.† He disappointed innumerable expectations. The first decree of his pontificate suppressed the grants of reversions to spiritual dignities, and even revoked those which had already been granted. By publishing this decree in Rome, he could not fail to draw upon himself a host of the bitterest enmities. Hitherto a certain liberty of speech and of writing had been enjoyed in the court; this he would permit no longer. It was thought intolerable, that he, who spent so little, should lay on new taxes to recruit the exhausted treasury, and to provide for the increasing wants of the state. All his measures were unpopular.‡ He felt this, and it re-acted upon him. He trusted the Italians less than ever. The two Flemings whom he invested with power, Enkefort and Hezius, the one his datarius, the other his secretary, were conversant neither with business nor with the court. It was impossible for him to exercise supervision over them; and as he was constantly occupied with study, and was not very accessible, the whole conduct of affairs was procrastinating, slow, and unskillful.

It thus happened that in circumstances of the greatest general importance, nothing was effected. War broke out afresh in Upper Italy. In Germany, Luther re-appeared in fresh activity. In Rome, which was moreover visited by the plague, a universal discontent possessed the minds of men.

Adrian once said; "Let a man be never so good, how much depends on the times in which he is born!" The whole feeling of his position is expressed in this painful exclamation. It was fitly inscribed on his monument in the German church at Rome.

* In the first book of the *Historia del concilio Tridentino*, by P. Sarpi, ed. 1629, p. 23, there is a good exposition of this state of things, extracted from a diary of Chiericato.

† *Ortiz. Itinerarium*, c. 28, c. 39, particularly worthy of credit, as he says, "cum provisiones et alia hujusmodi testis oculatus inspexerim."

‡ *Lettere di Negro. Capitolo del Berni*:

"E quando un segue il libero costume
Di sfogasri scrivendo e di cantare
Lo minaccia di far buttare in fiume."

It ought at least not to be ascribed solely to the personal character of Adrian, if his times were so barren in results. The papacy was assailed by vast and resistless demands, which would have imposed a task of infinite difficulty on a man far more expert in affairs, far more familiar with men and with expedients, than he was.

Among all the cardinals there was none who appeared more fitted to conduct the administration of the papacy, more able to support the burthen it imposed, than Giulio de' Medici. Under Leo he had had the management of the greater part of public business, and indeed of all the details: even under Adrian he had preserved a certain influence.* He did not suffer the highest dignity a second time to escape him.

The new pope, who took the name of Clement VII, most carefully avoided the errors and abuses which had marked the reigns of his two predecessors; the uncertainty and prodigality, the indecorous habits and manners of Leo; and the conflict maintained by Adrian with the tastes and opinions of his court. Every thing was conducted with prudence, and his own conduct, at least, was marked by blamelessness and moderation.† The pontifical ceremonies were punctually and reverently performed, audiences granted from morning to evening with unwearied patience, science and art encouraged in the career they had now entered upon. Clement VII was himself very well informed. He could converse with the same technical knowledge on mechanics and hydraulics, as on questions of philosophy and theology. He displayed extraordinary acuteness on all subjects; penetrated to the very bottom of the most perplexing circumstances, and was singularly easy and adroit in discourse and argument. Under Leo he had showed himself unsurpassed in prudent counsel and cautious execution.

But it is the storm that proves the skill of the pilot. He undertook the management of the papacy, even if we regard it merely as an Italian principality, at a most critical moment.

The Spaniards had contributed more than any other nation to the aggrandisement and defence of the States of the Church. They had re-established the Medici at Florence, while, on the other hand, their alliance with the popes and with that family had been instrumental to the rise of their own power in Italy. Alexander VI had opened their way to Lower Italy; Julius had introduced them into the centre; the attack on Milan, undertaken in concert with Leo, had made them masters of the north. Clement himself had contributed not a little to their successes. There exists

* *Relazione di Marco Foscarelli*, 1526; it is there said of him with relation to those times: "Stava con grandissima reputation e governava il papato et havia piu zente a la sua audientia cha il papa."

† *Vettori* says, that for a hundred years, there had not been so good a man pope: "non superbo, non simoniaco, non avaro, non libidinoso, sobrio nel victo, parco nel vestire, religioso, devoto."

an instruction from him to one of his ambassadors at the Spanish court, in which he enumerates the services he has rendered to Charles V and his house. He asserts that it was mainly he who prevented Francis I from penetrating to Naples at his first invasion; it was at his persuasion that Leo threw no impediments in the way of the election of Charles V to the imperial throne, and abolished the ancient constitution, according to which no king of Naples could be at the same time emperor; spite of all the promises of the French, he favored Leo's alliance with Charles for the reconquest of Milan, and to bring about this, spared neither the money of his native city and of his friends, nor his own personal exertions: he caused the election of Adrian VI to the papacy, at a time when that election seemed equivalent to throwing it into the hands of the emperor.* I shall not inquire how much of Leo's policy is to be ascribed to the counsellor, and how much to the sovereign; but one thing is certain, that Cardinal de Medici was always on the side of the emperor. Even after he was pope, he assisted the imperial troops with money and provisions, and with grants of ecclesiastical revenues. Once again they were indebted for victory in part to his support.

So strictly was Clement allied to the court of Spain; but, as it not seldom happens, great and extraordinary evils arose out of this alliance.

The popes had caused the growth of the Spanish power, but they had never directly intended this result. They had wrested Milan from France, but they had not designed to give it to Spain. On the contrary, more than one war had been undertaken for the express purpose of preventing Milan and Naples from falling into the hands of the same power.† That the Spaniards, so long masters of Lower Italy, should now daily establish themselves more firmly in Lombardy, that they should postpone the investiture of Sforza, was regarded at Rome with impatience and disgust. Clement was also personally displeased. We see in the above-mentioned instruction, that even as Cardinal, he often thought he was not treated with the consideration he deserved. Little account was taken of his opinion; and it was against his express advice that the attack on Marseilles was undertaken in 1524. His ministers, by their own confession, expected still greater disrespect to the apostolic see. They experienced nothing from the Spaniards but overbearing insolence.‡

How strongly had the course of past events, and his own personal situation, appeared to bind Clement to the cause of Spain in

* *Instruttione al Card. reverend^{mo}. di Farnese, che fu poi Paulo III, quando andò legato all Imperatore Carlo V, dopo il sacco di Roma.* Appendix.

† It is expressly said in that instruction, that the pope had shown himself ready to acquiesce even in what was disagreeable to him: "purchè lo stato di Milano restasse al Duca, al quale effetto si erano fatte tutte le guerre d'Italia."

‡ M. Giberto datario a Don Michele di Silva. *Lettere di principi*, i, 197, b.

the bonds both of necessity and of inclination! But now he found a thousand reasons to curse the power he had helped to establish; to oppose the cause he had hitherto favored and fostered.

Of all political tasks the most difficult perhaps is, to depart from a line on which we have hitherto trodden; to force back the current of consequences which we ourselves have caused.

In the case of Clement this was doubly difficult. The Italians were fully sensible that the decision now taken would affect their fate for centuries. A strong feeling of common interest had arisen throughout the nation. I am persuaded that their vast literary and artistical pre-eminence above all other countries was the main cause of this. The arrogance and rapacity of the Spaniards, as well leaders as common soldiers, were intolerable, and it was with a mixture of scorn and rage that the Italians beheld these half-barbarian strangers, masters in their land. Things were still in such a posture that it appeared possible to get rid of their oppressors; but they must not conceal from themselves, that if they did not undertake the work of self-deliverance with the whole strength of the nation—if they succumbed now—they were lost for ever.

I could have wished to be able to trace the whole course of this period through all its intricate details—to exhibit the entire struggle of the excited powers. But I can only touch on a few of the most momentous points.

The first step, and one which appeared extremely dexterous, was to endeavor to gain over the emperor's best general, who was known to be very discontented. What further could be wanted, if, as they hoped, they could detach from the emperor, together with his general, the army, by means of which he governed Italy? There was no lack of promises—they extended even to a crown. But how false was their reckoning! how utterly was their prudence, with all its conscious astuteness, wrecked on the rugged mass against which it struck! This general, Pescara, was indeed born in Italy, but of Spanish blood; he spoke only Spanish; he would be a Spaniard and nothing else. He had no tincture of Italian art or literature; he owed his whole education to Spanish romances, which breathe nothing but loyalty and fidelity. He was by nature adverse to a national Italian enterprise.* Scarcely had the proposal been made to him, when he communicated it to his comrades and to the emperor. He used it only as a means of discovering all the views, and thwarting all the projects of the Italians.

* Vettori bestows on him the most wretched eulogy in the world. "Era superbo oltre modo, invidioso, ingrato, avaro, venenoso e crudele, senza religione, senza humanità, nato proprio per distruggere l'Italia." Even Morone once said to Guiccardini, that there was not a more faithless, malicious man than Pescara, (*Hist. d'Italia*, xvi, 476,) and nevertheless made him the proposal. I do not bring forward these opinions, as supposing them to be true; they only show that Pescara had evinced nothing but hostility and hatred towards the Italians.

All mutual confidence being now necessarily at an end, a mortal struggle with the emperor was inevitable.

In the summer of 1526, we at length see the Italians put forth their whole strength in the work. The Milanese are already in arms against the imperialists: a Venetian and a papal army are marching to their assistance: they have the promise of aid from Switzerland: they are in alliance with France and England. "This time," says Giberto, the most confidential minister of Clement VII, "it is not a question of petty vengeance, a point of honor, or a single city. This war will decide the deliverance or the eternal slavery of Italy." He had no doubt of a successful issue. "Posterity," says he, "will envy us the times in which we lived, and our share in so great a felicity." He hoped there would be no need of foreign aid. "Ours alone," he adds, "will be the glory, and the fruit will be so much the sweeter."*

With these thoughts and hopes Clement undertook his war against Spain.† It was his most daring and magnanimous, his most disastrous and ruinous project.

The affairs of the church and the state are inextricably interwoven. The pope, however, appeared to have entirely left out of account the agitations of Germany; in these the first re-action manifested itself.

At the moment when the troops of Clement VII marched into Upper Italy, the diet had met at Spires in order to come to a definitive resolution concerning the errors of the church. That the imperial party—that Ferdinand of Austria, who commanded in the emperor's place and who himself entertained views on Milan—should feel any great interest in upholding the papal power on the one side the Alps, while they were vehemently attacked by that power on the other, would have been contrary to the nature of things. Whatever had been the former intentions or professions of the imperial court,‡ all show of respect or amity was put an end to by the open war which had broken out between them. Never did the towns declare themselves more freely; never did the princes press more urgently for redress of their grievances. The proposition was made to burn the books which contained the new ordinances, and to acknowledge no rule but the holy scriptures. Although there was some opposition, yet never was a more independent decision taken. Ferdinand signed a decree of the empire, in virtue of which the states were at liberty to guide themselves in matters of religion, as each could answer it to God and the emperor—that is, to act according to his own judgment: a decision in

* G. M. Giberto al Vescovo di Veruli. *Lettere de principi*, i, p. 192 a.

† Foscarini also says: "Quello fa a presente di voler far lega con Francia, fa per ben suo e d' Italia, non perchè ama Francesi."

‡ The instructions of the emperor, which inspired the protestants with some fear, are dated March, 1526, a time at which the pope had not yet contracted an alliance with France.

which no reference whatever was made to the pope, and which may be regarded as the beginning of the real Reformation, the establishment of a new church in Germany. This decree was immediately adopted in Saxony, Hesse, and the neighboring countries. The protestant party thence gained an immense step—it acquired a legal existence.

We may assert that this state of the public mind of Germany was decisive for Italy also. The Italians, as a body, were far from being inspired by a universal enthusiasm for their great enterprise, and even those who shared in this sentiment were by no means united. The pope, with all his ability, with all his attachment to the cause of Italy, was not the man to turn the current of events—to subdue and enchain fortune. His acuteness sometimes seemed injurious to him. He seemed to be too conscious that he was the weaker; all possibilities, all dangers that could befall, arose before him, embarrassed his judgment and puzzled his will. Some men are endowed with a quick and intuitive perception of the simple, the practicable, or the expedient, in public affairs. He possessed it not.* In the most critical moments he was seen to doubt, to vacillate, and to consider how he could save money.

As his allies did not keep their word with him, the results he hoped for were far from being attained; the imperialists still held out in Lombardy, when, in November, 1526, George Frundsberg crossed the Alps with a formidable troop of Landsknechts, to put an end to this war. They were all Lutherans, both he and his people. They came to avenge the emperor on the pope, whose breach of the alliance they had been taught to consider as the cause of all mischief; of the continual wars which agitated Christendom, and of the success of the Ottomans, who just then conquered Hungary. “If I get to Rome,” said Frundsberg, “I will hang the pope.”

With anxious glance we see the tempest gathering in the horizon and gradually overspreading the whole heavens. Rome, teeming with crime, yet not less fertile in generous studies, in talent and in knowledge; adorned with works of art, such as the world has never again produced—a treasure ennobled by the stamp of genius, and exercising a vital and enduring influence on the world—Rome is threatened with ruin.

As the masses of the imperialists collected, the Italian bands dispersed before them. The only army that still existed followed them from afar. The emperor, who had long ceased to be able to pay his troops, had not power, even if he had inclination, to alter their course. They marched under his banner, but they followed their own tumultuous impulses. The pope still hoped, negotiated,

* Suriano Rel. di 1533, finds in him, “core frigidissimo; el quale fa, la Beat^{te}. S. esser dotata di non vulgar timidità, non diro pusillanimità. Il che pero parmi avere trovato comunemente in la natura fiorentina. Questa timidità causa che S. Sà. è molto irresoluta.”

conceded, determined; but the sole expedient that could save him—to satisfy the cupidity of the army with as much money as they thought they could venture to ask—he would not, or could not adopt. Would he then at least vigorously endeavor to meet the enemy with such arms as he had? Four thousand men would have sufficed to hold the passes of Tuscany, yet not even an attempt was made to defend them. Rome contained perhaps thirty thousand men capable of bearing arms; many of them had seen war; they went about with swords at their sides, fought with one another, and boasted of their high exploits. But to resist an enemy who brought with him certain destruction, not more than five hundred men could ever be collected without the gates of Rome. The pope and his forces were overthrown at the first assault. On the 6th of May, 1527, two hours before sunset, the imperialists entered Rome. Their old leader Frundsberg was no longer with them: a tumult having arisen in which he could not command the wonted obedience, he was struck with apoplexy and left behind ill. Bourbon, who had led the army so far, was killed at the moment the scaling ladders were placed against the walls. Without a leader to check their ferocity or their lust of plunder, the blood-thirsty soldiers, hardened by long privation, and rendered savage by their trade, poured like a torrent over the city. Never did a richer booty fall into the hands of a more terrible army: never was there a more protracted and more ruinous pillage.* The splendor of Rome fills the beginning of the sixteenth century; it marks an astonishing period of development of the human mind—with this day it was extinguished for ever.

The pope, who had aspired to be the deliverer of Italy, thus found himself besieged in the castle of St. Angelo, and as it were a prisoner. The preponderance of the Spanish power in Italy was irrevocably established by this great defeat.

A fresh attack of the French, which promised much at the beginning, entirely failed in the end. They resigned themselves to abandon all their claims to Italy.

Another event occurred of not less importance. Before the conquest of Rome, when it was seen that Bourbon was marching in the direction of that city, the enemies of the Medici at Florence had taken advantage of the confusion of the moment, and had once more driven out the family of the pope. Clement was more affected by the desertion of his native city than even by the capture of Rome. People remarked with surprise that after such grievous injuries he renewed his alliance with the imperialists. He did so, because he saw in the assistance of the Spaniards the only means

* Vettori: "La uccisione non fu molta, perchè rari si uccidono quelli che non si vogliono difendere, ma la preda fu inestimabile in danari contanti, di gioie, d'oro e d'argento lavorato, di vestiti, d'arrazi, paramenti di casa, mercantie d'ogni sorte e di taglie." The pope was not to be blamed for the misfortune; it was owing to the inhabitants: he calls them, "superbi, avari, homicidi, invidiosi, libidinosi e simulatori:" such a population could not sustain itself.

of restoring his kindred and his party to Florence. It appeared to him better to endure the despotism of the emperor, than the insolence of the rebels. The more the fortunes of the French declined, the more he tried to conciliate the Spaniards; and when, at length, the former were entirely routed, he concluded with the latter the treaty of Barcelona. He so completely altered his policy, that he now employed that very army which had devastated Rome before his eyes, and had held himself so long beleaguered and captive, as an instrument for reducing his native city to its former subjection.

From that time Charles was more powerful in Italy than any emperor had been for centuries. The crown with which he was invested at Bologna had once more its full significancy. He gradually reduced Milan and Naples to obedience: in Tuscany he gained direct and permanent influence by the restoration of the Medici to Florence, while the remaining powers of Italy tendered their alliance, or sought a reconciliation. With the combined forces of Spain and of Germany he held Italy in subjection from the Mediterranean to the Alps, by the might of his victorious arms, and by right of his imperial dignity.

Such was the course and such the issue of the wars of Italy.— From that time she has never emancipated herself from foreign sway. Let us now inquire how the religious dissensions, which were so closely connected with the political troubles, developed themselves.

When the pope resigned himself to see the Spaniards wielding the sovereign power all around him, he hoped at least to find his authority in Germany restored by this mighty emperor, who was represented to him as so true and devout a catholic. This is expressly mentioned in an article of the treaty of Barcelona. The emperor promised to lend all his might to the reduction of the protestants, and seemed earnestly bent upon accomplishing it. He returned a most ungracious answer to the protestant delegates who came to him in Italy. During his journey to Germany, in the year 1530, certain members of the Curia, and especially the legate who had been sent to accompany him, Cardinal Campeggi, conceived bold projects, perilous in the highest degree to Germany.

A memorial presented by him to the emperor, at the time of the diet of Augsburg, and containing an exposition of these projects, is still extant. With regret and repugnance, but as a tribute to truth, I must say a few words on it.

Cardinal Campeggi did not content himself with lamenting religious errors, he commented more particularly on their political consequences. He represented, that not only in the imperial cities was the authority and dignity of the nobility lowered by the reformation; not only could no prince, ecclesiastical or even secular, any

longer obtain due obedience; but the majesty of the emperor himself was disregarded. The question was, how the evil was to be met.

The secret of the means he proposed was not very profound. Nothing was requisite, he thought, but that the emperor should conclude a treaty with the well-disposed princes: they should then proceed to work upon the recusants by promises or by threats. If they remained stubborn, what was to be done? The emperor had a right "to extirpate this poisonous plant with fire and sword."* The main thing would be to confiscate their property, secular and ecclesiastical, in Germany, as well as in Hungary and Bohemia; for against heretics this is lawful and right. If the mastery over them were once obtained, holy inquisitors were to be appointed to track out every remnant of them, and proceed against them by the same means as were used against the Moors in Spain. Besides this the university of Wittenberg was to be excommunicated; all those who studied there were to be declared unworthy the favor of pope or emperor; the books of the heretics to be burnt; the monks who had quitted their convents to be sent back to them, and not a single schismatic to be tolerated at any court.

But first a sweeping confiscation was necessary. "Even if your majesty," says the legate, "confines yourself to the leaders of the party, you may extract from them a large sum of money, which is at all events indispensable to carry on the war against the Turks."

Such is the tone of this project;† such are its principles. How does every word breathe of oppression, carnage and plunder! We cannot wonder that Germany expected the worst from an emperor arriving under such guidance, or that the protestants took counsel among themselves, as to the degree of resistance they might lawfully use.

Fortunately, however, the posture of affairs did not justify any fear that such an enterprise would be attempted.

The emperor, as Erasmus demonstrated at the time, was far from being powerful enough to put it in execution.

But had he possessed the power, he would hardly have had the will.

He was by nature rather kind, considerate, and thoughtful, than the contrary; and the nearer he contemplated these heresies, the more did they strike on a chord of his own spirit. Even the tenor of his convocation of the diet runs, that he desired to hear and to weigh the different opinions, and to try to bring them all to one Christian truth. He was far from any thought of violence.

* "Se alcuni ve ne fossero, che dio nol voglia, li quali obstinatamente perseverassero in questa diabolica via, quella (S. M.) potrà mettere la mano al ferro et al foco, et radicitus extirpare questa mala venenosa pianta."

† They ventured to call such a mere sketch, an instruction. "Instructio data Cæsari a reverend^o. Campeggio in dieta Augustana, 1530." I found it in a Roman library, in the hand-writing of the time, and beyond all doubt authentic.

But as there are some who are wont to doubt of the purity of all human motives, we shall adduce a reason to which even they can find no answer:—it was not Charles's interest to use force.

Should he, the emperor, make himself an executor of papal decrees? Should he take upon himself the task of subjugating the enemies of the pope—and not of this pope alone, but of all succeeding ones? precisely those enemies too, who were likely to cause them the most trouble? He was far from having sufficient confidence in the friendship of the papal power to induce him to take such a course.

On the contrary, he had a natural, obvious interest in the actual condition of things; an interest which he needed only to improve, in order to attain to a greater superiority than he even now possessed.

Whether justly or unjustly, I shall not discuss; it was universally admitted that nothing but an ecclesiastical council would have power to remove the enormous errors which had crept into the church. The councils had maintained their popularity precisely because the popes had shown a very natural aversion to them; from that time every fresh act of opposition raised their fame and credit. In the year 1530, Charles determined to take advantage of this state of public opinion. He promised to convene a council within a certain short space of time.

The princes, in their differences with the see of Rome, had long wished for nothing so much as a spiritual check on its domination; Charles was therefore secure of the most powerful allies in a council convened under such circumstances. It was assembled at his instigation, held under his influence, and its decisions were to be carried into execution by him. These would point in opposite directions; they would affect the pope no less than his adversaries; the old idea of a reformation of head and members would be acted upon. What a preponderance must all these circumstances give to the temporal power—above all, to that of the emperor himself! This was then the prudent course; it was perhaps the inevitable one, but it was also in conformity with Charles's highest interests.

Nothing, on the contrary, could be more calculated to excite the alarm of the pope and of his court. I find, that at the first serious report of a council, the price of all saleable offices in the court fell considerably.* This is a strong proof of the danger to the existing order of things which such a measure was thought to threaten.

But Clement VII had also personal causes for apprehension; he was conscious that he was not of legitimate birth; that he had not mounted to the highest dignity by an unsullied path; that he had suf-

* *Lettera anonima all' Arcivescovo Pimpinello (Lettere di principi, iii, 5.)* "Gli ufficii solo con la fama del concilio sono inviliti tanto, che non se ne trovano danari." I see that Pallavicini also quotes this letter, iii, 7, 1; I do not know how he comes to ascribe it to Sanga.

ferred himself to be determined by private interests to employ the resources of the church in a costly war against his country; all things for which a pope might look to be called to a strict account. Clement, says Soriano, avoided as much as possible the very mention of a council.

Although he did not directly reject the proposal, (which indeed for the honor of the holy see he dared not do,) it may be well imagined with what heart he entertained it.

He yielded; he resigned himself to what was inevitable, but he immediately placed in the strongest light the objections; he represented, in the most lively manner, all the difficulties and dangers attendant on a council, and pronounced the results more than dubious.* He then proceeded to make conditions, requiring the co-operation of all other sovereigns and the preliminary subjugation of the protestants; conditions which were indeed quite in accordance with the papal system, but totally irreconcilable with the existing state of public opinion and of political relation. But how could he be expected to co-operate in such a work, at the time fixed by the emperor, not in seeming alone, but with sincerity and firmness? Charles often reproached him with causing all the mischief that afterwards ensued, by these delays. He, doubtless, still hoped to elude the necessity which hovered over him.

But it held him fast in its iron grasp. In the year 1533, Charles returned to Italy, full of what he had seen and projected in Germany, and held a conference with the pope at Bologna. There, orally, and with increased earnestness, he pressed Clement to summon the council which he had so often demanded in writing. Their opinions were thus brought into direct collision. The pope stood fast to his conditions; the emperor represented their impracticability; they could not come to any agreement. In the briefs which are extant concerning this conference, we perceive a certain variation, the pope inclining more to the emperor's opinion in the one than in the other. But be that as it may, he was compelled to proceed to a fresh proclamation.† He could not so entirely blind himself, as to doubt that, at the return of the emperor who was gone to Spain, he would no longer be suffered to rest in mere words; that the storm

* E. g. all' imperatore: di man propria di Papa Clemente. Lettere di Principi, ii, 197. "Al contrario nessun (remedio) è piu pericoloso e per partorir maggiori mali (del concilio) quando non concorrono le debite circostanze."

† We find a good account of the transactions at Bologna in one of the best chapters of Pallavicini, lib. iii, c. xii, drawn from the archives of the Vatican. This difference is there touched upon, and is said to have been based on express negotiation. In fact, in the letter addressed to the catholic states, by Rainaldus x, 659, Hortleder i, xv, we find repeated the condition of a general co-operation; the pope promises to render an account of the issue of his exertions; on the other hand, in the list of points laid before the protestants for their consideration, it is expressly said, article 7, "quod si forsan aliqui principes velint tam pio negotio deesse, nihilominus summus D. n. procedet, cum saniori parte consentiente." It seems, indeed, as if Pallavicini had this difference in his mind, although the account he gives refers to another point of variance.

which he feared, and with which a council under such circumstances unquestionably menaced the see of Rome, would burst upon his head.

It was a situation in which the possessor of power, of whatever kind, might well be excused for embracing any decision by which he might ensure his own safety. The emperor's political power was already overwhelming, and even if the pope resigned himself to this superiority, he could not but often feel to what he was reduced. He was deeply offended that Charles had decided the old differences of the church with Ferrara, in favor of the latter; he acquiesced publicly, but he complained to his friends. How far more grievous was it, then, when this monarch, so far from lending himself to that prompt suppression of the protestants which Clement had hoped at his hands, set up claims (on the plea of the errors and heresies which troubled christendom) to an ecclesiastical authority such as had not been known for centuries, without heeding to what extent he endangered the dignity and influence of the holy see! Could Clement endure to fall completely into his hands, and to abandon himself to his good pleasure? Before he quitted Bologna he took his resolution. Francis I had frequently made overtures of a political and matrimonial alliance with the pope, which Clement had always declined. In the straits to which he now found himself reduced, he entertained them. We are expressly assured that Clement's real motive for giving way to the king of France, was the demand made for a council.* A measure which this pontiff would probably never again have projected for purely political objects, (viz. to restore the balance of the two great powers, and to treat them with equal favor,) he was determined to attempt by a consideration of the dangers with which the church was beset.

Shortly afterwards Clement held another conference with Francis I at Marseilles, where the strictest alliance was agreed upon. Just as in the Florentine troubles the pope had cemented his friendship with the emperor by the marriage of his nephew with the natural daughter of Charles, so he now sealed this alliance which the critical state of the church led him to contract with Francis I, by betrothing his young niece, Catherine of Medici, with the king's second son. Then, he had to fear the French and their indirect influence on Florence; now, the emperor and his intentions with regard to a council.

* Soriano Relatione, 1535. "Il papa andò a Bologna contra sua voglia e quasi sforzato, come di buon logho ho inteso, e fu assai di ciò evidente segno, che S. Sa. consumò di giorni cento in tale viaggio, il quale potea far in sei dì. Considerando dunque Clemente questi tali casi suoi, e per dire così la servitù nella quale egli si trovava per la materia del concilio, la quale Cesare non lasciava di stimolare, cominciò a rendersi piu facile al christianissimo. E quivi si trattò l'andata di Marsilia et insieme la pratica del matrimonio, essendo già la nipote nobile et habile." At an earlier period the pope would have alleged her birth and her age, as a pretext for his evasions.

He no longer endeavored to conceal his object. A letter is extant from him to Ferdinand I, in which he declares that his efforts to bring about a co-operation of all the Christian princes in a council had been unavailing; that king Francis I, to whom he had spoken, held the present time to be ill adapted for such an assemblage, and had refused to entertain the proposal; but that he (the pope) still hoped to see the Christian princes more favorably disposed another time.* I know not how any doubt can be entertained as to the real views of Clement VII. In his last rescript to the catholic princes of Germany, he had repeated the condition of a general co-operation: his declaration of his inability to bring about this union involves, therefore, an unequivocal refusal to give any effect to his professions.† His alliance with France at once inspired him with the courage, and afforded him the pretext for this refusal. I cannot persuade myself that the council would ever have taken place under his reign.

Nor was this the only result of that alliance. Another unexpectedly arose, of vast and permanent importance, especially to Germany. The combination to which it immediately gave birth, in consequence of the intimate blending of ecclesiastical and temporal interests, was most extraordinary. Francis I was then on the best footing with the protestants. By contracting so strict an alliance with the pope, he now, to a certain extent united the protestants and the pope within the same system. And here we perceive in what consisted the political strength of the position which the protestants had taken up. The emperor could not intend to reduce them again to direct subjection to the pope; on the contrary, he made use of their agitation as a means of holding him in check. On the other hand, it gradually became manifest that the pope did not wish to see them entirely at the mercy of the emperor: the connection of Clement VII with them was therefore not wholly unconscious; he hoped to profit by their opposition to the emperor, as a means of furnishing that monarch with fresh occupation. It was remarked at the time, that the king of France made the pope believe that the leading protestant princes were dependent upon him, and held out hopes that he would induce them to abandon the project of a council.‡ But if we do not greatly mistake, his connection with them extended much farther. Shortly after his conference with the pope, Francis I had an interview with the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, the object of which was to restore the Duke

* 20th of March, 1534.—Pallavicini, iii, xvi, 3.

† Soriano. "La Ser^a. V^a, dunque in materia del concilio può esser certissima che dal canto di Clemente fu fuggita con tutti li mezzi e con tutti le vie."

‡ Sarpi: *Historia del concilio Tridentino*, lib. i, p. 68. Soriano does not confirm all that Sarpi relates, but an important part of it. This ambassador says:—"avendo fatto credere a Clemente, che da S. M. Ch^{ma} dipendessero quelli S^{ti}. principallissimi e capi della fattione luterana—si che almeno si fuggisse il concilio." This is all I have ventured to assert.

of Wirtemberg, who had been driven out of his states by the house of Austria. Francis having consented to furnish subsidies, Landgrave Philip proceeded to the execution of the enterprise, which he accomplished with surprising rapidity. The design certainly was that he should advance into the hereditary states of Austria;* and it was universally suspected that the king intended to attack Milan again from the side of Germany.† A still farther view of the matter is disclosed to us by Marino Giustiniano, at that time Venetian ambassador in France. He expressly asserts that this movement in Germany was concerted by Clement and Francis at Marseilles; he adds, that it would certainly not have been foreign to their plan to march their troops upon Italy, and that the pope would have secretly co-operated.‡ It would be somewhat rash to regard this assertion, however confidently made, as an authentic fact; farther proofs are required. But even if we do not attach credit to it, the aspect of things is undoubtedly most remarkable. Who could have imagined it? At the very moment that the pope and the protestants pursued each other with irreconcilable hate, that they waged a religious war which filled the world with animosities, they were nevertheless bound together by common political interests. In the former complexities of Italian affairs, nothing had been so injurious to the pope as that equivocal, crafty policy which he pursued; it now bore him still bitterer fruits in his spiritual jurisdiction.

King Ferdinand, menaced in his hereditary provinces, hastened to conclude the peace of Kadan, in which he abandoned Wirtem-

* In the instructions to his ambassadors in France, dated August 1532, (Rommel Urkundenbuch 61,) he excuses himself for "our not having proceeded to attack the king in his patrimonial estates." ("dass wir nit furtzugen den König in seinen Erblanden anzugreifen.")

† Jovius, *Historiæ sui temporis*, lib. xxxii, p. 129, Paruta *Storia Venez.* p. 389.

‡ *Relatione del clarissimo M. Marino Giustinian el Kr. venuto d'ambasciator al Christianissimo re di Francia del 1535: (Archivio Venez.)* "Francesco fece l' aboccamiento di Marsilia con Clemente nel qual vedendo loro che Cesare stava fermo—*conchiusero il movimento delle armi in Germania*, sotto preteste di voler metter il duca di Virtemberg in casa: nel quale se Iddio non avesse posto la mano con il mezzo di Cesare, il quale all' improvviso e con gran prestezza senza saputa del X^{mo}. con la restitution del ducato di Virtemberg fece la pace, tutte quelle genti venivano in Italia sotto il favor secreto di Clemente." More exact information, I am of opinion, will at some future time be found on this point. Soriano contains besides, 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 provisione alcuna in scrittura." That an Italian expedition was in question, cannot be denied. The pope asserted, that he had declined such a proposal—"non avere bisogno di motto in Italia." The king had told him, he ought to remain quiet,—"con le mani accorte nelle maniche." Probably the French maintained what the Italians denied; so that the ambassador in France is more positive than the one at Rome. If, however, the pope said that he had no need of a movement in Italy, it is easy to see how little the idea of a movement in Germany was thus excluded.

berg to its fate, while he contracted a more intimate alliance with the Landgrave. These were the most fortunate days in the life of Philip of Hesse. The prowess and promptitude with which he had restored to his rights an expelled German prince, rendered him one of the most considerable chiefs of the empire. Nor was this the only important result of his victory; the treaty of Kadan also contained an article of deep and extensive influence on religious differences:—the supreme court (*Kammergericht*) was enjoined to hear no more suits concerning confiscated church-property.

I know not if any other single event contributed so decidedly to establish the ascendancy of the protestant cause in Germany, as this Hessian enterprise. The injunction to the *Kammergericht* involves a legal security for the new party which was of immense importance. Nor was the effect long in manifesting itself. The peace of Kadan may, I think, be regarded as the second great epoch of the rise of the protestant power in Germany. After an interval of less rapid progress, it began anew to spread with astonishing vigor.—Wurtemberg, which had just been conquered, was immediately reformed: the German provinces of Denmark, Pomerania, the march of Brandenburg, the second line of Saxony, one line of Brunswick, and the Palatinate, soon followed. Within the space of a few years the reformation of the church extended over the whole of Lower Germany, and established itself for ever in Upper Germany.

And an enterprise which led to such results, which so incalculably advanced the new schism, was undertaken with the privity, if not with the approbation, of Clement VII!

The papacy was in a thoroughly false and untenable position. Its worldly tendencies had caused a degeneracy which gave rise to innumerable adversaries and dissidents; its adherence to this course, the continued mingling of temporal and spiritual interests—brought about its utter downfall.

The schism of England under Henry VIII was mainly attributable to this cause.

It is well worthy of remark, that Henry VIII, spite of his declared hostility to Luther, and of his strict alliance with the see of Rome, yet on the first difference in affairs purely political, threatened Rome with ecclesiastical innovations. This occurred in the beginning of the year 1525.* Matters were indeed then made up; the king made common cause with the pope against the emperor; and when Clement, imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo, was abandoned by all, Henry found means to send him supplies. Hence Clement had perhaps a greater personal attachment to him than to any other

* Wolsey had said in a threatening letter, “*che ogni provincia doventarà Lutherana;*” an expression which we may well regard as the first symptom of secession from Rome on the part of the English government. (S. Giberto ai nunzii d’Inghilterra: Lettere di principi, i, p. 147.)

prince.* But since that time the king's divorce had been agitated. It cannot be denied that, even in the year 1528, if the pope did not absolutely promise him a more favorable answer to his application for a divorce, he at least allowed him to think it possible, "as soon as ever the Germans and the Spaniards were driven out of Italy."† The very contrary, as we know, ensued. The imperialists now first acquired a firm footing in that country, and we have seen what a close alliance Clement contracted with them; under these altered circumstances he found it impossible to realise a hope which, indeed, he had only slightly glanced at.‡ Scarcely was the peace of Barcelona concluded, when he summoned the suit to Rome. The wife whom Henry wished to divorce was the aunt of the emperor; the marriage had been expressly declared valid by a former pope; how then could the decision be doubtful, when once the affair had come, in the regular course of procedure, before the tribunals of the Curia, at that time under the constant influence of the imperial party? Henry immediately entered on the course which he had already contemplated. In essentials, as regarded the dogmas of the church, he unquestionably was, and he continued, a catholic; but this affair which in Rome was so openly mixed up with political views, excited and exasperated his hostility to the secular power of the papacy. He retaliated every step that Rome set unfavorable to his wishes, by some measure hostile to the Curia: made more and more open and formal renunciation of his allegiance; and when at length in the year 1534, that court gave its definitive sentence, he hesitated no longer, and declared the entire separation of his kingdom from the pope. So weak already were the bonds which united the Roman see and the several national churches, that it required only the will of a sovereign to break them altogether.

These events filled the last year of the life of Clement VII. They were rendered more bitter to him by the consciousness that he was not wholly guiltless of them, and that his misfortunes were lamentably connected with his personal qualities. The course of things

* Contarini, *Relatione di 1530*, asserts this expressly. Soriano, 1533, also says,—“*Anglia, S. Santità ama et era conjunctissimo prima.*” The king's desire to obtain a divorce, he declares without any circumlocution, a “*pazzia.*”

† From the despatches of Dr. Knight, at Orvieto, 1st and 9th Jan. 1528.—*Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.*, p. 218.

‡ The whole situation of affairs is rendered intelligible in the following passage of a letter by the papal secretary Sanga to Campeggi, dated from Viterbo, 2 Sept. 1528, at the moment the Neapolitan undertaking miscarried, (an event mentioned in the letter,) and Campeggi was about going to England.—“*Come vostra Sign. Rev^{ma}. sa, tenendosi N. Signore obligatissimo come fa a quel Seren.^{mo} re, nessuna cosa èsi grande della quale non desidero compiacerli, ma bisogna ancora che sua Beatitudine vedendo l'imperatore vittorioso e sperando in questa vittoria non trovarlo alieno della pace—non si precipiti a dare all' inperatore causa di nuova rottura, la quale leveria in perpetuo ogni speranza di pace: oltre che al certo metteria S. Sà. a fuoco e a totale eccidio tutto il suo stato.—* (Lettere di diversi autori. Venetia, 1556, p. 39.

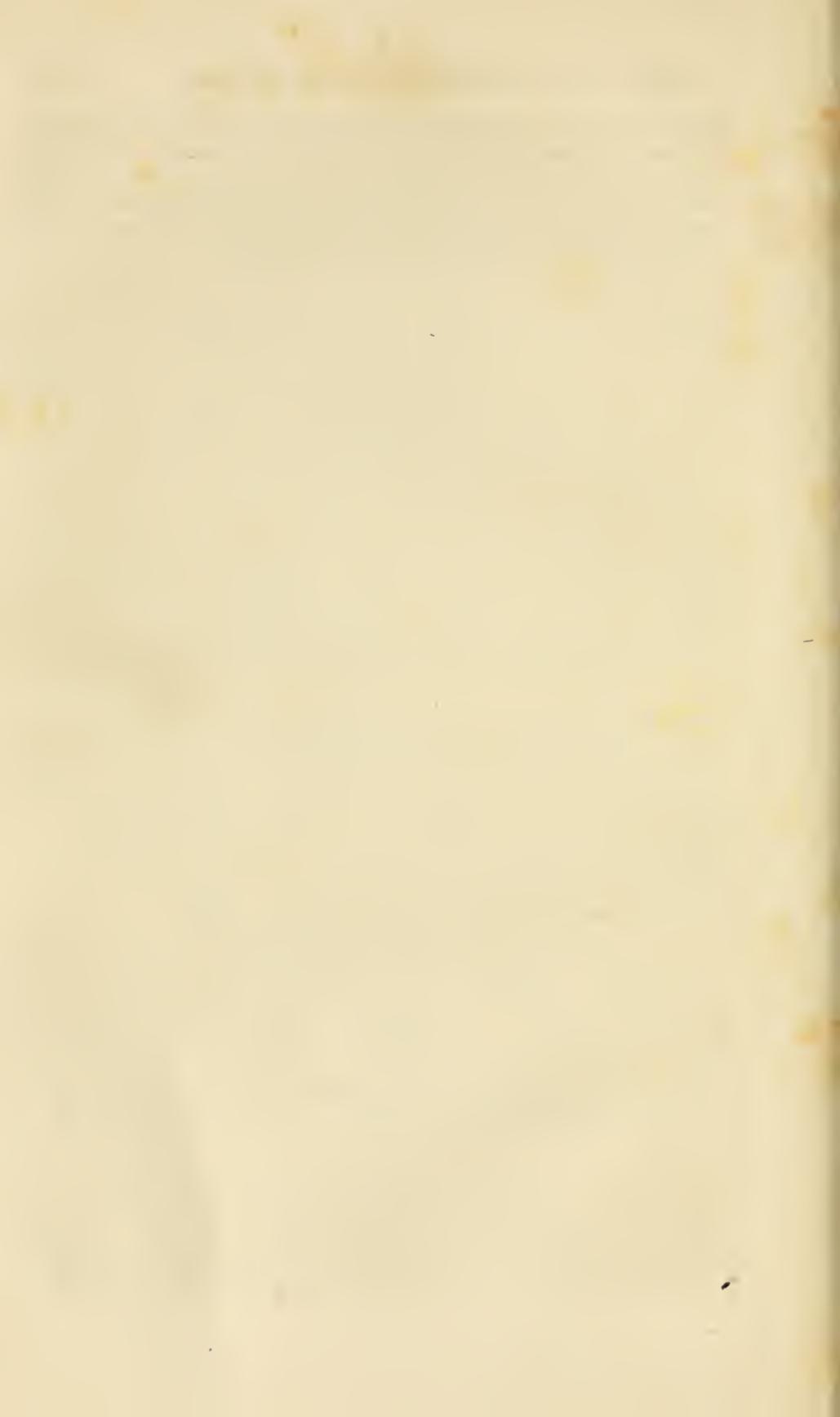
daily assumed a more perilous aspect. Francis I already menaced Italy with a fresh invasion and affirmed that he had received the pope's oral, though not written, approbation of this design. The emperor would no longer be put off with evasions, and pressed more and more urgently for the convocation of a council. Domestic troubles were added: after all the labor it had cost him to reduce Florence to subjection, the pope was condemned to see his two nephews fall out for the sovereignty of that city and proceed to acts of the most furious hostility: the bitter and anxious thoughts which this caused him, the dread of coming events—sorrow and secret torment, says Soriano—brought him to the grave.*

We have called Leo fortunate; Clement was perhaps a better man, at all events more blameless, more active, and even, in details, more acute; but in his whole course of life, active and passive, unfortunate. He was indeed the most ill-starred pope that ever sat upon the throne. He encountered the superiority of the hostile powers which pressed upon him from all sides, with a vacillating policy contingent on the probabilities of the moment, which wrought his entire downfall. He was doomed to see the attempt to build up an independent temporal power, to which his more celebrated predecessors had devoted themselves, lead to the very contrary results. He was obliged to endure that those from whom he tried to wrest Italy altogether, should establish their sovereignty in it for ever.

The great protestant schism unfolded itself with resistless power before his eyes: whatever means he used to stem the torrent served but to contribute to its wider spread. He quitted the throne he had occupied, infinitely sunk in reputation, without either spiritual or temporal authority. Northern Germany, which had ever been so important to the papacy, by whose conversion in earlier times the power of the popes in the West had mainly been established, whose revolt against Henry IV had afforded them such signal service in the complete organisation of the hierarchy, had now risen against them. Germany has the immortal merit of having restored Christianity to a purer form than it had worn since the first ages of the church; of having rediscovered true religion. This was the weapon that made her unconquerable. Her convictions forced a passage into the minds of all her neighbors. Scandinavia had early adopted them. Contrary to the inclinations of the king, but under the shelter of the measures he had adopted, they diffused themselves over England. In Switzerland they achieved, with few modifications, a secure and enduring sway; in France they made

* Soriano.—“L'imperatore non cessava di sollecitar il concilio.—S. M. Christ^{na}. dimandò che da S. S^a. li fussino osservate le promesse essendo le condizioni poste fra loro. Perciò S. S^a. si pose a grandissimo pensiero e fu questo dolore et affanno che lo condusse alla morte. Il dolor fu accresciuto dalle pazzie del cardinal de Medici, il quale allora più che mai intendeva a rinunziare il capello per la concorrenza alle cose di Fiorenza.”

great progress; in Italy, even in Spain, we find traces of them under Clement. The mighty tide rolled on nearer and nearer. There is a power in these opinions which convinces and carries along all minds, and the conflict of spiritual and temporal interests in which the papacy had involved itself, appears to have been exactly calculated to secure to them complete ascendancy.



BOOK II.



CHAPTER I.

BEGINNING OF THE REGENERATION OF CATHOLICISM.

THOUGH public opinion is now more loudly and systematically expressed, and more rapidly communicated than at any former period of the world, its influence is not the growth of to-day. In every age it has constituted an important element of the social life of modern Europe. Who can say whence it arises, or how it is formed? We may regard it as the especial product of that community of interests and feelings which binds together societies; as the clearest expression of their inward movements and revolutions.— It derives its origin and its nutriment from hidden sources, and, requiring little support from reason or from evidence, takes possession of the minds of men by involuntary conviction. Yet its apparent uniformity is in fact confined to the most general outlines; for in the innumerable circles, wide and narrow, of which human society is composed, it reappears under forms the most various and peculiar. New observations and new experiments are constantly flowing into it; original minds are ever arising, which, affected by its course, but not borne along by its stream, react forcibly upon it; and thus it is in a state of incessant flux and metamorphosis. It is sometimes more, sometimes less, in accordance with truth and justice; being rather a tendency of social life and an impulse of the moment, than a fixed system. Frequently it merely accompanies the event which it contributes to produce, and from which it derives its form and its extension; occasionally however, when it encounters a stubborn will which it cannot subdue, it breaks out into violent and unreasonable demands. It must be acknowledged that it has generally a just consciousness of its own defects and necessities; yet from its very nature, it can have no clear and steady perception where lies the remedy, or what are the means of applying it. Hence it happens that, in the course of time, it so often veers completely round. By its aid the papacy was established, by its aid it was overthrown. At the period we are considering it was thoroughly profane; it afterwards became completely spiritual.— We have observed how it inclined to protestantism throughout

Europe; we shall now see, how, through a great part of the continent, it took an opposite direction.

We shall begin by showing how rapidly the doctrines of the protestants made their way even in Italy.

§ 1. OPINIONS CURRENT IN ITALY ANALOGOUS WITH PROTESTANTISM.

Literary associations exercised an incalculable influence on the development of science and art in Italy. They assembled, here around a prince, there around a distinguished man of letters, or even an opulent private person of literary tastes, and sometimes were composed of individuals meeting together on free and equal terms. They were generally most beneficial when they arose spontaneously and without formal plan, out of the immediate exigences of the times. We follow their traces with pleasure.

At the same moment that the spread of protestantism agitated Germany, literary societies assuming a religious color arose in Italy.

Under Leo X, the tone of good society had become sceptical and anti-christian, but a re-action now took place in the minds of some of the most intelligent men—in those who partook of the refinement of their age, without being corrupted by it. It was natural that they should congregate together. The human mind needs, or at least delights in the support of assent; but this sympathy is indispensable in religious opinions, which are based on the profoundest community of sentiment.

Even in Leo's time we find mention of an oratory of Divine Love, which a few distinguished men of Rome had established for their common edification. In the church of Sⁿ. Silvestro and S^a. Dorotea; in the Trastevere, not far from the spot where St. Peter was thought to have lived and to have presided over the first meetings of Christians, they assembled for divine worship, preaching and spiritual exercises. They met to the number of fifty or sixty. Contarini, Sadolet, Giberto, Caraffa, all of whom afterwards became cardinals, Gactano da Thiene who was canonised, Lippomano, a theological writer of great reputation and influence, and some other celebrated men, were amongst them. Giuliano Bathi, the priest of that church, served as centre of the circle.*

* I extract this notice from Caracciolo: Vita di Paolo IV. MS. "Quei pochi huomini da bene ed eruditi prelati che erano in Roma in quel tempo di Leone X vedendo la città di Roma e tutto il resto d'Italia, dove per la vicinanza alla sede apostolica doveva piu fiorire l'osservanza de' riti, essere così maltrattato il culto divino—si unirono in un oratorio chiamato del divino amore circa sessanta di loro, per fare quivi quasi in una torre ogni sforzo per guardare le divine leggi." In the Vita Cajetani Thienæi, (AA. SS. Aug. II.) c. i, 7-10, this is again

It might readily be inferred from the place of these meetings that the tendency of them was far from being contrary to protestantism; they were indeed prompted by a very kindred spirit. They arose from the same strong desire to oppose some resistance to the common degeneracy.

They were composed of men who subsequently exhibited great divergency of views; at that time indeed they concurred in one general tone of thought and feeling, but the distinct tendencies of their minds soon began to show themselves.

A few years later we meet again with a part of this Roman society in Venice.

Rome had been sacked, Florence conquered; Milan had constantly been the theatre of war. In this universal ruin, Venice had remained untouched by the foreigner or the soldier. She was regarded by all as the city of refuge. Thither flocked the dispersed literati of Rome, and the patriots of Florence, against whom the gates of their native city were closed forever. Among the latter particularly, as we learn from the testimony of Nardi the historian, and of Bruccioli the translator of the Bible, there arose a very strong spirit of devotion, in which the influence of the doctrines of Savonarola was still perceptible. Other fugitives, as for example Reginald Pole, who had left England to escape from the innovations of Henry VIII, shared in these sentiments. They found a ready welcome from their Venetian hosts.

At the house of Pietro Benibo in Padua, which was open to all comers, the conversation fell chiefly on philological subjects, such as Ciceronian Latin. But the questions discussed at the house of the learned and sagacious Gregorio Cortese, the abbot of San Giorgio Maggiore at Venice, were of a deeper nature. Bruccioli lays the scene of some of his dialogues in the groves and thickets of San Giorgio.

Not far from Treviso, was a villa called Treville, inhabited by Luigi Priuli.* He was a specimen of the genuine accomplished Venetian, such as we still occasionally meet, full of calm susceptibility to true and noble sentiments and to disinterested friendship. The society that assembled around him was chiefly occupied with theological studies and discourse. There was the Benedictine, Marco of Padua, a man of the profoundest piety, probably he from whom Pole declared he had imbibed spiritual nutriment. There was also he who may be esteemed the chief of all, Gaspar Contarini, of whom Pole said, that he was ignorant of nothing that the human mind could discover by its own research, or that divine

repeated and enlarged upon by Caracciolo, although in the latter place he only reckons fifty members. The *Historia clericorum regularium vulgo Theatinorum*, by Josephus Silos, confirms it in many passages, printed in the *Commentarius prævius* to the *Vita Cajetani*.

* *Epistolæ Reginaldi Poli* ed. Quirini, tom. ii. *Diatriba ad epistolas Schelhornii*, clxxxiii.

grace had revealed; and that he crowned his knowledge with virtue.

If we inquire what was the faith which chiefly inspired these men, we shall find that the main article of it was that same doctrine of justification, which, as preached by Luther, had given rise to the whole protestant movement. Contarini wrote a treatise upon it, of which Pole speaks in the highest praise. "You have brought to light the jewel," says he, "which the church kept half concealed." Pole himself was of opinion that scripture, taken in its profoundest context, preaches nothing but this doctrine. He esteems his friend happy, in that he had been the first to promulgate "this holy, fruitful, indispensable truth."* The circle of friends to whom he attached himself included M. A. Flaminio, who lived for a time with Pole, and whom Contarini wished to take with him to Germany. We see in the following passage how distinctly he taught this doctrine. "The gospel," says he, in one of his letters, "is no other than the blessed tidings, that the only begotten Son of God, clad in our flesh, hath made satisfaction for us to the justice of the Eternal Father. He who believes this, enters into the kingdom of God; he enjoys the universal pardon; from a carnal, he becomes a spiritual creature; from a child of wrath, a child of grace; he lives in a sweet peace of conscience."†

It is hardly possible to use language of more orthodox Lutheranism.

This belief spread, like a literary tendency or opinion, over a great part of Italy.‡

It is, however, remarkable how suddenly the dispute concerning an opinion which had previously excited little attention, called forth the activity of all minds and continued to occupy them for a century. In the sixteenth century the doctrine of justification gave rise to the greatest agitations, divisions, and even revolutions. It seems, indeed, that the tendency of all minds to busy themselves with so transcendental a question—a question regarding the profoundest mysteries of the immediate relation between God and man—arose in contrast to the worldliness which had insinuated itself into the whole institution of the church and had led to a complete oblivion of that relation.

Even in the gay and voluptuous Naples it was agitated by Juan

* *Epistolæ Poli*, tom. iii, p. 57.

† To Theodorina Sauli, 12 Feb., 1542. *Lettere Volgari* (Raccolta del Manzoni) Vinegia, 1553, ii, 43.

‡ Amongst other documents, the letter of Sadolet to Contarini (*Epistola Sadoleti*, lib. ix, p. 365,) concerning his "Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans," is very remarkable. "In quibus commentariis," says Sadolet, "mortis et crucis Christi mysterium totum aperire atque illustrare sum conatus." Still he had not quite satisfied Contarini, with whose opinion also he did not quite concur. He promises, meanwhile, in the new edition, to enter upon a clear explanation of the doctrines of original sin and of grace: "de hoc ipso morbo naturæ nostræ et de reparatione arbitrii nostri a Spiritu Sancto facta."

Valdez, a Spaniard, secretary to the viceroy. The writings of Valdez are unfortunately entirely lost, but we can gather very precise evidence of their nature and contents from the objections of his opponents. About the year 1540, a little book was published called, "Of the benefits of the death of Christ," which, as a decree of the inquisition expresses it, "treated in an insinuating manner of justification, depreciated works and meritorious acts, ascribed all merit to faith alone, and, as this was the very point which was at that time a stumbling-block to many prelates and monks, obtained extraordinary circulation." Frequent researches have been made as to the author of this book. The decree in question distinctly points him out. "It was," we learn, "a monk of San Severino, a pupil of Valdez. Flaminio revised it."* The book is thus attributed to a scholar and a friend of Valdez. It had incredible success, and rendered the doctrine of justification, for a time, popular in Italy. Valdez, however, was not exclusively occupied with theological pursuits, as he then filled an important civil post. He founded no sect; the book was the fruit of a liberal study of Christianity. His friends dwelt with delight on the days they had enjoyed with him at the Chiaja and at Posilippo, in that exquisite region "where nature rejoices in her splendor and smiles at her own beauty." Valdez was gentle, agreeable, and not without considerable reach of mind. "A portion of his soul sufficed," says one of his friends, "to animate his frail, attenuated body; the larger part of his clear, untroubled intellect was ever raised aloft in the contemplation of truth."

Valdez possessed an extraordinary influence over the nobility and the learned men of Naples. The women also took a lively share in speculations which employed both the intellect and the religious affections.

Among them was Vittoria Colonna, who, after the death of her husband, Pescara, devoted herself entirely to study. Her poems, as well as her letters, breathe intuitive moral sense, and unaffected piety. How beautifully does she console a friend for the loss of

* Schelhorn, Gerdesius, and others, have ascribed this book to Aonius Palearius, who says, in a discourse, "hoc anno Tusce scripsi Christi morte quanta commoda allata sint humano generi." The compendium of the inquisitors, which I found in Caracciolo, Vita di Paolo IV, MS., contains, on the other hand, the following expressions: "Quel libro del beneficio di Christo, fu il suo autore un monaco di San Severino in Napoli, discepolo del Valdes, fu revisore di detto libro il Flaminio, fu stampato molte volte, ma particulamente a Modena de mandato Moroni, ingannò molti, perche trattava della giustificazione con dolce modo ma hereticamente." The passage from Palearius does not after all point out the book so distinctly that some other may not as well be meant; Palearius also says that he was called to account for it in the very same year: while, on the contrary, the compendium expresses itself so as to leave no doubt, and adds, "quel libro fu da molti approbato solo in Verona, fu conosciuto e reprobato, dopo molti anni fu posto nell' indice." For these reasons I hold the opinions of the above-mentioned scholars to be erroneous.

her brother, "whose serene spirit had entered into eternal peace; she ought not to lament, since she could now converse with him; his absences, once so frequent, could no longer hinder her being understood by him."* Pole and Contarini were among her most intimate friends. I am not disposed to believe that she addicted herself to spiritual exercises of a monastic sort; at least, Aretino writes to her with great naiveté, "that it was certainly not her opinion that the muteness of the tongue, or the casting down of the eyes, or the coarse garment, availed any thing, but the pure soul."

The house of Colonna generally, and more especially Vespasiano, Duke of Palliano, and his wife, Giulia Gonzaga—the same who was reputed the most beautiful woman of Italy—were favorable to these religious opinions. One of Valdez's books was dedicated to Giulia.

The new doctrine had likewise made its way with extraordinary rapidity among the middle classes. The decree of the inquisition which reckons three thousand schoolmasters as adherents of it, seems like an exaggeration; but supposing the number to be smaller, how great must have been its influence on youth and on the mass of the people!

The acceptance which these opinions found in Modena was scarcely less cordial. They were favored by the bishop himself, Morone, an intimate friend of Pole and Contarini. The book, "Of the benefits of the death of Christ," was printed and distributed at his express command, and his chaplain, Don Girolamo da Modena, was the president of an academy in which the same principles were taught.† Writers have, from time to time, spoken of the protestants of Italy, and we have already mentioned several names which are to be found in the lists of them. It is indisputable that some articles of the faith which pervaded Germany had taken root in the minds of these men; that they sought to establish their creed on the evidence of scripture, and, in the article of justification, approached very near to the Lutheran doctrine. But they cannot be said to have concurred in it on all points; the unity of the church, and the reverence for the pope were too deeply imprinted on their minds, and too many a catholic rite and usage was intimately bound up with the national character, for them to be lightly and suddenly renounced.

Flaminio wrote an exposition of the Psalms, the dogmatic contents of which have been approved by many protestant writers; but even to this he prefixed a dedication in which he called the

* *Lettere Volgari*, i, 92. *Lettere diversi autori*, p. 604. A very useful collection, particularly the first part.

† In Schelhorn's *Amœnitatt. Literar.* tom. xii, p. 564, we find reprinted the *Articuli contra Moronum*, published by Vergerio in 1558, where these accusations do not fail to appear. The more exact notices I took from the compendium of the inquisitors.

pope the Watchman and Prince of all Holiness, the Vicegerent of God upon the earth.

Giovan Battista Tolengo ascribes justification to grace alone; he even speaks of the utility of sin, which is not far removed from the hurtfulness of good works. He disclaims vehemently against confidence in fasts, frequent prayers, masses, and confessions, and even against the priesthood itself, the tonsure, and the mitre.* Nevertheless he died quietly in his sixtieth year, in the same Benedictine convent which had witnessed his vows in his sixteenth.†

The sentiments of Bernardino Ochino were, for a long time, nearly the same. If we believe his own words, it was "a profound longing after the heavenly paradise, to be obtained through divine grace," which first led him to become a Franciscan. His zeal was so sincere and intense that he very soon passed on to the more severe discipline of the capuchins. In the third, and again in the fourth chapter of this order, he was elected its general; an office which he held with the greatest approbation. His life was one of the utmost austerity. He always went on foot, slept upon his cloak, and never drank wine; he most earnestly inculcated the rule of poverty upon others also, as the most efficacious means of attaining to the perfection of the gospel; yet he was gradually convinced of the doctrine of justification through grace, and adopted it with fervor. He preached it with the utmost earnestness in the confessional and in the pulpit. "I opened my heart to him," says Bembo, "as I would to Christ himself; it seemed to me that I had never beheld a holier man." Whole cities thronged to hear his preaching; the churches were too small to contain the numbers that flocked to them; the learned and the ignorant, each sex and every age, went away edified. His coarse clothing, his beard floating upon his breast, his gray hair, his pale emaciated countenance and the feebleness occasioned by his obstinate fasting, gave him the aspect and expression of a saint.‡

And thus opinions analogous to those of the schismatics of Germany existed in the bosom of catholicism, though they never led their adherents to overstep the pale of the church. The Italian innovators did not engage in any direct conflict with the priestly or monastic spirit and practices; they were far from attacking the supremacy of the pope. How was it possible, for example, that Pole should not adhere to it, after fleeing from England that he might not be compelled to pay homage to his king as head of the English church? They thought, as Ottonel Vida, a pupil of Vergerios, declares to his master, that "in the Christian church each had his office; on the bishop devolved the care of the souls in his

* Ad Psalm. 67, f. 246. There is an extract from these explanations to be met with in the "Italia Reformata" of Gerdesius, p. 257—261.

† Thuani Historiæ, ad a. 1559, i, 473.

‡ Boverio: Annali di frati minori Capuccini, i, 375. Gratiani: Vie de Comendone, p. 143.

diocese, whom he was bound to guard from the snares of the world and the evil one; the metropolitan was to watch vigilantly that the bishops resided in their dioceses; the metropolitans, again, were subject to the pope, to whom was committed the universal direction of the church, which it was his duty to govern with the aid of the Holy Ghost. Every man should be watchful in his vocation.”*—The men of whom we are speaking regarded a separation from the church as the greatest possible evil. Isidoro Clario, who, by the aid of protestant labors, corrected the Vulgate and wrote an introduction to it which was subjected to an expurgation, warned the protestants against such a project in a work written expressly with that view. “No corruption,” says he, “can be so great as to justify a defection from the sacred union. Would it not be better that every one should endeavor to reform what exists, than to make uncertain and dangerous experiments in constructing something new? They would do well to turn all their thoughts to the improvement of the old institution and to the cure of its defects.”

Under these modifications, there were a great number of adherents of the new doctrine in Italy. Antonio dei Pagliaricci of Siena, who was even reputed the author of the book “*Of the Benefits of the Death of Christ* ;” Carnesecchi of Florence, who was mentioned as an adherent and propagator of that book; Giovan Battista Rotto of Bologna, who enjoyed the protection of Morone, Pole, and Vittoria Colonna, and found means to give pecuniary assistance to the poor and obscure among his followers; Fra Antonio of Volterra, and some distinguished man in almost every city of Italy, joined themselves to their body.† The opinions which agitated the country from one end to the other, through all classes of society, were purely and decidedly religious; but moderated on the subject of ecclesiastical reform by the influence which the church of Rome was so well calculated to exercise over the imaginations and affections of the Italian people.

* Ottonello, Vida Dot. al Vescovo Vergerio: Lettere Volgari, i, 80.

† The extract from the Compendium of the Inquisitors is our authority on this point. Bologna, it says, “fu in molti pericoli, perchè vi furono heretici principali fra quali fu un Gio. B. Rotto, il quale haveva amicizia et appoggio di persone potentissime, come di Morone, Polo, Marchesa di Pescara, e raccoglieva danari a tutto suo potere, e gli compartiva tra gli heretici occulti e poveri, che stavano in Bologna, abjurò poi nelle mani del padre Salmerone, (the Jesuit,) per ordine del legato di Bologna.” (Compend. fol. 9, c. 94.) In this manner they proceeded with every town.

§ 2. ATTEMPT AT INTERNAL REFORMS AND AT A RECONCILIATION
WITH THE PROTESTANTS.

There is a saying ascribed to Pole, that a man should be satisfied with his own inward convictions, without troubling himself greatly whether errors and abuses exist in the church.* Nevertheless, the first attempt at a reformation originated with a party to which he himself belonged.

The most honorable act of Paul III's life was perhaps the one which marked his accession to the throne; viz: the summoning into the college of cardinals several distinguished men, without regard to anything but their merits. He began with Contarini, the Venetian of whom we have already spoken, and at his suggestion nominated the others. They were men of unblemished manners, renowned for their learning and piety, and acquainted with the spiritual wants of different countries:—Caraffa, who had resided for a long time in Spain and the Netherlands; Sadolet, bishop of Carpentras, in France; Pole, a fugitive from England; Giberto, who, after having long taken part in the management of public affairs, governed his bishopric of Verona with exemplary discretion; Federigo Fregoso, archbishop of Salerno: almost all of them, as we see, members of the Oratory of Divine Love which we have already mentioned, and several of them holding religious opinions inclining to protestantism.†

These were the very cardinals who, by the pope's command, drew up a scheme of church reform. It was known to the protestants, who not only rejected, but ridiculed it; they, indeed, had meanwhile got far beyond it. But it can hardly be denied that it was a most significant fact for the catholic church, that the evil was attacked in Rome itself; that in the immediate presence of a pope, and in the introduction to a work addressed to him, they should accuse popes, "of having frequently chosen servants not with a view to learn from them what their duty required, but in order to have those things declared lawful towards which their desires are turned;" that this abuse of the highest power was declared the chief source of corruption.‡

Nor did the matter rest here. There are some short essays of Gaspar Contarini extant, in which he makes vehement war on abuses, more particularly those which brought gains to the Curia. He denounces the practice of compositions and the receipt of money

* Passages from Atanagi in M'Crie; *The Reformation in Italy*, p. 172. German translation.

† *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. 3.

‡ This is the *Consilium delectorum Cardinalium et aliorum prælatorum de Emendanda Ecclesia*, already mentioned. It bears the signatures of Contarini, Caraffa, Sadolet, Pole, Fregoso, Giberto, Cortese, and Aleander.

in payment of spiritual favors, as simony which might be esteemed a sort of heresy. He had been blamed for censuring former popes: "How?" exclaims he, "shall we trouble ourselves so much about the reputations of two or three popes, and not rather try to restore what has been defaced, and to secure a good name for ourselves? It were indeed too much to require us to defend all the acts of all the popes!" He attacks the abuse of dispensations in an earnest and stringent manner. He regards it as idolatrous to say (as was actually maintained), that the pope had no rule for the enactment or abolition of positive law but his own will. It is worth while to hear him on this point. "The law of Christ," says he, "is a law of liberty, and forbids a slavery so gross that the Lutherans were perfectly justified in comparing it to the Babylonish captivity. But besides this, can that be called a government, whose rule is the will of a man, by nature prone to evil, and moved by innumerable affections? No; all true dominion is a dominion of reason. Its aim is to lead those who are subject to it, by the just and appropriate means to its end—happiness. The authority of the pope also is a dominion of reason. God granted it to Saint Peter and his successors, that they might lead the flock confided to them to eternal blessedness. A pope ought to know that those over whom he exercises it are free men. He ought not to command, or forbid, or dispense, according to his own pleasure, but according to the rule of reason, of the divine commandments and of love; a rule which refers every thing to God and to the common good. For positive laws ought not to be arbitrary and capricious: they ought to be adaptations of the laws of nature and of God to circumstances; nor can they be changed, except in conformity with those laws and the imperious demands of things." "Let your holiness be careful," exclaims he to Paul III, "not to depart from this rule. Give thyself not up to the impotence of the will which chooses what is evil; to the servitude which is the bondage of sin. Then wilt thou be powerful and free; then will the life of the Christian republic be upheld in thee."*

This, as we see, was an attempt to found a papacy guided by pure reason. It was the more remarkable, inasmuch as it proceeded from that same doctrine concerning justification and free will which had served as basis of the protestant schism. This is not a mere surmise, for Contarini expressly says that he entertained those opinions. He goes on to expound that man is prone to evil; that this arises from the impotence of the will, which, when it turns to evil, is rather passive than active; that through the grace of Christ alone it is free. He acknowledges, indeed, the authority of the

* G. Contarini Cardinalis ad Paulum III, P. M. de potestate pontificis in compositionibus. Printed in Roccaberti, Bibliotheca Pontificia Maxima, tom. xiii. I have in my possession a Tractatus de compositionibus datarii Rev^m D. Gasparis Contarini, 1536, which, as far as I can find, has been nowhere printed.

pope, but he requires that it should be exercised in the service of God and the universal good.

Contarini laid his writings before the pope. On a bright and beautiful day of November, 1538, he accompanied him to Ostia. "On the road," he writes to Pole, "this our good old man took me beside him and conversed with me alone on the reform of compositions. He said that he had the little treatise which I wrote on this matter, and that he had read it in his morning hours. I had given up all hope; but now he spoke to me in so Christian a manner, that I have conceived fresh hope that God will do some great thing, and not let the gates of hell prevail against his Holy Spirit."*

It is easy to understand, that a thorough reform of abuses, interwoven with so many rights and claims, with so many of the habits of daily life, was the most difficult that could be undertaken; yet pope Paul seemed gradually to conceive an earnest desire to attempt it.

He therefore appointed commissions for the execution of reforms in the Camera Apostolica, the Ruota, Chancery, and Penitentiaria. He also recalled Giberti to his court. He issued reformatory bulls, and preparations were made for that general council which pope Clement had so greatly dreaded and so constantly sought to avert, and which Paul III, on private grounds, might have found many reasons for avoiding. How, then, men asked themselves, if improvements really took place, if the Roman court reformed itself, if the abuses in administration were removed—how, if that very dogma in which the whole of Luther's system of faith originated, should become the principle of a renewal of life and doctrine in the church—would not a reconciliation be possible? (For, it must be observed, even the protestants severed themselves slowly and reluctantly from the unity of the church.)

To many it seemed possible; not a few founded serious hopes on a religious conference.

According to theory, the pope ought not to have consented to this; since its object was to decide, not without the interference of the secular power, religious differences, of which he claimed the supreme cognisance. And in fact he abstained from signifying his approbation, though he suffered things to go on, and even despatched legates to the council.

He proceeded with great caution; choosing none but moderate men, several of whom indeed subsequently fell under suspicion of protestantism, and furnishing them with wise directions for the government of their lives and their political conduct. When, for example, he sent Morone, who was still young, to Germany, in the

* Gaspar C. Contarinus Reginaldo C. Polo. Ex ostiis Tiberinis, xi, Nov. 1538. (Epp. Poli, ii, 142.)

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

year 1536, he neglected not to enjoin him "to contract no debts, to pay at the places of entertainment appointed him, to dress himself neither luxuriously nor meanly, to frequent the churches, but without the least appearance of hypocrisy." He was to represent in his own person that *Roman* reformation of which so much had been said; and to that end he was recommended to maintain a dignity tempered by suavity and cheerfulness.*

In the year 1540 the bishop of Vienna advised extreme measures. He proposed that the articles of Luther's and Melancthon's doctrine which were declared heretical should be laid before the innovators, and that they should be peremptorily asked whether they would consent to renounce them. This advice, however, the pope, by his nuncio, declined. "We fear," said he, "they would rather die than pronounce such a recantation." He wished he could only see a hope for a reconciliation. At the first gleam of it he would send a formula containing no offensive matter, which had already been drawn up by wise and venerable men with that view. "Were it but come to that!" he adds; "but scarcely can we expect it."†

Yet never did parties approximate more nearly than at the conference of Ratisbon, in the year 1541. The state of politics was remarkably favorable. The emperor, who wanted to employ the whole force of the empire against Turkey or France, wished for nothing more ardently than a complete and general reconciliation. He selected Gropper and Julius Pflug, the most judicious and temperate amongst the German divines, to attend the conference. On the other hand, landgrave Philip was once more on good terms with Austria, by whose influence he hoped to obtain the chief command in the war which was preparing: with admiration and delight the emperor beheld him ride into Ratisbon on his noble charger, powerful and vigorous as himself. The pacific Bucer, the gentle Melancthon, appeared on the protestant side.

How earnestly the pope desired a successful issue of this meeting, is sufficiently shown by the choice of the legate whom he sent: that very Gasper Contarini, whom we have seen so deeply imbued with the new opinions which pervaded Italy, so actively engaged in the project of universal reform. He now appeared in a still more important position; occupying the centre between two creeds and two parties which divided the world: charged at a most favorable crisis with the commission, and actuated by the desire, to reconcile them; a position which renders it, if not necessary, yet allowable, to take a nearer view of his personal character and history.

* *Instructio pro causa fidei et concilii data episcopo Mutinæ.* Oct. 24, 1536, MS.

† *Instructiones pro Rev^{mo}. D. Ep. Mutinensi Apostolico Nuncio interfuturo conventui Germanorum Spiræ, 12 Maji, 1540, celebrando.* "Timendum est atque adeo certo sciendum, ista, quæ in his articulis pie et prudenter continentur, non solum fretos salvo conductu esse eos recusatores, verum etiam ubi mors præsens immineret, illam potius prælecturos."

Messer Gaspar Contarini, the eldest son of a noble house of Venice which traded to the Levant, had devoted himself with peculiar zeal to philosophical studies. His manner of pursuing them is not unworthy of note. He set apart three hours every day for study, in the strict sense of the word: never more nor less. He began every time with an exact repetition of what he had read; whatever he undertook he persevered in to the end; he did nothing in a desultory manner.* He did not suffer himself to be seduced by the subtleties of Aristotle's commentators into similar subtleties; he perceived that none were more acute than those who sought to deceive. He displayed remarkable talent, and still more remarkable steadiness. He did not aim at the ornaments of speech, but expressed himself simply and appositely. The growth and structure of his mind was marked by that regular sequence which we see in the processes of nature. As the tree is clothed each year with its circle of bark, so did his mind acquire its regular portion of compass and solidity.

At an early age he was elected member of the *pregadi*, the senate of his native city, but for some time he ventured not to speak. He wished it, for he had no want of matter to communicate, but he could not find courage. When at length he prevailed upon himself to address the assembly, he spoke neither gracefully, indeed, nor wittily, nor with vehemence and animation, but so simply and profoundly, that he gained the highest respect and consideration.

His lot was cast in the most stirring times. He beheld his country's loss of territory and aided her to regain it. On Charles V's first arrival in Germany, he was sent as ambassador to his court, where he witnessed the beginning of the divisions in the Church. He arrived in Spain just as the ship *Vittoria* returned from the first voyage round the world,† and was, as far as I have been able to find, the first to solve the problem why she arrived a day later than her journal indicated. He aided in bringing about a reconciliation between the pope (to whom he was sent after the conquest of Rome) and the emperor. His little book on the Venetian constitution, a very instructive and well-conceived work, and the reports of his embassies, which are to be found here and there in manuscript, are clear and striking proofs of his accurate, penetrating view of the world, and of his intelligent patriotism.‡

One Sunday of the year 1535, just as the great council was

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

† *Beccatello, Vita del C. Contarini* (Epp. Poli, iii), p. ciii. There is likewise a separate edition, which, however, is only taken from the volume of letters, and contains the same number of pages.

‡ The first is dated 1525, the other 1530. The first contains very important information relating to the earlier times of Charles V. I have found no trace of it either in Vienna or Venice. At Rome I discovered a copy, but have never obtained sight of another.

assembled, and Contarini, who meanwhile had been advanced to the most important offices, sat by the voting urn, the news arrived that pope Paul, whom he did not know—with whom he had no connection—had appointed him cardinal. All flocked round him, surprised, incredulous as he was, to wish him joy. Aluise Moncenigo, who had hitherto been his political opponent, exclaimed, that the republic had lost her best citizen.*

This honorable promotion was not, however, unattended with painful circumstances. Should he leave his free paternal city which offered him her highest dignities, or, at all events, a field of activity in which he might labor on terms of perfect equality with the heads of the state, for the service of a pope, often swayed by passion alone and subject to no legal restraints? Should he abandon the republic of his ancestors, where the manners suited his own, in order to measure himself against others in the luxury and splendor of the court of Rome? We are assured, that the consideration, that in such critical times an example of the contempt of so exalted a dignity would have an injurious effect, mainly determined him to accept it.†

He now directed all the zeal which he had hitherto displayed in the service of his country to the affairs of the church generally.—He was often opposed by the cardinals, who thought it strange, that one just come among them, a Venetian, should attempt to reform the court of Rome. Sometimes even the pope was against him. On one occasion, when he opposed the nomination of a cardinal, “We know,” said the pope, “how people navigate these waters. The cardinals do not love that another should equal them in dignity.” “I do not think,” replied Contarini offended, “that the cardinal’s hat is my highest honor.”

He retained, even in Rome, his severe, simple and industrious habits; the elevation and the mildness of his character.

Nature adorns the simplest plant with the flower in which it breathes out, and by which it communicates, its being; and so in man, the disposition, or character (i. e. the result of the combined powers of his whole organisation) determines his conduct and manners, and even the expression of his person and countenance.

In Contarini this character was mildness, inherent truth, pure morality; above all, that deep religious conviction which gives man happiness because it gives him light.

Endowed with such a character, temperate, almost sharing the views of the protestants on the weightiest point of doctrine, Contarini appeared in Germany. By a regeneration of the doctrine of the church emanating from this very point, and by the removal of abuses, he hoped to heal the divisions of Christendom.

Whether, however, they were not already too wide—whether,

* Daniel Barbaro to Domenico Veniero; *Lettere Volgari*, i, 73.

† Casa, p. 102.

the diverging opinions had not already struck too deep and strong root—are questions upon which I should be loath to decide.

Another Venetian, Marino Giustiniano, who quitted Germany shortly before this diet, and who appears to have attentively observed the state of things, represents it as very possible that this was the case * He, however, regards some concessions as indispensable, and specifies the following:—That the pope should no longer claim to be considered Christ's vicegerent in temporal as well as in spiritual things; that in place of ignorant and vicious bishops and priests, substitutes should be appointed, irreproachable in their lives, and capable of instructing the people; that neither the sale of masses, nor plurality of livings, nor the abuse of compositions should any longer be tolerated; that the transgression of the rules of fasting should be visited, at most, with light punishments; if, added to these reforms, the communion in the two kinds and the marriage of priests were conceded, the Germans would, he thinks, immediately abjure their schism, would pay obedience to the pope in spiritual things, would give up their opposition to the mass and auricular confession, and acknowledge the necessity of good works as a fruit of faith—so far, that is, as they proceed from faith. As the existence of abuses had given birth to schism, a removal of them might put an end to it.

We ought also here to remember, that landgrave Philip of Hesse, had declared the year before that the temporal power of the bishops might be tolerated, provided means could be found to secure the due administration of the spiritual power; that an agreement might be come to respecting the mass, provided only the sacrament in both kinds was conceded.† Joachim of Brandenburg declared himself willing to acknowledge the pope's supremacy, doubtless under certain conditions.

Meanwhile, advances were made from the other side also. The imperial ambassador repeatedly said, that concessions must be made on both sides, as far as was consistent with God's honor. Even those who did not protest would have gladly seen the spiritual power taken, throughout Germany, from the bishops, who were become to all intents princes, and vested in superintendents, and a general change in the administration of church property agreed upon. People already began to talk of indifferent things which might be either done or omitted; even in the ecclesiastical electo-

* *Relazione del Clar^{mo}. M. Marino Giustinian Kav^r. (ritornato) dalla legazione di Germania sotto Ferdinando, re di Romani. Bibl. Corsini at Rome, No. 481.*

† Letter from the landgrave in Rommel's *Urkundenbuche*, p. 85. Compare the letter of the bishop of Lunden in Seckendorf, p. 299. Contarini al C^l. Farnese, 1541, 28 April (Epp. Poli III, p. cclv.) The landgrave and the elector both insisted upon the marriage of the clergy, and the administration of the sacrament, in the two kinds; the former raised the most difficulties with regard to the primacy, the latter with regard to the doctrine, "de missa quod sit sacrificium."

rates prayers were put up by authority for the successful issue of the work of reconciliation.

We will not dispute about the degree of the possibility or probability of this success; it was, at all events, extremely difficult; but if there were the slightest prospect of it, it was worth the attempt. Thus much at least is clear—that a strong desire for it had again taken possession of the minds of men—that extraordinary hopes were attached to it.

The doubt was, however, whether the pope, without whom nothing could be done, was disposed to abate any thing of the rigor of his demands. On this point, a passage in his instructions to Contarini is very remarkable.*

He did not invest that prelate with those unlimited powers which the emperor had desired. He conjectured that demands might arise in Germany which no legate, which not even the pope himself, could venture to comply with without the advice of other nations. He did not however decline all negotiation. "We must first see," says he, "whether the protestants will agree with us on certain principles; *e. g.*, on the supremacy of the holy see, on the sacraments, and some other points." If we inquire what these other points were, we find that the pope does not express himself distinctly about them. He describes them as "what is sanctioned both by the holy scripture and by the perpetual usages of the church; the legate knows what they are." "On this basis," he adds, "an attempt may be made to come to a mutual understanding on all disputed questions."†

There can be no doubt that this vague language was used designedly. Paul III probably wished to try to what point Contarini could bring affairs, and had no mind to bind himself beforehand to a ratification of his proposals. He left the legate a certain latitude. Without doubt it would have cost Contarini fresh efforts to render acceptable to the obstinate Curia concessions which, though perhaps obtained with difficulty at Ratisbon, could not possibly be satisfactory at Rome. But everything depended, in the first place, on a reconciliation and union of the assembled divines. The mediating power was far too weak and vacillating; as yet it had hardly a

* *Instructio data Rev^{mo}. Cli. Contareno in Germaniam legato, d. 28 mensis Januarii, 1541.* In many libraries in manuscript; printed in Quirini; Epp. Poli, III, cclxxxvi.

† "Videndum imprimis est, an protestantes et ii qui ab ecclesiæ gremio defecerunt, in principiis nobiscum convenient, eujusmodi est hujus sanctæ sedis primatus, tanquam a Deo et Salvatore nostro institutus, sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ sacramenta et alia quædam, quæ tum sacrarum litterarum autoritate, tum universalis ecclesiæ perpetua observatione hactenus observata et comprobata fuere et tibi nota esse bene scimus, quibus statim initio admissis omnis super aliis controversiis concordia tentaretur." It is necessary in all this to keep constantly in view the position of the pope, which was orthodox in the extreme, and from its very nature unyielding. This alone will enable us to perceive how much lay in such a turn of affairs.

name, nor could it hope to obtain any valid influence until it could assume a firm station.

On the 5th of April, 1541, the negotiation opened; the basis of it being a project which had been communicated to the emperor, and approved, after some slight alterations, by Contarini. Even here, at the very outset, the legate held it advisable to depart a step from his instructions. The pope had required, in the first place, the acknowledgment of his supremacy. Contarini saw clearly that the whole enterprise might be wrecked at its very commencement on this obstacle, by which the passions of the assembly were so likely to be aroused. He therefore allowed the article on the supremacy of the pope to be the last presented for discussion, instead of the first. He thought it better to begin with those in which he and his friends approximated to the protestants, and which were also points of the highest importance relating to the grounds of faith. He took the principal part in the discussions upon them. His secretary affirms, that nothing was determined by the catholic divines, that even no specific alteration was attempted, until it had been submitted to him.* Monroe, bishop of Modena, and Tomasso da Modena, the master of the sacred palace, who held the same opinion on the article of justification, were his supporters.† A German divine, Dr. Eck, the old opponent of Luther, threw the greatest difficulties in the way; but by compelling him to discuss it point by point, he too was at length brought to a satisfactory explanation. In a short time the whole assembly actually came to an agreement (who would have ventured to hope it?) on the four important articles, of the nature of man, original sin, redemption, and even justification. Contarini admitted the cardinal point of the Lutheran doctrine—that the justification of man was accomplished by faith alone, without merit; he only added that this faith must be living and active. Melancthon declared that this was in fact the protestant faith itself;‡ Bucer boldly affirmed that in the articles agreed upon, everything was included necessary to a pious, upright, and holy life before God and towards man;§ equal satisfaction was expressed on the other side. The bishop of Aquila calls this conference holy; he doubts not that it will bring about the reconciliation of Christendom. Contarini's friends, who sympathised in his opinions, heard with joy what progress he had made towards this end. "When I observed this unanimity of opinion," writes Pole to him, "I felt a delight such as no harmony of

* Beccatelli, Vita del Cardinal Contarini, p. cxvii.

† Pallavicini, iv, xiv, p. 433, from Contarini's letters.

‡ Melancthon to Camerar, 10^h May, (Epp. p. 360:) "adsentiuntur justificari homines fide et quidem in eam sententiam ut nos docemus." Compare Planck. Gesch. d. protest. Lehrbegriffs, iii, ii, 93.

§ All the negotiations and writings for the reconciliation of the religious parties, executed by his imperial majesty, A.D. 1541, by Martin Bucer, in Hortleder, Book I, chap. 37, page 280.

sounds could have inspired me with; not only because I see the approach of peace and concord, but because these articles are the foundation of the whole Christian faith. They appear, it is true, to treat of divers things, of faith, works, and justification; upon the latter, however—justification—all the rest are grounded; and I wish you joy, and thank God, that the divines of both parties have agreed upon that. We hope that He who hath begun so mercifully will complete his work.”*

This, if I mistake not, was a most eventful crisis for Germany, and indeed for the world. To the former, the points which we have touched upon included the project of altering the entire ecclesiastical constitution of the nation, and of giving it, with relation to the pope, a freer and more independent position, beyond the reach of his temporal encroachments. The unity of the church, and with it that of the nation, would have been preserved; but other far more extensive and lasting consequences would have resulted. If the moderate party, with which this attempt originated, and by which it was conducted, had been able to maintain its superiority in Rome and Italy, what an entirely different aspect would the catholic world necessarily have assumed!

So remarkable a result, however, could not be attained without a vehement struggle. What was determined upon in Ratisbon, had to be confirmed on the one side by the approbation of the pope, on the other, by the consent of Luther, to whom an express embassy was sent. But many difficulties already presented themselves. Luther could not persuade himself that the doctrine of justification had taken root among the catholics. He regarded, and with justice, his old opponent as incorrigible, and he knew him to have taken an active share in these deliberations. Luther saw nothing in the articles agreed upon but a patchwork combination of both creeds; and as he always imagined himself involved in a combat between heaven and hell, he thought that here too he detected the wiles and works of Satan. He most urgently dissuaded his master, the elector, from attending the diet in person,—“He was the very man the devil was in search of.”† And it was true that much depended on the presence and the consent of the elector.

Meanwhile, these articles had also arrived at Rome where they excited extraordinary attention. The declaration concerning justification, especially, was regarded with great antipathy by cardinals Caraffa and San Marcello, and it was with considerable trouble

* Polus Contareno. Capranicæ, 17th May, 1541. Epp. Poli, i, iii, p. 25. The letters in Rainaldus, 1541, No. 11, 12, by this bishop of Aquila, are also remarkable. It was thought that if they could once come to a conclusion on the point of the Lord's supper, every other difficulty would easily be got over. “Id unum est quod omnibus spem maximam facit, assertio Cæsaris se nullo pacto nisi rebus bene compositis discessurum, atque etiam quod omnia scitu consiliisque rev^{mi}. legati in colloquio a nostris theologis tractantur et disputantur.”

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

that Priuli could make the meaning of it clear to them.* The pope did not express himself so decidedly about it as Luther. Cardinal Farnese sent word to the legates, "his holiness neither approves nor disapproves the conclusion you have come to. But all others who have seen it are of opinion, that if the meaning of it be in conformity with the catholic faith, the words might be more clear and precise."

But however violent might be this theological opposition, it was neither the only one nor perhaps the most effective. Another arose from political causes.

A reconciliation, such as was intended, would have given to Germany an unwonted unity, and to the emperor, who might have turned this to account, an extraordinary accession of power.† As head of the moderate party, he would of necessity have acquired the highest consideration throughout Europe, especially whenever a council was convened. Against such a state of things all the usual hostilities naturally arose.

Francis I thought himself directly menaced, and neglected no means of preventing the union. He remonstrated vehemently against the concessions which the legate had made at Ratisbon.‡ He complained that "his conduct disheartened the good and raised the hopes of the bad; that out of obsequiousness to the wishes of the emperor he had let things go so far that they were become irremediable. The advice of other princes ought to have been asked." He affected to think the pope and the church in danger. He promised to defend them with his life—with all the resources of his kingdom.

And already other scruples besides the theological ones we have mentioned had begun to strike root in Rome. It was remarked, that at the opening of the diet, when the emperor announced a general council, he did not add, that the pope alone had power to summon it. People thought they perceived indications of his laying

* I cannot pardon Quirini for not having given entire Priuli's letter concerning these transactions, which he had in his hands.

† There always existed an imperial party, which defended this tendency. In this lies the whole secret, among other things, of the negotiations of the archbishop of Lund. He had represented to the emperor: "che se S. M. vrollesse tollerare che i Lutherani stessero nelli loro errori, disponeva a modo e voler suo di tutta la Germania." Instruzione di Paolo iii, a Montepulciano, 1539. At that time the emperor also wished for toleration.

‡ He spoke about it with the papal ambassadors at his court; il C. di Mantova al C. Contarini, in Quirini iii, cclxxviii; Loces 17 Maggio 1541: "S. M^a. Ch^{ma}. diviniva ogni di più ardente nelle cose della chiesa, le quali era risoluto di voler difendere e sostenere con tutte le sforze sue e con la vita sua e de' figliuoli, giurandomi che da questo si moveva principalmente a far questo officio." Granvella had, on the other hand, different instructions: "M'affermò," says Contarini, in a letter to Farnese, *ibid.* cclv, "con giuramento, havere in mano lettere del Re Christ^{mo}., il quale scrive a questi principi protestanti, che non si accordino in alcun modo, e che lui aveva voluto veder l'opinioni loro, le quali non li spiacevano." According to this, Francis I would have hindered the reconciliation on both sides.

claim to this right himself; they even affected to detect a passage aiming that way in the old articles concluded with Clement VII. at Barcelona. And did not the protestants constantly assert that it rested with the emperor to convene a council? How easily might he be led to agree with them, where his interest so obviously coincided with their doctrine!* Here then lay the greatest danger of a rupture.

Germany too was astir. Giustiniano affirms that the power which the landgrave had acquired by placing himself at the head of the protestant party, inspired others with the thought of gaining a similar influence by taking the lead of the catholics. A member of this diet informs us that the dukes of Bavaria were disinclined to all accommodation. The elector of Mentz also was decidedly hostile to it. He warned the pope, in a private letter, against a national council, nay, against any council held in Germany, where "too much must be conceded.†" Other documents addressed to the pope are in existence, in which other German catholics lament over the progress which protestantism is making at the diet, the concessions of Gropper and Pflug, and the absence of the catholic princes from the conference.‡

In short, there arose in Rome, France and Germany, among the enemies of Charles V, among those who were, either in truth or in seeming, the most zealous catholics, a violent opposition to his schemes of conciliation. In Rome an unwonted intimacy was observed between the pope and the French ambassador; it was said that Clement intended to give his grand-niece, Vittoria Farnese, in marriage to a Guise.

It was impossible that these agitations should not have a strong effect on the clergy. Eck, however, remained in Bavaria. "The enemies of the emperor," says Contarini's secretary, "in and out of Germany, who feared his greatness, inasmuch as he would have united all Germany, began to sow tares among the clergy of the empire. Carnal envy broke up this conference."§ When such were the difficulties which attended the entire project, it is no wonder if men could no longer agree on any single article.

It is an exaggeration to ascribe the blame of this exclusively, or even mainly, to the protestants. In a short time the pope announced

* Ardinghello, al nome del C^l. Farnese al C^l. Contarini, 29 Maggio, 1541.

† *Literæ Cardinalis Moguntini in Rainaldus*, 1541, n. 27.

‡ Anonymous, also in *Rainaldus*, No. 25. From which side they came, is easy to see from the fact, that Eck is thus spoken of: "Unus duntaxat peritus theologus adhibitus est." They are full of insinuations against the emperor. "Nihil," it is there said, "ordinabitur pro robore ecclesie, quia timetur illi (Cæsari) displicere."

§ *Beccatelli Vita*, p. exix. "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, ch'ella sua grandezza temevano, quando tutti gli Alemanni fussero stati uniti, cominciavano a seminare zizania tra quelli theologi collocatori."

to the legate his positive will, that he should, neither in his public nor private capacity, approve any decision in which the catholic belief was expressed otherwise than in words which left no room for ambiguity. The formula in which Contarini had thought to unite the different opinions concerning the supremacy of the pope and the authority of councils, was absolutely rejected at Rome.* The legate was obliged to submit to make explanations which appeared inconsistent with his former professions.

That something might be effected, the emperor wished at least that the formulæ which had been constructed should be adopted until further proceedings, in regard to those articles which had been agreed upon; and that, in regard to the rest, each side should consent to tolerate the differences of the other. But neither Luther nor the pope could be moved to acquiesce in this arrangement. The cardinal was instructed, that the sacred college had unanimously determined, on no condition to consent to tolerance on such important articles.

After such high hopes, after so prosperous a beginning, Contarini returned, having accomplished nothing. He wished to accompany the emperor to the Netherlands, but this was forbidden him. In Italy he was condemned to hear the calumnies which were disseminated from Rome over the whole country, concerning the concessions which it was pretended he had made to the protestants. He was too high-minded not to feel all the bitterness of a failure in such grand and comprehensive projects. How noble, how liberal was the position which the moderate catholic faith had assumed in his person! But as it had not succeeded in accomplishing its designs for the reformation and pacification of the world, it became a question whether it could maintain its own existence.

It is a necessary condition of every great and important tendency of human opinion, that it should be strong enough to establish its authority and achieve its triumph. It must predominate or perish.

§ 3. NEW RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

Meanwhile another tendency of the age had begun to manifest itself, nearly akin in its origin to that we have just described, but diverging more and more widely from it as it advanced on its course. This, too, had reform for its object, yet it was directly opposed to protestantism.

When Luther rejected the entire principle and scheme of the priesthood, as it had hitherto existed, a counter movement arose in Italy for the purpose of restoring this principle to its original signi-

* Ardinghella a Contarini. Idem, p. ccxxiv.

ficiency, and giving it new power in the church by enforcing a more rigid adherence to it.

Both sides were conscious of the depravation of ecclesiastical institutions.

But whilst in Germany men were contented with nothing less than the dissolution of monastic bodies, in Italy they sought to regenerate them; whilst the clergy there emancipated themselves from many of the bonds which they had hitherto borne, here, the grand aim was to give to the body a stricter constitution. On this side the Alps men struck into an entirely new path; on the other, they repeated an experiment which had been tried from time to time for centuries: for from earliest ages ecclesiastical institutions had followed after the corruptions of the world, and then again, not unfrequently, had recollected their origin and retraced their steps. Even in their day the Carlovingians had found it necessary to enforce the rule of Chrodegang, which bound the clergy to community of life and to voluntary subordination. The simple rule of Benedict of Nursia, did not long suffice for the maintenance of order even in the religious houses. During the tenth and eleventh centuries the necessity of a return to the purity and strictness of primitive Christianity gave rise to numerous small and secluded congregations with peculiar rules, after the example of Chuny.—This immediately re-acted upon the secular clergy. The introduction of celibacy had, as we have already remarked, nearly the effect of subjecting the whole body to the rule of a monastic order. Nevertheless, and in spite of the great religious impulse which the crusades had given to all the nations of Europe—an impulse so strong that nobles and knights gave to the profession of arms the forms of monastic rules—all these institutions had fallen into utter decay, when the mendicant orders arose. At their commencement they unquestionably tended to bring back the primitive simplicity and severity of the church. But we have seen how even they gradually became more worldly and licentious—how one of the most striking phases of the corruption of the church was exhibited in them.

As early as from the year 1520, and thenceforward with ever-increasing strength, the wider was the spread of protestantism in Germany, the more were those countries where it had not yet penetrated agitated by a feeling of the necessity of the reformation of the hierarchical institutions. This manifested itself in the orders themselves—sometimes in one, sometimes in another.

Spite of the extreme seclusion of the order of Camaldoli, Paolo Giustiniani found it tainted with the common corruption. In the year 1522 he founded a new congregation of the same order, called from the mountain on which their chief establishment was situated, Monte Corona.* Giustiniani held three things essential to the

* The foundation may reasonably be dated from the drawing up of the rules,

attainment of spiritual perfection—solitude, vows, and the separation of the monks into distinct cells. In one of his letters he mentions with peculiar satisfaction those little cells and oratories which we still find perched on the tops of mountains, in the midst of those sublime and enchanting wilds which invite the soul at once to lofty aspirations and to deep repose.* The reforms introduced by these hermits spread themselves over the whole world.

Among the Franciscans, perhaps the most profoundly corrupted of all the orders, a new reform was attempted, in addition to the many which had already been tried. The capuchins aimed at restoring the regulations of the first founder; the midnight service, the prayer at certain appointed hours, the discipline and the silence—in short the whole austere rule of life of the original institution. We cannot avoid smiling at the importance they attached to trifles; but we must also acknowledge, that when occasion demanded, for example during the plague of 1528, they behaved with admirable courage.

Meanwhile little was effected by a reform of the orders alone, since the secular clergy were so entirely estranged from their vocation. If a reformation was really to be efficient, it must reach them likewise.

Here again we encounter members of that Roman oratory so often mentioned. Two of them, men, as it appears, of characters in all other respects entirely opposite, undertook to prepare the way for this great change. The one, Gaetano da Thiene, peaceful, retiring, mild, of few words, given to the raptures of religious enthusiasm; of whom it was said, that he wished to reform the world, but without having it known that he was in the world;† the other, Giannipetro Caraffa, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more at length, violent, turbulent, a fierce zealot. But Caraffa had discovered, as he confessed; that the more he had followed after his desires, the more his heart had been oppressed; that it could find rest only when it quitted itself for God, when it communed with heavenly things. They felt, therefore, in common, the want of seclusion (a want which in the one was the result of natural disposition, in the other, of unsatisfied longings and aspirations) and the inclination to spiritual activity. Persuaded of the necessity of a reform, they united themselves to an institution called the order of

after Masacio was ceded to the new congregation, in 1522. Basciano, the successor of Giustiniani, was the founder of Monte Corona. Helyot: *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, v, p. 271.

* Lettera del b. Giustiniano al Vescovo Teatino, in Bromato, *Storia di Paolo iv*, lib. iii, § 19.

† Caracciolus: *Vita S. Cajetani Thienæi*, c. ix, 101. "In conversatione humilis, mansuetus, modestus, pauci sermonis,—meminique me illum sæpe vidisse inter precandum lacrymantem." He is very well described in the testimony of a pious society at Vicenza, which is also to be found in the same author, c. i, No. 12.

the Theatins, the objects of which were contemplation, and at the same time the reformation of the clergy.*

Gaetano belonged to the *Protonari partecipanti*; he gave up this benefice. Caraffa possessed the bishopric of Chieti and the archbishopric of Brindisi; he renounced them both.† On the 14th of September, 1524, they, and two intimate friends, who had also been members of the oratory, solemnly took the three vows;‡—the vow of poverty, with the special addition, not only to possess nothing, but to avoid begging, and to await the alms that might be brought to their house. After a short residence in the town, they occupied a small house on Monte Riccio, near the Vigna Capisuechi, which was afterwards converted into the Villa Medici. Here, though within the walls of Rome, there reigned at that time a profound solitude; here they passed their lives in the poverty which they had prescribed to themselves, in spiritual exercises and in a study of the gospels, the plan of which was exactly laid down and repeated every month. They afterwards went down into the city to preach.

They did not call themselves monks, but regular clergy. They were priests, with monks' vows. Their aim was to establish a kind of seminary for priests; the charter of their foundation expressly permitting them to admit the secular clergy. They did not originally prescribe to themselves any precise form and color of vestments, but left them to be determined by the usages of the clergy of each country. They likewise permitted the services of the church to be performed every where according to the customs of the country. They thus emancipated themselves from many things which fettered the monks; expressly declaring that, neither in habits of life, nor in the performance of divine service, ought any usage whatsoever to be binding on the conscience.§ On the other hand, they devoted themselves to the clerical duties of preaching, the administration of the sacraments, and the care of the sick.

Then was seen again what had long fallen into disuse in Italy; priests appeared with the cap, the cross and the clerical gown in

* Caracciolus, c. 2, § 19, declares their intention: "clericis, quos ingenti populorum exitio improbitas inscitique corrupissent, clericos alios debere suffici, quorum opera damnum quod illi per pravum exemplum intulissent sanaretur."

† In a letter by the Pope's Datarius, 22d Sept. 1524 (Lettere di Principi, i, 125), we see, on good authority, that the pope refused for a long time to accept the renunciation (non volendo privare quelle chiese di così buon pastore.) He yielded at last only to the reiterated and pressing entreaties of Caraffa.

‡ We find the documents relating to this subject in the *Commentarius prævius*. AA. SS. Aug. II. 249.

§ Rule of the Theatins in Bromato: Vita di Paulo IV, lib. iii, § 25. "Nessuna consuetudine, nessun modo di vivere, o rito che sia, tanto di quelle cose, che spettano al culto divino, e in qualunque modo fannosi in chiesa, quanto di quelle, che pel viver commune in casa, o fuori da noi, si sogliono praticare, non permettiamo in veruna maniera, che acquistino vigore di precetto."

the pulpit, shortly after in the oratory, and frequently in the form of missions, in the streets. Caraffa himself preached, and poured forth that copious and vehement eloquence which distinguished him till his death. He and his associates, most of them men of noble birth who might have revelled in the enjoyments of life, began to seek out the sick in their habitations and in hospitals, and to administer the last consolations to the dying.

This return to the performance of the clerical duties was of vast importance. The order of Theatins was not, indeed, properly a seminary of priests, it was not sufficiently numerous for that; but it gradually grew into a seminary of bishops. It became in time the order of priests peculiar to the nobility; and as it had been carefully remarked from the beginning, that the new members were of noble extraction, at a later period, proofs of nobility were, in some places, requisite to admission. It is clear, that the original plan of living on alms, without begging, could be adhered to only under such conditions.

The main thing however was, that the excellent idea of uniting the duties and the sacred character of the clergy with the vows of monks, found acceptance and imitation in other places.

From the year 1521, Upper Italy had been the scene of perpetual war, attended by its usual train, devastation, famine, and disease. Numbers of children were left orphans and exposed to the utter ruin of body and soul. Happily for mankind, pity is never far from the dwellings of woe. A Venetian senator, Girolamo Uriani, gathered together the children who had come as fugitives and wanderers to Venice, and took them into his house. He sought them out in the islands and in the city. Disregarding the reproaches of his sister-in-law, he sold the silver utensils and the most beautiful tapestry of his house, in order to provide the children with lodging and clothing, food and instruction. He gradually devoted all his energies to this vocation.

His success was great, especially in Bergamo. The hospital which he founded there met with such effectual support, that he took courage to make similar experiments in other cities. By degrees, hospitals of this kind were founded in Verona, Brescia, Ferrara, Como, Milan, Pavia and Genoa. At length he and a few friends of like inclinations and opinions united themselves in a congregation of regular clergy, after the model of the Theatins, and bearing the name of di Somasca. They devoted themselves chiefly to the education of the poor. Their hospitals were all placed under one constitution.*

* "Approbatio societatis tam ecclesiasticarum, quam secularium personarum, nuper instituta: ad erigendum hospitalia pro subventionem pauperum orphanorum et mulierum convertitariorum:" (which last object had been joined with the first in some places). Bull of Paul III, 5th June, 1540. Bullarium. Cocquelines, iv, 173. It appears however by the bull of Pius V, "Injunctum Nobis," 6th

If ever a city was destined to feel every misery and horror attendant on war, it was Milan, so frequently besieged and conquered by one or other of the hostile parties. To mitigate these evils by works of mercy and beneficence, to remove the barbarism and depravity consequent on them by instruction, preaching and example, was the aim of the three founders of the order of Barnabites—Zaccaria, Ferrari and Morigia. A Milanese chronicle relates with what wonder these new priests were regarded in their homely dress and round cap, all with downcast eyes, all in the bloom of youth. They lived together in a house near St. Ambrose. Countess Lodovica Torella, who sold her paternal inheritance of Guastalla and applied the money to good works, was the chief contributor to their support.*

The Barnabites, like the Theatins, had the form of regular clergy.

But whatever these congregations might effect within their sphere, they were disqualified from, or inadequate to, any universal, thorough reform; either, as in the case of the one last mentioned, by the limited nature of their object, or, as in that of the Theatins, by a paucity of means which lay in the very nature of the institution. They are remarkable, as affording by their voluntary origin indications of a great tendency which contributed incalculably to the renovation of catholicism. But to stem the mighty torrent of protestantism, far other powers were required.

Such powers rose into existence, and, like those we have been contemplating, grew into strength and importance, though the manner and character of their growth was as singular as their birth was unlooked for.

§ 4. IGNATIUS LOYOLA.

The Spanish chivalry was the only one in the world which had retained some tincture of its religious spirit. The wars with the Moors, which were hardly terminated in the peninsula, and still continue on the opposite coast of Africa; the presence of the subjugated Moriscoes, with whom the intercourse of the Spaniards was one of incessant religious animosity, and the adventurous expeditions against the infidels of another hemisphere—all conspired to keep alive this spirit. In books like the *Amadis de Gaul*, full of simple, enthusiastic, loyal bravery, this spirit was idealised. The potency of its inspirations was never so strikingly manifested as in the life of the singular man whose history we shall briefly trace.

Dec. 1568, that the members of this congregation first laid aside their vows at that time.

* Chronicle of Burigazzo in Custode: Continuation by Verri: *Storia de Milano*, iv, p. 88.

Don Inigo Lopez de Recalde,* the youngest son of the house of Loyola, was born in the castle of that name, between Azpeitia and Azcoitia in Guipuscoa, of a race so noble that its head was always invited to do homage by a special writ,—“de parientes mayores;”—and reared at the court of Ferdinand the Catholic and in the suite of the duke of Najara. He aspired after the reputation of knighthood;—splendid arms and noble steeds, the fame of valor, the adventures of single combat and of love, were not less attractive to him than to any of his youthful compeers. But he was also strongly imbued with the religious spirit. At the time we are speaking of he had composed a romance of chivalry, the hero of which was the first apostle.†

Probably, however, we should now only find his name enrolled among the host of valiant Spanish captains to whom Charles V afforded so many opportunities of gaining distinction, had he not received wounds in both legs at the defence of Pampluna, against the French, in 1521. Being carried to his own house, he caused the wounds to be twice reopened. The intense pain which he bore with unshrinking fortitude was borne in vain: the cure was lamentably incomplete, and he was maimed for life. He was versed in romances of chivalry and delighted in them, more especially in the Amadis. During his long confinement he also read the life of Christ and some of the saints.

Romantic and visionary by nature, forced from a career which appeared to promise him the most brilliant fortunes, compelled to a life of inaction, and rendered irritable and sensitive by illness, he fell into the most extraordinary state of mind conceivable. Not only did he deem the actions of St. Francis and St. Dominic, which now appeared before him in all the brilliancy of spiritual glory, worthy of imitation, but, while reading them, he felt himself endowed with courage and strength to imitate them—to emulate the self-denial and the austerities of those holy men.‡ Frequently, indeed, these aspirations faded before more worldly thoughts. With the same vivacity of imagination he figured to himself how he would seek out the lady to whose service he had devoted himself in his inmost heart, in the city where she dwelt. “She was no countess,” he says, “no duchess, but one of yet higher degree.” With what tender and sprightly words he would address her; how

* He is thus called in the judicial acts. Nothing can be inferred against the genuineness of the name Recalde, from the fact that it is not known how he came by it. Acta Sanctorum, 31 Julii. Commentarius prævius, p. 410.

† Maffei: Vita Ignatii.

‡ The Acta antiquissima, a Ludovico Consalvo ex ore Sancti excepta, AA. SS. LL. p. 634, give very authentic information on this point. He once thought: “Quid, si ego hoc agerem, quod fecit b. Franciscus, quid si hoc, quod b. Dominicus?” And in another place: “De muchas cosas vanas que se le ofrecian una tenia;” namely, the honor which he thought to pay to his lady. “Non era condesa ni duquesa mas era su estado mas alto que ninguno destas.” A singularly naïf acknowledgment.

he would prove his devotedness; what feats of arms he would perform in her honor:—such were the fantasies which alternately possessed his mind.

But the longer this state continued and the more hopeless was his cure, the more did the spiritual gain the ascendancy over the earthly visions. Are we guilty of injustice to him if we attribute this to his gradual conviction that he would never be wholly restored, never again be fit for military service, or for knightly exploits?

Nor was the transition so abrupt, or the change so absolute, as might be imagined. In his spiritual exercises, whose origin may be dated from the same time as the first rapturous meditations of his awakened spirit, he figures to himself two camps, one at Jerusalem, the other at Babylon—the one of Christ, the other of Satan—the one altogether virtuous, the other thoroughly wicked—arrayed for combat. He represents Christ as a king who has issued a command to all nations to overcome the infidels. Whoever would follow him to battle, must be nourished with like food and clad in like raiment with Him; he must bear the same toils and the same watchings; according to this measure would be his share in the victory and in the reward: that every man would then confess before Christ, his Holy Mother and the whole heavenly host, that he had been a faithful follower of his Master, and had been ready to share with Him in all adversities, and to serve Him in true poverty of body and of spirit.*

These wild and fanciful reveries were perhaps the means by which his transition from worldly to spiritual knighthood was effected. For such was the institution, the ideal of which was framed upon the deeds and the authorities of saints, to which all his desires were directed. He tore himself away from his father's house and from his kindred, and went to live on Mount Montserrat; not impelled by remorse for his sins, nor by strong and genuine religious aspirations; but, as he himself has told us, solely by the desire to achieve deeds as great as those which have rendered the saints so illustrious; to undergo penances as severe or severer than theirs, and to serve God in Jerusalem. He hung up his lance and shield before an image of the Holy Virgin, and knelt or stood before it in prayer, with his pilgrim's staff in his hand;—a vigil, different, indeed, from that of knighthood, but yet expressly suggested by Amadis,† in which the laws and customs of chivalry are so accurately described. He gave away the knightly dress and accoutre-

* *Exercitia spiritualia: Secunda Hebdomada.* “*Contemplatio regni Jesu Christi ex similitudine regis terreni subditos suos evocantis ad bellum;*” and other passages.

† *Acta antiquissima:* “*cum mentem rebus iis refertam haberet quæ ab Amadeo de Gaula conscriptæ et ab ejus generis scriptoribus,*” (which is a strange mistake of the compilers, for Amadis is no author,) “*nonnullæ illi similes occurrebant.*”

ments which he had worn on his journey, and clothed himself in the coarse raiment of the hermits whose solitary dwellings are hewn in these naked rocks. He made a general confession, and fearing that if he proceeded directly to Barcelona, (whither his project of going to Jerusalem would have led him,) he would be recognised in the streets, he repaired first to Manresa, whence, after fresh penances, he was to reach the port. But here new trials awaited him. The mood of mind which he had indulged, rather as a sport of the fancy, had obtained almost entire mastery over him and began to manifest all its serious and awful power. In the cell of a Dominican convent he gave himself up to the severest penances. He rose at midnight to pray; he passed seven hours daily on his knees and scourged himself regularly thrice a day. Not only did he find these ascetic practices so hard that he often doubted whether he should be able to persevere in them all his life, but, what was far more important, he discovered that they did not tranquillise his spirit. On Mount Montserrat he had devoted three days to making a general confession of his whole past life; but he did not think this enough. In Manresa he repeated it; he added long-forgotten sins to the catalogue, and searched the records of his memory for the most venial trifle; but the more he explored the more painful were the doubts which assailed him. He thought that he could obtain neither acceptance nor justification of God. He read in some of the fathers that God had once been propitiated and moved to compassion by total abstinence from food. He therefore remained from Sunday to Sunday without eating. His confessor forbade him to prolong his fast, and, as he esteemed no quality on earth so highly as obedience, he immediately desisted. At times indeed he felt as if his melancholy was removed from him, and had fallen, as a heavy garment falls from the shoulders, but his mental torments presently returned. It seemed to him that his whole life had been one uninterrupted succession of sins. Sometimes he was tempted to dash himself out of the window.*

We are here involuntarily reminded of the state of mental distress into which Luther, some years before, was plunged by very similar doubts. The high demands of religion could never be satisfied—a full and conscious reconciliation with God could never be reached, on the ordinary road marked out by the church, by a soul shaken to its innermost depths by struggles with itself.

But these two remarkable men extricated themselves from this

* Maffei, Ribadeneira, Orlandino, and all the other historians relate these temptations. The documents emanating from Ignatius himself are, however, the most authentic: the following passage taken from them describes the state in which he was: “Cum his cogitationibus agitaretur, tentabatur sæpe graviter magno cum impetu, ut magno ex foramine quod in cellula erat sese dejiceret. Nec aberat foramen ab eo loco ubi preces fundebat. Sed cum videret esse peccatum se ipsum occidere, rursus clamabat: ‘Domine, non faciam quod te offendat.’”

labyrinth by very different paths. Luther arrived at the doctrine of the atonement through Christ, wholly independent of works: this afforded him the key to the scriptures, and became the main prop of his whole system of faith.

It does not appear that Loyola examined the scriptures, or that any particular dogma of religion made an impression on his mind. As he lived only in his own inward emotions, in thoughts which rose spontaneously in his breast, he imagined that he felt the alternate inspirations of the good and of the evil spirit. At length he learned to distinguish their influences by this—that the soul was gladdened and consoled by the one, wearied and troubled by the other.* One day he felt as if awakened from a dream. He thought he had sensible proof that all his sufferings were assaults of Satan. He determined from that hour to have done with his past life, never to tear open these old wounds, never again to touch them. It was not so much that his mind had found repose, as that he had formed a determination; rather indeed an engagement entered into by the will, than a conviction to which the will is compelled to yield. It needed not the aid or the influence of scripture; it rested on the feeling of an immediate intercourse with the world of spirits.

This would never have satisfied Luther. Luther would have no inspirations, no visions; he held them all without distinction to be mischievous; he would have only the simple, written, unquestionable word of God. Loyola, on the contrary, lived in fantasies and inward apparitions. He thought no one so well understood Christianity as an old woman, who, in the midst of his torments, told him that Christ would yet appear to him. At first he could obtain no such vision, but now he thought that Christ or the Holy Virgin manifested themselves to his eyes of flesh. He stood fixed on the steps of San Dominico, in Manresa, and wept aloud; for he thought in that moment the mystery of the Holy Trinity was visibly revealed to him.† The whole day he spoke of nothing else. He was inexhaustible in similes. The mystery of the creation was also suddenly made clear to him in mystical symbols. In the Host, he beheld the God and the Man. On one occasion, he repaired to a remote church on the banks of the Lobregat, and while he sat with his eyes intently fixed on the deep stream which flowed at his feet, he was suddenly elevated in rapturous intuition of the mystery of faith. He arose a new man. For him there needed no longer either evidence or scripture: had none such existed, he would have

* One of his most peculiar and most original perceptions, the origin of which he himself carries back to the phantoms of his imagination during illness. It became a certainty whilst he was at Manresa. In the "Spiritual Exercises" it is greatly developed. We there find explicit rules: "ad motus animæ quos diversi excitant spiritus discernendos, ut boni solum admittantur, et pellantur mali."

† En figura de tres teclas.

met death unhesitatingly for that faith which before he believed—which now he saw.*

If we have clearly traced the origin and development of this most strange state of mind, of this chivalry of abstinence, this constancy of enthusiasm and of romantic asceticism, it will be needless to follow Inigo Loyola step by step in his further progress through life. He accomplished his purpose of visiting Jerusalem, in the hope of contributing to the edification of believers, no less than to the conversion of infidels. But how was he to effect the latter, ignorant as he was, without associates, without authority? His project of remaining in the holy city was defeated by the positive interdiction he received from the heads of the church at Jerusalem, who held from the pope the express privilege of granting permission to reside there. On his return to Spain he encountered innumerable attacks. When he began to teach and to invite others to share with him those spiritual exercises which he practised, he fell under the suspicion of heresy. It would have been the strangest sport of destiny, if Loyola, whose society centuries afterwards terminated in *illuminati*, had himself been connected with a sect of that name.† And it cannot be denied that the *illuminati* of that time (the *alumbrados* of Spain), to whom he was suspected of belonging, cherished opinions which had a considerable resemblance with his fantastic reveries. Rejecting the doctrine of sanctification by works as heretofore held by all Christendom, they, like him, gave themselves up to inward ecstasies, and, like him, they beheld in immediate and sensible revelation the profoundest mysteries of religion; especially, as they expressly declared, that of the Trinity. Like Loyola and his followers, they made general confession a condition of absolution, and insisted above all things on inward prayer. I cannot indeed affirm with confidence that Loyola had no contact whatever with the professors of these opinions, but neither can it be asserted that he belonged to the sect. He was distinguished from them mainly by this—that while they believed themselves to be emancipated from all control and raised above all common duties by the command of the spirit, he retained enough of the impressions and habits of his former life to place at the very head of the list of virtues, the soldier's virtue, obedience. He constantly submitted his enthusiasm and his inward convictions to the church and her authorities.

Meanwhile the obstacles and the attacks which beset his path had a decisive influence on his life. In the condition in which he

* Acta antiquissima: "his visis, haud mediocriter tum confirmatus est" (in the original, "y le dieron tanta confirmacion siempre de la fe") "ut saepe etiam id cogitaret, quod etsi nulla scriptura mysteria illa fidei doceret, tamen ipse ob ea ipsa quae viderat, statueret sibi pro his esse moriendum."

† Lainez and Borgia have also met with this reproach. Llorente, *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, iii, 83. Melchior Cano calls them plainly *illuminati*, the gnostics of the age.

then was, without learning or profound theological attainments, without political support, his existence must have passed away and left not a trace behind. His highest success could have reached but to a few conversions in his own country. But the necessity imposed on him in Alcalá and Salamanca, of studying theology for four years, before he could be permitted to attempt again to teach concerning certain difficult dogmas, compelled him to enter upon a course which gradually opened an unlooked-for field to his religious activity.

He repaired to Paris, then the most renowned school in the world.

The studies of the university were peculiarly difficult to him. He was obliged to pass through the class of grammar, which he had begun in Spain, and that of philosophy, before he could be admitted to the study of theology.* But in the midst of the inflection of words, and the analysis of logical forms, he was seized with the raptures of those profound religious thoughts which he was wont to connect with them. There is something magnanimous in his declaration that these were inspirations of the evil spirit, who sought to seduce him from the right way. He tried to dispel them by the most rigorous discipline. But the new study, that of the actual world, which opened upon him, did not for a moment deaden his spiritual dispositions, or even his zeal in imparting them to others. It was indeed here that he made the first conversions of lasting influence and importance to the world.

Loyola had two companions who shared his rooms in the college of St. Barbara. The one, Peter Faber, a Savoyard, had grown up amid his father's flocks, and under the roof of heaven had solemnly devoted himself to God and to study: the conversion of such a man was not difficult. He repeated the course of philosophy with Ignatius (the name which *Inigo* bore among foreigners), who in return, communicated to him his ascetical principles. Ignatius taught his young friend to combat his faults prudently—not all at once, but one after another, since there was ever some one virtue which he had more especially to aspire after: he exhorted him to frequent confession and participation in the Lord's Supper. They formed the closest intimacy. Ignatius divided the alms which he received in considerable abundance from Spain and Flanders, with Faber.

He had a more difficult task with his other friend, Francesco Xavier of Pamplona in Navarre, whose only ambition it was to add the name of a man illustrious for learning to the names of ancestors renowned for their military exploits, which graced a pedi-

* According to the oldest chronicle of the Jesuits, *Chronicon Breve*, AA. SS. LL. p. 525. Ignatius was at Paris from 1528 to 1535: "Ibi vero non sine magnis molestiis et persecutionibus primo grammaticæ de integro tum philosophiæ ac demum theologico studio sedulam operam navavit."

gree of five hundred years. He was handsome, rich, full of talent, and had already been well received at court. Ignatius did not neglect to pay him the respect to which he laid claim, and to contrive that others should pay it also. He procured him a considerable audience for his first lectures. After these proofs of personal friendship, his example and the imposing severity of his manners failed not of their natural effect. He induced Xavier, as he had his other companion, to perform spiritual exercises under his guidance. He showed them no indulgence, compelling them to fast three days and three nights at a time; nor during the severest winter, while carriages were crossing the frozen Seine, did he allow Faber to relax from this severity of discipline. He gained complete ascendancy over both of them, and made them sharers in his own thoughts and feelings.*

How remarkable was that cell of St. Barbara which contained within its narrow walls three such men! which witnessed plans inspired by their wild enthusiasm, and enterprises projected, leading they themselves knew not whither!

We will mark the more striking points in the farther development of this alliance. After three other Spaniards, Salmeron, Lainez and Bobadilla, to all of whom Ignatius had rendered himself necessary by counsel or assistance, had joined them, they repaired one day to the church of Montmartre. Faber, who was already in holy orders, said mass. They took the vow of chastity; they swore, after the conclusion of their studies, to pass their lives in Jerusalem, in absolute poverty, devoted to the care of the Christians, or to the conversion of the Saracens; and if they should find it impossible to reach the holy city, or to abide in it, to offer their labors to the pope for any place to which he might see fit to send them, without remuneration or condition. Each took this oath and received the host from the hands of Faber, who afterwards communicated himself. They then partook of a repast near the fountain of St. Denys.

A compact worthy of young men of wild and extravagant imagination; impossible of fulfilment, founded on the ideas which Ignatius had originally embraced, and departing from them only so far as on a calculation of possibilities, they despaired of carrying those ideas into effect.

At the beginning of the year 1537, we find them with three other companions in Venice, about to set out on their pilgrimage. We have already followed Loyola through many changes. We saw him pass from a temporal to a spiritual chivalry; we beheld him beset by the gravest temptations, struggling out of them by means of a fantastic asceticism, and becoming a theologian and the

* Orlandinus, who has also written a life of Faber, which I have not seen, is likewise in his great work *Historiæ Societatis Jesu*, pars i, p. 17, more circumstantial on this point than Ribadeneira.

founder of a sect. Now at length his opinions took their final and permanent character. The war which just then broke out between Venice and the Turks hindered his departure and rendered still more remote the prospect of his pilgrimage; in Venice however he found an institution which first opened his eyes to his true vocation.

For a time Loyola attached himself closely to Caraffa; he even took up his abode in the convent of the Theatins which had been established in Venice. He served in the hospitals which Caraffa superintended, and in which he exercised his novices. It is true that the severe exactions and lofty aspirations of Ignatius were not entirely satisfied by the Theatin Institute; and that the representations he addressed to Caraffa concerning certain changes which ought to be introduced, are said to have created a division between them.* But even this shows how deep an impression it had made upon him. Here he beheld an order of priests devoting themselves with zeal and strictness to the performance of the true clerical duties. If, as appeared more and more clear, he was destined to remain on this side the sea and to employ his activity in the regions of western Christendom, he readily perceived that this was the only career he could embrace with a prospect of success.

He therefore, together with all his companions, was ordained priest. In Vicenza, after passing forty days in prayer, he and three others began to preach. At the same day and hour they appeared in different streets, mounted upon stones, waving their hats, and calling aloud to repentance. Their appearance was strange; squalid in their dress, wan and haggard with fasting and penance; their language an unintelligible mixture of Spanish and Italian. In this neighborhood they remained till the expiration of the year they had determined to stay there. They then proceeded to Rome. Before they separated to take the different ways they had resolved upon, they drew up certain rules, in order that, even at a distance, they might observe some uniformity of life. They asked each other what they should reply to any inquiries as to their profession. They pleased themselves with the thought of making war on Satan, like soldiers, and in compliance with the old military tastes and fancies of Ignatius, determined to call themselves the Company of Jesus; just as a company of soldiers bears the name of its captain.†

Their situation at Rome was not an easy or agreeable one; Ig-

* Sacchini, "cujus sit autoritatis quod in b. Cajetani Thienæi vita de beato Ignatio traditur," before Orlandinus, thoroughly investigates the nature of the connection between these two remarkable men.

† Ribadeneira, *Vita brevior*, c. 12, remarks, that Ignatius had chosen this, "ne de suo nomine diceretur." Nigroni explains the word *societas*, "quasi dicas cohortem aut centuriam quæ ad pugnam cum hostibus spiritualibus consequendam conscripta sit." "Postquam nos vitamque nostram Christo D^{no}. nostro et ejus vero ac legitimo vicario internis obtuleramus,"—in the *Deliberatio Primorum Patrum*, AA. SS. LL. p. 463.

natus thought he saw every door closed against them, and they were compelled to be once more absolved from the charge of heresy. But here, too, the austerity of their lives, their zeal in preaching and teaching, their attendance on the sick, attracted numerous followers; and so many manifested a readiness to join them, that they were justified in meditating a formal organization of their company.

They had already bound themselves by two vows. They now took the third, that of obedience; and as Ignatius had ever held obedience to be one of the highest of virtues, they strove to excel all the other monastic orders in that. It was no small thing that they resolved to elect their general for life; but this did not satisfy them. They added the extraordinary obligation to do whatsoever the then pope should command; to go into every country whither he chose to send them, among Turks, heathens or heretics, instantly, without discussion, condition, or reward. What a contrast to the tendency hitherto manifested by that age! While the pope experienced opposition or desertion from every side, while he had nothing to expect but a lingering and progressive decline, a society of men was formed, volunteers, full of zeal and enthusiasm, with the express purpose of devoting themselves exclusively to his service.

It was impossible for him to hesitate about sanctioning their establishment: at first, in the year 1540, he did this under some limitations; afterwards, in 1543, unconditionally.

Meanwhile the company took the final step. Six of its oldest members met together to choose the president, who, according to the first project submitted to the pope, should allot ranks and offices at his good pleasure, should frame the constitution with the help of the members, and in all other things should have absolute command. In him should Christ be honored as present. They unanimously chose Ignatius, who, as Salmeron expressed it in his letter of election, had begotten them all in Christ, and had nourished them with the milk of his word.* The society had now acquired its form. It was a company of *chierici regolari*, and though differing in many respects from the other societies of that kind, it was based, like them, on a combination of clerical and monastic duties.

If the Theatins had disregarded many of the less important obligations of religion, the Jesuits went still farther† in that course.

Not only did they entirely reject the monastic habit; they emancipated themselves from the common devotional exercises which consume the greater part of the time in convents, and from the obligation to sing in the quire.

* Suffragium Salmeronis.

† It is in this they place the difference between themselves and the Theatins. Didacus Payba Andradius: *Orthodoxarum Explicatt.* lib. i fol. 44; "Illi (Theatini) sacrarum æternarumque rerum meditationi psalmodiæque potissimum vacant: isti vero (Jesuitæ) cum divinorum mysteriorum assidua contemplatione, docendæ plebis, evangelii amplificandi, sacramenta administrandi, atque reliqua omnia apostolica munera, conjungunt."

Having dismissed these less necessary occupations, they devoted their whole time and all their powers to essential duties; not like the Barnabites, to one in particular (though they made a great point of attendance on the sick, as an effectual means of obtaining a good name); nor under any restrictive conditions, like the Theatins; but with every effort of which they were capable, to the most weighty.

And in the first place, they devoted themselves to preaching. Before they parted in Vicenza they had promised each other to preach mainly for the common people, and to strive rather after impressive and touching discourse, than after choice phrases. And to this they adhered.

Secondly, to confession:—for with this are immediately connected the guidance and government of consciences. The spiritual exercises through which they themselves were united with Ignatius afforded them great assistance.

Lastly, to the education of youth. They had desired to bind themselves to this occupation by an express clause in their vows; but though that did not take place, they enjoined it most strongly in their rule. Their most ardent wish was to gain over the rising generation. In short they threw aside all that was of secondary moment, and devoted themselves entirely to the indispensable, influential duties and practices of their calling.

Thus, out of the visionary schemes of Ignatius, arose an institution of singularly practical tendency; out of the conversions wrought by his asceticism, an institution framed with all the just and accurate calculation of worldly prudence.

He saw all his expectations far surpassed. He had now the unlimited direction of a society to which he communicated the greater part of his own intuitions; which modelled its religious convictions by study, on those to which he had been led by accident and by genius; which, indeed, did not execute his projects with regard to Jerusalem, (projects by which nothing was to be attained,) but went forth in other directions on the most remote and the most adventurous missions, and above all, took upon itself that care of souls which he had constantly enjoined to an extent that he could never have anticipated or guessed; and which, lastly, paid him an obedience uniting that of the soldier and of the monk.

Before we consider more nearly the influence which the Company of Jesus very soon exercised, we must examine one of the causes which had the strongest effect on its condition.

§ 5. FIRST SITTING OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

We have seen what were the interests involved in the demand for a council on the part of the emperor, and in the denial of it on that of the pope. In one respect, however, and in one only, a new

council might be desirable to the pope. It was necessary to the zealous inculcation and promulgation of the doctrines of catholicism, that the doubts which had arisen in the bosom of the church herself on several points, should be put to rest. A council alone could do this with absolute authority. The only remaining consideration for the pope, therefore, was that it should be convened at a favorable time and held under his own influence.

That eventful moment in which the two religious parties had approximated, more nearly than at any former period, to an agreement on a moderate creed lying between the extremes, was therefore the decisive one for this object. The pope, as we have said, thought he perceived that the emperor intended to claim a right to summon a council. At this juncture, assured on all sides of the attachment of the catholic sovereigns, he lost no time in anticipating him.

In the midst of the movements we have briefly described, he definitely resolved to take steps towards an œcumenical council, and to put an end to all delay.* He immediately communicated his intention to Contarini and through him to the emperor; negotiations were seriously opened; at length the letters of convocation were sent out, and in the following year we find his legates already in Trent.†

New obstacles, however, arose; the number of the bishops who appeared was too inconsiderable, the times too warlike, and the circumstances not entirely propitious: it was not till December 1545, that the council was actually opened. The old procrastinator had at length found the wished for moment.

For when could one more favorable occur than that in which the emperor had completely broken with both the chiefs of the protestant party, and was preparing to make war upon them? As he needed the assistance of the pope, he could not substantiate the claims which otherwise he appeared disposed to found upon a council. He would be entirely occupied by war; and it was impossible to foresee the extent of the embarrassments in which the power of the protestants might involve him: he would therefore be little able to press for the reform with which he had threatened the papal chair. In another way too the pope had the means of thwarting his intentions. The emperor demanded that the council should begin with reform; the papal legates carried the resolution that reform and the dogmas of the church should be discussed

* Ardinghello al Cl. Contarini, 15 Giugno, 1541, in Quirini, iii, cexlvi: "Considerato che né la concordia a Christiani è successa e la tolerantia," (which had been proposed at Ratisbon, but rejected by the consistory of the cardinals;) "è illecitissima, e dannosa, e la guerra difficile e pericolosa:—pare a S.S., che si ricorra al rimedio del concilio. . . . Adunque—S. Beatitudine ha determinato di levar via la prorogatione della suspensione del concilio, e di dichiararlo e congregarlo quanto piu presto si potrà."

† They arrived on the 22d November, 1542.

simultaneously;* while, in fact, dogmas alone were first brought under consideration.

While the pope found means to avert whatever might have been injurious to him, he seized on whatever was favorable. The firm establishment of the disputed doctrines was, as we have observed, extremely important to him, and this depended upon the question, whether either of the views inclining to the protestant system could consist with the maintenance of the integrity of the catholic faith.

Contarini was no more, but Pole was present, and there were not wanting in the assemblage other warm advocates of these opinions. The question was, whether they could give those opinions weight.

First, (for the proceedings were very systematic,) they spoke of revelation itself—the source from which all knowledge regarding it must necessarily be drawn. Here, even at the very threshold, some voices were raised in favor of opinions leaning to protestantism. Bishop Nachianti of Chiozza, for example, would hear of nothing but scripture; he asserted that in the gospel every thing was written that was necessary to salvation. But he had an immense majority against him. The resolution was passed, that the unwritten traditions received from the mouth of Christ and handed down to the latest ages under the guardianship of the Holy Ghost, were to be accepted with the same veneration as the holy scriptures. In regard to these, no reference was made to the original text. The vulgate was recognised as the authentic translation; only it was determined that for the future it should be most carefully printed.†

After the basis had thus been settled, (by which it was said, not without reason, that half the business was accomplished,) the council proceeded to the decisive article of justification and the doctrines connected with it. To this much-disputed question the main interest was attached.

For in fact there were not a few in the council whose views on this point coincided with those of the protestants. The archbishop of Siena, the bishop of Cava, Giulio Contarini, bishop of Belluno, and with them five divines, attributed justification solely and wholly to the merits of Christ, and to faith. Charity and hope they declared to be the attendants or handmaidens—works, the proofs of faith, but nothing more; they held that the sole ground of justification was faith.

* An expedient brought forward by Thom. Campeggi., Pallavicini, vi, vii, 5. A bull concerning reform had indeed been projected from the beginning, but was never published. *Bulla Reformationis Pauli Papæ III, concepta, non vulgata: primum edidit H. N. Clausen. Havn. 1829.*

† Conc. Tridentini Sessio IV: “in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus et expositionibus pro authentica habeatur.” It should be printed, with amendments, posthac, not exactly, as Pallavicini says: “quanto si potesse piu tosto:” VI, 15, 2.

How could it be imagined that, at a moment in which pope and emperor attacked the protestants with force of arms, the fundamental doctrine whence their whole existence and all their characteristics as a sect were derived, should triumph, in a council held under the auspices of the emperor and the pope? In vain did Pole warn the assembly not to reject an opinion solely because it was held by Luther. Far too much personal bitterness was connected with it. The bishop of Cava and a Greek monk broke out into personal violence. The council could not even proceed to serious debate on the announcement of an opinion so unquestionably protestant. The discussions related only—and this was important enough—to the mediatory opinions as expounded by Gaspar Contarini and his friends.

Seripando, the general of the Augustine order, brought them forward, but not without the express reservation that it was not the doctrines of Luther that he defended, but on the contrary, those of Luther's most celebrated antagonists, Pflug and Gropper. He admitted a twofold righteousness*—the one dwelling in us, inherent, through which from children of sin we become children of God; itself too a grace and unmerited; active in works, visible in virtues, but not of itself able to conduct us into the glory of God; the other, the righteousness and the merit of Christ attributed or imputed to us; able to compensate for all defects, perfect, sufficient to salvation. So had Contarini taught. "If the question is," says he, "on which of these kinds of righteousness we should rely—that inherent in us, or that imputed in Christ—a pious man will reply, that we can trust to the latter alone. Our righteousness is only inchoate, incomplete, full of defects: the righteousness of Christ, on the other hand, true, perfect, thoroughly and alone pleasing in the eyes of God; for its sake alone we can trust to be justified before God."†

Even with this modification, however, though it left, as we see, the substance of the protestant doctrine untouched, and might be approved by its adherents, this opinion experienced vehement opposition.

Caraffa, who had already opposed it when it was discussed in Ratisbon, had now a seat among the cardinals to whom the presidency over the council of Trent was confided. He expounded to

* *Parere Dato*: a 13 di Luglio, 1544. Extracted from Pallavicini, viii, xi, 4.

† Contarini *Tractatus de Justificatione*. The Venetian Edition of 1589 fell into my hands at first, and is not the one the reader should refer to: this passage will be sought in vain. In the year 1571 the Sorbonne had approved of the treatise as it stood; in the Paris Edition of the same year, it is entire and without mutilation; in 1589 on the contrary, the General Inquisitor of Venice, Fra Marco Medici, would not allow this to happen again; he did not content himself with omitting the offending passages; they were so altered as to take the color of the received dogmas. It is truly astonishing to peruse the collation in Quirini, *Epp. Poli*, III, cxiii. It is necessary to recal to mind these instances of unjustifiable violence, in order to explain so bitter a hatred as that cherished by Paolo Sarpi.

the assembly his own views of justification, and warmly combated all opinions of the kind above mentioned.*

Already, in this early stage of their existence as a body, the jesuits appeared as his allies. Salmeron and Lainez had obtained the valuable privilege of successively offering their opinions. They were learned, energetic, in the prime of life, and full of zeal. Admonished by Ignatius never to commit themselves to an opinion which made the least approach to an innovation,† they opposed Seripando's doctrine with all their might. Lainez presented himself in the arena with a complete treatise rather than a reply. He had the greater part of the divines on his side.

These disputants admitted the distinction between the two kinds of righteousness; but they maintained that the imputed righteousness was merged in the inherent, or that the merits of Christ were immediately ascribed and communicated to men by faith: that we ought unquestionably to rely on the righteousness of Christ, not because it completed our own, but because it produced it. Upon this point everything turned. According to the doctrine of Contarini and Seripando, no merit could subsist in works.

It was the old doctrine of the schoolmen, that the soul, clothed with grace, merited eternal life.‡ The archbishop of Bitonto, one of the most learned and eloquent of these fathers, distinguished a "preliminary justification, dependent on the merits of Christ, by which the sinner is delivered from a state of reprobation; and a subsequent justification, the reward of our own righteousness, dependent on the grace imparted to and inherent in us." "In this sense," said the bishop of Tano, "faith is only the gate leading to justification: but we must not stand still there, we must traverse the whole way."

Near as these opinions seem to approximate, they are in fact diametrically opposed.

The Lutheran scheme requires inward regeneration, points out the way to salvation, and maintains that good works must follow; but it holds that the divine mercy ascribes them to the merits of Christ alone.

The council of Trent on the contrary, also admits the merits of Christ, but ascribes justification to them only so far as they produce regeneration and therewith good works, upon which, at last, all depends. "The sinner," according to its expression,§ "is justified, inasmuch as the love of God is implanted in his heart, and dwells there, through the merit of the most Sacred Passion, and by the power of the Holy Ghost: thus become the friend of God, a man advances from virtue to virtue, and is renewed day by day. Whilst

* Bromato: Vita di Paolo IV, tom. ii, p. 131.

† Orlandinus, VI, p. 127.

‡ Chemnitius; Examcn Concilii Tridentini, i, 355.

§ Sessio VI, c. vii, x.

he observes the commands of God and of the church, by the help of faith and through good works, he grows in the righteousness attained through the mercy of Christ, and is justified more and more."

The protestant doctrine was thus entirely excluded from catholicism; all mediation was definitively rejected. This took place just as the emperor had obtained the victory in Germany, as the Lutherans were submitting on every side, and as he prepared to subdue those who still resisted. The champions of the intermediate opinions, such as cardinal Pole and the archbishop of Siena, had already, as might be expected, quitted the council under different prettexts.* Instead of moderating and guiding the faith of others, they had to fear that their own would be the object of attack and reprobation.

But the most important difficulty was thus overcome. As justification goes on within the heart of man in a perpetual development, it cannot dispense with the sacraments, by which it either begins, or when begun, is continued, or when lost, is regained.†— There was then no difficulty in retaining them all seven, as they had heretofore been received, or in referring them all to the author of our faith; since the institutes of the church of Christ are communicated to us not by scripture alone, but by tradition.‡ Now these sacraments embrace, as is well known, the whole of life, and every step of its progress; they lie at the foundation of the hierarchy, which thus presides over and regulates every moment of our days. Inasmuch as they do not only indicate but impart grace, they fulfil the mystical relation of man to God.

Tradition was received because the Holy Ghost dwells perpetually in the church; the vulgate, because the church of Rome has been kept free from all error by the special grace of God: it coincides then with this in-dwelling of the divine element in man, that the justifying principles should also have place in him; that the grace involved in the visible sacrament should be imparted to him step by step, and should embrace his life and his death.

The visible church is likewise the true church, which some have called the invisible. No religious existence can be recognised out of her pale.

* It was at least a singular thing, that they should both have been prevented from going to Trent by the accident of an extraordinary illness. Polo ai C^{ti}. Monte e Cervini, 15th September, 1549. Epp. T. iv, 181. These opinions were very injurious to Pole. Mendoza al Emperador Carlos, 13th July 1547. "Lo Cardinal de Inglaterra lo haze danno le que se a dicho de la justificacion."

† Sessio VII, Proemium.

‡ Sarpi gives the discussions on this point: *Historia del Concilio Tridentino*, p. 241. (Edition of 1629.) Pallavicini's account is very insufficient.

§ 6. THE INQUISITION.

Meantime measures had already been taken for the promulgation of the doctrines thus established by the council, and for the suppression of those of an opposite tendency.

We must here revert once more to the times of the conference of Ratisbon. Seeing that no conclusion was come to with the German protestants, that in Italy disputes were rife concerning the sacrament, and doubts as to purgatory and other points important to the Roman ritual, the pope one day asked cardinal Caraffa what remedy he could suggest for the evil. The cardinal replied, that a searching inquisition was the only one. Juan Alvarez de Toledo, cardinal of Burgos, was of the same opinion.

The ancient Dominican inquisition had long fallen to decay. It was left to the monastic orders to choose the inquisitors, and it not unfrequently happened that members of them shared the very opinions which it was the object of the institution to suppress. In Spain, the primitive form had been so far departed from, that a supreme tribunal for that country had been established. Caraffa and Burgos, both old Dominicans, both men actuated by a stern and gloomy justice, zealots for pure catholicism, austere in their lives, inflexible in their opinions, advised the pope to erect at Rome an universal supreme tribunal of the inquisition, (after the model of that of Spain) on which all others should depend. "As it was in Rome," says Caraffa, "that St. Peter overcame the first heresiarchs, so must the followers of Peter subdue all the heresies of the world in Rome."* The Jesuits account it as a glory of their order, that their founder Loyola supported this proposition by an express memorial. On the 21st of July, 1542, the bull was published.

It appointed six cardinals, among whom Caraffa and Toledo were the first, as commissaries of the holy see, general and universal inquisitors in affairs of faith on either side the Alps. It conferred on them the right of delegating similar powers to ecclesiastics wherever they thought fit, the sole right of deciding on appeals against their acts, and of proceeding without the intervention of the regular ecclesiastical courts. Every individual without exception, without regard to any rank or dignity whatsoever, was declared subject to their jurisdiction; they had power to imprison the suspected, and to punish the guilty with death and confiscation of goods. One only limitation was imposed on them. They had full power to punish, but the pope reserved to himself the right of pardoning heretics whom they convicted. They were thus to contrive and to execute everything that could tend to suppress the errors

* Bromato: Vita di Paolo IV, lib. vii, § 3.

that had broken out in the Christian community, and to pluck them up by the very roots.*

Caraffa lost not a moment in putting this bull into execution. He was not rich, but he would have thought it a loss to wait for money from the apostolic treasury. He immediately hired a house, and at his own expense fitted up the rooms for the officers and prisons for the accused; the latter he furnished with strong bolts and locks, with dungeons, chains and bonds, and all the terrible apparatus of his office. He then nominated commissaries-general for the several countries. The first, as far as I can discover, for Rome, was his own chaplain, Teofilo di Tropea, of whose severity cardinals—for instance Pole—had soon to complain.

“The following rules,” says the manuscript life of Caraffa, “were drawn up by the cardinal as the most just and fit.†”

“1°.—In affairs of faith there must not be a moment’s delay, but on the slightest suspicion proceedings must be taken with the utmost diligence.

“2°.—No regard must be paid to any potentate or prelate, whatever be his power or dignity.

“3°.—On the contrary, the greatest severity must be shown towards those who seek to shelter themselves under the protection of a ruler: only where confession is made are leniency and fatherly compassion to be shown.

“4°.—To heretics, and especially Calvinists, no toleration must be granted.”

It is all, as we see, severity—inflexible, remorseless severity—till confession was obtained. Fearful at all times—but more especially fearful at a moment when opinions were not yet fully developed, when many were seeking to unite the profounder doctrines of Christianity with the establishments of the existing church. The weaker gave way and submitted; the stronger-minded, on the contrary, now first openly and resolutely embraced the opposite opinions, and sought to withdraw themselves from violence.

One of the first of these was Bernardino Ochino. For some time people had affected to remark that he fulfilled his conventual duties with less diligence than formerly; in the year 1542 his preaching also perplexed people. He maintained with the greatest distinctness the doctrine that faith alone justifies. “He who hath made thee without thy aid,” exclaimed he in the words of St. Augustine, “will he not save thee without thy aid?” His exposition of the doctrine of purgatory did not appear perfectly orthodox. The nuncio at Venice had already interdicted his use of the pulpit

* “Licet ab initio.” Deputatio nonnullorum S. R. E. Cardinalium Generalium Inquisitorum hæreticæ pravitatis. 21 Julii, 1542. Cocquelines IV, 1. 211.

† Caracciolo: Vita di Paolo IV, MS. c. 8. “Haveva egli queste infrascritte regole tenute da lui come assiomi verissimi: la prima, che in materia di fede non bisogna aspettar punto, ma subito che vi é qualche sospetto o indicio di peste heretica, far ogni sforzo e violenza per estirparla,” etc.

for some days; hereupon he was cited to appear at Rome, and had already reached Bologna and Florence, when (probably from fear of the inquisition which was just established) he determined to flee.

The historian of his order* relates, how having reached Mount St. Bernard, he halted, and retraced in his mind all the honors that had been paid him in his beautiful country; the countless numbers who received him with eagerness, heard him with breathless attention, and accompanied him home with admiring satisfaction. We may imagine the bitterness of such recollections, for an orator loses more than any other man in losing his country; yet he quitted it, though so advanced in age. He gave the seal of his order, which he had worn till now, to his companion, and went to Geneva. Nevertheless his convictions were as yet not firm; he fell into extraordinary perplexity of mind.

About the same time Peter Martyr Vermigli left Italy. "I tore myself," says he, "from these falsehoods and dissimulations, and saved my life from imminent danger." Many of the scholars whom he had taught in Lucca afterwards followed him.†

Celio Secundo Curione suffered the danger to approach him more nearly. He waited till the bargello came to seek for him, when, being large and athletic, he cut his way through the sbirri with a knife he had about him, threw himself on his horse, rode off, and took the rode to Switzerland.

There had already been commotions in Modena; they were now revived. People accused each other. Filippo Valentini escaped to Trent, and Castelvetro found it expedient, for a time at least, to seek safety in Germany.

Persecution and terror broke out on every side in Italy. The mutual hatred of factions came in aid of the inquisitors. Often did a man who had long vainly sought an opportunity of avenging himself on his adversary, resort to the accusation of heresy as a means of gratifying his revenge. The bigoted monks had now arms in their hands, which they could turn against that band of intelligent and accomplished men who had been led by their literary pursuits to a religious turn of mind, and could condemn them to everlasting silence. These two parties regarded each other with the bitterest hate. "It is hardly possible," exclaims Antonio dei Pagliarici, "for a man to be a Christian and to die in his bed."‡

* Boverio, *Annali*, i, 438.

† A letter of Peter Martyr to the community he had left, in which he expresses his repentance for having at times veiled the truth; Schlosser, *Leben Bezas und Peter Martyrs*, p. 400. Gerdesius and M'Crrie have collected a good many detached notices in the works already cited.

‡ Aonii Palearii Opera, ed. Wetsten. 1696, p. 91. Il Cl. di Ravenna al Cl. Contarini, *Epp. Poli*, III, 208, already urges this: "Sendo quella città (Ravenna) partialissima, nè vi rimanendo huomo alcuno non contaminato di questa macchia delle fattioni, si van volentieri dove l'occasione s'offerisce caricando l'un l'altro da inimici."

The academy of Modena was not the only one that broke up. Those of Naples, established by the Seggi, originally only intended for studies, from which, according to the spirit of the age, they came to embrace theological disputations, were closed by the viceroy.* Every branch of literature was subjected to the most rigorous supervision. In the year 1543, Caraffa ordered that in future, no book, of what contents soever, whether old or new, should be printed without the permission of the inquisition; that booksellers should send to it catalogues of all their articles, and should sell nothing more without its permission. The officers of the customs received an order to deliver no packages of manuscript or printed books to their address, without first laying them before the inquisition.† Thus gradually arose the index of prohibited books. The first examples of the kind were given in Louvaine and Paris. In Italy, Giovanni della Casa, who lived on terms of the strictest intimacy with the house of Caraffa, printed the first catalogue, containing about seventy books, at Venice. More elaborate and complete ones appeared in 1552 at Florence, and 1554 at Milan; the first, in the form afterwards employed, was published at Rome in 1559. It contained writings of cardinals, and the poems of Casa himself. Not only printers and booksellers were subjected to these laws; even on private persons it was imposed as a duty of conscience to give information of the existence of forbidden books, and to contribute to their annihilation. These rules were executed with inconceivable severity. Though thousands of the book, "On the Benefits of the Death of Christ," were dispersed, it has utterly disappeared, and is no where to be found. Whole piles of seized copies were burnt in Rome.

In all these regulations and measures the clergy availed themselves of the help of the secular arm.‡ The popes found the advantage of possessing a territory of their own of considerable extent: here they could set an example and exhibit a pattern. In Milan and Naples the governments could offer no opposition, particularly as they had intended to introduce the Spanish inquisition, though in Naples the confiscation of goods was prohibited. In Tuscany the inquisition was accessible to the influence of the civil power through the legate, whom Duke Cosmo had found means to gain over; but the fraternities which it founded gave great offence: in Siena and Pisa it acted very oppressively against the universities. In the

* Giannone: Storia di Napoli., XXXII, c. v.

† Bromato, VII, 9.

‡ Other members of the laity seconded their endeavors. "Fu rimediato," says the Compendium of the Inquisitors, "opportunamente dal S. Officio in Roma con porre in ogni città valenti e zelanti inquisitori, servendosi anche talhora de secolari zelanti, e dotti per ajuto della fede, come, verbi gratia, del Godescalco in Como, del conte Albano in Bergamo, del Mutio in Milano. Questa risoluzione di servirsi de' secolari fu presa, perche non soli moltissimi vescovi, vicarii, frati e preti, ma anco molti dell' istessa Inquisitione erano heretici."

Venetian states the inquisitor was, it is true, not wholly emancipated from civil control; from April, 1547, three Venetian *nobili* had a seat in his tribunal in the capital; in the provinces, the *rettore* of each town, who occasionally consulted doctors in difficult cases (especially when the accusation affected eminent persons) claimed a share in the investigation with the council of ten: notwithstanding this, however, the ordinances of Rome were on all material points executed.

And thus all the life and motion of varying opinions in Italy were forcibly stifled and annihilated. Almost the whole Franciscan order was compelled to retract. The greater part of the followers of Valdez submitted to make recantation. In Venice a certain liberty was allowed to the foreigners, mostly Germans, who resided there for purposes of trade or of study; but the natives were forced to abjure their opinions, and their meetings were interrupted. Many fled; every town of Germany and of Switzerland afforded refuge to the fugitives; while those who would not submit and could not escape, fell victims to this terrific persecution. In Venice they were sent from the lagoons out to sea in two boats, between which a plank was laid and the condemned placed upon it; at the same moment the rowers pulled different ways—the plank fell into the water—once more did the miserable sufferers call upon the name of Christ, and then sank to rise no more. In Rome autos da fê were solemnly held in front of the church of Santa Maria alla Minerva. Many fled from place to place with their wives and children; we trace their footsteps for awhile, then they disappear; probably they had fallen into the toils of the merciless hunters. Others sought safety in silence and obscurity.

The Duchess of Ferrara, who, if the salic law had not existed, would have been heiress of France, found no protection from her birth and exalted rank. Her husband was her accuser. "She sees no one," says Marot, "to whom she can complain; the mountains are between her and her friends; she mingles her wine with tears."

§ 7. PROGRESS OF THE INSTITUTION OF JESUITISM.

In this state of things, when opponents were removed by force, when the dogmas of the church were established anew in the spirit of the age, and the ecclesiastical power enforced their observance with resistless weapons, arose, in strictest alliance with that power, the order of the Jesuits.

Not in Rome alone, but throughout Italy, it had the most extraordinary success. Originally destined for the common people, it now found entrance among the higher classes. In Parma it was

protected by the Farnesi.* Princesses submitted themselves to the spiritual exercises. In Venice Lainez gave an exposition of the Gospel of St. John expressly for the nobles, and in 1542, with the aid of one of the Lippomano family, he succeeded in laying the foundations of a Jesuits' college. In Montepulciano, Francesco Strada had such an influence over some of the most eminent men of the town, that he induced them to go about the streets with him begging. Strada knocked at the door, the others received the alms. In Faenza, though it had been the scene of Ochino's labors, the Jesuits succeeded in acquiring great influence, in allaying feuds of centuries standing, and in founding societies for the support of the poor. I quote these few examples only by way of illustration: on every side they arose, gained followers, organised schools, and established themselves on a firm footing.

But as Ignatius was a Spaniard, imbued with, and actuated by, the ideas of his nation, as his most intelligent disciples had readily followed in the track he marked out, his society, which was inspired by the same spirit, made still greater progress in the peninsula than in Italy. In Barcelona he made a very distinguished convert in the viceroy Francesco Borgia, Duke of Gandia; in Valencia one church could not contain the hearers of Araoz, and a pulpit was erected for him in the open air. In Alcada, followers of consideration soon congregated around Francesco Villanova, spite of the disadvantages of sickness, mean extraction, and extreme ignorance under which he labored. From this place and from Salamanca, where, in 1548, they began their labors in a small miserable house, the Jesuits principally issued forth and overspread the whole of Spain.† Nor was their reception less cordial in Portugal. The king suffered only one of the two first who were sent to him at his request, to proceed to the East Indies. This was that Xavier who won there the fame of an apostle and a saint: the other, Simon Roderic, the king kept near his person. At both courts the Jesuits obtained extraordinary popularity. They effected a thorough reform in that of Portugal. In the court of Madrid they almost immediately became the confessors of grandees of the highest rank, of the president of the council of Castile, and of the cardinal of Toledo.

In the year 1540 Ignatius had sent a few young men to study at Paris; from thence his society diffused itself over the Netherlands. Faber had a most decided success in Louvaine; eighteen young men who had already taken the degree of master or bache-

* Orlandinus expresses himself strangely. "Et civitas," he says, ii, p. 78, "et privati, quibus fuisse dicitur aliqua cum Romano Pontifice necessitudo, supplices ad eum literas pro Fabro retinendo dederunt." Just as if it were not known, that Paul III had a son. The inquisition was indeed afterwards introduced into Parma, in consequence of the hostility shown towards the priests inclined to the doctrines of the Jesuits.

† Ribadeneira: Vita Ignatii, c. XV, n. 244; c. XXXVIII, n. 285.

lor, offered to leave home, university, and country, to accompany him to Portugal. The followers of Loyola were already seen in Germany, and, among the first, Peter Canisius, on his twenty-third birthday, entered that order to which he afterwards rendered such important services.

This rapid success had of necessity the strongest influence on the development of the constitution. The form it assumed was as follows:—

In the class of the first associates, the professed members, Ignatius admitted but few. He found that the number of men thoroughly educated, and at the same time good and pious, was very small. In the first project which he submitted to the pope he expresses the intention of founding colleges at several universities for the education of young men, an unexpected number of whom attached themselves to him, as we have already observed. They formed the professed members, as contradistinguished from the class of scholars.* But a difficulty soon arose. As the professed had bound themselves by a fourth and special oath to a life of continual travelling in the service of the pope, it was a contradiction to assign to them as many colleges as were now required—establishments which could thrive only by their constant presence. Ignatius soon found it necessary to establish a third class between these two; spiritual coadjutors, who were at the same time priests, versed in science and learning, and expressly devoted to the education of youth. This was one of the most important institutions of the Jesuits, and, as far as I have been able to discover, peculiar to them. It contributed more than any other to the singular success of the society. They could establish themselves in any place, become residents, gain influence, and put themselves at the head of instruction. Like the scholars, they took only three vows; and, be it observed, these were simple, not solemn:—that is to say, though any attempt to quit the society would have been followed by excommunication, the society had the right, in certain cases, strictly defined, to absolve them of their vows.

One only thing was now requisite. It would have disturbed the studies and occupations to which these classes were destined, had they been compelled to devote themselves to providing for their own subsistence. The professed, in their houses, lived on alms; the coadjutors and scholars were spared this, as the colleges were permitted to have revenues in common. For the administration of these revenues, so far as it did not devolve on the professed (who were excluded from any participation in the enjoyment of them), and for the care of all external affairs, Ignatius likewise ap-

* Pauli III. *Facultas coadjutores admittendi*, d. 5 Junii, 1546: “ita ut ad vota servanda pro eo tempore quo tu, fili præposite, et qui pro tempore fuerint ejuſdem societatis præpositi, eis in ministerio spirituali vel temporali utendum judicaveritis, et non ultra astringantur.” *Corpus Institutorum*, I, p. 16.

pointed two secular coadjutors. who indeed were equally bound by the three simple vows, but who were forced to content themselves with the conviction that they were serving God by aiding in the support of a society which watched over the salvation of souls, and were to aspire to no higher reward. These arrangements were not only well calculated in themselves, but at the same time founded a hierarchy which, by its different gradations, had a peculiar power of subjugating the minds of men.*

If we attentively consider the laws which were gradually given to this society, we shall find that one of the main objects which lay at the bottom of them all was, the complete separation of its members from all the ordinary relations of life. Love of kindred was denounced as a carnal affection.† He who renounced his possessions in order to enter the society was not to give them to his relations, but to distribute them to the poor.‡ He who had once entered could neither receive nor write a letter that was not read by a superior. The society would have the whole man; it would bind every inclination in its fetters.

It would share even his secrets. A general confession was the preliminary to his entrance. He must enumerate all his faults, nay, even all his virtues. A father confessor was appointed him by his superiors: the superior reserved to himself the power of granting absolution in cases which it was expedient for him to know.§ This was insisted on as a means of enabling him to obtain a perfect knowledge of those under him, and to use them at his discretion.

For, in this society, obedience usurped the place of every relation or affection, of every impulse or motive, that could stimulate man to activity; obedience for its own sake, without any regard whatever to its object or consequences.|| No man was permitted to aspire after any rank or station above that which he held; if it happened that the secular coadjutor could not read and write, he was not to learn without permission. With the most absolute abnegation of all right of private judgment, he who entered this society must suffer himself to be ruled by his superiors in blind sub-

* The basis of the society consisted of Novices, Guests, and Indifferents; from these rose the different classes.

† *Summarium constitutionum*, § 8, in the *Corpus Institutorum Societatis Jesus*. Antverpiæ, 1789. Tom. i. In Orlandinus, iii, 66, Faber is praised, because once, having arrived after many years of absence in his native town in Savoy, he resisted his inclination to make any stay, and continued his journey.

‡ *Examen generale*, c. IV, § 2.

§ Rules, contained separately in the *Summarium constitutionum*, § 32, § 41, the *Examen generale*, § 35, § 36, and *Constitutionum Pauli III*, c. 1, n. 11; “*Illi casus reservabuntur*,” it is said in the last passage, “*quos ab eo (superiore) cognosci necessarium videbitur, aut valde conveniens*.”

|| The letter of Ignatius, “*Fratribus Societatis Jesu qui sunt in Lusitania*.” j. Kal. Ap. 1553. § 3.

missiveness, like some inanimate thing; like the staff which is turned to any purpose at the will of him who holds it. He was to behold in his superiors the representatives of divine Providence.*

What a power was that now vested in the general!—the power of wielding this implicit obedience wholly, irresponsibly, and for life. According to the project of 1543, all the members of the order who happened to be at the same place with the general were to be called into council even on trifling affairs. The project of 1550, which was confirmed by Julius III, frees him from this obligation, whenever he himself deems it inexpedient to comply with it.† It was only necessary to hold a council for any change in the constitution, or for the dissolution of existing houses and colleges. In all other matters, all power that can conduce to the good government of the society was committed to him. He had assistants in the several provinces, who however meddled in no affairs but those which he entrusted to them. He appointed the presidents of provinces, colleges, and houses at his pleasure; he admitted and dismissed, dispensed and punished; he had a sort of papal power on a small scale.‡ The only danger was, that the general in the possession of so vast a power, should himself depart from the principles of the order. To guard against this he was subjected to certain restraints. It was not perhaps of so much importance as it appeared to Ignatius, that the society or its deputies had the power of deciding on certain external things, such as meals, clothing, hours of sleep, and all the details of daily life;§ but it was unquestionably something that the possessor of the supreme power was deprived of a freedom enjoyed by the meanest individual. The assistants, who were not nominated by him, also exercised a constant supervision over his conduct. There was an officer specially appointed to warn or reprove him, called the admonitor; and in case of any

* Constitutiones VI, 1. “Et sibi quisque persuadeat, quod qui sub obedientia vivunt, se ferri ac regia a divina providentia per superiores suos sinere debent, perinde ac cadaver essent.”—Here is also given the other Constitution VI, 5, according to which it would appear that even a sin might be ordained. “Visum est nobis in Domino, . . . nullas constitutiones, declarationes vel ordinem ullum vivendi posse obligationem ad peccatum mortale vel veniale inducere nisi superior ea in nomine Domini Jesu Christi vel in virtute obedientiæ jubeat.” We scarcely know how to trust our eyes, in reading this. And it is in fact possible to extract another meaning besides that suggested on the first perusal. “Obligatio ad peccatum mortale vel veniale,” would rather mean the obligation connected with a constitution; so that whosoever should violate it, would, in one way or the other, be guilty of a sin. Still it must be acknowledged that the Constitution ought to be more explicit. We could blame no one, who bona fide should suppose “ea” to refer to “peccatum mortale vel veniale,” and not to “constitutiones.”

† Adjutus, quatenus ipse opportunum judicabit, fratrum suorum consilio, per se ipsum ordinandi et jubendi quæ ad Dei Gloriam pertinere videbuntur, jus totum habeat.” says Julii III. Confirmatio Instituti.

‡ Constitutiones IX, III.

§ *Schedula Ignatii, AA. SS. Commentatio prævia, n. 872.*

gross faults, the assistants were empowered to summon the general congregation, which was then authorised to pronounce sentence of deposition on their chief.

This leads us to another consideration.

If, without suffering ourselves to be dazzled by the hyperbolic expressions in which the Jesuits have represented this power, we examine what was practicable; consistently with the extension which the society rapidly attained to, the following will appear to be the result.

The supreme direction of the whole was vested in the general, and especially the superintendence of the superiors, whose consciences ought to lie open to him, whose duties he was to assign. These, on the other hand, exercised a similar power in their own department, and frequently with more severity than the general.* The superiors and the general held each other in some degree in check. The general was likewise to be acquainted with the person and character of all subordinates, of all members of the society whatsoever; although, as is evident, he could interfere only in urgent cases, yet he retained the supreme supervision. On the other hand, a certain number of the professed exercised a supervision over him.

There have been other religious orders, which, forming a world within the world, severed their members from all other ties, made them wholly their own, and generated in them a new principle of life and action. Such were among the ends which the institution of the Jesuits also was calculated to accomplish. But it is remarkable, that on the one side, it not only encourages but requires the development of individual minds, while on the other, it takes them completely captive, and makes them its own. Hence all relations between the members merged in those of subordination and mutual supervision. They thus formed a strict, exclusive, and complete union endowed with nerve and energy. For this reason they contributed so much to strengthen the monarchical power; they submitted themselves to it absolutely, unless its possessors fell off from the very principle on which it rests.

It is quite in accordance with the spirit of this society that no member of it could be invested with any ecclesiastical dignity. He would have had duties to fulfil, he would have been involved in circumstances, over which he could have had no supervision or control. In the early days of the society, at least, this rule was most rigidly adhered to. Jay would not, and was not permitted to accept the bishopric of Trieste; and when Ferdinand I, who offered it to him, renounced his wish in consequence of a letter from Ignatius, the latter caused solemn mass to be performed, and *Te Deum* to be sung.†

* Mariana, *Discurso de las enfermedades de la Compania de Jesus*, c. XI.

† Extract from the *Liber memorialis* of Ludovicus Gonsalvus: "quod, desistente rege, S. Ignatius indixerit missas, et, 'Te Deum, laudamus,' in gratiarum actionem." *Commentarius prævius*, in AA. SS. Julii VII, n. 412.

Another important point is, that as the society generally raised itself above the more ascetical and onerous practices of religion, so individuals were warned not to carry their devout exercises to excess. They were exhorted not to weaken their bodies with fasts, vigils, and scourgings; not to abstract too much time from the service of their neighbor for such purposes; to observe moderation even in labor; to use not only the spur, but the curb; not to encumber themselves with so many weapons that they could not wield them; not to oppress themselves with work till the energy of their minds should be crushed by the burden.*

It is clear that it was the design and the principle of the society to possess its members as its exclusive property, yet at the same time to give them the utmost vigor of character consistent with strict adherence to that principle.

In fact, such a character was indispensable to the difficult functions which the Jesuits took upon themselves. These were, as we saw, preaching, instruction, and confession. To the two latter they devoted themselves with singular zeal.

Instruction had till then been in the hands of those men of letters, who, after having long addicted themselves to profane studies, fell into speculations on religious subjects, not wholly agreeable to the court of Rome, and ended by adopting opinions utterly reprobated by it. The Jesuits made it their business to expel them from their post, and occupy it in their stead. They began on a more systematic plan than had hitherto been pursued. They divided the schools into classes, which they taught, from the first rudiments up to the highest branches of learning, in the same spirit. They paid great attention also to the moral education, and formed men of good conduct and manners; they were patronised by the civil authorities; and, lastly, they taught gratis. When a city or a prince had founded a Jesuits' college, private persons needed no longer to be at any expense for the education of their sons. They were expressly forbidden to ask or to receive pay or alms; their instruction was as gratuitous as their sermons and their masses; there was no box for the receipt of gifts even in their churches. Men being what they are, this could not fail to make the Jesuits extremely popular, especially as they taught with no less success than zeal. "This was not only a help to the poor," says Orlandini,† "but a solace to the rich." He remarks how enormous was their success. "We see," says he, "many robed in the purple of a cardinal, who were but lately seated on the benches of our schools; others have attained to posts in the government of cities and of states; we have trained

* *Constitutiones*, V, 3, 1. *Epistola Ignatii ad Fratres qui sunt in Hispania*. *Corpus Institutorum*, II, 540.

† Orlandinus, lib. vi, 70. A comparison might be made with the conventual schools of the protestants, in which also the devotional tendency completely predominated. Vide Sturm, in *Ruhkopf*, *Geschichte des Schulwesens*, p. 378. The points of difference would be those to consider.

up bishops and their councils; even other religious communities have been filled from our schools." They had the acuteness to detect, and the skill to appropriate, all remarkable talents. They constituted themselves a class of teachers, who, dispersed over all catholic lands, first gave to education that religious color which it has ever since retained, preserved a strict unity in discipline, method, and doctrine, and thus obtained an incalculable influence over the minds of men.

But how greatly was this influence strengthened by the address with which they got possession of the confessional and of the direction of consciences! No age of the world was more susceptible of such influence—none indeed more in need of it. The Jesuits are exhorted by their rules to give absolution in such sort and manner as to follow one uniform method; to practise themselves in cases of conscience, to accustom themselves to a brief way of questioning, and to hold the examples of the saints, their works, and other aids, ready against every kind of sin:*—rules which, as is evident, are admirably calculated for the necessities of man.

The extraordinary success, however, which attended their labors, and which involved a real diffusion of their own manner of thinking rested on another essential point.

The little book of spiritual exercises which Ignatius worked out in the most singular manner,† though he did not draw the first outline of it—the book with which he attracted his first, and afterwards his later disciples—with which he attached his followers generally—is a most remarkable production. Its operation was progressive and powerful; the more so, perhaps because it was recommended to be used only occasionally, in moments of inward perplexity and agitation—of the cravings and wants of the troubled heart.

It is not a book of doctrine; it is a guide to self-observation.—“The longing of the soul,” says Ignatius, “cannot be appeased by much knowledge, but by the sense and relish of inward things.”‡ To direct this is the task he proposes to himself. The guardian of souls indicates the subjects of reflection; the disciple has only to follow them out. He is to direct his mind to them before going to sleep, and at first waking; he must drive away all other thoughts with effort; windows and doors must be closed; kneeling, or extended on the earth, he must carry through the work of self-examination.

He begins by being conscious of his sins. He reflects how, for

* *Regula Sacerdotum*, § 8, 10, 11.

† From all that has been written on both sides of the question, it is very clear that Ignatius had in view a similar work by Garcia de Cisneros. All that is most peculiar and characteristic appears however to have originated with himself. *Comm. præv.*, n. 64.

‡ “*Non enim abundantia scientiæ, sed sensus et gustus rerum interior desiderium animæ replere solet.*”

one single crime, the angels were cast down into hell; but for him, although guilty of so much greater transgressions, the saints offer up their intercessions; the firmament and the stars, the animals and plants of the earth, serve him. In order that he may be delivered from sin, and may not fall into eternal damnation, he calls on Christ crucified, he hears his answers:—a dialogue as of a friend with his friend, as of a servant with his lord.

His principal endeavor is next to exhort to the study of sacred history. “I see,” he says, “how the three persons of the Godhead look down upon the whole earth, filled with men who are doomed to perdition; they determine that the second person shall take upon himself the human nature for their redemption. I look over the whole circuit of the world, and I discern in one corner of it the hut of the Virgin Mary, from which salvation proceeds.”

He advances from step to step of the sacred history; he brings before himself the events in all their peculiarities, according to the categories of sense: the greatest latitude is given to the religious fancy, emancipated from the restraints of language. The reader imagines he touches the garments, he kisses the footsteps, of the divine personages. In this exaltation of the fancy, in the feeling, how great is the beatitude of a soul that is filled with divine graces and virtues, he returns to the consideration of his own state. If he has his condition still to choose, he chooses it now, according to the wants of his heart; having the one aim before his eyes—to be consecrated to God’s glory; believing that he stands in the presence of God and all his saints.

If he is no longer free to choose, he reflects on his manner of living, his conversation, the ordering of his household, his needful expenditure, what he has to give to the poor; all in the same frame of mind as he would wish to reflect upon them in the hour of death; having nothing in view save what tends to God’s honor and his own salvation.

Thirty days are devoted to these exercises; during which reflections on the sacred history, on his own most intimate state, prayers, resolutions, alternate one with another. The soul is kept in a state of constant excitement and activity, occupied with itself. Lastly, in representing to himself the providence of God, “who in all his creatures works for the good of man,” the contemplator believes he once more stands before the face of the Lord and of his saints. He implores the Divine Being to enable him to give himself up to his love and service; he offers up his liberty, memory, judgment, will. Thus is the bond of love concluded with him. “Love consists in the community of all capacities and of all possessions.” As a recompence for his self-devotion, God imparts to the soul His grace.

It is sufficient for the present purpose to have given a slight idea of this extraordinary book. In its general course, as well as in particular passages and their connection, there is something persuasive,

which sets the thoughts in motion, but which encloses and binds them within a narrow circle. It is adapted with consummate skill to its end—meditation under the sway of fancy; and its success is the more unfailing because it rests on the author's own experiences. Ignatius gradually embodied in this work the most animated crisis of his awakening and of his spiritual progress, from their first commencement till the year 1548, when he received the sanction of the pope. It has been said that Jesuitism turned to account the experiences of the protestants, and this may be true in particular instances; as a whole, however, they stand in the sharpest contrast. Ignatius here opposed to the discursive, demonstrative, searching methods of the protestants, which were by their very nature polemical, a totally different one; short, intuitive, and leading to ecstatic contemplation; built upon the imagination, exciting to instant resolution.

And thus did that fantastic element from which he drew his earliest inspirations become an instrument of extraordinary force and importance. Combining the habits of a soldier, he succeeded, with the fervor of a religious fancy, in enrolling a spiritual standing army, picked man by man, trained individually for his objects, and commanded by himself, in the name and service of the pope. He lived to see it spread over every nation of the earth.

When Ignatius died, his company numbered thirteen provinces, exclusive of the Roman.* A glance will suffice to show where the nerve of it lay. The larger half of these provinces, seven, belonged to the western peninsula and its colonies. In Castile there were ten colleges, in Aragon five, in Andalusia also five. Portugal surpassed even this; there were houses for both professed members and for novices, and the Portuguese colonies were almost entirely under their rule. In Brazil there were twenty-eight members of the order; in the East Indies, from Goa to Japan, a hundred were employed in the functions allotted to them. An attempt was made from thence to establish themselves in Ethiopia, and a provincial was sent thither in the confident hope of a successful result. All these provinces of Spanish and Portuguese language and manners were united under one commissary-general, Francisco Borgia.

Here, as we have said, where the first idea of the society arose, its influence had become most extensive and powerful. But it was not much less so in Italy. There were three provinces of the Italian tongue:—the Roman, which was under the immediate control of the general, with houses for professed and novices; the *collegium Romanum*; and the *collegium Germanicum*, (established, on the advice of cardinal Morone, expressly for Germans, but which never had much success;) to this province Naples also belonged, and Sicily (where the Jesuits were first introduced by the viceroy,

* In the year 1556. Sacchinus, *Historia societatis Jesu*, p. ii, sive Lainius, from the beginning.

Della Vega,) with four colleges completed and two begun.* Messina and Palermo had rivalled each other in zeal to found colleges, and the others were offshoots from these. The two other proper Italian provinces comprehended all the north of Italy, and contained ten colleges.

Their success had not been so brilliant in other countries; they had to encounter protestantism, or a strong inclination towards it, France contained but one college regularly constituted. Germany was divided into two provinces, which were however only in their infancy. The upper was to include Vienna, Prague, Ingolstadt, &c., but its condition was in every way very precarious. The lower was to comprise the Netherlands, but Philip II had given it no legal existence there.

A success so early and so rapid gave the society promise of the power to which it was destined to attain. Its mighty influence in the truly catholic lands—the two peninsulas—was of the utmost importance.

CONCLUSION.

We see, that while, on the one hand, the movement with which protestantism agitated the minds of men advanced on every side with rapid strides, on the other, a new tendency had in like manner arisen in the bosom of catholicism—in Rome—around the presence and person of the pope.

This, no less than the former, sprang from the corruptions and the worldliness which had deformed the church, or rather, from the wants that they had generated in the minds of men.

At the beginning these two tendencies approximated. There was a moment in which Germany had not thoroughly resolved on the complete downfall of the hierarchy; a moment in which Italy was inclined to adopt rational modifications of it. This moment passed away.

While the protestants, resting on Scripture, recurred with ever-increasing boldness to the primitive forms of the Christian religion, their opponents determined to hold fast to the ecclesiastical institutions which had been consolidated in the course of the century, to renew them merely, and to infuse into them fresh spirit, earnestness and strictness.

On the one hand, arose Calvinism, far more anti-Catholic than Lutheranism; on the other, everything which could recall an idea of protestantism was rejected with deliberate hostility, and the most direct opposition was declared.

Thus do two neighboring and kindred springs arise on the mountain top; but soon their waters form different channels down its rocky sides, the streams diverge, and flow on in opposite directions for ever.

* Ribadencira: Vita Ignatii, n. 293.

BOOK III.



THE POPES IN THE MIDDLE OF THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

INTRODUCTION.

THE most striking characteristic of the sixteenth century is its fertility in religious systems. The various and conflicting opinions which then arose and overspread Europe, form, even at the present hour, the moral atmosphere in which we live and move.

If we seek to assign more accurately the point of history at which the separation between catholicism and protestantism of which we have just spoken, became complete, we shall find that it did not coincide with the first appearance of the reformers; for divergences of opinion did not immediately become inveterate, and during a long time hopes might be entertained of some compromise between the conflicting doctrines. It was not till the year 1552 that it became manifest that all attempts at conciliation had utterly failed, and the three great forms of Christianity in the West were severed for ever. Lutheranism became stricter, more ascetical, more exclusive. Calvinism seceded from it in the most important articles, though Calvin himself had previously passed for a Lutheran. Directly opposed to both, catholicism assumed its modern form. Thus hostilely arrayed, each of the three theological systems strove to establish itself on the position which it had taken up, thence to supplant its rivals, and to subject the world to its own sway.

It might appear that catholicism, which aimed at nothing but the renovation of an existing institution, would have found it more easy than the antagonist sects to make its way, and to obtain the ascendancy; but its advantages were not great; it was circumscribed, no less than its competitors, by various interests, tastes and passions; by worldly-mindedness, profane learning, and declining religious convictions; it was little more than a principle of fermentation, of which it might still be questioned, whether it would eventually pervade and overpower the elements in the midst of which it was generated, or be overpowered by them.

The first obstacle it had to encounter arose from the popes themselves—their personal character, and their policy.

We have remarked how a temper of mind the very reverse of spiritual had taken root in the heads of the church, had provoked opposition, and had given an incalculable impetus to protestantism.

The question was, whether the strict ecclesiastical spirit which had sprung up in the bosom of the church herself, would overmaster and transmute this temper, or not, and to what degree? It appears to me, that the conflict between these two principles—between the ideas, the actions, and the policy which had hitherto prevailed and had become habitual, and the necessity of effecting a thorough internal reform, constitute the prominent interest in the history of the next popes.

§ 1. PAUL III.

It is a common error of the present day to ascribe far too much to the designs and the influence of eminent persons, of rulers, and of governments; their memory not unfrequently has to expiate the sins of the mass, while sometimes they have credit for measures which emanated in fact from the spontaneous impulse of the mass.

The catholic movement which we contemplated in the last book began under Paul III, but it would be a mistake to regard him as its author. He distinctly saw its importance to the see of Rome, and he not only allowed it free course, but promoted it in many ways; we may confidently assert, however, that he could have no sincere or cordial sympathy with so religious and ascetical a spirit.

Alexander Farnese, for that was the name of Paul III, was as much a man of the world as any of his predecessors. His education was completed within the fifteenth century, for he was born in the year 1468. He studied under Pomponius Lætus at Rome, and in the gardens of Lorenzo de' Medici at Florence; he thus became thoroughly imbued with the elegant literature and the taste for art which characterized that epoch; nor was he a stranger to its morals. His mother once found it necessary to allow him to remain a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo. In a moment when the vigilance of his guards was withdrawn by the procession of Corpus Christi day, he found means to let himself down from the castle by a rope, and to escape. He acknowledged an illegitimate son and daughter. Spite of these excesses—for in those days such things caused little scandal—he was made cardinal at a very early age. During his cardinalate he laid the foundation of the most beautiful of all the Roman palaces—that of the Farnesi. At Bolsena, where his hereditary estates were situated, he fitted up a villa which Pope Leo found so attractive as to tempt him to pay the cardinal several visits there. Nor were his desires bounded by this brilliant and magnificent life; he cherished other projects and loftier ambitions. From the very beginning of his career he fixed his eye on the

supreme dignity. It is characteristic of him that he sought to reach it by maintaining a strict neutrality. The French and imperial factions divided Italy, Rome, and the college of cardinals: Farnese conducted himself with such deliberate caution, with such happy prudence, that no one could have said to which of the two he most inclined. Even so early in his career as at the death of Leo, and again at that of Adrian, he was near being elected. He was exasperated against the memory of Clement VII, whom he regarded as having robbed him of twelve years of the papacy, which would otherwise have been his. At length, in October 1534, in the fortieth year of his cardinalate, and the sixty-seventh of his life, he attained the end of all his aspirations, and was elected pope.*

He had now to feel the full weight of the great conflicting interests which divided the world; the animosity of the two parties between which he occupied so important a station; the necessity of making head against the protestants, and the secret connection with them into which he was inevitably drawn by their political position; the desire to diminish the preponderance of Spain, and the danger attending every attempt to do so, which naturally arose out of the situation of his Italian principality; the urgent need of a reform, and the annoying restraints which that reform seemed to threaten to impose on the papal power.

The manner in which his character developed itself in the midst of all these irreconcilable demands is well worthy of notice.

Paul III was of an easy, magnificent, liberal nature. Seldom has a pope been so beloved in Rome as he was. There was a grandeur in the way in which he nominated men of distinguished merit to the dignity of cardinal, without even their knowledge, nobly contrasting with the petty personal considerations which usually determine appointments. Nor did he only nominate them;—he allowed them an unwonted liberty. He endured contradiction in the consistory, and encouraged the cardinals to fearless discussion.†

But while he granted freedom to others, while he conceded to every one all the advantages attached to his situation, he would not suffer one of his own prerogatives to be invaded, or to fall into

* Onuphrius Panvinius: Vita Pauli III.

† In the year 1538, Marco Antonio Contarini wrote a report of the state of the pope's court to the Venetian senate. Unfortunately I have not found this work either in the Venetian archives or elsewhere. There is a short extract from it in a MS. in my possession, on the war then carrying on against the Turks, bearing the title, "Tre Libri delli Commentari della Guerra, 1537—8—9." It is from this source I have taken the above notices. "Disse del stato della corte, che molti anni inanzi li prelati non erano stati in quella riforma di vita ch' eran allora e che li cardinali havevano liberta maggiore di dire l'opinion loro in consistorio ch'avesser avuto gia mai da gran tempo, e che di ciò il pontefice non so lamente non si doleva, ma se n'era studiattissimo, onde per questa ragione si poteva sperare di giorno in giorno maggior riforma. Considerò che tra cardinali vi erano tali uomini celeberrimi che per opinione commune il mondo non n'avria altrettati."

neglect. The emperor once remonstrated with him on having promoted two of his grandsons to the cardinalate at too early an age; he replied, that he would do as his predecessors had done—that there were examples of infants in the cradle being made cardinals. He showed a partiality for his own kindred unusual even in a pope,* and a determination to raise them to princely rank, as other pontiffs had done before him.

It cannot, however, be affirmed that, like Alexander VI, he sacrificed everything else to this object; he was most anxiously bent on re-establishing peace between France and Spain, on putting down the protestants, making war against the Turks, and reforming the church: but his heart was also much set on elevating his own house.

The variety and importance of objects, both public and private, which he pursued, forced him upon an extremely cautious, watchful, temporising, policy; everything depended on the favorable moment, the fortunate combination of circumstances; these he was compelled to mature by slow degrees, and, when the critical moment arrived, to seize them with the utmost promptitude, to hold them with the most determined grasp.

Ambassadors found it difficult to negotiate with him. They were astonished, that though he never exhibited a trace of want of courage, they could rarely bring him to a decision. While he sought to entangle others, to win from them a word that would not be withdrawn, or a promise that could not be revoked, he was never betrayed into an expression that could bind himself. This was observed in lesser things; he showed a constant disinclination to refuse or to promise anything; he chose to keep his hands free to the last minute. How much more then in occasions of difficulty! Sometimes he himself suggested means of escaping from or obviating the evil, but if others tried to seize upon them, he instantly retracted; he chose to remain always master of every transaction in which he was concerned. †

* Soriano, 1535: "E Romano di sangue et è d' animo molto gagliardo: stima assai l'ingiurie che gli si fanno, et è inclinatissimo a far grandi i suoi." Varchi (*Istorie Fiorentine*, p. 636,) relates of Paul's first secretary, Messer Ambrogio, that he was "a man who could do all that he willed, and who willed all that he could do." Amongst many other presents, he once received sixty silver washing-basins, with their ewers. "How does it come about," said somebody, "that, with so many washing-basins, he cannot keep his hands clean?"

† In the *Lettres et Mémoires d'État*, par Guill. Ribier, Paris, 1666,—are to be found a crowd of documents relating to 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 in a straightforward manner in the *Relatione di Roma*, 1551, d. 20 Junii, in *Senatu*—a MS. in my possession. "Il negoziare con P. Paolo fu giudicato ad ogn'un difficile, perche era tardissimo nel parlare, perche non voleva mai proferire parola che non fusse elegante et exquisita, così nella volgare come nella latina e greca, che di tutte tre ne faceva professione (Greek, I should think, he could not often have used in his negotiations) e mi aveva scoperto di quel poco che io ne intendeva. E perche era vec-

He was, as we have said, of the same classical school which had produced some of his most eminent predecessors, and made it a rule to express himself in no other than the most choice and elegant Latin or Italian; he weighed every word with the double consideration both of matter and form, and uttered them in a soft voice and with the slowest deliberation.

It was often difficult for a man to ascertain how he stood with him. Sometimes people thought it safer to conclude the contrary from what he said. Yet this conclusion would not always have been just. Those who were more immediately about him, remarked that when he was most sanguine of the success of any undertaking, he said nothing about it, and avoided all contact with the persons or the things connected with it.* So much was clear to all—that he never relinquished a project he had once entertained; he hoped to accomplish whatever he had undertaken, if not presently, yet at some future time, under altered circumstances and by other means.

Such a character of mind, such a tendency to far-sighted calculation, to consider things on every side and to ponder on them in secret, was not inconsistent with a disposition to take into account heavenly as well as earthly influences. The influence of the stars on the results of human actions was at that time little doubted. Paul III appointed no important sitting of the consistory, undertook no journey, without observing the constellations, and choosing the day which appeared to him recommended by their aspect.† A treaty with France was delayed because there was no conformity between the nativity of the pope and that of the king. It seems that Paul felt himself placed in the midst of a thousand conflicting influences, not only of this lower world, but of the supernal: it was his endeavor to have due regard to both, to avert their hostility, to improve their favor, and to steer his course adroitly amongst the rocks which threatened destruction on every side.

We will examine what were the means he employed, whether they were successful, whether he really raised himself above the contending powers that agitated the world, or whether he was involved in their struggles.

In the first years of his reign he succeeded in concluding an alliance with Charles V and the Venetians, against the Turks. He urged the Venetians to this measure with great eagerness; for hopes

chissimo, parlava bassissimo et era longhissimo ne volea negar cosa che se gli addimandasse; ma nè anche (volea) che l'uomo che negotiava seco potesse esser sicuro di havere havuto da S. S.^a il sì piu che il no, perche lei voleva starsi sempre in l' vantaggio di poter negare e concedere: per il che sempre si risolveva tardissimamente, quando volea negare."

* Observations of the cardinal Carpi and Margareta: "che son los," says Mendoza, "que mas platica tienen de su condiccion."

† Mendoza: "Es venido la cosa a que ay muy pocos cardenales, que concierten negocios, aunque sea para comprar una carga de leña, sino es o por medio de algun astrologo o hechizero." We find the most unquestionable particulars relating to the pope.

were now, as at other times, entertained of extending the frontiers of Christendom to Constantinople.

But the war which had broken out anew between Francis I and Charles was a formidable obstacle to this enterprize. The pope spared no efforts to bring about a reconciliation. The meeting of the two sovereigns at Nice, to which he also was a party, was entirely his work, and the Venetian ambassador who was present cannot find words in which to eulogise the zeal and patience which he displayed through the whole affair. It was only with extraordinary labor, and not till the last moment, when he had threatened to go away, that he succeeded in negotiating a truce.* He brought about a good understanding between the two princes, which soon appeared to ripen into a kind of intimacy.

Whilst the pope was thus actively employed in public business, he did not neglect his own concerns. It was remarked that he always interwove the one with the other, and advanced both simultaneously. The Turkish war thus afforded him an opportunity of confiscating Camerino. It had just been united to Urbino; the last of the house of Varano, the heiress of Camerino, having married Guidobaldo II, who in the year 1538 came into possession of the government of Urbino.† But the pope pronounced that Camerino could not be inherited by a woman. The Venetians were bound in justice to support the Duke, whose ancestors had always lived under their protection and served in their armies; they did indeed intercede in the most urgent and spirited manner in his behalf, but they hesitated to do more, lest it should involve them in a war. They feared that the pope would call in the aid of the emperor of France, cautiously considering that if he gained over the emperor, that sovereign would have so much the less force to bring against the Turks, while, if France were triumphant, the peace of Italy would be endangered and their position would be still more unfavorable and unsupported.‡ They therefore left the duke to his fate, and he was forced to evacuate Camerino, which the pope conferred on his grandson Ottavio.

The house of Farnese was already rising into power and magnificence. The congress at Nice was extremely advantageous to Paul. At the very time it was sitting, his son, Pietro Luigi, obtained Novara and its territory from the emperor, who, at the same time, determined to marry his natural daughter Margaret, after the death of Alessandro de Medici, to Ottavio Farnese. We may give full credit to the pope's assertion, that, notwithstanding these marks of favor, he did not unconditionally join the imperial party. He

* *Relatione del Cl^{mo}. M. Niccolo Tiepolo del Convento di Niza. Informatt. Politiche*, VI, (Library at Berlin.) There is likewise an old impression.

† *Adriani Istorie*, 58, H.

‡ The deliberations are given in the above-quoted Commentary on the Turkish War, which thus possesses a peculiar interest.

wished, on the contrary, to form an equally close connection with Francis I, who, on his side, showed himself well inclined to this alliance, and promised him the hand of the Duke of Vendome, a prince of the blood, for his granddaughter Vittoria.* This connection with the two most powerful houses in the world was a source of great happiness to Paul; he was so sensible of the honor which it conferred, that he spoke of it in the consistory. The attitude of a peace-maker, a mediator, which he occupied between these two powers, also flattered his ambition as head of the church.

These circumstances did not however lead to such favorable results as they had promised. No advantages whatever had been gained over the Ottoman power; on the contrary Venice was obliged to accede to a disadvantageous peace. Francis I recalled the promise which he had made at Nice, and although the pope never relinquished the hope of eventually forming a connection with the house of Valois, the negotiation advanced very tardily. The good understanding which the pope established between the emperor and the king, seemed for a time to become more and more perfect, so much so as at one time almost to excite the jealousy of the pope, and to draw from him complaints that he, who was the author of it, was neglected;† yet it presently broke off, and war began anew. The pope then elevated his views to higher objects.

He had formerly declared among his friends, and had even given the emperor to understand, that Milan belonged to the French, and ought of right to be restored to them.‡

He gradually ceased to express this opinion. We find, on the contrary, from cardinal Carpi, who was more in his confidence than any other of the sacred college, that he made a proposition to Charles V, the aim of which was quite of an opposite kind.§ “The emperor,” says this document, “should not aspire to be count, or duke, or prince;—he must be emperor alone. He ought not to have numerous provinces, but great vassals. His fortunes have declined from the time he took possession of Milan. It would be unadvisable for him to give it back to Francis I, whose rapacity it would only serve to stimulate; but neither on the other hand ought

* Grignan, Ambassadeur du Roi de France à Rome, au Connetable. Ribier I, p. 251: “Monseigneur, sadite Sainteté a un merueilleus désir du mariage de Vendosme: car il s'en est entièrement déclaré à moy, disant que pour estre sa nièce unique et tant aimée de luy, il ne désirait après le bien de la Chrestienté autre chose plus que voir sadite nièce mariée en France, dont ledit Seigneur (Le Roi) luy avait tenu propos à Nice, et après vous Monseigneur, luy en aviez parlé.”

† Grignan, 7 Mars, 1539. Ribier i, 406. Le cardinal de Boulogne au Roi, 20 Avril, 1539. Ibid. p. 445. The pope said to him, “qu'il estoit fort estonné, veu la peine et travail qu'il avait pris pour vous appointer, vous et l'Empereur, que vous le laissiez ainsi arrière.”

‡ M. A. Contarini also confirms this in his Narrative.

§ Discorso del R^{mo}. C^{ie}. di Carpi, del 1543, (perhaps though even a year earlier,) a Carlo V Cesare, Del modo del dominare. Bibl. Corsini, n. 443.

he to retain it.* The suspicion that he sought to gain possession of foreign countries was the sole cause of his having enemies. If he destroyed this suspicion, if he surrendered Milan into the possession of a duke of its own, Francis I would find no more adherents; while he, the emperor, on the contrary would have Germany and Italy on his side, would carry his standard into the remotest regions, and would associate his name (such is the expression) with immortality."

If then the emperor was neither to surrender Milan to the French, nor to retain possession of it himself, to whom should he cede it? The pope thought it a good solution of the problem, to give it to his grandson, the son-in-law of the emperor—a scheme he had already hinted at on former occasions. At a fresh meeting which he had with the emperor in the year 1543 at Busseto, he formally proposed it. Very serious negotiations were carried on to that effect and the pope cherished the liveliest hopes of success. The governor of Milan, the Marchese di Vasto, whom he had gained over, being of a somewhat credulous and ostentatious temper, one day presented himself with a well-prepared speech, as about to conduct Margaret, his future sovereign lady, to Milan. According to the information I have been able to collect, it appears that the negotiation was broken off in consequence of some exorbitant demands of the pope.† It is however hard to believe that the emperor could be induced by any considerations, to yield up to foreign influence a territory so important from its size and situation.

For even without this accession of power, the position which the house of Farnese had reached was full of danger to him. Of the Italian provinces which Charles governed, or over which he had influence, there was not one in which the existing government had not been founded by force, or at least which did not stand in need of the support of force. On all sides, in Milan, as well as in

* "Se la M. V. dello Stato di Milano le usasse cortesia, non tanto si spegnerebbe quanto si accenderebbe la sete sua; sì 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."

† Pallavicini has directly denied these transactions. From what Muratori alleges also, (*Annali d'Italia*, x, 11, 51,) there is perhaps room for doubt. He relies on historians who at all events could have written on hearsay only. But a letter from Girolamo Guicciardini to Cosmo Medici, Cremona, 26 Giugno, 1543, in the *Archivio Mediceo* at Florence, is decisive. Granvella has himself spoken of it. "S. M.^a mostrava non esser aliena, quando per la parte del papa fussino adempiute le larghe offerte eran state proferte dal duca di Castro sin a Genova." I do not know what these offers might have been, but they were too strong for the pope. According to Gosselini, secretary to Ferrante Gonzaga, the emperor feared on his departure, "che in volgendo egli le spalle (i Farnesi) non pensassero ad occuparlo:" (*Vita di Don Ferrando*, p. iv.) An unprinted Neapolitan Life of Vasto, which is to be found in the Chiga Library at Rome, contains very circumstantial and amusing details on this subject.

Naples, Florence, Genoa, and Siena, there were malcontents belonging to defeated parties; Rome and Venice were full of emigrants. The Farnesi were not restrained by their near connection with the emperor from allying themselves with these parties, which, though subdued, were still formidable from the consideration of their chiefs, their wealth and followers. At the head of the conquerors stood the emperor; the conquered sought refuge with the pope. Innumerable secret ties bound them to each other; they were always visibly or invisibly connected with France, and were constantly engaged in new plots and enterprises. Sometimes these related to Siena, sometimes to Genoa, sometimes to Lucca. The pope made incessant attempts to obtain a footing in Florence, but in the young Duke Cosmo he encountered precisely the man fitted to withstand him. Cosmo expresses himself on this subject with undisguised confidence in his own powers. "The pope," says he, "who has been successful in so many undertakings, has now no more eager wish than to accomplish something in Florence, and to alienate this city from the emperor; but this wish will lead him into the pit."*

In a certain view, the emperor and the pope still stood opposed to each other as chiefs of rival factions. Though the emperor had married his daughter to one of the pope's family, he had done so only that he might hold him in check, in order, as he himself says, to maintain the existing state of things in Italy. The pope, on the other hand, sought to turn his alliance with the emperor to his own advantage. He wished to make both the protection of the emperor, and the assistance of that sovereign's enemies, subservient to the exaltation of his family. The parties of Guelf and Ghibelline still subsisted in fact, though not in name, the latter still adhering to the emperor, the former to the pope.

Spite of all these appearances, in the year 1545, we find the two leaders again on a footing of amity. Margaret was pregnant; and the prospect of shortly numbering a descendant of the emperor in his own family, turned the current of Farnese's feelings once more in favor of Charles V. Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, charged by Paul with one of the most important missions he had ever sent, repaired to the emperor's court at Worms. The cardinal once succeeded in appeasing the displeasure of the emperor. He sought to justify himself and his brothers from some of the charges that had been brought against them, craved pardon with regard to others, and promised that in future they would all be obedient servants and sons of his majesty. The emperor replied, that on those conditions he would treat them as his own children.

* A Letter of Cosmo, found in the Archivio Mediceo:—likewise written in the year 1537. "Al papa non e restato altra voglia in questo mondo se non disporre di questo stato e levarlo dalla divotione dell' imperatore," &c.

They then proceeded to the discussion of weighty matters. They consulted as to the war against the protestants, and agreed that the council should be immediately convened. In case the emperor should determine to take up arms against the protestants, the pope bound himself to support him with all his power and with all his resources, nay "to sell his crown, if necessary."*

The council was in fact opened in that same year; a circumstance of which we here find the first satisfactory explanation.

In the year 1546 war too broke out. The pope and the emperor united to destroy the league of Smalcalde, which was not much less injurious to the temporal power of the latter, than to the spiritual authority of the former. The pope furnished money and troops.

The design of the emperor was, to unite the terror of arms with the persuasiveness of negotiation. While he chastised the disobedience of the protestants, the council was to allay religious differences, and, above all, to introduce such reforms as might render it in some sort possible for them to submit.

The war advanced with unexpected success. At first, the situation of Charles might have been esteemed desperate, but in the most perilous circumstances he maintained his firmness. In the autumn of 1546 he saw the whole of Upper Germany in his hands: cities and princes rivalled each other in the eagerness with which they tendered their allegiance. The moment seemed arrived in which the protestant party in Germany might be crushed, and the whole north be restored to catholicism.

In this crisis what was the conduct of the pope?

He recalled his troops from the imperial army, and removed the council, now on the point of fulfilling its end and exercising its pacificatory power, from Trent, where it had met at the request of the Germans, to Bologna, the second city of his own states. The pretext for this change was, that some contagious disease had broken out at Trent.

His motives were not doubtful. The political tendencies of the papacy were once more in conflict with the ecclesiastical. That the whole of Germany should be conquered by, and really subject to the emperor, could never be agreeable to him. His deep and subtle calculations had led him to expect a far different result. He had, perhaps, believed that the emperor would succeed in some things advantageous to the catholic church; but at the same time,

* Granvella himself affords us authentic information as to the mission: *Dispaccio di Monsignor di Cortona al Duca di Fiorenza, Vormatia, 29 Maggio, 1545: (Granvella) "Mi concludse in somma ch' el cardinale era venuto per giustificarsi d' alcune calunnie, e supplica S. M. che quando non potesse interamente discolorare l' attioni passate di N^{ro} 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 per giustitia non si vedeva quasi modo alcuno, li Luterani, S. Beatitudine concorrerà con ogni somma di denari."*

as he himself acknowledges,* he had no doubt that he should see him encounter innumerable difficulties, and fall into perplexities, which would leave him, the pope, more complete liberty to pursue his own aims. But fortune mocked at his schemes. He had now to fear—and France called his attention to the fact—that this overwhelming power would react upon Italy, and would soon manifest itself but too clearly to him, both in spiritual and temporal affairs. But, independent of this, his anxieties concerning the council were increased. It had long oppressed him,† and he had already considered of means of dissolving it; but now some of the prelates of the imperial party, made more and more daring by victory, ventured on measures of remarkable audacity. The Spanish bishops brought forward certain articles, under the name of *cenſuræ*, the collective tendency of which was to diminish the consideration of the pope. The reformation, always so much dreaded at Rome, seemed as if it could no longer be delayed.

It sounds strangely, but nothing is more true:—at the moment when the whole of northern Germany trembled at the impending restoration of the papal power, the pope felt himself an ally of the protestants. He betrayed his joy at the progress of elector John Frederic against Duke Maurice, and desired nothing more earnestly than that the former might be able to hold out against the emperor. He sent a message to Francis I, who was already trying to unite all the world in a league against Charles, to support those who were not yet beaten.”‡ It seemed to him once more probable that the emperor would encounter obstacles, and would have business on his hands, for a long time to come. “He thinks so,” says the French minister, “because he wishes it.”

But he deceived himself as before. The fortune of the emperor baffled all his calculations. Charles was victorious at Mühlberg, and led away captive the two chiefs of the protestant party. He was now free to direct his attention more closely than ever to Italy.

The pope’s behavior had, as we may imagine, profoundly irritated Charles. He saw through it completely. “The intention of his holiness from the beginning has been,” writes he to his ambassador, “to entangle us in this undertaking, and then to desert us.”§

* Charles, C^l. de Guise, au Roy, 31 Oct., 1547, (Ribier ii, p. 75;) after an audience of the pope, in which Paul explains the motives which had led him to take part in the German war: “Aussi à dire franchement qu’il estoit bien mieux de l’empescher (l’empereur) en un lieu, dont il pensait, qu’ aisement il ne viendrait à bout.”

† Du Mortier, au Roy, 26 Avril, 1547: “Je vous assure, Sire, que pendant il estoit à Trente, c’estoit une charge qui le pressoit fort.”

‡ Le même, au même: Ribier, i, 637, S. S.—“a entendu que, le duc de Saxe se trove fort, dont elle a tel contentement comme celui qui estime le commun ennemy estre par ces moyens retenu d’exécuter ses entreprises, et connoist-on bien qui’ il seroit utile sous-main d’entretenir ceux qui luy résistent, disant, que vous ne scauriez faire dépense plus utile.”

§ Copia de la Carta que S. M. scrivio a Don Diego de Mendoga, a 11 de

The withdrawal of the pope's troops was not very important. Ill-paid, and therefore disorderly and ill-disciplined, they had never been worth much. But the transfer of the council was of the greatest moment. It is strange how, in this instance also, the discord between the papacy and the empire, originating in the political position of the former, came in aid of the protestants. Means were now forthcoming to compel them to submit to the council; but as there was a rupture in the council itself, (for the imperial bishops remained in Trent;) as it was thus incapacitated from passing any decree universally binding, nobody could be constrained to give in his adhesion.

The emperor was compelled to see the most essential part of his plan wrecked by the desertion of his ally. He not only continually urged the re-establishment of the council at Trent, but declared "that he would go to Rome, and hold a council there himself."

Paul III lost no time in determining the part he had to take. "The emperor is mighty," said he, "but we too are not wholly powerless or friendless." The long-promised alliance with France was now brought about by the betrothal of Orazio Farnese with the natural daughter of Henry II. No means were left untried to gain over the Venetians immediately to a general league. All the exiles of the several states were in motion. Precisely at the opportune moment, troubles broke out in Naples; a Neapolitan deputy appeared to solicit the protection of the pope for his vassals in that state, and there were cardinals who advised him to grant it.

The Italian factions were once more confronted. Their attitude was the more decidedly hostile, since their respective leaders were now at open variance. On the one side, were the governors of Milan and Naples, the Medici in Florence, the Dorias in Genoa. Don Diego Mendoza, the imperial envoy in Rome, may be regarded as forming the centre of this party, which had still a great Ghibelline following, all over the country. On the other, were the pope and the Farense, the emigrants and the malcontents, a newly-formed Orsini party, and the adherents of France. With the former, was that part of the council remaining in Trent; with the latter, the part which had gone to Bologna.

The hatred which these parties cherished against each other suddenly broke out in an act of violence.

The pope had taken advantage of his intimacy with the emperor, to grant Parma and Piacenza, as if they were a fief of the holy see, to his son, Pier Luigi. The times were over when he could take a step like that, with the audacious recklessness of an Alexan-

Hebrero, 1517, aõs: "Quanto mas yva el dicho (prospero suceso) adelante, mas nos confirmavamos en creher que fuese verdad lo que antes se havia savido de la intencion y inclinacion de S. S. y lo que se dezia (es) que su fin havia sido por embaraçar nos en lo que estavamos y dexarnos en ello con sus fines, desiños, 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 camina."

der or a Leo; he therefore restored Camerino and Nepi, as an indemnification to the church. Reckoning the expense caused by the guarding those frontier towns, the interest of this, which his son would pay, and the revenues of the places given up in compensation, he endeavored to prove that the treasury of the church suffered no injury; but it was only while talking to each of the cardinals separately that he was able to persuade them, nor even so, was he successful with them all. Some loudly remonstrated; others designedly neglected to attend the consistory before which the affair was brought. Caraffa was seen to pay a solemn visit to the seven churches on that day.* The emperor too was unfavorable to the project; if the duchy was to be transferred at all, he would have wished that it should pass into the hands of his son-in-law Ottavio, to whom Camerino likewise belonged.† He suffered the transfer to take place, because the friendship of the pope was just then necessary to him, but he never liked it: he knew Pier-Luigi far too well. The pope's son just then held in his hand all the threads of the secret ties of the Italian opposition. It was universally believed that he was privy to the conspiracy of Fiesco in Genoa; that he had helped the powerful chief of the Florentine exiles, Pietro Strozzi, at his utmost need, to escape across the Po, after his unsuccessful attack on Milan, and that he was the sole instrument of his preservation. It was suspected that he himself had designs upon Milan.‡

One day, the pope, who still believed the stars to be propitious, and flattered himself that he had power to charm to rest all the storms that had threatened him, appeared unusually cheerful at the audience. He recounted the felicities of his life, and compared himself in this respect with the emperor Tiberius. On that very day, his son, the possessor of all his acquisitions, the heir of his prosperity, was fallen upon by the conspirators at Piacenza and assassinated.§

The Ghibellines of Piacenza, offended and irritated by the tyranny of the duke, who was one of the most despotic rulers of the age, and whose government was peculiarly oppressive to the nobility, were the perpetrators of the deed; but we have no reason to question the existence of grounds for the belief then universally entertained, that Ferrante Gonzago, the governor of Milan, had a hand in the affair.|| Gonzago's biographer, then his confidential

* Bromato: *Vita di Paolo IV*, ii, 222.

† The negotiations in the matter are evident from the Letter of Mendoza, dated 29th November, 1547. The pope says, "he had invested Pietro Luigi, because the cardinals had preferred it;" and, "haviendo de vivir tampoco, como mostrava su indisposicion."

‡ Gosselini; *Vita di Ferr. Gonzaga*, p. 20. Segni: *Storie Fiorentine*, p. 292.

§ Mendoga, al Emperador, 18 Sept. 1547: "Gastò la mayor parte del tiempo (on that day) en contar sus felicidades y compararse a 'Tiberio imperador.'"

|| "Compertum habemus Ferdinandum esse autorem," said the pope in the

private secretary, affirms that the design was only to take Farnese prisoner, and not to kill him.* I find in some manuscripts still more intelligible hints that the emperor himself was privy to this atrocious design; but I hesitate to give credit to this without further evidence. At all events the imperial troops hastened to take possession of Piacenza, and to assert the claim of the empire to that city. This was in some sort a retaliation on the pope for his desertion in the war of Smalcalde.

The state of things which now arose is without a parallel.

Some affected to know that cardinal Alessandro Farnese had said, that he could extricate himself from his difficulties only by the death of certain of the imperial ministers; that he could not get rid of them by force, and must have recourse to stratagem. While they, in consequence of this warning, sought to protect themselves from poison, two or three Corsican bravoës, who were arrested at Milan, were induced to make confession, I know not whether true or false, that they were hired by the pope's party to assassinate Ferrante Gonzago. At all events, Gonzago was exasperated afresh. He must, he said, protect his own life as he could; nothing remained to him but to remove out of the way two or three of his enemies by his own hand or that of another.† Mendoza is of opinion that there was a design at that time to murder all the Spaniards in Rome; that the people were to be secretly incited to this; and the deed, when done, to be excused on the ground of their blind and uncontrolable fury.

A reconciliation was not to be thought of. There had been a desire to employ the emperor's daughter as mediatrix. But she had never liked the Farnese family: she despised her youthful husband, and betrayed his bad qualities without the least reserve to the ambassadors: she said, she had rather cut off her child's head, than ask her father any thing that could displease him.

Mendoza's correspondence with his court lies before me. It would not be easy to find any thing approaching to these letters for deep-rooted hate, which both endeavored to conceal, and which each perceived in the other. There is in them a feeling of haughty superiority saturated with bitterness; of contempt, yet ever on its guard; of distrust, such as men feel towards a notorious criminal.

If the pope sought refuge and succor in this posture of things, he could find it in France alone. In fact we find him sometimes discussing the relation of the Roman see to France, for hours, in the

consistory: *Extrait du Consistoire tenu par N. S. Père, in a Despatch from Morvillier, Venice, 7 Sept. 1547: Ribier, ii, 61.*

* Gosselini, p. 45: "Nè l'imperatore nè D. Fernando, come di natura magnanimi, consentirono mai alla morte del duca Pier Luigi Farnese, anzi fecero ogni opera di salvarlo, comandando in specialità a congiurati che vivo il tenessero."

† Mendoza al Emp.: "Don Hernando procurara de asegurar su vida como mejor pudiere, hechando a parte dos o tres di estos o por sumano o por mano de otros."

presence of the French ambassador and cardinals Guise and Farnese. He said he had read in old books, and had heard from others when he was cardinal, and since he was pope he had found from experience, that the holy see was always powerful and prosperous when in alliance with France, and on the contrary, fell into adversity as soon as this was broken off; that he could not forgive Leo X, nor his own predecessor Clement—he could not forgive himself, for ever having showed favor to the emperor; that now, at all events, he was resolved to unite himself for ever with France. He hoped to live long enough to leave the papal chair devotedly attached to the king of France; he would endeavor to make him the greatest prince in the world, and his own house should connect itself with him by indissoluble ties.*

His design was to conclude with France, Switzerland and Venice, an alliance, which though at first only defensive, was, by his own confession, to open the door to an offensive alliance. The French calculated that their friends united would secure to them as large a territory in Italy, as that possessed by the emperor, and the whole Orsini party was ready once more to devote property and life to the king. The Farnesi thought that in the Milanese territory they could at least reckon on Cremona and Pavia; while the Neapolitan emigrants promised to bring 15,000 men into the field, and immediately to deliver up Aversa and Naples. The pope entered with eagerness into all these projects. He communicated to the French ambassador the first intelligence of a design upon Genoa. He would have made no objection to a treaty with the Grand Signior or the Dey of Algiers for the sake of getting possession of Naples. Edward VI had just ascended the throne of England, and the government of that country was decidedly protestant, nevertheless the pope advised Henry II to make peace with England, "in order," as he says, "to be able to carry into effect other views for the good of Christendom." †

Thus violent was the pope's hostility to the emperor, thus intimate his connection with the French, thus vast were the views in which he indulged: and yet he never completed his treaty; he never took the final step.

* Guise, au Roy, 31 Oct., 1547: Ribier, ii, 75.

† Guise, au Roy, 11 Nov., 1547: Ribier, ii, 81: "Sire, il semble au papa 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'auraient puissance 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 ligue défensive, laquelle il dit estre la vraye porte de l'offensive." The whole of the correspondence which follows, belongs to this place.

‡ François de Rohan, au Roy, 24 Février, 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 entreprises pour le bien public de la Chrestienté."

The Venetians were amazed. "The pope," said they, "is attacked in his dignity, injured in his nearest connections, robbed of the fairest possession of his house; he ought to catch at every alliance, on any terms: and yet after so many injuries and insults he still hesitates and wavers."

Generally speaking, offences drive men to extreme resolutions; there are however some who deliberate even when they are most deeply offended; not because the feeling of revenge is less strong in them than in others, but because the consciousness of the superiority of the offending party is still stronger than their vengeance: the prudence which contemplates future and contingent events, preponderates in them over every other sentiment: great misfortunes do not exasperate them, but render them spiritless, feeble and irresolute.

The emperor was too powerful to have any serious cause to fear the Farnesi; he went on his way without taking further heed of them. He solemnly protested against the sittings of the council in Bologna, and declared beforehand all the acts which might be passed there null and void. In the year 1548, he published the Interim in Germany. Notwithstanding the pope thought it intolerable that the emperor should prescribe a standard of faith, notwithstanding his bitter complaints that the property of the church should be left in the hands of its present possessors, (besides which cardinal Farnese said that he could point out seven or eight heresies in this document,)* the emperor was not disconcerted.

Nor did he turn one hair's breadth from his course in the affair of Piacenza. The pope demanded the immediate restitution of that city; the emperor maintained that it belonged of right to the empire. The pope appealed to the treaty of 1521, in which it was guaranteed to the Roman see; the emperor insisted on the word, investiture, by which the empire had asserted its sovereign rights; the pope replied, that in this case the word was not used in the strict feudal sense; the emperor made no further rejoinder; he only declared that his conscience did not permit him to give up Piacenza.†

The pope would gladly have flown to arms, concluded a treaty with France and set his party in motion; (and indeed the intrigues of his adherents were perceived in Naples, Genoa, Siena, Piacenza, and even in Orbitello);—gladly would he have revenged himself

* "Hazer intender a V. M. como en el Interim ay 7 o 8 heregias:" "Mendoza, 10 Juni, 1548. Amongst the Lettere del Commendatore Annibal Caro scritte al nome del C^l. Farnese, which are otherwise written with great caution, we find however, i, 65, a letter to the cardinal Sfondrato, relating to the Interim, in which it is said, "the emperor has scandalized all Christendom; he might have undertaken something better."

† Lettere del Cardinal Farnese scritte al Vescovo di Fano, Nuntio all' Imperatore Carlo: Informationi Politiche, xix: and certain instructions of the pope's and Farnese's, lb. xii:—throw light upon these negotiations. I can only touch upon the most important points.

by any unexpected blow: but on the other hand, the superior power of the emperor was extremely formidable to him, and above all, the influence of that monarch in spiritual affairs. Paul took care that a council should be called which should declare itself entirely hostile to Charles, and should even proceed to depose him. Mendoza asserts that the attempted assassination of Ferrante Gonzaga by the Corsicans had inspired him with terror.

Be this as it may, it is certain that he restrained himself and concealed his rage. The Farnesi were indeed not sorry that the emperor took possession of Siena; they hoped he would cede it to them, as a compensation for their losses, and indulged in the most extravagant propositions regarding it. "If the emperor consents to this," said they to Mendoza, "the pope must transfer the council back again to Trent, and must not only conduct matters there according to the wishes of the emperor, (for example, solemnly recognise his right to Burgundy,) but proclaim Charles V his successor to the papal chair. "For," added they, "Germany has a cold climate, Italy a warm one, and warm countries are the most salutary for the gout which the emperor suffers from."* I will not maintain that they were in earnest, for the old pope lived in the firm belief that the emperor would die before him, but it is clear on what dubious paths, how widely departing from the common order of things, their policy had ventured.

Their movements, their negotiations with the emperor, did not escape the French. We have a letter of the constable Montmorency, breathing the greatest indignation, in which he talks undisguisedly of "hypocrisies, lies, and wicked actions, which were practised in Rome against the king of France."†

Lastly, with a view to do something, and to get possession of at least one firm point in these struggles, the pope determined, since the right to Piacenza was contested, not as regarded his family alone, but the church itself, to restore that duchy immediately to the holy see. It was the first time that he did any thing to prejudice the interests of his grandsons. He had no doubt that they would readily acquiesce, for he imagined that he had absolute authority over them, and had always dwelt with approbation and pleasure on their unalterable obedience. But he had hitherto invariably been the defender of their obvious interests, whereas he now desired to effect a measure which ran counter to these.‡ At

* The cardinal Gambara made this proposal to Mendoza, at a secret meeting in a church. He said at least, "que havia scripto al papa algo desto y no lo havia tomado mal."

† 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 meschanecté, puisqu'il faut que je l'appelle ainsi."

‡ Dandolo also asserts his positive determination: "S. S. era al tutto volta a restituir Parma alla chiesa.

first they sought to work upon him by indirect means. They caused it to be represented to him that the day which he had fixed for the consistory was unlucky, being St. Roque's day; that the exchange for Camerino, which he meant to give them back instead of Piacenza, would be extremely disadvantageous to the church; they retorted upon him the arguments which he had formerly used, but they could only retard, not prevent, the execution of his design; Camillo Orsino, the governor of Parma, was at length instructed by Paul III, to hold that city in the name of the church, and to deliver it up to no one soever. Upon this declaration, which left no doubt remaining, the Farnesi contained themselves no longer; on no consideration would they suffer themselves to be despoiled of a principality which placed them on a level with the independent princes of Italy. Ottavio made an attempt to get Parma into his hands, by force or fraud, in spite of the pope. This, Camillo had sufficient address and decision to defeat. But what must have been the feelings of Paul III when he learned it! It was reserved for him in his old age, to see his grandsons, whom he had loved with such partial affection, for whose sake he had drawn upon himself the reproaches of the world, now, at the close of his life, rise up in rebellion against him. Nor did the failure of his enterprise deter Ottavio from his purpose. He wrote plainly to the pope, that if Parma was not amicably restored to him he would make peace with Ferrante Gonzaga, and endeavor to regain possession of it with the imperial arms; and, in fact, his negotiations with this mortal enemy of his house were already so far advanced, that a courier had gone to the emperor with definite proposals.* The pope loudly complained that he was betrayed by his own family, that their schemes could lead to nothing but his death. He was most deeply wounded by a report which was raised that he was privy to Ottavio's undertakings, and had a share in them very much at variance with his professions. He told cardinal Este that never in his whole life had anything given him so much pain—not even the death of Pier-Luigi—not even the investing of Piacenza; but that he would not leave the world in doubt as to his real sentiments.† His only comfort was the conviction that at least cardinal Alessandro Farnese was innocent and devoted to him. By degrees he discovered that he too, in whom he reposed entire confidence, to whose hands he had committed all the affairs of his government, was but too much implicated in what was going on. This discovery broke his heart. On the day of All Souls, (2d of Nov., 1549,) in the bitterness of his grief, he communicated it to the Venetian

* Gosselini, Vita di Ferr. Gonzaga, p. 65.

† Hippolyt, Cardinal de Ferrare, au Roy, 22 Oct., 1549; Ribier, ii, 248: "S. ma' a assuré n'avoir en sa vie eu chose, dont elle ait tant recen d'enemy, pour l'opinion qu' elle craint, qu'on veuille prendre que cecy ait esté de son consentement."

ambassador. On the following day he went to his vineyard on Monte Cavallo, hoping to find some relief from troubled thoughts; but change of place brought him no repose. He sent for cardinal Alessandro; one word led to another, till the pope fell into so violent a rage, that he snatched his nephew's cap out of his hand and threw it on the ground.* The court already entertained suspicions that a change was at hand, and it was universally believed that the pope would remove the cardinal from the administration. But the event turned out otherwise. This violent agitation, at the advanced age of eighty-three, proved fatal to Paul himself. He fell ill immediately, and, after a few days, (on the 10th of Nov., 1549,) expired.—The people crowded to kiss his foot. He was as much beloved as his grandsons were hated; and the circumstances of his death, caused by those who had been the objects of his greatest kindness and solicitude, excited universal pity.

Paul III was a man full of talent, intelligence, and penetrating sagacity; the station he occupied was the highest that human ambition could aspire to:—but how feeble and insignificant appears the most powerful of mortals when opposed to the resistless course of events!

His most soaring flights of imagination are bounded by the span of time which is present to his view; his loftiest aspirations are checked and over-mastered by the struggles of the moment, which press upon him with all the weight of eternity. Above all, he is trammelled by those private relations which give him constant occupation, which fill his days, sometimes perhaps with satisfaction, but more frequently with disappointment and sorrow, and wear him out with anxiety and care. He dies; while the eternal destinies of the world advance to their accomplishment.

§ 2. JULIUS III.

During the conclave, five or six cardinals were once standing round the altar of the chapel, discoursing of the difficulty there was in finding a pope. "Choose me," said cardinal Monte, "and the day after I will make you my companions and favorites out of the

* Dandolo: "Il Rev^{mo}. Farnese si risolse di non voler che casa sua restasse priva di Roma e se ne messe alla forte.—S. S. accertasi di questa contraoperazione del Rev^{mo}. 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 di Monte Cavallo per cercar transtullo, dove si incolerò per tal causa con esso Rev^{mo}. Farnese.—Gli fu trovato tutto l'intiore nettissimo, d'haver a viver ancor qualche anno, se non che nel core tre gocce di sangue agghiacciato, (which is indeed an error) giudicati dal moto della colera."

whole college of cardinals." "Shall we really elect him?" said another, Sfondrato, when they had separated.*

As Monte was reckoned turbulent and irascible, he had but little hope, and no one would have ventured the smallest bet on his chance. Nevertheless, it fell out, that he was elected, on the 7th of February, 1550. In memory of Julius II, whose chamberlain he had been, he took the name of Julius III.

There was an expression of joy on every face in the imperial court when this election, to which Duke Cosmo had mainly contributed, was made known. The occupation of the Roman chair by a pope on whose devotion to his interests he could calculate was one step to that pinnacle of prosperity and power on which the emperor then stood. Public affairs now seemed likely to take another course. The emperor still earnestly desired that the council should be re-assembled in Trent; he still hoped to force the protestants to attend it and to submit themselves to his authority. The pope willingly assented to this proposition. Although he pointed out the difficulties inherent in the affair, he was extremely anxious that this caution might not be mistaken for a subterfuge; he was unwearied in his protestations that this was not the case, that he had acted all his life long without dissimulation, and would continue so to act; in fact, he fixed the renewal of the council of Trent for the spring of 1551, with a declaration that he bound himself by no agreements or conditions.†

But the favorable dispositions of the pope were far from being all that was required.

Ottavio Farnese had recovered Parma by a decree of the cardinals in conclave. This had not been opposed by the emperor; for a time negotiations had been carried on between them, and hopes were entertained of the restoration of a good understanding. The emperor, however, would not consent to evacuate Piacenza also, and kept possession even of the places which Gonzaga had occupied in the territory of Parma; so that Ottavio was compelled constantly to maintain a warlike attitude.‡

No real confidence could possibly subsist between two persons who had inflicted so many injuries on each other. It is true that the death of Paul III had deprived his grandsons of a powerful support, but it had also freed them from an irksome constraint.— They were no longer obliged to pay any regard to the interests of the state, or to those of the church; they were free to take their own measures with exclusive regard to their own advantage. We

* Dandolo, Relatione, 1551: "Questo Rey^{mo}. Di Monte se ben subito in consideratione di ogn' uno, ma all' incontro ogn' uno parlava tanto della sua colera e subitezza che ne passò mai che di pochissima scommessa."

† Lettere del Nunzio Pighino, 12 e 15 Ag., 1550: *Inff. Polit.* xix.

‡ Gosselini, Vita di Ferr. Gonzaga, and the justification of Gonzaga, in the third book, from the accusation that he had been the cause of the war, explain authentically this turn of things.

find Ottavio constantly filled with the bitterest hate. He complains, that his enemies are seeking to wrest Parma from him, and even to get rid of him, but he adds—"they shall succeed neither in the one nor the other."*

In this disposition of mind, he turned to Henry II; who gladly listened to his proposals.

Italy and Germany were filled with malcontents. What the emperor had already done—what it was expected that he would do—his religious and his political position—all had raised up innumerable enemies. Henry II determined to adopt the anti-Austrian policy of his father. He abandoned the war with England, concluded a treaty with Ottavio, took the garrison of Parma into his pay, and shortly after marched French troops into Mirandola. The French flag soon floated in the heart of Italy.

In this new complication of things, Julius III adhered steadily to the emperor. He thought it insufferable—"that a wretched worm, Ottavio Farnese, should set himself up against both an emperor and a pope." "Our will is," he writes to his nuncio, "to embark in the same boat with his majesty, and to commit ourselves to the same fortunes; we leave it to him, who has the wisdom and the power, to determine our course."† The emperor declared himself in favor of immediate and forcible measures for getting rid of the French and their adherents. The united papal and imperial troops soon took the field, an important fortress in the Parmeggiano fell into their hands, they laid waste the whole country and completely surrounded Mirandola.

These petty hostilities, however, were wholly insufficient to check the movement which had indeed originated here, but had since agitated all Europe. On every frontier where the territories of France and of the empire met, by land and by sea, war had broken out. The German protestants, when at length they allied themselves with the French, threw into the scale a very different weight from that of the Italians. There followed the most determined attack that Charles had ever sustained. The French appeared on the Rhine and the elector Maurice in Tyrol. The veteran conqueror—who had posted himself on the mountain region between Italy and Germany, in order to hold both in allegiance—saw himself suddenly perilled, conquered, and well-nigh captive.

This immediately re-acted on the affairs of Italy. "Never could we have believed," said the pope, "that God would have so visited

* 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, 24th March, 1551.

† Julius Papa III, *Manu propria*. *Istruttione per voi Monsignor d'Imola con l'Imperatore*. L'Ultimo di marzo: Informatt. Polit. xii. He also gives the motive of this close union: "Non per affetto alcuno humano, ma perche vedemo la causa nostra esse con S. M^a. Cesarea in tutti li affari e massimamente in quello della religione."

us.”* He was compelled to accede to a truce with his enemies, in April, 1552.

There are sometimes strokes of ill-fortune which are not wholly unwelcome to a man. They put an end to a course of action, which had already begun to be at variance with his inclinations; and afford a lawful ground, or an obvious excuse, for the determination to desist from it.

It almost appears as if the reverse that had befallen the pope, was of this nature. He had beheld with repugnance his states filled with troops and his treasury emptied, and he thought he had sometimes reason to complain of the imperial ministers.† The council too was become a cause of great anxiety to him. From the time the German deputies, to whom a reformation had been promised, appeared, the proceedings took a bolder character; as early as January, 1552, the pope complained that attempts were made to strip him of his authority; that the intention of the Spanish bishops was, on the one side to reduce the chapters to a state of servile dependence, on the other, to deprive the holy see of the collation to all benefices; but that he would not endure, under the plea of abuses, to be robbed of what was no abuse, but an essential attribute of his power.‡ It could not therefore be entirely displeasing to him that the attack of the protestants broke up the council; he hastened to decree its suspension, and was thus freed from innumerable demands and altercations.

From that time Julius III never again seriously embarked in a political career. The inhabitants of Siena complained indeed that, though half their countryman on his mother's side, he had assisted Duke Cosmo to effect their subjugation; but a subsequent judicial inquiry proved the falsehood of this charge. It was rather Cosmo who had grounds for complaint, since the pope took no measures to prevent the Florentine emigrants, the bitterest enemies of this his ally, from assembling and arming in his states.

The stranger still visits the Villa di Papa Giulio at the entrance of the Porta del Popolo. With all the memorials of those days around him, he ascends the spacious staircase to the gallery whence he overlooks Rome in its full extent from Monte Mario, and all the windings of the Tiber. The construction of this palace, the laying out of this garden, were the occupation and the delight of Julius III. He drew the plan himself, but it was never completed; the architects were incessantly employed in the execution of the schemes and caprices to which every day gave birth.§ Here the pope passed his

* Al. Cl. Crescentio, 13th April, 1552.

† Lettera del Papa a Mendoza, 26th Dec., 1551: (Inff. Polit. xix:) “Without pride be it said, we stand not in need of counsel; we could even offer it to others: assistance indeed we might require.”

‡ Al. Cl. Crescentio, 16th Genn. 1552. He exclaims: “Non sarà vero, non comportaremo mai, prima lassaremo ruinare il mondo.”

§ Vasari. Boissard describes their extent and their magnificence at that time:

days in oblivion of the world. He had done a good deal for the advancement of his kinsmen. Duke Cosmo gave them Monte Sansovino, the place whence they sprang; the emperor, Novara; he himself bestowed upon them the dignities of the ecclesiastical states and Camerino. He had a favorite whom he had adopted when a child in Parma, where he happened to see him seized and held by an ape, and was so pleased by the courage and high spirit displayed by the boy in that perilous situation, that he brought him up and showed him great affection. Unfortunately the action which had attracted the pope's attention remained his only merit; nevertheless Julius had kept his promises to him, and had made him a cardinal. The pope wished that his favorite and his relations should be well provided for and should enjoy consideration, but he had no mind to get into dangerous perplexities on their account. The easy, pleasant life of his villa was, as we have said, best suited to his character and tastes. He gave entertainments which he seasoned with conversation full of racy and proverbial expressions, sometimes of a sort to call up blushes on the cheeks of his guests. In the great affairs of the church and the state he took no more share than was absolutely inevitable.

§ 3. MARCELLUS II.

It was impossible that these affairs could prosper much under such a head. The divisions between the two great catholic powers daily assumed a more threatening aspect; the German protestants had arisen with fresh vigor from their defeat of the year 1547, and had assumed a firmer front than ever. The catholic reformation, so often desired and attempted, was not to be thought of; the prospects of the church of Rome were, it was impossible to disguise, extremely doubtful and dark.

But if, as we have seen, a most austere spirit had been awakened in her own bosom, a spirit that viewed with sincere and intense reprobation the lives and conduct of so many popes, must not this at length affect the choice of a new pontiff? Much depended on the personal character of the head of the church; and for that very reason this supreme dignity was elective, in order that a man who represented the predominant spirit of the church might be placed at the head of affairs.

The first time that the stricter religious party obtained an influ-

“Occupat fere omnes colles qui ab urbe ad pontem Milvium protenduntur;” and gives some of the inscriptions: e. g., “Honeste voluptarier cunctis fas honestis esto;” and, particularly: “De hinc proximo in templo Deo ac divo Andreæ gratias agunto (by this I understand the visitors,) vitamque et salutem Julio III. Pontifici Maximo Balduino ejus fratri et eorum familiæ universæ plurimam et æternam precantor.” Julius died on the 23d of March, 1555.

ence in the election of a pope was after the death of Julius III. Julius had often felt the constraint imposed on his undignified demeanor by the presence of cardinal Marcello Cervini. Upon him the choice fell, on the 11th of April, 1555. He took the name of Marcellus II.

His whole life had been active and irreproachable; the reformation of the church, about which others talked, he had exhibited in his own person. The highest hopes were conceived of him. "I had prayed," says a contemporary, "that a pope might come who might raise those fair words, church, council, reform, from the contempt into which they had fallen; and now I held my hopes fulfilled; by this election my wishes seemed to me become facts, possessions."*

"The opinion," says another, "that men had of the goodness and the matchless wisdom of Marcellus, inspired the world with hope. Now, if ever, it seemed possible for the church to extinguish heretical opinions, to put an end to abuses and corrupt living, to regain her health and her unity."†

The commencement of the reign of Marcellus entirely fulfilled these anticipations. He would not suffer his relations to come to Rome; he introduced numerous reductions in the expenditure of his court; he is said to have left a memoir, composed by himself, on the improvements to be introduced in the institutes of the church; he immediately endeavored to restore divine service to its due solemnity; all his thoughts were turned to a council and to reform.‡ In a political point of view, he took a neutral position, with which the emperor was satisfied. "Nevertheless," say his contemporaries, "the world was not worthy of him:"—they apply to him the words of Virgil, concerning another Marcellus,—

"Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata."

On the 22d day of his pontificate he died.

We cannot speak of the effects produced by so short an administration; but this beginning, this election even, show the spirit which had gained the ascendancy, and which it retained in the next conclave.

The most austere of all the cardinals, Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, quitted that assembly, invested with the dignity of pope, on the 23d of May, 1555.

* Seripando, al Vescovo di Fiesole: Lettere di Principi, iii, 162.

† Lettere di Principi, iii, 141. The editor himself speaks here.

‡ Petri Polidori De Vita Marcelli II, Commentarius, 1744, p. 119.

§ 4. PAUL IV.

We have made frequent mention of this pope. He is the same who founded the order of the Theatins, who re-established the inquisition, and who so essentially contributed to the confirmation of the old dogmas at Trent. It was not only a member, but the very chief and founder of that party which aimed at the restoration of catholicism in all its strictness, who now mounted the papal chair. Paul IV had already attained the age of seventy-nine, but his deep set eyes still gleamed with all the fire of youth; he was extremely tall and thin, he walked quickly, and appeared to be all nerve. His daily life was subject to no rule or order; he often slept by day, and passed the night in study—and woe to the servant who entered his room until he rang his bell. In every thing he followed the impulses of the moment;* but these impulses sprang from a character formed by a long life and become a second nature. He seemed conscious of no other duty, no other business, than the restoration of the ancient faith in all its primitive might and authority.

From time to time characters like that of Paul re-appear on the theatre of the world. Their conceptions of the world and of life are formed from a single point of view; their individual bent of mind is so strong that their opinions are absolutely governed by it; they are unwearied and eloquent speakers, and have always a certain earnestness and freshness of conversation, in which they pour out an incessant stream of those sentiments which seem to rule them by a sort of fatality. It is obvious that the influence of such men must be enormous when they attain to a position where their actions depend solely and absolutely on their opinions, and where power is combined with will.

What might not be expected from Paul IV, who had never known what it was to make a concession or a compromise, who had always acted on his opinions with the utmost vehemence, now that he had reached the summit of power?† He was astonished at his own elevation, as he had never conciliated a cardinal by a single concession, and had never abstained from displaying the utmost severity. He thought himself chosen, not by the cardinals, but by

* *Relazione di M. Bernardo Navagero (che fe poi Cardinale), alla Ser.^{ma}. Rep.^{ca}. di Venetia tornando di Roma Ambasciatore appresso del Pontefice Paolo IV, 1558: in many Italian libraries, also in the *Informationi Politiche* at Berlin: “La complessione di questo pontefice e colerica adusta: ha una incredibil gravità e grandezza in tutte le sue azioni et veramente pare nato al signoreggiare.”*

† It is easy to imagine that his character was not such as to ensure universal approbation. Aretino's *Capitolo al Re di Franci*, thus describes him:

“Caraffa ipocrita infingardo
Che tien per coscienza spirituale
Quando si mette del pepe in sul cardo.”

God himself, by whom he was called for the execution of his purposes.*

“We promise and swear,” says he, in the bull which he issued on entering on his office, “truly to endeavor that the reform of the universal church and of the Roman court be effected.” He marked the day of his coronation by the publication of edicts respecting monasteries and religious orders. He immediately despatched two monks from Monte Cassino to Spain, to restore the monastic discipline which had fallen into decay into that country. He established a congregation for universal reform, consisting of three classes; each composed of eight cardinals, fifteen prelates, and fifty learned divines. The articles which were to form the subject of deliberation, regarding the nomination to offices, were submitted to the universities. The earnestness of purpose with which Paul entered on the work of reform is evident.† It appeared as if the ecclesiastical spirit, the influence of which had for a long time been confined to the lower ranks of the church, had now taken possession of the papacy also, and would preside with undivided sovereignty in the councils of Paul IV.

The only remaining question was, what position he would take up with relation to the great movements which agitated the world.

It is not easy to alter the main directions which a power has taken, and which have gradually become a part of its very being.

From the very nature of things, it must ever have been the pope's desire to rid himself of the predominant power of Spain, and the moment had now arrived in which this seemed practicable. The war which we have seen arise out of the troubles with the Farnesi was the most disastrous that Charles V had ever carried on: he was embarrassed in the Netherlands; Germany had deserted him; Italy was no longer true; he could not even trust in the fidelity of the houses of Este and Gonzaga; he himself was sick and weary of life. I know not whether any pope who did not actually belong to the imperial party, would have withstood the temptations presented by all these circumstances.

To Paul IV they were peculiarly strong. He had beheld Italy in the freedom of the fifteenth century, (he was born in 1476,) and his whole soul hung on the remembrance of her glories. He was wont to compare the Italy of that age to a well-tuned instrument, of which Naples, Milan, the States of the Church, and Venice, were the four strings; and to curse the memory of Alfonso and

* *Relatione del Cl^{mo}. 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 i pontefici.”

† *Bromata, Vita di Paolo IV, lib. ix, § ii, § xvii, (ii, 224, 289.)*

Louis the Moor, "wretched and lost souls," as he called them, "whose divisions had disturbed this harmony."* He had never learned to endure with patience the dominion which the Spaniards had subsequently acquired. The house of Caraffa, of which he was sprung, belonged to the French party, and, on numberless occasions, had taken arms against the Castilians and the Catalans; in 1528 it had again attached itself to the French, and during the troubles of 1547, it was Giovan Pietro Caraffa who advised Paul III to take possession of Naples.

But this party hate was not all. Caraffa had always maintained that Charles V favored the protestants out of jealousy of the pope, and ascribed the success of that party to the emperor himself.† Charles knew Caraffa well. He once expelled him from the council formed for the administration of Naples; he never allowed him to have tranquil possession of his ecclesiastical offices in Naples, and had moreover sometimes seriously remonstrated against Caraffa's declamations in the consistory. It may easily be imagined that these things excited Paul's bitterest animosity. As Neapolitan and as Italian, as catholic and as pope, he hated the emperor. Excepting his zeal for reformation, this hate was his only passion.

Immediately after entering upon the pontificate, he remitted some of the taxes of the Roman people, caused importations of corn; and it was not without some self-complacency that he saw a statue erected to him for these acts, while, surrounded by a splendid court of Neapolitan nobles, he received the homage of the ambassadors who flocked from every country. Yet even at this very moment he fell into a thousand disputes with the emperor. It was reported that Charles had complained to the cardinals of his party, of the choice that had been made; his adherents held suspicious meetings, and even cut out some vessels which had formerly been taken from them by the French from the port of Civita Vecchia.‡ The pope was soon inflamed with rage. He arrested his vassals and the cardinals who were inclined to the imperial party; or they fled, and he confiscated their property. But this did not satisfy him. He entered with little hesitation into that alliance with France which Paul III had never been able to resolve on concluding. The emperor's plan was, he said, to destroy him by a sort of fever of the mind, but he would decide on open fight; with the king's help he would free this poor Italy from the tyranny of Spain; he hoped still to see two French princes on the thrones of Milan and Naples.

* "Infelici quelle anime di Alfonso d'Aragona e Ludovico duca di Milano, che furono li primi che guastarono cosi nobil instrumento d'Italia." Navagero.

† Memoriale dato a Annibale Rucellai, Sept. 1555: (Informatt. Pol., tom. xxiv): "Chiamava liberamente la M^a S. Cesarea, fautore di heretici e di scismatici."

‡ Istruzioni e Lettere di Monsignor della Casa a nome del Cl. Caraffa, 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.

He sat for hours over the black, thick volcanic wine of Naples, called mangiaguerra, which was his ordinary drink,* and poured forth torrents of vehement eloquence against these schismatics and heretics, these accursed of God, the spawn of Jews and Moors, the dregs of the earth, and whatever other abusive epithets he could find to bestow on the Spaniards.† But he comforted himself with the saying, “Thou shalt walk upon serpents, thou shalt tread upon lions and dragons.” The time was now come, he said, when the emperor Charles and his son were to receive the chastisement due to their sins: he, the pope, would inflict it; he would deliver Italy from them. If people would not listen to him, if they would not assist him, at least posterity would be forced to confess that an old Italian on the brink of the grave, who should rather have sought rest and preparation for death, had conceived these lofty designs.

It is not necessary to go into the details of the negotiations which he carried on under the influence of these thoughts. When the French, spite of an understanding they had entered into with him, concluded a truce with Spain,‡ he despatched to France his nephew Carlo Caraffa, who succeeded in gaining over to his own interests the several parties that were contending for power—the Montmorencies and the Guises, the king’s wife and mistress—and in bringing about a fresh outbreak of hostilities.§ In Italy he acquired an energetic ally in the Duke of Ferrara. Nothing less than a total revolution of Italy was contemplated. Florentine and Neapolitan exiles filled the curia, and their restoration to their country seemed

* Navagero: “L’ordine suo è sempre di mangiare que volte il giorno: vuol esser servito molto delicatamente, e nel principio del pontificato 25 piatti non bastavano: beve molto più di quello che mangia: il vino è potente e gagliardo, negro e tanto spesso che si potrà quasi tagliare, dimandasi mangiaguerra, che si conduce del Regno di Napoli: dopo pasto sempre beve malvagia, che i suoi chiamano lavarsi i denti. Stava a mangiare in publico come gli altri pontefici sino all’ ultima indispositione, che fu riputata mortale, quando perdette l’ appetito: consumava qualche volta tre hore di tempo dal sedere al levarsi da mensa, entrando in varii ragionamenti, secondo l’ occasione, et usando molte volte in quel impeto a dir molte cose secrete e d’ importanza.”

† Navagero: “Mai parlava di S. M^a e della natione Spagnola, che non gli chiamasse eretici, scismatici e maladetti da Dio, seme di Giudei e di Mori, feccia del mondo, deplorando la miseria d’ Italia, che fosse astretta a servire gente così abjetta e così vile.” The despatches of the French ambassadors are full of these outbursts. For instance, de Lansac and d’Avançon in Ribier, ii, 610–618.

‡ The account of the incipient incredulity of Caraffa, which appears in Navagero, is very characteristic: “Domandando io al pontefice et al Cl. Caraffa, se havevano avviso alcuno delle tregue [of Vaucelles], si guardarono l’ un l’ altro ridendo, quasi volessero dire, si come mi disse anche apertamente il pontefice, che questa speranza di tregue era assai debole in lui, e nondimeno venne l’ avviso il giorno seguente, il quale si come consolò tutta Roma così diede tanto travaglio e tanta molestia al papa et al cardinale che non lo poterono dissimulare. Diceva il papa che queste tregue sarebbero la ruina del mondo.”

§ Rabutin, Mémoires: Collect. Univers., vol. xxxviii, 358. Particularly Villars, Mémoires, lb., vol. xxxv, 277.

at hand. The pope's fiscal issued a formal act of accusation against emperor Charles and king Philip, in which he threatened to free their subjects from their oath of allegiance. In Florence, people always asserted that they held proofs that the destruction of the house of Medici was also determined on.* Every thing assumed a warlike aspect; and the circumstances which seemed hitherto to have combined to form the characteristics of this century were once more thrown into uncertainty and confusion.

What a totally different turn did this pontificate take from that which had been anticipated! Attempts at reform were compelled to give place to preparations for war, which led to results the very opposite of those intended.

The world beheld him who, as cardinal, had been the most zealous in his denunciations of nepotism, even to his own peril, now abandon himself to this abuse. He raised to the rank of cardinal his nephew Carlo Caraffa, who had revelled in the wild and licentious life of a soldier,† and of whom Paul himself said, "that his arm was dyed in blood to the elbow." Carlo had found means to cajole the feeble old man; he had contrived to be found by him kneeling before the crucifix in apparent remorse and contrition.‡ The grand bond of union between them, however, was a common hate. Carlo Caraffa, who had served the emperor in Germany, complained that he had received nothing but slights in return; that a prisoner for whom he expected to receive a large ransom had been taken from him; that he had been prevented from taking possession of a priory of the order of Malta, to which he was nominated:—injuries which filled him with rage and vengeance. These passions were accepted by the pope as compensations for every virtue. He was inexhaustible in his praises; never, he affirmed, had the see of Rome had a more efficient servant: he committed to him the chief conduct, not only of secular, but of spiritual affairs, and was well pleased that he should be regarded as the author of the favors dispensed by the court.

For a long time the pope did not bestow a single gracious look upon his other nephews, nor was it till they adopted the anti-Spanish feelings of their uncle that he regarded them with complacency.§ The conduct which he now pursued could never have been anticipated. He said that the castles of the Colonnas, those inveterate rebels against God and the church, had frequently been taken from them, but had never been kept; but that he would now entrust them to vassals who would know how to defend them. He divided them among his nephews, to the elder of whom he gave the title of

* Gussoni, Rel^{ne} di Toscana.

† Babon, in Ribier, ii, 745. Villars, p. 255.

‡ Bromato.

§ *Extractus Processus Cardinalis Caraffæ*: "Similiter dux Palliani deponit, quod donec se declaravit contra imperiales, papa eum nunquam vidit grato vultu et bono oculo."

Duke of Palliano; to the younger, that of Marquis of Montebello. When he disclosed these his intentions to the cardinals, they cast down their eyes and were silent. The Caraffas now gave the reins to their aspiring hopes; according to them, the daughters of their house were to be married, if not into the family of the king of France, at any rate into that of the Duke of Ferrara, while their sons were at least to gain possession of Siena. When some one jested concerning the jewelled barett of a child of the house, "This is no time to talk of caps, but of crowns," replied the mother.*

In fact, every thing depended on the issue of the war which now broke out, but which certainly assumed no favorable aspect from the very first.

After the above-mentioned act of the fiscal, the Duke of Alva had advanced from the Neapolitan territory into that of Rome. He was accompanied by the Roman vassals, who aroused all those with whom they had had an understanding. Nettuno drove away the pope's garrison, and recalled the troops of the Colonnas. Alva invested Frosinone, Anagni, Tivoli on the mountains, Ostia on the sea; thus inclosing Rome on both sides.

At first the pope trusted entirely to his Romans, whom he reviewed in person. An army consisting of three hundred and forty columns armed with arquebuses, two hundred and fifty with pikes, each nine men deep, of a most warlike appearance, under noble leaders, marched from Campafiore past fort St. Angelo, which saluted them, to the Piazza di San Pietro, where he stood with his nephews at the window, and, as the caporioni and standard-bearers passed gave them his blessing.† They made a very gallant show, but they were not the men by whom the city was to be defended. The Spaniards having approached near the walls, a false alarm, a small troop of horsemen, sufficed to throw them all into such confusion that not a man remained by his standard. The pope was constrained to look around for other help. Pietro Strozzi at length brought him the troops that had served before Siena, and with their aid he succeeded in reconquering Tivoli and Ostia, and in averting the imminent danger. But what a war was this!

It seems as if, at certain critical periods, the conduct of men were influenced by motives utterly repugnant to the principles which usually determine their actions.

At first Alva might have conquered Rome without much difficulty, but his uncle cardinal Giacomo reminded him of the bad end to which all had come who had a share in Bourbon's conquest.—Alva, like a good catholic, conducted the war with the greatest scrupulousness; while he fought against the pope, he did not cease

* Bromato, ix, 16; ii, 286: literally, "Non esser quel tempo da parlar di berette, ma di corone."

† Diario di Cola Calleine Romano del rione di Trastevere dall' anno 1521, sino all' anno 1562. MS.

to reverence him. He sought to wrest the sword out of his hand, but had no desire to figure in the list of the conquerors of Rome. His troops murmured, and said that it was a vapor, a smoke, against which they were led into the field; that it annoyed them without their being able to grasp it, or to disperse it at its first rise.

And who were those who defended the pope against such good catholics?

The most efficient among them were Germans, all of whom were protestants. They mocked at the images of saints in the roads and churches, laughed at the mass, disregarded the fast, and committed a hundred acts for which the pope would have punished every one of them, under other circumstances, with death.* I even find that Carlo Caraffa once formed an intimacy with the great protestant leader, margrave Albert of Brandenburg.

It was impossible for contradictions to be more complete and striking. On the one side, the strict catholic spirit, by which the leader at least was thoroughly inspired, and which placed him at a distance of ages from the times of Bourbon's ruthless and audacious invasion of the holy city. On the other, the secular tendencies of the papacy, by which Paul IV, however loudly he condemned them, was hurried along. These contrarieties cause the strange anomaly, that those who believe in his authority attack, while those who deny it, defend him; that the former, even in their hostile assaults, preserve their allegiance; and the latter, while serving under his banner, manifest hostility and contempt for his character and station as head of the church.

The war did not begin in earnest till the French allied force, consisting of ten thousand foot and a less numerous but noble body of horse, crossed the Alps. The French would rather have tried their strength against Milan, which they believed to be less strongly defended; but they were obliged to follow the impulse which the Caraffas gave them towards Naples. The latter had no doubt of finding innumerable followers in their own country; they reckoned on the assistance of the exiles, and on the insurrection of their party, if not throughout the kingdom, yet in the Abruzzi, around Aquila and Montorio, where their ancestors, both on the paternal and maternal side, had always possessed great influence.

It was evident that affairs must, in one way or another, come to a crisis.

The hostility of the papal power to the predominancy of Spain had been too often excited not at last to burst forth.

The pope and his family were resolved upon extreme measures. Caraffa had not only sought help from the protestants, but had

* Navagero: "Fu riputata la più esercitata gente la Tedesca (3500 fanti,) [other MSS. however give different numbers,] e più atta alla guerra, ma era in tutto luterana. La Guascona era tanto insolente, tanto contro l'onore delle donne et in torre la robba—gli offesi maledicevano pubblicamente chi era causa di questi disordini."

proposed to Suleiman I to desist from his campaign in Hungary, in order that he might turn all his force against the two Sicilies.* He invoked the succor of infidels against the catholic king.

In April, 1557, the Roman troops crossed the Neapolitan frontier. They celebrated Holy Thursday by the conquest and ruthless pillage of Compli, which was full of treasure, not only belonging to the place, but also that had been conveyed there for safety. Guise next crossed the Tronto and besieged Civitella.

He, however, found the kingdom in a good state of preparation. Alva well knew that there would be no insurrection against him, so long as he was the most powerful in the country. In a parliament of the barons he had obtained a considerable grant; queen Bona of Poland, of the ancient family of Arragon, a bitter enemy of the French, who shortly before had arrived with great treasure in her duchy of Bari, gave him half a million of scudi; he confiscated the ecclesiastical revenues which should have gone to Rome, and even appropriated to his uses the gold and silver utensils of the churches and the bells of Benevento.† He then proceeded to fortify, as well as he could, all the frontier towns of the Neapolitan territory, and all those of the Roman of which he still maintained possession; he collected a splendid army, composed in the old manner, of Germans, Spaniards, and Italians; he had also formed Neapolitan centuries under the conduct of the nobles. Civitella was gallantly defended by count Santafiore, who had incited the inhabitants to active co-operation, and even to repel an assault.

While the kingdom remained thus firmly compacted, and nothing was perceived but devotion to Philip II, violent differences broke out among the assailants—between French and Italians—between Guise and Montebello. Guise complained that the pope did not adhere to the contract made with them, and withheld the succor he had promised. When the Duke of Alva with his army made his appearance in the Abruzzi in the middle of May, Guise deemed it best to raise the siege and to retreat across the Tronto. The war was again transferred to the Roman territory;—a war in which the belligerent parties advanced, retreated, invested cities and then abandoned them, and in which not one serious battle was fought.

Marc Antonio Colonna threatened Palliano, which the pope had wrested from him: upon which Giulio Orsino made preparations to relieve it with provisions and troops. Three thousand Swiss un-

* His confessions in Bromato, *Vita di Paolo IV*, vol. ii, p. 369. Bromato also contains good accounts of the war. He took them, which he does not conceal, in many cases, word for word from a detailed MS. account of this war by Nores, frequently to be found in Italian libraries.

† Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, lib. xxxiii, c. i. Not only Gossellini, Mambri- no Roseo also, *Delle Historie del Mondo*, lib. vii, whose account of this war is circumstantial and derived from good authorities, ascribes to Ferrante Gonzaga a great share in the well-planned measures taken by Alva. This is confirmed by other writers.

der the command of a colonel from Unterwalden had just arrived in Rome. The pope had received them with joy, decorated their chiefs with chains of gold and orders of knighthood, and proclaimed them the legion of angels sent by God to his aid. These troops and a few companies of Italian horse and foot were led by Giulio Orsino. M. A. Colonna posted himself in his way, and an engagement followed in the spirit of the Italian wars of 1491—1531:—papal and imperial troops;—a Colonna and an Orsino;—while the Swiss were opposed, as they had so often been before, by the German lanzknechts, under their colonels Caspar von Feltz and Hans Walther. Once more did the old antagonists fight for a cause in which neither had an interest, yet they fought not with the less obstinate bravery.* At length Hans Walther, who, as the Spaniards relate, had the stature and the strength of a giant, threw himself into the middle of a Swiss company; with a pistol in one hand and a drawn sword in the other, he rushed upon the standard-bearer, whom he laid dead at his feet by a shot in the side and a violent cut on the head at the same minute, upon which the whole troop bore down upon him; but his lanzknechts had already come up to his defence. The Swiss were totally routed; their banners, upon which was inscribed, in large letters, “Defenders of the Faith and of the Holy See,” were trodden in the dust; and their colonel led back only two out of his eleven captains to Rome. While this little war was carrying on here, the great armies were encamped over against each other on the frontier of the Netherlands. The battle of St. Quintin, in which the Spaniards gained the most decisive victory, followed. The only wonder in France was that they did not march straight on Paris, which they might have conquered.†

“I hope,” wrote Henry II, on this occasion, to Guise, “that the pope will do as much for me in my need, as I did for him.”‡ So little could Paul now reckon on the assistance of the French, that they on the contrary, needed succor from him. Guise declared, “that no chains would be strong enough to keep him any longer in Italy,”§ and hastened back with his troops to his distressed prince.

The inevitable consequence was, that the Spaniards and the followers of Colonna once more marched against Rome. The Romans once more beheld conquest and pillage impending over them; and their situation was the more desperate, as they had nearly as much to fear from their defenders as from their enemies. For many nights they kept lights in all their windows and streets, and it is said that a troop of Spanish marauders, who advanced as far as the gates, were frightened back by this appearance; the chief motive for which, however, was, to be prepared against the outrages of the

* The particular circumstances of this engagement I take from Cabrera, Don Felipe Segundo, lib. iii, p. 139.

† Monluc, Mémoires, p. 116.

‡ Le Roy à Mons. de Guise, in Ribier, ii, p. 750.

§ Lettera del Duca di Palliano al Cl. Caraffa, Informatt. Polit. xxii.

papal soldiers. Nothing was to be heard but murmurs;—people wished the pope dead a thousand times, and demanded that the Spanish army should be admitted by a formal capitulation.

To such a pitch did Paul IV suffer things to advance. It was not till his enterprize had been thoroughly wrecked, his allies beaten, his states almost entirely occupied by the enemy, and his capital a second time threatened, that he consented to treat for peace.

This the Spaniards concluded in the same spirit in which they had carried on the war. They gave up all the castles and cities of the church, and even promised the Caraffas compensation for Palliano, which they had lost.* Alva came to Rome; with the deepest veneration he kissed the foot of the vanquished and inveterate foe of his nation and his king. He said he had never feared the face of man as he feared that of the pope.

Nevertheless, however advantageous to the papal power this peace may appear, it was fatal to all its projects and all its enterprizes. There was an end to all attempts to shake off the Spanish yoke; nor, indeed, has such a project (in the sense in which it had hitherto been understood) been entertained from that time. In Milan and Naples, the dominion of the Spaniards had proved too solid to be shaken. Their allies were stronger than ever. Duke Cosmo, whom his enemies had thought to drive out of Florence, had not only maintained possession of that city, but had annexed Siena to it, and now wielded a considerable independent power; the Farnesi were won over to the cause of Philip II by the restitution of Piacenza; Marc Antonio Colonna had made himself a great name and had regained the station formerly occupied by his family. Nothing was left to the pope but to acquiesce in this state of things;—to this even Paul must yield:—how hardly, we may well imagine. Somebody once called Philip II his friend: “Yes,” said he, “my friend, who besieged me, who sought my very soul.” In public, he compared him to the prodigal son in the gospel, but in the circle of his intimate friends, he expressed his admiration of those popes alone who had meditated raising kings of France to the imperial throne.† His mind was unchanged, but he was bound down by circumstances; he could no longer hope, still less undertake anything; his very complaints must be secret.

It is, however, utterly vain to struggle against the consequences of an event which is accomplished. After some time a reaction took place even in Paul IV, which it is of the greatest importance

* Palliano became the subject of a secret treaty concluded between Alva and cardinal Caraffa—a treaty unknown not only to the public, but to the pope himself. Bromato, ii, 385.

† L’Evesque d’Angoulesme au Roy, 11 Juin, 1558. Ribier, ii, 745. The pope had said, “Que vous, Sire, n’estiez pas pour dégénérer de vos prédécesseurs, qui avoient toujours esté conservateurs et défenseurs de ce saint siège; comme au contraire, que le roy Philippe tenoit de race de le voiloir ruiner et confondre entièrement.”

to consider, both with reference to his government, and to the general transformation wrought in the nature of the papal power and station.

The nepotism of Paul was not founded on the selfishness or the family partialities of preceding popes; he favored his nephews because they supported his designs against Spain; he regarded them as his natural allies in the struggle. This being at an end, his nephews were useless to him.

An eminent station; especially if it be not a strictly legitimate one, requires the support of success to make it stable. Cardinal Caraffa, prompted mainly by the interest of his house, for which he wished to settle the compensation for Palliano, already mentioned, undertook an embassy to king Philip. From the time he returned without having effected anything material, the pope visibly became colder and colder towards him; and the cardinal soon found that it no longer rested with him to determine who should be about his uncle, or to exclude from the palace all but his own devoted friends. Unfavorable rumors too came to the ears of the pope, and served to revive the disagreeable impressions of former days. The cardinal once fell sick, and the pope paying him an unexpected visit, found two men of the worst reputation with him. "Old people are mistrustful," said he, "and I perceived things there which opened a wide field for my suspicions." We see that nothing was wanted but an occasion to excite a storm in his mind, and such an one as was afforded by an incident otherwise insignificant. On new year's night, 1559, a tumult arose in the streets, in which the young cardinal Monte, whom we have already mentioned as the favorite of Julius III, drew his sword. The pope heard this early in the morning, and was profoundly vexed that his nephew said not a word to him about it; after waiting a few days, he at length expressed his displeasure. The court, ever greedy of change, seized upon this symptom of disgrace with avidity. The Florentine ambassador, who had received a thousand affronts from the Caraffas, now forced his way to the presence of the pope, and broke out into the bitterest complaints. The marchesa della Valle, a kinswoman, one of those who had never been allowed free access to him, found means to get a paper placed in his breviary, on which some of his nephews' misdeeds were recorded; and in which it was intimated that if his holiness wished for further explanations, he would be pleased to subscribe his name to it. Paul signed, and there was no want of explanations.

In this frame of mind already filled with disgust and indignation, the pope repaired to the meeting of the inquisition on the 9th of January. He spoke of that nocturnal broil, rebuked cardinal Monte in violent terms, threatened him with punishment, and thundered out again and again, "Reform, reform!" The cardinals, generally so silent, had now gained courage to speak:—"Holy Father," interrupted cardinal Pacheco, "we must begin the reform

among ourselves." The pope made no reply. The words struck him to the heart; they turned to certainty the convictions which had been fermenting and acquiring form and consistency in his mind. He left the affair of Monte unfinished, returned to his sitting-room in the utmost exasperation, and absorbed in the thoughts of his nephews. After giving immediate directions that no further order given by cardinal Caraffa should be executed, he sent to demand his papers; cardinal Vitellozzo Vitelli, who had the reputation of being privy to all the Caraffas' secrets, was compelled to swear that he would reveal everything he knew; Camillo Orsino was summoned for the same purpose from his country-house: the rigid party, who had long seen with indignation the proceedings of the nephews, now raised its voice; the old Theatine, Don Gieremia, who was regarded as a saint, passed hours in the papal apartments, and the pope learned things he had never dreamt of, which excited his horror and detestation. His agitation was extreme; he could neither eat nor sleep, and for ten days was ill of a fever. An event now occurred, for ever memorable;—a pope, by a sort of self-violence, emancipated himself from all partiality to his kindred. At length he was resolved. On the 27th of January he summoned a consistory, described with passionate agitation the bad lives of his nephews, and called God and man to witness, that he had known nothing of it—that he had been constantly deceived. He dismissed them from their posts, and banished them with their families to remote places. The mother of the nephews, seventy years old, bent with infirmity and personally blameless, threw herself at his feet as he was going into the palace; he passed her with harsh words. At the same time the young Marchesa Montebello came from Naples; she found her palace closed; no inn would receive her; in the rainy night she drove from door to door, till at length an innkeeper, living in a remote spot which no order had reached, gave her shelter.

Vainly did cardinal Caraffa offer to go to prison and to render an account of his conduct. The Swiss Guard received orders to turn back from the palace not only himself, but all who had been in his service. The pope made only one exception. He kept about him, as assistant in his devotional exercises, the son of Montorio, whom he loved, and whom he had made cardinal in his eighteenth year. But never did the young man venture to mention those who were banished from the court, much less to make any intercession for them; he dared not hold up any intercourse even with his father. The ruin that had fallen upon his house affected him only the more deeply; the grief that he was not allowed to express in words imprinted itself on his countenance and whole person.*

* In Pallavicini, but above all, in Bromato, we find satisfactory disclosures on this head. In the Berlin Informationi, there is also, vol. viii, a "Diario d'

Would it not be thought that events like these must necessarily react on the mind of the pope? Yet he was as if nothing had happened. Hardly had he, with vehement and indignant eloquence, pronounced sentence in the consistory, while most of the cardinals were still transfixed with amazement and fear, when he appeared to feel nothing, and passed immediately to other business.

The foreign ambassadors were astonished at his demeanor. "In the midst of such sudden and complete changes," says one, "surrounded by new ministers and servants, he maintains a firm, unbending, unconcerned attitude; he feels no pity; he appears to retain no memory whatever of his kindred."

He now gave himself up to an entirely different passion; a change in his character and views which led to the most important results. The hatred of the Spaniards, and the idea of becoming the liberator of Italy, had hurried even Paul IV, into political schemes; had led him to endow his nephews with the lands of the church, to raise a soldier to the administration even of spiritual affairs, and had plunged him into hostilities and bloodshed. Events had forced him to renounce this idea, to suppress this hatred; they had also gradually opened his eyes to the disgraceful conduct of his relations, on whom, after a violent inward struggle, he had done inexorable justice; from the hour he had shaken them off for ever, he returned to his old plans of reform, and began to reign as was at first expected of him. With the same passion with which he had hitherto carried on hostilities and war, he now set about the reform of the state, and still more that of the church.

The secular affairs, from the highest to the lowest, were entrusted to new hands. The actual *podestàs* and governors were dismissed from their places, and sometimes in a most extraordinary manner. In Perugia the new governor made his appearance at night; without waiting for daylight he summoned the Anziani, produced his credentials, and commanded them instantly to take prisoner their former governor, who was present.

Paul IV was the first pope, from time immemorial, who had governed without nepotism. The places of his nephews were occupied by cardinal Carpi and cardinal Camillo Orsino, who had possessed so much influence under Paul III. The whole character and conduct of the government was altered, together with the persons who administered it. Considerable sums were saved and taxes consequently remitted; a chest was fixed in a public place into which every man could throw a statement of grievances, and of which the pope alone kept the key; the governor made a daily

alcune attioni più notabili nel Pontificato di Paolo IV, l'anno 1558, sino alla sua morte." (beginning from the 10th September, 1558!) unknown to both of these two writers. It is compiled by an eye-witness of the events it narrates, and has afforded me information entirely new.

report, and public business generally was conducted with greater care and wisdom, and without the old abuses.

Even in the midst of the troubles which agitated the earlier part of his reign, the pope had never lost sight of the reform of the church; he now devoted himself to it with more ardent zeal and a freer heart. He introduced a more rigid discipline into the churches; forbade all begging, even the collection of alms for masses by the clergy; and removed all indecorous and disgusting pictures. A medal of him was struck, on the reverse of which was represented Christ purifying the temple and driving out the money-changers. He drove the intruding monks out of the city and the state, and compelled the court to keep the regular fasts, and to solemnise Easter by receiving the Lord's Supper. The cardinals were even compelled to preach occasionally. Paul himself preached. He tried to abolish many abuses which were sources of profit; for example, he would hear nothing of marriage dispensations, or of the revenue they brought to the treasury.

Numerous places, which had hitherto been invariably sold, even the *chiericati di Camera*,* he would no longer allow to be given on any other ground than that of merit; much more was he determined by worth of character and by the sentiments befitting an ecclesiastic, in the bestowment of spiritual offices. Those compromises, hitherto customary, according to which one man performed the duties of a benefice, while another enjoyed the greater share of its emoluments, he would no longer tolerate. He likewise cherished the project of restoring to the bishops many of the rights of which they had been deprived, and strongly censured the rapacity of which every thing productive of power or profit had been drawn to Rome.†

Nor was he content to take up a negative position—to remain a mere destroyer and abolisher of abuses; he sought to surround divine worship with greater pomp; the decorations of the Sistine chapel and the solemn representation of the Holy Sepulchre are to be ascribed to him.‡ The ideal of the service of the catholic church of later times, full of dignity, devotion, and magnificence, constantly floated before his eyes.

He boasted that he suffered not a day to pass without the publication of an ordinance tending to the restoration of the church to its original purity. In many of his decrees we discover the funda-

* Caracciolo, Vita di Paolo IV, MS., makes particular mention of them. The pope said: "Che simili officii d'amministrazione e di giustizia conveniva che si dassero a persone che li facessero, e non venderli a chi avesse occasion di volerne cavare il suo danaro."

† Bromato, ii, 483.

‡ Mocenigo, Relatione di 1560: "Nelli officii divini poi e nelle ceremonie procedeva questo pontefice con tanta gravità e devotione che veramente pareva degnissimo vicario de Gesu Christo. Nelle cose poi della religione si prendeva tanto pensiero et usava tanta diligentia che maggior non si poteva desiderare."

mental outlines of the regulations to which the council of Trent soon afterwards gave its sanction.*

As might be expected, he displayed, in his present course, as he had done in the former, all the inflexibility with which he was endowed by nature. He favored, above all other institutions, the inquisition, which indeed he had himself re-established. He often let the days pass by which were set apart for the *segnatura* and the consistory; but he never missed the meetings of the congregation of the inquisition, which took place every Thursday. He wished its powers to be exercised in the severest manner, subjected offences of new classes to its jurisdiction, and conferred upon it the inhuman right of employing torture for the discovery of accomplices: he allowed of no respect of persons; the noblest barons were dragged before this tribunal; and cardinals, like Morone and Foscherari, who had formerly been employed to examine the contents of remarkable books, such as Loyola's "Spiritual Exercises," he now caused to be thrown into prison, because some doubts had arisen of the soundness of their faith. He established the festival of San Domenico in honor of the great inquisitor.

Religious severity and zeal for the restoration of the church thus became the predominant characteristics of the papacy.

Paul IV seemed almost to have forgotten that he had ever cherished any other views; the memory of the past seemed obliterated from his mind. He lived and moved in his reforms and his inquisition; made laws, imprisoned, excommunicated, and held autos da fé. When at length a sickness, such as would have occasioned the death of a younger man, laid him prostrate, he called together the cardinals, once more commended his soul to their prayers—the holy see and the inquisition, to their care; once more he endeavored to collect his strength and to rise, but in vain—he sank back and expired (18th August, 1559).

Herein, at least, are such resolute, passionate men happier than those of feebler character;—they are, indeed, blinded by the violence of their feelings and prejudices, but the same qualities render them inflexible, callous, and invincible.

The people, however, did not forget so quickly as the pope what they had suffered under him. They could not forgive him the war he had brought upon Rome; nor was the dismissal of his nephews sufficient to satisfy the hatred of the multitude. At his death some assembled around the capitol and resolved, that as he had deserved ill of the city and of the world, they would destroy his monuments. Others plundered the buildings of the inquisition, set fire to them, and maltreated the servants of the sacred office. They also tried to burn the Dominican convent della Minerva. The Colonnas,

* Mocenigo: "Papa Paolo IV andava continuamente facendo qualche nova determinazione e riforma, e sempre diceva preparare altre, acciò che restasse manco occasione e menor necessità di far concilio."

Orsini, Cesarini, Massimi, all mortally offended by Paul IV, took part in these tumults. The statues which had been erected to the pope were torn from their pedestals, broken, and the heads, surmounted with the triple crown, dragged through the streets.*

Happy had it been for the papacy, however, had this been the only reaction against the projects and the deeds of Paul IV.

§ 5. REMARKS ON THE PROGRESS OF PROTESTANTISM DURING THIS REIGN.

We have seen how the breach between the papacy and the imperial or Spanish power contributed, perhaps more than any other external cause, to the establishment of protestantism in Germany. Nevertheless, another error had not been avoided, which now produced still vaster and more comprehensive results.

We may date its commencement from the recall of the papal troops from the imperial army and the transfer of the council to Bologna. The importance of these measures soon appeared. Nothing was so potent an obstacle to the subjugation of the protestants as the conduct of Paul III at that moment.

But it was not till after the death of that pope that the wide-spreading and permanent consequences of his measures were seen. The connection with France, into which he led his nephews, gave rise to a universal war—a war wherein not only the German protestants won that immortal victory which freed them for ever from the bonds of council, emperor, or pope, but in which the immediate contact with the German soldiers who fought on both sides, and the universal disorder which rendered impossible any vigilant precautions, powerfully favored the progress of the new opinions in France and the Netherlands.

Paul IV ascended the papal throne. He ought to have taken a clear view of the present course of events, and to have made it his first and most urgent care to restore peace. Instead of this, he plunged with all the blindness of passion into the strife; and thus it was the destiny of this most furious zealot to contribute more perhaps than any of his predecessors to the spread of that protestantism which he hated, abhorred, and persecuted.

* Mocenigo: "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, si di virtualie come d' altra robba, che la maggior parte era del Rev^{mo}. 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." He then asserts, that the nobles were most to blame in the affair. Similar tumults had likewise taken place in Perugia.

Let us only call to mind his influence on England. The first victory of the new opinions in that country was far from being complete; there needed only a retrocession on the part of the sovereign, there needed only a catholic queen, to determine the parliament to place the church once more in subjection to the pope. It was, however, necessary for the latter to proceed with moderation, for he could not make the events which had recently been occasioned by religious innovations, a ground of war. This Julius III clearly perceived. The first papal legate immediately remarked,* how powerful were the interests created by the confiscation of church property. Julius formed the magnanimous determination not to insist on its restitution. In fact the legate was not allowed to set foot in England till he had given satisfactory assurances on this head. They formed the basis of all his subsequent influence,† and were the causes of his eminent success. This legate was Reginald Pole, with whom we are already acquainted;—of all living men the most peculiarly fitted for the task of re-establishing catholicism in England; elevated above all suspicion of sordid or impure views; intelligent, moderate, entitled by his native birth and high rank to the consideration of queen, nobility, and people. The undertaking prospered beyond all expectation. The accession of Paul IV was marked by the arrival of English ambassadors, who assured him of the obedience of that country.

Paul, therefore, had not to win, he had only to preserve, the allegiance of England. Let us examine what were the measures he adopted for that purpose.

He proclaimed the restitution of the lands of the church to be an indispensable duty, the neglect of which would draw upon the culprit the penalty of eternal damnation. He also tried to re-establish the collection of the Peter's pence.‡ But, independently of these ill-advised acts, could anything be worse adapted to the accomplishment of the reduction of the nation to his authority, than his passionate hostility to Philip II, of Spain, who was also king of England? Englishmen were engaged in the battle of St. Quintin—that battle which had such disastrous consequences for Italy. Lastly, he persecuted cardinal Pole, whom he could not endure; stripped him of the rank and dignity of a legate, which no one had ever employed more to the advantage of the holy see, and appointed in his place an unskilful monk, bent with years, but violent in his

* *Lettere di Mr. Henrico*, Nov., 1553: in a MS., entitled "*Lettere e Negotiati di Polo*," which contains a great deal of matter important to this history. See *Pallavicini* on this transaction, xiii, 9, 411.

† He did not hesitate to acknowledge the right of the actual possessors.—*Litteræ C^{iv}. Poli. Concilia M. Britannia*, iv, 112.

‡ These ideas wholly occupied his mind and influenced his actions. He published his bull *Rescissio Alienationum* (*Bullarium*, iv, 4, 319,) in which he annulled, without exception, all alienations of the old ecclesiastical possessions.

prejudices.* Had it been Paul's object to obstruct the work of restoration, he could not have chosen more effectual means. It was, therefore, no wonder that after the early and unexpected death of the queen and of the legate, the antagonist tendencies broke forth with fresh violence. The persecutions which Pole condemned, but which his bigoted opponents approved and encouraged, contributed not a little to this result.

The question was then submitted to the pope. It required the more mature deliberation, since it unquestionably included Scotland. In that country two religious parties were engaged in fierce feuds with each other; and the final decision of things in England must determine the fate of Scotland also. It was, therefore, a fact of great importance to the catholic cause, that Elizabeth, at the beginning of her reign, by no means showed herself decidedly protestant;† as a proof of which she had caused her accession to be notified to the pope. Negotiations were actually set on foot for a marriage between her and Philip II, which at that time appeared very probable.

It might have been imagined that nothing could be more desirable to the pope than this event. But prudence and moderation were not in Paul's nature. He gave a repulsive, contemptuous answer to Elizabeth's ambassador. "In the first place," said he, "she must submit all her claims to our decision."

It must not be believed that the dignity and importance of the apostolic see formed his sole motive to this arrogant language. He had others. The French wished, from national jealousy, to prevent this marriage, and they found means to employ the pious Theatines to represent to the aged pope that Elizabeth was still a protestant at heart, and that such an alliance could end in nothing good.‡ The Guises had the strongest interest in this intrigue. If Elizabeth's claims to the crown were rejected by the holy see, their sister's daughter, Mary Stuart, dauphiness of France and queen of Scotland, was next heiress to the throne of England, and the Guises might hope to rule the three kingdoms in her name. And, in fact, that princess assumed the arms of England, subscribed her edicts with the year of her reign over England and Ireland, and set on foot warlike preparations in the ports of Scotland.§

Even if Elizabeth's own inclinations had not led her to embrace the opinions of the protestants, she would have been compelled by circumstances to throw herself into the arms of that party. She did so in the most determined manner, and succeeded in assembling

* Godwin's *Annales Angliæ*, etc., p. 456.

† Nares also, in his *Memoirs of Burleigh*, ii, p. 43, deems her religious principles "at first liable to some doubts."

‡ Private narrative of Thuanus.

§ In Forbes's *Transactions*, p. 402, there is a *Responsio ad Petitiones D. Glasion et Episc. Aquilani*, by Cecil, which displays all these motives in the most lively manner.

a parliament with a protestant majority,* by which all the changes constituting the essential character of the English church were in a few months effected.

Scotland necessarily felt the influence of this turn of affairs. The progress of the catholic French party was opposed by a national protestant one, with which Elizabeth hastened to ally herself; what is more strange, the Spanish ambassador exhorted her to this measure.† The treaty of Berwick, which she concluded with the Scottish opposition, threw the preponderancy into their scale. Even before Mary Stuart set foot in her kingdom, she was not only compelled to renounce her title to the throne of England, but to ratify the acts of a parliament assembled in a protestant spirit;—acts, by one of which the performance of the mass was prohibited under pain of death.

Thus it was, in great measure, a reaction against the French claims backed by the pope, which for ever secured the triumph of protestantism in Great Britain.

Not that the inward impulses of those inclined to the new opinions depended in any degree on these political movements; they had a far deeper source; but the crises which produced the outbreak, progress, and termination of the struggle, generally coincided precisely with the political changes.

A measure of Paul's had, on one occasion, great influence over Germany. His old antipathy to the house of Austria had led him to oppose the transfer of the imperial crown, which compelled Ferdinand I to cultivate the friendship of the protestant allies more sedulously than heretofore. From that time there was an union of the moderate princes of both sides, who put themselves at the head of all Germany, and under whose influence the ecclesiastical foundations of Lower Germany were transferred into the hands of protestant administrations.

It seemed as if the papacy was destined to experience no reverse which it had not contributed, in some way or other, to bring about by its interference in political affairs.

If at this moment we survey the world from the heights of Rome, how enormous were the losses which the catholic confession had sustained! Scandinavia and Britain totally severed; Germany almost entirely protestant; Poland and Hungary in a state of violent fermentation; Geneva, a focus of heresy, as important to the west and to the nations of Roman descent, as Wittenberg to the east, and to those of Germanic race; even in France and the Netherlands a party rallying round the banner of protestantism.

One hope only remained to the catholic faith. In Spain and Italy the first movements of dissent had been stifled and suppressed,

* Neal, History of the Puritans, i, 126: "The court took such measures about elections as seldom fail of success."

† Camden, Rerum Anglicarum Annales, p. 37.

and a strict ecclesiastical spirit of restoration had arisen. However injurious in other respects was the policy of Paul IV, it had, at least, given power and weight to this spirit in the court and the palace. The question was, whether it could permanently maintain itself there, and whether it would then have power once more to pervade and to unite the catholic world.

§ 6. PIUS IV.

It is related, that once at a dinner of cardinals Alessandro Farnese gave a garland to a boy who was entertaining them with improvisation to the lyre, and told him to offer it to the one among them who should be pope hereafter. The boy, Silvio Antoniano, afterwards a distinguished man and himself a cardinal, immediately went up to Giovan-Angelo Medici, and, reciting his praises, gave him the wreath. This Medici was Paul's successor, Pius IV.*

His birth was mean. His father Bernardino had settled originally at Milan, and had acquired a small estate there by farming the taxes.† The sons, however, were obliged to subsist as they could; the one, Giangiacomo, who took up the profession of arms, at first entered the service of a nobleman; the other, of whom we are about to speak, Gianangelo, devoted himself to study, but in very narrow circumstances. Their fortune had the following origin: Giangiacomo, bold and unscrupulous by nature, hired himself to the men at the head of the government of Milan, to despatch one of their opponents of the Visconti family, called Monsignorino.—Scarcely, however, was the murder perpetrated, when those, who had plotted it, wished to get rid of their tool as well as of their victim, and sent the young man to a castle called Mus on the lake of Como, with a letter to the castellan, desiring him to put to death the bearer. Giangiacomo conceiving some suspicion, opened the letter, saw what awaited him, and instantly took his resolution.

He chose a few trusty companions, gained entrance to the castle by means of the letter, and succeeded in getting possession of it. From that time he assumed the character of an independent prince. He harassed the Milanese, Swiss, and Venetians incessantly from this strong fortress; at last he took the white cross and entered the imperial service. He was created marchese di Marignano, served as commander of the artillery in the war against the Lutherans,

* Nicus Erythræus relates this anecdote in the article upon Antoniano, *Pinacotheca*, p. 37. Mazzuchelli also repeats it. The election took place on the 26th of Dec. 1559.

† Hieronymo Soranzo, *Relatione di Roma*: “Bernardino, padre della B. S. fu stimata persona di somma bontà e di gran industria, ancora che fusse nato in povero e basso stato: nondimeno venuto habitar a Milano si diede a pigliar datii in affitto.”

and led the imperial army before Siena.* His prudence was equal to his boldness; he was successful in all his enterprises, and wholly without pity. Many were the peasants seeking to convey provisions into Siena, whom he killed with a blow of his iron staff; there was not a tree far or near, on which he had not caused some to be hanged; it was reckoned that he had put to death five thousand men. He conquered Siena, and founded a considerable house.

The rise of Giangiaco-*mo* had been accompanied by that of his brother Gianangelo. He took the degree of doctor, and acquired reputation as a jurist; he then bought a place at Rome, where he speedily gained the confidence of Paul III, and when his brother the marchese married an Orsina, (the sister of Pier Luigi Farnese's wife,) he was made a cardinal.† From that time, we find him charged with the administration of papal cities, the conduct of political negotiations, and more than once with the commissariat of papal armies.

He was clever, discreet, and good-natured. Paul IV, however, could not endure him, and once made a violent attack upon him in the consistory, on which account Medici thought it most expedient to leave Rome. He lived sometimes at the baths of Pisa, and sometimes in Milan, which he adorned with numerous buildings; he beguiled his exile by literary occupations, and by a splendid beneficence which procured for him the name of the Father of the Poor. Perhaps the complete contrast which he afforded to Paul IV, contributed mainly to his election. This contrast was unusually striking.

Paul IV, a high-born Neapolitan of the anti-Austrian faction, a zealot, a monk, and an inquisitor: Pius IV a Milanese adventurer, through his brother, and through some other German relations, closely connected with the house of Austria, a jurist, of a free and worldly disposition. Paul IV, had held himself at an unapproachable distance; in the commonest business he would display his state and dignity: Pius was all good-humor and condescension. Every day he was seen in the streets on horseback or on foot almost without attendants; he talked freely and affably with every one.

The Venetian despatches bring us perfectly acquainted with him.‡ The ambassadors find him writing and transacting business in a large, cool room; he rises and walks up and down with them;—

* Ripamonte, *Historiæ Urbis Mediolani*. Natalis Comes Hist.

† Soranzo: "Nato 1499, si dottorò 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 himself makes mention of 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 followed, "con promessa di far lui cardinale."

‡ Raguagli dell' Ambasciatore Veneto da Roma, 1561. By Marco Antonio Amulio (Mula). *Informatt. Polit.* xxxvii.

or he is going to the Belvedere; he sits down without laying the stick out of his hand, instantly listens to their communications, and then proceeds on his way in their company. But if he treated them with confidence and familiarity, he chose to be treated with politeness and respect in return. The clever expedients which the Venetians sometimes propose to him, amuse him, and draw from him smiles and praises; while, in spite of his fidelity to the Austrian cause, he is annoyed by the inflexible, domineering manners of the Spanish envoy, Parga. He dislikes details, which soon tire him, but so long as people keep to what is general and important, they always find him in good humor and easy to deal with. Then he pours forth a thousand cordial protestations—how he hates bad men with all his heart—is by nature a lover of justice—would infringe no man's liberty—would show kindness and friendship to all;—especially, however, intends to labor with all his might for the church. He hoped in God he might accomplish some good.

These descriptions bring him before us in all the truth and vividness of life; a portly old man, yet still active enough to repair before sunrise to his country-house with a gay countenance and cheerful eye; deriving his chief pleasures from conversation, the table, and convivial diversion; when recovered from a sickness which had been considered dangerous, he mounted his horse immediately, rode to a house where he had lived when cardinal, stepped vigorously up and down the stairs—"No, no," said he, "we are not going to die yet."

But was such a pope, of so jovial and worldly a temper, formed to govern the church in the critical situation in which it was then placed? Was there not reason to fear that he would deviate from the course so lately entered upon by his predecessor? I will not undertake to deny that his nature inclined him to totally different measures, yet no change did in fact take place.

He was, in his heart, no friend to the inquisition; he blamed the monkish severity of its proceedings, and seldom or never visited the congregation—but he ventured not to attack them; he declared that he knew nothing about the matter—that he was no theologian; he left it in possession of all the power it had acquired under Paul IV.*

He made a fearful example of the nephews of that pope. The excesses committed by the Duke of Palliano, even after his fall, (among other atrocities, the murder of his wife in a fit of jealousy,) gave the enemies of the Caraffas, who thirsted for vengeance, an easy advantage. A criminal process was instituted against them, during which they were accused of the most revolting crimes, rob-

* Soranzo: "Se bene si conobbe, non esser di sua satisfatione il modo che tengono gl' inquisitori di procedere per l' ordinario con tanto rigore contra gl' inquisiti, e che si lascia intendere che più li piaceria che usassero termini da cortese gentiluomo che da frate severo, non di meno non ardisee o non vuole mai opponersi ai giudicii loro."

beries, forgeries, murders, combined with the most arbitrary exercise of power, and a system of constant deception practised upon the aged Paul. We are in possession of their defence, which is not without a semblance of justification.* But their accusers prevailed. After the pope had caused the documents to be read to him in the consistory one day, from early morning till late in the evening, he passed sentence of death upon them, viz., the cardinal, the Duke of Palliano, and two of their nearest relations, Count Aliffè and Leonardo di Cardine. Montebello and some others had escaped. The cardinal perhaps expected banishment, but certainly not death. His sentence was announced to him in the morning before he was up, and, when no doubt was left him, he hid his face in the bed-clothes; then, raising himself up, he clasped his hands and uttered those words which are so often the last expression of despair from the lips of an Italian—"Bene, pazienza." He was not permitted to have his usual confessor. He had, as may be imagined, much to say to the one they sent him, and his confession lasted rather long. "Monsignore," said the officer of police, "you must have done, we have other business in hand."

Thus perished the kinsmen of Paul IV. They were the last who aimed at independent principalities on the ground of consanguinity with the pontiff, and who brought about great and general movements for the sake of their own political projects. Since Sixtus IV, we have seen Geronimo Riario, Cesare Borgia, Lorenzo Medici, Pier-Luigi Farnese;—the Caraffas close the list. In later times, nepotism showed itself again, but in a totally different form. That in which it had hitherto appeared was extinct.

It was manifestly impossible that after so terrible an execution, Pius IV could entertain a thought of conferring on his own family a power like that which he had visited so inexorably on the Caraffas. Besides, his lively, active temper inclined him to keep the reins of government in his own hands; he decided no important business without hearing and weighing the whole matter himself; he was reproached rather with relying too little than too much on foreign aid. It is also to be remembered that one of his nephews, whom he might have wished to promote, Federigo Borromeo, died young. The other, Carlo Borromeo, was no man for worldly aggrandisement. He would never have accepted it. He regarded the position in which he stood with relation to the pope, and the connection in which it placed him with the most important affairs, not as conferring on him a right to any advantage or to any indulgence, but as imposing a duty to which he was bound to devote his utmost

* Detailed accounts of these events, principally taken from Nores, are to be found in Bromato. In the *Informatt.* we likewise find the letters of Mula, e. g. 19th of July, 1560; the *Extractus Processûs Cardinalis Caraffæ*; and *El successo de la muerte de los Carafas, con la declaracion y el modo que murieron. La Morte de Cl. Caraffa*, (Library at Venice, vi, n. 39,) is the MS. which Bromato had before him, in addition to that of Nores.

care. This he did with equal modesty and perseverance; he was unwearied in giving audience; he attended with the greatest solicitude to the administration of the state. to which end he called around him a collegium of eight doctors, (out of which grew the important institution of the *consulta*;) and after hearing their opinions, he delivered his own to the pope. His life was such that we cannot wonder if after death he was revered as a saint; even at the time we are speaking of his whole conduct was equally noble and blameless. "So far as is known," says Geronimo Soranzo, "he is pure from all spot or stain; he lives so religiously and sets so good an example, that he leaves even the best men nothing to desire. It is his greatest praise that, in the prime of his life, nephew of a pope, and in the full enjoyment of his favor, in a court where every kind of pleasure is at his disposal, he lives so exemplary a life." His recreation was to assemble a few learned men about him in an evening. The conversation began with profane literature, but from Epictetus and the Stoics, whom Borromeo, then young, did not despise, it soon turned upon theological questions, which even in his leisure hours were uppermost in his mind.* If any fault could be found with him, it was for no deficiency of purity of intention, or of industry, but in some degree, of talent; while his servants complained that they were obliged to forego those rich proofs of favor which in former times had been showered upon all who followed in the train of nepotism.

Thus did the qualities of the nephew supply whatever defects severer judges might find in the uncle. At all events, things went on in the same track; spiritual and temporal affairs were conducted with zeal and with regard to the interests of the church, and the work of reform advanced. The pope publicly admonished the bishops to reside in their dioceses, and some were seen immediately to kiss his foot and take their leave. When once the prevalent ideas of an age have gained the upper hand, their force is irresistible. The tendency towards severity of ecclesiastical manners and opinions had become omnipotent in Rome, and not even the pope could deviate from it.

But if the somewhat worldly character of this pontiff had not sufficient influence to check the revival of a strictly religious spirit, we may remark that, on the other hand, it contributed in an incalculable degree to the healing of the divisions which had arisen in the catholic world.

Paul IV imagined that it was the vocation of a pope to rule over emperors and kings—an idea which plunged him into continual wars and animosities. Pius saw this error the more clearly, inasmuch as it was committed by an immediate predecessor, with whom too he felt that he stood in complete contrast. "It was thus

* Viz., the *Noctes Vaticanæ*, mentioned by Glussianus, *Vita Caroli Borromei*, i, iv, 22.

we lost England," exclaimed he, "which we might have retained still, if cardinal Pole had been better supported; it was thus also that Scotland has been wrested from us; and that during the war which sentiments like these excited, the German doctrines have penetrated into France."

He, on the contrary, desired peace above all things. Even a war with the protestants he disliked; when the ambassadors from Savoy solicited him to support an attack on Geneva, he repeatedly interrupted him, exclaiming, "What sort of times are these, then, for making such a proposition? I want nothing so much as peace."*

He wished to stand well with everybody. He dispensed his ecclesiastical favors readily, and when he was forced to refuse anything, did it with address and modesty. He did not hesitate to avow his persuasion that the power of the pope could no longer sustain itself unsupported by the authority of temporal sovereigns.

The latter part of the reign of Paul IV was distinguished by the universal demand once more made by the catholic world for a council. It is certain that Pius IV would have found the greatest difficulty in evading this demand. He could no longer urge the pretext of war as his predecessors had done, for all Europe was at length at peace. It was even imperatively required by his own interests, for the French threatened to convene a national council which might easily have led to a schism. In truth, however, it appears to me that, independently of these considerations, his own wishes leaned most strongly that way. We have only to listen to his own expressions: "We wish for a council," says he; "we certainly desire that it should be held, and that it should be universal. If we were averse to it, we might amuse the world for years with difficulties, but, on the contrary, we seek to remove all such. It shall reform what wants to be reformed, even in our own person and in our own affairs. If we have any thought in our minds but that of serving God, may God's chastisement light upon us." It often appeared to him that he was not duly supported by the princes in an undertaking of such magnitude and importance. One morning the Venetian ambassador found him in bed, lame of the gout, and full of these thoughts. "We have good intentions," said he, "but we are alone." "I was struck with pity," says the ambassador, "at seeing him in bed, and hearing him say, 'We are alone, to support so great a burthen.'"

He, however, commenced operations. On the 18th of January, 1562, a sufficient number of bishops and delegates were collected in Trent to render it possible a third time to begin the twice-inter-

* Mula, 14 Feb., 1561. Pius begged him to say: "Che havemo animo di stare in pace, e che non sapemo niente di questi pensieri del duca di Savoia, e ci meravigliamo che vada cerando queste cose: non è tempo da fare l'impresa di Ginevra nè da far generali. Scrivete che siamo constanti in questa opinione di star in pace."

rupted council. The pope took the most lively interest in its proceedings. "Certainly," says Girolamo Soranzo, who on other points is no partisan of Pius's, "his holiness has shown all the zeal in this matter which could be expected from so exalted a shepherd. He has neglected nothing that could conduce to so holy and so necessary a work."

§ 7. LATER SITTINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

The state of the world was entirely altered since the first convocation of this council. The pope had now no longer to fear that a powerful emperor would make use of it as an instrument to obtain dominion over the see of Rome. Ferdinand I was totally without influence in Italy. Neither was there any further need for anxiety as to serious errors on essential points of the catholic faith.* It was now, though not yet perfectly developed, dominant over the greater part of the catholic world, in the form given to it at the first sittings of the council. The project of re-uniting the protestants to the church could no longer be seriously entertained; in Germany they had taken up a position too strong to be attacked; in the north the spirit of their church had infused itself even into the government; in England the same process had already begun. While the pope declared that the new council was merely a continuation of the former ones, and at last silenced those who opposed the measure, he himself abandoned all hope that the event would prove this assertion to be true. For how could it be expected that the free protestants would join in a council by whose former decrees the most important articles of their faith had been condemned?† Hence the influence of the council was at the very outset limited to the extremely narrowed circle of catholic nations. Its efforts were thus confined principally to the following points:—to settle the differences which had arisen between the catholic powers and the head of the church; distinctly to settle the rule of faith on some still uncertain points; and, above all, to complete the internal reform which was already begun, and to lay down rules of discipline possessing universal authority.

* This was the opinion of Ferdinand I. *Litteræ ad Legatos*, 12 Aug., 1562, in *Le Plat*, *Monum. ad Hist. Conc. Tridentini*, v, p. 452: "Quid enim attinet—disquirere de his dogmatibus, de quibus apud omnes non solum principes verum etiam privatos homines catholicos nulla nunc penitus existit disceptatio?"

† The principal ground urged in the protest of the reformers: *Causæ cur Electores Principes aliq̄ue Augustanæ confessioni adjuncti status recusent adire concilium*: *Le Plat*, iv, p. 57. They remark, in the first declaration, upon the important words: "Omni suspensione sublata." They recall the condemnation passed upon their doctrines at an earlier period, and diffusely enlarge upon the fact: "quæ mala sub ea confirmatione lateant."

But even this attempt was full of difficulty, and the most violent disputes soon arose amongst the assembled fathers.

The Spaniards proposed the question, whether the residence of bishops in their dioceses was by divine command, or merely human appointment. This, indeed, might seem an idle discussion, as, by all, residence was considered indispensable. But the Spaniards maintained, that the episcopal authority was not a mere emanation from the papal, as was asserted at Rome, but that its origin rested immediately on divine appointment. This assertion struck at the very root of the whole ecclesiastical system. The independence of the inferior authorities of the church, which the popes had so carefully labored to keep down, must have been restored by the development of this principle.

In the midst of the most violent disputes on this subject, the imperial ambassadors arrived. The articles which they proposed are highly remarkable; one is thus expressed: "It were to be wished that the pope should humble himself according to the example of Christ, and submit to a reform affecting his own person, his dominions, and his curia. The council must reform the nomination of cardinals as well as the conclave." Ferdinand used to say, "As the cardinals are not good, how can they choose a good pope?" He wished to see the plan of the council of Constance, which had never been carried into execution, adopted as the basis of the reforms he contemplated. The resolutions were to be prepared by deputations from the different countries. But besides this, he demanded the cup at the sacrament, permission for the priests to marry, dispensation from fasting for some of his subjects, the erection of schools for the poor, the purification of the breviary, legends, and postils, more intelligible catechisms, church music adapted to German words, and a reformation of the convents, for this reason, among others, "that their great riches should not be applied to such infamous purposes."* These were indeed most important demands, and such as would necessarily lead to a fundamental change in the constitution of the church. The emperor pressed for their discussion in repeated letters.

At length the cardinal of Lorraine appeared, accompanied by the French prelates. He seconded the German propositions. He demanded that the cup should be granted to the laity, the sacraments

* Pallavicini almost entirely overlooks these demands, xvii, 1, 6. They are inconvenient to him, nor have they, in fact, ever been made known under their proper form. They are presented to us in three extracts. The first is to be found in P. Sarpi, lib. vi, p. 325, and, likewise, with no variation, except that it is in Latin, in Rainaldi and Goldast. The second is contained in Bartholomæus de Martyribus, and is somewhat more detailed. Schelhorn has taken the third from the papers of Staphylus. They do not perfectly agree. I am inclined to think the original is to be found at Vienna; it must be a remarkable document. I have abided by the extract in Schelhorn. Le Plat gives them all, as well as the answer.

administered in the language of the people, preaching and instruction introduced at the mass, and permission given to sing the psalms in French in full congregation:—all, things from which the most important results were hoped in France. “We are quite certain,” says the king, “that the granting the cup to the laity will calm many troubled consciences, and restore to the church whole provinces which have seceded from it; in short, it would be one of the best means of allaying the disturbances which agitate our dominions.”* But not content with this, the French again revived the decrees of the council of Basle, and openly asserted that the authority of a council was superior to that of the pope.

The Spaniards were however by no means prepared to concur in the demands of the Germans and the French; they most vehemently condemned the granting the cup to the laity and the marriage of the priests, so that no concession could be obtained from the council on these points; nothing was carried, but that the expediency of granting the permission should be referred to the pope. But there were points on which the three nations jointly opposed the claims of the curia. They thought it intolerable that the legates should possess the sole right of bringing forward propositions: but that these very legates should also apply for the pope’s approbation of every decision before they would agree to it, appeared to them an insult to the dignity of a council. “In this manner of proceeding,” said the emperor, “there would be in fact two councils, one at Trent, the other, and the true one, at Rome.”

If, in this state of opinions, questions had been carried by the votes of nations, what strange and astonishing decrees would have emanated from this council!

As, however, this was not the case, the three nations united were still in a minority. The Italians were far more numerous, and, as usual, defended the opinions of the curia, on which most of them were dependent, without much regard to principle or conscience. Hence arose the bitterest mutual animosity.

The French jested about the Holy Ghost being brought to Trent in a knapsack. The Italians talked of Spanish eruptions and French diseases by which all the faithful were visited in turn. When the bishop of Cadiz said, that there had been renowned bishops, aye, and fathers of the church, whom no pope had appointed, the Italians broke forth in a general outcry, insisted on his departure, and talked of anathema and heresy. The Spaniards retaliated the anathema on them.† Sometimes mobs assembled, shouting, Spain!—Italy! Blood flowed in the streets and on the ground consecrated to peace.

* Mémoire baillé à Mr. le Cl. de Lorraine, quand il est parti pour aller au concile: Le Plat, iv, 562.

† Pallavicini, xv, v, 5, Paleotto, Acta: “Alii prælati ingeminabant, clamantes, ‘Exeat, exeat;’ et alii, ‘Anathema sit,’ ad quos Granatensis conversus respondit, ‘Anathema vos estis.’” Mendham, Memoirs of the Council of Trent, p. 251.

Was it surprising, that for ten months no sitting could be held? that the first legate dissuaded the pope from going to Bologna, representing to him what would be said if, even by his presence, the council could not be brought to any proper termination, and had to be dissolved? * But a dissolution, a suspension, or even only a translation, which had often been thought of, would have been extremely dangerous. At Rome, nothing but mischief was anticipated; a council was thought too strong a remedy for the enfeebled constitution of the church, and ruin was predicted for it and for Italy from the measure. "A few days before my departure, in the beginning of the year 1563," says Girolamo Soranzo, "Cardinal Carpi, the deacon of the college, a man of great judgment, said to me in his last illness, that he had prayed to God mercifully to grant him death, and not to let him live to see the downfall and interment of Rome. All the other distinguished cardinals incessantly lament their ill fortune, and clearly see there is no help for them, unless from the especial protection of God's holy hand." † Pius IV dreaded to see all the evils which any of his predecessors had ever anticipated from a council, poured out on his own head.

It is a sublime idea, that in seasons of difficulty, and especially during great errors in the church, there exists an assembly of her chief shepherds able to remedy the evil. "Let such an assembly," says Augustin, "consult together without arrogance or envy, in holy humility, in catholic peace; and, after acquiring greater experience, let it open that which was closed, and bring to light that which was hidden." But even in the earliest times this ideal was far from being realised; it would, indeed, have required a purity of intention, and an independence of all foreign influences, which does not appear to be granted to man. How far less attainable was it now, when the church was involved in a thousand contradictory relations with the state!

That, in spite of their imperfections, the councils continued to enjoy great consideration, and were often urgently demanded, principally arose from the necessity of imposing some restraint on the power of the popes. The present state of affairs seemed, however, to prove the truth of what they had always asserted—that in times of great perplexity a convocation tended much rather to increase, than to remove the difficulties. The whole of Italy shared the

* Lettere del C^{le} 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—mi piacerea più che V^{ra} Beatitudine fusse restata a Roma."

† "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 S^r Dio con la sua santissima mano.—Certo non si può se non temere," adds Soranzo himself, "Ser^{mo} Principe, che la povera Italia afflitta per altre cause habbi ancor a sentire afflittione per questo particolarmente: lo vedono e lo conoscono tutti i savj."

fears of the curia. "Either," said they, "the council will be continued, or it will be dissolved; in the former case, especially should the pope die in the mean time, the ultramontane party will manage the conclave according to their own views, and to the prejudice of Italy; they will impose so many restrictions on the reigning pope as to leave him little more than mere bishop of Rome; under the name of a reform, they will destroy all appointments and ruin the whole curia. If, on the other hand, it should be dissolved without any good results, even the faithful would take great offence at it, and the wavering be placed in the utmost danger of being utterly lost.

If we consider the state of things, we shall see the total impossibility of producing any change in the prevailing sentiments of the council itself. In direct opposition to the legates, who were guided by the pope, and to the Italians, who were dependent on him, stood the prelates of the other nations, who in their turn sided each with the ambassador of his own sovereign. Thus no reconciliation, no expedient for mediation, was practicable. Even in February, 1563, the position of affairs seemed desperate. Universal discord prevailed; each party obstinately adhered to its own opinions.

But on a more careful examination of the precise state of things, a possibility of escaping from this labyrinth appeared.

In Trent, opinions only met and fought;—their sources were at Rome and at the courts of the several princes. In order to remove the difficulty, it was necessary to go to the fountain-head. Pius IV had already said that the papacy could no longer support itself without an alliance with other powers; now was the moment to put this maxim into practice. He at one time entertained the project 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 essential point was, to put an end to the council in concert with the other great powers, without whose co-operation this object could not be accomplished.

Paul IV resolved to make the attempt, in which he was seconded by Morone, the most able and statesmanlike of his cardinals.

The most important person to gain was the emperor Ferdinand, with whom, as we have already said, the French had allied themselves, and who enjoyed no little consideration from his nephew Philip II.

Morone, who had been lately elected president of the council, but quickly felt convinced that nothing was to be accomplished at Trent, went in April, 1563, unaccompanied by a single other prelate, to visit the emperor at Inspruck; he found him annoyed, discontented, and offended, convinced that no serious reform would be tolerated at Rome, and determined, in the first place, to procure the freedom of the council.*

* To this place belongs also the *Relatione in scr. fatta dal Comendone ai S^{ri}*

In order to pacify the offended sovereign, the legate needed remarkable address, of the kind we should now call diplomatic.*

Ferdinand was incensed because his articles of reformation had been placed at the end, and, indeed, had not yet been really brought under consideration. The legate contrived to persuade him that it had been thought hazardous, for reasons by no means to be despised, to discuss them with all the formalities; but that, nevertheless, the most important points had already been considered, and even determined on. The emperor complained, furthermore, that the council was directed from Rome, and that the conduct of the legates was determined by instructions sent from thence. Morone remarked, on the other hand, what was not to be denied, that the ambassadors from royal courts brought instructions from home, and were constantly furnished with fresh suggestions.

In fact, Morone, who had long enjoyed the confidence of the house of Austria, got over this most delicate matter very successfully; he softened the unfavorable personal impressions which the emperor had received, and devoted himself entirely to bring about a mutual agreement on those points of dispute which had caused the greatest divisions at Trent. It was not his intention to give way in essentials, nor to suffer the power of the pope to be weakened; "The matter was," to use his own words, "to hit upon such decisions as might satisfy the emperor, without trenching on the authority of the pope or the legates."†

The first of these points was, the exclusive initiative of the legates, which, it was always maintained, was completely at variance with the freedom of a council. Morone remarked, that it was not the interest of princes to grant the initiative to all prelates—a truth of which it could not be very difficult for him to convince the emperor. It was easy to see that the bishops in possession of this right would very soon bring forward propositions in a spirit hostile to the existing claims and rights of the state. It was therefore manifest what disorders must arise out of such a concession. Nevertheless they desired in some degree to meet the wishes of the princes, and the expedient they adopted is remarkable. Morone promised to bring forward everything that the ambassadors might submit to him for this purpose; adding that if he did not do this, they should have the right of proposing any measures themselves:

Legati del Concilio sopra le cose ritratte dall' Imperatore, 19 Febr., 1563: "Pare ch'è pensino trovar modo e forma di haver più parte et autorità nel presente concilio per stabilire in esso tutte le loro petitioni giuntamente con li Francesi."

* The most important document I have met with, relating to the transactions at Trent, is Morone's Narrative of his Legation; it is short, but conclusive.—Neither Sarpi or Pallavicini contain any notice of it. *Relatione sommaria del Cl. Morone sopra la Legatione sua*. Altieri Library at Rome, vii, f. 3.

† "Fu necessario trovare temperamento tale, che paresse all' imperatore di essere in alcuno modo satisfatto, et insieme non si pregiudicasse all' autorità del papa nè de' legati, ma restasse il concilio nel suo possesso."

—an endeavor at conciliation manifesting the spirit which gradually began to prevail in the council. The legates admit a case in which they would renounce the exclusive initiative, but not so much in favor of the fathers of the council, as in that of the ambassadors.* Hence it follows, that it was the princes alone who acquired a portion of the rights hitherto exclusively enjoyed by the pope.

A second point was the demand, that the deputations which prepared the decrees should be allowed to assemble according to their several nations. Morone observed, that, in fact and practice, they had always done so; but that, since the emperor wished it, the rule should now be established and strictly adhered to.

The third point of difference was then discussed—reform. Ferdinand at last consented that the expression—reformation of the head—should be avoided; as well as the old question debated in the Sorbonne—whether the authority of the council was superior to that of the pope, or not: in consideration of which, Morone, on his side, promised a thorough reform in all branches. The project of this which was drawn up, included even the conclave.

Having dismissed these main questions, they were soon agreed on the secondary ones. The emperor withdrew many of his demands, and instructed his ambassadors above all things to keep on good terms with the papal legates. After this successful arrangement of affairs, Morone re-crossed the Alps. “As soon,” says he, “as the favorable decision of the emperor, and the union of the ambassadors with the papal legates, was fully believed, the council began to change its aspect, and to be much more easy to treat with.”

To this other circumstances contributed.

The Spaniards and French had quarreled about the right of precedence of the representatives of their several kings, and from that time were much less inclined to co-operate. Separate negotiations were therefore set on foot with each.

Philip II was, by the nature of his position, in most urgent need of a good understanding with the holy see. His power in Spain was mainly founded on religious interests, and his first care must be to keep these in his hands. Of this the Roman court was well aware, and the nuncio from Madrid often said, that a peaceful termination of the council was no less desirable to the king than to the pope. The Spanish prelates had already stirred the matter of the burthens on ecclesiastical property, which, in their country,

* *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;—this is expressed in the following manner: “*Maj. S. sibi reservavit, vel per medium dictorum legatorum, vel si ipsi in hoc gravarentur, per se ipsum vel per ministros suos, proponi curare*.”—I acknowledge that I should not readily have inferred from these words such a negotiation as Morone states, although, in fact, it is implied in them.

formed a considerable part of the revennes of the state; the king took alarm at this, and begged the pope to prohibit such offensive discussions.* How then could he entertain a thought of procuring for his prelates the privilege of moving questions, when he was occupied on the contrary, in keeping them within bounds? Pius complained of the violent opposition which he always had to encounter from the Spaniards, and the king promised to take measures to reduce them to obedience. In short, the pope and the king came to the conviction that their interests were the same, and entered into further negotiations. The pope threw himself entirely into the arms of the king, while the king solemnly promised the pope to come to his aid in every difficulty with all the power and resources of his kingdom.

Meanwhile, on the other side, the French grew more favorable to the pope. The Guises, who had so great an influence both on the government at home and on the council, imparted to their policy in both places a character and tendency the most strongly and increasingly catholic. It was entirely owing to the compliances of the cardinal de Guise, that after ten months' delay, after eight several adjournments, a session was at length held.

But there was also a talk of an alliance of the strictest kind.— Guise proposed a congress of the most powerful catholic princes, the pope, the emperor, and the kings of France and Spain.†

In order to discuss this more fully, he went himself to Rome: and the pope cannot find words to express his admiration “of his Christian zeal for the service of God and the public tranquillity, not only in the affairs of the council, but in others which regard the universal weal.”‡

It appears that the proposed congress was very agreeable to the pope, and that he sent ambassadors to the emperor and king to arrange preliminaries.

Not in Trent, therefore, but at the several courts, and by political negotiations, were the important dissensions appeased, and the great obstacles to a successful termination of the council removed.

Morone, who had contributed the most to this result, had also found the art of conciliating the prelates personally; he gave them all the consideration, the applause, the favor, they desired.§ He afforded a signal proof what a man of sense and address, who un-

* Paolo Tiepolo, *Dispaccio di Spagna*, 4th Dec., 1562.

† *Instruzione data a Mons. Carlo Visconti, mandato da Papa Pio IV, al Re catt. per le cose del Concilio di Trento*, (ultimo Ottobre, 1563), Barberini Library, 3007.

‡ “Il beneficio universale:” *Lettera di Papa Pio IV*, 20 Ottobre, 1563.

§ I have not yet seen the *Life of Ayala*, by Villanueva, in which, as I find, there must be some notice of this matter. In the mean while the assertion of Morone is quite sufficient: “I prelati,” he says, “accarezzati e stimati e lodati e gratiati si fecero più trattabili.”

derstands the situation of affairs, and proposes to himself an object compatible with it, can effect, even in circumstances of the greatest difficulty. To him, if to any man, is the catholic church indebted for the happy issue of the council. The way was now smoothed, and, as he himself says, there remained only to enter upon the difficulties inherent in the matter. The old disputed question of the necessity of residence and the divine right of bishops, was still pending. For a long time the Spaniards were immovable in their doctrines, which, even so late as July, 1563, they declared to be as infallible as the Ten Commandments; the archbishop of Granada wished to see all books prohibited, in which the contrary opinions were maintained;* nevertheless, when the decree was drawn up, they consented to the suppression of their principle, while a form was adopted which still left it possible for them to defend it at any future time; an ambiguity which Lainez thought particularly worthy of praise.†

The same course was pursued as to the other point in debate—the initiative. *proponentibus legatis*. The pope declared that every individual should be free to ask and to say, what he had a right, according to the ancient councils, to say or to ask; only he must carefully avoid using the word, *to propose*.‡ An evasion was thus discovered which satisfied the Spaniards, while the pope had in fact conceded nothing.

After the obstacles created by political interests and views had been withdrawn, the council sought not so much to decide, as by adroit mediation to get rid of, the questions which had given occasion to bitterness and anger.

In this temper of the assembly the less important and doubtful points were more easily disposed of, and never did business advance more rapidly. The weighty dogmas of the ordination of the clergy, the sacrament of marriage, indulgences, purgatory, the worship of saints, and by far the most considerable reformatory ordinances which the council had ever drawn up, fall within the three last sessions in the latter half of the year 1563.

The congregations on both sides were composed of different nations. The project of reform was 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.§

On most questions they easily came to an agreement: the only two real difficulties that presented themselves were, as to the exemp-

* *Scrittura nelle Lettere e Memorie del Nuncio Visconti*, ii, 174.

† “Ejus verba in utramque partem pie satis posse exponi.” *Paleotto in Mendham's Memoirs of the Council of Trent*, p. 262.

‡ *Pallavicini*, xxiii. 6, 5.

§ The best accounts of this subject, taken from authentic letters, are to be found, where they would not be looked for, in *Baini, Vita di Palestrina*, i, 199. The *Diary of Servantio*, made use of by *Mendham*, (p. 304,) touches on the affair.

tion of chapters, and the plurality of livings, in which private interests once more played an important part.

The former of these questions especially affected Spain; where the chapters had already lost somewhat of the extraordinary privileges they had formerly possessed. While they wished to regain them, the king aimed at curtailing them still more; as he appointed the bishops, he was himself interested in the extension of the episcopal power. The pope, on the contrary, was for the chapters; since the unconditional subjection of them to the bishops would have tended not a little to diminish his influence over the church of Spain.

These two great powers were, therefore, once more brought into collision on this point, and it was a question which would gain the majority. The king, too, was extremely strong in the council; his ambassador had had power to send away a delegate who was appointed by the chapters to watch over their privileges; he had so many ecclesiastical favors to dispense, that no man liked to risk a rupture with him; in consequence of which, when it came to the voting orally, the result was unfavorable to the chapters. The expedient which the papal legates next devised, is worth notice. They determined this time that the votes should be given in writing: the oral declarations, delivered in the presence of so many adherents of the king, were overruled by the influence of Spain; but this was not the case with the written ones, which passed immediately into the hands of the legates. By this means, therefore, they succeeded in obtaining a considerable majority in favor of the papal party and the chapters; supported by which, they then, with Guise's mediation, entered into fresh negotiations with the Spanish prelates, who, at length, acquiesced in a far smaller extension of their authority than they had aspired to.*

Still more important to the curia was the second article, concerning the plurality of benefices. A reform of the institution of cardinals had long been talked of, and there were many who thought they discovered the origin of all evil in its degeneracy. One of the most prominent abuses was, the number of benefices which they held, and the reformers intended to check this by the most rigorous laws. It is easy to understand how sensitive the curia must have been on the subject of every innovation which had such an object in view; it feared and shunned even a serious discussion on the subject. The expedient adopted by Morone in this matter also, is very singular. He mixed up the reform of the cardinals with the articles concerning the bishops. "Few," says he himself, "per-

* Sarpi, viii, 816, does not render this affair quite intelligible. The authentic explanation by Morone, is very acceptable: "L'articolo delle cause e dell'essenzi- zioni de' canonici fu vinto secondo la domanda degli oltramontani: poi facendosi contra l'uso che li padri tutti dessero voti in iscritto, furono mutate molte senten- tie e fu vinto il contrario. Si venne al fin alla concordia che si vede nei decreti, e fu mezzano Lorena, che gia era tornato da Roma, tutto addetto al servizio di S. Beatitudine et alla fine del concilio."

ceived the importance of the affair, and in this way all rocks and quicksands were avoided.”

The pope having thus happily accomplished the maintenance of the court of Rome in the form and state it had hitherto held, evinced a readiness to let drop the subject of the reformation of princes which had been projected; in this he yielded to the representations of the emperor.*

The whole of the proceedings were in fact like those of an amicable congress. While the questions of subordinate interest were reduced to universal decrees by the divines, the courts negotiated concerning the more important. Messengers were incessantly flying in every direction, and one concession was required by another.

The pope's strongest wish was to bring things to a speedy termination. For a time the Spaniards hesitated to agree to this; the reform was not yet satisfactory to them, and the royal envoy once even made a show of protesting; but, as the pope declared himself disposed, in case of urgency, to summon a new synod;† as the strongest objections existed to protract the proceedings till a vacancy of the holy see might occur, whilst the council was still sitting; lastly, as every body was tired and wanted to go home—even they at length gave way.

The spirit of the opposition was essentially subdued; indeed, in its later stages, the council manifested the greatest submissiveness. It condescended to ask of the pope a confirmation of its decrees; and expressly declared that all canons of reform, whatever might be the words in which they were expressed, were conceived on the full understanding that the dignity of the holy see would be untouched by them.‡ How far was the council of Trent from reviving the claims of Constance or of Basle to a superiority over the papal authority! The proclamations, with which the sittings were closed, (drawn up by Cardinal Guise,) contained a distinct and particular recognition of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the pope.

Such was the successful issue of the council, which, so urgently demanded, so long deferred, twice dissolved, shaken by so many political storms, and, even at its third convocation, beset with dangers, ended in the universal agreement of the catholic world. It is no wonder, that at the last meeting of the prelates on the 4th of Dec., 1563, they were full of emotion and gladness. Even opponents wished each other joy; tears were seen in many of those aged eyes.

But if all the pliancy and dexterous policy which we have observed, had been needed to arrive at this result, we may be led to

* The fact, that a thorough reform of the curia, the cardinals, and the conclave, did not take place, is closely connected with the neglect of the reformation of the sovereigns. Extracts from the correspondence of the legates, in Pallavicini, xxiii, 7, 4.

† Pallavicini, xxiv, 8, 5.

‡ Sessio xxv, c. xxi.

inquire, whether the efficiency of the council had not been thus necessarily impaired.

The council of Trent, if not the most important of all, is unquestionably the most important of any that have been held in the later ages of the church.

Its significance is compressed into two grand crises.

In the first, which we touched upon in a former place, during the war of Smalcalde, the creed of Rome, after many vacillations, severed itself for ever from the protestant doctrines. The entire system of dogmatic catholicism, such as it is still professed, arose out of the doctrine of justification as then expounded.

In the second, which we have just considered, after Morone's conferences with the emperor in the summer and autumn of the year 1563, the hierarchy was organised anew; theoretically, by the decrees concerning the consecration of the clergy, practically, by the canons of reform.

These reforms are to this hour of the highest importance.

The faithful were again subjected to severe and uncompromising church discipline, and, in pressing cases, to the sword of excommunication. Seminaries were founded, in which the young clergy were carefully educated in austere habits, and in the fear of God. The parishes were regulated anew, strict rules laid down for the administration of the sacrament and for preaching, and the co-operation of the regular clergy governed by fixed laws. The duties of their office, especially the supervision of the clergy, were strongly impressed upon the bishops, according to the several degrees of their consecration. They also solemnly bound themselves by a peculiar profession of faith (which they subscribed, and to which they swore), to observe the decrees of the council of Trent, and to render entire obedience to the pope. A measure, the consequences of which were most important.

The object which was certainly contemplated by the first movers of a general council of the church, i. e. the limitation of the power of the pope, was, however, not attained by it. On the contrary, that power emerged from the struggle extended and enhanced. As the pontiff held the exclusive right of interpreting the decrees of Trent, it always rested with him to prescribe the rule of faith and of life. The whole direction of the restored discipline was concentrated in Rome.

The catholic church saw and admitted the diminished extent of her dominion; she ceased to take any notice of Greece and the east, and thrust protestantism from her with countless anathemas.

Primitive catholicism included an element of protestantism in its bosom; this was now for ever expelled. But the more the power of the church of Rome was circumscribed, the more was it concentrated and collected against all assaults.

It was, as we have seen, only by the consent and assistance of the leading catholic sovereigns that so much was effected: and in

this union of catholicism with royalty lies one of the main conditions of its subsequent development, which has an analogy with the tendency of protestantism to combine sovereign with episcopal rights. This gradually arose among catholics. It is easy to see that it involves a possibility of fresh division; but of that there was no immediate fear. In one province after another the resolutions of the council were promptly accepted.

The claims of Pius IV, to a distinguished place in history, rest upon the part he took in this event. He was the first pope who consciously and designedly renounced the tendency of the hierarchy to set itself in opposition to the civil power.

Having attained this grand result, Pius undoubtedly thought he had completed the task allotted him. It is remarkable, that his mind relaxed from its tension as soon as the council was closed. Men thought they observed that he neglected divine service, indulged too much in the pleasures of the table, and delighted in a splendid court, sumptuous feasts and magnificent buildings. The zealots remarked a difference between him and his predecessor, which they loudly lamented.*

Nevertheless, no great reaction was likely to ensue. A tendency had unfolded itself in catholicism, which could never again be repressed or restrained.

When once a spirit is aroused, it is impossible to prescribe the path it shall follow. Any, even the most trifling deviation from its laws, on the part of those who are regarded as its representatives, excites the most extraordinary symptoms of agitation in the public mind. Thus the spirit of rigid catholicism which had arisen, instantly became perilous even to Pius IV himself.

There lived in Rome a certain Benedetto Accolti, catholic to enthusiasm, always speaking of a mystery which God had entrusted to him, and which he would reveal; as a proof that he spoke truth, he offered to walk unhurt through a burning pile on the Piazza Navona in the presence of the assembled people. His mystery was this: he imagined he had a foreknowledge that a union would soon take place between the Greek and Roman churches; that this united catholic church would reduce the Turks and all heretics to subjection; that the pope would be a holy man, would attain to a universal monarchy, and would bring back the

* Paolo Tiepolo: "Doppo che questo (il concilio) hebbe fine, liberato da una grande sollecitudine fatosi fermo e gagliardo nell' autorità sua, incominciò più liberamente ad operare conforme alla sua inclinazione e pensieri: onde facilmente si conobbe in lui animo più tosto da principe, che attendesse solamente al fatto suo, che di pontefice, che avesse rispetto al beneficio e salute degli altri." The same remark is made by Panvinius.

reign of perfect justice on earth. He was filled to fanaticism with these notions.

He found, however, that Pius IV, whose worldly character and habits were infinitely removed from his ideal, was not suited to so sublime an undertaking. Benedetto Accolti thought he was appointed by God to rid Christendom of so unprofitable a chief.

He laid a plan to assassinate the pope, and succeeded in finding an associate to whom he promised recompense from God, and from the future holy sovereign pontiff. One day they set out on their enterprise. They saw the pope approaching in the midst of a procession, easily accessible, tranquil, without suspicion, and without defence. Accolti, instead of rushing upon him, began to tremble and to change color. The pomp and circumstance that surround a pope could not fail to make a strong impression on so fanatical a catholic. The pope passed by.

Others, however, had observed Accolti. Antonio Canossa, the companion whom he had seduced to join him, was not a man of stubborn resolution; one while, he suffered himself to be persuaded to make a fresh attempt to execute their design, at another, he felt tempted to denounce himself and his associate in crime. They did not preserve entire secrecy, and at length were arrested and condemned to death.*

We see what spirits were in motion in these excited times. Much as Pius had done for the reconstruction of the church, there were yet many to whom it seemed quite insufficient, and who cherished far other projects.

§ 8. PIUS V.

The adherents of the rigid party in the church now gained a great and unexpected advantage in the election of a pope who was entirely one of themselves. This pope was Pius V.

I will not repeat the more or less doubtful accounts of his election given in the book on the conclaves and in some of the historians of the time. We have a letter by Carlo Borromeo, who was known to have the greatest influence on their choice, which gives us sufficient information on the subject. "I resolved," says he, "to attend to nothing so much as religion and faith; and as I was acquainted with the piety, purity of life, and devout spirit of the cardinal of Alessandria—afterwards Pius V,—I thought that the republic of Christ would be most fitly administered by him, and

* I take these facts, which I have nowhere else found, from a MS. in the Corsini Library at Rome, No. 674, with the title, Antonio Canossa: Questo è il sommario della mia depositione per la qual causa io moro, quale si degnerà V. S. mandare alli miei S^{ci}. padre e madre."—Pius died the 9th of Dec. 1565.

used my utmost exertions in his favor.”* From a man of such a profoundly spiritual temper as Carlo Borromeo no other motives could possibly be expected. Philip II, gained over by his ambassador to the interest of the same cardinal, expressly thanked Borromeo for the share he had had in this election.† The new pope was precisely the man who was thought to be wanted. The adherents of Paul IV, who had hitherto remained quiet, thought themselves happy. We still possess letters from some of them:—“To Rome, to Rome,” writes one of them, “come with confidence, and without delay, but with all modesty; God has raised up to us another Paul IV.”

Michele Ghisleri, now Pius V, born of humble parentage at Bosco near Alessandria, in the year 1504, entered a Dominican convent when he was only fourteen. There he gave himself up, body and soul, to the monastic poverty and piety which his order enjoined. He did not retain so much of the alms he received as to buy himself a cloak; the best preservative against the effect of summer heat he said was to eat little; and although confessor to the governor of Milan, he always travelled on foot, with his wallet on his back. If he taught, he did it with zeal and precision; if he had to administer the affairs of a convent as prior, he was severe and frugal, and extricated more than one religious house from debt. His moral growth and training were accomplished in the years in which the conflict between the established creed and the protestant innovations extended even to Italy. He took part in favor of the strictest form of the ancient faith, in thirty disputations which he held in 1543 at Parma, most of which related to the authority of the pope, and were opposed to the new opinions. He very soon received an appointment as inquisitor, and had to exercise his office in places of peculiar danger; in Como and Bergamo,‡ where the intercourse with Germans and Swiss could not be avoided, and in the Valteline, which belonged to the Grisons. In this situation, he displayed the pertinacity and the courage of a zealot. Sometimes he

* Clis. Borromeus, Henrico Cli. Infanti Portugalliæ, Romæ, d. 26 Febr., 1566, Glussiani Vita C, Borromei, p. 62. Compare Ripamonti, Historia Urbis Mediolani, lib. xii, p. 814.

† I find this in a Dispaccio di Soranzo, Amb^{re} in Spagna: “Non essendo conosciute le qualità di S. Sà, da questo Ser^{re}, mentre era in cardinalato, il detto commendator (Luigi Requesens, Comm. maggior) sempre lo laudò molto, predicando questo soggetto esser degno del pontificato, con il che S. M. si mosse dargli ordine che con ogni suo potere li desse favore.” The story which Oltrocchi relates in the remarks on Giussano, p. 219, thus falls to the ground. The election took place on the 8th Jan. 1566.

‡ Paolo Tiepolo, Relazione di Roma in Tempo di Pio IV, et V: “In Bergamo li fu levato per forza dalle prigioni del monastero di S. Domenico, dove allora si solevano mettere i rei, un principale heretico, nominato Giorgio Mondaga [another name for the list of Italian protestants,] con gran pericolo suo e de’ frati. Nella medesima città poi travagliò assai per formare il processo contra il vescovo allora di Bergamo.”

was received on his entrance to Como with showers of stones; often he was obliged to conceal himself by night in a peasant's hut, and to escape like a criminal, in order to save his life: but no personal danger could turn him from his purpose. The Conte della Trinità threatened to have him thrown into a well; he replied, that it must be as God pleased. In this way he was implicated in the struggle of intellectual and political powers which then agitated Italy. As the side which he had taken was the victorious one, he shared in its elevation and success. He became commissary of the inquisition in Rome. Paul IV very soon remarked that he was an eminent servant of God, and worthy of higher honors; he nominated him bishop of Nepi, as a means of effectually preventing his returning to the seclusion of a cloister;* and, in 1557, cardinal. Even in this new and high dignity, Ghislieri preserved all his austerity, poverty, and humility; he told his household, that they must imagine they lived in a convent. He was exclusively devoted to the practices of piety, and to the business of the inquisition.

In a man of this character, Borromeo, Philip II, and the whole strict party thought they beheld the saviour of the church. The citizens of Rome were not so well satisfied. "They shall lament for me so much the more, when I am dead," said Pius V when he heard it.

Even when pope, he lived in all the austerity of his monastic life, fasted with the utmost rigor and punctuality, would wear no finer garments than before,† frequently said mass and heard it every day; yet so careful was he lest his spiritual exercises should distract him from public business, that he arose at an extremely early hour in the morning and took no siesta. If we were inclined to doubt the depth of his religious earnestness, we may accept as a proof of it, his declaration that he found the papacy unfavorable to his advance in piety; that it did not contribute to enable him to work out the salvation of his soul, or to attain to the glories of paradise; he thought that, without prayer, this burthen would be too heavy for him to bear. The happiness of a fervent devotion which often moved him to tears, and from which he arose with the persuasion that he was heard—this happiness, the only one of which he had ever been susceptible, was granted him to the end of his life. The people were excited to enthusiasm when they saw him walking in processions, barefoot and bareheaded, with the genuine expression of unaffected piety in his countenance, and with his long snow-white beard falling on his breast; they thought there had never

* Catena, Vita di Pio V, whence we have taken the greater number of our accounts, contains this also. Pius V himself related it to the Venetian ambassadors, as they, viz. Mich. Suriano and Paolo Tiepolo, (2 Oct. 1568,) inform us.

† Catena. Tiepolo: "Nè mai ha lasciato la camisia di rassa, che come frate incominciò di portare. Fa le orationi devotissimamente et alcune volte colle lacrime."

been so pious a pope—they told each other how his very look had converted heretics. Pius was kind too, and affable; his intercourse with his old servants was of the most confidential kind. How beautiful was his greeting to that same Conte della Trinità, who had threatened his life, and who was now sent as ambassador to his court! “See,” said he, when he recognised him, “how God preserves the innocent;” this was the only way in which he ever made the count feel that he recollected his enmity. He had ever been most charitable and bounteous; he kept a list of the poor of Rome, whom he regularly assisted according to their station and their wants.

Men of this character are habitually humble, meek and childlike; but when irritated and wounded, their anger is violent, and their resentment implacable. They regard their peculiar form of faith as a duty of the highest order, the nonfulfilment of which exasperates them. Pius V had the most thorough conviction that he had never deviated from the right path; the fact that this path had conducted him to the papacy, filled him with a confidence which raised him completely above all idea of doubt or compromise.

He adhered with intense obstinacy to his opinions, which the strongest arguments would not induce him to change. He was easily irritated by contradiction, became red in the face, and used the most violent expressions.* As he understood little of the affairs of the world and of the state, and suffered himself to be affected in various ways by subordinate and accidental circumstances, it was exceedingly difficult to deal with him.

In his personal relations, he did not indeed allow himself to be determined by first impressions; but when once he had made up his mind that a man was good or bad, nothing could change his opinion.† He was, however, more ready to believe that people grew worse than better; most men were objects of suspicion to him.

It was remarked, that he never commuted a sentence for a more lenient one; on the contrary, he generally wished them more severe.

It was not enough in his estimation that the inquisition punished crimes of recent date, he caused inquiry to be made into those of ten or twenty years standing. If a place was distinguished for the small number of its convictions, he thought it needed purging; he attributed its exemption from punishments to the negligence of the authorities.

Let us only see with what rigor he urged the maintenance of church discipline. “We forbid,” says he in one of his bulls,

* *Informazione di Pio V.* (Ambrosian Library at Milan, F. D. 181:) “La Sà. S. naturalmente è gioviale e piacevole, so ben per accidente pare di altra disposizione, e di qui viene che volentieri onestamente ragiona con Mr. Cisillo suo maestro di casa, il quale con le sue piacevolezze, essendo huomo destro et acorto, diletta S. Beatitudine, e sempre profitta a se stesso et altri.”

† *Informazione di Pio V.*: “E più difficultoso di lasciar la cattiva impressione che la buona, e massimamente di quelle persone che non ha in pratica.”

“every physician who may be called to the bedside of a patient, to visit him for more than three days, unless he receives an attestation that the sick man has made fresh confession of his sins.”* Another allots the punishments for the desecration of the Sabbath and for blasphemy. In the case of wealthy offenders, fines were imposed. “But a poor man who cannot pay, shall, for the first offence, stand the whole of one day before the church-door with his hands tied behind his back; for the second he shall be flogged through the town; and for the third, his tongue shall be pierced and he shall be sent to the galleys.”

Such is the general tenor of his ordinances; his attendants were continually obliged to repeat to him, that he had to deal, not with angels but with men.†

The urgent necessity which now existed for avoiding any measures offensive to the temporal potentates of Europe, did not restrain him in these courses: the bull *In Cœnâ Domini*, which the princes had always complained of, he not only reissued, but enhanced its severity by new provisions of his own, in which he evinced a general purpose of refusing to governments the right of imposing new taxes.

It may be concluded, of course, that a reaction followed upon such violent encroachments. It was not only that the demands which a man of such sternness and austerity conceives himself entitled to make upon mankind, can never be satisfied; but in this case they provoked deliberate resistance and gave rise to countless misunderstandings. Devout and bigoted as Philip II was, even he was once forced to remind the pope that he had better not try what a king, pushed to the last extremity, was capable of doing.

This, the pope, on his side, felt most profoundly. He was often unhappy in his lofty station. He said he was weary of life; that as he had acted without regard to persons, he had made enemies; and that since he had been pope he had experienced nothing but disgusts and persecutions.

Be this as it may, and although Pius V, like other men, was doomed to find that supreme power did not bring him full content and satisfaction, it is certain that his deportment and mode of thinking exercised an incalculable influence on his contemporaries, and on the general development of the church of which he was the head. After so many circumstances had concurred to excite and to foster a religious spirit, after so many resolutions and measures had been taken to exalt it to universal dominion, a pope like this

* *Supra gregem dominicum*: Bull. iv, ii, p. 281.

† In the *Informationi Politiche*, xii, there is, for instance, an “*Epistola a N. S. Pio V, nella quale si esorta S. S. tollerare gli Ebrei et le corteggiane*,” by a certain Bertano; which expatiates on this subject. The Caporioni begged the pope to show them at least the smallest degree of tolerance. The pope answered, “he had rather quit Rome than wink at such things.”

was needed, not only to proclaim it to the world, but also to reduce it to practice: his zeal and his example combined produced the most powerful effect.

The reformation of the court, so often promised, was now set on foot, if not in the form which had been proposed, yet in fact and reality. The expenses of the papal household were immensely reduced. Pius V needed little for his own wants, and often said, "he who would govern, must begin with himself." He provided liberally for his servants, who had been faithful to him through his whole life, not, he believed, from any hope of reward, but from attachment alone; but he held his dependents generally within stricter bounds than any pope before him had ever done. He gave his nephew Bonelli, whom he created cardinal only because he was told that this was essential to a more intimate connection with the temporal powers, a moderate establishment; but on one occasion when Bonelli's father came to Rome, he compelled him to quit the city the same night, nay, the same hour: he would never raise his other relations above a middle station, and if one among them was detected in any offence, even in a lie, he never forgave him, but drove him without mercy from his presence. How far was such a state of things from that system of nepotism which for centuries had constituted so large a portion of papal history! By one of his most severe and earnest bulls Pius forbade any future infeudations of church property under any title or pretext whatsoever; he uttered sentence of excommunication against those who should even so much as advise it, and he made all the cardinals subscribe this edict.*

He proceeded strenuously in the removal of abuses; granted few dispensations, and yet fewer compositions, and often limited the indulgences granted by his predecessors. He charged his auditor-general to proceed without delay against all archbishops or bishops who did not reside in their dioceses, and to report to him, in order that he might immediately dismiss the disobedient.† He commanded all parish priests, under heavy penalties, to remain in their parishes and to see that God's service was duly performed; he recalled whatever dispensations they might have received on this matter.‡ Nor were his efforts to restore the order and discipline of the cloister less strenuous. On the one side he confirmed to the convents their exemption from taxes and other burthens, for instance, the quartering of troops—for he would not suffer their tranquillity to be interrupted; but at the same time he forbade monks to hear confession without the permission and examination of the bishop, and ordained that every new bishop should have power to

* *Prohibitio alienandi et infeudandi civitates et loca S. R. E.: Admonet nos: 1567, 29 Mart.*

† *Cum Alias, 1566, 10 Junii. Bull. iv, ii, 303.*

‡ *Cupientes, 1568, 8 Julii. Bull. iv, iii, 24.*

repeat the examination.* He commended the strictest seclusion, as well of monks as of nuns. This was not universally commended. It was alleged that he imposed upon people severer rules than they had engaged to abide by: some fell into despondency, others fled from the cloister.†

All these things he first carried into effect in Rome and the states of the church. He bound the secular as well as the spiritual authorities to the maintenance of his spiritual ordinances,‡ while he himself watched over a severe and impartial administration of justice;§ he not only earnestly admonished magistrates to that end, but every last Wednesday of the month held a public session with the cardinals, at which all persons whatever might state any complaints they had to make of the ordinary tribunals.

Independently of this, he was unwearied in giving audience. From early morning he remained seated in his chair, and everybody was admitted to his presence. In effect, this zeal and activity produced a total reform of the manners of Rome. "At Rome," says Paolo Tiepolo, "things now go on in a wholly different way from that we have been accustomed to. Men are become much better, or at least they appear to be so."

The same results took place more or less all over Italy. Church discipline was universally rendered more strict by the publication of the decrees of the council, and a degree of obedience was paid to the pope which it was long since any of his predecessors had obtained.

Duke Cosmo of Florence scrupled not to deliver up to him those who were condemned by the inquisition. Carnesecchi, one of the literati who had taken part in the first movement towards protestantism in Italy, had hitherto escaped unharmed; but now neither his personal respectability, nor the reputation of his family, nor the relation in which he stood to the reigning house, had power to afford him protection; he was delivered up in fetters to the Roman inquisition, and condemned to perish in the flames.|| Cosmo was entirely devoted to the pope. He supported him in all his undertakings and admitted all his spiritual claims without hesitation. In return the pope was induced to confer on him the title and the crown

* Romani, 1571, 6 Aug. Bull. iv, iii, 177.

† Tiepolo: "Spesse volte nel dar rimedio a qualche disordine incorre in un' altro maggiore, procedendo massimamente per via degli estremi."

‡ Bull. iv, iii, 284.

§ Informatione delle qualità di Pio V, e delle cose che da quelle dependono (Berlin Library): "Nel conferire le gratie non si cura delle circostanze, secondo che alle volte sarebbe necessario per qualsivoglia rispetto considerabile, nè a requisition d'alcuno la giustizia si ha punto alterata, ancora che sia senza dar scandalo e con esempio d' altri pontefici potesse fare." Soriano is of opinion that he never granted any favor without adding to it an admonition: "il che mi parse proprio il stilo de' confessori, che fanno una gran riprensione al penitente, quando sono per assolverlo."

||1567, Cantini, Vita di Cosimo, p. 458.

of Grand Duke of Tuscany. The right of the see of Rome to make such a grant was in the highest degree questionable, and Cosmo's immoralities rendered it justly offensive; but the devotion he manifested to the holy see, the strict ecclesiastical rules which he introduced into his dominions, were, in the eyes of the pope, merits which covered all his defects.

The old antagonists of the Medici, the Farnesi, rivalled them in the same course. Ottavio Farnese deemed it an honor to execute the commands of the pope at the first hint.

The terms on which Pius stood with the Venetians were not quite so good. They were neither so hostile to the Turks, nor so indulgent to monastic bodies, nor so obsequious to the inquisition, as he desired. He took care, however, not to quarrel with them. He pronounced that the republic was founded on the faith; that she had ever remained true to the catholic church; that she alone had been exempted from the incursions of barbarians; that the honor of Italy rested on her:—he declared that he loved Venice. The Venetians, on their side, conceded more to him than they had done to any other pope. They delivered up the unfortunate Guido Zanetti of Fano, who had fallen under suspicion of heterodoxy and had fled to Padua:—an act unknown before in Venice. The clergy of the city, who for a long time had troubled themselves little about the rules of the church, were brought into tolerable order. Besides this, the churches of Verona were placed under the most admirable discipline by G. Matteo Giberti. His example was quoted as affording a perfect pattern of the life of a true bishop;* his plans and regulations served as models throughout the catholic world, and many of them were adopted by the council of Trent. Carlo Borromeo caused a portrait of him to be painted, and kept it before his eyes, that he might be constantly reminded of his life and conversation.

But a still stronger influence was exercised by Carlo Borromeo himself. Possessed of various dignities and appointments, (among others that of grand penitentiary,) chief of the cardinals nominated by his uncle, he might have occupied the most brilliant position in Rome; but he renounced all, he declined all, to devote himself to the duties of his archbishopric of Milan. He devoted himself to them with singular energy, nay, with passion. He constantly travelled about his diocese in every direction, nor was there a village in it which he had not visited two or three times; the loftiest mountain, the most secluded valley, did not escape his notice. He was generally preceded by a *visitator*, whose report he received; but he proceeded to examine into every thing with his own eyes, he adjudged the punishment of offences, and confirmed all improve-

* Petri Francisci Zini, Boni pastoris exemplum ac specimen singulare ex Jo. Matthæo Giberto Episcopo expressum atque propositum. Written in 1556, and originally intended for England. Opera Giberti, p. 252.

ments and reforms.* He led his clergy to adopt similar proceedings: six provincial councils were held under his presidency. But he was also unwearied in the performance of his own peculiar functions as a minister of the church. He preached and said mass, passed whole days in administering the Lord's supper, ordaining priests, receiving the profession of nuns, and consecrating altars. The ceremony of the consecration of an altar lasted eight hours; it is calculated that he consecrated three hundred. It must be admitted that many of his measures were of a wholly external character, being directed more particularly to the restoration of buildings, harmonising of the ritual, exhibition and adoration of the host, &c. The main point is the rigid discipline in which he held his clergy, and in which their flocks were again held by them. He perfectly understood the means of winning acceptance and obedience to his ordinances. In the Swiss districts he visited the places of the most ancient and venerable sanctity, distributed gifts among the people, and invited the men of higher station to his table. On the other hand, he knew how to meet disobedience with effective measures. The country people in Valcamonica waited in the roads to receive his blessing as he passed, but, as they had not paid their tithes for some time, he drove through them without moving his hand or looking at them. The people were terrified, and consented to pay all their arrears.† Yet he occasionally found more stubborn and bitter resistance. The members of the order of the Umiliati, who had entered it only that they might enjoy its wealth in dissolute living,‡ were so incensed at his attempts to reform them that they conspired against his life. While he was praying in his chapel, a shot was fired at him. Nothing however was more useful to him than this attack. The people deemed his escape a miracle, and from that moment regarded him with the utmost veneration. Since his zeal was as pure, as free from all alloy of earthly motives, as it was steady and persevering; since, even in the hour of danger, amid all the horrors of the plague, he showed an unwearied solicitude for the temporal and eternal safety of those committed to his care and government, his influence increased from day to day, and Milan assumed a totally different aspect. "How can I sufficiently praise thee, fairest of cities!" exclaims Gabrielle Paleotto, towards the end of Borromeo's administration; "I admire thy sanctity and thy piety, I behold in thee a new Jerusalem."—What-

* Glussianus, *De Vita et rebus gestis S. Caroli Borromæi Mediol.* p. 112: very detailed on the "ritus visitationis," and all such things.

† Ripamonte, *Historia Urbis Mediolani*, in Grævius, ii, i, p. 864. Ripamonte, has besides dedicated the whole of the Second Part of his History, lib. xi, xvii, to St. Charles Borromeus.

‡ They had in all 94 houses, each of which could have maintained a hundred men; but so little numerous were the members of their society, that but two fell to each house. The Order was dissolved, and the endowments of Borromeo, as well as the Jesuits, then benefited by their possessions.

ever was the worldliness of the Milanese nobility, exclamations so enthusiastic could not be uttered without some reason, and the Duke of Savoy solemnly congratulated the archbishop on the results of his labors. The latter now sought to establish his regulations on a secure and permanent basis. A congregation was instituted whose business it was to watch over the uniformity of the ritual; a peculiar order of regular clergy called Oblati devoted themselves by vow to the service of the archbishop and his church; the Barnabites received new rules, and from that time have made it their duty to assist the bishops in the cure of souls, at first at Milan, and afterwards wherever introduced.* These arrangements were imitated on a small scale by the Romans. A *collegium Helveticum* was also founded in Milan for the restoration of catholicism in Switzerland, like the *collegium Germanicum* in Rome, which we have mentioned as having the same object in view for Germany. The dignity and influence of the pope could only be heightened and confirmed by these measures. Borromeo, who never received a papal brief without uncovering his head, implanted the same reverential sentiments in his church.

Meanwhile Pius V had also acquired unwonted influence in Naples. In the very first days of his pontificate he had sent for Tommaso Orfino da Faligno, and charged him with a reformatory visitation of the Roman churches. After this was completed, he nominated Orfino bishop of Strongoli, and sent him for the same purpose to Naples. Amid great concourse of this devout people, Orfino accomplished his visitation in the capital, and throughout a considerable part of the kingdom.

In Naples as well as in Milan, the pope had, it is true, frequent disputes with the royal authorities. The king complained of the bull *In Cœnâ Domini*—the pope would hear nothing of the *Exequatur Regium*; the one thought that the spiritual authorities did too much, the other, that the royal functionaries did too little; there were incessant provocations between the viceroys and the archbishops. The court of Madrid was, as we have said, often thoroughly discontented, and the king's confessor loudly complained. Yet there was no open rupture. Each sovereign invariably laid the chief blame on the officers and advisers of the other; they themselves personally maintained a friendly intercourse. Once when Philip was ill, Pius V raised his hands to Heaven and prayed that God would deliver him from his sickness: the aged man prayed God to take some years from his own life, and add them to that of the king, on whom so much more depended than on himself.

Spain too was governed entirely in the spirit of ecclesiastical regeneration. The king had doubted for a moment whether he should immediately recognise the decrees of the council of Trent, or

* Ripamonte, 857. To the first founders he gives the names of Beccaria, Ferrara, and Morigia: Giussano, p. 442, makes use of the customary names.

not; at all events he would fain have limited the right of the papal power to make concessions at variance with those decrees; but the religious character of his monarchy forbade every attempt of this kind; he saw that he must avoid even the semblance of a serious difference with the holy see, if he wished to remain secure of the obedience which was paid to himself. The decrees of the council were universally promulgated and its regulations introduced. The strictly dogmatic tendency was predominant here also. Carranga, archbishop of Toledo, was the highest ecclesiastic of the land; he was formerly member of the council of Trent, and the man who, after Pole, had done more than any other for the restoration of catholicism in England under Queen Mary; yet spite of all these claims to reverence, he could not escape the inquisition. "I have," says he, "had no other object than the suppression of heresy, and in this God has shown favor to me. I have myself converted many who had erred from the faith; I have caused the bodies of some leaders of heresy to be dug up and burned; catholics and protestants have called me the chief defender of the faith." But these unquestionable proofs of catholicism availed him nothing against the inquisition. Sixteen articles were found in his works, in which he appeared to lean to the doctrines of the protestants, mainly with regard to justification. After being imprisoned for a long time in Spain and tormented with the tedious forms of procedure, he was carried to Rome; it appeared a great favor to snatch him out of the grasp of his personal enemies, yet even in Rome he could not escape sentence of death.*

If this was the fate of so exalted a personage, if this the termination of so doubtful a case, it may be imagined how little the inquisition could be disposed to tolerate undeniable deviations from the faith, on the part of persons of inferior station, such as here and there occurred in Spain. All the relentless severity with which the traces of Jewish or Mahommedan opinions had been persecuted, was now directed against the protestants. One *auto da fé* followed hard upon another, till every germ of heresy was at length crushed. After the year 1570 we find scarcely any but foreigners brought before the tribunals of the inquisition on a charge of protestantism.†

In Spain, the government did not favor the Jesuits. They were said to be for the most part Jewish Christians, not of pure Spanish blood; and were believed to cherish projects of future vengeance for all that their persecuted race had suffered. In Portugal, on the contrary, the members of this order attained but too soon to unlimited power; they governed the kingdom in the name of king Sebastian. As they also enjoyed the greatest credit in Rome under

* Llorente has devoted to this event, three long chapters of his History of the Inquisition. *Histoire de l'Inquisition*, iii, 183—315.

† M'Crie, History of the progress and suppression of the Reformation in Spain, p. 336.

Pius V, they used their authority in that country in accordance with the views of the curia. Pius V thus ruled both peninsulas with more absolute sway than any one of his predecessors for a long time before; the ordinances of the council of Trent had everywhere gained a living power; all the bishops swore to the *Professio Fidei*, in which is embodied the substance of the dogmatic rules of the council, and pope Pius published the Roman catechism, in which these are still more fully developed. He abolished all breviaries which had not been expressly issued by the see of Rome, or which had been introduced within the last two centuries, and published a new one composed after the usages of the most ancient of the principal churches of Rome, expressing his wish that it might be universally adopted.* He also published a new missal, "after the pattern and the ritual of the holy fathers,"† for universal use: the seminaries for clergy filled; the religious houses were efficiently reformed; the inquisition watched with relentless severity over the unity and inviolability of the faith.

A strict union was consequently brought about among all these countries and states. To this the situation of France infinitely contributed; for, torn with civil wars, she either renounced her old hostility to Spain, or was unable to display it with vigor and effect. The French troubles were also followed by another consequence. The events of a period always give birth to certain general political convictions, which then practically govern the world. The catholic monarchs thought they perceived that changes in the religion of a country were pregnant with destruction to its political institutions. If Pius IV had said that the church could not subsist without the support of kings, kings were now persuaded that a union with the church was indispensable to their safety. This doctrine Pius V incessantly preached to them; and in fact he lived to see southern Christendom united with him in one common undertaking.

The Ottoman power was still making rapid strides: it ruled the Mediterranean; its attacks on Malta and on Cyprus showed how seriously it contemplated the conquest of these yet unconquered islands; it threatened Italy from the side of Hungary and Greece. Pius V succeeded in at length arousing the catholic princes to a sense of the imminence of this danger; the attack on Cyprus suggested to him the idea of a league, which he proposed to the Venetians on the one side, and to the Spaniards on the other. "When I received permission to treat with him on this matter," says the Venetian ambassador, "and communicated the same to him, he raised his hands to Heaven, and thanked God; he promised to devote to it his whole mind and all his powers.‡ It cost him endless

* "Remotis iis quæ aliena et incerta essent."—Quoniam Nobis: 9 Julii, 1568.

† "Collatis omnibus cum vetustissimis nostræ Vaticanæ bibliothecæ aliisque undique conquisitis emendatis atque incorruptis codicibus."

‡ Soriano: "Havuta la risoluzione—andai subito alla audienza, benche era di notte et l'ora incommoda et S. Sa. travagliata per li accidenti seguiti quel

trouble to remove the difficulties which opposed the union of the two maritime powers; he associated with them the other powers of Italy, and though at first he had neither money, nor ships, nor arms, he found means to add some papal galleys to the fleet. He had a share in the choice of the commander, Don John of Austria, whose ambition and devotion he contrived to inflame at the same time. The result was the battle of Lepanto—the most triumphant for the Christian arms that had ever been fought. So entirely was the pope absorbed in this enterprise, that on the day of the battle he thought he beheld the victory in a sort of trance. The successful issue of it filled him with the loftiest self-reliance, and the most daring projects. He hoped to crush the Ottomans in a few years.

But it was not only in enterprises so unquestionably glorious that he employed his mediation. His religion was of so exclusive and domineering a character, that he bore the bitterest hatred to all Christians who differed from himself. What a contradiction—that the religion of meekness and humility should persecute genuine piety!—a contradiction, however, of which Pius V, bred in the inquisition, grown old in its notions, was utterly unconscious.—While he strove with unwearied zeal to extirpate all remains of dissent which were to be found in catholic countries, he persecuted with yet more furious wrath the avowed protestants who were either emancipated from his authority, or still engaged in the struggle. Not only did he aid the French catholics with a small military force, he gave to their leader count Santafiore the unheard of injunction, “to take no Huguenot prisoner, but instantly to kill every one that fell into his hands.”*

When the Netherlands revolted, Philip II at first hesitated as to the way in which he should treat the provinces; the pope advised an armed intervention. The reason he alleged was, that those whose negotiations were not enforced by arms, must consent to receive laws, while those who had arms in their hands imposed them. He approved Alva's bloody measures, and sent him the consecrated hat and sword in token of his approbation. It cannot be proved that he was privy to the preparations for the massacre of St. Bartholomew, but he did things which leave no doubt that he, as well as his successor, would have sanctioned them.

How strange an union of singleness of purpose, magnanimity, austerity, and profound religious feeling, with sour bigotry, relentless hatred, and bloody persecution!

giorno per la coronatione del duca di Fiorenza ed il protesto dell' ambasciatore Cesareo [against it]: e comunicata la commissione che haveva, S. Sa. si allegò tutta.”

* Catena, Vita di Pio V, p. 85; “Pio si dolse del Conte che non avesse il comandamento di lui osservato d'ainmazzar subito qualunque heretico gli fosse venuto alle mani.”

In this spirit lived and died Pius V.* When he felt the approach of death, he once more visited the seven churches, to bid farewell, as he said, to those sacred places; three times he kissed the lowest steps of the Scala Santa. He had at one time promised not only to expend the whole treasures of the church, not excepting the chalices and crucifixes, on an expedition against England, but even to appear in person at the head of the army. On his way, some of the banished catholics of England presented themselves before him; he said, "he wished that he could pour forth his blood for them." He spoke of the league as an affair of the highest moment; he had left everything in preparation which could ensure its success; the last money that he issued was destined to this purpose.† The phantoms of these enterprises haunted him at his last moments. He had no doubt of their eventual success. "God," he said, "will, of the stones, raise up the man necessary for this great work."

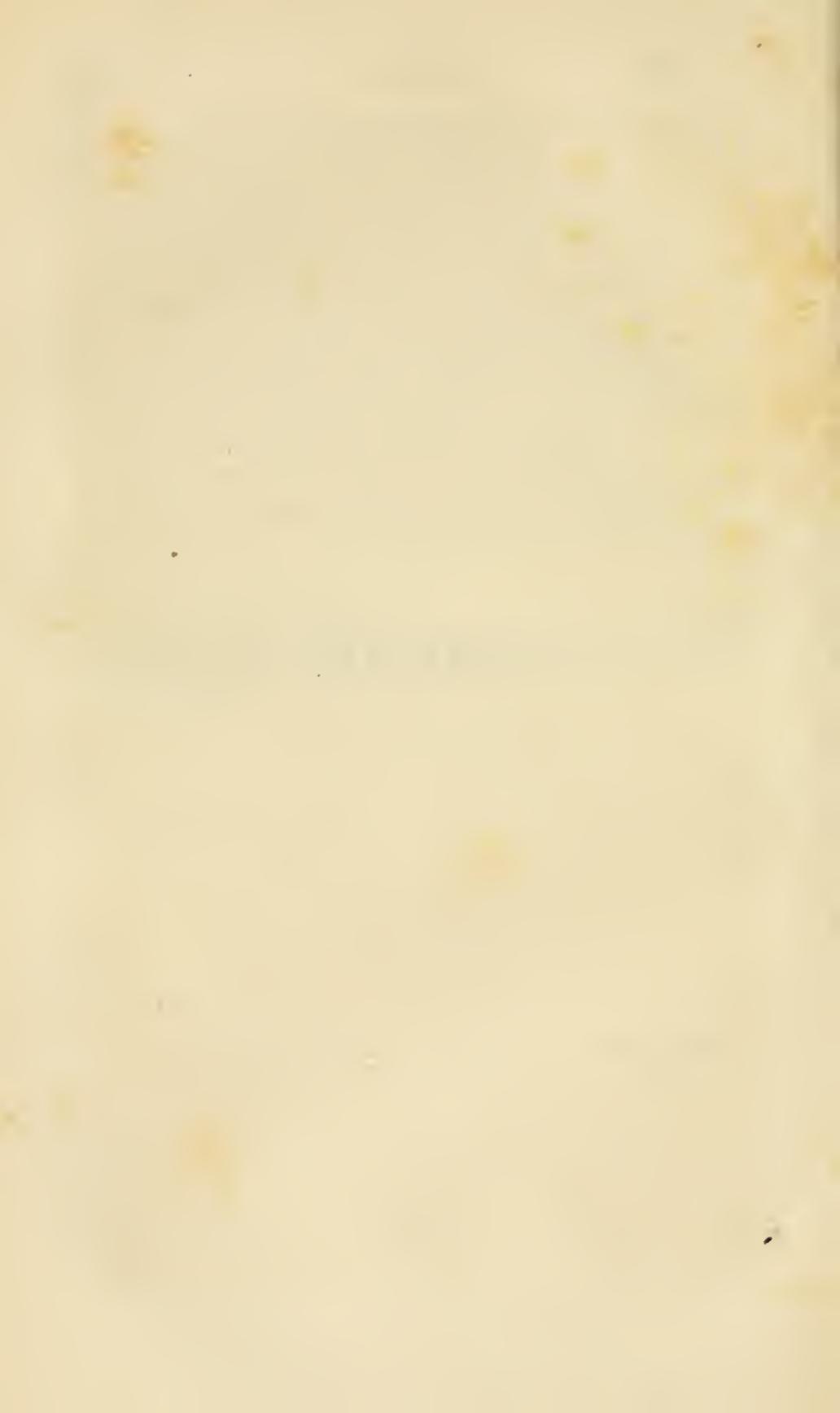
If his loss was more felt than he himself had anticipated, yet a unity was established, a power was called into existence, which must of necessity be applied to the maintenance of the principles which he had recognised and adopted.

* He died on the 1st of May, 1572.

† Informatione dell' infermità di Pio V: "Havendo in sua stanza in una cassetina 13^m. sc. per donare e fare elemosine di sua mano, due giorni avanti sua morte fece chiamare il depositario della camera e levarli, dicendo che sarieno boni per la lega."

BOOK IV.

VOL. I.—20



STATE AND COURT; THE TIMES OF GREGORY XIII, AND
SIXTUS V.

INTRODUCTION.

WITH new and collected strength catholicism now advanced to the conflict with the protestant world.

If we institute a general comparison between these two great parties, we shall find that catholicism enjoyed an incalculable advantage, in possessing a common centre—a leader, who directed all its movements. The pope was not only able to unite the strength of the other catholic powers for one common effort, but he had a territory of his own sufficiently powerful to contribute materially to its success.

We have now to consider the States of the Church under a new aspect.

This dominion had arisen out of the attempts of the popes to raise their families to sovereign power, or to procure for themselves a supremacy over temporal rulers, particularly those of Italy. They had attained neither object, in the degree they had desired, and it had now become forever impossible to renew these attempts. A special law forbade the alienation of church property. The Spaniards were now far too powerful in Italy for the papal government to contend with. On the other hand, the state was become auxiliary to the church, and the financial resources which the former afforded, were of the highest importance to the general development of the papal power.

Before we proceed further, it becomes necessary to investigate more closely the administration of the popes, in the form which it gradually assumed in the course of the 16th century.

§ 1. ADMINISTRATION OF THE PATRIMONY OF THE CHURCH.

A well-situated, rich and splendid province had fallen to the share of the popes.

The writers of the 16th century can scarcely find words to celebrate its fertility;—the fair plains around Bologna, and through all Romagna—the loveliness combined with fertility along the skirts of the Apennines. “We travelled,” say the Venetian ambassadors in 1522, “from Macerata to Tolentino, through the most beautiful country; hills and valleys were covered with corn; for thirty miles nothing else was to be seen; we could find hardly a foot of uncultivated land; it appeared to us impossible to gather in such a quantity of grain, much more to find consumers for it.” Romagna yearly produced 40,000 stara of corn more than was necessary for its own consumption: its produce was in great request, and after the hilly region about Urbino, Tuscany, and Bologna had been supplied, 35,000 stara were sometimes exported by sea; whilst, on the eastern coast, Venice was supplied from Romagna and the March,* on the western, Genoa, and sometimes even Naples, were provided with corn from the country round Viterbo, and the patrimony of St. Peter.

In one of his bulls of the year 1566, Pius V boasts, as a proof of the divine favor, that whereas Rome in former times could not exist without foreign corn, she had now not only abundance for her own consumption, but had often been able to supply her neighbors and strangers, by land and by sea.† In the year 1589, the export of corn from the States of the Church was valued at 500,000 scudi a year.‡ The several districts were likewise famed for their peculiar productions: Perugia for its hemp, Faenza for its flax, Viterbo for both;§ Cesena for its wine, which was exported, Rimini for oil, Bologna for woad, San Lorenzo for manna; the produce of the vineyards of Montefiascone was celebrated all over the world; the Campagna at that time produced a breed of horses little inferior to those of Naples; towards Nettuno and Terracina there was excellent hunting, especially of the wild boar; there were lakes abounding in fish; there were salt and alum works, and quarries of marble; in short everything which could contribute to the enjoyment of life was there produced in profusion.

* Badoer, *Relatione*, 1591. The friendship of Romagna for Venice was founded on the view, “quanto importa la vicinità di questa città, per ben vendere per l’ordinario le loro biade, vini, frutti, guadi et altre cose, riportandone all’ incontro boni danari.”

† *Jurisdictionis consulum artis agriculturæ urbis*:—9 Sept. 1566: Bullar. Cocquel. iv, ii, 314.

‡ Giovanni Gritti, *Relatione*, 1589: “La Romagna e la Marca sola si mette che alcune volte abbia mandato fuori 60^m. rubbia di grano e più di 30^m. di menudi. Il paese di Roma e lo stato di là dell’ Alpi quasi ogni anno somministra il viver al paese di Genova et altri luoghi circonvicini: onde dell’ uscita di grani e di biade dello Stato Ecclesiastico si tien per cosa certa che ogn’ anno entri in esso valente di 500^m. sc. almeno: nè all’ incontro ha bisogno di cose di fuori se non di poco momento et in poca stima, che sono specierie e cose da vestirsi di nobili e persone principali.”

Voyage de Montaigne, ii, 488.

Nor was this territory less favorably situated for commerce with the whole world. Ancona had a thriving trade. "It is a beautiful spot," say these same ambassadors of 1522, "full of merchants, chiefly Greeks and Turks: we were assured that some of them in former years had transacted business to the amount of 500,000 ducats." In the year 1549, we find there were two hundred Greek families, all merchants, settled there, and possessing a church of their own. The harbor was full of caravels from the Levant. There were, besides, Armenians and Turks, Florentines, people from Lucca and Venice, Jews from the east and the west. The wares which were here exposed for sale consisted of silks, wool, leather, lead from Flanders, and cloth. Luxury increased, the rent of houses rose, the fees to physicians and teachers were higher than at any preceding time.*

But the inhabitants of the States of the Church were still more celebrated for their courage, than for the activity and talents for business of their merchants. We sometimes find them described according to the various characteristics they displayed:—the Perugians were reckoned sturdy in service; the inhabitants of Romagna, brave but improvident; those of Spoleto, fertile in stratagems of war; the Bolognese high-spirited, but difficult to keep under discipline; the inhabitants of the March, addicted to plunder: the Faentini excelled in steadiness under attack, and in the pursuit of a retreating enemy; the men of Forlì, in difficult manœuvres; those of Fermo in the management of the lance.† "The whole population," says one of our Venetian authorities, "is skilled in warfare, and of a fierce nature; as soon as they leave their homes, these men are fit for every deed of war, whether in a siege or a field of battle. They bear with ease the toils and hardships of a campaign."‡ The Venetians drew their best troops from the March and from Romagna, which rendered the friendship of the Duke of Urbino so important to the republic; we always find officers in their service drawn from this district. It was said, however, that here were to be found captains for all the princes of the world; that from hence went forth that company of St. George with which Alberigo of Barbiano had exterminated the foreign mercenaries, and revived the fame of Italian arms. They were still the same race and stock of men who had once contributed so much to the establishment of the Roman empire.§ In later times they have not maintained their

* Saracini, *Notizie storiche della Città d'Ancona*: Roma, 1675; p. 362.

† Landi, *Quæstiones Forcianæ*: Neapoli, 1536: a book full of excellent and remarkable accounts of the state of Italy at that time.

‡ Soriano, 1570: "Quanto a soldati, è commune opinione, che nello stato della chiesa siano i migliori di tutto il resto d'Italia, anzi d'Europa."

§ Lorenzo Priuli, *Relatione*, 1586; "Lo stato pieno di viveri per darne anco a popoli vicini, pieno di huomini bellicosi:"—he mentions the families of Genga, Carpagna, and Malatesta.—"Pareno tutti questi popoli nati et allevati nella militia. E molto presto si metteria insieme molto buona gente toccando il tamburo."

claim to this high reputation, yet the last great captain who led them beyond the frontiers of their own country, gave them the unquestioned preference over all his Italian, and even a large portion of his French troops.

All these rich districts and this brave population were now subject to the peaceful spiritual power of the pope. It remains to trace minutely the nature of the government which developed itself under the sovereign pontiffs.

This consisted, as in the Italian states generally, in the more or less strict limitation of the independence, which, in the course of the century, the municipalities had almost everywhere acquired.

Even during the 15th century, the priors of Viterbo, seated on their stone seats before the door of the town-hall, received the oath of the podestà sent to them by the pope or his representative.*

In 1463, the city of Fano, before putting itself under the immediate power of the Roman pontiff, made its own terms. It stipulated not only that it should remain an immediate subject for ever, but also that it should enjoy the right to name its own podestà without the necessity of his appointment being confirmed; freedom from all new taxes for twenty years, the advantages accruing from the sale of salt, and many other privileges.†

Even so despotic a ruler as Cæsar Borgia was compelled to bestow privileges upon the towns which constituted his principality: he surrendered to the town of Sinigaglia, revenues which had, till then, belonged to the sovereign.‡

How much more imperative was the demand for such concessions on Julius II, whose ambition it was to appear in the character of a liberator! Of his own accord he reminded the Perugians that he had spent the bloom of his youth within their walls. When he drove Baglione out of Perugia, he was satisfied to bring back the exiles, to restore their power to the peaceful magistracy, the *priori*, and to bestow higher salaries on the professors of the university: he made no inroad on the old liberties of the town. For a long time afterwards Sinigaglia paid no more than 2000 ducats a year in recognition of his sovereignty; and even under Clement VII, I find a calculation of how many troops they could bring into the field, as if they were a completely free community.

Bologna felt the yoke as little, and in all times preserved not only the forms, but many important attributes of municipal independence: it possessed complete control over the administration of its finances, had troops of its own, and paid a salary to the pope's legate.

During the Venetian war, Julius II brought the towns of Ro-

* Feliciano Bussi, *Istoria di Viterbo*, p. 59.

† Amiani, *Memorie storiche della Città di Fano*, t. ii, p. 4.

‡ Siena, *Storia di Sinigaglia*, App. n. vi.

§ Suriano, *Relatione di Fiorenza*, 1533.

magna under his sway; but he annexed none of them to his dominions without entering into certain conditions, and granting new and settled privileges. In later times they always referred to the capitulations which they then made with him. They designated the political relation in which they stood to him under the title of "Ecclesiastical Freedom."*

As a whole, the state which was thus formed bore a considerable resemblance to the Venetian. In the one as well as in the other, the powers of government had hitherto been in the hands of the communes, which had for the most part conquered and ruled over other smaller communities. Under the Venetians, these self-governing municipalities, without losing their independence on all points, had subjected themselves, under accurately defined conditions, to the power of the nobili of Venice. In the Ecclesiastical States, they were subject to the sovereignty of the curia; for in Rome the governing body was the court, whereas in Venice it was the aristocracy. It is true the dignity of the prelacy during the first half of this century was not an indispensable qualification for the most important offices; we find lay vice-legates in Perugia; in Romagna it appears to have been almost the rule that a lay president should be at the head of the administration.

In some instances laymen acquired the greatest power and influence, as for instance Jacopo Salviati, under Clement VII; but even they belonged to the curia. They were dependents of the pope, and therefore members of that corporation. But at that time the towns did not like secular governors; they petitioned to have prelates, thinking it more honorable to obey the higher clergy. Compared with a German principality and its regularly organized government by estates, the Italian appears at first sight almost lawless; but in reality there was even in the latter government, a remarkable distribution of powers and privileges. Thus the nobles of a city acted as a check on the administrative body, the citizens on the nobles, the subject on the governing communes, and the peasantry on the towns. It is remarkable that in Italy the idea of establishing provincial authorities seems hardly ever to have occurred. In the States of the Church it is true some provincial assemblies were held, and were even dignified with the highly significant name of parliaments; but it must have been contrary to the manners of the country and to the Italian character to bring such an institution to maturity, since these meetings never enjoyed any lasting influence.

But if the municipal constitution had fully developed itself, as was possible, and even appeared probable, it would, by limiting the powers of government on the one side, and the positive rights, the great power of the communes, and the number of individual pri-

* Rainaldus mentions it, but very briefly. Concerning Ravenna, see Hieronymi Rubei Historiarum Ravennatum, lib. viii, p. 660.

vileges on the other, have exhibited the principle of stability in its most striking form—a constitution based on distinct and well-defined authorities and on mutual checks.

In the Venetian states considerable approaches to such a constitution were made; in the States of the Church, far less.

This may be traced to the original difference in the forms of government. In Venice it was an hereditary, self-governing corporation, which looked upon the supreme power as their patrimony.—The Roman curia was, on the contrary, a flux body, into which every new conclave infused new elements; the countrymen of the successive popes always got a large portion of the public business into their hands. In Venice the election to every office was vested in the corporation itself; in Rome it depended upon the favor of the sovereign pontiff. In the former, the rulers were held in check by severe laws, and vigilant inspection. In the latter, they were restrained less by fear of punishment than by hope of promotion (which depended chiefly on favor and affection), and enjoyed comparative freedom of action.

The papal government had likewise from its earliest beginning secured to itself a more independent position.

A remarkable result presents itself in this point of view, from a comparison of the grants of the Roman and Venetian states: this is apparent, among other instances, in the case of Faenza, which had surrendered itself to the Venetian state a few years before its subjection to Rome, and had made capitulations with both powers.* Both times it had, for example, stipulated that no new tax should be levied without the consent of the majority of the council of Faenza: the Venetians had granted this without hesitation; but the pope added the reservation, “in as far as it may not appear advisable to do otherwise, for important and prudent reasons.” I will not enlarge on this subject, as the same difference prevails throughout; it is sufficient that I point out one other proof of it. The Venetians had granted without hesitation, that all criminal judgments should be pronounced by the *podestá* and his court: the pope also granted the same privilege generally, but established one exception: “In cases of high treason, or crimes of a class calculated to cause popular irritation, the authority of the governor shall step in.” It is evident that the papal government reserved to itself, from the very beginning, a much more active share of the sovereign power than the Venetian.†

* *Historie di Faenza, fatica di Giulio Cesare Tonduzzi, Faenza, 1675, contain, p. 569, the capitulations concluded with the Venetians, 1501, and confirmed by Julius II, in 1510.*

† What means it used, Paul III shows, when he says (1547): “Ceux qui viennent nouvellement au papat viennent pauvres, obligés de promesses, et la dépense qu'ils font pour s'asseurer dans les terres de l'église monte plus que le profit des premières années.” *Le Cardinal de Guise au Roy de France, in Ribier, ii, 77.*

It cannot be denied that on the other hand this burthen was rendered very easy to the pope.

In those times the middle classes, consisting of the substantial citizens, the merchants and artisans of the subject cities, were peaceable and obedient; while the patricians, the nobles, who held in their hands the municipal authority, were in a state of perpetual agitation and tumult. They carried on no trade; they cared little for agricultural pursuits; they were not devoted to intellectual improvement, or to the science of arms; their own feuds and animosities exclusively occupied their thoughts. The old factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines still existed; they had been kept alive by the late wars, during which victory fluctuated between the two parties: the families which belonged to either faction were well known. In Faenza, Ravenna, Forlì, the Ghibellines were the strongest; in Rimini, the Guelphs: nevertheless the weaker party still maintained itself in each of these towns; in Cesena and Imola the parties were nearly equal. In the midst of apparent peace a secret warfare was carried on; every man was occupied in keeping down his opponent of the other faction, and thrusting him into the background.* The chiefs had at their beck adherents in the lowest class; fierce, determined men, wild and wandering bravoës, who, of their own accord, sought out those whom they knew to be in fear of enemies, or to have injuries to avenge: they were always ready to commit murder for gold.

The only effect of these universal feuds was, that as each party distrusted the other, and would not permit power to be lodged in his enemy's hands, the cities were less firm and vigilant in maintaining their privileges.

When the president of the legate came into the province, it was not asked whether he intended to observe their municipal rights; the only question was, which party he would favor; and when this was declared, the joy of the one party and the dejection of the other can hardly be described. The legate was obliged to act with great caution. The most influential men sought his intimacy, endeavored to be agreeable to him, professed an intense zeal for the interests of the state, and acceded to all measures undertaken for the promotion of them; but they often did all this only with a view to insinuate themselves into his favor and confidence, so as more effectually to injure and persecute the party which they hated.†

* *Relatione della Romagna* (Bibl. Alt.): "Li nobili hanno seguito di molte persone, delle quali alcune volte si vagliono ne consigli per conseguire qualche carica o per se o per altri, per potere vincere o per impedire all' altri qualche richiesta: ne giudicii per provare et alcune volte per testificare nelle inimicitie per fare vendette, ingiurie: alcuni ancora a Ravenna, Imola e Faenza usavano di contrabbandare grano."

† *Relatione di Mons^{re} Rev^{mo} Gio. P. Ghisilieri, al P. Gregorio XIII, tornando egli dal presidentato di Romagna.* We see from Tonduzzi (*Historie di Faenzi*, p. 673,) that Ghisilieri came into the province in 1578.

The barons in the country were in a somewhat different position. They were generally poor, but so prodigal and ambitious that they kept open house; and without exception their expenditure went beyond their means. They had always dependents in the towns, whom they frequently employed in the most unlawful acts; but their chief care was to maintain a good understanding with their peasantry, who always occupied the greater part of the soil, although they had no other wealth. In the southern provinces, illustrious birth and gentle blood were held in great reverence, but distinction of ranks was not nearly so strongly marked as in the north, nor did it prevent the closest personal intimacy: the peasantry lived with the barons almost on the footing of brotherly subordination, and it was difficult to say whether the tenants were more willing to render obedience and service, or the barons support and assistance; there was something patriarchal in their connection.* One reason for this, among others, was, that the barons sought above all things to avoid giving their vassals cause to appeal to the government. They were determined never to recognise the feudal sovereignty claimed by the holy see. The vassals imagined that the claim asserted by the pope's legate, of deciding not alone upon the appeal but upon the original proceeding, was not so much a right, as the consequence of an unlucky political conjecture which would speedily pass away.

Here and there were to be found, particularly in Romagna, independent communities of peasants.† They were large clans, deriving their descent from a common stock; lords in their own villages, all armed and well skilled in the use of the arquebus, generally half savage: they may be compared with the free Greek or Slavonian communities, which maintained their independence under the Venetians, or reconquered it, when lost, from the Turks; such, for example, as were found in Candia, the Morea and Dalmatia. In the States of the Church, they sided with the different factions: the Cavinis, Scardocci and Solaroli were Ghibellines; the Manbelli, Cerroni and Serras were Guelphs. The Serras had in their country a hill, which served as an asylum for those who had committed any crime. The most powerful of all were the Cerroni, who also stretched over the frontier into the Florentine territory. This clan had split into two branches—Rinaldi and Ravagli—who, in spite of their affinity were in a state of constant feud. They were in a kind of hereditary connection not only with the chief families of the cities, but also with jurists, who supported one or the other fac-

* *Relazione della Romagna*: "Essendosi aggiustati gli uni all' humore degli altri."

† The peasants had often shaken off the dominion of the towns in the same manner. Ghisilieri: Scossi da quel giogo e recati quasi corpo diverso da quelle città [e. g. Forlì, Cesena] si governano con certe loro leggi separate sotto il governo d'un protettore eletto da loro medesimi, li quali hanno amplissima autorità di far le resolutioni necessarie per li casi occorrenti alli contadini."

tion in their litigations.— In the whole of Romagna there was no family so powerful that it could not have been easily harried by these peasants. The Venetians always had a military commander among them, in order to be sure of their assistance in case of war.

Had all this population been united, it would have been difficult for the Roman prelates to assert their authority; but their divisions strengthened the government. In the report of a president of Romagna to Pope Gregory XIII, I find these words: “The business of governing is difficult where the people hold well together; when divided, they are easily mastered”*

A party also formed itself in these provinces, favorable to the government; it consisted of the peaceable part of the population, who wished for quiet; that middle class which was not infected with the rage of faction. In Fano they entered into an association, called the “holy union;” compelled thereto, as the original record of this institution states, “because the whole city was full of robbery and murder, and not only those who took part in the feuds were insecure, but also those who desired nothing but to eat their bread in the sweat of their brow.” They bound themselves by an oath in the church, as brothers for life and death, to maintain the peace of the city and to exterminate those who disturbed it.† The government favored them, and allowed them to carry arms, and we meet with them throughout Romagna under the name of the “*pacifici*.” They gradually formed a kind of plebeian magistracy. The government had also adherents among the peasants; the Manbelli joined the court of the legate, they captured banditti, and guarded the frontiers—services which gave them no small influence ‡ The jealousy of neighbors, the hostility between the country villages and the cities, and various other internal evils, came to the assistance of the government.

And thus, instead of that respect for law, that quiet and stability, which this institution appeared calculated to produce, we find restless strife of factions, interference of the government whenever these were in a state of dissension, opposition of the municipal bodies whenever they were united;—might instead of right;—might opposed to right;—every individual trying how far he could carry his defiance to law.

Even under Leo X, the Florentines, who had the management

* Ghisilieri: “Siccome il popolo disunito facilmente si domina, così difficilmente si regge quando è troppo unito”

† It resembles the *Hernandad*. Amiani, *Memorie di Fano*, ii, 146, contains their formula, grounded on the sentence: “*Beati pacifici, quia filii Dei vocabuntur.*” Hence may have arisen their name in other towns.

‡ According to the *Relatione della Romagna*, they likewise gave themselves the name of *Huomini da Schieto*, after the place of their abode:—“*huomini*,” it says, “che si fanno molto riguardare: sono Guelfi: la corte di Romagna si è valuta dell’ opera loro molto utilmente, massime in havere in mano banditi et in ovviare alle fraudi che si fanno in estrarre bestiami dalle montagne.”

of affairs chiefly in their hands, exercised the rights of the curia in a most oppressive manner. Deputations from the cities repaired one after the other to Rome, seeking redress of their grievances. Ravenna declared it would rather voluntarily surrender to the Turks than endure the continuance of such a government.* Very often, during the vacancies of the holy see, the ancient nobles returned to power, and were with difficulty driven back from it by the new pope. On the other hand, the cities dreaded being again alienated from the papal crown.

Sometimes a cardinal, or a dependent of the pope, or a neighboring prince, offered a sum of money to the papal treasury for the right of governing one of these towns. Hence the towns had agents and delegates at Rome whose business it was to learn every plan of this sort as soon as formed, and to defeat its execution. In this they generally succeeded; but it sometimes happened that they were obliged to use force against the papal authorities, and even against the pope's troops. In nearly all the histories of these places is to be found some instance of lawless violence. In Faenza, on one occasion, in the summer of 1521, the Swiss guards of Leo and the citizens engaged in a regular battle in the very streets: the Swiss succeeded in rallying in the piazza, but finding all outlets from it barricaded by the citizens, they were glad, when one was opened to them, to be suffered to depart without injury. For many years afterwards this day was celebrated in Faenza with religious solemnities and rejoicings.†

On the 25th Nov., 1528, the inhabitants of Jesi, a town of comparatively small importance, had the courage to attack the palace of their vice-governor, who had demanded certain marks of honor which they refused to pay him; the citizens and the peasants united, and took into pay a hundred Albanians who happened to be in the neighborhood. The vice-governor and his suite took to flight. "My native city," says the chronicler of this town, otherwise a most devout catholic, "which now saw itself restored to its original freedom, determined to celebrate the anniversary of this day at the public expense."‡

From such acts of violence nothing could arise, as may be imagined, but new excesses, new punishments, and a still further limitation of their privileges. The government seized on the pretext afforded by such incidents for annihilating the privileges of towns which still possessed important remains of their former free-

* Marino Zorzi, *Relatione di 1517*: "Le terre di Romagna è in gran combustione e desordine: li vien fatta poca justitia: e lui orator ha visto tal x man di oratori al cardinal di Medici, che negotia le facende lamentandosi di mali portamenti fanno quelli rettori loro."

† Tonduzzi, *Historie di Faenza*, p. 609.

‡ Baldassini, *Memorie istoriche dell' antichissima Città di Jesi: Jesi, 1744*, p. 256.

dom, and for reducing them to complete subjection. Ancona and Perugia are remarkable examples of this result.

Ancona merely paid the pope a small yearly tribute in recognition of his sovereignty; the inadequacy of which appeared the more striking in proportion as the town increased. The court estimated the revenue of Ancona at 50,000 scudi, and thought it intolerable that the nobles there should share so large a sum amongst themselves. As the city not only refused to pay new taxes, but took forcible possession of a castle to which it had laid claim, it came to an open rupture with Rome. The mode in which the governments of that day enforced their claims is worthy of remark:—the papal officers drove away the cattle from the March of Ancona, as a means of levying the amount of the new tax; a measure which went under the name of reprisals.

This did not satisfy Clement VII. He only waited for a favorable opportunity to make himself completely master of Ancona; this opportunity he employed a stratagem to create.

He caused a fort to be built in that city; alleging that the Turks, after their successes in Egypt and Rhodes, and throughout the Mediterranean, would without doubt shortly attack Italy, and that there would be great danger in leaving Ancona, where so many Turkish merchant ships always lay, without defence. He sent Antonio Sangallo to construct the fort; the works proceeded most rapidly, and very shortly a small garrison took possession of it. This was the very moment the pope waited for: affairs being thus far advanced, in September, 1532, the governor of the March, monsignore Bernardino della Barba, a priest, but of a warlike character, appeared in the district of Ancona at the head of a formidable army which the jealousy of the neighboring cities had assembled; took one of the gates of the city, marched into the piazza, and drew up his troops in front of the palace; the Anziani, but lately chosen by lot, dwelt here, perfectly unsuspecting, and surrounded with the badges of the supreme power. Monsignore della Barba entered with his military followers, and declared without much preamble, that “the pope desired to have the absolute government of Ancona in his own hands.” They could oppose no resistance. The young nobles brought in from the country in all haste a few bands of devoted retainers. But what could be done, since the papal troops were prepared against all chances by the new fortress? The elder nobles would not subject their city to the risk of pillage and destruction; they yielded to what was inevitable.

The Anziani left the palace: in a short time appeared the new papal legate, Benedetto delli Accolti, who had promised the apostolical treasury 20,000 scudi a year as government dues from Ancona.

A complete revolution was effected. All arms were commanded to be delivered up, and sixty-four of the principal nobles were exiled: new lists of names for the magistracies were made; some of

the offices under government were distributed among the inhabitants of the country, and persons who were not noble. Justice was no longer administered according to the old statutes.

Woe to him who offered any opposition to these orders! Some leading men brought on themselves a suspicion of being engaged in a conspiracy: they were immediately seized, sentenced and beheaded; the following day a carpet was spread in the market-place, the bodies laid upon it, and a burning torch placed near each; thus they remained the whole day.

Paul III indeed subsequently granted the inhabitants of Ancona some alleviation of their yoke, but this act of favor implied no diminution of his absolute power; he was little inclined to restore their ancient liberties;* on the contrary, he made use of this same Bernardino della Barba as an instrument for depriving another of his cities of its privileges.

The pope had raised the price of salt by one half. The Perugians considered themselves justified by their privileges in resisting this impost. The pope having excommunicated them, the citizens assembled in the churches, and elected a body of magistrates called the "twenty-five defenders." They laid the keys of their gates at the foot of a crucifix in the market-place. Both parties armed themselves.

The revolt of so important a city against the papal authority excited a general agitation, and would have produced serious consequences, had there been war in any other part of Italy; but, as all was tranquil, no state could render it the assistance on which it had reckoned. For although Perugia was not without power, yet it was not nearly strong enough to enable it to resist the army of ten thousand Italians and three thousand Spaniards, brought against it by Pier-Luigi Farnese. The government of the twenty-five too displayed more arbitrariness and violence, than prudence or care for the protection of the city; they were not even prepared with money to pay the troops which a member of the house of Baglione brought to their assistance; their only ally, Ascanio Colonna, who also resisted the payment of this same impost, contented himself with driving off the cattle from the territory of the church; he could not resolve to render them any more serious assistance.

This city therefore, after a short interval of freedom, was compelled again to surrender to the pope on the 3d of June, 1540. Habited in long mourning garments, with halters round their necks, the delegates appeared in the portico of St. Peters' and implored pardon at the feet of the pope. This he granted, but their freedom was gone; he stripped them of all their privileges.

Bernardino della Barba was sent to Perugia, to deal with that city in the same manner as with Ancona. No man was allowed to

* Saracinelli, *Notizie istoriche della Città d' Ancona*; Roma, 1675, ii, xi-p. 335.

possess arms; the chains which had been thrown across the streets were removed, the houses of the twenty-five, who had escaped in time, were razed to the ground, a fortress was erected on the spot where the Baglioni had lived, and the citizens were compelled to pay the cost of its erection: a magistrate was placed over them, whose name suffices to show the purpose of his appointment;—he was called the “conservator of ecclesiastical obedience.” A later pope restored to him the title of prior, but without any of his ancient powers.*

Ascanio Colonna was likewise driven from all his strongholds by the same army.

The papal authority in the States of the Church was incalculably augmented by these repeated and successful blows: neither the towns nor the barons ventured any longer to offer resistance; one after another, the free communities submitted, and the pope was able to dispose of all the resources of the country for the attainment of his own objects.

We will now inquire what were these objects, and what the mode of accomplishing them.

§ 2. FINANCES.

It is however necessary first to examine into the system of the papal finances, a system which is important not only in reference to the country in which it originated, but on account of the example it afforded to all Europe.

It is remarkable that the system of exchanges prevailing in the middle ages, chiefly owed its form to the nature of the papal revenues, which were drawn from every country and remitted from all parts to the curia; and it is not less remarkable that the system of national debt which at this moment prevails, and exercises so powerful an influence on the dealings of men, should have first grown up in the Papal States.

However just were the complaints of the extortions which prevailed in Rome during the 15th century, it is certain that but little of the money raised found its way into the coffers of the pope. Pius II commanded the obedience of all Europe, notwithstanding which he was at one time so greatly in want of money, that he was compelled to limit himself and his establishment to one meal a day; he was forced to borrow the 200,000 ducats requisite for the Turkish war which he meditated. Those petty expedients to which many popes resorted, such as requiring from a prince, a bishop, or

* Mariotti, *Memorie storiche civili ed ecclesiastiche della Città di Perugia e suo contado*; Perugia, 1806;—relates these events in detail, and on authentic information; i, p. 113—160. He also mentions them again; e. g. vol. iii, p. 633.

a grand master who had some cause pending in the court, a present of a golden cup filled with ducats, of rich furs, or the like, only show the miserable state of the treasury.* The money certainly reached the court in considerable sums, although not in those enormous masses which people have imagined; but when there, it passed into a thousand hands, and was absorbed by those offices which had long been venal. These offices were chiefly paid by means of fees, and little restraint was imposed on the exactions of the officials. The papal treasury received nothing more than the price of the office, when it became vacant.

The pope was driven to extraordinary expedients whenever he undertook any costly enterprise; hence jubilees and indulgences were a most valuable resource. The docility of the faithful then afforded a clear revenue. Another means very naturally suggested itself, whenever he wanted to raise an unusually large sum, viz. the creation and sale of new offices—a strange sort of loan, the interest of which the church paid by increasing its own imposts. This custom had long obtained footing. According to an authentic register in the Chigi palace, there existed in the year 1471 nearly 650 saleable offices, the incomes of which amounted to about 100,000 scudi.† These were chiefly procurators, registrars, abbreviators, correctors, notaries, clerks, even messengers and door-keepers, whose increasing numbers continually raised the costs of a bull or a brief. This was indeed the very purpose for which they were appointed, for their duties amounted to little or nothing.

We can easily conceive that the succeeding popes, deeply implicated as they were in the politics of Europe, seized with avidity upon so easy an expedient for filling their coffers. Sixtus IV adopted the plan proposed by his prothonotary Sinolfo, and established at once whole colleges, the places in which were sold for two or three hundred ducats each. These bore the most singular titles; for instance the “college of a hundred janissaries,” who were nominated for 100,000 ducats, and whose salaries were charged upon the profits arising from the bulls and annates.‡ The places of notary, prothonotary, and procurator to the camera—indeed all

* Voigt, *Voices from Rome concerning the Papal Court in the Fifteenth Century*, given in the *Historisches Taschenbuch* of F. von Raumer, 1833, contains a crowd of notices on this subject. Whoever has at hand the book, *Silesia vor und seit dem Jahre 1740*, will find in it a satire of the 15th century by no means ill done, on this monstrous custom of present giving: “*Passio domini papæ secundum marcam auri et argenti.*”

† *Gli ufficii piu antichi*: MS. *Bibliotheca Chigi*, N. ii, 50. There are 651 places and 98,340 sc. “*fin alla creazione di Sisto IV.*” So little truth is there in what Onuphrius Padvinus says, that Sixtus IV was the first who sold them: p. 348.

‡ There were also Stradiotes and Mamelukes, who were however suppressed at a later period. “*Adstipulatores, sine quibus nullæ possent confici tabulæ:*” Onuphrius Panvinius. According to the register, (*Ufficii Antichi*), this creation seems to have brought in only 40,000 ducats.

offices whatsoever—were sold by Sixtus IV, who carried this system to such an extent as to have been accounted its author, and it certainly was not completely adopted till his time. Innocent VIII, whose embarrassments forced him to pawn even the papal tiara, founded a new college of twenty-six secretaries, for 60,000 scudi, with a complement of other officers. Alexander VI created eighty writers of briefs, each of whom paid 750 scudi for his appointment; and Julius II added, upon the same terms, one hundred writers of archives.

But the sources from which these hundreds of placemen drew their incomes were not inexhaustible. We have already seen that nearly all the Christian states had attempted, and in most instances successfully, to limit the interference of the papal power, and this too at a time when the popes had been involved in unusual expenses by their great undertakings. It was therefore most fortunate for them that they became masters of a territory from which, though their government was at first a mild one, they drew considerable revenues; and it cannot surprise us that these were administered in precisely the same manner as were the ecclesiastical funds.

Julius II in addition to the assignment made upon the annates, also quartered the above-mentioned writers of archives upon the dogana and the public chest. He established a college, consisting of a hundred and forty-one presidents of the annona, all of whom were paid by the state. He applied the surplus land-revenue in making loans. The quality of this pope which most excited the admiration of other princes was, his power of raising as much money as he wished; and indeed this was in a great degree the basis of his policy.

The necessities of Leo X were much more urgent than those of Julius, as the former was not less involved in wars, while he was far more prodigal, and more dependent upon the political support of his family. "It was as impossible for the pope," says Francesco Vittori of him, "ever to keep 1000 ducats together, as for a stone to fly into the air of itself." He has been accused of squandering the incomes of three popes; that of his predecessor—from whom he inherited a large treasure—his own, and his successor's, to whom he bequeathed a mass of debts. Leo was not satisfied with selling the existing offices, he raised a large sum by nominating additional cardinals; and having once entered on the course of creating new offices for the mere purpose of selling them, he proceeded in it with daring pertinacity. Above 1200 were created by him alone.* The characteristic of all these "portionarii," "scudi-

* *Sommario di la Relation di M. Minio, 1520: "non ha contanti, perchè è liberal, non sa tenir danari: poi li Fiorentini, (che) si fanno e sono soi parenti, non li lassa mai aver un soldo: e diti Fiorentini è in gran odio in corte, perchè in ogni cosa è Fiorentini."*

eri," and "cavalieri di S. Pietro," or whatever other titles they bore, is that they paid a sum down on their nomination, and received the interest of it for life under these titles; their offices had no other meaning than the enjoyment of this interest, increased by some other small privileges; they were in fact nothing more than a kind of life annuity. The sale of these produced to Leo the sum of 900,000 scudi. The interest, which was high, as it yearly amounted to an eighth of the capital,* was partly produced by a slight augmentation of church dues; but it chiefly flowed from the treasuries of the conquered provinces; that is, from the surplus of the municipal administrations paid into the coffers of the state, from the produce of the alum works, the sale of salt, and the dogana of Rome. Leo increased the number of offices to 2150, the yearly salaries of which were reckoned to amount to 320,000 scudi, and were a burden upon both church and state.

However censurable this prodigality, Leo was doubtless encouraged in it by finding that it produced, for the time, advantageous rather than mischievous effects. It was partly owing to this system of finance that Rome, at the period in question, rose to such an unexampled height of prosperity, since there was no place in the world where capital could be invested to so much advantage. The multitude of new offices, the vacancies, and consequent re-appointments, kept up a continual stir in the curia, and held out to all the prospect of easy advancement.

Another consequence was, that there was no necessity for burdening the public with new taxes; it is indisputable that the States of the Church compared with other provinces, and Rome with other cities, in Italy, were charged with the smallest amount of taxation. The Romans had already been told that whilst other cities furnished to their princes heavy loans and vexatious taxes, their master, the pope, on the contrary, made his subjects rich. A secretary of Clement VII, who shortly afterwards wrote an account of the conclave in which that pope was elected, expresses his astonishment that the Roman people were not more devoted to the holy see, since they suffered so little from taxation. "From Terracina to Piacenza," he exclaims, "the church possesses a large and fair portion of Italy; her dominion stretches out far and wide: nevertheless all these fertile lands and rich cities, which under any other government would be taxed for the maintenance of large armies, pay scarcely enough to the Roman pontiff to cover the expenses of their own administration."†

* The 612 *portionarii di ripa*—aggiunti al Collegio dei Presidenti—paid 286,200, and received 38,816 ducats a year: the 400 *cavalieri di S. Pietro* paid 400,000, and received in return 50,610 ducats a year.

† *Vianesius Albergatus, Commentarii Rerum sui temporis* (nothing in fact but the description of the conclave:) "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 mā-

It was evident, however, that this could only last as long as there remained a surplus in the public treasury. Leo had not yet succeeded in funding all his loans. Aluise Gaddi had advanced to him 32,000 ducats; Bernardo Bini 200,000. Salviati, Ridolfi, all his servants and dependents, had done their utmost to raise money for him; they founded their hopes of future compensation and gratitude, upon his generosity and his youth. They were utterly ruined by his early death.

Leo left his dominions in a state of exhaustion which his successor was not long in feeling.

The universal hatred which attached itself to the unfortunate Adrian, was chiefly owing to the measure he adopted of imposing a direct tax to relieve the extreme poverty to which he found himself reduced:—a hearth tax of half a ducat was imposed;* which was the more unpopular inasmuch as the Romans were little accustomed to such exactions.

Nor could Clement VII avoid levying new taxes: murmurs were raised against cardinal Armellino, who was regarded as the suggestor of these imposts, which were of an indirect kind; the augmentation of the duties levelled at the gates on articles of food, caused peculiar discontent, but the people were obliged to bear it.† Indeed, affairs were come to such a pass, that far stronger measures were imperiously demanded.

Hitherto, loans had been raised under the form of saleable offices; the financial transactions of Clement VII seem first to have approximated to genuine loans, at the important crisis when, in 1526, he took arms against Charles V.

On the former plan, the capital sunk in the purchase of the office was lost upon the death of the party, unless the family recovered it from the papal treasury. Now however Clement raised a capital of 200,060 ducats, which though not yielding so high a rate of interest as the places, still paid a considerable one, viz. ten per cent, which, moreover, went to the heirs. This is a “*monte non vacabile*,” the “*monte della fede*.” The interest was charged upon the dogana; and the monte was rendered more secure by giving a share in the management of the dogana to the creditors. It appears, however, that the old form was not wholly abandoned; the montists consti-

gistratumque expensam sufficere queat.” In the Narrative by Zorzi, 1517, the revenue drawn from Perugia, Spoleto, the March and Romagna, is reckoned, after a calculation by Francesco Armellino, to amount to 120,000 ducats. The half of this fell to the papal treasury. “*Di quel somma mità è per terra per pagar i legati et altri officii, e altra mità ha il papa.*” Unfortunately there is no small number of mistakes in the copy of the Narrative in Sanuto.

* Hieronymo Negro a Marc-Antonio Micheli, 7 April, 1523: *Lettere di Principi*, i, p. 114.

† Foscarì, *Relatione*, 1526: “*E qualche murmuration in Roma etiam per causa del cardinal Armellin, qual truova nuove invention per trovar danari in Roma, e fa metter nove angarie, e fino chi porta tordi a Roma et altre cose di manzar paga tanto: la qual angaria importa da duc. 2500.*”

tuted a college; a few undertakers of the loan paid the whole amount into the treasury, and then disposed of the shares among the members of the college.

May it not be said, that the state creditors, in so far as they had claims upon the public revenue and on the produce of the labor of the community, acquired a sort of share in the government? At any rate so the matter appeared to be understood in Rome, and no capitalist would lend his money without the form of such participation.

This however was, as will appear, the commencement of the most extensive financial operations.

Paul III proceeded in them with moderation. He contented himself with reducing the interest of the "monte Clementino;" and as he succeeded in making new assignments of it, he raised the capital by one half. He did not establish any new monte, but the creation of six hundred new offices amply indemnified him for this forbearance. The measures by which he rendered himself remarkable in the financial history of the papal dominions, were of a different character.

We have already seen what excitement was produced by his increase of the salt duty; this he consequently abandoned, but instead of it, he introduced the direct tax of the "sussidio," with the most solemn promise that it should not be permanent. This is the same tax, which, under different names, was at that time levied in so many of the southern states; in Spain it was called the "servicio," in Naples, the "donativo," and in Milan, the "mensuale." In the States of the Church it was originally introduced for three years, and fixed at the sum of 300,000 scudi. The contribution of each province was sent to Rome; the provincial parliaments met to apportion the contingents of the various cities, which were again subdivided between the several cities and the rural population of their dependencies. It included everybody; the bull expressly ordered that all the lay subjects of the Roman church, even those enjoying exemptions and privileges, marquises, barons, feudal tenants and official persons not excepted, should be rated to this contribution.*

The "sussidio" however was not paid without vehement complaints, particularly when it was perceived that it was extended from one period of three years to another; indeed it was never abolished, but was always imperfectly collected.† The inhabitants of Bologna, which had been assessed at 30,000 scudi, were prudent enough to buy their exemption for ever, by paying a large sum down; Parma and Piacenza were alienated from the holy see, and

* Bullar. In the year 1537, he declares to the French ambassador, "la débilite du revenu de l'église [and consequently of the state], dont elle n'avait point maintenant 40^m. escus de rente par an de quoi elle puisse faire estat. Ribier, i, 69.

† Bull; Decens esse censemus: 5 Sept. 1543; Bull. Cocq. iv, i, 225.

paid no more; Fano affords an example of what occurred in other towns. Under the pretext of being rated too high, this town refused for some time to pay its contingent, and Paul III on one occasion was induced to remit the payment of the instalments due, but on condition that the amount should be applied to the repair of the fortifications; a third of the contribution was afterwards remitted to the same purpose. Nevertheless, the descendants of these same men continued to complain that they were assessed too highly; the rural districts incessantly murmured at the contingent they were obliged by the town to contribute; they endeavored to free themselves from the dominion of the town council, and, as that body asserted its sovereignty, they would gladly have placed themselves under the protection of the Duke of Urbino. It would lead us too far from our subject, were we to follow out the conflict of these petty interests. It is sufficient for our purpose to see how it came to pass that not above one half of the "sussidio" actually found its way into the treasury.* In 1560, the whole produce of this tax was estimated at 165,000 scudi.

Be this as it may, this pope had greatly raised the revenues of the Ecclesiastical States; under Julius II, these were estimated at 350,000, under Leo at 420,000, under Clement VII, in the year 1526, at 500,000 scudi. Immediately after the death of Paul III, we learn from an authentic report which the Venetian minister Dandolo procured from the treasury, that they amounted to 706,473 scudi.

Nevertheless, his successors did not find themselves much the richer. In one of his instructions Julius III complains that his predecessor had completely alienated the revenue, (doubtless with the exception of the "sussidio," which could not be alienated, as it was nominally granted only for three years,) and besides this, had left behind him a floating debt of 500,000 scudi.†

In spite of this state of things, however, Julius III entered into a war with the French and the Farnesi, and thus plunged the country into the greatest embarrassments. Although the imperialists paid him, for those times at least, a considerable subsidy, his letters contain the bitterest complaints. "He had expected to raise 100,000 scudi in Ancona—of this he had not received 100,000 bajocchi; instead of 120,000 scudi from Bologna, he had only received 50,000. The promises of the Genoese and Lucchese mo-

* Bull of Paul IV: *Cupientes Indemnitati*; 15 April, 1559: Bullar. Cocq. iv, i, 358: "Exactio, causantibus diversis exceptionibus libertatibus et immunitatibus a solutione ipsius subsidii diversis communitatibus et universitatibus et particularibus personis nec non civitatibus terris oppidis et locis Nostri Status Ecclesiastici concessis, et factis diversarum portionum ejusdem subsidii donationibus seu remissionibus, vix ad dimidium summæ trecentorum millium scutorum hujusmodi ascendit."

† *Instruzione per voi Monsignore d'Imola, ultimo di Marzo, 1551: Informazioni Polit.*, vol. xii.

ney-changers were recalled almost as soon as made; whoever possessed a carline, held it back, and would not speculate with it.”*

The pope was compelled to resort to more energetic measures, if he wished to keep his army on foot; he therefore determined to establish a new monte, and this he did on a plan which was almost invariably imitated in later times. He laid a new tax of two carlines upon every rubbio of flour; this produced, after all charges of collection, the sum of 30,000 scudi, which was assigned to pay the interest of a capital forthwith raised: this was the origin of the “monte della farina.” We must observe how nearly similar this is to the earlier financial operations: in exactly the same manner as, at a former period, new ecclesiastical offices were created, and the salaries assigned upon the revenues of the curia (revenues which it was the object of the measure to increase,) for the sole purpose of raising the sum required for immediate use, by the sale of these places; so the income of the state was now augmented by means of a new impost, which only served to pay the interest of a large capital, that could not otherwise have been obtained.

All succeeding popes followed in the same track; sometimes these “monti” were “non vacabili,” like that of Clement; at other times they were “vacabili,” that is, the obligation to pay interest ceased on the death of the creditor; the interest was, in this case, higher, and the collegiate character given to the montists approached more nearly to that of holders of saleable offices. Paul IV established the “monte novennale de frati,” on an impost levied upon the regular monastic orders; Pius IV laid a tax of a quatrino upon every pound of meat, with which he founded the “monte Pio non vacabile,” which produced about 170,000 scudi. Pius V added another quatrino upon every pound of meat, and upon this established the “monte lega.”

By keeping the development of this system in view, we acquire a more distinct and precise idea of the character of the Ecclesiastical States. What were the necessities which compelled the popes to resort to this extraordinary mode of raising loans, which burthened their territory with such an immediate weight of taxation? We answer, chiefly the necessities of catholicism. As the time for giving effect to the purely political views of the papacy was past, there remained only the ecclesiastical which could be pursued with any prospect of success. The support of catholic powers in their contests with protestants and their enterprises against the Turks, was now almost invariably the proximate cause of new financial operations. The monte of Pius V was called the “monte lega,” because the money produced by it was intended for the Turkish war, which that pope undertook, in conjunction with Spain and Venice. We shall find this to be the case more and more. Every commotion in Europe affected the States of the Church in this

* Il Papa, a Giovamb. di Monte, 2 April, 1552.

manner. On almost every occasion, Rome was obliged to contribute to the defence of ecclesiastical interests by some new burthen on her own subjects. Hence the possession of a state, and the command of its resources, was so important to the ecclesiastical position of the popes.

But they did not rest satisfied with the funds produced by the *monti*; they continued the old practice of creating new offices, or "cavalierate," with peculiar privileges; whether it was that the salaries were, as before, covered by new taxes, or that the then remarkable diminution in the value of money caused larger sums to flow into the treasury.*

Hence it happened that the revenue of the popes, with the exception of a short falling off under Paul IV, in consequence of the war he was engaged in, was constantly on the increase. Even under Paul it rose again to 700,000 scudi, and under Pius it was reckoned at 898,482 scudi. Paolo Tiepolo expresses his astonishment, in 1576, after an absence of nine years, at finding the revenue increased by the sum of 200,000 scudi, and amounting in the whole to 1,100,000 scudi. It is a curious fact, but an inevitable consequence of the system, that the popes did not in reality receive more money. The alienations increased in proportion to the taxes. It was reckoned that under Julius III, the sum of 54,000 scudi, under Paul IV, 45,960, and under Pius IV, who hesitated at nothing, the sum of 182,550 scudi was alienated from the public revenue. Pius IV raised the number of saleable offices to three thousand five hundred, exclusive, of course, of the *monti*, which were not reckoned among the offices.† Under this pope the total amount of the alienated funds rose to 450,000 scudi, and was constantly on the increase, so that in the year 1576, it amounted to 530,000 scudi. Thus, whatever was the increase in the revenue, these alienations swallowed up nearly one-half of it.‡

The accounts of the papal revenues in these times present a remarkable aspect. At every article, after the sums have been specified which the farmers of the revenue had contracted to pay, (the contracts with whom were usually made for a period of nine years,) it is also stated how much was alienated. The *dogana* of Rome, for example, yielded in 1576 and the following years, the large sum of 133,000 scudi, of which however 111,170 were assigned, and,

* Thus, about the year 1580, many "luoghi di monte" stood at 100, instead of 130: the interest of the "vacabili" was reduced from 14 to 9, which effected a great saving on the whole.

† *Lista degli Ufficii della Corte Romana, 1560: Chigi Library, No. ii, 50.* Many other separate lists of different years.

‡ Tiepolo reckons that, besides 100,000 scudi for services, 270,000 were spent on fortifications and legations; the pope had thus 200,000 still left free. He calculates that, under the pretext of the necessities of the Turkish war, the popes had received 1,800,000 scudi, and as yet, had only applied 340,000 to that use.

after other deductions, the treasury actually received only 13,000 scudi. Some taxes upon corn, meat and wine, were completely lost to the state, and were wholly absorbed by the payment of the monti. From many provincial chests, called treasuries, which also had to meet the exigences of the provinces—for example, from the March and from Camerino—the papal treasury received not a single bajocco, and yet the sussidio was often applied to the same purpose. Such large sums were secured upon the alum works of Tolfa, which had formerly always been reckoned upon as a source of revenue, that there was actually a deficit of 2,000 scudi.*

The pope's personal expenses and those of his establishment were chiefly charged upon the dataria, which possessed two distinct sources of income. The one ecclesiastical, produced by compositions or fixed fines, on payment of which the datario permitted various canonical irregularities, on the translation from one benefice to another. Paul IV had greatly diminished this source of profit by the strictness of his measures, but it gradually increased again. The other was rather of a temporal nature; it arose from the vacancies, and consequent new appointments to the "cavaliere," saleable offices, and places in the "monti vacabili;" and it increased in proportion to the number of these appointments.† Both together however did not amount in 1570 to more than sufficient to cover the daily expenses of the pope's household.

This course of things completely altered the position of the Roman State, which, from having been celebrated as the least burthened among the Italian states, now suffered as much or more from taxation than any other,‡ and the inhabitants complained loudly. Little remained of their former municipal independence. The administration gradually became more uniform. The powers of government were, in earlier times, frequently delivered over to some favorite cardinal or prelate, who turned them to his own profit. The countrymen of the popes—for example, the Florentines under the Medici, the Neapolitans under Paul IV, and the Milanese under Pius IV—then always enjoyed the best places; this system was abolished by Pius V. These favorites had never themselves carried on the government committed to their charge, but had always left it to the direction of a doctor of laws.§ Pius

* E. G. Entrata della Reverenda Camera Apostolica sotto il Pontificato di N. S. Gregorio XIII, fatta neil' Anno 1576. MS. Gothana, No. 219.

† According to Mocenigo, 1560, the dataria, at an earlier period, produced between 10,000 and 14,000 ducats monthly. Under Paul IV, it fell to between 3,000 and 4,000.

‡ Paolo Tiepolo, *Relatione di Roma in tempo di Pio IV e Pio V*, at that time says, "L' impositione allo Stato Ecclesiastico e gravezza quasi insopportabile per essere per diversi altri conti molto aggravato; — — — d' alienare più entrate della chiese, non vi e più ordine, perche quasi tutte l' entrate certe si trovano gia alienate e sopra l' incerto non si trovava chi desse danari."

§ Tiepolo, *ibid.*: "Qualche governo o legatione rispondeva sino a tre, quattro o forse sette mila e più scudi l' anno. E quasi tutti allegramente ricevendo il

V appointed this doctor himself, and applied to the treasury the money which before had gone to enrich the favorites. Everything was conducted with more order and decorum. In former days a militia had been established in the country, and 16,000 men enrolled; Pius IV had maintained a corps of light cavalry; Pius V abolished both the one and the other; he disbanded the cavalry, the militia was suffered to fall into disuse. His whole armed force did not amount to 500 men, of whom 350, chiefly Swiss, were in Rome. Had it not been for the necessity of protecting the sea coasts from the inroads of the Turks, the use of arms would almost have been forgotten. This warlike population seemed inclined to devote itself exclusively to the arts of peace. The popes wished to rule their land like a large domain, the rents of which should, in part, be applied to their household expenses, but the chief portion should go to meet the exigences of the church.

We shall see the great difficulties they encountered in their attempts to realise this project.

§ 3. THE TIMES OF GREGORY XIII, AND SIXTUS V.

GREGORY XIII.

Gregory XIII, Ugo Buoncompagno of Bologna, who had risen in life as a jurist, and in the civil service, was of a cheerful, jovial nature; he had a son, born indeed before he was invested with spiritual dignities, but out of wedlock, and although he afterwards led a more regular life, he was at no time scrupulous; on the contrary, he rather manifested his disapprobation of a certain kind of austerity. He appeared to follow the example of Pius IV, whose ministers he instantly restored to their places, rather than that of his immediate predecessor.*

But in this pope we see the potent influence of public opinion. A century earlier he would have governed, at most, like an Innocent VIII. Now, on the contrary, even a man of his character could not emancipate himself from the severe ecclesiastical spirit of the age.

There was a party at court who made it their chief business to uphold and to defend this spirit. It consisted of Jesuits, Theatins, and their adherents. We find the names of monsignori Frumento and Corniglia, the intrepid preacher Francesco Toledo, and the

denaro si scaricavano del peso del governo col mettere un dottore in luogo loro."

* People expected he would rule differently from his predecessors: "Mitiori quadam hominumque captui accommodatori ratione." *Commentarii de rebus Gregorii XIII*, (MS. Bibl. Alb.)

datarius Contarelli. Their power over the pope was the more absolute from their union. They represented to him that the respect which Pius V enjoyed, mainly arose from his personal character and conduct; all the letters which they read aloud to him dwelt on the memory of the holy life of the departed, on the fame of his reforms and his virtues. They suppressed or avoided every contrary expression. They thus tinged the ambition of Gregory XIII with a thoroughly spiritual color.*

His most ardent desire was to promote his son, and to elevate him to princely rank. But at the very first favor that he showed him, the nominating him castellan of St. Angelo and gonfaloniere of the church, Gregory's friends alarmed his conscience; and, during the jubilee of 1575, they would not tolerate Giacomo's presence in Rome. It was not till this was over that they consented to his return, and then only because the vexation of the aspiring young man impaired his health. Gregory then disposed of him in marriage, and prevailed on the republic of Venice to create him one of its nobili,† and the king of Spain to appoint him general of his *hommes d'armes*. Nevertheless he did not relax the vigilant restraint in which he kept him. Having attempted to liberate one of his university friends from custody, the pope sent him again into exile, and threatened to deprive him of all his offices; he was only deterred from this severity by the prayers of Giacomo's young wife, who fell at his feet and implored his pardon. The time for any more ambitious hopes was long past.‡ It was not till the close of the pope's life that his son obtained influence over him, and even then it was by no means absolute in important affairs of state.§ When any one craved his intercession, he shrugged his shoulders.

If this was the case with his son, how much less could any other

* *Relatione della corte di Roma a tempo di Gregorio XIII*, (Bibl. Corsini, 714.) 20 Febr., 1574, is very instructive on this point. The author says of the disposition of the pope, "Non è stato scrupoloso nè dissoluto mai e le son dispiaciute le cose mal fatte."

† On this occasion they had the difficult task of describing his birth. It has been praised as an evidence of Venetian address, that he was designated as "Signor Giacomo Boncompagno, closely connected with His Holiness;" but it was, in fact, an evasion of cardinal Como's. When the matter was under discussion, the ambassador asked the minister, whether Giacomo should be called the son of His Holiness. "S. S^{gr}ia Ill^{ma} prontamente dopo avere scusato con molte parole il fatto di S. S., che prima che avesse alcuno ordine ecclesiastico, generasse questo figliuolo, disse: 'che si potrebbe nominarlo per il S^r Jacomo Boncompagno Bolognese, strettamente congiunto con Sua Santità.'" *Dispaccio*, Paolo Tiepolo, 3 Marzo, 1574.

‡ Antonio Tiepolo, *Dispacci*, Agosto Sett., 1576. In the year 1583, (29th of March,) it is said in one of these despatches: "Il S^r Giacomo non si lascia intromettere in cose di stato."

§ It is only at this latter period that the opinion of him is true, which has taken such firm root, and which, for instance, I find, even in the *Memoirs of Richelieu*: "Prince doux et bénin, fut meilleur homme que bon pape." We shall see in how limited a degree this is true.

relations hope for irregular favors, or a share in the supreme power! Gregory raised two of his nephews to the cardinalate—this was no more than Pius V had done; when a third, presuming on their success, came to solicit promotion, his uncle refused him an audience and ordered him to quit Rome within two days. The pope's brother had also set out for Rome that he might enjoy the sight of the prosperity which had befallen his house; he had already reached Orvieto, when he was met by a messenger of the court who desired him to return. The old man's eyes filled with tears, and he could not resist advancing a little further on his way towards Rome; but there a second prohibition met him, and he returned to Bologna.*

In short, this pope cannot be reproached with having encouraged nepotism, or favored his kindred at the expense of the laws and the public. When a newly appointed cardinal once said to him, that he should ever be grateful to the family and the nephews of his holiness, he struck the arms of the chair on which he was sitting with his hands, and exclaimed, "Be grateful to God and to the holy sec."

So thoroughly was he already imbued with the religious spirit. He endeavored not only to equal, but to surpass, Pius V, in devout demeanor.† During the first years of his pontificate he read mass thrice every week, and he never failed to do so on Sundays. His life and conversation were not only blameless, but edifying.

Never did pope perform certain duties of his office with more fidelity than Gregory. He kept a list of men of every country who were likely to acquit themselves well as bishops, showed himself well informed of the characters and qualifications of every one who was proposed to him, and exhibited the greatest caution in the appointments to these important offices.

Above all, he labored to encourage a strictly ecclesiastical course of instruction. He contributed to the increase of Jesuits' colleges with extraordinary liberality. He made considerable presents to the establishment of the professed members in Rome, bought houses, inclosed streets, and allotted revenues, for the purpose of giving to the whole college the form in which we still see it. It was calculated to contain twenty lecture rooms, and three hundred and sixty cells for students. It was called the Seminary of all Nations; and, at its first opening, to show that it was intended to embrace the whole world, twenty-five speeches were spoken in as

* The good man complained that the election of his brother to the papal chair was of more injury than advantage to himself, since it obliged him to greater expenses than could be covered by the allowance granted by Gregory.

† *Seconda Relazione dell' Ambasciatore di Roma Cl^{mo} M. Paolo Tiepolo, Cav^o, 3 Maggio, 1576:* "Nella religione ha tolto non solo d' imitar, ma ancora d'avanzar Pio V: dice per l'ordinario almeno tre volte messa alla settimana. Ha avuto particolar cura delle chiese, facendole non solo con fabbriche et altri modi ornar, ma ancora colla assistentia e frequentia di preti accrescer nel culto divino."

many languages, each followed by a Latin interpretation.* The "collegium Germanicum," which was founded earlier, was in danger of total extinction from want of funds: the pope not only gave the Palazzo Sant' Apollinare, and the revenues of San Stefano on Monte Celio, but also granted it ten thousand scudi from the apostolic treasury. Gregory may be regarded as the real founder of this institution, which yearly furnished Germany with a number of champions of catholicism. He also founded an English college at Rome, and provided funds for its maintenance. He contributed to the colleges at Vienna and Grätz out of his private purse, and there was perhaps not a single Jesuits' school in the world which had not cause to boast in one way or other of his liberality. By the advice of the bishop of Sitia, he also founded a Greek college, in which boys of from thirteen to sixteen were received, not only from countries which were under Christian rule, such as Corfù and Candia, but also from Constantinople, Morea, and Salonichi; they had Greek teachers, they were dressed in the caftan and the Venetian baret, and were made to retain all their Greek customs, and to keep always before their minds that they were destined to return to their native land. They were allowed to retain not only their language, but their rite, and were instructed in the faith according to the rules of the council by which the Greek and Latin churches were united.†

Another proof of Gregory's comprehensive care for the whole catholic world, was, his reform of the calendar. This measure had been desired by the council of Trent; and the removal of the high festivals of the church from the connection in which they had been placed to the seasons of the year by decrees of councils, rendered it indispensable. All catholic nations took part in this reform. Luigi Lilio, a Calabrese, who had few other claims to distinction, acquired immortal fame by discovering the easiest method of remedying the inconvenience. His plan was communicated to all universities—among them, to Salamanca and Alcala—and opinions upon it were collected from all quarters. It was then subjected to the scrutiny of a commission appointed in Rome, whose most learned and laborious member was a German, Clavius;‡ and by this body the final decision was given. The learned cardinal Sirleto had the greatest influence on the whole proceeding. It was conducted with a sort of mystery; the new calendar was shown to no one, not even to the ambassadors, until it had been approved by the several courts.§

* Dispaccio, Donato, 13 Genn., 1582.

† Dispaccio, Antonio Tiepolo, 16 Marzo, 1577: "accio che fatto maggiori possano affettionatamente e con la verità imparata dar a vedere ai suoi Greci la vera via."

‡ Erythræus, "in quibus Christophorus Clavius principem locum obtinebat."

§ Dispaccio, Donato, 20 Dec., 1581; 2 Giugno, 1582. He praises the cardinal as a "huomo veramente di grande litteratura."

Gregory then solemnly proclaimed it, dwelling on this reform as a proof of the immeasurable grace of God to his church.*

But the exertions of this pope were not all of so pacific a nature. It made him unhappy, that the Venetians concluded a peace, and afterwards Philip II a truce, with the Turks. Had it depended on him, the league which won the battle of Lepanto would never have been dissolved. The troubles in the Netherlands and in France, and the conflict of parties in Germany, furnished a boundless field to his activity. He was unwearied in devising projects against the protestants. The rebellions which queen Elizabeth had to contend with in Ireland were almost always abetted by Rome; and indeed the pope did not conceal that he wished to bring about a general combination against England. Year after year his nuncios endeavored to negotiate this matter with Philip II and the Guises. It would be an interesting labor to collect and arrange all these negotiations and projects, which were often unknown to those whose ruin they were designed to accomplish, and which at length led to the grand enterprise of the armada. Gregory conducted and urged them with the most ardent zeal. The French league, which was so perilous to Henry III and IV, had its origin in the connection of this pontiff with the Guises.

Although it must be admitted that Gregory XIII did not burden the state with his kinsmen, yet the vast and costly enterprises in which he engaged were a far more formidable charge on the public revenues. Even Stukeley's expedition which terminated so disastrously in Africa, insignificant as it was, cost him a considerable sum. He once sent Charles IX 400,000 ducats, raised by a direct tax, levied on the cities of the Roman States; and he afforded frequent subsidies to the emperor and to the grand master of Malta. But his pacific undertakings also required a large outlay. It was calculated that the maintenance of young men during their studies cost him two millions.† What then must he have expended on the twenty-two Jesuits' colleges which owed their existence to him?

Hence he frequently found himself involved in financial difficulties, with a revenue which, though constantly increasing, never yielded a disposable surplus.

Shortly after his accession to the throne, the Venetians made an attempt to induce him to grant them a loan. With increasing attention Gregory listened to the detailed proposals of the ambassador, but when at length he perceived what he was aiming at, he exclaimed, "What do you ask, sir ambassador? The congregation

* Bull of the 13th of Feb., 1582. § 12. Bullar. Cocq. iv, 4, 10.

† Calculation of Baronius. Possevinus, in Ciacconius Vitæ Pontificum, iv, 37. Lorenzo Priuli calculates that he spent 200,000 scudi yearly on "opere pie." The extracts from the narratives of the Cardinal di Como and Musotti, given by Cocquelines at the end of the Annals of Maffei, are the most circumstantial and worthy of belief on this point.

meets every day to devise means of raising money, and never hits upon a practicable expedient.”*

The financial administration of Gregory XIII was now a matter of paramount importance. The alienations and the imposition of fresh taxes were already become subjects of censure; the questionable, nay, the ruinous nature of such a system, was thoroughly perceived. Gregory charged the congregation with the business of raising money for him, but it was to be neither by spiritual grants, nor by new taxes, nor by the sale of ecclesiastical revenues.

What means then remained? The expedients resorted to were very remarkable—and not less so the results which they produced.

Gregory, who undeviatingly followed an absolute idea of right, thought he had discovered that the sovereign of the papal dominions possessed many prerogatives which he needed only to put in force, in order to obtain new pecuniary resources.† He was not at all inclined to respect privileges which stood in his way. Among other things, he abolished, without the least scruple, the right possessed by the Venetians of exporting wheat from the March and Ravenna, under certain advantageous conditions. He said it was fair that foreigners should pay as much duty as natives.‡ As they made some resistance, he caused their warehouses at Ravenna to be broken open, the contents of them to be sold by auction, and the owners to be imprisoned. This incident alone, however, does not prove much; it only shows the mode in which he intended to proceed. A far more important thing was, that he thought he discovered a number of abuses amongst the nobles of his dominions, the reform of which might be turned to the account of the treasury. His secretary of the treasury, Rudolfo Buonfigliuolo, suggested a scheme for a vast extension and renewal of feudal claims which were almost forgotten. He alleged that a great portion of the castles and estates of the barons of the papal dominions had escheated to the pope, some by the failure of the lineal heirs, others by the non-payment of the rent due to the government.§ Nothing could be more acceptable than such a suggestion to the pope, who had already acquired some such estates, by purchase or escheat, and he immediately proceeded to act upon it. In the mountains of Romagna he wrested Castelnuovo from the Isei of Cesena, and Corcana from the Sassatelli of Imola. Lonzano, situated on its beautiful hill, and Savignano in the plain, were confiscated from the

* Dispaccio, 14 Marzo, 1573. It is a “Congregatione deputata sopra fa provisione di danari.”

† Maffei: *Annali di Gregorio XIII*, i, p. 104. He reckons, that the States of the Church yielded a clear income of 160,000 scudi only.

‡ Dispaccio, Antonio Tiepolo, 12 April, 1577.

§ Dispaccio, A. Tiepolo, 12 Genn., 1579: “Il commissario della camera attende con molta diligentia a ritrovare e rivedere scritture per ricuperare quanto dalli pontefici passati si è stato obligato o dato in pegno ad alcuno, e vedendo che S. S. gli assentisse volentieri, non la sparagna o porta rispetto ad alcuno.”

Rangoni of Modena. Alberto Pio voluntarily ceded Bertinoro, to avoid the suit with which the treasury threatened him; but not satisfied with this, it stripped him also of Verucchio and other places. From this time he came on every festival of St. Peter to offer the arrears of rent due; but they were never accepted. These instances occurred in Romagna alone; but the other provinces were treated in the same manner. The papal court laid claim not only to estates of which the feudal services had not been rendered; there were some which had originally only been mortgaged to the barons—an origin of their tenure which had long fallen into oblivion; the estate had passed from father to son as if held in fee, and had been greatly improved: it was now the pleasure of the pope and his fiscal commissaries to redeem the mortgages. In this way they took possession of the Castle of Sitiano, by paying down the 14,000 scudi for which it had been mortgaged—a sum far below its actual value.

The pope congratulated himself greatly on these proceedings. He thought he had established a fresh claim to the favor of heaven when he had succeeded in raising the revenues of the church, if only by ten scudi, provided it were done without new taxes. He calculated with satisfaction that in a short time an addition of 100,000 scudi would be made, by legal means, to the revenue of his states. What increased resources would this give for expeditions against heretics and infidels! At court his measures were generally approved. "This pope is called 'the Watchful,' (the signification of the name Gregory)" says the cardinal of Como; "he will watch and recover his own."*

In the country, however, which was under the influence of the aristocracy, these measures made a very different impression.

Many great families found themselves suddenly driven out of an estate to which they believed themselves to have an indisputable legal title. Others were threatened with a similar fate. Old papers were daily searched through in Rome, and daily new claims grounded upon them. In a short time no man thought himself secure, and many determined rather to defend their property with arms than to deliver it up to the fiscal commissary. One of these feudatories told the pope to his face,—“What’s lost is lost; but one has at least a kind of pleasure in making a good defence.”

In consequence of the influence of the nobles on the peasantry, and on the “nobili” of the neighboring towns, this violent expedient for raising money occasioned a ferment throughout the country.

This was heightened by other ill-concerted measures by which the pope occasioned very grievous losses to certain cities. For ex-

* *Dispaccio*, 21 Ott., 1581: “Sono molti anni che la chiesa non ha havuto pontefice di questo nome Gregorio, che secundo la sua etimologia Greca vuol dire ‘vigilante:’ questo che è Gregorio è vigilante, vuol vigilare e ricuperare il suo, e li par di far un gran servitio, quando ricupera alcuna cosa, benchè minima.”

ample, he raised the duties of the port of Ancona, with the notion that the increase would fall upon the foreign merchants, and not upon the country. He thus inflicted a blow on that city from which it never recovered: trade suddenly withdrew itself, and the removal of the increased duties, and even the restoration of their old privileges to the Ragusans, proved but feeble remedies for the injury they had sustained.

The event brought about by this policy was most unexpected and peculiar.

Obedience to authority rests, in every country, but especially in one of so peaceful a character, on voluntary subordination. The elements of commotion were here not removed nor suppressed: they were only concealed by the domination of the government, so that when subordination gave way on one point, these elements all burst forth and appeared in full conflict. The country seemed suddenly to wake to the recollection, how warlike, how skilful in arms, how independent in its parties, it had been for centuries; it began to scorn this government of priests and doctors, and to relapse into a state more congenial to its nature.

Not that people directly opposed the government, or revolted against it; but the old feuds revived on every side.

The whole of Romagna was already divided into factions. In Ravenna there were the Rasponi and the Leonardi, in Rimini the Ricciardelli and the Tignoli, in Cesena the Venturelli and the Bottini, in Forlì the Numai and the Sirugli, in Imola the Vicini and the Sassatelli, arrayed against each other; the former of all these were still Ghibellines, the latter Guelfs; and even after interests had entirely changed, the names came into use afresh. The parties often possessed themselves of different quarters and different churches; they were distinguished by little badges, such as, that the Guelfs wore the feather on the right side of the hat, the Ghibellines on the left.* The feud spread into the smallest villages; not a man would have spared the life of his own brother if he declared himself for the opposite faction. There were instances of men putting their wives to death that they might marry into families belonging to their party. The Pacifici had lost all their influence, the more completely, because unfit people had been admitted into the fraternity from favor. The factions took justice into their own hands, and often pronounced those guiltless who had been condemned by the papal tribunals. They broke open prisons to liberate their friends, or to take vengeance on their enemies, whose heads were often seen the following day stuck up around the fountains.†

* The *Relatione di Romagna* points out the differences "nel tagliar del pane, nel cingersi, in portare il pennacchio, fiocco o fiore al capello o all' orecchio."

† In the MS. Sixtus V, Pontifex M., (Altieri Library at Rome,) there is the most detailed description of this state of affairs. An extract from it is in the Appendix, No. 52.

The sovereign power was now so weak, that in the March, the Campagna, and all the provinces, the troops of outlawed bandits grew into small armies. They scoured the country under the conduct of Alfonso Piccolomini, Roberto Malatesta, and other young men of the most illustrious families. Piccolomini took the town house at Monte Abboddo, hunted out all his antagonists, and had them put to death before the eyes of their wives and mothers; nine of the name of Gabuzio shared this fate, while Piccolomini's followers danced in the market-place. He marched through the country as its sovereign, nor did even the ague arrest his course; on the day of the fever fit he caused himself to be carried in a litter at the head of his troops. He sent word to the inhabitants of Corneto that they had better make haste to finish their harvest, for that he was coming to burn all the crops of his enemy, Latino Orsino. In his own person he affected a sort of honor: thus, on one occasion, when he took away the letters with which a courier was charged, he did not touch the man's money: but the rapacity and lust of plunder of his troops knew no bounds. Delegates were now sent from the towns in every direction to Rome, to implore succor.* The pope increased his forces, and conferred on cardinal Sforza larger powers than any man had possessed since the time of cardinal Albornoz; he had authority to proceed not only without regard to any special privileges, but unrestrained by any rule of law; nay, even without any trial whatsoever; *manu regia*.†—Giacomo Buoncompagno took the field, and together they succeeded in dispersing these bands of brigands and clearing the country, but as soon as they retired from a spot the old disorders arose again in their rear.

One circumstance especially contributed to render these evils irremediable.

Gregory XIII, who is often represented as good-natured to excess, had nevertheless formed the highest and most rigorous estimate of his rights, not only as temporal prince, but as pontiff.‡ He showed no favor to the emperor or to the king of Spain, nor did he

* Dispacci, Donato, del 1582, passim.

† Brief for Sforza, given in the Dispacci: "Omnimodam facultatem, potestatem, auctoritatem, et arbitrium, contra quoscunque bannitos, facinorosos, receptatores, fautores, complices et sequaces, etc., nec non contra communitates, universitates et civitates, terras et castra, et alios cujuscunque dignitatis vel præminentia, barones, duces, et quavis autoritate fungentes, et extrajudicialiter et juris ordine non servato, etiam sine processu et scripturis, et manu regia illosque omnes et singulos puniendi tam in rebus in bonis quam in personis."

‡ P. Tiepolo makes this remark as early as 1576: "Quanto piu cerca d'acquistarsi nome di giusto, tanto piu lo perde di gratioso, perche concede moltomono gratie extraordinarie di quel che ha fatto altro pontefice di molti anni in qua:—la qual cosa, aggiunta al mancamento ch'è in lui di certi officii grati et accetti per la difficulta massimamente naturale che ha nel parlar e per le pochissimo parole che in ciascuna occasione usa, fa ch'egli in gran parte manca di quella gratia appresso le persone."

show the least regard to his neighbors. He was involved in a thousand disputes with Venice, (as for instance concerning the affair of Aquileja, the visitation of their churches, and other points;) the ambassadors could not describe his violence at the least mention of these matters, or what intense bitterness he displayed. The same was the case with Tuscany and Naples; Ferrara found no favor; Parma had shortly before lost considerable sums in legal disputes with him. All these neighboring powers saw the pope involved in such annoying perplexities with pleasure; they scrupled not to give asylum to the bandits, who, on the first opportunity, returned to the Ecclesiastical States. In vain did the pope entreat them to desist; they professed to think it extraordinary that, after totally disregarding the interests or the complaints of all others, Rome set up claims to the services and the respect of every one.*

Gregory thus found it impossible ever to reduce the outlaws to submission. No taxes were paid, and the *sussidio* could not be collected. Universal discontent overspread the land; even cardinals suggested the question, whether it would not be better to attach themselves to some other state.

In this posture of things the execution of the measures proposed by the secretary of the treasury was out of the question. In December, 1581, the Venetian ambassador distinctly announced, that the pope had put a stop to all proceedings in matters of confiscation.

He was compelled to permit Piccolomini to come to Rome and to present a petition to him.† He shuddered as he read the long catalogue of murders which he was required to pardon, and laid it on the table; but he was told that one of three things was inevitable;—either he must expect his son Giacomo to fall a victim to the vengeance of Piccolomini, or he must resolve to put Piccolomini to death, or to grant him free pardon. The father confessors of St. John Lateran declared that, though they dared not violate the secrecy of the confessional, they were permitted to say thus much—that if something was not done, a great calamity would ensue. Another reason was, that Piccolomini was openly protected by the grand duke of Tuscany, and then inhabited the palace of the Medici.

At last the pope consented—though with a heart wounded to the core—and signed the brief of absolution.

But even by this concession he did not restore tranquillity to the country. His own capital was full of bandits, and things were in so desperate a condition that the city magistracy of the “conserva-

* *Dispaccio*, Donato, 10 Sett., 1588: “E una cosa grande che con non dar mai satisfatione nissuna si pretende d’ avere da altri in quello che tocca alla liberta dello stato suo correntemente ogni sorte d’ ossequio.”

† Donato, 9 April, 1583: “Il sparagnar la spesa e l’assicurar il Signor Giacomo, che lo desiderava, et il fuggir l’occasione di disgustarsi ogni di piu per questo con Fiorenza si come ogni di avveniva, ha fatto venir S. S. in questa resolutione.”

tori" was obliged to interpose to secure obedience to the pope's police. A certain Marianazzo refused the pardon offered him; he said that the life of a bandit was more advantageous to him, and afforded him greater security.*

The aged pope, feeble and weary of life, cast his eyes to Heaven, and cried, "Thou wilt arise, O Lord, and wilt have mercy upon Zion!"

§ 4. SIXTUS V.

It sometimes appears as if tumult and disorder possessed some secret power of producing the man capable of ruling the storm.

While, throughout the world, hereditary monarchies or aristocracies transmitted power from generation to generation, the spiritual sovereignty was distinguished by being attainable from the lowest ranks of society. It was from the humblest station that a pope now arose, endowed with all the qualities requisite to crush the disturbances that prevailed.

At the time of the first successful progress of the Ottoman arms in Illyria and Dalmatia, many of the inhabitants of those provinces fled into Italy. Groups of them were seen sitting on the sea-shore and raising their hands to Heaven. Among such fugitives, the ancestor of Sixtus V, Zanetto Peretti, a Slavonian by birth, probably passed over into Italy.

But, as is often the fate of exiles, neither he nor his posterity, who had settled in Montalto, could boast of any remarkable good fortune in the country of their adoption. Peretto Peretti, the father of Sixtus V, was obliged to quit that city on account of debt; and it was not till his marriage, that he was enabled to hire a garden at Grotto a Mare, near Fermo. It was a remarkable spot: the ruins of a temple of the Etrurian Juno Cupræa stood amidst the trees and shrubs of the garden, which, as Fermo enjoys a milder climate than any other part of the March, abounded in the finest fruits of the south. Here a son was born to Peretti, on the 18th of December, 1521. Shortly before this event he dreamt, that while he was deploring the various distresses of his life, he was consoled by an assurance, pronounced by a divine voice, that he should have a son who should raise his house to prosperity. Hé clung to this hope with all the ardor of a visionary nature exalted by poverty, and strongly inclined to the regions of mystery. He called the boy's name Felix.†

* "Che il viver fuoruscito li torni piu a conto e di maggior sicurtà." Gregory reigned from the 13th of May, 1572, to the 10th of April, 1585.

† Tempesti, Storia della Vita e Geste di Sisto V, 1754—has searched in the Archives of Montalto for the origin of his hero. The Vita Sixti V, ipsius manu emendata, is also authentic. MS. in the Altieri Library at Rome. Sixtus was

The indigent circumstances of the family may be gathered from many little incidents of the child's life, such as his falling into the pond at which his aunt was washing, his watching the fruit, and even tending the swine. He learned the alphabet out of the horn-books which other children, whose way to school lay across the field in which he was sitting, left lying by him; his father could not spare the five bajocchi a month which the neighboring school-master demanded. Fortunately there was one member of the family in the church, Fra Salvatore, a Franciscan, who at last suffered himself to be prevailed upon to pay the money for his schooling. The young Felix then went to school with the other boys: he carried with him a piece of bread, and at noon sat down and ate it by the side of a spring of water, at which he quenched his thirst. Spite of this extreme poverty, the hopes of the father had communicated themselves to the son. When, in his twelfth year he entered the Franciscan order, (for the decree of the council of Trent prohibiting such early vows was not yet in existence,) he retained the name of Felix. Fra Salvatore kept him under very severe discipline, uniting as he did the authority of an uncle and a father; he, however, sent him to school. Felix often passed his evenings fasting, and studying by the light of a lantern in the cross ways, or, if that went out, by the lamp burning before the host in the church. We find no record of any marked indication of an innate spirit of devotion, or of a turn for profound scientific speculation; we learn only that he made rapid progress both at the school at Fermo, and at the schools and universities of Ferrara and Bologna, where he carried off the academic honors with great credit. He distinguished himself especially by his dialectical talent, and attained to a consummate and truly monkish dexterity in handling subtle theological questions. At the general convocation of the Franciscans in the year 1549, which opened with literary trials of skill, he held a disputation against one Antonio Persico of Calabria, a disciple of Thelesius, who at that time had acquired a high reputation in Perugia.* The quickness and presence of mind which he displayed

born, "cum pater Ludovici Vecchii Firmani hortum excoleret, mater Dianæ nurui ejus perhonestæ matronæ domesticis ministeriis operam daret." This same Diana lived to see, when far advanced in age, the pontificate of Sixtus: "Anus senio confecta Romam deferri voluit, cupida venerari eum in summo rerum humanarum fastigio positum, quem olitoris sui filium paupere victu domi suæ natum aluerat." Likewise: "pavisse puerum pecus et Picentis memorant et ipse adeo non diffitetur ut etiam præ se ferat." In the Ambrosiana R. 124, there is, F. Radice dell' Origine di Sisto V, an Information, dated Rome, 4th of May, 1585, which, however, tells but little.

* Sixtus V, Pontifex Maximus: MS. in the Altieri Library: "Eximia Persicus apud omnes late fama Perusiæ philosophiam ex Telesii placitis cum publice doceret, novitate doctrinæ tum primum nascentis nativum ingenii lumen mirifice illustrabat. Montaltus ex universa theologia excerptas positiones cardinali Carpensî inscriptas tanta cum ingenii laude defendit ut omnibus admirationi fuerit."

on this occasion first secured him notice and respect; the patron of the order, Cardinal Pio of Carpi, from that time warmly espoused his interests.

His high fortune, however, is to be ascribed to another accident.

In the year 1552, he preached during Lent in the church of the Santi Apostoli in Rome with the greatest success. His style was esteemed animated, copious, fluent, not overlaid with ornament, well arranged; his utterance was distinct and agreeable. One day when he was preaching to a large congregation in that church, he paused, as is the custom in Italy, in the middle of his sermon; after he had rested, he read the petitions which usually consist of prayers and intercessions, when his eye suddenly lighted upon one which had been found sealed in the pulpit and contained something of a very different nature. All the leading principles of Peretti's sermons, especially those regarding the doctrine of predestination, were therein described, and opposite to each was written in large characters, "Thou liest." Peretti could not entirely conceal his astonishment; he hastened to conclude his discourse, and as soon as he reached his home, sent the paper to the inquisition.* In a very short time he beheld the grand inquisitor, Michele Ghislieri, enter his room. Peretti had now to undergo the most rigorous examination. He often related afterwards with what dread the sight of this man, with his stern brow, his deep-set eyes and his hard features, inspired him. But he collected himself, answered well, and afforded no hold for suspicion or censure. When Ghislieri saw that the friar was not only innocent, but was so extensively versed, and so firmly fixed in the catholic doctrines, he instantly became another man, embraced him with tears, and from that time was his second patron.

Fra Felice Peretti from that moment attached himself most decidedly to the strict party which just then gained the ascendancy in the church. He kept up a close intimacy with Ignazio, Felino, and Filippo Neri, all three of whom obtained the title of saints. The resistance he experienced in his attempts to reform his order, and his expulsion from Venice by the brethren, served only to increase his reputation among the partisans of the opinions which were then rising into power. He was introduced to Paul IV and often consulted in difficult cases; he labored as theologian in the congregation for the council of Trent; as consultor to the inquisition, he took a large share in the trial and condemnation of cardinal Carranza; nor was he repelled by the labor of searching out all

* Narrative contained in 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 præcisione paucis absolvit."

the passages in the writings of protestants, which Carranza had introduced into his. He won the entire confidence of Pius V. That pope nominated him vicar-general of the Franciscans, expressly for the purpose of giving him authority to reform his order; an undertaking which Peretti carried through most strenuously. He displaced the commissaries-general, who had of late possessed the highest power; restored the old constitution, according to which this supremacy resided in the provincials, and made the most rigorous visitations. Pius saw his expectations not only fulfilled, but surpassed; he looked upon the partiality he felt for Peretti as a sort of divine inspiration, and disregarding the calumnies which were industriously circulated concerning him, he appointed him bishop of St. Agatha, and, in the year 1570, cardinal.

The bishopric of Fermo was also conferred on him. Robed in the purple of the church, Peretti returned to his native place, where he had once watched the fruit and tended the cattle; yet the predictions of his father and his own hopes were still not completely fulfilled.

Accounts have been a thousand times repeated of the artifices employed by cardinal Montalto (so he was now called) in order to obtain the tiara; of his affectation of humility; of his crawling about, bent double, coughing and leaning on a stick; but those who are acquainted with history and with mankind will want no evidence to lead them to suspect that there is little truth in these stories. This was not the way in which the highest dignities were to be won.

Montalto lived a secluded, quiet, frugal, and industrious life. His pleasure was to plant trees and vines in his vineyard near Santa Maria Maggiore, (which strangers still go to visit,) and to do what he could for the welfare of his native town. His more serious hours were devoted to the works of St. Ambrose, of which, in 1580, he published an edition. This, whatever evidence it may afford of his industry, shows his disposition to make the meaning of his author bend to his own views. Nor does it appear that, in other respects, he exhibited that meek and inoffensive character which has been ascribed to him. We have an account of him even as early as 1574, which describes him as learned and prudent, but also as cunning and malignant.* Yet he showed extraordinary self

* A Discourse, *Sopra i soggetti papabili*, written in the time of Gregory XIII, says of Montalto: "La natura sua, tenuta terribile, imperiosa et arrogante, non li può punto conciliare la gratia." We see, he was the same when cardinal, as he afterwards showed himself when pope. Gregory XIII often said to those about him: "caverent magnum illum cinerarium." Farnese saw him between the two Dominicans Trani and Justinian, who also indulged in hopes of the papacy for themselves. The author of "Sixtus V P. M." makes him say: "Næ Picenum hoc jumentum magnifice olim exiliet, si duos illos, quos hinc atque illinc male fert, carbonis saccos excusserit." He adds, that it was on account of this prospect, that Vittoria Accorambuona married the nephew of Six-

control. When his nephew, the husband of Vittoria Accorambuona, was murdered, he was the first to entreat the pope to let the investigation drop. The intrigues of the conclave of 1585 having caused him to be put in nomination, this quality, which commanded universal admiration, probably conduced more than any other to ensure his election. It was also noted, as it is expressly said in the genuine narrative of the transaction, that he was of a comparatively vigorous time of life, sixty-four, and of a robust and healthy constitution. Everybody admitted that the actual state of affairs demanded above all things a man of unimpaired energies of mind and body.

Fra Felice thus saw himself at the term of all his wishes. It must have been with a lofty feeling of satisfaction that he contemplated this fulfilment of a noble and legitimate ambition. All those circumstances in which he had ever imagined he discerned indications of his high destiny, were now present to his mind. He chose as his motto, "From my mother's womb, thou, O God, hast been my defender."

From this time forth he believed himself to be favored by God in all his undertakings. Immediately on ascending the throne he declared his determination of exterminating the banditti and public malefactors. He said that if he had not power enough of himself, God would assuredly send legions of angels to his assistance.* He instantly proceeded to the execution of this arduous work with deliberate and inflexible resolution.

tus. The Grand Duke Francis of Tuscany had a great share in the election of Peretti. In a despatch of the Florentine ambassador, Alberti, May 11th, 1585, (Roma, Filza, n. 36.) it is said: "V^{ra}. Altezza sia sola quella che come conviene godo il frutta dell' opera che ella ha fatta (he spoaks of this election) per avere questo pontefice amico e non altro se ne faccia bello." In another Florentine despatch, it is said: "Il papa replica che il gran duca aveva molte ragioni di desiderargli bene, perche egli era come quel agricoltore che pianta un frutto che ha poi caro insieme di vederlo crescere et andare avanti lungo tempo, aggiungendoli che egli era stato quello che dopo il Signor Iddio aveva condotta quest' opera, che a lui solo ne aveva ad aver obbligo, e che lo conosceva, se ben di queste cose non poteva parlar con ogn' uno." We see that a very different transaction took place behind the scenes, of which we know little or nothing. The election took place the 24th of April, 1585.

* Dispaccio, Priuli, 11 Maggio, 1585: Speech of the Pope in the Consistory: "Disse di due cose che lo travagliavano, la materia della giustitia e della abundantia, alle quali voleva attender con ogni cura, sperando in Dio che quando li mancassero li adjuti proprii e forastieri, li manderà tante legioni di angeli per punir li malfattori e ribaldi, et esortò li cardinali di non usar le loro franchigie nel dar ricapito a tristi, detestando il poco pensier del suo predecessor."

§ 5. EXTERMINATION OF BANDITTI.

Sixtus V regarded with aversion the memory of Gregory, and determined not to adhere to his measures. He disbanded the greater part of the troops which he found, and diminished the number of the *sbirri* by one half. On the other hand, he resolved on a relentless punishment of the criminals who fell into the hands of justice.

There had long been a prohibition against carrying short arms, especially a particular kind of firelock. Notwithstanding this, four young men of Cora, near kinsmen, were seized with such arms about them. The following was the day of the coronation, and so joyful an event furnished their friends with an occasion for begging a pardon for them. "So long as I live," replied Sixtus, "every criminal must die."* On the same day all four were hanged on one gallows, near the bridge of St. Angelo.

A young Trasteverine was condemned to death for having resisted the *sbirri* who wanted to take away his ass. All present were full of compassion, as the boy was led weeping to the place where he was to suffer death for so small an offence; they pleaded his youth to the pope. "I will add a few years of my life to his," said he; and commanded that the execution should proceed.

These first acts of Sixtus struck terror into all, and imparted an extraordinary force to the orders which he now issued. Barons and communes were warned to clear their castles and towns of banditti, and were sentenced to make compensation for any damage committed by banditti within their territories respectively.†

It had been the custom to set a price on the head of a bandit; Sixtus ordered that this money should no longer be paid by the treasury, but by the kinsmen of the bandit, or, if they were too poor, by the commune in which he was born. This, it is obvious, was an endeavor to enlist the interests of the nobles, the communes and the kindred on the side of justice, in favor of which he even tried to engage the interest of the banditti themselves. He promised any one of them who would deliver up a comrade, alive or dead, not only his own free pardon, but the pardon of some of his friends, whom he might name, and also a sum of money.

After these orders had been carried into effect, and some examples had been given of their rigorous execution, the pursuit of the banditti shortly assumed another form. It was fortunate that at the very beginning it was successfully directed against certain captains of bands. The pope could not rest, because the priest Guercino, who called himself the king of the Campagna, and who had once commanded the subjects of the bishop of Viterbo not to obey their

* "Se vivo, facinorosis moriendum esse."

† Bull. t. iv, p. 137. Bando, in Tempesti, i, ix, 14.

lord, continued his old practices and had just committed fresh acts of pillage. "Sixtus prayed," says Galesinus, "that God would deliver the States of the Church from this robber;" on the following morning intelligence was received of the capture of Guercino. His head encircled with a gilded crown was stuck up on Mount St. Angelo; the man who brought it received the reward of two thousand scudi, and the people applauded the excellent administration of justice by his holiness.

Nevertheless another captain called Della Fara, had the audacity one night to knock up the watchmen of the Porta Salara, tell them his name, and desire them to greet the pope and the governor from him. Upon this Sixtus commanded his kinsmen, under pain of death, to find him and deliver him up. Before a month was over, Fara's head was brought to Rome.

Sometimes the means employed against the banditti exceeded the bounds of justice. Thirty of them had assembled on a height in the territory of Urbino, when the Duke caused some mules laden with provisions to be driven in that neighborhood, presuming that they would not fail to plunder them. His expectations were not disappointed, and the provisions being poisoned, the robbers all died. "At the news of this," says a historian of Sixtus V, "the pope was much pleased."*

In Rome a son and father were led to death, though they persisted in declaring their innocence. The mother placed herself in the way, imploring only a short delay to enable her to prove the innocence of her husband and son. The senator refused it. "Since you thirst for blood," cried she, "I will glut you with it;" and she threw herself from the window of the capitol. Meanwhile the two unhappy sufferers came to the place of execution; each entreated to die first; the father could not endure to see the death of the son, nor the son that of the father; the people called aloud for mercy, while the savage executioner murmured at the useless delay.

Nor was there any respect of persons. Count Giovanni Pepoli, a descendant of one of the first houses of Bologna, but who had been accessory to many of the excesses of the banditti, was strangled in prison, and all his landed property, as well as his money, confiscated by the treasury.

Not a day passed without an execution; in every part of the country, in wood and field, the traveller encountered stakes upon which were placed the heads of bandits. The pope reserved his commendations for those of his legates and governors who satisfied him on this point, and sent him in a large tribute of heads. His justice had something barbaric and oriental in it. Those robbers whom its arm could not reach, fell by the hand of their own com-

* *Memorie del Ponteficato di Sixto V: "Ragguagliato Sisto ne prese gran contento."*

rades. The pope's promises had sown disunion among the banditti; no one trusted his fellow; they murdered each other.*

And thus not a year passed in which the disorders which had prevailed in the Ecclesiastical States were not crushed when they openly burst forth, even if not stifled at their birth. In the year 1586 news was received that the last brigand leaders, Montebrendano and Arara, were killed. Nothing gave the pope greater pleasure than when ambassadors from foreign courts observed on their arrival, that they had found security and tranquillity in their whole passage through his States.†

§ 6. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

As however the abuses which Sixtus V warred against had another origin, besides the mere want of a vigilant police, his success in this struggle was connected with other measures of his government.

Sixtus V is sometimes regarded as the sole founder of the laws and ordinances of the Roman States, and institutions which existed long before his time are ascribed to him: he is lauded as an unequalled master of finance, a perfectly unprejudiced statesman, a restorer of antiquity. He had a character which stamps itself on the memories of men, and which gained credence for fabulous, romantic stories.

But if all is not true that is related of him, it is at least unquestionable that his government was very remarkable.

It stood in a singular relation to that of Gregory. Gregory was, in his general measures, severe, decisive, partial; but he was indulgent to individual cases of disobedience. By setting interests in array against himself on the one hand, while, on the other he permitted an unparalleled impunity to certain actions, he gave rise to that ruinous state of things which he lived to witness. Sixtus, on the contrary, was inexorable in individual cases; he adhered to his laws with a rigor that amounted to cruelty, while in the framing of general rules, we find him mild, yielding and placable. Under Gregory, obedience had met with no reward, and insubordination with no punishment. Under Sixtus, those who resisted had every thing to fear; while those who strove to please him might confi-

* Disp., Priuli, as early as the 29th of June, 1585: "Li fuorusciti s' ammazzano l'un l'altro per la provision del novo breve."

† Vita Sixti V, i. m, em: "Ea quies et tranquillitas ut in urbe vasta, in hoc conventu nationum, in tanta peregrinorum advenarumque colluvie, ubi tot nobilium superbæ eminent opes, nemo tam tenuis, tam abjectæ fortunæ sit, qui se nunc sentiat ejusquam injuriæ obnoxium." According to Gualterius; Sixtus V, the latter applied this sentence; "Fugit impius nemine persequente."

dently expect proofs of his favor. Nothing could better promote his views.

From his first accession to power, he suffered all the misunderstandings which had arisen between his predecessor and his neighbors, out of ecclesiastical claims, to drop. He declared that a pope ought to uphold and to fortify the privileges which are enjoyed by princes, and, in accordance with this declaration, he restored to the Milanese their place in the rota, which Gregory XIII had tried to take from them; he also evinced the highest satisfaction when the Venetians at length brought to light a charter which decisively established their claims in the affair of Aquilega: he was resolved to remove the objectionable clause in the bull, *In Cœnâ Domini*, and completely abolished the congregation concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction, whence the greater part of the disputes with other powers had arisen.* There is certainly something magnanimous in the voluntary cession of contested rights; and in the case in question this proceeding was attended with the most fortunate results to Sixtus. The king of Spain sent an autograph letter to the pope, in which he informed him that he had commanded his ministers in Milan and Naples to pay no less implicit obedience to the papal ordinances than to his own. Sixtus was moved to tears, "that the greatest monarch in the world should," as he expressed it, "so honor a poor monk." Tuscany declared herself devoted, Venice satisfied, and both these neighbors now adopted a new line of policy. Banditti who had taken refuge on the frontiers were delivered up to the pope from all quarters: Venice forbade their return into the States of the Church, and refused her vessels for conveying exiles to the coasts. The pope was transported at this; he said, "he would think of the republic another time; he would suffer himself to be flayed alive for her," (that was his expression) "he would shed his blood for her." Hence it was, that he subdued the banditti; they found refuge and succor nowhere.

In his own country, he was far from enforcing those severe measures which Gregory had proposed for the advantage of the revenue. After chastising the offending feudatories, he sought rather to conciliate and attach the other barons. He united the two great families of Orsini and Colonna by marriages, both with his own house and with each other. Gregory had stripped the Colonnas of their castles; Sixtus regulated their household expenditure and advanced them sums of money.† He gave one of his great-nieces in marriage to the constable M. A. Colonna, and another to duke

* Lorenzo Priuli: Relatione, 1586: "E pontefice che non così leggiermente abbraccia le querele con principi, anzi per fuggirle ha levata la congregazione della giurisdizione ecclesiastica;" (in another place, he says, principally with reference to Spain:) "e stima di potere per questa via concluder con maggior facilità le cose e di sopportare con manco indegnità quelle che saranno trattate secretamente da lui solo."

† Dispaccio degli Ambasciatori straordinarii, 19 Ott., 25 Nov., 1585.

Virginio Orsini, bestowing on each an equal dower and very similar marks of favor; he also settled their quarrels for precedence, by making it depend on the seniority of the head of either house. Donna Camilla, the pope's sister, now occupied an august position—surrounded by her children, by sons-in-law of such high and venerable nobility, and by grand-daughters married to the princes of Rome.

Sixtus also delighted in dispensing privileges. To the March especially he proved himself a kind and bountiful fellow-countryman. He restored to the Anconitani some of their ancient rights; established a supreme court of justice for the whole province in Macerata; granted fresh privileges to the college of advocates of that province; raised Fermo to an archbishopric, and Tolentino to a bishopric; and elevated the village of Montalto, in which his forefathers had first settled, by an express bull, into a city and a bishopric; "for," said he, "it gave to our race its fortunate origin." Even when cardinal, he had founded a learned school there; now, as pope, he endowed the Montalto college at the university of Bologna, for fifty students from the March, of whom Montalto had a right to present eight, and the little Grotto a Mare, two.*

He determined also to raise Loreto to the rank of a city. Fontana set before him the difficulties in the way of this measure. "Don't trouble yourself, Fontana," said he; "it cost me more to resolve upon it, than it will to execute it." A portion of the land was bought from the inhabitants of Recana; valleys were filled up, hills levelled, and roads laid out; the communes of the March were encouraged to build houses: cardinal Gallo placed new civic authorities in the holy chapel. The pope thus satisfied at once his patriotism and his devotion to the Holy Virgin. The cities of the other provinces were likewise the objects of his attention and solicitude. He made arrangements to prevent the increase of their debts, and limited their alienations and securities; he instituted an accurate inquiry into their whole financial condition, and it is to be ascribed to the provisions of which he was the author, that the communes gradually recovered their prosperity.†

He encouraged agriculture generally. He undertook the work of draining the Chiana of Orvieto and the Pontine marshes, the

* He included even the neighboring villages as part of Montalto. Vita Sixti V, ipsius manu emendata, "Porculam Patrignorum et Mintenorum, quia Montalto haud ferme longius absunt quam ad teli jactum et crebris affinitatibus inter se et commercii rerum omnium et agrorum quadam communitate junguntur, haud secus quam patriæ partem Sixtus fovit semper atque dilexit, omniaque iis in commune est elargitus, quo paulatim velut in unam coalescerent civitatem,"

† Gualterius, "Ad ipsorum (universitatum) statum cognoscendum, corrigendum, constituendum, quinque cameræ apostolicæ clericos misit." The advantages of these regulations may be observed in the Memorie also: "Con le quali provisioni si diede principio a rihaversi le comunità dello stato ecclesiastico: le quali poi de tutto ritornarono in piedi: con quanto l'istesso provvedimento perfezionò Clemente VIII."

latter of which he visited himself: the river Sisto (a canal cut through the marshes), which was the best attempt at drainage before the time of Pius VI, owed its origin to him.

He showed no less disposition to foster manufactures. A certain Pietro of Valencia, a Roman citizen, had proposed to introduce a manufactory of silk. The peremptory order with which Sixtus attempted to support him is very characteristic of that pope. He commanded that mulberry trees should be planted throughout his whole dominions, in every garden and vineyard, in every field and wood, in every hill and valley; wherever corn did not grow, he fixed the number of five for every rubbio of land, and threatened the commune with the imposition of considerable fines in case of neglect.* He tried likewise to encourage the woollen manufacture; "in order," says he, "that the poor may be able to earn something." He granted the first who undertook a manufactory an advance from the treasury, in return for which he was to deliver in a certain number of pieces of cloth.

We should do injustice to the predecessors of Sixtus V, if we attributed such intentions exclusively to him; Pius V and Gregory XIII also encouraged agriculture and manufactures. What distinguished Sixtus was, not so much that he took an entirely new course, as that he pursued with greater rapidity and energy the course which had already been traced out. Hence it happened that he made such an impression on the minds and memories of men.

The assertion that he founded the congregations of cardinals must also be qualified. The seven most important—those of the inquisition, the index, the affairs of the council, of the bishops, of the religious orders, the "segnatura" and "consulta," he found already in existence. Nor were the political affairs left wholly unprovided for in these, for the two last mentioned had cognizance of judicial and administrative business. Sixtus now determined to add eight new congregations to those already existing, of which only two however were to be employed on the affairs of the church—the one, on the founding of new bishoprics, the other, on the direction and the renovation of ecclesiastical usages;† the remaining six were destined for separate departments of administration; for the annona, the inspection of roads, the abolition of oppressive taxes, the building of ships of war, the printing-office in the Vatican,

* Cum sicut accepimus: 28 Maji, 1586; Bull. Cocq., iv, 4, 218. Gualterius, "Bombicinam sericam lanificiam vitreamque artes in urbem vel induxit vel amplificavit. Ut vero serica ars frequentior esset, mororum arborum seminaria et plantaria per universam ecclesiasticam ditionem fieri præcepit, ob eamque rem Maino cuidam Hebreo ex bombicibus bis in anno fructum et sericam amplificatum sedulo pollicenti ac recipienti maxima privilegia impertivit."

† Congregation de sacri riti e cerimonie ecclesiastiche, delle provisioni consistoriali: a questa volle appartenesse la cognitione delle cause dell' erettione di nove cattedrali.

and the university of Rome.* We see how unsystematically the pope proceeded in these arrangements, how completely he placed partial and transient interests on a level with general and permanent ones; nevertheless they were very successful, and with slight alterations subsisted for centuries.

He established a high standard for the qualities befitting the office of cardinal generally. They were all to be "distinguished men, their morals unimpeachable their words oracles, their expressions a rule of life and thought to others; the salt of the earth the light set upon a candlestick."† It must not be thought however that his nominations were always strictly conscientious. In the case of Gallo, whom he raised to that dignity, he had nothing better to plead, than that he was his servant, towards whom he had many reasons for attachment, and who had once given him a very hospitable reception when he was on a journey.‡ But even in this department of his government he laid down a rule which, if not invariably followed, was ever after kept in view. He fixed the number of cardinals at seventy; "as Moses," says he, "chose seventy elders out of all the people to take counsel with him."

It has also been not unfrequently to ascribe the overthrow of nepotism to Sixtus; but on more accurate examination, this praise will be found to be unmerited. The favors and privileges bestowed on the papal families, had already, as we have seen, fallen into insignificance, under Pius IV, Pius V, and Gregory XIII. If any one of these pontiffs deserves more especial commendation, it is Pius V, who expressly forbade the alienation of church property; this early form of nepotism was, as we have said, abolished before the time of Sixtus V. But another form had sprung up under the popes of the following century. There were always two favorite nephews or kinsmen, the one of whom, raised to the rank of cardinal, gained possession of the higher administration of ecclesiastical and political affairs; the other, in a secular station, splendidly married and endowed with landed property and 'luoghi di monte,' founded a "majorat," and became the head and stock of a princely house. If we inquire when this form was introduced, we shall find that its growth was gradual, but that it first acquired consistency under

* *Sopra alla grascia et annona—sopra alla fabbrica armamento e mantinimento delle galere—sopra gli aggravi del popolo—sopra le strade, acque, ponti e confini—sopra alla stamperia Vaticana (to the first superintendent of the ecclesiastical press he gave apartments in the Vatican, and 20,000 sc. for ten years)—sopra l' università dello studio Romano.*

† *Bulla: Postquam verus ille; 3 Dec. 1586, Bullar. M. iv, iv, 279.*

‡ Although Sixtus would endure no other remonstrance, he did not escape that of a sermon. The Jesuit Francis Toledo, in a discourse preached before him, said, "it is sinful to requite private services by a public appointment." "Non perche," he continues, "uno sia buon coppiere o scalco, gli si commette senza nota d' imprudenza o un vescovato o un cardinalato." Gallo had formerly been head-cook. (*Memorie della Vita di Sisto V.*)

Sixtus V. Cardinal Montalto, whom the pope loved so tenderly that towards him he moderated his natural violence of temper, had a place in the "consulta," and a share at least in the administration of foreign affairs: while his brother Michele was made a marquis and founded a wealthy house.

If, however, we were to conclude from this that Sixtus introduced a system of government by nepotism, we should totally mistake. The marquis had no influence whatever, the cardinal none of importance;* to allow them any would have been at variance with the pope's ways of thinking. His favors and partialities had something single-hearted and confiding about them, and they secured him public and private good will; but he never for a moment resigned the helm to any other hand; he always ruled. Though he seemed to regard the congregations with the highest favor, though he even pressed them for their free and unconstrained opinions, yet he was impatient and irritated whenever any one used this permission.† He obstinately persisted in the execution of his own will. "Scarcely any one," says Giovanni Gritti, has a voice in his councils—far less in his decisions.‡" Whatever were his personal or provincial partialities, his government was thoroughly impressed with an energetic, rigorous, autocratic character.

This character was no where more strikingly displayed than in the financial department, which we shall now consider.

§ 7. FINANCES.

The house of Chigi at Rome possesses a most interesting document—a small memorandum book of pope Sixtus V, in his own handwriting, kept while he was a monk.§ Every important event of his life, every place where he preached during Lent, the commissions which he received and executed, the books which he possessed, how they were bound, whether singly or together, and all the items of his small monkish expenditure, are carefully noted down: for example, we read there how his brother-in-law Baptista bought twelve sheep for him; how he, the monk, paid first twelve, and afterwards two florins and twenty bolognins, so that they

* Bentivoglio, Memorie, p. 90: "Non aveva quasi alcuna partecipazione nel governo."

† Gualterius, "Tametsi congregationibus aliisque negotia mandaret, illa tamen ipse cognoscere atque conficere consuevit. Diligentia incredibilis sciendi cognoscendique omnia quæ a rectoribus urbis provinciarum populorum omnium, a ceteris magistratibus sedis apostolicæ agebantur."

‡ Gritti, Relazione, "Non ci è chi abbi con lui voto decisivo, ma quasi ne anche consultivo."

§ Memorie autografe di Papa Sisto V.

became his property, the brother-in-law keeping them, as was the custom in Montalto, and receiving half the profits; and so on. We discover how sparing he was of his small savings, how carefully he kept an account of them, and how in the end the sum increased to several hundred florins. These details are interesting, as exhibiting traces of the same economical mind which was shortly afterwards applied to the government of the Papal States. Economy is a quality for which he praises himself in every bull which affords an opportunity, and in many inscriptions; and in truth no pope either before or after him administered the revenues of his states with equal success.

On his ascending the throne, he found an exhausted exchequer, and bitterly does he complain of pope Gregory, who had spent a large portion of the revenues of his predecessor as well as of his successor:* he had so bad an opinion of him, that he once ordered masses to be said for his soul, in consequence of a dream, that he had seen him suffering punishment in the other world.

The revenues were already anticipated until the October following; it was therefore the more important for him to fill his treasury, and he succeeded beyond his expectations: at the end of one year of his reign, in April 1586, he had already treasured up a million of scudi in gold; in November 1587, another; and in April 1588, a third million. This makes above four millions and a half of scudi in silver. As soon as he had got together one million, he deposited it in the castle of St. Angelo, consecrating it as an offering, as he expresses it, to the Holy Virgin, the Mother of God, and to the holy apostles Peter and Paul. "He saw," as he says in his bull, "not only the waves on which the bark of St. Peter was now occasionally tossed, but the storms which lowered in the distance; implacable was the hatred of the heretics; while the powerful Turk, Assur, the scourge of God's wrath threatened the faithful: he was taught by the God in whom he trusted, that the father of the family should watch by night: he followed the example of the patriarchs in the Old Testament, by whom a large sum of money was always kept in the temple of the Lord." He expressly determined the occasions on which it was allowable to touch this treasure; they were as follows: a war undertaken for the recovery of the Holy Land, or a general campaign against the Turks; a famine or a pestilence; the imminent danger of losing a province of catholic christendom; the invasion of the States of the Church, or the chance of recovering a city which had belonged to the Roman see. He bound down his successors, as they feared the anger of the Almighty and

* Vita e Successi del Cardinal di Santaseverina. MS. Bibl. Alb: "Mentre gli parlavo del collegio de neofiti e di quel degli Armeni, che havevano bisogno di soccorso, mi rispose con qualche alteratione, che in castello non vi erano danari e che non vi era entrata, che il papa passato havea mangiato il pontificato di Pio V. e suo, dolendosi aereamente dello stato nel quale haveva trovato la sede apostolica."

of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, to confine themselves within these limits.*

We will leave unquestioned for the present the wisdom of these regulations, and will inquire into the means which Sixtus applied to collect a treasure so astonishing for those times.

It could not arise out of the net revenue; for Sixtus himself had often said, that the net income of the papal see was not more than 200,000 scudi a year.† Nor can it be ascribed exactly to his savings, although they were considerable (he limited the expenses of his table to six paoli a day, abolished many useless places about his court, and decreased the number of his troops); for we have not only the testimony of the Venetian Delfino, that all this did not lessen the expenditure of the camera by more than 150,000 scudi, but Sixtus himself reckoned the saving to the exchequer which he effected, at only 146,000 scudi.‡ Thus, according to his own declaration, with all his economy, the net income was only increased by 350,000 scudi;—a sum scarcely sufficient for the buildings which he carried on, much less for the amassing of so vast a treasure.

We have before considered the singular financial system which had been established in the Roman States;—the increase of the imposts and taxes without any increase of the clear revenue, the multiplicity of loans through the sale of offices and monti, the increasing burdens of the state to meet the necessities of the church. It is obvious what enormous abuses were involved in this system; and when we consider the praise so lavishly bestowed upon Sixtus V, we are led to conclude that he found means to remove the evil. What then must be our astonishment to discover that he followed the same system in the most reckless manner, and even fixed this system on such a basis, that it was beyond the reach of future control or remedy!

One of the chief sources of gain was the sale of offices. In the first place he raised the price of many which were already venal. We may take as an example the office of the treasurer of the camera, which had till now been sold for 15,000 scudi; he first sold it to one of the Giustiniani for 50,000 sc., and on making him a cardinal, he sold it to a Pepoli for 72,000 sc: having invested him also with the purple, he applied full one half of the income of this office, viz: 5,000 sc. to a monte, and sold it, diminished by that amount, again for 50,000 golden sc. Secondly, he rendered offices venal which previously had always been given away; as for instance, the places of notaries, of fiscals, those of commissary general, of solicitor to the camera, and advocate of the poor; he often sold them for considera-

* Ad Clavum; 21 Apr, 1586: Cocq. iv. iv, 206.

† Dispaccio, Gritti; 7 Giugno, 1586. The pope finds fault with Henry III, because with a revenue of fourteen millions he saved nothing. "Con addur l'esempio di se medesimo nel governo del pontificato, che dice non haver di netto più di 200,000 scudi all' anno, battuti li interessi de' pontefici passati e le spese che convien fare."

‡ Dispaccio, Badoer; 2 Giugno, 1589.

ble sums—that of the commissary general for 20,000 sc. and of notaries for 30,000 sc. Lastly, he created a number of new offices, and often important ones; such as, offices of treasurer of the dataria, of prefect to the prisons, of twenty-four referendaries, two hundred cavalieri, notaries in the principal places of the state, &c.—all of which he sold.

By these means he doubtless collected very large sums; the sale of offices produced 608,510 golden scudi, and 401,805 silver scudi;—altogether about one million and a half of silver scudi.* But, if the saleable offices were before a vexation to the people, in consequence of their bringing with them, as we have mentioned, a participation in the rights of government, under the plea of a loan—rights which were most rigorously enforced against those upon whom the taxes were levied, while the duties of the office were utterly neglected—how much was this evil now increased! An office, as we have before remarked, was thus regarded as a possession conferring certain rights, and not as a duty imposing labor.

Sixtus also increased the number of the *monti* to an extraordinary degree; he established three *monti non vacabili* and eight *monti vacabili* more than any of his predecessors.

We have already seen that the *monti* were always assigned for payment upon new imposts, and Sixtus could devise no other expedient, although he was very reluctant to employ this. The first time he spoke in the consistory of cardinals, of investing a fund for the use of the church, cardinal Farnese replied, that his grandfather, Paul III, had thought of that scheme; but had foreseen that it could not be done without an increase of taxation, and had abandoned it for that reason. Sixtus answered him sharply; the insinuation that a former pope could have been wiser than himself, put him in a rage. “The cause of that was,” he replied, “that under Paul III, there were certain extravagant spendthrifts, who, thanks be to God, in our time do not exist.” Farnese blushed, and held his tongue,† but the result was as he had said. In the year 1587, Sixtus V, no longer restrained by these considerations, loaded with new taxes the most toilsome occupation, namely that of towing boats up the Tiber with buffaloes and horses—and the most necessary articles of life, such as wood for burning, and the wine of Foglietta, which was sold by retail—and instantly applied the proceeds to the foun-

* Calculation of the Finances of Rome under Clement VIII, in a detailed MS. (Bibl. Barberina, at Rome.)

† *Memorie del pontificato di Sisto V*: “Mutatosi per tanto nal volto mentre Farnese parlava, irato più tosto che grave gli rispose: ‘Non è maraviglia, Monsignore, ce a tempo di vostro avo non si potesse mettere in opera il disegno di far tesoro per la chiesa con l’entrate e proventi ordinarii, perche vi erano di molti e grandi scialaquatori (a word he was very fond of using) i quali non sono Dio gratia a tempi nostri’: notando amaramente la moltitudine di figli e figlie e nepoti d’ogni sorte di questo pontefice. Arrossi alquanto a quel dire Farnese e taque.”

dation of "monti." He debased the coin; and as this gave rise to a small money-changing trade at all corners of the streets, he turned even that to account, by selling permission to carry on the trade.* Much as he favored the March of Ancona, he loaded its commerce with a new duty of two per cent. upon all imports. He compelled the just-reviving industry of the country to minister indirectly to his advantage.† His great adviser in these matters was a Portuguese Jew, who had fled from Portugal from fear of the inquisition, by name Lopez; he had gained the confidence of the datarius, of the Signora Camilla, and eventually of the pope himself, who entrusted to him these and similar operations. After the answer with which he had silenced Farnese, no cardinal again ventured to contradict him. When the above-mentioned tax upon wine was under discussion, Albano of Bergamo said, "I approve whatever pleases your holiness, but my approbation would be stronger if this tax displeased you."

Thus did Sixtus render available so many new sources of income, that he could take up, and pay interest upon, a loan of 2,424,725 scudi.

We must however confess that this financial system is somewhat incomprehensible.

New and very oppressive burdens were heaped upon the country by these taxes, and by the multiplicity of offices, the salaries of which were paid by fees which could not but impede the course of justice and of administration; the taxes fell upon trade, both wholesale and retail, and greatly injured its activity. And to what, after all, was the product of so much suffering applied?

If we put together what the monti and the offices produced on the whole, we find it will amount to about the sum which was deposited in the castle of St. Angelo; viz. four millions and a half of scudi, or but little more. With the amount of his savings, Sixtus could have carried into effect all the undertakings which have rendered him famous.

That a government should accumulate and save whatever it can spare, is intelligible enough; nor is it less so that it should borrow money to help itself out of present difficulties; but that it should raise loans and impose burdens, for the mere sake of shutting up in a strong castle a treasure against any future exigency, is indeed most extraordinary. Yet, this it is, which has always excited the admiration of the world in Sixtus V.

* In exchange for an old Giulio, besides ten bajocchi of Sixtus's coinage, a premium of from four to six quatrini was given.

† A good example of his administration. *Le stesse Memorie*: "Ordinò non si vendesse seta o sciolta o tessuta in drappi nè lana o panni se non approvati da officiali creati a tal effetto, nè si estraessero senza licenza degli stessi: inventione utile contro alle fraudi, ina molto più in prò della camera, perche pagandosi i segni e le licenze se n'imborsava gran danaro dal pontefice."—This could not be very beneficial to industry.

It is true that the measures of Gregory XIII were somewhat odious and tyrannical, and re-acted very unfavorably on the state; nevertheless, I think that if he had rendered it possible for the papal treasury to do without new taxes and loans for the future, the effect would have been most advantageous, and the States of the Church would perhaps have received a more beneficial impulse. But Gregory, particularly in his latter years, was wanting in energy to carry out his views.

It was precisely this all-accomplishing energy which distinguished Sixtus: his accumulations of money by means of loans, sale of offices and new taxes, heaped burden upon burden; and we shall have occasion to observe the consequences; but his success blinded the world, and gave, for the moment, new importance to the papacy.

Placed in the midst of states which were generally distressed for money, the popes, by the possession of wealth, acquired confidence in themselves and extraordinary influence over others.

In fact this principle of administration was an essential part of the catholic system of those times. While it placed all the financial strength of the state in the hands of the head of the church, it made him, for the first time, completely the organ of ecclesiastical power. For to what other purpose could this money be applied, but to the defence and diffusion of the catholic faith?

Sixtus V was entirely absorbed in enterprises which had that object, and which sometimes were directed against the east and the Turks, but oftener against the west and the protestants. Between the two systems, the catholic and the protestant, a war broke out, in which the popes took the greatest interest and share.

We shall consider this in the next book: but will now direct our attention to Rome, which once more regained her influence over the whole world.

§ 8. PUBLIC BUILDINGS.—SIXTUS V.

For the third time, Rome assumed the aspect of capital of the world.

Our minds are familiar with the grandeur and magnificence of ancient Rome, which the remains of art and the records of history have been explored to bring before us; nor did her glories in the middle ages deserve less attentive research. This second Rome was august with the majesty of her basilicas, the religious services of her grottoes and catacombs, the patriarchal temples of the popes, (in which the relics of the earliest Christianity were preserved,) the still splendid imperial palace which belonged to the German kings, and the fortified castles raised by independent clans, as if in defiance of the numerous powers by which they were surrounded.

During the absence of the popes in Avignon, this Rome of the

middle ages had sunk into equal decay with that ancient Rome which had so long lain in ruins.

When Eugenius IV returned to Rome in the year 1443, it was become a city of herdsmen; its inhabitants were not distinguishable from the peasants of the neighboring country. The hills had long been abandoned, and the only part inhabited was the plain along the windings of the Tiber; there was no pavement in the narrow streets, and these were rendered yet darker by the balconies and buttresses which propped one house against another; the cattle wandered about as in a village. From San Silvestro to the Porta del Popolo, all was garden and marsh, the haunt of flocks of wild ducks. The very memory of antiquity seemed almost effaced: the capitol was become the Goats' Hill, the Forum Romanum the Cows' Field;—the strangest legends were associated with the few remaining monuments. The church of St. Peter was in danger of falling down.

When at length Nicholas regained the obedience of all Christendom, he conceived the idea of employing the wealth he had acquired by the concourse of pilgrims to the jubilee, in adorning Rome with such buildings as that all should instantly perceive and acknowledge that this was indeed the capital of the world. This, however, was not a work to be accomplished by one man. Succeeding popes labored at it for centuries.

I shall not repeat the details of their labors, which are to be found in their several biographies. The most remarkable, both from their consequences and their contrast, were the epochs of Julius II and Sixtus V.

Under Julius II, the lower city, which had retreated to the banks of the Tiber, was completely restored. After Sixtus IV had established a better communication between the two banks, by that solid simple bridge of travertine which still bears his name, people began to build on both sides with the greatest activity. On the southern side, Julius did not rest satisfied with the project of the church of St. Peter, which arose majestically under his direction; he also restored the palace of the Vatican. In the hollow between the old building and the country house of Innocent VIII, the Belvedere, he erected the Loggia, a work of consummate beauty of conception. Not far from hence, his cousins, the Riari, and his treasurer, Agostino Chigi, rivalled each other in the beauty of the houses they constructed; that of Chigi, the Farnesina, admirable for the perfection of its plan, and decorated by the matchless hand of Raffaello, is unquestionably the superior. On the northern side of the river, posterity is indebted to Julius II for the completion of the Cancelleria, with its cortile, executed in those pure and harmonious proportions, which render it the most beautiful court in existence.—His cardinals and barons emulated his example: Farnese's palace has acquired the reputation of the most perfect in Rome, from its vast and magnificent entrance; Francesco de Rio boasted that his

would stand till tortoises crawled over the face of the earth; while the Medici filled their abode with every treasure of literature and of art, and the Orsini adorned theirs at Campofiore, within and without, with statues and pictures.* Foreigners do not always devote all the attention they deserve to the remains around Campofiore and the Piazza Farnese, belonging to this splendid period, which so boldly entered the lists with antiquity. It was a period of emulation, genius, fertility, universal prosperity. As the population increased, buildings arose on the Campo Marzo and around the mausoleum of Augustus. Under Leo, they continued to increase; Julius having already constructed the Lungara on the south side, opposite to the Strada Giulia on the north. The inscription is yet visible in which the Conservatori boast, that he had laid down and opened new streets, "suitable to the majesty of his newly acquired sovereignty."

The population was again reduced by pestilence and by conquest; and the city again injured, during the troubles under Paul IV; it was not till a later period that it began once more to revive, and that the number of its inhabitants increased, together with the renewed obedience of the catholic world.

Pius IV had conceived the project of building again on the deserted hills. He founded the palace of the Conservatori on the Monte Capitolino; on the Viminale, Michael Angelo constructed, by his order, the church of S^{ta} Maria degli Angeli, out of the ruins of the baths of Dioclesian; the Porta Pia on the Quirinale still bears his mark.† Gregory XIII also added to this quarter.

These were however but vain labors, so long as the hills were without water.

It is the distinguishing glory of Sixtus V, that he resolved to emulate the ancient Cæsars, and to supply the city with water by means of colossal aqueducts. "He did it," as he said, "in order that these hills, which, even in early Christian times, were graced with basilicas, distinguished for the salubrity of the air, the pleasantness of the situation, and the beauty of the views, might be once more inhabited. We have, therefore," adds he, "suffered ourselves to be deterred by no difficulty or expense." In fact, he told the architects from the very beginning, that he would have a work which might compete with the magnificence of imperial Rome. For a distance of two-and-twenty miles from the Agro Colonna, in despite of all obstacles, he conducted the Acqua Martia, partly under ground, partly on lofty arches, to Rome. At length the pope had the lively satisfaction of seeing a stream of this water flow into his own vineyard; he carried it onward to

* *Opuseulum de Mirabilibus novæ et veteris Urbis Romæ*, editum a Francisco Albertino, 1515; especially the second part, *De novâ urbe*.

† Luigi Contarini, *Antichità di Roma*, p. 76, praises above all the exertions of Pius IV: "S'egli viveva ancora 4 anni, Roma sarebbe d'edificii un'altra Roma."

Santa Susanna on the Quirinale, calling it, after his own name, *Acqua Felice*; and it was with no slight self-complacency that he erected a statue of Moses striking the rock.* This aqueduct was a work of the greatest utility, not only to that district but to the whole city. The *Acqua Felice* gives 20,537 cubic mètres of water in twenty-four hours, and feeds twenty-seven fountains.

The buildings on the heights now proceeded with great activity, which Sixtus stimulated by the inducement of peculiar privileges. He levelled the ground around *Trinità de Monti*, and laid the foundations of the flight of steps to the *Piazza di Spagna*, which forms the shortest communication between that height and the lower city.† Here he laid out *Via Felice* and *Borgo Felice*, and opened the ways which still lead in all directions to *Santa Maria Maggiore*; intending to connect all the basilicas with that church by spacious streets. The poets assert that Rome nearly doubled her size, and sought again her old abodes.

Nor were these constructions on the heights the only works by which Sixtus V was distinguished from his predecessors. He entertained designs which were directly contrary to those of the earlier popes.

Under *Leo X* the ruins of ancient Rome were regarded with a kind of religious veneration; in them the divine spark of the antique spirit was recognised with a sort of rapture. That pope listened to the recommendation to preserve "those things, which are all that remain of the ancient mother of the glory and the greatness of Italy."‡

* Tasso has written "*Stanze all' Acque Felice di Roma*," (*Rime*, ii, 311,) describing how the water first flows on in a dark course, and then joyfully emerges into the light of the sun, to behold Rome such as Augustus beheld it.

† Gualterius: "*Ut viam a frequentioribus urbis locis per Pincium collem ad Exquilias commode strueret, Pincium ipsum collem ante Sanctissimæ Trinitatis templum humiliorem fecit et carpentis rhedisque pervium reddidit scalasque ad templum illud ab utroque portæ latere commodas perpulcrasque admodum extruxit, e quibus jucundissimus in totam urbem prospectus est.*"

‡ Extract from the well-known Letter from Castiglione to *Leo X*. *Lettere di Castiglione*; Padova, 1796, p. 149. I can find nothing in this letter of a project for a systematic excavation of the ancient city. It appears to me evident that it is the preface to a description of Rome, with a plan, to both of which reference is continually made in it. It is highly probable that the works of *Raffaelle* himself were to be introduced with this preface; this appears to me the more probable from the coincidence of several expressions in the well-known epigram on *Raffaelle's* death, with others in this letter, e. g. "*vedendo quasi il cadavere di quella nobil patria così miseramente lacerato*;"—"urbis lacerum ferro igni annisque cadaver ad vitam revocas." This, it is true, betokens a restoration, but only in imagination and description. This opinion does not run counter to the views hitherto set forth; on the contrary, it serves only to determine them more accurately. We may infer that the work which occupied the end of *Raffaelle's* life was tolerably far advanced, as a dedication of it was already written in his name. What a name to add to the number of *astygraphers*! The papers and plans may have fallen into the hands of *Fulvius*, who, in all probability, took a considerable part in the researches.

The spirit in which this recommendation was made or received was distant as pole from pole from that which actuated Sixtus V. The Franciscan had no sense which could apprehend the beauty of the remains of antiquity. The Septizonium of Severus, a most remarkable work, which had survived the storms of so many centuries, found no favor in his eyes. He utterly demolished it, and transported some of its pillars to St. Peter's.* He was as rash and reckless in destroying, as he was zealous in building, and it was universally feared that he would observe no moderation in either. Let us listen to what the cardinal of Santa Severina relates; it would be incredible, if we had it not from an eye-witness. "As people saw," says he, "that this pope was fully bent on the destruction of the antiquities of Rome, a number of Roman nobles came to me one day, and entreated me to do all in my power to dissuade his holiness from so extravagant a thought." They addressed themselves to that cardinal who was then unquestionably esteemed the greatest zealot. Cardinal Colonna supported their petition. The pope answered that he would clear away the ugly antiquities, but would restore the others which stood in need of restoration. Will it be believed, which he thought ugly? The tomb of Cæcilia Metella, even then the only considerable vestige of republican times, an admirable, sublime monument, he had doomed to utter demolition. What may he not have destroyed!

He could hardly bring himself to endure the Laocoon and the Apollo Belvedere in the Vatican; nor would he even suffer the statues with which the citizens of ancient Rome had adorned the capitol to remain there; he declared that he would pull down the capitol if they were not removed. They were, Jupiter Tonans between Apollo and Minerva, of which the two former were in fact removed; the Minerva alone was suffered to remain, but under the character which Sixtus chose to impose upon her, viz.: that of Christian Rome. He took away her spear, and substituted for it an enormous cross.†

In the same spirit, he restored the pillars of Trajan and Antonine; from the former he caused the urn to be taken away, which was said to contain the ashes of the emperor; this he dedicated to the apostle Peter, and the other to the apostle Paul; and from that time the statues of the two apostles have stood opposite to each other on this airy height, overtopping the houses. Sixtus imagined that he thus gave a triumph to the Christian faith over paganism.‡

His intense anxiety concerning the erection of the obelisk in the

* Gualterius: "Præcipue Severi Septizonii, quod incredibili Romanorum dolore demoliendum curavit, columnis marmoribusque usus est, passimque per urbem caveæ videbantur unde lapides omnis generis effodiebantur."

† Passage from the "Vita Sixti V, ipsius manu emendata," printed in Bunsen's Description of Rome, i, p. 702.

‡ So at least thinks, amongst others, J. P. Maffei, *Historiarum ab excessu, Gregorii XIII*, lib. i, p. 5.

front of St. Peter's was caused by his wish to see the monuments of impiety subjected to the cross, on the very spot where once the Christians suffered the death of the cross.* There was grandeur in the project; but his execution of it was highly characteristic—a mixture of violence, greatness, pomp, and fanaticism. He threatened the architect, Domenico Fontana, who had worked his way up under his eye from a mason's boy, with punishment, if this scheme miscarried, or if the obelisk sustained any damage. It was a work of the utmost difficulty—to raise it from its base near the sacristy of the old church of St. Peter, to remove it entire, and to fix it on a new site.

All engaged in it seemed inspired with the feeling that they were undertaking a work which would be renowned through all ages. The workmen, nine hundred in number, began by hearing mass, confessing, and receiving the communion. They then entered the space which had been marked out for the scene of their labors by a fence or railing. The master placed himself on an elevated seat. The obelisk was covered with matting and boards, bound round it with strong iron hoops; thirty-five windlasses were to set in motion the monstrous machine, which was to raise it up with strong ropes; each windlass was worked by two horses and ten men. At length a trumpet gave the signal. The very first turn took excellent effect; the obelisk was heaved from the base on which it had rested for fifteen hundred years; at the twelfth, it was raised two palms and three quarters, and remained steady; the master saw the huge mass, weighing, with its casings, above a million of Roman pounds, in his power. It was carefully noted, that this took place on the 30th of April, 1586, about the twentieth hour (about three in the afternoon). A signal was fired from fort St. Angelo, all the bells in the city rang, and the workmen carried their master in triumph around the inclosure, with incessant shouts and acclamations.

Seven days afterwards the obelisk was let down in the same skilful manner, upon rollers, on which it was then conveyed to its new destination. It was not till after the termination of the hot months, that they ventured to proceed to its re-erection.

The pope chose for this undertaking the 10th of September, a Wednesday, which he had always found to be a fortunate day, and the last before the feast of the Elevation of the Cross, to which the obelisk was to be dedicated. On this occasion, as before, the workmen began by recommending themselves to God; they fell on their knees as soon as they entered the inclosure. Fontana had not omitted to profit by the suggestions contained in a description by Ammianus Marcellinus, of the last raising of an obelisk, and

* Vita Sixti V, I. M. E.: "Ut ubi grassatum olim supplicii in Christianos et passim fixæ cruces, in quas innoxia natio sublata teterrimis cruciatibus necaretur, ibi supposita cruci et in crucis versa honorem cultumque ipsa impietatis monumenta cernerentur."

had likewise provided the power of one hundred and forty horses. It was esteemed a peculiar good fortune, that the sky was covered on that day. Everything went well: the obelisk was moved by three great efforts, and an hour before sunset it sank upon its pedestal on the backs of the four bronze lions which appear to support it. The exultation of the people was indescribable, and the satisfaction of the pope complete; for the work which so many of his predecessors had desired to execute, which so many writers had recommended, he had now accomplished. He remarked in his diary, that he had succeeded in the greatest and most difficult enterprise which the mind of man could imagine. He caused medals, commemorating it, to be struck; received congratulatory poems in every language, and sent formal announcements of it to all potentates.*

He affixed a strange inscription, boasting that he had wrested this monument from the emperors Augustus and Tiberius, and consecrated it to the Holy Cross, in sign of which he caused a cross to be placed upon it, in which was inclosed a supposed piece of the wood of the true cross.

This transaction is a complete expression of his character and tone of thought. Even the monuments of paganism were compelled to minister to the glorification of the cross.

He devoted himself with his whole soul to his projects of building: to the shepherd boy, brought up in the midst of fields and gardens, the city had peculiar attractions; he would never hear of a villeggiatura, and replied to every proposal of the kind, that "his recreation and delight was to see abundance of roofs."

He kept thousands of hands constantly employed; nor did any difficulty deter him from an undertaking.

The cupola of St. Peter's was still wanting, and the builders required ten years for its completion. Sixtus was willing to furnish money for this purpose, but on condition that he might feast his eyes on the perfect work. He set six hundred men to work, and allowed no intermission, day or night: in two-and-twenty months it was finished; the leaden covering to the roof was the only part that he did not live to see.

But even in works of this kind, he set no bounds to his headstrong

* The Dispacci di Critti, from 3—10 Maggio, 12 Luglio, 11 Ottobre, speak of this undertaking. The "Vita Sixti V. ipsius manu emendata," well describes the effect: "Tenuitque universæ civitatis oculos novæ et post 1500 amplius annos relatæ rei spectaculo, cum aut sedibus suis avulsam tolleret molem, uno tempore et duodenis vectibus impulsam et quinis tricenis ergatis quas equi bini homines deni agebant in sublime elatam, aut cum suspensam inde sensim deponeret extenderetque humi junctis trabibus atque ex his ingenti composita traha quæ jacentem exciperet, aut cum suppositis cylindris (sunt hæ lignæ columnæ teretes et volubiles) quaternis ergatis protracta paulatim per editum et ad altitudinem basis cui imponenda erat excitatum aggerem atque undique egregie munitum incederet, denique cum iterum erecta librataque suis reposita sedibus est."

and impetuous will. He demolished without remorse those remains of the papal Patriarchium, near the Lateran, which were by no means inconsiderable or mean, and were, moreover, singularly interesting—antiquities connected with the dignity which he himself enjoyed—in order to erect in their place his palace of the Lateran, which was not at all wanted, and which excites a very equivocal interest, solely as being one of the first specimens of the uniform regularity of modern architecture.

So entirely were the relations changed in which the existing generation stood to antiquity. A preceding age had emulated the ancients, and so did that which we are now contemplating; but the former had sought to rival them in grace and beauty of form; the present, to equal or surpass them in massive construction. Formerly, any trace of the antique spirit was revered in the smallest remains; now, it seemed to be the object to obliterate these traces. The men of this age followed one exclusive and omnipotent idea, and recognised no other. It was the same which had gained dominion in the church; the same which had made the state the organ of the church. This idea, which characterised modern catholicism, now pervaded every vein of the social body, and flowed in the most various directions.

§ 9. GENERAL CHANGE IN THE INTELLECTUAL TENDENCY OF
THE AGE.

It would be a mistake to imagine that the influence of the spirit we have just contemplated was confined to the pope. In every department of mind, in every portion of society, we discern, at the termination of this century, a tendency directly opposed to that which marked its commencement.

One of the strongest indications of this change is, that the study of the ancients, which in the former period had been the source and spring of all knowledge, had now fallen into complete neglect. It is true that another Aldus Manutius appeared at Rome, and that he was professor of eloquence; but neither his Greek nor his Latin could win admirers. At the hours of his lectures he was seen pacing up and down before the portal of the university, with one or two hearers, from whom alone he found any sympathy in his pursuits. What vast progress did the study of the Greek language and literature make in the beginning of the century!—and at the conclusion of it, Italy did not possess a single Hellenist of note.

It is not my intention to represent this change entirely as a symptom of decline: in a certain sense, it is connected with the inevitable progress of scientific discovery.

For though all science had formerly been drawn directly from the ancients, this was now no longer possible. On the one hand,

the materials had enormously accumulated. What a totally different knowledge of natural history, for instance, was acquired by Ulisse Aldrovandi, during the labors of a long life and extensive travel, from that which any ancient could possess! He collected a museum which he endeavored to render complete; wherever the natural object was wanting, he filled its place with a drawing, and attached to every specimen an elaborate description. The field of geography had also received an extension far beyond the widest imaginations of the ancient world.

On the other hand, a deep and searching spirit of investigation had arisen. The mathematicians sought at first only to fill up the chasm left by the ancients. (Commandino, for example, thought he discovered that Archimedes must have either read or written something concerning the centre of gravity, which, consequently, must have been lost; and this idea caused him to investigate the subject itself.) But this very process led to far more extensive results; those who began their inquiries under the conduct of the ancients, emancipated themselves from their authority; discoveries were made beyond the limits which they had prescribed, and these again opened a way to further researches.

The study of nature especially was pursued with equal ardor and independence of mind. There was a momentary vacillation between an acquiescence in the mystery in which nature veils all her works, and a courageous, searching investigation of phenomena. But the latter, the scientific tendency, was soon victorious. An attempt was already made to divide the vegetable world according to a rational system; whilst Padua boasted a professor who was called the Columbus of the human body. Inquiries were more and more extended and active, and science was no longer limited to the regions explored by antiquity.

It followed—if I mistake not, by necessary consequence—that as the antique was no longer studied with the same veneration and confidence with reference to matter, it could no longer have the same influence with reference to form, which it had hitherto exercised.

Works of erudition began to be valued mainly in proportion to the accumulation of materials. In the beginning of the century, Cortesius had given to the world the essential part of the scholastic philosophy, inapplicable as that was to the wants of the age, in a well-written classical work, full of talent and wit: now Natale Conte manufactured a tedious uninviting quarto out of that antique material, the fit handling of which would have called forth all the resources of genius and imagination—mythology. The same author likewise wrote a history; yet though the sentences with which his book is adorned are almost all taken immediately from the ancients, and the passages from which they are extracted are cited, he makes no approach to a lively and characteristic representation of antiquity. It seemed enough for his cotemporaries to

heap together masses of facts. It may safely be affirmed, that a work like the *Annals of Baronius*, so utterly devoid of all attempt at form, written in Latin, but without a trace of elegance even in the detached phrases, was a thing that could not have entered the minds of men in the beginning of the century.

Whilst the track of the ancients was thus deserted, not only in scientific inquiries but still more in form and expression, changes took place in the vital condition of the nation, which exercised an incalculable influence on all literary and artistical pursuits.

Republican, independent Italy, on whose peculiar circumstances the earlier development of the genius of her sons depended, fell for ever. The freedom and simplicity of the intellectual commonwealth utterly vanished. It is worthy of note, that titles were then introduced: as early as the year 1520 some persons remarked with disgust that every man wanted to be called "sir;" a degeneracy of taste which was ascribed to Spanish influence. About the year 1550 ponderous epithets of honor already encumbered and oppressed the simple address by speech and letter hitherto in use. Towards the end of the century the titles of "duca" and "marchese" became prevalent; everybody wanted them; everybody would be "excellency." It is easy to say that this love of trivialities has no great significancy; but its influence is still felt, long after the state of things which occasions it is obsolete; how much more when it was new! In every other respect, also, society became stricter, stiffer, more exclusive: the gay ease of earlier manners, the simple frankness of mutual intercourse, were gone for ever.

Be the cause what it may—whether it be a change founded in the nature of the human mind—thus much is manifest, that all productions, even towards the middle of the century, are pervaded by a new spirit; that society, in its living and positive forms, had new wants.

Of all the phenomena which mark this change, perhaps, the most striking is the recast of *Bojardo's Orlando Innamorato*, by *Berni*. It is the same work, and yet a totally different one. All the charm, all the freshness of the original poem, are obliterated. On a deeper observation, we find that the author has everywhere substituted the universal for the individual; the sort of conventional decorum required by Italian society, then and now, for the unconstrained, careless expression of a lovely and living nature.* He exactly hit the public taste; his poem was received with incredible approbation, and the parasitic work, thus remodelled, has entirely superseded the original. How rapidly too had this transformation become complete! Not fifty years had elapsed since the publication of the first edition.

* I have attempted to carry this out more in detail in the before-mentioned *Academical Treatise*.

We may follow this altered key-note, these indications of a new spirit, through most of the productions of that time.

It is not entirely want of talent which renders the great poems of Alamanni and Bernardo Tasso uninteresting and tedious (the latter especially.) Their very conception is cold. In conformity with the tastes and demands of a public which, though assuredly not very virtuous, was become sedate and decorous, they selected irreproachable heroes. Bernardo chose Amadis, of whom Torquato Tasso says, "Dante would have retracted the unfavorable judgment he expresses concerning the romances of chivalry, if he had known the Amadis of Gaul or of Greece; so full are their characters of nobleness and constancy." Alamanni took for his subject Giron le Courtois, the mirror of all knightly virtues. His avowed object was to show youth by this example, how to endure hunger and watchings, cold and heat; how to bear arms, to show justice and mercy to all, and to forgive enemies. As they proceeded in the manner of Berni with this moral and didactic aim, and designedly stripped their fables of the poetical groundwork they possessed, it followed that their works were feeble, dry and diffuse.

It appeared, so to speak, as if the nation had used up the stock of poetical conceptions and images which had sprung out of her past history, out of the ideas of the middle ages; as if she no longer possessed even the power of understanding them. She sought something new. But neither would creative genius arise, nor did society furnish any fresh and unwrought material. Up to the middle of the century, Italian prose, though, in accordance with its nature, didactic, was yet spirited, warm, pliant, and graceful. Gradually prose too became stiff and cold.

Art shared the fate of poetry. She lost the inspiration which had suggested her religious subjects, and, soon after, that which had animated her profane works. Some traces of it remained in the Venetian school alone; Raffaele's scholars, with one exception, were wholly degenerate. While they endeavored to imitate him, they lost themselves in artificial beauty, theatrical attitudes, affected graces; and their works bear sufficient evidence of the total want of warmth or sense of beauty in the soul which conceived them. The scholars of Michael Angelo did no better. Art had lost all comprehension of her object; she had discarded the ideas which she had formerly taxed all her powers to clothe with form; she retained nothing but the externals of method.

In this state of things, when antiquity was deserted—when it had ceased to furnish form to art, or to prescribe limits to science—when, at the same time, the old national poetry and the religious mode of conception were scorned and rejected by literature and by art—the resuscitation of the church began. It gained possession of men's minds, with their will or against it; it introduced an entire alteration in the whole domain and condition of art and of literature.

The influence of the church on science was, however, if I mistake not, completely different from that which she exercised over art.

Philosophy, and indeed science generally, passed through another very remarkable phase. After the restoration of the genuine Aristotle, men began (as it happened in other branches, and with other writers of antiquity,) to emancipate themselves even from his authority in philosophy, and to advance to a free investigation of the highest problems that can engage the human mind. From the very nature of things, the church could not encourage this freedom of thought. She herself hastened to establish first principles, in a manner that left no room for doubt. But if the followers of Aristotle had frequently professed opinions at variance with the church and with revealed religion, something of the same kind was also to be feared from his opponents. They were resolved, as one of them expressed it, to compare the dogmas of former teachers with the original handwriting of God—with the world and the nature of things; an undertaking the consequences of which could not be foreseen or estimated, which must inevitably lead either to discoveries or to errors of very insidious tendency, and which therefore the church took care to thwart. Although Thelesis did not in fact extend his speculations above the sphere of physics, he was compelled to remain all his life in his small native town; Campanella lived a fugitive, and suffered torture; the deepest thinker of all, Giordano Bruno, a true philosopher, after many persecutions and long wanderings, was at length accused before the inquisition, "not only," as the legal record declares, "as a heretic, but a heresiarch, who had written things unseemly concerning religion;"* he was imprisoned, sent to Rome, and condemned to perish in the flames.

* In a Venetian MS. in the Archives at Vienna, under the head "Roma, Espositioni, 1592, 28 Sett.," is the original copy of a protocol concerning the delivering up of Giordano Bruno. The vicar of the patriarch, the father inquisitor, and the assistant of the inquisition, Tommaso Morosini, appeared before the college. The vicar asserted: "Li giorni passati esser stato ritenuto e tuttavia ritrovarsi nelle prigioni di questo città deputate al servizio del santo ufficio Giordano Bruno da Nola, imputato non solo di heretico, ma anche di heresiarca, havendo composto diversi libri, nei quali, laudando assai la regina d' Inghilterra et altri principi heretici, scriveva alcune cose concernenti il particular della religione che non convenivano sebene egli parlava filosoficamente, e che costui era apostata, essendo stato primo frate domenicano, che era vissuto molti anni in Ginevra et Inghilterra, e che in Napoli et altri luoghi era stato inquisito della medesima imputatione: e che essendosi saputo a Roma la prigionia di costui, lo ill^{mo} Santa Severina supremo inquisitore haveva scritto e dato ordine che fusse inviato a Roma — con prima sicura occasione:" he further declared that such an opportunity now offered itself. They received no immediate answer. After dinner, the father inquisitor again appeared, and was very urgent, as the vessel was just on the point of departure. But the Savj answered: "che essendo la cosa di momento e consideratione e le occupationi di questo stato molte e gravi non si haveva per alhora potuto fare risolutione." Accordingly the vessel sailed without the prisoner. I have not been able to discover whether he was eventually given up in consequence of fresh negotiations.

After such examples, who could have courage for free inquiry? Of all the innovators which this century produced, there was but one, Francisco Patrizi, who found favor at Rome. He too attacked Aristotle, though only on the ground that the doctrines of that philosopher were contrary to the church and to Christianity. He endeavored to trace a genuine philosophical tradition (as opposed to the Aristotelic opinions,) from the pretended Hermes Trismegistus, in whom he thought he found a clearer exposition of the Trinity than even in the Mosaical writings, down through all succeeding ages: this he sought to renovate, to restore, and to substitute for the Aristotelic philosophy. In all the dedications of his works, he insists on this project of his, and on the utility, the necessity, of its execution. He was a man of a singular turn of mind; not without critical power, but power displayed only in what he rejects, not in what he accepts. He was called to Rome, and maintained himself in high favor there, by those peculiarities in his opinions which were acceptable to the church, and by the tendency of his labors; not certainly by their influence, which was extremely small.

Researches in physics and natural history were at that time almost inextricably interwoven with speculations in philosophy. The whole system of previous and existing ideas was called in question. In fact, the Italians of that epoch manifested a grand tendency towards searching investigation, intrepid pursuit of truth, noble aspirations, and high prophetic visions of discovery. Who shall say whither this tendency would have led? But the church marked out a line which they were not to overstep;—woe to him who ventured to pass it.

But if, as it is impossible to doubt, the restoration of catholicism acted repressively on science, it had a contrary effect on art and poetry. They stood in need of a prolific material, of a living subject, and they found it once more in the church.

The example of Torquato Tasso is a striking proof of the power which the regeneration of religion had acquired over the minds of men. His father had selected a morally faultless hero; Torquato went a step further. Another poet of that time had chosen the crusades for his subject, "because it is better to handle a true argument in a Christian manner, than to seek a little christian renown in a fictitious one." Torquato Tasso did the same. He took his hero not from fable, but from history—a Christian hero. Godfrey is more than Æneas, he is like a saint, sated with the world and with its transitory glory. A poem exclusively devoted to the delineation of such a character would have been a very dry and insipid work, but Tasso instantly seized on the sentimental and enthusiastic part of religion, which harmonises perfectly with the fairy world whose many-colored threads he interwove in the web of his story. The poem is occasionally somewhat tedious, and the expression is not always thoroughly worked out; yet it is a poem full of fancy and feeling, of national spirit and truth of character, by

which Tasso has enchained the love and the admiration of his countrymen to this hour.

Yet what a contrast to Ariosto! Poetry had formerly fallen away from the church; religion, rising in new youth and vigor from her languor and weakness, now once more subjugated poetry to her empire.

At Bologna, not far from Ferrara, where Tasso composed his poem, arose, soon after, the school of the Caracci, whose rise marks a general change in the state of painting.

If we inquire what were the causes of this change, we are referred to the anatomical studies of the Bolognese academy, their eclectic imitation, and their learned style of art. And undoubtedly the zeal with which they labored, in their manner, to approach the appearances of nature, is a great merit. But what were the tasks which they proposed to themselves, and what the spirit in which they addressed themselves to their accomplishment, seem to me a consideration of at least equal importance.

Ludovico Caracci employed himself much in embodying the ideal of Christ; in some instances, as in his picture of the calling of Matthew, he is successful in producing a representation of the mild and serious man, full of truth and fervor, of benignity and majesty, which has so often served as a model to succeeding painters. It is true he imitates elder masters, but the manner in which he does this is characteristic of his turn of mind. He evidently has Raffaele's Transfiguration before his eyes; but even while he appropriates it, he makes Christ raise his hand towards Moses, as if in act to teach. The masterpiece of Agostino Caracci is unquestionably his St. Jerome. The aged saint is represented in the arms of death, motionless; his last breath is a fervent aspiration after the host, which the ministering priest is bringing him. Annibal's *Ecce Homo*, of the Borghese palace, with its deep shadows, its delicate transparent skin, and its flowing tears, is Ludovico's ideal, but elevated to a higher pitch of sublimity. There is admirable grandeur and freshness of conception, even in the rigidity of death, in the *Pietà*, a work in which the tremendous and tragical event is conceived and expressed with a new feeling. In the lunettes at the Doria palace, the landscape is inspired with life by the simple expression of the human incidents of the sacred history.

We perceive that although these masters did not reject profane subjects, they devoted themselves with great zeal to sacred ones. It is not therefore so much their outward and technical merits which entitle them to the rank they hold among artists; the grand point will ever be, that they, like their great predecessors, were filled and animated by their subject; that the religious scenes which they bring before our senses, had once more some significancy to their own minds.

The same tendency distinguishes their pupils. Domenichino worked out the ideal of St. Jerome, of which Agostino Caracci was

the author, with such felicitous industry, that he perhaps surpassed his master in variety of grouping and perfection of expression. His head of St. Nilus appears to me admirable, from its blended expression of suffering and reflection; his prophetesses are full of youth, innocence, and profound meditation. His favorite study was, to place the joys of heaven in contrast with the sufferings of earth, the most striking example of which is in the Madonna del Rosario—the Divine Mother, full of grace, contrasted with a feeble and miserable mortal.

Occasionally Guido Reni too seizes this contrast, though perhaps only in the more obvious form of the Virgin glowing in immortal beauty, opposed to some monkish saint, worn and attenuated with ascetic practices. Guido has freedom and originality of conception. How magnificent is his Judith, taken in the very feeling of the deed she has accomplished, and of the gratitude she owes to Heaven for the aid she has received! Who does not immediately recognise his ecstatic Madonnas, almost dissolved in rapture? Even his saints are distinguished by that expression of sentimental reverie which was the peculiar ideal of his creation.

But we have not yet described all the characteristics of the dominant tendency of the age; it has another and a less attractive side. The conceptions of these painters are sometimes fantastic and incongruous. For example, we find a St. John ceremoniously kissing the foot of the infant Jesus, introduced into the beautiful group of the Holy Family; or the apostles coming apparently to condole with the Virgin, and preparing to wipe away their tears. How often too is the horrible delineated, without the least attempt to soften its repulsive aspect! In the St. Agnes of Domenichino, we see the blood start from beneath the sword. Guido conceived the murder of the Innocents in its naked atrocity and terror; the women have all their mouths open, screaming, while the savage soldiers are in the act of butchering the defenceless infants.

In the age we are now contemplating, art is once more become religious, as she was in earlier times, but her inspirations are of a widely different character. Elder art was simple, true, direct; in this age, she had something forced and fantastic.

No one will refuse admiration to the talents of Guercino; but what a St. John is that in the Sciarra gallery, with large nervous arms, colossal bare knees, and an expression of gloomy inspiration, which leaves the spectator in doubt whether it be of a heavenly or an earthly nature! His St. Thomas lays his hand with so rude a touch on the wounds in the side of Christ, that we shrink back with a feeling of pain. Guercino represents Peter Martyr precisely at the moment in which the sword enters his head. There is a picture by this artist of St. Bernard investing a duke of Aquitaine with the cowl, while a monk by his side is laboring at the conversion of one of the duke's squires: we thus find ourselves consigned to a premeditated scene of devotion, from which there is no escape.

We shall not here go into the inquiry how far the bounds of art were overpassed by this treatment of subjects—sometimes fantastically ideal, sometimes hard and unnatural; it is sufficient if we remark, that the church obtained entire dominion over restored painting. She infused new life into art by the breath of poetry and by the principles of a positive religion; but she imparted to it at the same time an ecclesiastical, sacerdotal, and dogmatical character.

This she effected with still greater ease in architecture, which was her more immediate handmaid. I do not know if any one has traced the progress of modern architecture, from the imitation of the antique, to the canon invented by Barozzi for the construction of churches, which has been adhered to ever since in Rome, and throughout the catholic world. The lightness and genial freedom which marked the beginning of the century were transmuted, in this, as in the sister arts, into solemnity, and pomp, and religious magnificence.

With regard to one art alone, it was long doubtful whether it would lend itself entirely to the purposes of the church or not.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, music had lost herself in the most intricate artificiality. The reputation of a composer rested entirely on arbitrary and difficult tricks, while the meaning of the words was wholly disregarded: there are a great number of masses of that period, which were little else than variations on themes of some well known profane airs; the human voice was treated as a mere instrument.* No wonder if the council of Trent was scandalized at the performance of such music in the churches. In consequence of its discussions, Pius IV nominated a commission to advise upon the question, whether music was to be permitted in the churches, or not. The decision was very doubtful. The church required distinctness of the words, and adaptation of the musical expression to them. The musicians affirmed that this was not to be attained according to the laws of their art. Carlo Borromeo was in the commission, and a severe judgment was rendered very probable by the strict opinions of this great ecclesiastic.

Happily for art, the right man appeared at the critical moment.

Among the composers at that time in Rome was Pier-Luigi Palestrina. The rigor of Paul IV had driven him out of the papal chapel because he was married; from that time he had lived, secluded and forgotten, in a miserable hut among the vineyards of Monte Celio. His was a spirit that adversity could not crush. Even in this solitude he devoted himself to his art with an enthusiasm which ensured to the creative power within him, freedom and originality of production. Here he wrote the "Improperie," which still yearly solemnise Good Friday in the Sistine chapel. Never,

* Giuseppe Baini, *Memorie storico-critiche della Vita e delle Opere di Giovanni Pier-Luigi di Palestrina*, Roma, 1828, communicates the information of which I have made use.

probably, had a composer a more exquisite appreciation of the profound sentiment of his text, of its symbolical meaning, its applicability to religion, its capacity for moving the soul.

If ever a man was competent to make the experiment, whether the method he had adopted could be applied to the more extended and complicated work of a mass, it was Palestrina; the commission intrusted it to him. He felt completely that it was an experiment on which depended the life or death of the grand music of the mass. He applied himself to his task with conscious tension of all his powers; on his manuscript were found the words, "Domine, illumina oculos meos!"

He did not immediately succeed; the two first attempts failed; but at length, in a fortunate moment, he completed that mass, known under the name of the mass of Pope Marcellus, which surpassed all expectation. Though full of simple melody, it may be compared in variety with any preceding masses. Choruses separate, and re-unite; the meaning of the words is expressed with unrivalled force and accuracy; the Kyrie is submission; the Agnus, humility; the Credo, majesty. Pope Pius IV, before whom it was performed, was enraptured, and compared it to the heavenly melodies which the apostle John heard in his ecstatic trance.

By this one great example the question was now for ever set at rest. A path was opened, in following which the most beautiful works, the most touching, even to those who are not of the church, were produced. Who can hear them without enthusiasm? It is as if nature acquired tone and utterance; as if the elements spoke, and the voice of universal life broke forth in the spontaneous harmony of adoration; now undulating, like the waves of the sea—now mounting in songs of triumph to Heaven.

This art, which had perhaps been more completely alienated from the spirit and service of the church than any other, now became the most strongly attached to it. Nothing could be more important to catholicism. Even in its dogmas, it had, if we mistake not, caught something of that spirit of enthusiastic reverie which pervades the most impressive penitential and devotional books.—Spiritual sentimentality and rapture were the favorite themes of poetry and painting. Music, which speaks a language more direct, more impressive, more irresistible, more adapted to ideal expression, than any other expositor or any other art, became the interpreter of these emotions, and thus subjugated all minds to her empire.

§ 10. THE CURIA.

While all the elements of social life and of intellectual activity were thus penetrated and transformed by the ecclesiastical spirit,

the court of Rome, which was the centre where all these elements met, was itself greatly changed.

Even under Paul IV this change was perceptible; the example of Pius V had an immense influence in accelerating its progress; and under Gregory XIII it displayed itself in all its strength, and became obvious to every mind. "It has contributed infinitely to the advantage of the church," says Paolo Tiepolo, in the year 1576, "that several popes in succession have been men of irreproachable lives; hence all others are become better, or have at least assumed the appearance of being so. Cardinals and prelates attend mass punctually; their households are studious to avoid anything that can give scandal; the whole city has put off its old recklessness, and is become much more Christian-like in life and manners than formerly. It may be affirmed, that Rome, in matters of religion, is not far from that degree of perfection which human nature can attain to."

We are not, however, to imagine that this court was composed of puritanical hypocrites. On the contrary, it consisted of distinguished men, but of men who had adopted sincerely and energetically the strict and orthodox opinions and sentiments described by Tiepolo.

If we bring before our view the court as it was in the time of Sixtus V, we shall find among the cardinals not a few who had taken a leading part in political affairs: Gallio di Como, who had conducted the government as prime minister under two pontificates, endowed with the talent of ruling by suppleness, and who now distinguished himself chiefly by the application of his great revenues to ecclesiastical endowments: Rusticucci, powerful even under Pius V, and not without great influence under Sixtus; a man of great industry, full of acuteness of mind and kindness of heart, but doubtless rendered the more circumspect and blameless in his manners by his hopes of the pontificate: Salviati, who had acquired a high reputation by his successful administration of the government of Bologna; irreproachable, simple, and not only serious, but severe in his life: Santorio, Cardinal of Santa Severina, the man of the inquisition, long possessed of great and leading influence in all spiritual affairs; obstinate in his opinions, rigorous towards his servants, harsh and hard even to his kindred, much more so to others, inaccessible to all: contrasted with him, Madruzzi, always in the secret of the policy of the house of Austria, (both the Spanish and the German lines,) who was called the Cato of the College; a name, however, applicable only to his learning and spotless virtue, not to any censorious arrogance, for he was modesty itself. Sirleto was still living; of all the cardinals of his time unquestionably the most profoundly versed in science and in languages—a living library, as Mureto calls him; yet who did not disdain, when he quitted his books, to call about him the poor boys who were carrying their fagots of wood to market, to instruct them in the mysteries of the

faith, and then to buy their wood of them; a man of a most kindly and compassionate temper.*

The example of Carlo Borromeo had a great influence, and his memory was gradually exalted to the glories of canonization. Federigo Borromeo was by nature irritable and violent, but, taking his uncle as a model, he led a devout life, and did not allow the mortifications which he frequently experienced to impair his self-control. But he who presented the most faithful copy of the holy bishop of Milan, was Agostino Valiere—a man of a nature as pure and noble as his erudition was rare; one who implicitly followed the dictates of his own conscience, and now, in his extreme old age, appeared the living type of a bishop of the primitive church.

The example of the cardinals was followed by the rest of the prelates, who were their associates in the congregation, and their destined successors in the college.

Among the members of the supreme court, the “*auditori di rota*,” two were peculiarly eminent, of entirely opposite characters: Mantica, who lived only amidst books and records, who served the forum and the schools by his juristical works, and whose language was plain and abrupt; and Arigone, who gave his time to the world, the court, and business, rather than to books, and was remarkable for judgment and for pliancy of character; both, however, equally anxious to maintain a high reputation for purity and sanctity of life. Among the bishops about the court, the most remarkable were those who had exercised their talents as nuncios: Torres, who had taken a great share in the formation of the league of Pius V against the Turks; Malaspina, who had watched over the interests of the catholic church in Germany and the north; Bolognetti, to whom the arduous visitation of the Venetian churches was committed: all indebted for their advancement to their talents for business, and their zeal for the faith.

Men of learning held a distinguished rank in the court: Bellarmine, professor, grammarian, and the greatest controversialist of the catholic church, who left behind him the reputation of an apostolic life; another Jesuit, Maffei, the author of the history of the Portuguese conquests in India, especially as they affected the diffusion of Christianity in the south and east, and also of a life of Loyola, written with deliberate diffuseness and labored elegance.† Sometimes there were also foreigners, as for example the German Clavius, who united profound science with innocence of life, and enjoyed universal respect; or Muret, a Frenchman, the best Latin scholar of his time, who, after having passed a great portion of his

* Ciaconius, *Vitæ Papatum* III, p. 978. This also contains Sirleto's epitaph, in which he is described as “*eruditorum pauperumque patronus*.” In Cardella, *Memorie storiche de' Cardinali*, we only find the notices contained in Ciaconius put into Italian.

† Vita J. P. Maffei, Serassio Auctore. In the edition of Maffei's Works: Berg. 1747.

life in writing a commentaty on the Pandects in an original and classic style—a work in which he showed equal wit and eloquence—became a priest in his old age, devoted himself to theological studies, and said mass daily; or the Spanish canonist Azpilcueta, whose “*responsa*” were regarded as oracles both at the court of Rome and throughout the whole catholic world, and who at the very time when Pope Gregory XIII was often seen to stop before his door for hours talking to him, disdained not to perform the lowest offices in the hospitals.

Among these remarkable personages, Filippo Neri, founder of the congregation of the Oratory, an eminent confessor and guardian of souls, acquired a profound and extensive influence. He was good-humored, jocose, strict in essentials, indulgent in trifles; he never commanded—he advised, or, perhaps, requested; he did not dissertate, he conversed; he possessed the acuteness necessary to distinguish the peculiar merit of every character. His Oratory grew out of visits which were paid to him by young men who regarded themselves as his disciples, and wished to live in his society. The most celebrated among them is the annalist of the church; Cæsar Baronius; Filippo Neri perceived his talents, and persuaded him to give lectures on ecclesiastical history in the Oratory. Though, at first, he had no great inclination for this task,* Baronius prosecuted it for thirty years, and when he was created cardinal, he constantly rose before daylight to labor at it. He regularly ate with all his household at one table, and suffered nothing but humility and piety to be seen around him. In the college, as well as in the oratory, his most intimate friend and associate was Tarugi, who had acquired great credit as a preacher and confessor, and was no less remarkable than Baronius for a blameless and godly life; they were happy in a friendship which ended only with their lives, and were buried side by side. A third disciple of San Filippo was Silvio Antoniano, who was indeed rather conspicuous for his love of liberal literature and of poetical composition; when, at a later period, a pope employed him to compose his briefs, he did it with unusual literary perfection. His manners were most gentle, modest, and affable; his whole character, kindness and piety.

All who rose to eminence in this court, whether in politics, administration, poetry, art, or learning, were imbued with the same spirit.

What a contrast to the curia in the beginning of the century, when the cardinals lived at open variance with the popes, when the popes girded on the sword, and kept at a distance from their court and from their daily life whatever could recall their Christian duty and vocation! The cardinals now lived in a conventual quiet and decorum. The thing which mainly contributed to prevent car-

* Gallonius, *Vita Phil. Nerii*; Mog., 1602; p. 163.

dinal Tosco's election to the papacy, which he was at one time very near obtaining, was, that he had a habit of using two or three Lombard proverbs which shocked the ears of the Romans. So exclusive, so sensitive, was public opinion.

But we must not conceal that, as in literature and art, so also in opinions and manners, another, and to our feelings, a less agreeable side of the picture, manifested itself. Miracles, which had not been seen for a long time, began again. At San Silvestro an image of the Virgin began to speak, which made so universal an impression on the people, that the barren region around the church was soon covered with houses. In Rione de' Monti a miraculous image appeared in a hayrick, and the country people of those parts thought this so visible a mark of the favor of Heaven, that they took up arms to resist the attempt to remove it; we find similar appearances in Narni, Todi, San Severino, and gradually spreading from the States of the Church over the whole catholic world. The popes too resumed the practice of canonization, which they had long discontinued. Few confessors had the wisdom and discretion of Filippo Neri; empty and unprofitable works of sanctity were encouraged, and the representation of divine things was mixed with fantastic superstition.

Happy would it be could we cherish the conviction that this was accompanied in the minds of the many, with an entire obedience to the precepts of religion.

But the very nature and constitution of the court of Rome rendered it impossible that the most eager worldly competition should not be as active there as exertions in the cause of religion.

The curia was not merely an ecclesiastical institution; it had to rule a state, and, indirectly, to govern a great part of the world. In proportion as a man shared in the exercise of this power, he acquired consideration, fortune, influence, and all that excites the cupidity, or stimulates the exertions of men. Human nature could not be so utterly changed, as that the members of the court of Rome should aim at the acquisition of the great prizes of social and political life, by spiritual means alone. The struggle for them here was in general the same as in other courts, only it was carried on with certain peculiarities of manner, generated by the nature and character of the arena.

Rome had at that time the most fluctuating population of any city in the world. Under Leo X, it had risen to more than 80,000 souls; while under Paul IV, whose inexorable severity put everybody to flight, it sank to 45,000; immediately after his death, it rose again in two or three years to 70,000; and in the reign of Sixtus V, to upwards of 100,000. The most remarkable thing was, that so great a number of residents were unconnected with the place or the population; it was rather a long sojourn than a permanent citizenship. It might be compared to a fair or a diet—an assemblage of people without stability or fixedness, without connecting ties of

blood. Numbers repaired to Rome because they could find no road to preferment in their own country; one was driven thither by wounded pride, another by boundless ambition; while many thought they enjoyed more liberty there than elsewhere. Every man sought to rise in his own way.

But all these heterogeneous elements had not grown into one body; the races and countries were still so numerous and so distinct, that the peculiarities of national and provincial character were very discernible. The attentive, docile Lombard was easily distinguished from the Genoese, who thought he could accomplish everything by means of his money; or from the Venetian, interested in the discovery of other men's secrets. There was the frugal, loquacious Florentine; the Romagnese, who followed his own interest with inflexible perseverance and instinctive sagacity; the exacting and ceremonious Neapolitan. The men of the north were remarked for their simplicity and their taste for good living; even Clavius, the learned German, provoked the jests of his friends by his two plentiful breakfasts: the French held themselves apart, and relinquished their national customs with more difficulty than any others; while the Spaniard, wrapped in his *sottana* and his cloak, full of pretensions and ambitious schemes, looked down on all the rest with contempt.

There was nothing which the obscurest individual of the throng might not aspire to. It was remembered with pleasure that John XXIII, when asked why he went to Rome, replied "that he meant to be pope;"—and he was pope. Pius V, and Sixtus V, too, had risen from the lowest station to the highest earthly dignity. Every man deemed himself capable of everything, and hoped for everything.

It was a common remark at that time, and it is perfectly true, that the prelacy and the curia had somewhat of a republican character. The resemblance consisted in this;—that all might pretend to all; that every day saw examples of men of mean extraction rising to the highest offices. But this republic was most strangely constituted; opposed to the rights of the many, was the absolute power of one, on whose will every favor, every advancement depended. And who was this one? It was he who, by a combination on which it was absolutely impossible to calculate, came out of the elective contest victorious. Hitherto of little importance, he suddenly came into possession of the fulness of power. He was the less tempted to deny his personal character or circumstances, since he had the persuasion that he was chosen to bear the highest dignity by the operation of the Holy Spirit. He generally began his reign by a thorough and radical change. All the legates, all the governors of provinces, were changed. In the capital there were places which fell, as matter of course, to the nepotes for the time being. If nepotism, as in the times we have just been considering, was kept in check, yet every pope favored his old friends

and dependents; it was natural that he should not bear to be robbed of the society of those he had been accustomed to live with; the secretary who had so long served the cardinal Montalto, must of course be the most agreeable to pope Sixtus; it was natural that a pope should make those who shared his opinions, share also in his advancement. The accession of a new pope therefore caused a sort of revolution in all prospects and all expectations: in the road to power, and in ecclesiastical, as well as temporal, dignities.

"It is," says Commendone, "as if the royal palace in a city were transplanted, and all the streets and ways leading to it, altered. How many houses must be pulled down, how often must the road be cut through a palace, while new lanes and alleys begin to be inhabited and frequented!" This comparison not unaptly describes the violence of the changes, and the instability of all establishments at that time.

Hence necessarily arose a circumstance of the most singular kind.

As it frequently happened that the popes came to the throne at so much more advanced an age than other sovereigns; as a fresh change might take place at any moment, and power pass into other hands, people lived as it were in a perpetual game of chance; like that, the state of things was reducible to no calculation, and like that, it kept hope continually alive.

The promotion which every one anxiously desired, depended on personal favor; while the extraordinary instability of all personal influence, compelled calculating ambition to assume a corresponding form, and to pursue most unusual paths.

Among the MS. collections at Berlin are a great number of directions for conduct at this court.* The various ways in which each man seeks his advancement and fortune, are a curious subject of observation. Human nature is susceptible of endless modifications; the more complex and difficult the relations in which it stands, the more unexpected are the forms which it assumes.

The same path was not open to all. He who possessed nothing, was compelled to adapt himself to the service of others. Literary men still lived in the houses of princes and cardinals as a sort of retainers. Those who were obliged to undertake such a situation, tried by every possible means to win the favor of their lord, to acquire some merit in his eyes, to insinuate themselves into his secrets, and to become indispensable to him. They submitted to every indignity, they endured injustice in silence;—for who could tell how soon the papacy might fall into new hands; how soon the

* E. g. *Instruzione al signor cardinale de Medici, del modo come si deve governare nella corte di Roma.*—*Avvertimenti all' ill^{mo} cardinal Montalto, sopra il modo col quale si possa e debba ben governare come cardinale e nepote del Papa: Inform. xii.*—*Avvertimenti politici et utilissimi per la corte di Roma;*—seventy-eight maxims of very dubious morality: *Inform. xxv.* The most important: "*Discorso over ritratto della corte di Roma di M^r Ill^{mo} Commendone: Codd. Rang., at Vienna; xviii.*

star of their patron might be in the ascendent, and shed its lustre on his dependents? Fortune ebbs and flows; persons remain the same.

The aspirations of others perhaps were directed to some little employment, which, by dint of zeal and activity, might open the way to higher prospects. It was however a critical thing there, as in every other age and country, to be obliged to consider interest first, and honor after.

Those who had a competence were much more favorably situated. They derived a secure monthly income from the monti, in which they had shares; they bought a place, in virtue of which they immediately entered the prelacy, and not only gained an independent existence, but a field for the brilliant display of their talents. "He who hath, to him shall be given." In this court it was doubly advantageous to possess something, because this possession reverted to the camera, so that the pope himself had an interest in its increase.

In such a situation as this, there was not the same necessity for absolute and servile attachment to a great man; indeed, so open a partisanship, if not seconded by fortune, was likely to be injurious. The most important point was, to be watchful to offend nobody.—This caution was intensely felt and carefully observed, in even the slightest and most superficial intercourses of life. Great care was taken, for example, not to pay any man more honor than he was exactly entitled to; equality of demeanor towards different persons would be inequality, and was likely to produce an evil impression. Even of the absent, nothing but good was to be said; not only because words once uttered are no longer in our power, and fly we know not whither, but also because very few love an acute observer. It is prudent to make but a moderate use or display of knowledge, and to abstain carefully from rendering it tedious to any one. It is expedient never to carry bad news;—a part of the unpleasant impression recoils on the bearer: but, on the other hand, there is a difficulty to be shunned, viz. to observe so strict a silence as to render the motive evident.

Nor was the aspirant in any degree exempted from these observances by promotion—not even to the rank of cardinal, which only imposed upon him a necessity for greater caution in his own sphere. For how could he dare to betray, that he thought one of the sacred college less worthy than another of the tiara? There was none so obscure or insignificant upon whom the choice might not fall.

A cardinal had above all to cultivate the favor of the reigning pope. Upon this depended fortune and dignity, universal respect and obsequiousness. He must however cultivate it with increased caution. He was to observe profound silence concerning the personal interests of the pope; to spare no pains to penetrate to the bottom of them, and secretly to govern his conduct accordingly.—The kinsmen of his holiness might occasionally be mentioned, their

fidelity and their talents might be applauded—this was generally a welcome topic. The secrets of the papal house were to be got at by means of monks, who, under the pretext of religion, penetrate further than could be imagined. The influence and the rapid changes of personal relations, rendered it peculiarly imperative on ambassadors to exercise the most vigilant attention to all that passed. The diplomatic envoy, like a good pilot, observes from which quarter the wind blows; he spares no money to get good intelligence, and will esteem all his expenditure repaid by a single piece of information which may show him the seasonable moment for his negotiation. If he had a request to make to the pope, he endeavored imperceptibly to interweave other interests of the holy see with the point he wanted to carry. Above all, he endeavored to gain influence over some nephew or kinsman, and to persuade him that he could expect from no other court so much wealth and permanent greatness, as from that which he represented. He also tried to secure the good-will of the cardinals. He would promise the papacy to none; but flattered all with hopes. He would be devoted to none; but would occasionally do a favor, even to the most hostilely disposed. He was like the falconer who shows the piece of meat to the hawk, but gives it him only gradually and sparingly.

Such was the life, and such the policy of the court of Rome; of its cardinals, ambassadors, prelates, princes, ostensible and secret possessors of power; full of ceremony, of which Rome was the classic soil, of reverential observance, of submissiveness; but profoundly selfish, absorbed in the desire to attain, to achieve, to acquire.

Strange that the struggle for what all desire—power, honor, riches, pleasure, which elsewhere engender animosity and feuds, here assumes the attitude of studious desire to serve; how one man flatters in others the passions of which he is himself in a certain degree conscious, in order to arrive at the gratification of his own; how abstinence is full of desire; how passion glides warily to its object.

We saw the dignity, the seriousness, the religion, which prevailed in the court; we now likewise see its worldly side—ambition, avarice, dissimulation, and cunning.

If it were our intention to pronounce an eulogium on the court of Rome, we should bring to view only the former of the two elements which composed it; if we wished to attack it, only the latter. But as soon as we rise to a clear and unprejudiced view of the whole subject, we come to the perception of both; we see, indeed, that both are inevitable, from the nature of man, and the situation of things.

The spirit and opinions which had been awakened throughout the world, and which we have been considering, rendered the demand for decorum, blamelessness, and piety more pressing than

before; this state of the public mind coincided with the principle of the court whose position, with regard to the rest of the world, is founded upon those qualities. It necessarily follows, that those men rise to eminence and power whose characters are the most in conformity with this demand; public opinion would not alone belie but destroy itself, did it not produce this effect. But that it should happen, that the goods of fortune should be immediately connected with spiritual qualities, is one of the most enormous allurements ever held forth by the spirit of this world.

We cannot doubt of the sincerity of the prevalent turn of thought, as our observant and acute informants not unfrequently represent it to us. But how many monks conformed to it in appearance for the sake of clutching fortune by simulated rigors! In a vast many others, the worldly tendencies are to be descried, struggling, in the obscurity of half developed motives, with the spiritual.

It was with the curia as with literature and art. There had been a general defection from the church, a general leaning towards sentiments approximating to paganism. The principle of the church was re-awakened by the general tenor of public opinion; it moved the powers of life as with a new breath, and gave a fresh color to existence. What a difference between Ariosto and Tasso, Giulio Romano and Guercino, Pomponazzo and Patrizi! A vast epoch lies between them; yet they have something in common, and the chain of art descends from the earlier to the latter. The curia too preserved its ancient forms, and much of its ancient character. But this did not prevent it from being ruled by a new spirit. What it could not completely transform, and absorb into itself, it at least impelled with resistless force.

In contemplating the blending of the different elements, I have been reminded of a natural scene which may perhaps serve as an illustration and type of this state of things.

At Terni, the Nera winds between wood and meadow, in a tranquil, even stream, through the distant valley. From the other side, the Velino, pent in between rocks, rushes on headlong, and at length falls in magnificent cascades, foaming and tinged with a thousand hues, from its heights: it reaches the Nera, and immediately communicates to it its own impetuosity. Brawling and foaming, the mingled waters roll on with rapid and hurrying course.

Thus did the newly awakened spirit of the catholic church give a fresh impulse to all the organs of literature and art—nay to life itself. We behold the curia at once devout and restless, ecclesiastical and warlike; on the one side, full of dignity, pomp, and ceremony: on the other, unmatched in calculating prudence, in insatiable love of domination. Its piety and its ambition, both resting on the idea of an exclusive orthodoxy, coincide. Thus constituted, it once more makes an effort to subdue the world.



BOOK V.



COUNTER REFORMATION.



FIRST PERIOD, 1563—1589.

ONE of the most difficult problems presented to the historian of a nation or other political community is, to apprehend correctly the connection of its particular with its general relations.

It is true that the peculiarities in the life of a nation, like those in the life of an individual, are determined by causes inherent in its original character, and therefore retain through every age a certain uniformity. It is, however, equally true that every nation is continually influenced by general causes, which powerfully affect its progress.

It may be affirmed that the character of modern Europe rests on these two conflicting principles. States and peoples are severed by eternal barriers, yet are at the same time united in an indissoluble community. There is no national history of which universal history does not constitute a large part. So inevitable, so all-embracing is the sequence of events, that the most powerful state often appears merely as a member of the political community, entangled with, and governed by, its destinies. Whoever has tried to conceive the history of a people as a whole, to survey its course without prejudice or illusion, will have experienced the difficulty arising from this cause. In the several crises of the progressive existence of a nation we trace the various currents of the destiny of the human race.

This difficulty is however doubled when, as sometimes happens, an individual power gives the first impulse to a movement which agitates the whole world; when it appears as the special representative of a principle. It then takes so large a share in the collective action of the century, it stands in so intimate a relation to all the world, that its history, in a certain sense, expands into a universal history.

Such was the epoch upon which the papacy entered after the council of Trent.

Shaken to its very core, endangered in the very groundwork of its being, it had found means to maintain and to renew itself. In the two southern peninsulas it had promptly repelled all hostile in-

fluences, and had once more attracted and pervaded all the elements of thought and action. It now conceived the idea of reclaiming apostates in all other parts of the world, and subjecting them once more to its sway. Rome was once more a conquering power; once more she meditated projects and enterprises such as, in ancient times, or in the middle ages, had emanated from the Seven Hills. We should have but an imperfect conception of the restored papacy were we to contemplate it only at its centre. It is in its operation on the world at large that we apprehend its real significancy.

We shall begin by taking a review of the power and the situation of its opponents.

§ 1. STATE OF PROTESTANTISM IN THE YEAR 1563.

Up to the time of the last sittings of the council of Trent, protestant opinions had continued to make their way with irresistible force, north of the Alps and the Pyrenees; their dominion extended far and wide over the Germanic, Slavonic, and Romance nations.

Protestantism was the more firmly established in the Scandinavian countries, inasmuch as its introduction coincided with the foundation of new dynasties, and the entire remodelling of their political institutions. From the very first it was hailed with delight, as if it bore a natural affinity to the national feelings; Bugenhagen, the founder of Lutheranism in Denmark, dwells with enthusiasm on the eagerness with which his preaching was listened to there, "even on working-days," as he expresses it, "even before day-break, and on holy-days, all day long."* Protestantism had now spread to the remotest regions. In 1552 the last representatives of catholicism in Iceland finally succumbed. In 1554 a Lutheran bishopric was established in Wyborg; evangelical preachers accompanied the Swedish governors to the remote region of Lapland. Gustavus Vasa, in his will, made in 1560, earnestly exhorted his successors and their descendants to adhere firmly to the evangelical doctrines, and not to tolerate any false teachers; he made this almost a condition of their right to the throne.†

On the eastern shores of the Baltic also, Lutheranism had gained a complete ascendancy, at least among such of the inhabitants as spoke the German tongue. Prussia had set the first example of a great secularisation; in 1561 Livonia followed it; and the first condition of submission to Poland made by that province was, that it should be allowed to adhere to the Augsburg confession. Thus, by

* Narrative of D. Pomerani, 1539: Sabb. p. visit., in Müller's *Entdecktem Staatscabinet*, 4te Eröffn, p. 365.

† *Testamentum religiosum Gustavi I*, in Baaz: *Inventarium Ecclesiæ Suecicæ*, p. 282.

their relation to countries whose submission was contingent on the maintenance of protestantism, the Jagellonian kings were prevented from opposing the progress of the reformation. The right of the chief towns in Prussian Poland to the exercise of religion according to the Lutheran forms, was confirmed in the years 1557 and 1558 by express charters; and still more distinct were the privileges shortly after granted to the small towns, which were more exposed to the attacks of the powerful bishops.* In Poland proper, too, many of the nobles had embraced protestant opinions, which were more agreeable to the feelings of independence generated and kept alive by the nature of their constitution. "A Polish nobleman is not subject to the king; should he then be so to the pope?" Protestants even obtained possession of bishop's sees, and indeed under Sigismund Augustus they formed the majority in the senate. This prince was undoubtedly a catholic: he heard mass every day and a catholic sermon every Sunday, and even sang the "Benedictus" himself with the singers of his quire: he confessed at the appointed times, and received the Lord's supper in one kind; but he appeared extremely indifferent to the faith of his court or of his country, and was by no means disposed to embitter the last years of his life by a struggle with a conviction so rapidly gaining ground.†

In the neighboring territory of Hungary the government had certainly gained nothing by attempting a resistance to the current of opinion. Ferdinand I could never prevail on the Hungarian diet to pass resolutions unfavorable to protestantism. In the year 1554, a Lutheran was elected palatine of the empire, and soon after forced concessions were made in favor of the Helvetic confession in the valley of Erlau. Transylvania separated itself altogether; the property of the church was confiscated in 1556 by a formal decree of the diet, and the sovereign even seized upon the greater part of the tithes.

We now come to Germany, where the new church, first raised into being by the original character of the nation, had, by long and perilous wars, obtained consideration and legal existence in the empire, and was now on the point of gaining entire possession of the several members of the Germanic body. Great progress towards this result was already made. Protestantism prevailed, not only in northern Germany, where it had arisen, and in the districts of southern Germany, where it has retained a permanent ascendancy, but extended itself far beyond those limits.

In Franconia the bishops vainly opposed its progress. In Wurz-

* Lengnich: Account of the religious changes in Prussia; prefixed to the Fourth Part of the History of the Prussian States, § 20.

† Relazione di Polonia del Vescovo di Camerino, about the date of 1555: MS. in the Chigi Library: "A molti di questi (those who live at Court) comporta che vivano come li piace, perchè si vede, che S. Maestà è tanto benigna che non vorria mai far cosa che dispiacesse ad alcuno, ed io vorrei che nelle cose della religione fosse un poco più severa."

burg and Bamberg by far the greater part of the nobility and the episcopal authorities, the majority of the magistrates and burghers of the towns, and the whole mass of the people had embraced the new doctrines. In the bishopric of Bamberg there was a Lutheran preacher in almost every parish.* The administration was carried on in a protestant spirit; since the States, which were regularly constituted bodies and possessed the power of imposing taxes, had the principal conduct of it. In the same spirit judicial appointments were made, and it was remarked that most of the decisions of the courts were adverse to the interests of catholicism.† The prince-bishops had not much influence; even those who still, with "old German and Franconian fidelity," revered the sovereigns of the country in their persons, could not endure to see them appear in their clerical ornaments, crowned with their mitres.

The protestant movement had proceeded with equal activity in Bavaria. A large majority of the nobles had embraced the protestant faith, and many of the towns showed a decided inclination to follow their example. At the meeting of his states in the year 1556, the duke was obliged to make concessions which elsewhere had led to the complete establishment of the confession of Augsburg, and which seemed likely to produce the same results in Bavaria. The duke himself was not so entirely opposed to the new opinions, but that he from time to time attended a protestant sermon.‡

In Austria protestantism had made still greater progress. The nobles studied at Wittemberg; all the colleges of Austria proper were filled with protestants, and it was asserted that only about one thirtieth part of the inhabitants had adhered to catholicism; even the constitution of the Austrian states gradually underwent changes derived from the free principles of protestantism.

The archbishops of Salzburg, enclosed between Bavaria and Austria, had found it impossible to maintain the ancient faith in their states. It is true they did not as yet tolerate protestant preachers, but the sentiments of the people were not the less distinctly pronounced. In the capital, mass was no longer attended, and neither fasts nor festivals observed. Those who were prevented by distance from hearing the protestant preachers in the Austrian villages, read Spangenberg's sermons for their edification at home. The mountaineers were not content with this; in Rauris, Gastein, St. Veit, Tamsweg and Radstadt, the country people loudly demanded the cup at the Lord's supper, and as it was not granted to them, they avoided the sacrament entirely. They no longer sent their children to school; and on one occasion a peasant rose up in

* Jack has made this point his particular object in the 2d and 3d volumes of his History of Bamberg.

† Gropp, *Dissertatio de statu religionis in Franconia Lutheranismo infecta. Scriptores Wirceb. i.*, p. 42.

‡ Sitzinger in Strobel's *Beiträge zur Literatur*, i, 313.

church and called aloud to the priest, "thou liest." The peasants preached to each other.* It is not surprising that in consequence of the prohibition of all divine service conformable with the newly adopted faith, wild and fantastic opinions arose in these Alpine solitudes.

It was an immense advantage, when compared with this state of things, that in the dominions of the ecclesiastical electors on the Rhine, the nobles were sufficiently independent to procure for their vassals a freedom of opinion which a spiritual prince could hardly have granted. The Rhenish nobles had very early adopted protestantism; and allowed the sovereign to make no encroachments on their domains, even of a religious nature. A protestant party existed in every city. It evinced its activity in Cologne by repeated petitions. In Treves it had become so powerful as to send for a protestant preacher from Geneva, and to maintain him in defiance of the elector. In Aix-la-Chapelle it aimed at nothing less than ascendancy. The citizens of Mayence did not scruple to send their children to protestant schools, for instance to Nuremberg. Commendone, who was in Germany in 1561, is at a loss for words to describe the subservience of the prelates to the Lutheran princes, and their concessions to protestantism.† Even in their privy councils he thinks he observes protestants of the most violent opinions.‡ He is astonished to find that time had so entirely failed to bring any succor to catholicism.

The same state of things prevailed in Westphalia as elsewhere. The whole peasantry was engaged in the labors of the harvest on St. Peter's day, and the fasts ordained by the church were generally neglected. The town-council of Paderborn guarded with a kind of jealousy its protestant profession. In Münster most of the priests were publicly married with all due forms: Duke William of Cleves, it is true, professed himself in the main a catholic, but in his private chapel he received the sacrament in both kinds; the greater part of his council were confessedly protestants, and no important obstacle was placed in the way of the evangelical form of worship.§

In short, throughout the whole of Germany, from east to west and from north to south, protestantism decidedly predominated. The nobles were inclined to it from the very first; the official functionaries—even then a numerous and influential body—were edu-

* Extract from a Report by the Canon Wilh. v. Trautmannsdorf, dated 1555; in Zauner's Chronicle of Salsburg, vi, 327.

† Gratiani, Vie de Commendon, p. 116.

‡ De' più arrabbiati heretici.—"Mi è parso che il tempo non habbia apportato alcun giovamento." Commendone, Relatione dello stato della Religione in Germania: MS. Vallicell.

§ Tempesti, Vita di Sisto V; from the Anonymo di Campidoglio, i, xxiii: "Da molt anni si comunicava con ambe le specie, quantunque il suo capellano glien' havesse parlato inducendolo a comunicarsi così nella sua capella segreta per non dar mal esempio a sudditi."

cated in the new belief; the common people would hear no more of certain articles of faith, for example, the doctrine of purgatory, or of certain ceremonies, such as pilgrimages; not a convent could continue to support itself, nor did any one venture to exhibit the relics of saints to the multitude. A Venetian ambassador in the year 1558 reckons that only a tenth part of the inhabitants of Germany had remained faithful to the old religion.

It is not surprising that the power and the possessions of the catholic church continued to decline, together with her spiritual authority. In most of the ecclesiastical foundations the canons were either inclined to the reformed religion, or were at any rate lukewarm and indifferent. What then was to hinder them, when a vacancy occurred, from proposing protestant bishops, if the measure appeared advantageous in other respects?

It is true that, according to the terms of the peace of Augsburg, a spiritual prince forfeited his office and revenues if he forsook the ancient faith; but this was not thought in any degree to restrain a chapter which had embraced evangelical opinions from electing an evangelical bishop; the only law binding upon them was that the endowments should not be made hereditary. In this manner a prince of Brandenburg obtained the archbishopric of Magdeburg, a prince of Lanenburg that of Bremen, and a prince of Brunswick that of Halberstadt. Even the bishoprics of Lübeck, Verden, Minden and the abbey of Quedlinburg fell into protestant hands.*

These changes were accompanied by a proportionate confiscation of church property; the bishopric of Augsburg, for instance, sustained great losses in the course of a very few years. In 1557 it was stripped of all the convents in Wirtemberg, and in 1558 of the convents and livings of the county of Oettingen. It was not till after the peace of Augsburg that the protestants raised themselves to equality in Dünkelsbühl and Donauwerth, and to supremacy in Nördlingen and Memmingen; when the convents in those towns, among which was the rich preceptory of St. Anthony at Memmingen, and the parochial livings, were irrecoverably lost.†

Nor were the future prospects of catholicism more encouraging than its present condition, since protestant opinions had become the predominant ones in the establishment for education. The ancient champions of catholicism who had taken the field against Luther, and distinguished themselves in religious controversies, were either dead or at a very advanced age, and no young men competent to supply their places had arisen. It was now twenty years since any student at the university of Vienna had taken priest's orders. In Ingolstadt itself, which was so pre-eminently catholic, no qualified members of the faculty of theology presented themselves as

* On this subject see also my *Hist. Pol. Zeitschrift*, i, ii, 269, u. f.

† Placidus Braun, *History of the Bishops of Augsburg*, vol. iii, 533, 535, et seq., in this case, from authentic sources.

candidates for important offices which had hitherto always been filled by ecclesiastics.*

A school, with foundations for the benefit of the scholars, was opened by the city of Cologne, but when all the arrangements were made, it appeared that the new regent was a protestant.† Cardinal Otto Truchsess built a new university in his town of Dillingen for the express purpose of combating protestantism. For a few years it flourished, under certain eminent Spanish theologians; but at their departure, no learned catholic could be found in Germany to fill their places; even these were occupied by protestants. At this period almost all the teachers in Germany were protestants; the rising generation sat at their feet, and, with the first rudiments of knowledge, imbibed hatred of the pope.

Such was the condition of affairs in the north and east of Europe. In many places catholicism was entirely crushed, in all oppressed and despoiled; and whilst it was striving to defend itself here, enemies yet more formidable had arisen against it in the south and west.

For undoubtedly the Calvinistic view of Christianity was far more decidedly opposed to the doctrines of the church of Rome, than Lutheranism; and it was precisely during the epoch of which we are now speaking that Calvinism took possession of men's minds with irresistible force.

It had arisen on the frontiers of Italy, Germany and France, and had extended in all directions: in Hungary, Poland and Germany it formed a subordinate, but yet considerable element of the protestant movement; in the west of Europe it had already acquired independent power.

While the Scandinavian nations had adopted the Lutheran faith, Britain had become Calvinistic, though the protestant church had assumed two wholly opposite forms in England and Scotland. In Scotland, where it attained to power in opposition to the government, it was poor, popular and democratic; but so much more resistless was the enthusiasm which it inspired. In England, on the contrary, it had gained the ascendancy by its alliance with the existing government; there it was rich, monarchical and magnificent, and was content with exacting conformity to its ritual. The former naturally bore a far stronger resemblance to the church of Geneva, and was infinitely more in accordance with the spirit of Calvin.

The French had embraced the doctrines of their countryman with their national vehemence; and in spite of all persecutions, the French churches were soon organised in a protestant form, on the model of those of Geneva; they even held a synod as early as the year 1559.

* Agricola, *Historia provinciæ societatis Jesu Germaniæ superioris*, i, p. 29.

† Orlandinus, *Historia Societatis Jesu*, tom. i, lib. xvi, nr. 25: "Hujus novæ bursæ regens, quem primum præfecerant, Jacobus Lichius, Lutheranus tandem apparuit."

In 1561 the Venetian ambassador Micheli did not find a single province free from the protestant doctrines: he says, "three-fourths of the kingdom were filled with them; namely, Brittany and Normandy, Gascony and Languedoc, Poitou, Touraine, Provence and Dauphiné." "At many places in these provinces," says he, "meetings are held, sermons preached, and rules of life laid down, entirely on the model of Geneva, without any regard to the royal prohibition: these opinions are adopted by all, and what is most remarkable, even by the clergy; not only by priests, monks and nuns—few indeed of the convents remain uninfected—but even by the bishops and many of the most considerable prelates." "Your Highness," says he to the Doge, "may be assured that with the exception of the lower classes, who still zealously frequent the churches, all the rest have fallen away, especially the nobles, and, almost without a single exception, the men under forty; for although many of them still go to mass, it is only for appearance sake, and through fear; when they are certain of escaping observation they avoid the mass and the churches." When Micheli went to Geneva he found that immediately after the death of Francis II fifty preachers had gone from thence to different towns in France; he was astonished at the consideration in which Calvin was held, and at the sums of money he received for the assistance of the thousands who had taken refuge at Geneva.* He thought it indispensably necessary, in order to avoid shedding torrents of blood, to grant freedom of religion, at least *ad interim*, as he expresses it, to the French protestants. And in fact his report was soon followed by the edict of January 1562, which granted a legal and recognised existence to protestantism in France, and which is the basis of the privileges it has from that time enjoyed in France.

These general changes in Germany, France, and England, necessarily produced an effect on the Netherlands also. The influence of Germany was first predominant. Among the various motives which determined Charles V to undertake the Smalcaldic war, one of the most cogent was, that the sympathy excited by the German protestants in the Netherlands daily increased the difficulty of governing that province, which formed so important a part of his dominions. In subduing the German princes he at the same time prevented a revolt of his Netherlanders.† Yet all his laws, se-

* Micheli, *Relazione delle cose di Francia l'anno 1561*: "Dapoi che fu conosciuto che col mettere in prigione e col castigare e con l'abbrucchiare non solo non si emendavano, ma si disordinavano più, fu deliberato che non si procedesse più contra alcuno, eccetto che contra quelli che andavano predicando, seducendo e facendo pubblicamente le congregazioni e le assemblee, e gli altri si lassassero vivere: onde ne furono liberati e asvati di prigione di Parigi o di tutte le altre terre del regno un grandissimo numero, che rimasero poi nel regno praticando liberamente e parlando con ogn' uno, e gloriandosi che aveano guadagnato la lite contra i Papisti, così chiamavano e chiamano li loro avversarii."

† This view, taken by the then Florentine resident at the imperial court, appears to me to rest on good grounds.

verely as they were executed (it has been calculated that up to the year 1560, thirty thousand protestants were put to death), were unavailing to arrest the progress of the new opinions. The only consequence was, that these gradually inclined more to the French Calvinist doctrines than to the German Lutheran ones. In the year 1561 a formal confession was subscribed in that country, churches were established on the model of that of Geneva, and the protestants, by uniting themselves with the local authorities and their supporters, acquired a political basis which seemed to promise them security and success for the future.

Under these circumstances the earlier oppositions to the church of Rome acquired fresh force. In the year 1562 the Moravian brethren were formally acknowledged by Maximilian II, and took advantage of this favorable event to choose a large number of new pastors in their synods, to the number, it is reckoned, of a hundred and eighty-eight.* In 1561 the Duke of Savoy found himself constrained to grant new privileges even to the poor communities of Waldenses in the mountains.† The protestant spirit had extended its vivifying power to the most distant and obscure corners of Europe. What an immense empire had it conquered in the space of forty years!—an empire reaching from Iceland to the Pyrenees, from Finland to the summit of the Italian Alps! Opinions analogous to protestantism, as we have already observed, even found their way across these mountains, and were diffused over the whole territory of the Latin church. The new faith had been adopted by the great majority of the higher classes and of those who took an active part in public life; whole nations were enthusiastically devoted to it, and it had entirely altered the constitution of states.‡ This is the more remarkable, since its doctrines were by no means a mere negation or renunciation of popery, but on the contrary were in the highest degree positive, and contained a renovation of those Christian feelings and principles which guide and govern human life, even to the deepest and most secret recesses of the soul.

* *Regenvolscii Ecclesiæ Slavonicæ*, i, p. 63.

† Leger, in his *Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises*, ii, p. 38, gives the treaty.

‡ The loss was thus looked upon in Rome itself. Tiepolo, *Relatione di Pio IV e V*: “Parlando solamente di quelli (popoli) d’Europa che non solo obediavano lui (al papa) ma ancora seguivano in tutto i riti e le consuetudini della chiesa romana, celebrando ancora li officii nella lingua latina: si sa che l’Inghilterra, la Scotia, la Dania, la Norvegia, la Suetia e final^m tutti i paesi settentrionali si sono alienati da lei: la Germania è quasi tutta perduta, la Bohemia e la Polonia si trovano in gran parte infette, li paesi bassi della Fiandra sono così corrotti che per rimedio che vi si sforzi dar loro il Duca d’Alva difficil^m ritorneranno alla prima sanità, e finalmente la Francia per rispetto di questi mal humori è tutta ripiena di confusioni; in modo che non pare che sia restato altro di sano e di sicuro al pontefice che la Spagna e l’Italia con alcune poche isole, e con quel paese che è dalla Ser^{ia} V^{ra} in Dalmatia et in Grecia posseduto.”

§ 2. RESOURCES POSSESSED BY THE PAPACY FOR ACTIVE CONTEST.

For a long time the papacy and catholicism had maintained an attitude defensive, it is true, against the encroachments of protestantism, but yet passive, and had been obliged to endure them as they best might.

Now however things assumed a new aspect.

We have already contemplated that inward development by which the catholic church began the work of self-restoration.

We may affirm generally, that she was once more inspired with a fresh and living energy; that she regenerated her creed in accordance with the spirit of the age, and originated a reform which on the whole satisfied its demands. She did not allow the religious tendencies then existing in the south of Europe to grow into hostility; on the contrary she incorporated them with her own, and gained the absolute direction of them. This was the process by which she renewed her strength and repaired her disasters.

Hitherto protestantism alone had filled the theatre of the world with those brilliant results which carried away the minds of men; but another spirit, which, if contemplated from the elevated region of enlarged and dispassionate thought, is perhaps equally deserving of veneration, though in direct opposition to that which had actuated the first reformers, now entered the lists, equally skilled to engage the hearts of men on its side and to rouse them to activity.

The restored catholic system first gained possession of the two southern peninsulas. This could not be effected without the exercise of extraordinary severity: the renovated inquisition of Rome came to the support of that of Spain, and every effort of protestantism was forcibly crushed. At the same time all those tendencies of thought and feeling which renewed catholicism most especially addressed and most strongly captivated, were peculiarly powerful in those countries. There too the princes allied themselves to the interests of the church.

It was of the utmost importance that Philip II, the most powerful of them all, was so firm in his attachment to the papacy. With all the pride of a Spaniard, by whom unblemished catholicism was esteemed the mark of a purer blood and a more noble descent, he rejected every adverse opinion. It was not, however, a mere personal feeling which influenced his political conduct. The kingly dignity in Spain had from time immemorial been tinged with a spiritual color, which had been heightened by Isabella's institutions. The royal power was strengthened in every province by the addition of spiritual authority; nor indeed could the kingdom have been governed without the aid of the inquisition. In his American possessions too the king appeared pre-eminently in the light of a propagator of the Christian and catholic faith: this was the common bond

that united all his dominions in obedience to him; he could not have given it up without imminent danger. The increase of the Huguenots in the south of France caused the greatest alarm in Spain. The inquisition thought itself bound to be doubly watchful. "I assure your highness," writes the Venetian ambassador to his sovereign on the 25th August, 1562, "that no great religious excitement is to be desired for this country: there are many here who long for a change of religion."* The pope's nuncio thought the issue of the council then assembled was no less important to the royal than to the papal power. "For," says he, "the obedience paid to the king, nay, his whole government, depends on the inquisition; were that to lose its authority, seditions would instantly arise."

The power which this prince possessed in the Netherlands was alone sufficient to give to the southern system an immediate influence over the rest of Europe. But besides that, all was far from being lost in other nations. The emperor, the kings of France and Poland, and the Duke of Bavaria still adhered to the catholic church. There were still many spiritual princes whose frozen zeal could be revived, and in many places protestantism had not yet penetrated the mass of the population. The greater part of the peasantry in France and even in Hungary† and Poland were still catholic: Paris, which even at that period exercised great influence over the other towns of France, had not been infected with the spirit of innovation. A large proportion of both nobles and commoners in England, and the whole of the ancient indigenous population of Ireland, adhered to the catholic faith. In the Tyrolese and Swiss Alps protestantism had found no acceptance, neither had it made any considerable progress among the Bavarian peasantry. At all events Canisius compares the Tyrolese and Bavarians to the two tribes of Israel, "who alone remained faithful to the Lord."

It is a subject deserving of a minute inquiry, on what internal causes was founded this pertinacious constancy, this immoveable attachment to tradition, among populations so various and dissimilar. In the Netherlands, the Walloon provinces exhibited the same phenomenon.

And now the papacy resumed a station in which it could once more win over all these inclinations and bind them indissolubly to itself. Although greatly changed, it possessed the immeasurable advantage of having on its side all the external associations of the past, and the habit of obedience. In the council, which they had

* Dispaccio Soranzo Perpignan, 28 Maggio: "Essendo in questa provincia (Spagna) molti Ugonotti quasi non osano mostrarsi per la severissima dimostrazione che qui fanno contra. Dubitano che non si mettano insieme, essendone molti per tutta la Spagna."

† If it were not, in this case, ignorance, as Lazarus Schwendi asserts: "En Ungarie tout est confusion et misère: ils sont de la plus parte Huguenots, mais avec une extrême ignorance du peuple." (Schwendi au Prince d'Orange, Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, i, p. 288.)

brought to a happy conclusion, the popes had even succeeded in increasing their authority, which it had been the object of that assembly to diminish, and in strengthening their influence over the national churches. They now also renounced that worldly policy by which they had formerly thrown Italy, and indeed the whole of Europe, into confusion. They allied themselves, with entire confidence and without any reservations, to Spain, and fully returned her devotion to the church of Rome. Their Italian principality, their extended territory, were exceedingly favorable to the success of their ecclesiastical undertakings. The surplus of its revenues for some time greatly assisted the universal catholic church.

Thus strong in themselves, thus strengthened by their powerful adherents and by the idea of which they were living representatives, the popes quitted the defensive position with which they had been hitherto forced to content themselves, for attack;—an attack the progress and consequences of which it is the main object of this work to consider.

A boundless theatre opens to our view; the action begins in many different places at once, and our attention is solicited to the most opposite and dissimilar parts of the world.

Religious activity is intimately connected with the current of political opinions: combinations arise embracing the whole world, and causing the success or the failure of enterprises. We shall keep the great changes in political affairs the more steadily in view, since they often exactly coincide with the results of the religious warfare.

We must not however confine ourselves to generalities. Even the conquests of the sword cannot be achieved without some native sympathies in the conquered in favor of the victors; how much less those of opinion! We must fathom to the very bottom the interests of the several countries, in order to understand the internal movements which facilitated the projects of Rome.

Such is the abundance and the variety of events and of modes of existence comprised within the period now to be considered, that we have almost to fear the impossibility of embracing the whole at one glance. It exhibits a state of civilisation which rests on homogeneous foundations, and occasionally contracts into great crises, but which presents an infinite variety of phenomena.

We shall begin with Germany, the country where the papacy experienced its first severe reverses, and the arena on which the conflict of the two principles was fought out with the greatest pertinacity and acrimony.

Above all, the society of the Jesuits, combining worldly wisdom with religious zeal, and deeply imbued with the spirit of modern catholicism, did good service to the church of Rome. Our first considerations shall be directed to the influences of this remarkable association.

§ 3. THE FIRST JESUITS' COLLEGES IN GERMANY.

At the diet of Augsburg, in the year 1550, Ferdinand I was accompanied by his confessor, bishop Urban of Laibach. Urban was one of the few prelates whose opinions had remained unshaken. At home he often ascended the pulpit to exhort the people, in their own provincial dialect, to be constant to the faith of their fathers; he preached to them of the one fold under the one shepherd.* At this time the Jesuit Le Jay was also at Augsburg, and excited great attention by his conversions. Bishop Urban made his acquaintance, and from him first heard of the colleges which the Jesuits had founded in several universities. In order to rescue catholic theology from the neglect into which it had fallen in Germany, he advised his master to establish a similar college at Vienna. Ferdinand eagerly embraced the project; and, in the letter he addressed on the subject to Ignatius Loyola, he expresses his conviction, that the only means of propping the declining cause of catholicism in Germany was, to give the rising generation learned and pious catholic teachers.† The arrangements were quickly made. In the year 1551 thirteen Jesuits, among whom was Le Jay himself, arrived at Vienna, where Ferdinand instantly granted them a dwelling, chapel, and pension, and shortly after incorporated them with the university, and assigned them the superintendence of it.

They soon after rose into consideration at Cologne, where they had already dwelt for two years, but had been so far from making any progress, that they had even been forced to live separate; nor was it till the year 1556, that the endowed school, established under a protestant regent, gave them the means of acquiring a more secure footing. For as there was a party in the city which was most deeply interested in keeping the university catholic, the partisans of the Jesuits at length prevailed on the citizens to confide the direction of the establishment to that order. Their great advocates were, the prior of the carthusians, the provincial of the carmelites, and, above all, Dr. Johann Gropper, who occasionally gave a feast to which he invited the most influential burghers, in order that, after the good old German fashion, he might further the interests he had most at heart 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 could be more particularly entrusted. This could not however be done without very considerable restrictions; the Jesuits were expressly forbidden to introduce into the school those monastic rules of life which were in force in their colleges.‡

* Valvassor, *Ehre des Herzogthumus Krain*, vol. ii, b. vii, p. 433.

† Printed in Socher, *Historia Provinciæ Austriæ Societatis Jesu*, i, 21.

‡ Sacchinus, *Hist. Soc. Jesu*, pars. ii, lib. i, n. 103.

At this same period they also gained a firm footing in Ingolstadt. Their former attempts had been frustrated chiefly by the resistance of the younger members of the university, who would not suffer any privileged school to interfere with the private instruction they gave. In the year 1556, however, after the duke, as we have already related, had been obliged to make important concessions in favor of the protestants, his counsellors, who were zealous catholics, deemed it a matter of urgent necessity to have recourse to some vigorous measures for the support of the ancient faith. The principal movers were the chancellor Wiguleus Hund, a man who displayed as much zeal in the support of the church as in the study of her ancient history and constitution, and the duke's private secretary, Heinrich Schwigger. By their instrumentality the Jesuits were recalled, and eighteen of them entered Ingolstadt on the day of St. Wilibald, 7th of July, 1556. They chose that day because St. Wilibald was said to be the first bishop of the diocese. They still had to encounter great difficulties in the town and in the university, but they gradually overcame all opposition by the assistance of the same patronage to which they owed their establishment.

From these three metropolitan settlements, the Jesuits now spread in all directions.

From Vienna they immediately extended over the whole of the Austrian dominions. In 1556 Ferdinand I removed some of them to Prague, and founded a school there, intended principally for the young nobility. To this he sent his own pages, and the order found support and encouragement from the catholic portion of the Bohemian nobility, especially from the families of Rosenberg and Lobkowitz. One of the most considerable men in Hungary at that time was Nicolaus Olahus, archbishop of Gran, of Wallachian extraction, as his name denotes. His father Stoaia, in a fit of terror for the murder of a Woiwode of his family, had consecrated him to the church, and the success of his destination was complete. Under the last native kings he filled the important office of private secretary, and he had subsequently risen still higher in the service of the Austrian party. At the time of the general decline of catholicism in Hungary, he perceived that the only hope of support for it was from the common people, who were not entirely alienated. But here also catholic teachers were wanting; in order to form them, he founded a college of Jesuits at Tyrnau in 1561, and gave them a pension out of his own income, to which the emperor Ferdinand added the grant of an abbey. An assembly of the clergy of the diocese had just been convoked when the Jesuits arrived. Their first labors were devoted to an attempt to reclaim the Hungarian priests and clergymen from the heterodox opinions to which they leaned. They were immediately after summoned to Moravia also. William Prussinowski, bishop of Olmutz, who had become acquainted with the order when he was studying in Italy, invited

them to his diocese: Hurtado Perez, a Spaniard, was the first rector in Olmütz. Shortly after we find them likewise established at Brünn.

From Cologne the society spread over the whole of the Rhenish provinces. We have already mentioned that protestantism had found adherents, and had occasioned some fermentation in Trèves. The archbishop John von Stein had determined to inflict only slight punishments on the recalcitrants, and to oppose innovation by argument rather than by force. He summoned the two principals of the Jesuit college of Cologne to repair to him at Coblentz, and represented to them that he wished to have some of the members of their body with him, "in order," as he expresses it, "to lead the flock entrusted to him in their duty, rather by means of admonition and friendly instruction, than by arms or by threats." He then addressed himself to Rome, and very soon came to an understanding with both. Six Jesuits were sent to him from Rome; the rest came from Cologne. They opened their college with great solemnity on the 3d Feb. 1561, and undertook to preach during the approaching season of Lent.*

Two privy councillors of the elector Daniel of Mayence, Peter Echter and Simon Bagen, now thought they perceived that the introduction of the Jesuits was the only means of restoring the declining university of Mayence. In spite of the opposition of the canons and feudal lords, they founded for the order a college at Mayence and a preparatory school at Aschaffenburg.

The society continued to advance higher up the Rhine. What they more particularly desired was an establishment at Spires; partly because the body of assessors to the Kammergericht included so many remarkable men over whom it would be of the greatest importance to obtain influence; and partly in order to place themselves in immediate and local opposition to the university of Heidelberg, which at that time enjoyed the greatest celebrity for its protestant professors.† The Jesuits gradually gained a footing at Spires.

Without further delay they also tried their fortune along the Main. Although Frankfort was wholly protestant, they hoped to achieve something there during the fair. This was not to be done without danger, and they were forced to change their lodging every night for fear of being discovered.

At Würzburg they were far safer and more welcome.‡ It seemed as if the exhortation which the emperor Ferdinand addressed to the bishops at the diet of 1559, imploring them at last to exert their strength in the support of the catholic church, had contributed

* Browerus, *Annales Trevirenses*, t. ii, lib. xxi, 106—125.

† e. g. Neuser, in his celebrated letter to the Turkish emperor, says, that he taught and preached at Heidelberg, "to which place the most learned men of the whole German nation now-a-days resort." (Arnold, *Ketzerhist*, ii, 1133.)

‡ Gropp, *Wirzburgische Chronik der letzteren Zeiten*, vol. i, p. 237.

greatly to the brilliant success of the order in the spiritual principalities. From Würzburg they spread throughout Franconia.

In the meanwhile the Tyrol had been opened to them from another point. At the desire of the emperor's daughters, they settled themselves at Inspruck, and then at Hall in that neighborhood. In Bavaria they continued to make great progress. At Munich, which they entered in 1559, they were even better satisfied than at Ingolstadt, and pronounced it to be the Rome of Germany. A large new colony already arose not far from Ingolstadt. In order to restore his university of Dillingen to its original purpose, cardinal Truchsess resolved to dismiss all the professors who then taught there, and to commit the institution to the exclusive care of Jesuits. A formal treaty was accordingly concluded at Botzen between German and Italian commissaries of the cardinal and of the order. In the year 1563, the Jesuits arrived in Dillingen and took possession of the chairs of the university. They relate with great complacency how the cardinal, who, returning shortly afterwards from a journey, made a solemn entrance into Dillingen, turned with marked preference to the Jesuits, amidst all the crowd arrayed to receive him, stretched out his hand to them to kiss, greeted them as his brethren, visited their cells himself, and dined with them. He encouraged them to the utmost of his power, and soon established a mission for them in Augsburg.*

This was a most extraordinary progress of the society in so short a time. As late as the year 1551 they had no firm station in Germany; in 1566 their influence extended over Bavaria and Tyrol, Franconia and Suabia, a great part of the Rhineland, and Austria; they had penetrated into Hungary, Bohemia, and Moravia. The effects of their labors were already perceptible; in the year 1561, the papal nuncio affirms, that "they gain over many souls, and render great service to the holy see." This was the first counter-acting impulse, the first anti-protestant impression, that Germany received.

Above all, they labored at the improvement of the universities. They were ambitious of rivalling the fame of those of the protestants. The education of that time being a purely learned one, rested exclusively on the study of the languages of antiquity. These the Jesuits cultivated with great ardor, and in a short time they had among them teachers who might claim to be ranked with the restorers of classical learning. They likewise addicted themselves to the strict sciences; at Cologne, Franz Koster taught astronomy in a manner equally agreeable and instructive. Theological discipline however of course continued the principal object. The Jesuits lectured with the greatest diligence even during the holidays; they re-introduced the practice of disputations, without which they said all instruction was dead. These were held in public, and were

* Sacchini, pars. ii, lib. viii, n. 108.

dignified, decorous, rich in matter, in short the most brilliant that had ever been witnessed. In Ingolstadt they soon persuaded themselves that they had attained to an equality with any other university in Germany, at least in the faculty of theology. Ingolstadt acquired (in the contrary spirit) an influence like that which Wittenberg and Geneva had possessed.

The Jesuits devoted an equal degree of assiduity to the direction of the Latin schools. It was one of the principal maxims of Lainez, that the lower grammar schools should be provided with good masters. He maintained that the character and conduct of the man were mainly determined by the first impressions he received. With accurate discrimination, he chose men who, when they had once undertaken this subordinate branch of teaching, were willing to devote their whole lives to it; for it was only with time that so difficult a business could be learned, or the authority indispensable to a teacher be acquired. Here the Jesuits succeeded to admiration; it was found that their scholars learned more in one year than those of other masters in two, and even protestants recalled their children from distant gymnasia and committed them to their care.

Schools for the poor, modes of instruction suited to children and catechising followed. Canisius constructed his catechism, which satisfied the mental wants of the learners by its well-connected questions and concise answers.

The whole course of instruction was given entirely in that enthusiastic, devout spirit which had characterised the Jesuits from their earliest institution. The first rector in Vienna was a Spaniard, Juan Victoria, a man who distinguished himself at Rome on his first entrance into the society, by walking along the Corso clad in sackcloth during the festivities of the carnival, and by constantly scourging himself till the blood streamed from his body. The children who frequented the Jesuits' schools in Vienna, were soon remarkable for the firmness with which they rejected the forbidden viands on fast days, while their parents partook of them without scruple. In Cologne it was once more regarded as an honor to wear the rosary, while relics, which no man had dared for years to exhibit publicly, began once more to be held in reverence. In the year 1560 the youth of the Jesuits' school at Ingolstadt walked two and two on a pilgrimage to Eichstadt at the time of their confirmation, in order that they might be strengthened with the dew which dropped from the tomb of St. Walpurgis. The sentiments of which these acts were demonstrations, thus carefully instilled into the schools, were disseminated through the whole population by means of preaching and confession.

This is a case perhaps without a parallel in the history of the world. All the other intellectual movements which have exercised an extensive influence on mankind have been caused either by great qualities in individuals, or by the irresistible force of new ideas. But in this case the effect was produced without any

striking manifestation of genius or originality. The Jesuits might be learned and, in their way, pious; but no one will affirm that their acquirements were the result of any free or vigorous exercise of mind—that their piety proceeded from the depth or the ingenuousness of a single heart. They were just learned enough to get reputation, to secure confidence, to train and to attach scholars; but they attempted nothing higher. Their piety was sufficient not only to keep them free from all reproach on the score of morals, but was positively conspicuous and striking, and therefore admitted of no question;—and this was enough for them. Neither their piety nor their learning moved in any undefined or untrodden paths. They had however a quality which distinguished them in a remarkable degree—rigid method, in conformity with which everything was calculated, everything had its definite scope and object. Such a union of appropriate and sufficing learning with unwearied zeal, of study and persuasiveness, of pomp and penance, of wide-spread influence and unity of a directing principle and aim, never existed in the world, before or since. They were industrious and visionary, worldly wise and full of enthusiasm, well-bred men and agreeable companions, regardless of their personal interests and eager for each other's advancement. No wonder that they were successful.

A German writer must add another observation. The papal theology had, as we have said, fallen nearly to utter decay. The Jesuits arose to revive it. Who were the Jesuits that first appeared in Germany? They were Spaniards, Italians, Flemings; for a long time the people did not even know the name of their order; they called them the Spanish priests. They got possession of the chairs of universities, and found pupils who attached themselves to their instructions. They acquired nothing from the Germans, for their doctrine and constitution were perfected before they came amongst them. The progress of their institution in Germany may generally be regarded as a new example of the influence of the Romance part of Europe on the Germanic.

They conquered the Germans on their own soil, in their very home, and wrested from them a portion of their own country. The cause of this doubtless was, that the German theologians had neither come to an understanding among themselves, nor had they the magnanimity to tolerate in each other the less important differences. The extreme points of opinions were seized upon for discussion; opponents attacked each other with reckless violence; so that the wavering, and the half-convinced were thrown into perplexity, and the door was opened to these foreigners, who took captive all minds by a system of doctrine, prudently constructed, finished down to its minutest details, and leaving no color or occasion for doubt.

§ 4. BEGINNING OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION IN GERMANY.

Notwithstanding the causes of success which we have remarked above, it is manifest that the Jesuits could not so easily have risen to the station they occupied, without the aid of the secular arm and the favor of the princes of the empire.

For the destiny of political, had been the same as that of theological questions; no measure by which the essentially hierarchical constitution of the empire might be brought into harmony with the new circumstances of religion had yet been devised. The total result of the peace of Augsburg, as it was at first understood and subsequently expounded, was a fresh extension of the civil sovereignty. The several provinces also acquired a great degree of independence in respect of religion. From that time the convictions of the prince, and his agreement with the Estates of his dominions, were the sole causes which determined what ecclesiastical position a country should assume.

This was a communication which appeared to be brought about for the express advantage of protestantism, but which in the end became far more favorable to catholicism. The former was already established before this result had taken place; the revival of the latter may be dated from, and was indeed based upon it.

This state of things first obtained in Bavaria, and the immense influence which it exercised, renders the mode of its origin well worthy our particular examination.

Looking back on the proceedings of the Bavarian diets during a considerable period of years, we find the sovereign continually involved in differences with his Estates. The duke in continual embarrassments, oppressed with debts, compelled to impose new taxes, and constantly forced to claim subsidies from his Estates; these in return demanding concessions, chiefly of a religious kind. It seemed inevitable that a state of things would arise in Bavaria similar to that which had long prevailed in Austria; a legal opposition of the Estates to the sovereign, founded at once on religion and on privileges, unless the prince should himself become a convert to protestantism.

Without doubt this was the state of things by which, as we have mentioned, the invitation to the Jesuits was mainly caused. It is possible that their doctrine made an impression on the mind of Duke Albert V; and indeed he once confessed at a later period that whatever he understood of God's law he had learnt from Hoffæus and Canisius, both Jesuits. Another influence however co-operated: Pius IV not only pointed out to the duke that every religious concession would impair the obedience of his subjects,*—(which in the

* *Legationes Papparum ad Duces Bavarix, MS. in the library at Munich,*

then situation of the principalities of Germany was not to be denied,) but gave weight to this warning by marks of favor; he abandoned to him a tenth of the property of his clergy. Whilst he thus made him more independent of the pleasure of the Estates, he showed him what advantages he had to expect from a connection with the church of Rome.

The main point then was, whether the Duke would be able to eradicate the religious opposition of his Estates which had already taken root.

He commenced operations at a diet at Ingolstadt in the year 1563. The prelates were already well inclined to him; he next used his endeavors with the cities. 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 over the leading members of their assemblies); or whether other considerations had weight, it is certain that the cities on this occasion desisted from the demand for fresh religious concessions, which they had hitherto always urged with great eagerness, and proceeded to grant supplies without stipulating for any new liberties. The nobles were now therefore the only body which offered resistance. They quitted the diet in discontent, nay bitterness of mind; threatening expressions, which this or that nobleman had let fall, were reported to the duke;* at length the most distinguished of their body, the Count of Ortenburg, whose claim to hold immediately of the empire was contested by the Duke, resolved without delay to introduce the evangelical confession into the dominions which formed the subject of dispute. But he thus only placed the most formidable weapons in the Duke's hands. Above all, the discovery in one of the castles which Albert took, of a correspondence between the Bavarian lords, containing very offensive expressions, representing him as a hardened Pharaoh, and his council as bloodthirsty persecutors of poor Christians, together with hints which were thought to imply that a conspiracy was on foot, furnished him with a plausible pretext for calling to account all the members of the nobility who were opposed to him.† The punishment to which he condemned them cannot be called severe, but it sufficed for his purpose. He excluded all the accused from the Bavarian diet. As they now constituted the only remaining opposition, he became absolute master of his Estates, among whom there has been no further controversy concerning religion from that time to the present moment.

Prima Legatio, 1563: "Quod si Sua Celsitudo Ill^{ma} absque sedis apostolicæ autoritate usum calicis concedat, ipsi principi etiam plurimum decederet de ejus apud subditos autoritate." They complained at the diet of the province, that the prince was blinded by the claimants.

* Private notice and account of the unbecoming and violent speeches on this occasion, in Freiberg, Geschichte der baierischen Landstände, ii, 352.

† Huschberg, Geschichte des Hauses Ortenburg, s. 390.

The importance of this step was immediately manifest. For a considerable time Duke Albert had urged the pope and the council with great earnestness to grant the cup to the laity; he seemed to think that the whole welfare of his country depended on it. At length, in April 1564, he received it. The result is hardly credible—he did not even make known that he had it. Circumstances were altered. A privilege departing from the strictest rules of catholicism now seemed to him injurious rather than profitable,* and he forcibly silenced the clamors of some villages of Lower Bavaria which repeated their former demands with violence.

In a short time there was not a more decidedly catholic prince in all Germany than Duke Albert, and he now addressed himself earnestly to the task of making his country once more completely orthodox.

The professors at Ingolstadt were compelled to subscribe the confession of faith which had been proclaimed in consequence of the council of Trent. All the persons employed by government were obliged to bind themselves by oath to a confession of unquestionable orthodoxy; if any one refused, he was dismissed. Nor did Duke Albert tolerate protestantism in the common people. The persecution began in Lower Bavaria, whither he had sent a few Jesuits to convert the inhabitants, and where not only the preachers but all persons whatsoever who adhered to the evangelical creed were compelled to sell their property and to quit the country.† The same course was pursued with the other part of his dominions. No magistrate would have ventured to show toleration to protestants, which would have drawn upon himself the severest penalties.

With this revival of catholicism all its modern forms were transplanted from Italy to Germany. An index of forbidden books was framed; they were picked out of libraries and burned in heaps, while on the other hand everything was done to promote the circulation of those of a strictly catholic tendency, and to encourage their authors. The Duke caused the Sacred History of Surius to be translated into German and printed at his own cost. The greatest devotion was paid to relics; Saint Benno, of whom in another part of Germany (Meissen) the people would hear no more, was now formally proclaimed the patron of Bavaria. Architecture and music were first introduced at Munich in the taste of the restored church; above all, encouragement was given to the Jesuits' colleges, by which the education of the rising generation was carried on in the strictly orthodox spirit.

The Jesuits, on the other hand, were unwearied in their praises of the Duke, whom they called a second Josias, a new Theodosius.

* Adlzreitter, *Annales Boicæ Gentis*, ii, xi, n. 22: "Albertus eam indulgentiam juris publici in Boica esse noluit."

† Agricola, *Ps. i, Dec. iii*, 116—120.

One question alone remained. The more important was the extension of the temporal sovereignty which accrued to the protestant princes from the influence they obtained over the affairs of religion, the more did the renovated authority of the ecclesiastical powers seem to impose restraints upon it.

But a remedy was provided for this also. The popes clearly saw that they could only succeed in upholding their declining power, or in re-establishing it when fallen, by the aid of the temporal sovereigns; they cherished no illusion on the subject, but made it their whole policy to form a close union with the princes of Europe.

In the instruction which Gregory gave to the first nuncio whom he sent to Bavaria, he says, without any circumlocution, that it is the most ardent wish of his holiness to re-establish the decayed discipline of the church, but that he sees that for the attainment of so important an end he must unite with temporal princes; that as through their piety religion has been upheld, with their help alone could church discipline and good morals be re-established.* Thus the pope delegated to the duke the authority to urge on the negligent bishops; to execute the decrees of a synod then sitting at Salzburg; to compel the Bishop of Ratisbon and his chapter to establish a seminary; in short he committed to him a sort of spiritual superintendence. He consulted him whether it would not be well to found seminaries for the regular, as well as the secular, clergy. The duke assented most cordially to this proposition; he only required that the bishops should not encroach on the rights, whether traditional or newly acquired, of the prince, and that the clergy should be held in order and discipline by their superiors. There are edicts in which the prince treats the monasteries as the property of his treasury, and subjects them to a secular administration.

If, in the course of the reformation, protestant princes had usurped ecclesiastical attributes, catholic rulers now successfully imitated their example. What the former accomplished in opposition to the papacy, the latter achieved in alliance with it. If the protestant princes placed their younger sons as administrators in the neighboring evangelical endowments, the sons of catholic princes were, as matter of course, invested with the episcopal dignity in those which had remained catholic. From the very first, Gregory had exhorted Duke Albert to neglect nothing which could be of advantage to himself or his sons, and in a short time we see two

* *Legatio Gregorii XIII, 1573.* "S. S. in eam curam, incumbit qua ecclesiastica disciplina jam ferme in Germania collapsa aliquo modo instauretur, quod cum antecessores sui aut neglexerint aut leviter attingerint, non tam bene quam par erat de republica christiana meritos esse animadvertit:—adjungendos sibi ad tale tantumque opus catholicos principes sapientissime statuit." The ambassador, Bartolomeo, Count of Porzia, promises expressly: "Suam Sanctitatum nihil unquam prætermissuram esse, quod est e re sua (ducis Baviaræ) aut filiorum."

of these sons in possession of the most splendid benefices, and one of them gradually rising to the highest dignities of the empire.*

But independently of this, Bavaria acquired great importance by the position she took up. She was the champion of a great principle which just then rose to new power. The lesser German princes of the same creed long continued to regard Bavaria as their chief.

For throughout the extent of the duke's dominions he labored with ardor to restore the catholic faith. Scarcely had the countship of Haag fallen into his hands, when he drove out the protestants, whom the late count had tolerated, and re-established the ritual and the doctrines of catholicism. Margrave Philip of Baden-Baden had fallen in the battle of Moncoutour; his son Philip, scarcely ten years of age, was brought up at the court of Munich under the guardianship of Duke Albert, and of course in the catholic faith. But the duke did not wait to see what would be the conduct of the young margrave when he assumed the reins of government; he instantly sent his high steward, count Schwartzenberg, and the Jesuit George Schorich, who had been fellow-laborers in the conversions in Lower Bavaria, into the territory of Baden, with orders to restore that country to catholicism by the same process. The protestant inhabitants brought forward imperial decrees for their protection, but no heed was paid to them; the duke's authorities proceeded, as the historian of the Jesuits complacently expresses it, "to set free the ears and the spirit of the simple multitude for the reception of the heavenly doctrine;"—that is to say, they sent away the protestant preachers, compelled the monks who had not remained strictly orthodox to abjure all deviations from the true faith, filled the schools, both primary and superior, with catholic masters, and exiled the laity who refused to conform. In the space of two years, 1570 and 1571, the whole country was restored to catholicism.†

While this was going on in the secular principalities, a similar movement arose by a yet more inevitable necessity in the ecclesiastical.

At one time the spiritual princes of Germany were chiefly characterised by their episcopal functions, and the popes neglected not for an instant to enforce in Germany that increased power over the

* Even Pius V moderated his stern principles in respect to the Duke of Bavaria. Tiepolo, *Relatione di Pio IV e V*: "D'altri principi secolari di Germania non si sa chi altro veremente sia cattolico che il duca di Baviera: però in gratificatione sua il pontefice ha concesso che il figliolo, che di gran lungo non ha ancora l'età determinata dal concilio, habbia il vescovato Frisingense: cosa che è da lui stata concessa ad altri."

† Sacchinus, *pars iii*, lib. vi, n. 88, lib. vii, n. 67; Agricola, i, iv, 17, 18. The pope duly prized the duke on this account. "Mira perfunditur lætitia," it says in the account of that embassy, "cum audit, ill. Ser^{is} V^{re} opera et industria marchionem Badensum in religione catholica educari, ad quod accedit cura ingens, quam adhibuit in comitatu de Hag, ut Catholica fides, a qua turpiter defecerant, restituatur."

bishoprics which accrued to them from the decrees of the council of Trent.

The first thing was to send Canisius with the copies of these decrees to the several ecclesiastical courts. He carried them to Mayence, Trèves, Cologne, Osnaburg and Würzburg, where by his activity and address he gave animation and expression to that official respect with which he was received.

The affair of the diet of Augsburg of 1566 then came under discussion.* Pope Pius V had feared that protestantism would on this occasion make new demands and receive new concessions; he had already warned his nuncio, in case of urgency, to come forward with a protest threatening the emperor and princes with the privation of all their rights; he even thought that the moment for it was already arrived.† The nuncio, who had a nearer view of things, held this to be inexpedient. He saw that there was nothing more to fear. The protestants were divided, the catholics held together. They often assembled at the house of the nuncio for the purpose of consulting on measures to be taken in common. Canisius, from his unspotted reputation, his unquestioned orthodoxy and his prudence, had a great influence over them, and they decided that no demand for concession should be listened to; this diet was indeed the first in which the catholic princes manifested an effectual resistance to innovation. The admonitions of the pope were heard with attention; the decrees of Trent were previously accepted in a separate meeting of the ecclesiastical princes.

From this moment we may date the commencement of a new life in the catholic church of Germany. These decrees were gradually promulgated in provincial synods, and seminaries were established in the bishops' sees; the first who complied with this rule was, so far as I can discover, the bishop of Eichstädt, who founded the Wilibald college.‡ The *professio fidei* was subscribed by high and low. It is a highly important fact that this was rendered compulsory in the universities. This was a rule proposed by Lainez and approved by the pope, and now brought into operation in Germany, mainly by the zeal of Canisius. Not only could no university appointment be given, but no degree, not even in the faculty of medicine, could be granted, without the previous subscription of the *professio fidei*. The first university in which this was introduced was, as far as I can find, Dillingen; by degrees the others followed. The strictest visitations were set on foot, and the bishops, who had hitherto been very indulgent, now manifested great zeal and strictness.

One of the most zealous among them was without doubt Jacob

* Maderus de Vita P. Canisii, lib. ii, c. ii. Sacchinus, iii, ii, 22.

† Catena, Vita di Pio V, p. 40, gives an extract from the Instruction. Grati-
ani, Vita Commendonii, lib. iii, c. ii.

‡ Falkenstein, Nordgauische Alterthümer, i, 222.

von Eltz, elector of Trèves from 1567 to 1581. He was reared in the ancient discipline of Louvaine, and devoted his literary attainments and labors to catholicism. He collected a martyrology and composed prayers for the hours. Even under his predecessor he had taken the greatest share in the introduction of the Jesuits into Trèves, and immediately upon his installation he entrusted to them the visitation of his diocese. Even schoolmasters were obliged to subscribe the *professio fidei*. Under the influence of the methodical spirit of the Jesuits, a system of strict discipline and subordination was introduced among the clergy; a regulation was made that the rector should every month give in a report to the dean, who in his turn, at the expiration of every quarter of a year, was to lay a report before the archbishop: all who refused obedience to these measures were sent out of the country without delay. A portion of the decrees of the council of Trent was printed for the use of the clergy of the diocese, and disseminated amongst them for their guidance, while, in order to do away with all differences in the ritual, a new edition of the missal was published. A new and rigorous organisation, to which Bartholomew Bodeghem of Delft especially contributed, was given to the ecclesiastical tribunal. The archbishop was never so happy as when he met with any one desirous to return from the errors of the protestant church; on such an occasion he never failed to give the benediction in person.*

But other motives besides those arising from their connection with Rome, now urged the spiritual princes to an active and rigid performance of the duties of their station. They shared, to an equal if not a higher degree, in the reasons of the temporal rulers for restoring the catholic faith in their territories, since their ecclesiastical character provoked a stronger opposition from a population inclining to protestantism.

This important chapter of the German history opens upon us at Trèves. The archbishops of Trèves, like other spiritual princes, had always been on bad terms with their capital city. In the sixteenth century protestant doctrines furnished a new element of dispute; the ecclesiastical tribunal in particular met with obstinate resistance. Jacob von Eltz at last found himself compelled to lay regular siege to the city, which he subdued. He then produced a decree of the emperor, favorable to his claims, and thus reduced the citizens both to temporal and spiritual obedience.

Another step taken by him was productive of wide-spreading effects. In the year 1572 he excluded the protestants irrevocably from his court. The consequences of this measure were particularly felt by the country nobles, who looked to the court for their advancement and now found themselves cut off from every hope

* Browerus, *Annales Trevirenses*, ii, xxii, 25: generally speaking, on these points, our best authority.

for the future; it is likely enough that more than one of them was thus induced to return to the ancient faith.

Daniel Brendel, elector of Mayence, neighbor to the archbishop of Trèves, was also a zealous catholic. Contrary to the general advice of those around him, he re-established the ceremony of the procession of Corpus Christi, in which he officiated himself; on no account would he have neglected vespers, and always insisted on attending to spiritual affairs before all others; amongst his privy-councillors, those received the greatest marks of his good will who were the most zealous catholics; the Jesuits speak in terms of admiration and gratitude of the favor they enjoyed at his court, and he sent several pupils to the Collegium Germanicum at Rome.* He did not however feel inclined to proceed to such extremities as Jacob von Eltz. His zeal for religion was tinged with a sort of irony. Many of his vassals expostulated with him on his introduction of the Jesuits: "What!" he replied, "do you tolerate me, who am far from discharging my duties as I ought, and will you not tolerate men who perform theirs so admirably?"† We have no account of the answer which he returned to the Jesuits when they urged the complete extirpation of protestantism from the country. It is certain that he always tolerated Lutherans and Calvinists both in the city and at court; in some few places he even permitted the use of the evangelical mode of worship;‡ probably, however, he was thus indulgent from consciousness of his inability to put a stop to it. He took very decisive steps in a more remote part of his domains, where he was not overawed by such powerful and warlike neighbors as the count palatine on the Rhine. The restoration of catholicism at Eichfeld was his work. Protestant doctrines had there gained a firm footing under the favor of the nobles; they had even penetrated into Heiligenstadt, in the very presence of the chapter which possessed the patronage of all the churches: there was a Lutheran preacher in the latter place, and the sacrament was administered in both kinds; and on one occasion at Easter, there were but twelve citizens of any consideration who partook of the communion according to catholic rites.§ At this very period—in the year 1574—the archbishop made his appearance in person at Eichfeld, accompanied by two Jesuits, for the purpose of holding a visitation of the churches. He did not proceed to extreme acts of violence, but employed means well calculated to effect his purpose. He removed the protestant preacher at Heiligenstadt, while on the other hand he founded a college of Jesuits. He dismissed none of the municipal council, but effectually pre-

* Serarius, *Moguntiacarum Rerum Libri v*; in the section on Daniel, in particular, cap. viii, xi, xxii, xxiii.

† Valerandus Sartorius in Serarius, p. 921.

‡ Complaint of Robert Turner, who sought a Boniface and found only a "principem politicum." (Serarius, p. 947.)

§ Johann Wolf, *Geschichte und Beschreibung von Heiligenstadt*, p. 59.

vented the admission of protestants for the future, by making a slight addition to the oath taken by the members, in virtue of which each councillor bound himself to obey his grace the elector both in spiritual and temporal matters. His most important step was the choice of a decided catholic to fill the office of high bailiff, Leopold von Stralendorf, who scrupled not on his own responsibility to follow out the milder measures of his master with great severity; and who, in an administration of six-and-twenty years, conducted with inflexible consistency, succeeded in restoring to the catholic faith its predominance both in town and country. He expelled the protestant preachers from both, without heeding the opposition of the nobles, and replaced them by pupils from the new Jesuits' schools.

The example of similar proceedings had already been given in that part of Germany by another spiritual prince.

In the diocese of Fulda the exercise of the evangelical religion had already been permitted by six abbots successively, and even the young abbot Balthasar von Dernbach, surnamed Gravel, promised, at his election in the year 1570, to make no change in this respect. But whether it was that his ambition became inflamed by the favor shown him by the papal court, or whether the restoration of catholicism appeared in his eyes the fit means of increasing his insignificant authority, or whether he had really undergone a more profound change of opinion—he gradually evinced not only dislike, but hostility to the protestant doctrines. The first thing was to summon the Jesuits to his aid. He was not personally acquainted with any, nor had he ever seen one of their colleges; general report alone, the descriptions of a few scholars from the college of Trèves, and perhaps the recommendations of Daniel Brendel, determined him. The members of the order accepted his invitation with alacrity; those from Mayence and Trèves founded a colony in common: the abbot built them a house and school and assigned them a pension, and, being himself extremely ignorant and unlettered, submitted to receive instruction from them.*

Dissensions soon arose between the abbot and the chapter, who had a voice in affairs of this nature, and by no means approved of the invitation to the Jesuits; and, a favorable opportunity having soon presented itself, Balthasar was not long in attacking the city.

The parish priest of Fulda, who had hitherto preached evangelical tenets, returned to the catholic faith, and once more began to perform the ceremony of baptism in the Latin tongue, and to administer the sacrament of the Lord's supper in one kind only. The citizens, long accustomed to the reformed ritual, were not at all inclined to acquiesce in this change, and demanded the removal

* Reiffenberg, *Historia Societatis Jesu ad Rhenum Inferiorem*, i, vi, ii; who adds 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 chapter, in Lehmann, *De Pace Religionis*, ii, ix, 257.

of the priest. It may easily be imagined that their prayer was not listened to. Not only was the catholic form of worship strictly observed in the cathedral; the evangelical preachers were dismissed one by one from the other churches, and Jesuits placed in their stead. The abbot had already exchanged his protestant councillors and officers for others of catholic opinions.

It was in vain that the nobility remonstrated against these measures; as if astonished, Balthasar replied, "that he hoped it was not their intention to prescribe rules for the government of the territory entrusted to him by God." Several powerful princes of the empire endeavored by means of embassies to persuade him to desist from these changes, and to dismiss the Jesuits; but he remained inexorable. He even proceeded to threaten the knights of his dominions, who claimed a sort of immediate dependence on the empire—a prerogative which would have been exceedingly impaired could the spiritual ruler have enforced obedience in matters of religion.

Such were the steps by which catholicism, after its conquest might have been deemed accomplished, arose in renovated strength in Germany. The most various motives lent their aid; the religion and the doctrines which were again beginning to resume their ancient sway, and that system of ecclesiastical subordination restored by the decrees of the council of Trent, were especially seconded by motives of internal policy: it was clear, how far more powerful was the sovereign whose belief was shared by his subjects. The restoration of the church had, indeed, at first extended merely to separate points; but these opened a boundless prospect to the spirit of catholic reform. The fact that the spiritual princes met with no more general resistance, must have had vast and peculiar weight. At the peace of Augsburg an attempt had been made to secure toleration to the protestant communities inhabiting ecclesiastical territories, by an express declaration of the emperor; the spiritual princes now refused to take any cognizance of this declaration; at all events, they were utterly regardless of it. The imperial power was not sufficiently strong or resolute to come to any effective decision on the subject, far less to enforce obedience. In the diets of the empire there was neither energy nor unity enough to maintain any such resolution.

The greatest changes took place without noise, without attracting the serious observation of cotemporaries, without finding mention in the works of historians—as if such were the natural and inevitable course of events.

§ 5. DISTURBANCES IN THE NETHERLANDS AND IN FRANCE.

Whilst the struggles of catholicism were thus mighty and successful in Germany, an agitation from the same cause arose in the

Netherlands and in France, though marked by very different characteristics.

The fundamental difference was, that in each of these latter countries there existed a strong central power, which spontaneously took part in every fluctuation of public opinion, put itself at the head of religious movements, and was directly affected by the opposition they encountered. The various relations of the government had consequently a greater unity, and its proceedings were conducted with more consistency and energy. It is well known how numerous were the measures taken by Phillip II at the commencement of his government in the Netherlands, to ensure perfect obedience; he was compelled to abandon one after another, and he only held fast with inflexible and relentless pertinacity to those which conduced to the maintenance of catholicism and of the unity of the church.

He completely altered the ecclesiastical constitution of the country by the creation of new archbishops and bishoprics. No opposition, no appeal to the rights he thus invaded, turned Philip from his purpose.

These bishoprics assumed a double importance since the council of Trent had so exceedingly increased the rigor of church discipline.

After a short deliberation, Philip II had adopted the decrees of the council, and directed their promulgation in the Netherlands, as well as in his Spanish dominions. The people of the former country, who had hitherto been exempt from any galling restraint, were now subjected to the strictest supervision and to all the rigors of forms and ceremonies from which they were just anticipating entire emancipation. To this cause of discontent we must add the penal laws, so many of which had been enacted by the preceding government of the Netherlands, and the zeal of the inquisitors, daily more and more stimulated by the new Roman tribunal.

The Netherlanders left no means untried to move the king to relax from his severity, and he sometimes appeared inclined to milder measures. Count Egmont imagined, during his stay in Spain, that he had received his assurances to that effect; but this was scarcely to be expected. We remarked in a former place how much Philip's power throughout his dominions rested on the religious temper of the times; had he made concessions to the Netherlanders, they would have been demanded in Spain, where he could not have granted them. It cannot be denied that he was subject to the pressure of a tyrannous necessity; but, besides, these were times in which the accession of Pius V, and the proceedings which marked the beginning of his reign, awakened a new zeal throughout the whole catholic world. Philip was singularly devoted to that pope and lent a ready ear to his exhortations. At this moment the attack of the Turks upon Malta was repulsed, and the bigoted enemies of the Netherlanders might, as the prince of Orange feared, have taken advantage of the impression made by this vic-

tory to bring the king to some violent determination.* And in fact, towards the end of the year 1565 an edict appeared which surpassed all former ones in severity.

The penal laws and the decrees of the council and of the subsequent provincial synods, were to be most scrupulously executed; the inquisitors were to have exclusive cognizance of religious offences; all the civil authorities were instructed to afford their assistance; and in each province a commissary was appointed to watch over the execution of this edict, and to report thereon every three months.†

It is evident that the effect of this edict was to establish a spiritual domination, if not as strict as in Spain, certainly not less so than that of Italy.

The consequence was, that the people flew to arms; the destruction of images began, and the whole country was wasted by fire and sword: there was a moment indeed in which the government was compelled to give way: but as usually happens, acts of violence defeated their own ends; the more moderate and quiet of the inhabitants were alarmed, and lent their assistance to the government. The Governess was victorious; after she had taken the rebellious places, she felt herself strong enough to impose an oath upon the men in office, and even upon the king's vassals generally, by which they solemnly bound themselves to the maintenance of the catholic faith, and the extirpation of heretics.‡

The king, however, was not yet satisfied. These events occurred at that unfortunate moment marked by the catastrophe of his son Don Carlos, and never was he more stern or more inflexible.—The pope again exhorted him to make no concession prejudicial to catholicism; the king assured his holiness that he would not suffer even the roots of a malignant plant to remain in the Netherlands, and that he was determined either to lose the provinces, or to maintain inviolate the catholic religion.§ In order to carry this resolution into effect, as soon as the disturbances were put down, he sent into the Netherlands his best general, the Duke of Alva, at the head of a well-appointed army.

Let us pause a moment to consider the fundamental idea which guided all Alva's proceedings and conduct.

Alva was convinced that in all violent revolutionary movements every thing was accomplished when the leaders were got rid of.—

* The prince held Granvella in suspicion. See his letter in the Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, i, 289.

† Strada, after a formula of the 18th Dec. 1565, lib. iv, p. 94.

‡ Brandt, *Histoire de la Reformation des Pays Bas*, i, 156.

§ Cavalli, *Dispaccio di Spagna*, 7 Aug., 1567: "Rispose il re, che quanto alle cose della religione S. Santità stasse di buon animo, che ovvero si han da perder tutti quei stati o che si conserverà in essi la vera cattolica religione, nè comporterà che vi rimanghi, per quanto potrà far lui, alcuna radice di mala pianta."

The fact that Charles V, after all his mighty victories, was almost driven from the imperial throne, he attributed to the forbearance of that prince in sparing his enemies when he had them in his power. The alliance between the French and the Spaniards, which was contracted at the congress of Bayonne in 1565, and the terms there agreed upon, have been the subjects of much discussion. Of all that has been said about them thus much only is certain—that the Duke of Alva exhorted the queen of France to get rid of the leaders of the Huguenots by fair means or foul, and for ever. What he then recommended to others, he did not now hesitate to put in practice. Philip II had furnished him with some blank warrants to which his royal signature was affixed. The first use he made of them was to arrest Egmont and Horn, both of whom he assumed to have been implicated in the former troubles. “May it please your sacred catholic Majesty,” he begins the letter which he sent to the king on this occasion, (and which seems to prove that he had no express command to act as he did,) “as soon as I arrived at Brussels I obtained the necessary information from the proper sources, and then secured the person of Count Egmont, and arrested Count Horn and some few others.”*

If we inquire why a year afterwards he sentenced the prisoners to death, we find that it was not from a conviction of their guilt resulting from the trial; for they were chargeable rather with not having prevented, than with having caused, the commotions; neither was it in consequence of a command from the king, who, on the contrary, left it to the duke to carry the sentence into execution or not, as he deemed it most expedient. The cause was as follows: A small band of protestants had made an incursion into the country; they had not indeed achieved any thing of importance, but had gained a slight advantage at Heiligerlee, and a general in the king’s army of high reputation, the Duke of Aremberg, had fallen in the encounter. Alva says in his despatches to the king, that as he had observed that the people had been thrown into a ferment by this disaster, and were become daring, he considered it necessary to show that he in nowise feared them; he also wished to crush all hope of obtaining the liberation of the prisoners by fresh disturbances, and had therefore determined immediately to cause the sentence to be executed. Such were the motives which caused the

* *Dispaccio di Cavalli*, 16 Sett. The Governess caused her complaints regarding these arrests to be transmitted to the king. The king answered he had not commanded them. To prove this, he showed the letter from Alva, from which the passage intended to prove his assertion is here given. It runs 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. Sarà ben che V. M. per bon rispetto ordini ancor lei che sia fatto l’ istesso di Montigni*” (who was in Spain) “*e suo adjutante di camera.*” Hereupon followed the arrest of Montigni.”

death of these noble men, whose guilt consisted in the defence of the ancient and established liberties of their country—in whom no capital offence could be discovered. They fell, rather as victims to the momentary considerations of a perverse and tyrannical policy, than to any principle of law or justice. Even then did Alva advert to Charles V, whose errors he resolved not to imitate.*

We perceive that Alva was cruel upon principle. Who ever found mercy at that fearful tribunal which he established under the name of the council for the prevention of public disturbances? He governed by arrests and executions; he rased to the ground the houses of the convicted, and confiscated their property; he pursued political, conjointly with religious aims. The ancient power of the assembly of estates was reduced to nothing; Spanish troops overran the country, and a citadel was erected in the most important mercantile city. Alva insisted with determined obstinacy upon the payment of the most odious taxes, and people in Spain wondered—for even from thence he drew large sums—what he did with all the money. It is, however, perfectly true that the country was submissive, that no malcontents bestirred themselves, that every trace of protestantism disappeared, and the refugees in the neighboring countries remained quiet. “Monsignore,” said a private secretary of Philip II during these events to the papal nuncio, “are you now satisfied with the proceedings of the king?” “Quite satisfied,” answered the nuncio with a smile. Alva himself thought he had executed a master-stroke of policy, and looked with contempt upon the French rulers, who had never been able to command obedience in their own land.

In France, after the rapid strides which protestantism had made, a strong reaction took place in the year 1562, especially in the capital.

The circumstance which had doubtless been the most injurious to protestantism in France was, that it had been so closely implicated with the court faction. For some time the whole people seemed to lean towards the protestant confession; but when its

* Cavalli, 3d July, 1568, gives this letter also in the extract. It is, if possible, still more remarkable than the former one. “Capitò qui l'avviso della giustizia fatta in Fiandra contra di quelli poveri signori prigioni, intorno alla quale scrive il d. d'Alva, che habendo facoltà di S. M. di far tal esecuzione o soprastare secondo che havesse riputato più espediente del suo servizio, che però vedendo li popoli un poco alterati et insuperbiti per la morte d'Arenberg e rotta di quelli Spagnoli, havea giudicato tempo opportuno e necessario per tal effetto per dimostrar di non temer di loro in conto alcuno, e poner con questo terrore a molti levandoli la speranza di tumultuar per la loro liberatione, e fuggir di cascar nell' errore nel quale incorse l'imperatore Carlo, il qual per tener vivo Saxonìa e Langravio diede occasione di nova congiura, per la quale S. M. fu cacciata con poca dignità della Germania e quasi dell' impero.”

adherents took up arms and committed acts of violence inevitably leading to war, public opinion turned against them.

What sort of religion is this? men asked. Where has Christ commanded a man to rob his neighbor, and to shed his blood? But it was especially at the time when Paris was put in a state of defence against the attack of Condé, that all the public bodies assumed an anti-protestant complexion. The whole population of the city capable of bearing arms was organised by military officers, who, above all things, were required to be catholics. The members of the university, of the parliament, and even of the numerous class of lawyers, were all compelled to sign a confession of pure catholic faith.

Favored by the state of the public mind, the Jesuits obtained firm footing in France. Their beginning was small indeed, for they were forced to be content with colleges which were thrown open for their reception by a few ecclesiastics, their devoted partisans, in Billon and Tournon, places remote from the metropolis, and where nothing important was likely to be accomplished.

In the large towns, and especially in Paris, they at first experienced the most stubborn opposition. The Sorbonne, the parliament, the archbishop, who all thought their privileges invaded, were against them. But as they gradually acquired the support of the most zealous catholics, and more particularly of the court, and were urgently recommended by them for their exemplary lives and their pure faith, which had caused many wanderers to return to the true way, and east and west to acknowledge the presence of the Lord; as also public opinion had undergone the change we have just described,* they prevailed over all opposition, and obtained in 1564 the privilege of instructing youth. Lyons had already opened her gates to them. Whether it was owing to their good fortune or to their merits, at this moment they produced from among their ranks several men of striking talent. In opposition to the Huguenot preachers, they put forward Edmond Augier, who was born in France, but educated under Ignatius Loyola at Rome, and of whom the protestants themselves are said to have admitted, that had he not been clothed in catholic vestments, there never could have existed a more eloquent orator. By his preaching and writings he produced an extraordinary impression. The Huguenots were completely worsted, especially in Lyons; their preachers were driven away, their churches destroyed, and their books burned. On the other hand, a magnificent college was erected for the Jesuits in 1567. They possessed likewise an eminent professor, Maldonat, whose exposition of the Bible drew the youth in crowds and

* In a manuscript in the Berlin Library, MSS. Gall., n. 75, we find the following documents amongst others: "Délibérations et consultations au parlement de Paris touchant l'establisement des Jesuits en France;" in which are especially contained the messages from the court to the parliament in favor of the Jesuits: "infracta et forocia pectora," it says, "gladio fidei acuto penetrarunt."

riveted their attention. From these principal cities they traversed the country in all directions, fixed themselves at Thoulouse and Bourdeaux, and wherever they appeared the number of catholic communicants increased. The catechism of Augier obtained universal approbation; in less than eight years thirty-eight thousand copies were sold in Paris alone.*

It is indeed possible that this revived popularity of catholic ideas, which chiefly prevailed in the metropolis, had its influence upon the court; at all events the court received the support of public opinion, when in 1568, after long hesitation, it once more declared itself decidedly catholic.

The principal cause of this was, that Catherine of Medici felt that her power was more secure since her son had attained his majority, and there was no further necessity for keeping terms as before with the Huguenot nobles. The example of Alva showed how much was to be effected by a steadfast will; the pope also, who incessantly exhorted the court not to suffer the insolence of the rebels to increase, nor to use any longer forbearance with them, at length accompanied his warnings with the permission to alienate church property, which brought a million and a half of livres to the treasury.† Catherine of Medici, following the example set a year before by the Governess of the Netherlands, imposed on the French nobility an oath, by which they bound themselves to renounce every engagement they had contracted without the previous knowledge of the king.‡ She insisted on the dismissal of all magistrates who were suspected of holding the new opinions, and she declared to Philip II in September 1563, that she would tolerate no religion but the catholic.

This was a determination which could not be carried into execution in France without an appeal to arms.

Accordingly war immediately broke out, and was undertaken with the most extraordinary zeal by the catholic party. The king of Spain sent, by request to the pope, veteran troops under experienced leaders to the assistance of the French. Pius V collected contributions in the states of the church, and subsidies from the Italian princes; even the holy father himself sent, as his contingent, a small army across the Alps, to whom he gave the cruel instructions to slay every Huguenot who should fall into their hands, and give no quarter.

The Huguenots also collected their forces; they too were inspired by religious fervor, and in the papal soldiers beheld the army of Antichrist advancing against them. They too gave no quarter, nor

* We meet with these notices in Orlandinus and his continuers, pars i, lib. vi, n. 30; ii, iv, 84; iii, iii, 169; and further. Juvencius, v, 24, 769, gives an account of the life of Augier.

† Catena, Vita di Pio V, p. 79.

‡ V. the oath in Serranus, Commentarii de Statu Religionis in Regno Galliæ, iii, 153.

were they less provided with foreign aid than their adversaries; nevertheless they were completely routed at Moncontour.

With what joy did Pius V place the standards taken from the Huguenots in the churches of St. Peter and St. John Lateran! He conceived the most daring hopes: it was under these circumstances that he uttered sentences of excommunication against queen Elizabeth, and he even sometimes flattered himself with the thoughts of heading in person an expedition against England.

But these extravagant hopes were never fulfilled.

It now happened, as had often been the case, that a change of opinion manifested itself in the French court, which, though originating in trifling circumstances of a personal nature, brought about a complete revolution in the most important affairs. The king grudged his brother, the Duke of Anjou, who had led the troops at Moncontour, the honor of conquering the Huguenots and quieting the kingdom. This feeling was exasperated by those around him, who in like manner were jealous of the household of the Duke of Anjou, and feared that power would go hand in hand with glory. Not only were the advantages already gained languidly followed up, but in a short time another and a more moderate party, which pursued a policy directly contrary to that of the high catholic party headed by Anjou, appeared at court, made peace with the Huguenots, and invited their leaders to the palace. In 1569, the French, in league with Spain and the pope, had attempted to hurl Elizabeth of England from her throne; in the summer of 1572, they entered into a league with this very queen to wrest the Netherlands from Spain.

The change, however, was too sudden; the measures were taken with too little deliberation for it to be lasting. The most violent explosion of public opinion followed, and matters again took their former course.

It is indeed certain, that Catherine of Medici, while she entered with zeal and cordiality into the policy and plans of the dominant party, which favored her views, at least in so far as they appeared calculated to advance her youngest son, Alençon, to the throne of England, yet had everything in preparation to carry into execution a contrary stroke of policy. She used every art to draw the Huguenots to Paris: numerous as they were, they here found themselves surrounded and held in check by a far larger population, which was in a state of military organization and fanatical excitement. She had previously given the pope tolerably clear intimations what her intentions were; but had she still hesitated, the circumstances which occurred at this moment must have decided her line of conduct at once. The Huguenots won over the king, and appeared to supplant her influence over him. This personal danger put an end to all delay; with that resistless and magical power which she possessed over her children, she reawakened all the slumbering fanaticism of her son; it cost her but one word to rouse the populace to arms,

and that word she spoke; every individual Huguenot of note was delivered over to the vengeance of his personal enemy. Catherine had said she only wished for the death of six men, and the charge of their death alone would she take upon her conscience. The number of the victims was fifty thousand.*

The French thus outdid all that the Spaniards had perpetrated in the Netherlands. What the latter accomplished by degrees, by a calculating policy, and according to forms of law, the former carried into execution in the heat of passion, with the absence of all formalities, and by the aid of a populace drunk with fanaticism. The result appeared the same; there remained not a single leader under whose banner the scattered Huguenots could rally; many fled, numbers surrendered themselves; mass was again attended in various places, and the protestant preachers were silenced. Philip II saw with pleasure his example imitated and surpassed, and offered to Charles IX, who had now, for the first time, earned his title of the most christian king, military aid for the completion of his undertaking. Gregory XIII celebrated this great event by a solemn procession to San Luigi. The Venetians, who appeared to have no special interests at stake, expressed in their official despatches to their minister, their satisfaction at this "mark of God's favor."

But can crimes of so bloody a dye be crowned with lasting success? Are they not at variance with the deeper mysteries of human events, and with those inviolable laws of nature, which, even when not understood, are in constant though silent operation? Men may blind themselves for a time, but they cannot shake that order of the moral world which regulates the very principles of their being, with a necessity not less inexorable than that which guides the stars in their courses.

§ 6. RESISTANCE OF THE PROTESTANTS IN THE NETHERLANDS,
FRANCE, AND GERMANY.

Macchiavel advises his prince to execute in rapid succession whatever cruel measures he thinks necessary; but when those are accomplished, gradually to adopt a more merciful system.

It almost seemed as if the Spaniards endeavored to follow this counsel to the letter in the Netherlands. They appeared at length to think that a sufficient amount of property had been confiscated, a sufficient number of lives sacrificed; in short, that the period for mercy was arrived. In the year 1572, the Venetian minister in Madrid states his conviction that the prince of Orange would obtain

* For brevity's sake I here refer the reader to my disquisition on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, in the *Histor. Polit. Zeitschrift*, ii, iii.

his pardon if he would ask for it. The king received with great kindness the deputies of the Netherlands, who came to petition for the remission of the impost of the tenth penny, and even went so far as to thank them for their trouble.

He had determined to recall Alva, and send a milder viceroy. But it was now too late; the rebellion broke out at the very conclusion of the treaty between the French and English which preceded the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Alva had imagined the contest was over, whereas it now in fact first began. The enemy was beaten by Alva whenever he met them in the open field; but in the towns of Holland and of Zealand, where the religious excitement had been the most profound, and protestantism had acquired a thorough and active organization, he encountered a resistance which he could not overcome.

In Haarlem, when all the provisions, and even the grass which grew in the streets, were exhausted, the inhabitants determined to cut their way through the besiegers with their wives and children. The want of unity in the garrison at length compelled them to surrender, but they had succeeded in proving that resistance to the Spaniards was possible.

In Alkmar, the inhabitants declared themselves for the prince of Orange at the very moment the enemy appeared before their gates. Their defence was as heroic as their determination; not a man deserted his post, however grievously wounded, and before these walls the Spaniards received their first check. The country breathed again, and new courage inspired the people. The inhabitants of Leyden declared that sooner than surrender they would devour their left arms, that they might retain their strength to defend themselves with their right; nor were the means they adopted for their defence less daring and desperate than their words. They called to their aid the billows of the Northern ocean. Their sufferings had reached their height, when they cut the dams which had hitherto protected them from its incursions, and a driving north-west wind having set in just at this moment, the whole country was soon several feet under water.

The French protestants had again taken heart. As soon as they perceived that their government, notwithstanding the ferocity it had recently displayed, hesitated, delayed, and resorted to contradictory measures, they took up arms, and war broke out afresh. Sancerre and Rochelle rivalled Leyden and Alkmar in the gallantry of their defence. The voice of the preachers of the Gospel of peace was raised to call men to arms; women vied with men in courage and fortitude; it was the heroic age of the protestantism of the west.

The deeds of cruelty committed or countenanced by the most powerful sovereigns provoked a resistance which displayed itself in various nameless points—a resistance which no force could put down, and which had its hidden origin in the depths of religious conviction.

But we cannot here follow out the progress and vicissitudes of the war in France or the Netherlands; these details would carry us too far from the main point of our subject, and are to be found in many other authors; it is sufficient for our purpose to state that the protestants held their ground.

In 1573 and the following years, the government of France was already frequently compelled to come to terms with the Huguenots, and to renew concessions formerly granted them.

In the year 1576 the power of the government in the Netherlands had utterly fallen.

Whilst the Spanish troops were in a state of complete insubordination from want of pay, all the provinces had united against them; those which had previously remained loyal, with those in revolt; those in which catholicism predominated, with those wholly protestant. The states-general took the reins of government into their own hands, named captains-general, stadtholders, and magistrates, and garrisoned the fortified towns with their own troops.*

The treaty of Ghent was signed, by which the provinces bound themselves to drive out the Spaniards, and keep them out of the country. The king sent his brother, who might be called a Netherlander, to govern them according to the laws and usages of Charles V. But Don John was not even acknowledged until he had promised to fulfil the chief conditions which were required of him; he was forced to recognise the treaty of Ghent, and to dismiss his Spanish troops; and scarcely did he make the slightest movement to shake off the restraints by which he was bound, when all parties rose up against him, declared him an enemy to his country, and the leaders of the provinces invited another prince of his family to govern in his stead.

The principle of local and federal government was victorious over that of monarchy, and the Spanish was superseded by domestic rule. This necessarily brought in its train other consequences. The northern provinces, which had first declared war, and had thus led the way to the accomplishment of so mighty a change, at once acquired a natural ascendancy in the conduct of the war and the government; hence followed the propagation of the reformed religion throughout the United Provinces. Protestantism found its way into Mechlin, Bruges, and Ypres; in Antwerp the churches were divided between the two confessions, and the catholics were sometimes forced to content themselves with the choirs of those churches of which they had so lately had exclusive possession. In Ghent the protestant tendency was blended with civil troubles, and gained complete ascendancy. Full security had been given by the treaty of Ghent for the maintenance of the catholic church in its ancient condition; but now the states-general put forth an edict, which guaranteed equal freedom to the exercise of both religions.

* This turn of affairs is rendered particularly intelligible in Tassis, iii, 15—19.

Everywhere, even in those provinces which were mainly catholic, protestant opinions were actively promulgated, and appearances would have justified the expectation that protentantism would eventually obtain a complete and universal victory.

What a position was that now occupied by the prince of Orange! But lately an exile and anxious only for pardon, and now in possession of a firmly-established power in the northern provinces; Ruwart of Brabant, and all-powerful in the assembly of the States; recognized by a great and successful religious and political party as their head and leader; and in strict alliance with the protestants of Europe, more especially with those of Germany, whose friendship, as neighbors, was of the most importance to him.

In Germany, likewise, the aggressions of the catholics were met by the protestants with a resistance which seemed to promise great results. We perceive it in the general transactions of the Germanic body, in the meetings of the electoral princes, and at the imperial diet; though here, agreeably to the nature of the German mode of transacting business, it led to no positive results. The resistance broke forth with the greatest activity where the attacks had chiefly been made—in the several territories and districts. The contest was now principally carried on, as we have seen, in the ecclesiastical principalities; there scarcely existed one where the prince had not made an attempt again to render the catholic the dominant party. Protestantism, which also felt its own strength, strove with not less energy and foresight to bring the spiritual principalities over to its side.

In the year 1577, Gebhard Truchsess was created archbishop of Cologne, chiefly through the personal interest which count Nuenar exercised over the chapter; and this powerful protestant well knew the character of the man he had recommended. In truth, the acquaintance of Gebhard with Agnes von Mansfeld, to which his conversion has been attributed, was not wanting to give him an anti-catholic feeling. Even at his solemn entrance into Cologne, when the clergy met him in procession, he did not alight from his horse, according to ancient custom, to kiss the cross; he appeared in the church in military uniform, nor did he choose to officiate at high mass; from the very beginning he attached himself to the party of the Prince of Orange, and his principal councillors were Calvinists.* As he did not hesitate to mortgage land for the purpose of raising troops; as he endeavored to gain over the nobles, and favored that party among the guilds of Cologne who began to oppose the practices of the catholic church, he betrayed the design

* Maffei, *Annali di Gregorio XIII*, t. i, p. 331.

which he afterwards more openly manifested, the conversion of an ecclesiastical into a temporal electorate.

Gebhard Truchsess still outwardly conformed, occasionally at least, to the catholic rite; but the neighboring sees in Westphalia and Lower Saxony fell, as we have already seen, completely into protestant hands. The elevation of Duke Henry of Saxe-Lauenburg was of peculiar importance. While yet very young, and a good Lutheran, he had been nominated to the bishopric of Bremen, then to that of Osnabruck, and in 1577 to the bishopric of Paderborn.* Even in Munster he had a large party on his side, consisting of all the younger members of the chapter; and his further elevation was only hindered by the immediate interference of Gregory XIII (who declared a resignation already made, invalid,) and by the resolute opposition of the high catholic party. They were, however, not able to place another bishop in that see.

It is evident what an impulse must have been given to protestant opinions in Rhenish Westphalia (where they were already widely disseminated,) by these dispositions of its spiritual rulers. Nothing was wanting but a lucky coincidence or a successful stroke, to give it a decided preponderance in this country. Such an event would indeed have produced a great reaction throughout Germany. The same chances existed for the bishoprics in Upper as in Lower Germany; and as yet, even in those territories where the restoration had begun, the opposition was by no means overcome.

Of this Balthasar, abbot of Fulda, had bitter experience! The intercession of the neighboring princes failed to diminish the weight of grievances laid before the diet; the abbot proceeded with reckless obstinacy in his restoration of the ancient faith, and went from place to place to bring about its accomplishment, when one day in the summer of 1576, as he happened to be in Hamelburg for this purpose, he was attacked by his nobles with arms in their hands, and besieged in his own house; every means was employed against him, and as his neighbors looked on complacently, and the bishop of Wurzburg even lent his assistance to his enemies, he found himself compelled to abdicate the government of his own dominions.†

Nor did Duke Albert carry everything before him in Bavaria. He complained to the pope that his nobility would rather renounce the sacrament altogether, than receive it in one kind.

But it was of far greater importance, that in the Austrian provinces protestantism gradually acquired a more legitimate and re-

* Hamelmann, Oldenburgisches Chronikon, s. 436.

† Schannat, *Historia Fuldensis*, ps. iii, p. 268, gives a letter from the abbot to pope Gregory, (dated Aug. 1, 1576,) from the Archives of the Vatican, which is eminently remarkable. "Clamantes," he says of the threats of his enemies, "nisi consentiam, ut administratio ditionis meæ episcopo tradatur, non aliter se me ac canem rabidum interfecturos, tum Saxonie et Hassie principes in meum gregem inmissuros."

cognised existence. Under the mild and prudent sway of Maximilian II it had become established in Upper and Lower Austria. Pope Pius V consequently took an inexpressible aversion to that emperor; when the conversation once turned on the war he was carrying on against the Turks, the pope openly said, he did not know to which party he wished victory the least.* Protestantism, however, made unchecked progress, even in the inner provinces of Austria. In the year 1568, there were already in Carinthia twenty-four evangelical pastors, and in 1571 there was only one catholic in the council of the capital town of Styria. The protestant creed indeed found no support from the feudal lord of these provinces, the archduke Charles, who rather on the contrary sought to introduce the Jesuits, and favored them by every means at his disposal; but the States were too powerful for him.† They had the upper hand in the diets, where the business of administration and of the defence of the country was mixed up with religious matters. They exacted religious concessions in requital for every assent they gave to a political measure. In the year 1578, at the diet of Bruck on the Muhr, the archduke was compelled to allow the free exercise of the confession of Augsburg, not only in the domains of the nobles and landed proprietors, where indeed he could not easily have prevented it, but also in the four important towns of Grätz, Judenburg, Klagenfurt, and Laibach.‡ Hence protestantism acquired in these provinces the same regular organisation as in the Austrian dominions; a protestant church ministry was established, a church and school discipline after the model of that of Würtemberg was adopted; here and there, for example at St. Veit, the catholics were excluded from the election of councillors,§ and were no longer permitted to fill the provincial offices;—circumstances, by favor of which the protestant opinions gained a decided superiority, even in those districts bordering on Italy. The impulse which the Jesuits had given met here with a steady and determined counteraction.

We may consider protestantism in the year 1578, as still the dominant creed of all the Austrian provinces, whether of the German, Slavonic, or Hungarian tongues, with the single exception of the Tyrol. The result of our observation of the general religious aspect of Germany at this period is, that the progress we have seen made by restored catholicism, was held in check by a successful

* Tiepolo, *Relazione di Pio IV e V*: he adds besides, “In proposito della morte del principe di Spagna apertam^e disse il papa haverla sentita con grandissimo dispiacere, perchè non vorria che li srați del re cattolico capitassero in mano de’ Tedeschi.

† Socher, *Historia Societatis Jesu Provinciæ Austriæ*, i, iv, 166, 184; v. 33.

‡ 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 rectifies the account of Khevenhiller, *Ann. Ferdinandei*, i, 6.

§ Hermann in the *Carinthian Zeitschrift*, v, p. 189.

resistance, and met by a corresponding progress on the part of the new confession.

§ 7. CONTRASTS EXHIBITED IN THE REST OF EUROPE.

We are now arrived at a remarkable epoch, in which the two grand religious tendencies are once more aroused to action, with equal ardor and equal hope of victory.

But affairs had already materially changed from their former position. In the earlier ages of the reformation both parties sought to come to an understanding; a reconciliation had been attempted in Germany, prepared in France, and called for in the Netherlands, and appeared, indeed, to be still feasible, since practical toleration partially existed. But now their differences seemed to stand out with greater sharpness and animosity, and through all Europe they challenged each other to the combat. It is well worth our while to glance over the state of affairs as they stood in the years 1578-9.

Let us begin in the east, with Poland, where the Jesuits had already made their way, and were regarded by the bishops as allies and supporters of their own power. Cardinal Hosius, the bishop of Ermeland, founded a college for them in Braunsberg in the year 1569, and they fixed themselves, with the assistance of the bishops of those places, in Pultusk and Posen. Bishop Valerian of Wilna thought it a matter of the utmost importance to anticipate the Lithuanian Lutherans, who intended to establish a university on their own principles, by the endowment of a Jesuit school in his see. He was already old and feeble, and wished his last days to be marked by this meritorious act. The first members of the company of Jesus arrived in the year 1570.*

The immediate consequence of these exertions on the part of the catholics was, that the protestants took measures to maintain their ground. In the convocation diet of 1573, they carried a resolution to the effect, that no one should be injured or persecuted on account of his religion;† and the bishops were obliged to yield. The example of the disturbances in the Netherlands was adduced to prove to them what dangers might arise from their opposition; from that time the kings of Poland took an oath to maintain this resolution. In the year 1579 the payment of tithes to the clergy was wholly suspended, and the nuncio asserts that, by this act alone, twelve hundred parish priests were left wholly destitute: at the same time a supreme court of judicature, composed of laity and clergy, was established, which decided all causes, ecclesiastical as well as tem-

* Sacchinus, *Hist. Soc. Jes.*, p. ii, lib. viii, 114, p. iii, lib. 1, 112, lib. yi. 103-108.

† Fredro, *Henricus I, rex Polonorum*, p. 114.

poral. It was matter of astonishment in Rome that the Polish clergy could acquiesce in such an institution.

The same struggle was going on in Sweden as in Poland, and with the most singular characteristics. It immediately concerned the person of the prince, who was indeed the object of the contest. In all the sons of Gustavus Vasa, “the brood of king Gustavus,” as the Swedes called them, there was a singular mixture of reflection and wilfulness, of devotion and violence. The most learned among them was the second John. Religious dissensions touched him the more nearly from his marriage with a catholic princess, Catherine of Poland, who had shared his prison, in the narrow solitude of which he had often received consolation from a catholic priest. He studied the fathers, in order to gather from their representations a correct idea of the primitive state of the church. He delighted in books which treated of the possibility of a unity of faith, and was continually revolving in his mind the questions connected with that subject. When he succeeded to the throne, he accordingly made some advances to the catholic church; he published a liturgy, framed after the model of that of Trent, and in which Swedish theologians imagined they detected Romish doctrines.* As he thought he should need the pope’s mediation, both with the catholic powers generally, in his Russian war, and with the Spanish court particularly, in the matter of the maternal inheritance of his wife, he did not scruple to send one of the nobles of his kingdom as ambassador to Rome. He also secretly directed certain Jesuits to come over to Stockholm from the Netherlands, and entrusted to their charge an important establishment for education.

His conduct naturally raised the highest hopes in Rome; and accordingly Antonio Possevin, one of the ablest members of the company of Jesus, was selected to make a strenuous attempt to convert king John.

Possevin appeared in Sweden in the year 1578. The king was not inclined to give way on all points. He demanded that the clergy should be allowed to marry, that the laity should receive the cup at the sacrament, that mass should be said in the vernacular tongue, that the church should renounce its claims on confiscated estates, &c. Possevin had no authority to go into these questions; he therefore promised to communicate them to the papal see, and then passed to the dogmatical points of controversy. In these he was far more fortunate. After a few conferences, and some time for reflection, the king declared himself resolved to make the *professio fidei* according to the formula of the confession of Trent. This he accordingly did; he then confessed to Possevin, who once more asked him whether he conformed to the papal decision in regard to the communion in one kind; and on the king’s declaration

* They are all drawn up in the “*Judicium Prædicatorum Holmenss. de publicata Liturgia*” in Baaz, *Inventarium Ecclesiarum Suegoth*, p. 393.

that he did, Possevin solemnly granted him absolution. It almost appears as if this absolution were the chief object of the wishes and the wants of the king. He had caused his brother to be put to death, certainly with the previous sanction of his estates, but still it was the death of a brother, and marked with every circumstance of violence. This absolution seemed to tranquillise his spirit. Possevin prayed to God to permit him fully to turn the heart of the monarch. The king arose, and throwing himself into the arms of his confessor, exclaimed, "As I embrace thee, so do I likewise the Roman catholic faith for ever." He then received the Lord's supper according to the catholic ritual.

After this satisfactory fulfilment of his mission, Possevin went back to Rome, rendered an account of it to the pope, and also, under promise of secrecy, to the most powerful catholic sovereigns. It now only remained to take into consideration those demands of the king upon which he made the re-establishment of the catholic faith in his kingdom mainly to depend. Possevin was a man of great address, eloquent, and full of talent for negotiation; but he allowed himself to be too easily persuaded that his success was complete. From his representation, pope Gregory did not think it necessary to give way on any point; on the contrary, he required of the king a voluntary and unconditional conversion. He therefore despatched the Jesuit a second time, charged with letters to this intent, and with indulgences for all who would become converts.

In the meanwhile the opposite party had not been idle; admonitory letters had been sent by protestant princes, for the account of Possevin's mission had instantly spread over Europe. Chytræus had dedicated to the king his treatise on the Confession of Augsburg, which had made some impression on the learned monarch. From this moment the protestants never again lost sight of him.

Possevin now arrived at Stockholm, no longer, as before, in a civilian's dress, but in the customary habit of his order, and furnished with a vast quantity of catholic books. Even his mere appearance made an unfavorable impression; he hesitated for a moment, whether he should produce the pope's answer, but at length could withhold it no longer, and communicated it to the king in an audience which lasted two hours. Who can penetrate the secret workings of a wavering and unsteady spirit? Perhaps the self-love of the prince was wounded by so absolute a refusal of his terms; perhaps too he was convinced that nothing was to be accomplished in Sweden without the proposed concessions: he had no inclination to abdicate his throne for the sake of religion. In short, this audience was decisive. From that hour the king showed a marked aversion to the emissary of the pope. He required his Jesuit school-men to receive the sacrament in both kinds, and to perform mass in the Swedish language; and as they did not obey him, (which indeed they could not do,) he refused them the provision

they had hitherto enjoyed. They quitted Stockholm shortly afterwards, doubtless not merely, as they gave out, on account of the plague. The protestant nobles, the younger brother of the king, Charles of Sudermania, who was inclined to Calvinism, and the envoys from Lubec, neglected nothing which could increase this growing aversion. The only remaining stay and hope of the catholics was the queen, and after her death, the heir to the throne; for the time, the sovereign power in Sweden remained substantially protestant.*

In England the government became more so every day under queen Elizabeth. But there existed in that kingdom points of attack of another kind: it was full of catholics; it was not the population of Ireland alone that adhered with constancy to the faith and ritual of their ancestors, but in England probably one half of the nation, if not, as some have maintained, a larger proportion, were still attached to catholicism. It is always matter of astonishment that the English catholics, at least for the first fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign, submitted to the protestant laws of that queen. They took the oath which was required of them, although diametrically opposed to the papal authority; they attended the protestant churches, and their consciences were satisfied if they kept together in going and coming, and avoided the society of protestants.†

Rome founded great hopes upon this condition of things, and was convinced that some occasion, some slight advantage alone was wanting to arouse all the catholics in the country to resistance. Pius V had declared that he wished he could shed his blood in an expedition against England. Gregory XIII, who never abandoned the idea of this enterprise, was rather inclined to employ the warlike turn and illustrious position of Don John of Austria for its accomplishment; he therefore sent his nuncio Sega, who had been with Don John in the Netherlands, to Spain, expressly with the view of gaining over king Philip to his object.

Either, however, from Philip's jealousy of the ambitious designs of his brother, and his aversion to any new political embarrassment, or from some other impediments, these vast schemes came to nothing, and their projectors were forced to be satisfied with less brilliant enterprises.

* In this whole account I follow the reports of the Jesuits, (which, by what I can find, have not hitherto been used,) which may be seen at length in Sacchinus, *Hist. Societatis Jesu*, pars iv, lib. vi. n. 64-76, and lib. vii, n. 83-111.

† *Relatione del presente Stato d' Inghilterra*, cavata da una lettera scritta di Londra, etc., Roma 1590. (printed pamphlet,) is entirely in accordance on this head with a passage from Ribadaneira, *De Schismate*, which has been quoted by Hallam (*Constitutional History of England*, i, p. 162), and is without doubt the original source. "Si permettevano giuramenti impii contra l' autorità della sede apostolica, e questo con poco o nissun scrupulo di coscienza. Allora tutti andavano communemente alle sinagoghe degli eretici et alle prediche loro menandovi li figli et famiglie. . . . si teneva allora per segno distintivo sufficiente venire alle chiese prima degli eretici e non partirsi in compagnia loro."

Pope Gregory then turned his eyes to Ireland. Ireland had been represented to him as unsurpassed in the strictness and constancy of her attachment to the catholic faith; a victim to the tyranny and cruelty and rapacity of England; her dissensions fostered, her barbarism designedly perpetuated, her conscience trammelled and violated: he was told that she was consequently ready at any moment to break out into open rebellion; that nothing was necessary but to send a few troops to her assistance; that an army of five thousand men would conquer Ireland; that there was not a fortress which could hold out above four days.*

Pope Gregory was easily persuaded. There happened to be staying at Rome at that time an English exile, one Thomas Stukely; an adventurer by nature, but possessed in an extraordinary degree of the talent of gaining access to men in power, and winning their confidence. The pope had made him his chamberlain, and given him the title of Marquis of Leinster; he also advanced 40,000 scudi to equip him with vessels and men: Stukely was to touch on the coast of France, where he was to be joined by another small body of men, got together (also with the pope's assistance) by an Irish refugee of the name of Geraldine. Philip, who had no wish to engage in a war, but was not unwilling to give Elizabeth some occupation at home, advanced money for the same purpose.† Stukely, however, in the most unexpected manner, allowed himself to be persuaded to join the expedition of King Sebastian against the Moors, with the troops destined for Ireland, and found his death in that enterprise. Geraldine was reduced to try his fortune alone; he landed in June, 1579, obtained some advantages, and made himself master of the fort which commanded the harbor of Smerwick. Meanwhile the Earl of Desmond was in arms against the queen, and the whole country in agitation. But one reverse soon followed another, the greatest of which was, that Geraldine himself was killed in a skirmish. The Earl of Desmond could now no longer hold out. The assistance given by the pope was not sufficient, and the money upon which the Irish counted was not forthcoming. The English maintained their victorious position, and punished the rebellion with fearful cruelty. Men and women were driven together into barns, and there burned, children were strangled, all

* *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: "Lasciando il governo a ministri Inglesi, i quali per arricchire se stessi usavano tutta l'arte della tirannide in quel regno, come trasportando le commodità del paese in Inghilterra, tassando il popolo contra le leggi e privilegi antichi, e mantenendo guerra e fattioni tra i paesani—non volendo gli Inglesi che gli habitanti imparassero la differenza fra il viver libero e la servitù."

† According to the nuncio Sega, in his *Relatione compendiosa*, (MS. in the Berlin Library,) 20,000 scudi. "Altre mercedi fece fare al barone d'Aeres, al Sr Carlo Buono et altri nobili Inglesi che si trovavano in Madrid, ch' egli spinse andare a questa impresa insieme col vescovo Lionese d'Irlanda."

Munster laid waste, and English settlers poured into the devastated province.

To accomplish any thing of importance, the attempt must evidently be made in England itself; but this appeared impracticable unless the political aspect of Europe should change: and should this take place, if they hoped to find the catholic population not wholly altered, if they expected to find them still catholics, they must afford them spiritual assistance.

William Allen first conceived the project of collecting together the young English catholics who were residing on the continent for the prosecution of their studies; and, principally by the aid of Pope Gregory, he established a college for them at Douay. But this did not satisfy the pope, who wished to secure a retreat for these fugitives under his own eye, and to place them in a more quiet and less dangerous station than Douay, in the turbulent Netherlands. He therefore established an English college at Rome, granted it a rich abbey, and consigned it to the care of the Jesuits in 1579.*

None were admitted into this college but those who pledged themselves to return to England when their studies were completed, and to preach the Roman catholic faith. This was the exclusive end of their training. Excited as they were by that religious enthusiasm which the spiritual practices of Ignatius Loyola tended to generate, the missionaries whom Pope Gregory the Great sent to convert the Anglo-Saxons were held up as examples for their imitation.

A few of the older students led the way. In the year 1580, two English Jesuits, Parsons and Campion, returned to England. Constantly pursued, and reduced to the necessity of perpetually changing their names and their dress, they at length succeeded in reaching the capital, where they separated, and traversed, the one the northern, the other the southern counties, principally residing in the houses of the catholic noblemen. Their coming was always announced, but their hosts cautiously received them as strangers. Meanwhile a chapel was prepared in the innermost chamber of the house, into which they were conducted, and there they found the members of the family assembled to receive their blessing. The missionary seldom staid more than one night. The evening was occupied in religious preparation and in confession; the next morning mass was said, the Lord's supper administered, and a sermon preached. All the catholics who were within reach assembled, and their number was often very great. That religion which for nine hundred years had extended its sway over the island, was now once more taught, with the additional zest of secrecy and

* We may here compare the relation of the Jesuits in Sacchinus, pars iv, lib. vi, 6, lib. vii, 10—30, with the narratives of Camden, *Rerum Britannic.*, tom. i, p. 315.

novelty. Synods were held by stealth; a printing press was set up, first in a village near London, and afterwards in a lonely house in a neighboring wood; catholic writings suddenly reappeared, composed with all the skill which constant practice in controversy gives, often with elegance, and calculated to make a deeper impression from the mystery of their origin. The immediate consequence of these publications was, that the catholics ceased to attend the protestant service, or to observe the ecclesiastical laws of the queen; and that, on the other side, the contest of opinions was carried on with greater vehemence, and persecution became more severe and crushing.*

In all countries, wherever the principle of catholic restoration was not possessed of sufficient strength to gain ascendancy, its effect was to widen the breach between the parties, and to render their differences more striking and irreconcilable.

Of this Switzerland afforded another example, although each canton had long possessed religious independence, and the disagreements which occasionally broke out concerning the terms of the confederation were very nearly settled.

But the Jesuits now found their way into this country. In the year 1574, at the suggestion of a colonel of the Swiss guard in Rome, they went to Lucern, and found sympathy and support, especially from the family of Pfyffer.† Louis Pfyffer alone is supposed to have contributed 30,000 guilders towards the foundation of the Jesuits' college; Philip II and the Guises are also said to have advanced something towards it; and Gregory XIII, who never withheld his assistance from such institutions, gave the means to purchase a library. The people of Lucern were delighted, and wrote expressly to request the general of the order not to deprive them of the fathers of the company who had already arrived: "It was their most earnest wish to see their youth well brought up in sound learning, and more especially in piety and a Christian life." They promised, in return, to spare neither pains nor labor, neither their property nor their blood, to comply with every wish of the order.‡

An opportunity was soon afforded them of showing their renovated zeal for catholicism in a matter of some importance.

The city of Geneva had placed itself under the peculiar protection of Berne, and now endeavored to draw into this alliance Soleure and Freiburg, which usually attached themselves to Berne in political, although not perhaps in ecclesiastical matters. With respect to Soleure they succeeded. A catholic city took under its protection the focus of western protestantism. Gregory XIII was alarmed, and used every effort, at any rate to deter Freiburg from

* Campiani Vita et Martyrium, as well as Sacchinus. Ingolstadii, 1584.

† Agricola, 177.

‡ Literæ Lucernensium ad Everardum Mercurianum in Sacchinus, Hist. Soc. Jesu, iv, v, 145.

following the example of her neighbor. Lucern now came to his assistance; an embassy from that city united its exertions to those of the papal nuncio. Freiburg not only refused to enter into the proposed alliance, but invited the Jesuits; and, with the help of the pope, a college soon arose in this canton.

In the meanwhile the influence of Carlo Borromeo's unwearied zeal and spotless character began to be felt; more especially in the Wald cantons. Melchior Lussi, the landamman of Unterwalden, was esteemed his particular friend. Carlo Borromeo sent thither in the first place capuchin friars, who made a great impression in the mountain districts by the austerity and simplicity of their lives; to them succeeded the pupils of the Swiss college, which he had founded for this express purpose.

Their influence was soon traced in all public affairs. In the autumn of 1579, the catholic cantons concluded a treaty with the bishop of Basle, by which they promised not only to protect him in religious matters, but also, if opportunity offered, to bring back "to the true catholic faith" those of his subjects who had become protestants; engagements which naturally aroused the Lutheran part of the community. The animosity became fiercer than it had been for a long time. A papal nuncio arrived, who was received in the catholic cantons with the greatest possible honors: while from the protestants he experienced nothing but contempt and insult.

§ 8. CRISIS IN THE NETHERLANDS.

The religious condition of Europe was now as follows.

Restored catholicism, under the forms it had assumed in Italy and Spain, had made a formidable inroad upon the rest of Europe. In Germany it had achieved no inconsiderable conquests, and had made progress in many other countries; yet it had everywhere encountered a vigorous resistance. In France the protestants were protected by extensive concessions, and by their strong political and military position. They predominated in the Netherlands. They ruled paramount in England, Scotland, and in the north. In Poland they extorted peremptory laws in their favor, and a great influence in the general affairs of the kingdom. Throughout the whole Austrian dominions they stood, armed with their old provincial rights, face to face with the government. In Lower Germany a complete change appeared to threaten the religious institutions.

In this state of affairs, it was of the utmost importance to know what would be the issue of the contest in the Netherlands, where there was continually a fresh resort to arms.

It was impossible that Philip II could intend to repeat measures which had proved so abortive—nor was he indeed in a condition to attempt them; it was his good fortune that he found friends who

came spontaneously to his aid, and that protestantism was arrested in its career by an unexpected and invincible obstacle. It will be well worth our while to pause for a moment over this important event.

In the first place, it was by no means agreeable to all parties in the provinces, and least of all to the Walloon nobility, to see the prince of Orange acquiring so much power.

Under the king's government, these nobles had always been the first to take horse in the French wars; and the leaders of note, whom the people were accustomed to follow, had thence acquired a certain independence and authority. Under the government of the states, they were thrown into the background; their pay was irregular: the army of the states consisted principally of Dutch, English and Germans, who enjoyed the greatest confidence as being undoubted protestants.

When the Walloons acceded to the treaty of Ghent, they had flattered themselves that they should obtain a leading influence in the general affairs of the country. But the very reverse took place. Power fell almost exclusively into the hands of the Prince of Orange and his friends of Holland and Zealand.

Affairs of religion were blended with the personal disgusts thus engendered. Whatever was the cause, it is certain that the protestant movement found little sympathy in the Walloon provinces. The new bishops, almost all of them men of great activity and influence, had been peaceably installed in their sees. In Arras, we find François de Richardot, who had become thoroughly imbued with the principles of the restoration at the council of Trent; we are told, in terms of boundless admiration, how he united in his discourses firmness and impressiveness with elegance and learning, and in his life, zeal with knowledge of the world:* in Namur, Antoine Havet, a Dominican, perhaps endowed with less worldly wisdom, but also a former member of the council, and equally indefatigable in the introduction of its regulations:† in St. Omer, Gerhard de Hamericourt, one of the richest prelates in the provinces (also abbot of St. Bertin), whose ambition it was to promote the studies of the youth of his diocese, and to establish schools; and who first founded in the Netherlands a college for the order of Jesus, and endowed it with permanent funds. Under the guidance of these and other heads of the church, Artois, Hainault and Namur, remained exempt from the savage fury of the iconoclastic storm which desolated the other provinces. As a consequence of the same causes,‡ the reaction excited by Alva's atrocities was not felt

* *Gazet, Histoire Ecclesiastique des Pays-Bas*, p. 143, thinks him "subtile e solide en doctrine, nerveux en raisons, riche en sentences, copieux en discours, poly en son langage et grave en actions, mais surtout l'excellente piété et vertu, qui reluisait en sa vie, rendait son oraison persuasive."

† *Havesius, De Ereptione Novorum Episcopatum in Belgio*, p. 50.

‡ *Hopper, Recueil et Mémorial des Troubles des Pays-Bas*, 93, 88.

so powerfully there.* The decrees of the council of Trent were, without much delay, discussed in the provincial councils and synods of the diocese, and put in execution. The influence of the Jesuits spread rapidly from St. Omer, and still more from Douay. Philip II had founded an university at Douay, in order to afford his subjects who spoke the French language an opportunity of studying in their own country. This formed a part of the plan for a close ecclesiastical constitution which he intended to establish throughout his dominions. Not far from Douay stood the Benedictine abbey of Anchin, where, in the days when the fury of the image-breakers raged in the greater remaining part of the Netherlands, the abbot Jean Lentaille practised the religious exercises of Ignatius with his monks. Filled with the enthusiasm generated by these practices, he determined to endow out of the revenues of his abbey a college of Jesuits in the new university; this was accordingly opened in the year 1568, immediately acquired a certain independence of the authorities of the university, and prospered extremely; eight years afterwards the flourishing condition of the university, even in respect to literature, was chiefly ascribed to the Jesuits. Not only was their college filled with pious and diligent young men, but the other colleges had greatly improved from the emulation it excited; it already furnished the whole university with excellent theologians, and the provinces of Artois and Hainault with numerous priests.† By degrees this college became the central point of modern catholicism for all the surrounding districts. In the year 1578, the Walloon provinces were esteemed by their contemporaries (to use the expression of one of them) in the highest degree catholic.‡

But the religious condition of the country was threatened no less than its political claims, by the ascendancy of protestantism.

Protestantism had assumed a form in Ghent, which in these times we should describe as revolutionary. The ancient liberties which had been destroyed by Charles V in 1539, were by no means forgotten. Alva's cruelties had excited peculiar exasperation in this city, and the populace was of an ungovernable character, given to image-breaking and violently irritated against the priests. Two bold leaders, Imbize and Ryhove, took advantage of this state of

* According to *Viglii Commentarius Rerum Actarum super impositione Decimi Denarii*, in *Papendrecht*; *Analecta* i, 1, 292, the tenth penny was imposed with the assurance, that it should not be strictly exacted.

† *Testimonium Thomæ Stapleton* (rector of the university) in the year 1576, in *Sacchini*, iv, iv, 124. "Plurimos ex hoc patrum collegio,"—that is to say, the collegium Aquicintense—"Artesia et Hannonia pastores, multos schola nostra theologos optime institutos et comparatos accepit." There follow still higher panegyrics, which we may the more easily omit, as Stapleton himself was also a Jesuit.

‡ *Michiel*, *Relatione di Francia*: "il conte (the governor of Hainault) è cattolichissimo, come è tutto quel contado insieme con quel d' Artoes che li è propinquo."

popular feeling to put themselves at the head of the mob. Imbize conceived the project of establishing a pure republic, and dreamt that Ghent, under such a form of government, might become a second Rome. Their first act was to arrest their governor Arschoot, while engaged in holding a meeting with some of the bishops and catholic leaders of the neighboring towns; they then established the old constitution, of course with some alterations securing to themselves the possession of power; they seized upon the property of the church, abolished the bishopric, confiscated the abbeys, and converted the hospitals and convents into barracks; and finally they endeavored by force of arms to introduce the same order of things among their neighbors.*

Some of those leaders who had been taken prisoners together with Arschoot belonged to the Walloon provinces, into which the troops of Ghent made incursions; all those who were inclined to protestantism began to rouse themselves; and from the example of Ghent, the democratic inclinations of the people were brought into intimate relation with their religious feelings. In Arras, an insurrection broke out against the senate; in Douay itself the Jesuits were driven out, against the wish of the senate, by a popular commotion; their exile lasted indeed but a fortnight, yet even this was an important event; and in St. Omer they maintained their position only through the especial protection of the senate.

The civic magistrates, the provincial nobility, the clergy, all were suddenly menaced with danger and oppression, with a revolution of a no less destructive nature than that which had already taken place in Ghent; no wonder, therefore, that in this extremity of peril they sought every means of defence. With this view they first brought into the field their troops, which laid waste the country round Ghent with the most savage atrocity, and then looked around for an alliance offering greater promise of security than was afforded by their connection with the united Netherland provinces.

Don John of Austria did not fail to take advantage of this state of public feeling. On a cursory and general survey of Don John's measures and conduct in the Netherlands, it would appear that they produced no results whatever; that his whole existence had passed away, leaving as little trace on the world as it had afforded satisfaction to himself. But if we consider more accurately what was his position, what were his actions, and what their consequences, we shall be forced to admit that the settlement of the Spanish Netherlands is to be ascribed pre-eminently to him. For some time he tried to adhere to the terms of the treaty of Ghent; but the independent attitude which the States had taken up, the situation of the Prince of Orange, who was far more powerful than himself, the viceroy, and the mutual suspicion of the parties, neces-

* Van der Vynkt's Hist. of the Netherlands, vol. ii, book vi, sec. 2; this section is probably the most important of the whole book.

sarily tended to an open rupture. Don John made up his mind to begin the war; unquestionably this was contrary to the wishes of his brother, but it was inevitable; by this means alone could he possibly succeed in reconquering one province to the crown of Spain, and in this he did succeed. He kept possession of Luxembourg, he invested Namur, and in consequence of the battle of Gemblours, became master of Louvaine and Limburg. If the king wished to regain his power over the Netherlands, this was not to be effected by an accommodation with the States General, which was evidently impracticable, but only by a gradual subjugation of the particular districts, either by treaty or force of arms. This system Don John pursued, and speedily opened to himself the most extensive prospects. He rekindled the old attachment of the Walloon provinces to the Burgundian race, and especially brought over to his party two men of great importance, Pardieu de la Motte, governor of Gravelines, and Matthieu Moulart, bishop of Arras.*

These were the two men who after the early death of Don John, conducted the negotiations on which every thing depended, with the greatest zeal and the most successful skill.

De la Motte availed himself of the newly-kindled hatred against the protestants. He managed that the garrisons belonging to the States should be removed from many strong places solely on account of their protestantism, and that early in November the nobles of Artois should decree the expulsion of all Lutherans from that province; a decree which they carried into execution. Matthieu Moulart now endeavored to bring about a complete reconciliation with the king. He began by invoking the assistance of God by a solemn procession through the city; an act of devotion prompted by his sense of the enormous difficulties he had to contend with, as he had sometimes to induce men to coalesce whose claims were directly at variance. He proved himself indefatigable, subtle, and conciliating, and perfectly succeeded in his object.

Alessandro Farnese, the successor to Don John, had the mighty talent of persuading, attaching, and of inspiring lasting confidence; at his side stood Francois Richardot, the nephew of the bishop, "a man," says Cabrera, "of sound and perspicacious judgment in various matters, and experienced in all; competent to conduct all business, of whatsoever sort it might be;" and Sarrazin, abbot of St. Vaast, described by the same Cabrera, "as a great politician under the appearance of quietness, ambitious with the demeanor of humility, and one who knew how to sustain his dignity in the eyes of all."†

* That they were won over to Don John is evident from both the following passages. 1. Strada, ii, 1, p. 19: "Pardieus Mottæ dominus non rediturum modo se ad regis obedientiam sed etiam quamplures secum tracturum jam pridem significarat Joanni Austriaco." 2. Tassis: "Episcopum Atrebatensem, qui vivente adhuc Austriaco se regi conciliarat."

† Cabrera, Felipe Segundo, p. 1021.

It will be impossible for us to trace the whole progress of the negotiations until they gradually attained their object.

It is sufficient to remark that, on the side of the provinces, the interests of self-preservation and of their religion pointed immediately to the king; on the side of the king, nothing was left untried which priestly influence and dexterous negotiation, united with the returning favor of the prince, could effect. In April 1579, Emanuel de Montigny, whom the Walloon army had recognised as their general, entered into the pay of the king. Upon this, count De Lalaing went over, without whom Hainault could never have been won. At length, on the 17th of May, 1579, the treaty was signed in the camp at Maestricht. But to what conditions was the king subjected! It was indeed a restoration of his sovereignty, but under the strictest limitations. Not only did he promise to dismiss all foreigners from his army and only to employ Netherland troops, but confirmed all present possessors in the offices which they had acquired during the disturbances. The inhabitants pledged themselves, on their part, to receive no garrison of which information had not been previously given to the estates of the country; two-thirds of the council of state were to consist of men who had been implicated in the disturbances. The other articles were framed in the same spirit.* The provinces thus attained an independence such as they had never before enjoyed.

This event involved a turn of affairs of universal importance. Throughout the west of Europe no other means had hitherto been resorted to for the maintenance and restoration of catholicism than the application of open force; and the monarchical power, under this pretence, had endeavored completely to annihilate all provincial rights and franchises. It was now compelled to adopt another course. If kings wished to restore catholicism, and maintain themselves, they could do so only by a strict union with representative bodies and popular privileges.

But to whatever extent the royal power of Spain was limited, it had yet made an immense acquisition. It had recovered the provinces upon which the greatness of the house of Burgundy had been founded. Alessandro Farnese kept the field with the Walloon troops, and although the progress of the war was slow, he continued to advance; he took Courtray in 1580, Tournay in 1581, and Oudenarde in 1582.

But affairs were not decided by these successes. It was precisely the union of the catholic provinces with the king, that forced the northern districts (which were exclusively protestant) not only to draw closer their mutual alliance, but eventually to emancipate themselves entirely from the king.

Let us here take a rapid review of the history of the Netherlands. In all the provinces a contest had subsisted for ages between the

* Tassis gives this treaty in all its details, lib. v, 391—405.

provincial privileges and the royal prerogative. In Alva's time the latter had attained an ascendancy it never had before possessed, and which it could not even then maintain. The treaty of Ghent showed how completely the popular bodies had gained the upper hand over the government. In this respect the northern provinces could claim no pre-eminence over those of the south; and had they been united in the matter of religion, they would have constituted one common Netherland republic; but, as we have seen, they fell asunder. It followed, first, that the catholics placed themselves once more under the protection of the king, with whom their strongest bond of union was the determination to maintain the catholic religion; hence it likewise followed that the protestants, after having so long persevered in the struggle, at length threw aside the very name of subjection, and completely shook off the authority of the king. We may indeed call the one party the subject provinces, and describe the other as a republic; but we must not suffer ourselves to be misled by these names into a belief that the difference in their internal organization was at first great. The subject provinces asserted all their popular rights and privileges with the greatest spirit; while the republican provinces possessed, in the office of viceroy, an institution analogous to that of royalty. Their chief difference lay in their religion.

This brought out the true points of the contest, and events now advanced to their consummation.

Just at this time Philip II had conquered Portugal, and in the moment of triumph, stimulated as he was to new enterprises by this signal success, the Walloon states at length consented to the return of the Spanish troops.

Lalaing and his wife, who had always been a great opponent of the Spaniards and to whom their expulsion was ascribed, were won over, and the whole body of the Walloon nobility followed their example; men were persuaded that all danger of a renewal of Alva's acts of tyranny and violence was at an end. The Spanish-Italian army, which had once been removed, again brought back, and again dismissed, returned once more. With the Netherland troops alone, the war would have been interminable; the superiority of these veteran, well-disciplined troops brought matters to a crisis.

While in Germany the colonies of Jesuits, consisting of Spaniards, Italians and a few Netherlanders had restored catholicism by their teaching and by the inculcation of the principles of their creed, in the Netherlands an Italic-Spanish army came to unite its forces to the catholic element of the native population, the Walloons, for the re-establishment of the catholic supremacy by the sword.

In treating of this period of history, it is impossible to avoid speaking of war; it involves the destinies of religion.

In the month of July, 1583, both the harbor and the town of Dunkirk were taken in six days; shortly afterwards Nieupoort, and all the coast as far as Ostende, Dixmunde and Furnes.

Even here the character of this war manifested itself. In all political matters the Spaniards were forbearing; but inexorable wherever the interests of the church were concerned. There was not the slightest question of tolerating the public or even the private worship of the protestants. All the preachers who were seized were hanged. They waged, with full consciousness, a war of religion. This was, in a certain sense, the most prudent course they could take in their situation; they could never have reduced the protestants to complete subjection; while by this decided policy they secured all the elements of catholicism existing throughout the country on their side, and excited them to spontaneous activity. The Bailliu Servaes of Zealand delivered the county of Waes into their hands; Hulst and Axel surrendered, and Alessandro Farnese soon found himself in sufficient force to make an attack upon the larger cities; he was already in possession of the country and the coast. One after the other, Ypres, Bruges, and lastly Ghent, where Imbize himself had been a party to the treaty, were compelled to surrender; very tolerable terms were conceded to the communes in their political character; for the most part their privileges were respected, but the protestants were banished without mercy; the principal stipulations invariably were, the return of the catholic clergy; and the restoration of the churches to the catholic ritual.

In spite of all these successes, nothing lasting seemed to be accomplished, no security attained, so long as the prince of Orange lived to give consistency and effect to the struggle, and to sustain hope even in the conquered.

The Spaniards had set a price of 25,000 scudi upon his head. In the fierce and excited state of men's minds, there could not fail to be some who would strive to earn this reward, urged to it equally by lust of gain and by fanaticism. I know of no greater blasphemy than that contained in the papers of the Biscayan Jaureguy, who was seized in an attempt upon the life of the prince. He wore, as a sort of amulet, prayers in which the merciful Godhead, which had manifested itself to man in the person of Christ, was invoked to favor murder; in which a share of the price of blood was promised (should the deed be achieved) to the divine persons; to the Mother of God of Bayonne, a robe, a lamp, and a crown; to the Mother of God of Aranzosu a crown; to the Lord Jesus himself a rich curtain!* Luckily this fanatic was seized; but in the meantime another was on his way. At the moment that sentence of outlawry against Jaureguy was proclaimed in Maestricht a Burgundian, one Balthasar Gerard, who was living there,

* "Contemporary copy of a vow and of certain prayers found in the form of an amulet upon Jaureguy," in Lord F. Egerton's Collection. "A vos, Senor Jesus Christo, redemptor y salvador del mundo, criador del cielo y de la tierra, os ofrezco, siendo osservido librarme con vida despues de haver effectuado mi deseo, un belo muy rico." And so it goes on.

was possessed by the desire of carrying the attempted murder into execution.* The hope of acquiring earthly fortune and respect if he succeeded, and the glory of a martyr if he fell—ideas which were encouraged by a Jesuit of Trèves—had tormented him day and night, until he set out to perpetrate the deed. He presented himself to the prince as an exile, and having thus found admittance, he watched a favorable moment, and killed the prince of Orange at one shot, (July 1584.) He was seized, but no torture wrung from him a sigh; he persisted in saying that were the deed still to do, he would do it again. Whilst he expired at Delft amidst the curses of the people, the canons of Herzogenbusch celebrated his achievement with a solemn *Te Deum*.

The passions of both parties were in a state of the fiercest excitement, but the impulse given to the catholics was the strongest; it accomplished its end, and bore off the victory.

Had the prince lived, it was believed that he would have found means to relieve Antwerp, which was besieged, as he had promised; but now there was no one to fill his place.

The means of attack brought against Antwerp were so vast that the other considerable cities of Brabant were also immediately menaced by them: the prince of Parma cut off from all equally the supply of provisions. Brussels was the first to yield. No sooner was this city, accustomed to abundance and luxury, threatened with want, than discord broke out and soon led to a surrender; then Mechlin fell; and at length, when the last attempt to cut through the dykes and to procure means of subsistence by land failed, Antwerp itself was forced to surrender.

The same indulgent terms were granted to the cities of Brabant as to those of Flanders: Brussels was excused from the payment of contributions: the inhabitants of Antwerp were promised that no Spanish garrison should be quartered in their city, and that the citadel should not be repaired. One obligation was accepted in the place of all others—that the churches and chapels should be restored and the exiled priests and clergy recalled; on this point the king was inflexible. In every treaty this, he said, must be the first and last stipulation. The only concession he could be induced to grant was, that two years were allowed to the inhabitants of every place either to change their religion or sell their possessions and quit the Spanish territory.

* *Relazione del successo della morte di Guilielmo di Nassau, principe di Orange e delli tormenti patiti del generosissimo giovane Baldassarre Gerardi Borgognone: Inf. politt. xii, contains some circumstances differing from the customary accounts: "Gerardi, la cui madre è di Bisansone, d' anni 28 incirea, giavane non meno dotto che eloquente;"—he had entertained this project for seven years and a half;—"Offrendosi dunque l' opportunità di portar lettere del duca d'Alansone al Nassau, essendo già lui gentilhuomo di casa, alli 7 Luglio un hora e mezzo dopo pranzo uscendo il principe della tavola scargandoli un archibugetto con tre palle gli colse sotto la zinna manca e gli fece una ferita di due diti colla quale l' ammazzo."*

How completely was the aspect of things altered! At one time Philip II had doubted whether he should grant the Jesuits fixed settlements in the Netherlands; and even since then, they had often been threatened, attacked and driven out. In consequence of the events of this war they now returned with every manifestation of the favor of the government. The Farnesi were moreover peculiar patrons of the society; Alessandro chose a Jesuit as his confessor; he saw in their order the most efficacious means of bringing back to catholicism the half-protestant country he had conquered, and of fulfilling the main object of the war.* The first place to which they returned was that which had first been conquered, Courtray. The parish priest of the town, Jean David, had become acquainted with the Jesuits during his exile at Donay; on his return to Courtray, he immediately entered their order, and in his farewell discourse to his parishioners exhorted them not to allow themselves to be any longer deprived of the spiritual aid of that society; his exhortations were readily obeyed. Shortly after, the veteran Giovanni Montagna, who had first introduced the company into Tournay, whence he had frequently been obliged to fly, came back to that town and established it there for ever. As soon as Bruges and Ypres had conformed to the required change, the Jesuits made their entry there also, and certain convents which had been deserted during the troubles were readily granted to them by the king. In Ghent, the house of the great demagogue Imbize, the author of so much mischief to catholicism, was fitted up for the reception of the company. At the surrender of Antwerp, the inhabitants endeavored to stipulate that only those orders should be re-admitted into the city which had existed there in the time of Charles V; but this was not conceded to them; they were compelled to receive the Jesuits again, and to restore the buildings which that society had formerly possessed. All these facts are related by the historian of the order with great complacency; he remarks as a proof of the peculiar favor of Heaven, that they recovered free from debt, that which they had left burthened with debt. Property which had, in the meanwhile, passed through two or three different hands, was now restored to them without demur or inquiry. Brussels could not escape the general fate; the town-council declared itself ready to receive them; the prince of Parma granted aid from the royal treasury, and in a short time the Jesuits were established on a secure and advantageous footing. The prince had already solemnly granted them a right to hold land and houses

* Sacchinus: "Alexandro et privati ejus consilii viris ea stabat sententia, ut quæque recipiebatur ex hæreticis civitas, continuo fere in eam immitti societatem debere: valere id tum ad pietatem privatam civium tum ad pacem tranquillitatemque intelligebant." (Pars v, lib. iv, n. 58.) According to the *Imago primi seculi*, this was also the will of the king, "qui recens datis de hoc argumento literis ducem cum cura monerat, ut societatis præsidio munire satageret præcipuas quasque Belgii civitates;"—statements which are sufficiently warranted by the facts.

under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to make use of the privileges conferred on them by the apostolic see in these provinces.

The Jesuits were not the only religious order which enjoyed his protection. In the year 1585 a few capuchins arrived in his dominions, and, by a special letter to the pope, he obtained leave for them to remain there; he accordingly bought them a house in Antwerp. They produced a great impression even on the religious fraternities, and it was necessary for the pope to restrain the other Franciscan orders by express command, from adopting the reformed rule of the capuchins.

All these circumstances gradually produced an immense effect, and transformed Belgium, which had been half protestant, into one of the most catholic countries of the world. Nor can it be denied that, for a time at least, they mainly contributed to the re-establishment of the royal authority.

In consequence of these results the opinion became more and more firmly established, that only one religion ought to be tolerated in a state. This is one of the fundamental maxims of the policy of Justus Lipsius. "In matters of religion," says he, "neither favor nor indulgence is admissible; the true mercy is to be merciless; in order to save many, a few must be gotten rid of without scruple;"—a maxim which in no country found more acceptance than in Germany.

§ 9. PROGRESS OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION IN GERMANY.

As the Netherlands still formed one of the circles of the German empire, the events which occurred in that country inevitably exercised a great influence on the affairs of Germany. One of the more immediate results of them was, that the affairs of Cologne were brought to an issue.

The Spaniards had not yet returned, far less had catholicism gained her great triumphs, when Truchsess, the elector of Cologne, determined, in November 1582, to embrace the reformed religion and to marry, though without resigning his archbishopric. The greater part of the nobility was on his side; the counts of Nuenar, Solms, Wittgenstein, Wied, Nassau, and the whole duchy of Westphalia, were all of them Lutherans. With the bible in one hand and the sword in the other, the elector entered Bonn; while Casimir of the Palatinate appeared in the field with a considerable body of troops to reduce to obedience the city of Cologne, the chapter, and the other ecclesiastical officers of the archbishopric which offered resistance to Truchsess.

We find this Casimir of the Palatinate engaged in all the transactions of those times, always ready to mount his horse or to draw his sword, and always having at his beck warlike bands inclined

to protestantism; notwithstanding which he seldom effected anything important for the cause he espoused. He neither waged war with that devotedness which a religious contest demands (having always his own private interests in view), nor with that energy and science which were brought to bear against him. On this occasion he laid waste the flat country of his opponents; but in the main he achieved little or nothing.* He made no conquests, nor did he find means to obtain more ample assistance from protestant Germany.

On the other hand, the catholic powers united all their strength. Pope Gregory did not abandon the matter to the delays attending all the proceedings of the curia; he deemed a simple consistory of the cardinals sufficient, considering the urgency of the case, to decide so important a matter as the stripping an elector of the empire of his ecclesiastical dignity.† The papal nuncio Malaspina had already hastened to Cologne; and had succeeded, in concert with the learned members of the chapter, not only in excluding all the moderate party from that body, but also in placing upon the archiepiscopal throne a prince of the only remaining catholic house of untainted orthodoxy—Duke Ernest of Bavaria, bishop of Freisingen.‡ A German catholic army now appeared in the field, brought together by the Duke of Bavaria, with the aid of the pope's subsidies. The emperor delayed not to threaten the count palatine Casimir, with the ban and double-ban of the empire, and sent admonitory letters to his troops which eventually occasioned the dispersion of the army of the Palatinate.

It was at this point of time that the Spaniards likewise made their appearance. In the summer of 1583 they had conquered Zutphen; and three thousand five hundred Belgian veterans now marched into the electorate. Gebhard Truchsess was forced to yield to such numerous enemies; his troops would not serve against an imperial mandate; his principal fortress surrendered to the Bavaro-Spanish army, while he himself was compelled to seek refuge with the prince of Orange, and to ask asylum from him at whose side he had hoped to stand foremost among the champions of the protestant cause.

It is easy to perceive how powerfully this event must have contributed to the complete re-establishment of catholicism in that country. At the very first outbreak of the troubles, the clergy of the diocese had allowed the dissensions which existed amongst themselves to subside. The nuncio removed all suspected members, and a Jesuits' college was founded in the midst of the clash of arms; so that after victory was won, there was only to persevere in the course already adopted. Truchsess had driven out the

* Isselt, *Historia Belli Coloniensis*, p. 1092: "Tota hac æstate nihil hoc exercitu dignum egit."

† Maffei, *Annali di Gregorio XIII*, ii, xii, 8.

‡ Letter of Malaspina to Duke William of Bavaria in Adlzreitter, ii, xii, 295: "Quod cupiebamus," he says, "impetravimus."

catholic clergy in Westphalia; they now returned, like the other refugees, and were held in great honor.* The Lutheran canons were expelled from the diocese, and, contrary to all precedent, ceased to receive any portion of their incomes. The papal nuncios were, it is true, obliged to use great discretion in their deportment even towards the catholics; and of this pope Sixtus was so well aware, that he commanded his nuncio not to set about the reforms which he thought necessary, until he knew that all parties were willing to receive them. It was, however, this very prudence and moderation which enabled them imperceptibly to gain their end. The canons, how high soever their birth, once more began to perform their clerical duties in the cathedral. The council of Cologne, which was opposed by a protestant party in the city, strenuously supported the catholic faith.

This great change could not fail to exercise a powerful influence on all the other ecclesiastical states, but a particular accident which occurred in the neighborhood of Cologne materially contributed to its operation. Henry of Saxe-Lauenburg, bishop of Paderborn and Osnabrück, archbishop of Bremen (who would, if he could, have followed the example of Gebhard) went one Sunday in April 1585, from his residence at Vöhrde to church, when in riding back, his horse fell with him, and although he was young and healthy, and did not appear to have received any serious injury, he died in the course of that month. The elections which followed were very favorable to catholicism; the new bishop of Osnabrück, whatever might have been his previous opinions, now subscribed the "professio fidei,"† and Theodore of Fürstenberg, the new bishop of Paderborn, was a most zealous catholic. While yet a canon, he had opposed his predecessor, and, in the year 1580, carried the statute, that in future catholics only should be received into the chapter;‡ he had already admitted a few Jesuits, had allowed them to preach in the cathedral, and to teach in the higher classes of the gymnasium; in the latter case, under the condition that they were not to wear the dress of their order. It was, of course, much easier for him as bishop, to afford encouragement and assistance to the party they represented; they were no longer compelled to conceal their presence; the gymnasium was delivered into their hands with-

* "Elector Ernest," says Khevenhiller, "has constituted anew, according to ancient customs, both the catholic religion and the temporal government."

† According to Strunck, *Annales Paderbornenses*, p. 514, Bernard von Waldeck was at an earlier period inclined to protestantism; during the troubles at Cologne he remained neuter and now acknowledged to the catholic faith. Chytræus (*Saxonia*, 812) does not contradict him.

‡ Bessen, *Geschichte von Paderborn*, ii, 123. In Reiffenberg, *Historia Provinciæ ad Rhenum Inferiorem*, lib viii, c. i, p. 185, we find a letter from pope Gregory XIII: "dilectis filiis canonicis et capitulo ecclesiæ Paderbornensis," 6 Feb., 1584, in which he praises this spirit of opposition: "It is right it should be thus: the more you are attacked, the stronger must be your resistance: the pope himself bears in his heart the fathers of the society of Jesus."

out any stipulation, and they were allowed not only to preach, but to catechise. They found ample occupation. The town-council was thoroughly protestant, and there was scarcely a catholic to be found among the citizens; nor was the case very different among the peasantry. The Jesuits compared Paderborn to a sterile field, which required extraordinary labor and yet produced no fruit. Nevertheless, as we shall hereafter perceive, in the beginning of the seventeenth century they had completely subdued this stubborn soil to their culture.

The death of Henry of Saxe-Lauenburg was an important event to Münster also. As the younger members of the chapter supported, and the elder opposed him, it had hitherto been impossible to carry any election; now, however, Duke Ernest of Bavaria, elector of Cologne and bishop of Liège, was elected bishop of Münster; principally through the exertions of the most determined catholic of the chapter, the dean Raesfeld, who, just before his death, made a will bequeathing 12,000 reichs-thalers for the establishment of a Jesuits' college in Münster. In the year 1587 the first Jesuits arrived. They found enemies in the canons, the protestant ministers, and the citizens; but were supported by the council and the prince. Their schools soon began to evince their extraordinary merits, and in the third year they could reckon a thousand scholars. Even so early as the year 1590, they were rendered completely independent by a voluntary grant of church property made to them by the prince.*

Electors Ernest also possessed the bishopric of Hildesheim, and although his power there was much more limited than in Münster, he contributed greatly to the introduction of the Jesuits. The first Jesuit who came to Hildesheim was John Hammer, a native of that city, educated in the Lutheran faith by his father, who was still living, but filled with all the zeal of a proselyte. His preaching was remarkably perspicuous and intelligible, and he made some brilliant conversions: by degrees he gained firm footing, and in the year 1590 the Jesuits acquired a dwelling and a pension in Hildesheim.

We perceive how important the catholicism of the house of Bavaria was, even as affecting Northern Germany, where a Bavarian prince appears in so many dioceses at once as the main prop of the catholic party.

Yet we must not imagine that this prince was very zealous or very devout in his own person. He had natural children, and it had been thought at one time that he would act in the same manner as Gebhard Truchsess had done. It is extremely interesting and curious to observe with what caution and delicacy pope Sixtus treated him. He most carefully avoided showing him that he was aware of his irregularities, perfectly as he was acquainted with them; for then exhortations and remonstrances would have been

* Sacchinus, pars v, lib. viii, n. 83—91. Reiffenberg, *Historia Provincie ad Rhenum Inferiorem*, i, ix, vi.

necessary, which might very probably have driven the headstrong prince to some determination little agreeable to the court of Rome.*

The affairs of Germany were not to be managed in the same manner as those of the Netherlands had been; they demanded the most skilful and delicate regard to personal interests and personal feelings.

Although Duke William of Cleves outwardly conformed to the catholic confession, his policy was on the whole protestant; he willingly afforded refuge and protection to protestant exiles, and did not permit his son John William, who was a zealous catholic, to take any share in public affairs. There were not wanting those in Rome who might easily have been tempted to show their disapprobation and resentment at his proceedings, and to encourage any opposition raised by his son; but Sixtus V was far too prudent to sanction such a course. It was not until the prince pressed for an interview so earnestly that it was impossible to decline it any longer without offence, that the nuncio held a conference with him at Düsseldorf, and even then he exhorted him in the strongest manner to patience. The pope would not allow him to be invested with the order of the Golden Fleece, lest it should awaken suspicion. Nor did he intercede directly with the father in favor of his son, since he thought that any connection of the latter with Rome would displease the Duke; but endeavored to procure for the prince a position befitting his birth, by means of an application which he induced the emperor to make in his behalf. He admonished the nuncio to act concerning some things as if he did not perceive them. This considerate forbearance on the part of an authority which was still recognised, did not fail to produce its usual effect. The nuncio gradually acquired influence, and when the protestants at the diet asked for certain concessions, it was chiefly through his representations that they were refused.†

In a great portion of Northern Germany, catholicism was thus, if not instantly re-established, yet in the hour of imminent peril was upheld, confirmed, and fortified; it obtained a degree of superiority which time might mature into complete ascendancy.

In a great part of Southern Germany, events immediately took a similar course.

We touched upon the state of the Franconian bishoprics. It might easily have entered into the imagination of a resolute bishop to avail himself of it for the establishment of an hereditary power.

It was probably this state of things that induced Julius Echter of Mespelbrunn, who, in the year 1573, while still in the flower of youth, and of an enterprising disposition, had been created bishop of Würzburg, to hesitate some time what line of policy to adopt.

* Tempesti, Vita di Sisto V, tom. i, p. 351.

† Tempesti, Vita di Sisto V, tom. i, p. 359.

He took an active part in the expulsion of the abbot of Fulda; yet it could not have been any very decided leaning to catholicism which brought the chapter and the states of Fulda into connection with him, since the re-establishment of catholicism was the principal grievance they had to allege against their abbot. It was on this account too that the bishop fell into a misunderstanding with Rome; Gregory XIII having enjoined him to restore Fulda, just at the moment when Truchsess proclaimed his revolt. In this emergency, bishop Julius actually prepared to address himself to Saxony, and to call in the aid of the leader of the Lutherans against the pope. He was intimately connected with Truchsess, who at all events entertained hopes that the bishop of Würzburg would follow his example—as the minister of Lauenburg, archbishop of Bremen, announces with great satisfaction to his master.*

Under these circumstances, it would be difficult to decide what bishop Julius would have done, had Truchsess been able to keep his ground at Cologne; as however he so completely failed, Julius not only abandoned all thought of following his example, but determined to pursue a totally different line of conduct.

Are we to presume that his only object had been the acquisition of absolute power in his own dominions? or did he really entertain in his heart strict catholic convictions? At all events, he was a pupil of the Jesuits, and educated at the Collegium Romanum. Whatever was the cause, in the year 1584 he undertook a visitation of the churches in a highly catholic spirit, and hitherto unparalleled in Germany; and he carried this through in person with all the energy of a resolute will.

He travelled through his whole territory accompanied by certain Jesuits, going first to Gmünden, then to Arnstein, Werneck, and Hassfurt, and so on from circle to circle. In every town he summoned to his presence the burgher-master and the town council, and told them of his determination to root out the errors of protestantism. The pastors were sent away and their places filled with the pupils of the Jesuits. Any official person who refused to attend catholic worship was dismissed without mercy, and the vacant office instantly filled by one of the catholic faith. Even private persons were all required to attend the catholic service, and had only to choose between the mass or exile; he to whom the religion of his prince was an abomination ought, it was said, to have no

* Letter of Hermann von der Decken (for Becken must be a false reading), dated 6 Dec., 1582, in Schmidt-Phiseldeck, *Historischen Miscellaneen*, i, 25. "Upon the statements and solicitations of the legate, the bishop of Würzburg begged time for a little consideration, immediately ordered his horses and suite to be in readiness, and determined to mount and ride over to the elector of Saxony and complain to his grace of such unheard-of impertunity on the part of the pope, and apply for counsel, aid, and consolation.....His grace (the elector of Cologne) had great hopes of the reverend lords bishops, that their princely graces would declare against the pope."

share or interest in his country.* In vain did the neighboring princes remonstrate against these measures. Bishop Julius used to say, that it was not what he did that caused him any scruples of conscience, but that he had begun to do it so late. He received the most active and zealous support from the Jesuits, among whom Father Gerhard Weller was especially conspicuous, by going alone and on foot, without even a change of raiment, from place to place preaching. In the single year of 1586, fourteen cities and market-towns and above two hundred villages, containing in all 62,000 souls, were brought back to the catholic faith. The capital of the diocese was the only town which still adhered to protestantism, and in March, 1587, the bishop undertook its conversion. He summoned the town-council before him, and appointed for each quarter and parish a commission, which was to examine each citizen separately. Here too it was discovered that one-half cherished protestant opinions; the faith of many, however, was feeble and wavering, and soon yielded to persuasion or menace; and the solemn communion which the bishop himself celebrated in the cathedral at Easter was numerously attended. Others held out longer, and a few chose rather to sell their property and go into exile; among the latter were four members of the council.

This was an example which the Bishop of Bamberg, the nearest ecclesiastical neighbor of Würzburg, felt himself especially called upon to follow. There is a hill called Gösweinstein rising above the valley of Muggendorf, to the summit of which pilgrims may, to this day, be seen wending their way from all the surrounding valleys, by steep and solitary paths, through magnificent woods and romantic precipices. Here was an ancient sanctuary, sacred to the Holy Trinity; but at the time we are speaking of, it was neglected and deserted. When Ernest von Mengersdorf, Bishop of Bamberg, happened in the year 1587 to visit this spot, he was greatly shocked at its condition. Inflamed by the example of his neighbor, he declared that he would also "bring back his subjects to the true catholic faith; no danger should prevent him from performing this his duty." We shall see how earnestly his successor followed the course he marked out.

But whilst in Bamberg things were only in preparation, in Würzburg bishop Julius effected a complete change in the religious character of his dominions. All old ordinances and ceremonies were revived; devotional exercises in honor of the Mother of God, pilgrimages, brotherhoods of the assumption of the Virgin and of her birth, and various others were restored, and new ones founded.

* Biography of Bishop Julius in Gropp's Chronicle of Würzburg, p. 335: "they were told to give up their offices and employments and to seek their livelihood out of the diocese." I have already made use of this biography, and in particular, along with it, Christophori Mariani Augustani *Encœnia et Tricennalia Juliana* in Gropp's *Scriptt. Wirceb. tom. i.*

Processions filled the streets. Throughout the whole country, the sound of the church bells recalled the hour of the Ave Maria.* Relics were again collected and deposited with great pomp in their appointed shrines. The convents were filled again, and churches built in all directions; bishop Julius is said to have laid the foundations of three hundred; the traveller may still distinguish them by their lofty spires. Men observed with astonishment the change which a few years had wrought. A panegyrist of the bishop thus expresses himself: "What was formerly esteemed superstitious and even contemptible, is now held sacred; what was lately revered as a gospel, is now declared to be only deceit."

Even at Rome such signal success had not been anticipated. The enterprise of bishop Julius had already been some time in progress before pope Sixtus heard any thing of it. After the autumn holidays in 1586, Aquaviva, the general of the Jesuits, appeared before him and informed him of the new conquests achieved by his order; Sixtus was delighted, and hastened to testify his approbation and gratitude to the bishop. He granted him the right of filling the benefices which had fallen vacant in the reserved months, adding, that he would best know whom to reward.

But the pleasure which the pope received from Aquaviva's report was enhanced by the arrival of similar intelligence from the Austrian provinces, particularly from Styria.

In the year in which the protestant estates of Styria acquired such a degree of independence, through the decrees of the diet of Brüch, that they might almost compare their position with that of the estates of Austria, and like them possessed their own council for religious matters, their own superintendents and synods, and a nearly republican constitution—in that very year a change began.

Scarcely had Rudolf II received the homage of his subjects, when it was remarked how completely he differed from his father: he performed the acts of devotion in their utmost strictness; men saw him with astonishment attend the processions, even in the hardest winter, bare-headed and carrying a torch in his hand.

This temper of the prince, and the favor which he showed to the Jesuits, soon caused great anxiety, and in accordance with the character of the times, excited a violent counter-movement. In the Landhaus at Vienna, which, as the protestants had not been allowed to have a regular church in the capital, was used for their worship, Joshua Opitz, a disciple of Flaccius, preached with all

* Julii episcopi statuta ruralia, Gropp, Scriptt., tom i. His meaning is, that the religious movement which proceeds from the supreme head of the church of Christ, communicates itself downwards to every member of the body. Vide p. 444, de capitulis ruralibus.

that vehemence which characterised his sect. He thundered out continual invectives against Jesuits, priests, and “all the abominations of popery,” which produced not only conviction in his hearers, but exasperation; so that, as one of his cotemporaries says, “when they came out of their church, they were ready to tear the papists to pieces with their own hands.”* The consequence was, that the emperor determined to prohibit their meetings at the Landhaus. While the arguments for and against this measure were discussed with passionate warmth, and the nobility to whom the Landhaus belonged gave vent to threatening expressions, the feast of Corpus Christi of the year 1578 arrived. The emperor was determined to celebrate this festival in the most solemn manner. After he had heard mass in St. Stephen’s church, the procession, the first which had been seen for a long time, began. The host was accompanied through the streets by priests, brethren of religious orders, and guilds; in the midst were the emperor and the princes. But it was soon evident that the town was in a state of extraordinary ferment. When the procession reached the peasant’s market, it was found necessary to take away a few stalls to make room for it to pass. Nothing more was required to produce a general tumult; the cry of “To arms! we are betrayed!” was heard on all sides. The choristers and priests abandoned the host; the halberdiers and guards fled in all directions; the emperor found himself in the midst of an infuriated multitude, and fearing an attack upon his person, laid his hand upon his sword, while the princes drew theirs and closed round their monarch to defend him from the mob.† It will be easily imagined what an impression this incident made upon a prince of such gravity, and one so attached to Spanish dignity and stateliness. The papal nuncio seized on the occasion to represent to him the dangers with which he was menaced by such a state of things; he averred that God himself showed him in this tumult how requisite it was for him to fulfil the promises he had previously made to the pope; in these representations he was supported by the Spanish minister. The Jesuit provincial, Magius, had frequently urged the emperor to take decisive measures; he now obtained a hearing. On the 21st of June, 1578, the emperor issued an order to Opitz and his assistants, both in church and school, to leave the city that very day, “while the sun shone;” and, within fourteen days, the hereditary dominions of Austria. The emperor, fearing a popular commotion, kept under arms a body of trustworthy men, ready to act in case of necessity. But how were the people to resist a prince who had the strict letter of the law on his side? they

* Dr. George Eder, who was indeed an adversary: extract from his *Warnungsschrift in Raupach, Evangel. Oestreich*, ii, 286.

† Maffei, *Annali di Gregorio XIII*, tom. i, p. 281, 335; without doubt written from the accounts of the nuncio.

could only accompany the exiles on their way with every demonstration of sorrow and sympathy.*

From this day a catholic reaction commenced in Austria, which every year acquired fresh strength and activity.

The plan was, to expel protestantism in the first place from the imperial cities. The towns on the east of the Enns, which twenty years before had separated themselves from the estates of the nobles and knights, could make no resistance. The Lutheran clergy were banished to various places; catholics were appointed in their stead, and even private individuals were subjected to a strict examination. We are in possession of a formula according to which the suspected were questioned: "Dost thou believe," says one article, "that all is true which is laid down for the government of life and doctrine by the church of Rome?" "Dost thou believe," says another, "that the pope is the head of the sole apostolic church?" Not a doubt was tolerated.† The protestants were removed from all civic offices, and no one admitted to the privileges of a citizen who was not a catholic. Every candidate for a doctor's degree at the university of Vienna was compelled first to subscribe the "professio fidei." A new ordinance for the schools prescribed catholic formularies, fasts, visits to churches, and the exclusive use of the catechism of Canisius. In Vienna all protestant books were taken away from the bookseller's shops and stalls, and were carried in great heaps to the bishop's court; all boxes arriving at the custom-houses were searched, and books or pictures which were not strictly catholic were seized.‡

But all these acts of the government had not yet accomplished their end. In a short time, indeed, thirteen cities and market-towns were restored to catholicism in Lower Austria, and the catholics had regained possession of the crown lands and mortgaged property. But the nobles still made a powerful resistance, and the towns on the west of the Enns were in strict alliance with them, and were too formidable to be attacked.§

Nevertheless, many of these measures had, as may be imagined, an influence and efficacy from which none could escape; in Styria, for example, they produced an immediate return to old opinions.

At the very time the catholic reaction was advancing in so many places, the archduke Charles had been forced to make concessions in that province, and these his family could not forgive him. His brother-in-law, duke Albert of Bavaria, represented to him that the terms of the peace of Augsburg authorised him to compel his sub-

* Sacchinus, pars iv, lib. vi, n. 78: "Pudet referre, quam exeuntes sacrilegos omnique execratione dignissimos prosecuta sit numerosa multitudo quotque benevolentia documentis, ut vel inde mali gravitas aestimari possit."

† Papal, Austrian, and Bavarian articles of confession of faith in Raupach, *Evangel. Oestreich*, ii, 307.

‡ Khevenniller, *Ferd. Jahrb.*, i, 90. Hansitz, *Germania Sacra*, i, 632.

§ Raupach, *Kleine Nachlese Ev. Oestr.*, iv, p. 17.

jects to embrace the religion which he himself professed. He recommended to the archduke three measures:—first, to fill all the offices, particularly at court and in the privy council, exclusively with catholics; secondly, to separate the different estates at the diet, by which means he might deal better with each singly; and thirdly, to come to a good understanding with the pope, and to request him to send a nuncio to his court. Gregory XIII voluntarily offered his assistance; and knowing that it was chiefly want of money which had forced the archduke to make concessions to the protestants, he took the best means of rendering him more independent of his subjects, by sending him pecuniary aid. In the year 1580 he sent him 40,000*sc.*, at that time a very considerable sum, and deposited a still larger fund at Venice, to which the archduke was to have recourse in case his efforts for the restoration of catholicism should produce disturbances in his country.

Thus encouraged by example, exhortation, and substantial assistance, the archduke Charles from the year 1580, took up a position totally different from that which he had previously occupied.

In this year he published an explanation of his former concessions, which may be considered as a revocation of them. The estates addressed an humble petition to him, and for a moment the urgency of their prayer appeared to have some effect;* but on the whole he remained firm to the measures he had announced, and the expulsion of the protestant ministers commenced in Austria likewise.

The year 1584 was pregnant with events. The papal nuncio Malaspina made his appearance in the diet of this year. He had already succeeded in detaching the prelates from the secular estates, with which they had always sided: he now established between them, the duke's ministers and all the catholics in the province, a strict union of which he himself was the centre. Hitherto the whole country had appeared to be protestant; but the nuncio contrived to form a strong party around the prince, whose position thus became impregnable. He declared it to be his fixed determination to root out protestantism from his dominions; the treaty of Augsburg, he said, gave him far greater powers than he had yet employed, even over the nobles, and any further opposition would but compel him to exercise them; he should then see who would show himself a rebel.

Peremptory as these declarations were, they were not less successful than his former concessions; the estates granted all his demands.†

* "According to the natural, benignant, and paternal disposition of a German prince," ("seinem angeborenen, mildreichen landsfürstlichen deutschen Gemüth nach,") says the supplication of the three states.

† Valvassor, *Ehre des Herzogthums Krain*, contains good and detailed information on all these matters. But Maffei's account is especially important

From this time the counter-reformation began throughout all the archducal territory. The church-livings and the seats in the town-councils were filled with catholics; no citizen dared to attend any but the catholic church, or to send his children to any but the catholic schools.

These changes were not always carried into effect peaceably. The catholic clergy and the archduke's commissioners were occasionally insulted and driven away. The archduke himself was once in danger during a hunting party, in consequence of a report in the district that a neighboring preacher had been seized; the people assembled in arms, and the poor persecuted Lutheran was himself obliged to step forward to protect his merciless master from the enraged peasantry.* Notwithstanding these displays of popular feeling however, the catholic movement went on. The harshest measures were applied; they are described in few words by one of the papal historians;—confiscation, exile, and severe punishment of all the refractory. The spiritual princes who possessed any property in those districts gave their assistance to the temporal authorities. The archbishop of Cologne, bishop of Freisingen, changed the council of his town of Lack, and sentenced the protestant citizens to imprisonment or fine; the bishop of Brixen resolved on making a new division of the land in his lordship of Veldes. This spirit extended to all the Austrian provinces. Although the Tyrol had remained true to catholicism, the archduke Ferdinand did not neglect to enforce the strict subordination of the clergy of Inspruck, and the regular attendance of all classes at the communion. Sunday-schools were established for the people; cardinal Andreas, the son of Ferdinand, caused catechisms to be printed and distributed among the school-children and the uneducated classes;† but in districts where there was any tincture of protestantism, the archduke was not satisfied with proceedings of so mild a character. In the margravate of Burgau, although but recently acquired, and in the bailiwick of Swabia, although his jurisdiction there was disputed, he proceeded in exactly the same manner as the archduke Charles in Styria.

The admiration which Pope Sixtus expressed at these measures was boundless and inexhaustible. He extolled the Austrian princes as the firmest pillars of the Christian faith, and sent the most affectionate letters to the archduke Charles more especially.‡ The acquisition of a countship which then fell vacant, was regarded by the court of Grätz as a recompense for all the service it had rendered to Christendom.

in the *Annali di Gregorio XIII*, lib. ix, c. xx, lib. xiii, c. i. He had without doubt the report of the nuncio before him.

* Khevenhiller, *Annales Ferdinandei II*, p. 523.

† Puteo in *Tempesti, Vita di Sisto V*, tom. i, 375.

‡ Extract from the briefs, in *Tempesti*, i, 203.

Though in the Netherlands the catholic faith took firm root chiefly by accommodating itself to popular privileges, this was not the case in Germany, where the several sovereigns increased their greatness and extended their power, in proportion as they favored the restoration of the catholic church. Wolf Dietrich von Raittenau, Archbishop of Salzburg, affords the most remarkable example of this intimate union of ecclesiastical and political power, and of the lengths to which it was carried.

The former archbishops, cotemporaries of the reformation and eye-witnesses of all its agitations, contented themselves with occasionally issuing an edict against innovations, threatening the infliction of a punishment, or making an attempt at a conversion; but only, as Archbishop Jacob says, "by gentle, paternal, and upright means." On the whole, they suffered matters to take their course.*

But the young Archbishop Wolf Dietrich von Raittenau brought with him totally different impressions, views, and projects on his accession to the See of Salzburg. He had been educated in the German college at Rome, and had imbibed the ideas of the restoration of the catholic church in all their force and freshness. He had witnessed with admiration the brilliant commencement of the reign of Sixtus V; and the promotion of his uncle, Cardinal Altemps, in whose house he had been brought up in Rome, to the purple, served to quicken his zeal and exalt his enthusiasm. In the year 1588, at the termination of a journey which had carried him back to Rome, he began the work of conversion by requiring the citizens of his capital to subscribe the catholic faith. Many testified reluctance; to these he granted a few weeks for deliberation, after which, on the 3d of September, 1588, he ordered them to quit the town and the diocese within one month. Only this month (and, after urgent prayers, a second month) was conceded, to enable them to dispose of their property, of which they were required to give in an inventory to the archbishop, and were then only allowed to sell it to such persons as were agreeable to him.† But few abandoned their faith, and these were obliged to do penance publicly in the churches, with burning tapers in their hands; by far the greater number, even of the more opulent citizens, accepted the alternative of banishment. The loss of them caused the prince no anxiety, for he thought he had discovered means by which to sustain the lustre of his see. He had already arbitrarily raised the taxes, increased the duties of the excise and customs, advanced the duty on salt from the mines of Hallein and Schellenberg, converted the aids given for the support of the Turkish war into a regular land-tax, and introduced duties on wines, and a property-

* A more severe edict was issued, it is true, in the name of Jacob, but not till after he had been obliged to abandon the administration to a coadjutor.

† Edict concerning the reformation in Göckingk, "Vollkommene Emigrationsgeschichte von denen aus dem Erzbisthum Salzburg vertriebenen Lutheranern," i, p. 88.

tax and legacy-duty. He showed not the smallest respect for ancient and established rights and franchises. The dean of the diocese killed himself, it was said, in a paroxysm of grief at the destruction of the rights of the chapter. The aim of all the orders given by the archbishop concerning the preparation of salt and the whole business of mining, was to break down the independence of the works, and to subject them entirely to the control of his own council. We find no similar example of a regular fiscal system in this century throughout Germany. The young archbishop had brought with him across the Alps the ideas current in an Italian principality, where the art of raising money was esteemed the highest talent of a statesman. He had taken Sixtus V as his model, and inspired, like him, to have in his hands an obedient, thoroughly catholic, tributary state. He was, therefore, delighted at the expatriation of the citizens of Salzburg, whom he looked upon as rebels. He caused their deserted houses to be pulled down, and erected in their room palaces in the Roman style.*

Above all things he loved pomp. He never refused any foreigner who chose to enter his service, knightly pay and entertainment, and he once appeared at the diet with a retinue of four hundred men. In the year 1588 he was only twenty-nine years of age, full of courage, and covetous of honor; and visions of the highest ecclesiastical dignities already floated before his eyes.

The same process which was going on in the spiritual and temporal principalities was repeated in the towns, wherever circumstances rendered it possible. The Lutheran burghers of Gmunden bitterly complained that they were excluded from the list of members of the city council. In Biberach, the council which had been appointed on occasion of the interim by the commissary of the emperor Charles V still existed; the whole town was protestant, the members of the council alone were catholic, and studiously excluded every protestant.† To what oppressive measures were the protestants in Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle subject! The council of Cologne declared that they had promised the emperor and the elector to tolerate no religion save the catholic; they punished even the listening to a protestant sermon with fine and imprisonment.‡ The catholics also gained the ascendancy in Augsburg; the introduction of the new calendar gave rise to dissensions, and in the year 1586, the protestant superintendent, then eleven ministers at once, and lastly a number of the most obstinate citizens, were driven

* Zauner's Chronicle of Salzburg, Part VII, is here our most important source of information. This part of the chronicle was itself constructed upon a contemporary biography of the archbishop.

† Lehmann de pace religionis, ii, p. 268, 480.

‡ Lehmann, 436, 270.

out. Similar causes were followed by scenes of the same kind in Ratisbon in the year 1587. The towns began to lay claim to the right of reforming their religious institutions; and even individual counts and nobles and knights of the empire, who had been converted by some Jesuit, asserted a similar claim, and undertook the resuscitation of catholicism within their small territories.

The reaction was boundless. The torrent of protestantism was now driven back with a force equal to that with which it had overflowed the land. Preaching and teaching did something, but far more effected by ordinances, commands, and open force. As formerly the Italian protestants had crossed the Alps, and sought refuge in Switzerland and Germany; so German exiles in still more numerous bodies now fled from oppression in the western and southern provinces to the north and east of Germany. In like manner the Belgians sought an asylum in Holland. Catholicism marched with victorious strides from land to land.

Its progress was in an especial manner encouraged and accelerated by the nuncios, who, from this time forth, began regularly to reside in Germany.

There is still extant a memoir of the nuncio Minuccio Minucci, dated 1588, which affords an insight into the views generally entertained and acted upon in his time.* The most especial attention was paid to education; and it was earnestly desired that the catholic universities should be better appointed for the training of distinguished teachers. Ingolstadt alone was endowed with the requisite means, and, as matters now stood, everything rested upon the Jesuit seminaries. Minuccio Minucci expressed his wish that less attention had been devoted to producing great scholars and profound theologians, than to forming good and able preachers. A man of moderate acquirements, who did not aspire to reach the highest point of learning or to acquire fame, was perhaps the most efficient and most useful minister of religion. He recommended these observations to the attention of those at the head of the establishments for the German catholics in Italy. A distinction was originally made in the Collegium Germanicum, in the treatment of the youths of the middle classes and the young nobles; Minuccio Minucci censures the departure from this custom. He says that the effect of the change was not only to disgust the nobles and to render them averse to go thither, but to excite in the middle classes an ambition which could not be satisfied in after-life, and a striving after the higher appointments in the church, which was detrimental to the faithful performance of the duties of the lower ones. Besides, an endeavor was now made to introduce a third or intermediate class—the children of the higher official persons, who, according to the common course of events, would at some future time have the

* Discorso del molto illustre e rev^{mo} mons^{or} Minuccio Minucci sopra il modo di restituire la cattolica religione in Alemagna, 1588. MS. Barb.

greatest share in the administration of their native provinces.—Gregory XIII had already made arrangements for their reception in Perugia and Bologna. We see that the distinction of ranks, which is still so strongly marked in German society, was even then visible.

In this conjuncture, as in all others, the most important part was played by the nobles, to whom the maintenance of catholicism in Germany is principally ascribed by the nuncio, and no doubt with justice; for as they had an exclusive right to the richest benefices and highest dignities of the church, they defended it as their hereditary property, and now opposed the introduction of religious liberty in the dioceses,* fearing the great number of protestant princes who would then claim the right of nomination to all the benefices.

It was therefore the policy of the church to protect and to conciliate these nobles. Rome did not dare to vex them with the law against plurality of benefices; and indeed the changing from one residence to another was advantageous, inasmuch as it served to unite the nobles of the various provinces for the defence of the church. It was also necessary to avoid bestowing any ecclesiastical appointments upon men of the burgher class: a few learned men were very useful in a cathedral, as was remarked at Cologne; but if this system were carried much further, it would cause the ruin of the German church.

The question now remained, how far it was possible to bring back to the faith the provinces which had become completely protestant.

We find from this document that the nuncio was far from recommending open violence; the protestant princes appear to him much too powerful to be attacked; but he suggests other means which might gradually lead to the accomplishment of the object in view.

Above all things, he considers it essential to maintain a good understanding between the catholic powers, especially between Bavaria and Austria. The treaty of Landsberg still existed; this he thinks should be renewed and extended; and Philip of Spain might be included among the parties to it.

Might it not also be possible to win back some of the protestant princes?—It had long been thought that the elector Augustus of Saxony betrayed a leaning towards catholicism, and attempts upon him had occasionally been made, chiefly through the interposition of Bavaria; not only, however, had the greatest caution always been necessary, but as the wife of the elector, Anne of Denmark, adhered strictly to the Lutheran faith, they had always been unsuccessful.

* Particularly in Southern Germany: "L'eseempio della suppressione dell'altre (the northern Germans) ha avvertiti i nobili a metter cura maggiore nella difesa di queste, concorrendo in ciò tanto gli eretici quanto li cattolici, accorti già, che nell'occupazione delli principi si leva a loro et a' posterì la speranza dell'utile che cavano dai canonicati e dagli altri beneficii e che possono pretendere del vescovato mentre a' canonicì restì libera l'elettione."

Anne died in the year 1585; her death was not only a day of deliverance to the oppressed Calvinists, but the removal of an obstacle between the catholics and their prince. It appeared as if Bavaria, which had hitherto always been in opposition, determined to take some steps for the propagation of catholicism; and the pope Sixtus held himself prepared to send absolution to the elector.* Meanwhile Augustus died before anything was effected. But the catholic party soon directed their attention to other princes: to Louis count palatine of Neuburg, in whom they thought they remarked a coldness to all interests hostile to catholicism, and a peculiar forbearance towards all catholic priests who accidentally approached his territories; and to William IV of Hesse, who was learned, pacific, and had occasionally accepted the dedication of catholic writings. Neither did they lose sight of members of the higher nobility of northern Germany, and among others they conceived some hope of Heinrich Ranzau.

But if the results of these schemes were too remote to be reckoned upon, there were other projects, the success of which depended more upon their own determination and will.

The majority of the assessors of the Kammergericht (so at least the nuncio asserts) were still inclined to protestantism. They were still men of that earlier epoch, when, in most countries, even those which adhered to catholicism, secret or professed protestants sat in the prince's councils. The nuncio considered this state of things as tending to reduce the catholics to despair, and urgently entreated that some remedy should be applied. It appeared to him an easy matter to compel all the actual assessors in catholic provinces to make a profession of faith, and all those about to be appointed, to

* As early as 1574, Gregory XIII, encouraged duke Albert V. "ut dum elector Saxonie Calvinistarum sectam ex imperii sui finibus exturbare conabatur, vellet sermones cum principe illo aliquando habitos de religione catholica in Saxonia introducenda renovare." He was of opinion that it would be right to send an agent thither; the duke was entirely against this; the thing would then get to the privy-council of the elector, "ad consiliarios et familiares, a quibus quid expectandum aliud quam quod totam rem pervertat?" He continues: "Arte hic opus esse judicatur, quo tanquam aliud agens errantem pie circumveniat.—Uxor, quo ex sexu impotentiori concitator est, eo importuniora suffundet consilia, si resciscat hanc apud maritum rem agi." Legationes Papparum ad Duces Bavariæ. M. S. in the Library at Munich. Minucci relates that the first overtures were made as late as the times of Pius V. The whole passage is remarkable. "Con duca Augusto di Sassonia già morto trattò sin a tempi della s. m. di Papa Pio V. il duca Alberto di Baviera, che vive in cielo, e ridusse la pratica tanto inanzi che si prometteva sicura riuscita: ma piacque a Dio benedetto di chiamarlo, nè d'opera di tanta importanza fu chi parlasse o pensasse, se non ch' a tempi di Gregorio di gl. mem. il padre Possevino s'ingegnò di fabricare sopra quei fundamenti: et in fine nel presente felicissimo pontificato di Sisto, sendo morta la moglie d'esso duca Augusto, fu chi ricordò l'occasione esser opportuna per trattare di nuovo la conversione di quel principe: ma la providentia divina non li diede tempo di poter aspettare la beneditione che S. Beat^{ne} pur per mezzo del Sr duca Gulielmo di Baviera s'apparecchiava di mandarli sin a casa sua." We see how early this course was pursued.

take an oath either not to change their religion, or to give up their places. The catholics, it was asserted, had a right to the supremacy in this tribunal.

Minucci did not yet quite give up the hope of regaining possession of the lost bishoprics without having recourse to violence, if existing rights were asserted with pertinacity. All connection between them and Rome had not as yet been broken off, nor was the ancient right of the curia to nominate to the benefices which fell vacant in the reserved months, absolutely denied; even the protestant bishops believed that their nominations stood in need of the pope's confirmation, and we find that Henry of Saxe-Lauenburg, whom we recently mentioned, still maintained an agent at Rome to procure this for him. The papal see had not hitherto been able to take advantage of this still lingering deference to its authority, in consequence of the practice resorted to by the emperors, of supplying the want of the papal confirmations by dispensations of their own; and the nominations to benefices which were received from Rome either came too late, or had some error of form; so that the chapter always had legal freedom of choice. Minucci insisted that the emperor should grant no more dispensations, and, from the opinions which then prevailed at court, he succeeded. Duke William of Bavaria had already proposed to delegate the nomination to livings either to the nuncio or to some trustworthy bishop in Germany. It was Minucci's opinion that a special dataria for Germany should be established at Rome; where a list of the qualified catholic nobles should be kept, which could be constantly rectified by the nuncio or the Jesuits, and, according to the standard thus afforded, the vacancies could be filled without delay. No chapter would dare to reject the Roman candidates thus regularly nominated, and the consideration and influence which the curia would thus acquire would be incalculable.

We see plainly how strongly the minds of men were imbued with the notion of a complete re-establishment of the old power. To win over the nobility, to bring up the higher classes of citizens in the interest of Rome, to educate the youth in this spirit, to recover their former influence in the dioceses, (even those converted to protestantism) to regain the ascendancy in the supreme court of justice, to convert the powerful princes of the empire, and to incorporate the predominant catholic power with the Germanic confederation;—such were the mighty and various projects which were to be simultaneously attempted. Nor must we imagine that these recommendations were neglected. Even at the very moment they were proposed to the authorities in Rome, they were already in course of execution in Germany.

The activity and good order of the Kammergericht chiefly rested upon the yearly visitations which were always undertaken by the seven estates of the empire, according to their rotation at the imperial diet. The majority had most frequently been catholic in these

visitations; but, on one occasion, in the year 1588, when the protestant archbishop of Magdeburg formed one of the number, it was protestant. This the catholic party determined not to permit; and when the elector of Mayence was about to summon the estates, the emperor arbitrarily commanded him to put off the visitation for that year. But the difficulty did not end with one year. The order of succession remained unalterable, and the existence of a protestant archbishop of Magdeburg was long to be feared; it was therefore proposed to defer the visitation indefinitely. The result was, that no more regular visitations were held, which caused irreparable injury to this noble institution of the highest tribunal of the empire.* We soon meet with complaints that ignorant catholics were preferred in this court to learned protestants. The emperor also ceased to grant dispensations. In the year 1588, Minucci recommended that means should be taken for the conversion of protestant princes; and in the year 1590, we already find one convert, Jacob of Baden, who was the first of a long series.

§ 10. THE LEAGUE.

While this great movement agitated Germany and the Netherlands, it also extended its resistless force to France. The affairs of the Netherlands were henceforward connected most closely with those of France; the French protestants often assisted those of the Netherlands, while the Netherland catholics not less frequently came to the aid of the French; the downfall of protestantism in the Belgian provinces was a direct loss to the Huguenots of France.

But independently of this, the growing tendency which existed in other countries towards the re-establishment of catholicism, daily made corresponding progress in France.

We have already noticed the first appearance of the Jesuits, and from that time they had continued to spread. The house of Lorraine showed them peculiar favor, as may easily be imagined. In the year 1574, cardinal Guise established an academy for them at Pont-a-Mousson, which was resorted to by the princes of his house; while the duke founded a college at Eu in Normandy, which was also intended for the benefit of English exiles.

They found numerous other patrons; cardinals, bishops, abbots, princes, or high civil functionaries undertook to defray the cost of new establishments; in a short time they had settlements in Rouen,

* Minucci had written particularly upon the Kammergericht. There are reasons for supposing that his representations brought about this inhibition. The majority being composed of protestants shocked him: "non vole dir altro l'aver gli eretici l'autorità maggiore e li più voti in quel senato che un ridurre i catolici d'Alemagna a disperatione."

Verdun, Dijon, Bourges, and Nevers; their missionaries penetrated into every part of the kingdom.

They found, however, assistants in France whose aid they had been obliged to dispense with in Germany.

The cardinal of Lorraine had brought with him from the council of Trent a few capuchin friars, whom he lodged in his palace at Meudon; after his death however they quitted France, for the order was still restricted by its statutes to Italy. In the year 1573, the general chapter sent a few members over the Alps to try the ground. As they were so well received that on their return they promised "the richest harvest," the pope did not hesitate to remove that restriction. In the year 1574, the first colony of capuchins, under friar Pacifico di S. Gervaso, who chose his own companions, took their way over the Alps.

They were all Italians, and naturally attached themselves in the first instance to their own countrymen. Queen Catherine of Medici received them with joy, and immediately founded a convent for them at Paris. In the year 1575 we find them at Lyons, where, at the recommendation of the queen, they were assisted by some Italian money-changers. From these towns they diverged into others: from Paris to Caen and Rouen; from Lyons to Marseilles, where queen Catherine bought them ground for building; new colonies settled in Thoulouse in the year 1582, and in Verdun in 1585. They soon made the most brilliant conversions, such as that of Henri Joyeuse in 1587, one of the first men of his time in France.*

But in one sense at least, these religious agitations produced more powerful effects in France than in Germany. The imitations of existing institutions to which they gave rise had an original and individual character. Jean de la Barriere, who, in accordance with the peculiar abuses which had crept into the church of France, held in commendam the cistercian abbey of Feuillans near Thoulouse, at the age of nineteen, was consecrated regular abbot in 1577, and received novices, with whom he strove not only to revive but to exceed the austerity of the original institution of Citeaux. Solitude, silence, and abstinence were carried as far as human nature would permit. These monks never left their convent except for the purpose of preaching in some neighboring village; within the convent walls they wore neither shoes, nor covering for the head; they denied themselves not only meat and wine, but even fish and eggs, living upon bread and water, with, at times, a few vegetables.† This rigor did not fail to excite reverence and imitation; and in a short time Don Jean de la Barriere was invited to the court at Vincennes. He traversed a large portion of France with sixty-two companions, without the smallest relaxation of the devotional exer-

* Boverio, *Annali dei frati Capuccini*, i, 546; ii, 45 f.

† Felibien, *Histoire de Paris*, vol. ii, p. 1158.

cises or ascetic restraints of the convent; very soon afterwards his institute was confirmed by the pope, and spread itself over the country.

It seemed too as if, spite of the irresponsible nature of their appointments, a new zeal was infused into the whole body of the secular clergy. The parish priests again devoted themselves most earnestly to the care of souls. In the year 1570 the bishops required not only the acceptance of the decrees of the council of Trent, but also the abrogation of that very concordat to which they were indebted for their own existence; and they renewed and increased the rigor of these regulations from time to time.*

Who can accurately specify all the impelling causes which communicated to the religious spirit of the age its peculiar direction? Thus much is certain, that as early as the year 1580, the greatest change was perceptible. A Venetian writer affirms, that the number of protestants was decreased seventy per cent., and that the common people had again become completely catholic. The excitement of novelty and the energy of impulse were now once more on the side of catholicism.†

Under these circumstances, however, it assumed a new attitude in relation to the kingly power. The condition of the court was one abounding in self-contradictions. It cannot be doubted that Henry III was a good catholic; none had his favor who did not attend mass, nor did he tolerate any protestant magistrates in the towns; but in spite of this he went on, now as heretofore, to fill up the ecclesiastical vacancies in conformity with the conveniences of court favor, without any reference to worth and talent; and to grasp and squander the revenues of the church. He loved religious ceremonies and processions, and spared himself no penance or mortification; but this did not prevent him from leading the most scandalous life, and permitting it to be led by others. The most abandoned debauchery was the order of the day at court. The excesses of the carnival aroused the indignation of the preachers; in some cases they refused burial to the courtiers on account of their manner of life, and the expressions of their dying moments—and this to the very favorites of the king. Hence it happened, that although the strict catholic impulse was openly favored by the court, it was, in spirit, profoundly opposed to the manners which prevailed there.

But besides, the king would not abandon the old line of policy, which consisted chiefly in hostility to Spain. At any other time

* Remontrance de l'assemblée générale du clergé de France, convoquée en la ville de Melun, faite au roi Henri III le 3 Juillet, 1579. Recueil des actes du clergé, vol. xiv. Thuanus has also an extract on this subject.

† Lorenzo Priuli, *Relatione di Franza*, 5 Giugno, 1582. Dovemo maravigliarci, umanamente parlando, che le cose non siano in peggiore stato di quello che si trovano: poichè per gratia di Dio, con tutto il poco pensiero che li è stato messo e che se li mette, è sminuito il numero degli Ugonotti 70^o et è grande il zelo et il fervor che mostrano cattolici nelle cose della religione.

this would have signified nothing; but now the religious element was, even in France, more powerful than the feeling for national interests. In the same manner as the Huguenots felt themselves bound by a natural alliance to the Netherland protestants, so did the catholics to Philip II and Farnese; and the Jesuits, who did such good service to Spain in the Netherlands, could not see without alarm, that the enemies whom they vanquished there found favor and help in France.

In addition to this, came the death of the Duke of Alençon in the year 1584; and as the king had no heirs, nor even a hope of issue, Henry king of Navarre became presumptive heir to the throne.

Apprehension of future evil has perhaps more power over the human mind than present calamity. This prospect caused the greatest agitation amongst all the catholics in France;* above all in the Guises, the old opponents and enemies of Navarre, who dreaded the influence he must acquire as heir-apparent—how much more the power he would possess whenever he ascended the throne!

No wonder therefore that they sought support from king Philip; to that prince nothing could be more welcome than such an application; nor had he any scruple in concluding a formal treaty with the subjects of a foreign power.

The only question now was, whether the revolt of powerful vassals against their king would be sanctioned at Rome, where so much had been said about the union of the monarchical and the ecclesiastical powers.

That it was sanctioned there cannot be denied. There were among the Guise party some whose consciences were troubled at the step which they were about to take, and in order to quiet their scruples, the Jesuit Matthieu went to Rome, to bring back with him a declaration of the pope's opinion. After hearing Matthieu's representations, Gregory XIII declared that he fully sanctioned the intentions of the French princes, of taking arms against the heretics; that he removed all scruples on the subject which might be entertained; the king himself would assuredly favor their project; but even should this not be the case, they should nevertheless pursue their plan for the accomplishment of the all-important object, the extermination of the heretics.† The proceedings against Henry of Navarre had already commenced; before their termination, Sixtus V had ascended the papal chair, and he proclaimed

* A letter was just at that time published in Rome, on the desirableness of seeing a Guise succeed to the throne: "della inclinazione de cattolici verso la casa di Ghisa e del servitio che riceverà la christianità et il re cattolico della successione di uno di quei principi." It was sent to Spain, and ascribed to the cardinal d'Este. *Dispaccio Veneto*, 1584, 1^{mo}. Decbre.

† Claude Matthieu au duc de Nevers, Févr. 1585; perhaps the most important piece of information contained in the whole fourth volume of *Capefigue, Reforme*, etc. p. 173.

the excommunication of Navarre and Condé. The support which he thus gave to the plans of the League was more powerful than he could have afforded by any other sort of co-operation.*

The Guises had already taken arms, and endeavored to get as many provinces and strong places as they could absolutely into their own power.

At the first movement they took the important towns of Verdun, Toul, Lyons, Bourges, Orleans, and Mézières, without striking a blow. The king, in order to avoid an open admission of their superiority, took a course he had already once resorted to—namely, to declare their cause his own. But before he could be admitted to their alliance, he was compelled to sanction and extend their conquests by formal treaty, by which he surrendered to them Burgundy, Champagne, a large portion of Picardy, and many strong places in different parts of the kingdom.†

They now undertook the war against the protestants conjointly—but how differently! The king took only half-measures which led to no results; the catholics even thought that he wished success to the protestant arms, in order that, yielding to the apparent pressure of a resistless force, he might conclude a peace disadvantageous to catholicism. Guise, on the contrary, swore that, should God grant him the victory, he would not dismount from his horse until he had firmly established the catholic religion in France for ever. With his own troops, and not the king's, he surprised the Germans who came to the assistance of the Huguenots, and upon whom all their hopes rested, and completely annihilated them at Auneau.

The pope compared him to Judas Maccabæus. There was a grandeur and nobleness in his nature which captivated the devoted reverence of the people, and he became the idol of all catholics.

The king, on the contrary, found himself in a completely false position; he knew not what to do, nor even what to wish. The papal minister Morosini remarks, that he consisted, as it were, of two persons; he wished for the overthrow of the Huguenots, and feared it no less; he dreaded the defeat of the catholics, and yet he desired it: such was the internal discord of his mind, that he had ceased to follow his own inclinations, or to have faith in his own thoughts;‡—a state of mind which of necessity destroys all confidence, and leads straight to ruin.

The catholics were persuaded that the very person who was at

* Maffei, *Historiarum ab excessu Gregorii XIII*, lib. i, p. 10. “*Infimis fœderatorum precibus et regis Philippi supplicatione hortatuque haud ægre se adduci est passus ut Hugonotas eorumque duces celestibus armis insectaretur.*”

† Considerations of the cardinal Ossat on the effects of the League in France; *Life of Cardinal Ossat*, i, 44.

‡ *Dispaccio Morosini in Tempesti, Vita di Sisto V*, p. 346. “*Il re, tutto che sia monarca sì grande, è altrettanto povero: e quanto è povero, è altrettanto prodigo: dimostra insigne pietà, è nel stesso tempo aborrisce la sagra lega: è in campo contra gli heretici, e pure è geloso de' progressi catolici.*”

their head, was secretly against them; every transient intercourse with the followers of Navarre, the smallest favor to any protestant, was noted with watchful suspicion; they thought that it was the most Christian king himself who hindered the perfect re-establishment of catholicism; they regarded his favorites, but above all Epernon, with a hatred the more intense, because the king placed him in opposition to the Guises, and entrusted to him the most important governments.

Under these circumstances, a union of the citizens for the support of the catholic cause arose by the side of the alliance of the princes. In every town the people were stirred up by preachers, who combined a fierce opposition to the government with a fiery religious zeal. In Paris more active steps were taken. Three preachers and a respectable citizen were the first who conceived the project of establishing a popular union for the defence of catholicism.* They swore, in the first place, to devote themselves to this cause to the last drop of their blood; each then named two or three trusty friends, the first meeting with whom was held in a monk's cell in the Sorbonne. They soon saw the possibility of embracing the whole city in their union. A smaller number were then chosen to constitute a committee, which was to lead the movement, and in case of necessity to collect money. A director was appointed for each of the sixteen quarters of the city. The enrolling of members proceeded with the utmost rapidity and secrecy; the committee first consulted upon the fitness of the candidates, and to those who were not admitted, nothing further was revealed. They had agents in all the colleges; one in the *Chambre des Comptes*, one for the *Procureurs de la Cour*, one for the Clerks, one for the *Greffiers*, and so forth. The whole city, which had previously received a catholic military organisation, was comprehended in this secret and active league. Nor were they satisfied with Paris alone; they included Orleans, Lyons, Thoulouse, Bordeaux and Rouen in their union, and delegates from these confederates appeared in Paris; they all solemnly bound themselves not to tolerate a single Huguenot in France, and to remove the abuses of the government.

This is called the league of the sixteen. As soon as they found themselves sufficiently strong, they informed the Guises of its existence; upon which, Mayenne, the brother of the duke, came

* The *Anonymo Capitolino* on the Life of Sixtus V contains peculiar notices of this matter. He gives the name of Carlo Ottomani to the founder, "cittadino onorato," who was the first to have any communication with the preachers. From their very first meeting, Ottomani made the proposal of a union with the princes; at the second, 25th Jan. 1587, it was resolved to nominate sixteen men, one for each quarter, "a cui si riferisse da persone fidate quanto vi si facesse a diresse appartenente a fatti publici;" at a third, held on Candlemas-day, a council was named, consisting of ten persons, with the right of levying contributions, and an embassy to the Duke de Guise was immediately agreed upon. This account gives some additional weight to all we find in Cayet, taken from Manaut and Maheutre, in Poulain, de Thou, and Davila.

with the profoundest secrecy to Paris, and the princes and the citizens signed their treaty of alliance.*

The king already felt the ground tremble under his feet. Reports were brought him every day of the movements of his enemies. So daring were the conspirators grown, that they had already proposed the question in the Sorbonne, whether it was lawful to withdraw obedience from a prince who did not do his duty; and an answer in the affirmative was given in a council of from thirty to forty doctors. The king was exasperated, and threatened to act as pope Sixtus had done, and to chain the rebellious priests to the galleys. But he had not the energy of that pope; he did nothing, except to march the Swiss who were in his service into the neighborhood of the capital.

The citizens, alarmed at the threat implied in this movement, sent to Guise begging him to come and protect them: the king caused it to be notified to him that his compliance would displease him; nevertheless Guise came.

Every thing now seemed ripe for a general explosion, and on the king ordering his Swiss troops to enter Paris, it broke forth. In a moment the town was barricaded, the Swiss were driven back, and the Louvre threatened; the king was compelled to take to flight.†

Guise had before got possession of a large portion of France; he was now master of Paris. The Bastile, the Arsenal, the Hotel de Ville, and all the surrounding places fell into his hands. The king was completely overpowered; in a short time he was forced to interdict the protestant religion, and give up to the Guises some additional strong places: the Duke of Guise might now be regarded as master of the half of France; and the dignity of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, with which he was invested by Henry III, gave him lawful authority over the other half. The estates were summoned; and as there was no doubt that the catholics would have the majority in this meeting, the most decisive measures for the destruction of the Huguenots and the advantage of the catholic party might confidently be expected.

§ 11. SAVOY AND SWITZERLAND.

It is evident that the predominance of catholicism in so mighty a kingdom as France must necessarily produce corresponding effects on the neighboring countries.

The catholic cantons of Switzerland in particular, attached them-

* Nel palazzo di Rens dietro alla chiesa di S. Agostino — giurarono tutti una scambievol lega non sola defensiva ma assoluta. (Anon. Capit.)

† Maffei reproaches the Duke of Guise for having borne this: "Inanis popularis aure et infaustæ potentæ ostentatione contentus, Henricum incolumem abire permittit." (1. 1. 38.)

selves more and more closely to the ecclesiastical principle represented by the Spanish alliance.

It is remarkable what vast effects resulted from the establishment of a permanent nuntiatura in Switzerland as well as in Germany. Immediately after this had taken place, in the year 1586, the catholic cantons united to form the golden or Borromean league, by which they bound themselves and their posterity for ever, "to live and die in the true, undoubted, ancient, apostolical, Roman Catholic faith;" after which they received the sacrament from the hand of the nuncio.*

Had the party who took possession of the powers of government at Mühlhausen in the year 1587, passed over in reality, and at the right time, to the catholic faith, as they seemed inclined to do, they would infallibly have received the support of the catholics; indeed conferences on the subject were immediately held in the house of the nuncio at Lucern. But they deliberated too long; while on the other hand the protestants carried their expedition into effect with the greatest promptitude, and thus restored the old form of government, which was essentially favorable to them.†

At this moment, however, the three forest cantons, in conjunction with Zug, Lucern, and Freiburg, made a new and important step. After a long negotiation they signed a treaty with Spain on the 12th of May, 1587, in which they promised to maintain perpetual amity with the king, and granted him the privilege of raising recruits in their provinces, and of marching his troops through their territory, while Philip, on his part, made them answerable concessions. Above all, they bound themselves reciprocally by oath, to assist each other with all their might, should either of them be involved in a war for the sake of the holy apostolical religion.‡ In this treaty the five cantons made no exceptions, not even in favor of the other members of the confederation; on the contrary, it was unquestionably framed with especial reference to them; since there was no other state with whom the contracting parties could be in any danger of a war on account of religion.

How far more powerful there, as well as in France, was the influence of religious, than of national feeling! A community of faith now united the old Schwytzers and the house of Austria! The confederation was for the present superseded.

It was an exceedingly fortunate circumstance that no incident

* "Ihre ewigen Nachkommen," (their eternal posterity,) the expression in the documents relating to the alliance, in Lauffer, Beschreibung helvetischer Geschichte, vol. x, p. 331.

† The importance of the Mühlhausen affair in a religious point of view, is peculiarly evident in the narrative founded on the relations of the nuncio, in the *Anonymo Capitol.* to which we shall return in noticing Tempesti.

‡ *Traité d'alliance fait entre Philipp II, etc.* Dumont, Corps diplomatique, V, i, p. 459.

occurred to give rise to immediate dissension, so that the influence of this alliance was at first only felt at Geneva.

Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, a prince actuated all his life by restless ambition, had already often betrayed a desire to repossess himself of Geneva on the first favorable opportunity, as he considered himself its rightful master; but his designs had till now been promptly defeated by the resistance of the Swiss and the French, and the protection afforded by those powers to the Genevese.

The relations, however, of the parties were now altered; in the summer of the year 1588, Henry III, influenced by Guise, promised to throw no more impediments in the way of any enterprise against Geneva; and, at all events, the catholic cantons of Switzerland had now nothing to object to his plans. So far as I can find, they only stipulated that Geneva, when taken, should not subsist as a fortress.

The duke, upon this understanding, armed himself for the attack; the Genevese did not lose their courage, but in conjunction with their allies of Berne, made an inroad into his territories; the duke however very soon had the advantage, and the invaders were driven back. Charles Emanuel, who held the countships bordering on Switzerland under very strict limitations, imposed upon him by former treaties of peace with Berne, seized the opportunity immediately to make himself more completely master there. He drove out the protestants, whom, till now, he had been compelled to tolerate, and made the whole country exclusively catholic. Until this time he had been expressly prohibited from erecting fortresses in this part of his dominions; he now began to build them in places which might be made available not only for defence, but for annoying Geneva.

But before these affairs were further developed, other enterprises were in agitation, which threatened to produce far more weighty consequences, and to effect a total change in all the political relations of Europe.

§ 12. ATTEMPT UPON ENGLAND.

The greater part of the Netherlands was conquered, and a negotiation was already on foot for the voluntary submission of the remaining portion. In Germany the catholic movement had been triumphant in a great many of the states, and a plan was laid for subjugating those which yet resisted. The champion of French catholicism, by the concurrent influence of victories, investment of the strongholds, attachment of the people, and legitimate authority, advanced in a course which appeared inevitably to lead him to the possession of autocratic power. The old metropolis of the protestant doctrines, the city of Geneva, was no longer protected by her

former allies. At this moment a plan was conceived and adopted, for laying the axe to the root of the tree, by an attack upon England.

England was doubtless the central point of protestant power and policy; and in queen Elizabeth the unconquered Netherland provinces, as well as the French Huguenots, beheld their most illustrious protector.

But even in England an internal struggle had, as we have already seen, commenced. There was a constant succession of pupils from the seminaries, and of Jesuits coming over, impelled at once by religious enthusiasm industriously fostered with that view, and by a longing to revisit their native country. Their efforts were encountered by queen Elizabeth with severe laws. In the year 1582, it was declared high treason to attempt to pervert any of her subjects from the religion established in the realm, to that of Rome.* In the year 1585 she commanded all Jesuits and priests belonging to seminaries to quit England within forty days, under pain of being dealt with as traitors; in the same manner as the protestant preachers had been driven out of the dominions of so many catholic princes.† With this view she brought into active operation the court of high commission, specially established to inquire into violations of the acts of supremacy and of uniformity, not only according to the usual forms of law, but by whatever means and ways they could devise, even corporal oath; in short, it was a species of protestant inquisition.‡

Notwithstanding these acts of despotism, Elizabeth wished to avoid the appearance of offending against freedom of conscience. She declared that it was not the re-establishment of their religion which the Jesuits had at heart, but that their object was only to seduce the country to revolt from the government, and thus prepare the way for the entrance of foreign foes. The missionaries on their side protested, "before God and the saints," "before heaven and earth," (to use their expressions,) that their views were purely religious, and in no way affected the queen's majesty;§ but what understanding could discriminate between these two sets of motives? The queen's inquisitors were not to be put off by a simple assertion, but required a declaration, whether the anathema which Pius V had fulminated against the queen were lawful and binding upon an Englishman; the prisoners were called upon to say, if the

* Camden, *Rerum Anglicarum Annales regnante Elizabetha*, i, p. 349.

† *Ibid.* p. 396.

‡ "As well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as also by witnesses and all other means and ways you can devise." It should at least have been, "lawful means and ways." Neal, *History of the Puritans*, vol. i, p. 414.

§ *Campiana Vita et Martyrium*, p. 159. "Coram Deo profiteor et angelis ejus, coram cœlo terraque, coram mundo et hoc eni adsto tribunali—me nec criminis læsæ majestatis nec perduellionis nec ullius in patriam conjurationis esse reum," &c.

pope were to absolve them from their oath of allegiance, and to attack England, what they should do, and which side they should support. The miserable frightened men knew not how to extricate themselves from this dilemma; they answered, that they would render unto God what was God's, and unto Cæsar what was Cæsar's; but this evasion was itself interpreted into a confession by their judges. Thus the prisons were filled, execution followed upon execution, and catholicism in its turn had its martyrs. Their number has been estimated at two hundred during the reign of Elizabeth. It may readily be concluded that the zeal of the missionaries was not subdued by these persecutions; the number and exasperation of the contumacious (the recusants, as they were called) increased with the increasing severity of the laws. Pamphlets found their way even into the court, in which the assassination of Holofernes by Judith was held up as an example of fear of God and heroic courage, worthy of imitation; the eyes of the many were still constantly turned towards the imprisoned Queen of Scotland, who, according to the declarations of the pope, was the lawful sovereign of England; they were still in constant hope of a general revolution, to be produced by an attack of the catholic powers. The most dreadful descriptions of the cruelties to which the true believers were subjected in England, were circulated throughout Italy and Spain, and excited the sympathy and indignation of all catholics.*

But the man in whom this sentiment was the most powerful was pope Sixtus. It is unquestionably true that he felt a sort of reverence for the personal qualities, the lofty and dauntless spirit, of Elizabeth, and that he actually invited her to return to the bosom of the catholic church. Strange proposition! as if she had it in her power to choose; as if her past life, the whole import of her being, her political position and attitude, did not, even supposing her conviction not to be sincere, enchain her to the protestant cause! Elizabeth returned no answer, but she laughed. When the pope heard this, he said that he must now devise means for depriving her of her kingdom by force.

Hitherto he had only hinted at such a scheme; in the spring of 1586, he openly declared his intentions, and boasted that he would assist the king of Spain in an attack upon England, with far different zeal and efficiency from those with which Charles V had been supported by former popes.†

* *Theatrum crudelitatum hæreticorum nostri temporis.* It begins with a "peculiaris descriptio crudelitatum et immanitatum schismaticorum Angliæ regnante Henrico VIII," and ends with "Inquisitionis Anglacanæ et facinorum crudelium Machiavellianorum in Anglia et Hibernia a Calvinistis protestantibus sub Elizabetha etiamnum regnante peractorum descriptiones." It contains prints of unheard-of tortures; a terrific sight.

† *Dispaccio Gritti, 31 Maggio, 1586: "Accresciuto quatro volte tanto. Il*

In January 1587, he complained loudly of the dilatoriness of the Spaniards, and enumerated the advantages which would accrue to them from a victory in England, with a view to the reconquest of the Netherlands.*

He soon became bitter on this subject. On Philip II publishing a pragmatic decree, by which the spiritual dignities generally, and consequently those claimed by the Roman curia, were abridged, the pope broke out into a fiery passion: "How," exclaimed he, "will Don Philip brave us, and yet allow himself to be trampled upon by a woman?"†

In truth the king was not spared, since Elizabeth openly espoused the cause of the Netherlands, and Drake rendered every coast of America and Europe unsafe. What pope Sixtus expressed was, at bottom, the feeling of all catholics. They were amazed at the long-suffering of the powerful monarch who could consent to endure so much. The cortes of Castile exhorted him to avenge himself.

Philip was indeed personally insulted: he was held up to ridicule in comedies and masques:—on this being once reported to him, the aged monarch, accustomed only to reverence, started up from his seat with an indignation which had never been witnessed before.

Such was the temper of both the pope and the king, when the news arrived that Elizabeth had ordered the execution of the captive queen of Scotland. This is not the place to inquire into her legal right to authorise such an act; it is principally to be regarded as an act of political justice. The first idea of it arose, as far as I have been able to discover, as early as the time of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The bishop of London, in one of his letters to Lord Burleigh, expresses his anxiety lest so treacherous a deed should extend its influence to England, and his opinion that the source of the danger lay principally in the Scottish queen: "the safety of the realm," he exclaims, "requires that her head should be cut off."‡ Since these words were uttered, how much more powerful had the catholic party become in Europe, how much greater was its fermentation and excitement even in England! Mary Stuart was incessantly in secret correspondence with her cousins the Guises, with the malcontents in England, with the king of Spain, and with the pope. She represented the principle of catholicism, in so far as it was opposed to the existing government, since she would infallibly have been called to the throne at the first success of the catholic

papa vorria che si fingesse d'andar contra Draco e si piegasse poi in Inghilterra."

* Dispaccio Gritti, 10 Jan., 1587.

† Dolendosi che'l re si lascia strapazzar da una donna e vuol poi bravar con lei (S. S.).

‡ Edwin Sandys to Lord Burghley, Fulham, Vth of Sept., 1572, "The safte 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.

party. She expiated with her life a position into which she was forced by circumstances, but from which she certainly made no effort to withdraw.

This execution, however, brought to maturity the schemes of the King of Spain and the pope; they determined to forbear no longer. Sixtus filled the consistory with his invectives against the English Jezebel, who had laid violent hands on the sacred head of a princess subject to none but Jesus Christ, and, as she herself admitted, to his representative. In order to show how completely he approved of the activity of the catholic opposition in England, he created William Allen, the first founder of the seminaries, a cardinal; an appointment which, in Rome at least, was looked upon as a declaration of war against England. A formal treaty was now concluded by King Philip II and the pope,* by which the latter promised to the king a subsidy of a million of scudi towards his attack upon England; but as he was always on his guard, particularly in money matters, he pledged himself to pay the money whenever the king had actual possession of an English port. "Let your majesty delay no longer," he writes to Philip; "every delay will change good intentions into bad performances." The king strained to the utmost every resource of his kingdom, and fitted out that armada which was called the Invincible.

Thus did the united powers of Italy and Spain, from which such mighty influences had gone forth over the whole world, now rouse themselves for an attack upon England! The king had already compiled, from the archives of Simancas, a statement of the claims which he had to the throne of that country on the extinction of the Stuart line; the most brilliant prospects, especially that of an universal dominion of the seas, were associated in his mind with this enterprise. Every thing seemed to conspire to one end;—the predominancy of catholicism in Germany, the renewed attack upon the Huguenots in France, the attempt upon Geneva, and the enterprise against England. At this same moment a thoroughly catholic prince, Sigismund III, (of whom we shall say more hereafter,) ascended the throne of Poland, with the prospect also of future succession to the throne of Sweden.

But whenever any principle or power, be it what it may, aims at unlimited supremacy in Europe, some vigorous resistance to it, having its origin in the deepest springs of human nature, invariably arises.

Philip II had to encounter newly awakened powers braced by the vigor of youth, and elevated by a sense of their future destiny. The intrepid corsairs, who had rendered every sea insecure, now clustered round the coasts of their native island. The protestants

* The original views of the pope; Dispaccio Gritti, 27 Giugno, 1587. "Il papa fa gran arta offerta al re per l'impresa d'Inghilterra, ma vuole la denomination del re e che'l regno sia feudo della chiesa."

in a body—even the puritans, although they had been subjected to as severe oppressions as the catholics—rallied round their queen, who now gave admirable proof of her masculine courage, and her princely talent of winning the affections, and leading the minds, and preserving the allegiance of men. The insular position of the country, the very elements, lent themselves to its defence; the invincible armada was annihilated, even before it had made its attack; the enterprize was utterly abortive.

It must, however, be understood that the fundamental plan, the great intention itself, was not immediately given up.

The catholics were reminded by the writers of their party, that both Julius Cæsar and Henry VII, the grandfather of Elizabeth, had failed in their first attempt upon England, but had, notwithstanding, eventually become masters of the country. God, they said, often delayed giving the victory to his faithful servants. The children of Israel had been twice beaten with great loss in their wars with the tribe of Benjamin; although undertaken upon the express command of God, victory followed only the third attack; “then did the devouring flames make desolate the towns and villages of Benjamin, and the edge of the sword smote both man and beast.” “The English,” they exclaimed, “should ponder on this, and not be puffed up because their chastisement was deferred.”* Nor had Philip II in any degree lost his courage. His intention was to fit out smaller and more manageable vessels, and not to attempt to form a junction with the forces of the Netherlands in the channel, but to sail direct for the English coast and endeavor to effect a landing. The arsenal at Lisbon was in a state of the greatest activity. The king was determined to persevere to the last extremity, even were he compelled, as he once said at table, to sell the silver candlesticks which stood before him.†

But while his thoughts were employed on this scheme, other prospects opened upon him: a new arena for the display of the energies and the resources of catholicism, of the characteristic spirit of Italy and Spain, presented itself.

* *Andree Philopatri (Parsoni) ad Elizabethæ reginæ Angliæ edictum responsio*, § 146, 147. “Nulla,” he adds, “ipsorum fortitudine repulsa vis est, sed iis potis casibus qui sapissime in res bellicas solent incidere, aëris nimirum inclementia, maris incogniti inexperientia nonnullorumque fortassis hominum vel negligentia vel insectia, Dei denique voluntate, quia forte misericors Dominus arborem infructuosam dimittere adhuc voluit ad tertium annum evangelicum.”

† *Dispacci Gradenigo*, 29 Sept. 1588. Si come il re ha sentito molto questo accidente di mala fortuna, così mostra di esser più che mai risoluto di seguitar la impresa con tutte le sue forze.—11 Ott. S. Mâ. sta ardentissima nel pensar e trattar le provisioni per l'anno futuro.—1 Nov. “Si venderanno,” the king exclaimed, “esti cancellieri, quando non vi si altro modo di far danari.”

§ 13. THE ASSASSINATION OF HENRY III.

Soon after the disastrous end of the Spanish armada, a reaction arose in France, unexpected, and (as so often has been the case in that country) violent and bloody.

At the very moment when Guise led the estates of Blois at his will; at the very moment when it appeared that by his office of constable he must of necessity grasp the whole business of the kingdom in his hands, Henry III caused him to be assassinated. This king, who felt that he was made the captive and the tool of the catholic or Spanish party, suddenly broke loose from their chains, and placed himself in opposition to them.

But with Guise, neither his party nor the League were destroyed; on the contrary, it now assumed a more undisguisedly hostile attitude, and entered into stricter alliance than before with Spain.

Pope Sixtus was completely on their side. The assassination of the duke, whom he loved and admired, and in whom he beheld a pillar of the church, had already filled him with grief and indignation;* the murder of cardinal Guise also appeared to him intolerable. "A cardinal priest," he exclaimed in the consistory, "a noble member of the holy see—without trial or judgment, and by the secular arm—as if there were no pope in the world—as if no God existed." He reproached his legate Morosini for not having immediately excommunicated the king; he ought to have done it, had it cost him a hundred times his life.†

The king was little troubled by the anger of the pope, and was not to be frightened into setting at liberty cardinal Bourbon or the archbishop of Lyons, whom he kept prisoners. Demands were constantly sent from Rome that he should declare Henry of Navarre incapable of succeeding to the throne; in defiance of which he entered into alliance with him.

Upon this the pope determined to proceed to extremities; he cited the king to appear in person at Rome to justify himself for the murder of the cardinal, and threatened him with excommunication if he did not set the prisoners free within a specified time. This, he declared, was the course he was bound to pursue; should he act otherwise, he must expect to be called to account by God, as the most useless of all popes. Having thus fulfilled his duty, he need

* The pope likewise particularly complained, that the king had obtained a brief from him, "che li concesse poter esser assolto da qualsivoglia peccato anco riservato alla sede apostolica, col quale si voglia hora coprire il grave peccato che ha fatto." (Disp. Veneto.)

† Tempesti gives, ii, 137, both the speech of the pope, in all its length, and the letter to Morosini. "Essendo ammazzato il Cardinale," it is there said, "in faccia di V S^{ria}. Ill^{ma}., legato a latere, come non ha publicato l'interdetto, anchorè gliene fossero andate cento vite!"

not fear the whole world; he doubted not but that Henry III would perish like king Saul.*

The king was moreover looked upon by the zealous catholics and the partisans of the League as an accursed outcast; the proceedings of the pope encouraged them in their furious opposition, and sooner than could have been expected his prophecy was fulfilled. On the 23d of June the *monitorium* of the pope was published in France; on the 1st of August the king was assassinated by Clément.

The pope himself was astonished. "In the midst of his own army," exclaims he, "on the point of taking Paris, in his very cabinet, was he killed by a poor monk, with one stroke."† He ascribes this to the immediate hand of God, who thus testified that he would not desert France.

How is it that men can be so utterly blinded by fanaticism? This conviction was shared by innumerable catholics. "It is only to the hand of the Almighty himself," writes Mendoza to Philip, "that this fortunate event is to be ascribed."‡ The young Maximilian of Bavaria, who was then studying at Ingolstadt, in one of the first letters of his which are extant, expresses to his mother his joy that the king of France was killed.§

This event had, however, another aspect. Henry of Navarre, whom the pope had excommunicated, and the Guises so relentlessly persecuted, now stepped into his lawful rights. A protestant assumed the title of king of France. The League, Philip II, and the pope were determined on no conditions to suffer him to obtain the enjoyment of those rights. In the room of Morosini, who had shown himself far too lukewarm, Sixtus V sent to France another legate, Gaetano, who was thought to be inclined to Spain, and (what he had never done before) gave him a sum of money, to be spent in the manner most conducive to the advantage of the League. Above all things he was to take care that none but a catholic should be king of France. Undoubtedly the crown ought always to descend to a prince of the blood, but that was not the only thing to be considered; in other cases the strict order of succession had been deviated from, but never had a heretic been permitted to reign. The main point in short was, that the king should be a good catholic.||

* Dispaccio Veneto, 20 Maggio, 1589. "Il papa accusa la sua negligenza di non haver fatto dipoi mesi 5 che gli è stato ammazzato un cardinale e tenuto un' altro prigionio con un arcivescovo, alcuna rimostrazione o provisione. Dubita dell' ira di Dio," etc.

† Disp. Ven. 1 Sett. Il papa nel consistorio discorre, che'l successo della morte del re di Francia si ha da conoscer dal voler expresso del Sr Dio, e che perciò si doveva confidar che continuerebbe al haver quel regno nella sua protezione.

‡ Capefigue, v, 290.

§ Wolf, Maximilian I, part i, p. 107.

|| Dispaccio Veneto, 30 Sett. The pope declares, "che non importava che'l fosse eletto più del sangue che di altra famiglia, essendo ciò altre volte occorso,

In this state of mind, it will readily be imagined that the pope thought it a commendable act of the Duke of Savoy to take advantage of the confusion which reigned in France, in order to make himself master of Saluzzo, which then belonged to the French; it was better, said Sixtus, that the Duke should have it, than that it should fall into the hands of the Huguenots.*

The main object now was, to endeavor to render the League victorious in the struggle with Henry IV.

To this end a new treaty between Spain and the pope was drawn up. That most zealous inquisitor, cardinal Sanseverina, was commissioned, under the seal of confession, to arrange the terms. The pope promised faithfully to send into France an army of fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse; he also declared himself ready to advance subsidies, as soon as the king should have penetrated with a large army into France. The papal troops were to be commanded by the Duke of Urbino, a subject of his holiness and a partisan of the king of Spain.†

Such were the preparations made by the combined powers of Italy and Spain, in conjunction with their adherents in France, with a view to secure the throne of that country for ever to their party.

More extensive prospects could not be opened to the ambition of the king of Spain or the pope. Spain would for ever be freed from that ancient rivalry by which she had so long been held in check; and the result proved how intensely Philip II had this at heart. The exercise of an efficient influence in placing a king on the throne of France, would also have added immensely to the dignity and authority of the see of Rome. Gaetano had directions to insist upon the introduction of the inquisition, and the abolition of the Gallican privileges; but the exclusion of a legitimate prince from the succession, solely on account of his religion, would have been a far more important triumph. The ecclesiastical spirit which at that moment pervaded the world would thus have attained to absolute and undisputed supremacy.

ma mai eretico dopo la nostra religione: che Savoia, Lorena e forse anche Umena pretendeva la corona; che S. S^a. non vuol favorir l'uno più che l'altro." Extract from the Instruction in Tempesti, ii, 233.

* He met with reproaches on this account; "Il papa si giustifica con molte ragioni della impresa che l' sopradetto duca ha fatto del marchesato di Saluzzo con sua partecipazione." (Disp. Veneto.)

† Authentic account in the autobiography of the Cardinal, adopted by Tempesti, ii, 236.



BOOK VI.



COUNTER REFORMATION.



INTRODUCTION.

THE current of public opinion had taken a direction the most opposite from that which might reasonably have been expected at the beginning of the century.

At that time there was a general relaxation of the authority and discipline of the church; the nations sought to sever themselves from their common spiritual head; the papacy itself nearly forgot its hierarchical character; while in literature and art profane tastes and studies prevailed, and the principles of a pagan morality were avowed without disguise.

At the moment we are contemplating, how totally was all this changed! In the name of religion wars were declared, conquests achieved, states revolutionised. The history of the world does not present a time in which the clergy were more powerful than at the end of the sixteenth century. They sat in kings' councils, and discussed political matters before all the people from the pulpit; they governed schools, learning, and the whole domain of letters; the confessional afforded them opportunity of prying into the secret conflicts of the soul, and of deciding in all the difficult and doubtful circumstances of private life. It may, perhaps, be maintained that the very causes which rendered their influence so extensive and searching, were their violent dissensions among themselves, and the contradictions which existed in their own body.

This was indeed true of both parties, but in a more especial manner of the catholics. With them, the ideas and the institutions which subject the mind more immediately to discipline and to guidance, had attained to the greatest perfection, and the most complete adaptation to their end; it was impossible to live without a father confessor. With them, too, the clergy, either as brethren of an order, or at any rate as members of the hierarchy, composed a corporation held together in strict subordination, and working in one spirit and with one intention. The head of this hierarchical body, the pope of Rome, was once more invested with a power scarcely inferior to that which he had possessed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries;

he kept the interest and the zeal of the world constantly alive by the frequent enterprises which he undertook under the influence, or the pretext, of religion.

Under these circumstances the most arrogant pretensions of the times of Hildebrand were resuscitated; weapons which had been preserved in the arsenal of canon law rather for curiosity than use, were now brought into full activity.

But the European commonwealth has in no age submitted to the dominion of mere force; under all its phases, its condition has been influenced by speculations and opinions; no important enterprise has ever been carried through, no power has ever arisen to universal importance, without instantly awakening in the minds of men the idea of a possible new order of society. This idea next gives birth to theories, which are the expression of the moral signification and purport of facts; and which represent those facts as universal truths, deduced from reason or from religion, and arrived at by reflection. They thus anticipate the fulfilment of the event, to which at the same time they most powerfully contribute.

The events we are about to consider afford an illustration of these remarks.

§ 1. THEORY OF THE CONNECTION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE.

It has been common to ascribe to the principle of the catholic religion a peculiar connection, a natural sympathy, with the monarchical or aristocratical forms of government. A century like the 16th, in which this principle manifested itself in the fullest energy and conscious intentionality, affords us the most instructive data upon which to form a judgment on this question.

Looking at the facts, we find that in Italy and Spain it attached itself to the existing order of things; in Germany it even enabled the sovereign power to acquire new and increased predominancy over the popular assemblies; in the Netherlands it aided the conqueror; and in Northern Germany and the Walloon provinces it was maintained with peculiar and strenuous attachment by the nobility.

But if we carry our inquiries further, we shall find that these were not the only sympathies which it awakened. If in Cologne the patrician party were its zealous upholders, in the neighboring city of Trèves the common people were not less so. In the large cities of France it was universally allied with the claims and the efforts of the popular party. The results of an extensive and unprejudiced inquiry will show, that catholicism always attached itself to the side on which it found its firmest prop and most powerful ally. When the established authorities were opposed to it, it was very far from sparing or even from recognising them. It con-

firmed the Irish nation in its ancient and hereditary resistance to the English government. In England itself it undermined to the utmost of its power the allegiance demanded by the queen, and often broke out in active rebellion; in France it confirmed its adherents in their resistance to their legitimate princes.

This religious system has no inherent or necessary affinity to one form of government more than to another. Even during the short period of its revival, catholicism displayed the most opposite predilections; first, for monarchy in Italy and Spain, and for the strengthening of the hereditary sovereign power in Germany; next for the maintenance of lawfully constituted aristocratical bodies in the Netherlands; and, at the conclusion of the century, it formed a decided alliance with the democratical spirit. This was the more important, as it now stood in the plenitude of its activity, and the movements in which it took part are in fact the most important events which agitated the political world. Had the popes succeeded at this moment, they would have achieved for ever the predominancy of the church over the state. They put forward claims, and their adherents enounced opinions and principles, which threatened kingdoms and states both with internal convulsions and with the loss of independence.

It was principally the Jesuits who entered the lists as the proclaimers and the champions of these doctrines.

They laid claim, first, to an absolute supremacy of the church over the state.

The agitation of this question was in some sort inevitable in England, where the queen had been declared head of the church. That principle was met by the heads of the catholic opposition with the most violent pretensions on the other side. William Allen declares it to be not only the right, but the duty of a nation, especially when backed by the command of the pope, to refuse allegiance to a prince who has apostatised from the catholic church.* Parsons holds, that it is the fundamental condition of all authority in a temporal prince, that he should foster and defend the Roman catholic faith; that he is bound to do this by his baptismal vow and by his coronation oath; it would, therefore, be blindness to regard him as capable of reigning if he did not fulfil this condition; his subjects were, on the contrary, bound in such a case to expel him.† These

* In the letter, *Ad persecutores Anglos pro Christianis responsio*, 1582, I notice the following passage:—"Si reges Deo et Dei populo fidem datam fregissent, vicissim populo non solum permittitur, sed etiam ab eo requiritur, ut, jubente Christi vicario, supremo nimirum populorum omnium pastore, ipse quoque fidem datam tali principi non servet."

† *Andreas Philopatri (Personi) ad Elizabethæ reginæ edictum responsio*, No. 162: "Non tantum licet, sed summa etiam juris divini necessitate ac præcepto, imo conscientia vinculo arctissimo et extremo animarum suarum periculo ac discrimine Christianis omnibus hoc ipsum incumbit, si præstare rem possunt." No. 160: "Incumbit vero tum maxime — — cum res jam ab ecclesia ac supremo ejus moderatore, pontifice nimirum Romano, judicata est: ad illum enim ex

opinions are perfectly natural and consistent in writers who place the main purpose and duty of life in the exercise of religion; they believe the Roman catholic to be the only true religion, and they conclude that there can be no lawful authority which is opposed to that religion; thus they make the existence of a government, and the obedience which it receives, dependent of the application of its power to the advancement of the interests of the church.

This, however, was the general drift of the doctrines now rising into popularity. That which was asserted in England in the heat of the struggle, was repeated by Bellarmine in the solitude of his study, in elaborate works, in a connected, well-digested system. He laid it down as a fundamental maxim, that the pope was placed immediately by God over the whole church as its guardian and chief.* Hence the fulness of spiritual power belongs to him; hence he is endowed with infallibility; he judges all, and may be judged by none; and hence a great share of temporal authority accrues to him. Bellarmine does not go so far as to ascribe to the pope a temporal power derived directly from divine right;† although Sixtus V cherished this opinion, and was consequently displeased that it was abandoned; but so much the more unhesitatingly did Bellarmine attribute to him an indirect right. He compares the temporal power with the body, the spiritual with the soul, of man; he ascribes to the church the same dominion over the state which the soul exercises over the body. The spiritual power had, he affirms, the right and the duty to impose a curb on the temporal, whenever that became injurious to the interests of religion. It cannot be affirmed that the pope is entitled to a regular influence over the legislation of the state;‡ but if a law were necessary to the salvation of souls and the sovereign hesitated to enact it; or if a law were injurious to the salvation of souls and the sovereign was obstinately determined to maintain it, the pope is certainly justified in ordaining the one and in abolishing the other. This principle was sufficient to carry him a great way. Does not the safety of the soul prescribe even death to the body when necessary? As a general rule, the pope could certainly not dethrone a prince; but

officio pertinet religionis ac divini cultus incolunitati prospicere et leprosos a mundis ne inficiantur scernere.

* Bellarminus de conciliorum autoritate, c. 17: "Summus pontifex simpliciter et absolute est supra ecclesiam universam et supra concilium generale, ita ut nullum in terris supra se iudicium agnoscat."

† Bellarminus de Romano pontifice, v, vi: "Asserimus pontificem ut pontificem, etsi non habeat ullam ineram temporalem potestatem, tamen habere in ordine ad bonum spirituale summam potestatem disponendi de temporalibus rebus omnium Christianorum."

‡ Bellarminus de Romano pontifice, v, vi: "Quantum ad personas, non potest papa ut papa ordinarie temporales principes deponere, etiam justa de causa, eo modo quo deponit episcopos, id est tanquam ordinarius iudex: tamen potest mutare regna et uni auferre atque alteri conferre tanquam summus princeps spiritualis, si id necessarium sit ad animarum," etc. etc.

should it become necessary to the salvation of souls, he possessed the right of changing a government, or of transferring it from one ruler to another.* These assertions led, by a very easy application, to the principle, that the kingly power also rested on divine right. If not, what was its origin? what the sanction inherent in it?

The Jesuits had no hesitation in deriving the sovereign power from the people. They incorporated their theory of the sovereignty of the people and of the omnipotence of the pope into one system. This, more or less openly expressed, lay at the foundation of the opinions of Allen and Parsons. Bellarmine first endeavored to establish it on a firm and thoroughly worked-out basis. He maintains that God had conferred supreme temporal power on no individual in particular, and consequently had conferred it on the many;—that this power therefore resided in the people, who might commit it either to one or to several; that they retained an indefeasible right to alter the forms of government, to resume the sovereignty, and to transfer it into new hands. It must not be supposed that these views were peculiar to him; this is the prevailing doctrine of the Jesuit schools of that time. In a manual for confessors, which circulated through the whole catholic world and was revised by the “Magister sacri Palatii,” the temporal sovereign is treated not only as subject to the pope, in so far as the safety of souls required;† but it is roundly asserted that a king may be dethroned on account of tyranny or neglect of his duties, and another chosen in his place by the majority of the nation.‡ Francis Suarez, professor primarius of theology at Coimbra, in his defence of the catholic church against the Anglican, gives a most elaborate exposition and confirmation of Bellarmine’s doctrine.§ But the writer who develops the idea of the sovereignty of the people with the greatest complacency and emphasis is Mariana. He suggests all the questions

* These doctrines are in fact only fresh combinations of the principles laid down in the 13th century. Thomas Aquinas had already drawn the comparison which here plays so important a part: “Potestas secularis subditur spirituali sicut corpus animæ.” Bellarmine, in the “Tractatus de potestate summi pontificis in rebus temporalibus adversus G. Barclajum,” enumerates more than seventy writers of different countries, by whom the authority of the pope is regarded in the same light as by himself.

† Aphorismi confessoriorum ex doctorum sententiis collecti, autore Emanuele Sa, nuper accurate expurgati a rev^{mo} P. M. sacri palatii, ed. Antv., p. 480. The author however adds, as if he had said too little, “Quidam tamen juris periti putarunt summum pontificem suprema civili potestate pollere.”

‡ 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: quidam tamen solum tyrannidem causam putant.”

§ R. P. Franc. Suarez Granatensis, etc., defensio fidei catholicæ et apostolicæ adversus Anglicanæ sectæ errores, lib. iii, de summi pontificis supra temporales reges excellentia et potestate. It is easy to see that Bellarmine’s doctrine of the right of the people to revoke powers which had been abused, had excited the strongest opposition.

which can arise out of this idea, and decides them without hesitation in favor of the people, and to the prejudice of the kingly authority. He does not question that a king may be dethroned, nay, put to death, if his life is injurious to religion. He pronounces an eulogium, full of pathetic declamation, on Jacques Clément, who first took counsel of divines, and then went forth and assassinated his king.* He has at least the merit of being perfectly consistent; nor can it be doubted that these doctrines inflamed the fanaticism of the assassin.

For in no country were they promulgated with such furious violence as in France. It is impossible to find anything more anti-royalist than the diatribes which Jean Boucher thundered from the pulpit. It is in the Estates that he places the public might and majesty, the power to bind and to loose, the indefeasible sovereignty, the supreme jurisdiction over sceptre and realm; for in them is the source of all power: the prince is raised from the mass of the people, not of necessity and compulsion, but of free choice. Boucher takes the same view of the connection of the state with the church as Bellarmine, and repeats his illustration of the connection between body and soul. There is only one limitation, he says, to the free choice of the people; there is only one thing forbidden—viz.: to place on the throne an heretical monarch; that would be to draw down upon themselves the curse of God.†

Strange union of spiritual pretensions and democratic ideas; of absolute freedom and complete subjection;—self-contradictory and anti-national; yet such was the doctrine which bound all minds as with a mysterious spell!

Hitherto the Sorbonne had always stood forth as the champion of the royal and national privileges, against the ultra-montane and sacerdotal assumptions. But when, after the assassination of the Guises, these doctrines were preached from every pulpit; when men cried aloud in the streets and represented by symbols in processions, that king Henry III had lost his right to the crown, “the good citizens and inhabitants of the city,” as they called themselves, “in the scruples of their consciences,” addressed themselves to the theological faculty of the university of Paris, in order to obtain a

* Mariana de rege et regis institutione. “Jac. Clemens, — — cognito a theologis, quos erat sciscitatus, tyrannum jure interimi posse—caso rege ingens sibi nomen fecit.”

† Jean Boucher, Sermons, Paris, 1594, in several passages. In p. 194 he says, “L’église seigneurie les royaumes et estats de la Chreienté, non pour y usurper puissance directe comme sur son propre temporel, mais bien indirectement pour empescher que rien ne se passe au temporel qui soit au prejudice du royaume de Jesus Christ, comme par cydevant il a été déclaré par la similitudé de la puissance de l’esprit sur le corps.” Further on, “La difference du prestre et du roi nous eclaireit cette matiere, le prestre estant de Dieu seul, ce qui ne se peut dire du roi. Car si tous les rois estoient morts, les peuples s’en pourroient bien faire d’autres: mais s’il n’y avoit plus aucun prestre, il faudroit que Jesus Christ vint en personne pour en faire de nouveaux.” p. 162.

safe decision as to the legality of resistance to their sovereign lord. Hereupon the Sorbonne met on the 7th of January, 1559. "After," says their decision, "having heard the mature and free counsels of all the *magistri*; after many and various arguments, for the most part literally drawn from the Holy Scriptures, the canon law, and the papal ordinances, the dean of the faculty decided without a dissentient voice;—first, that the people of this kingdom are absolved from the oath of allegiance and fidelity which they took to king Henry: further, that this people without scruple of conscience may assemble, arm, and collect money for the support of the Roman catholic apostolical religion against the execrable proceedings of the said king."* Seventy members of the faculty were present; the younger of them carried through this resolution with the fiercest enthusiasm.†

The universal assent which these theories received, arose no doubt mainly from their being at this moment the real expression of the fact—of the historical phenomenon. For, in the French troubles, popular and priestly resistance had advanced from their respective sides to form an alliance; the citizens of Paris were encouraged and held firm in their revolt against their lawful sovereign by a legate of the pope. Bellarmine himself was for a time in the retinue of the legate. The doctrines which he developed in his learned solitude, which he promulgated with so much consistency and with so much success, were expressed in the event of which he was at once the witness and, in part, the author.

Another circumstance connected with this is, that the Spaniards approved these doctrines; that so jealous a monarch as Philip II tolerated them. The Spanish monarchy rested indeed on a combination of spiritual attributes. In numerous passages of Lope di Vega we see that it was so understood by the nation; that they loved in their sovereign the religious Majesty and wished to see it represented in his person. But besides this, the king was implicated in the schemes and efforts of the catholic restoration, not only with the priests, but even with the revolted people. The citizens of Paris reposed far greater confidence in him than in the French princes, the chiefs of the league. A new ally now appeared on his side in the doctrines of the Jesuits. It was impossible not to perceive that he might have something to fear from them; but this was more than counterbalanced by the effect they had in giving to his policy a justification based both on law and on religion; of great advantage, even to his weight and dignity in Spain, and of still greater as opening the way directly to his foreign enterprises.

* *Responsum facultatis theologicæ Parisiensis*, printed in the *Additions au Journal de Henry III*, vol. i, p. 317.

† Thuanus, lib. 94, p. 258, gives the number of those present at sixty only, and will not allow their unanimity, although the document mentioned expressly says, "*audita omnium et singulorum magistrorum, qui ad septuaginta convenerant, deliberatione . . . conclusum est nemine refragante.*"

The king was more intent on this immediate utility than on the general purport and tendency of the Jesuit doctrines.*

And is not this commonly the case with regard to political doctrines? Are they to be considered as the results, or as the causes of facts? Are they valued more for their own sakes, or for the sake of the personal advantages which men promise themselves from their dissemination?

Be this as it may, their force remains the same. Whilst the Jesuit doctrines expressed the efforts of the reviving and reforming papacy (or rather of that general current of opinions and affairs in the midst of which the papacy was placed), they imparted to it new strength, by giving it a systematic foundation in the spirit of the prevalent theological opinions; they fostered a disposition of mind, on the general diffusion of which victory depended.

§ 2. CONFLICT OF OPINIONS.

Never, however, has either a political power, or a political doctrine, succeeded in acquiring absolute and sole dominion over Europe.

Nor is it possible to imagine one which, when compared with the ideal, and with the loftiest conceptions of which man is capable, does not appear inevitably fatal to largeness and impartiality of mind.

In all times has opposition arisen to opinions which strove for exclusive domination; an opposition springing out of the fathomless depths of the feelings and interests of the mass, and evolving new powers and new energies.

We have remarked that no kind of power ever rises into importance which does not repose on the basis of ideas; we may now add that in ideas it finds its limits. The struggles of opinion which generate great political acts and events, also find their accomplishment in the regions of conviction and of thought.

Thus national independence, which is the proper expression of the temporal element of society, now rose in powerful opposition

* Pedro Ribadeneira repeated it, it is true, under a moderated form, but still he did repeat it, in his book against Machiavelli, which was already completed in 1595, and presented to the prince of Spain. "Tratado de la religion y virtudes que deve tener el principe Christiano para govenar y conservar sus estados, contra lo que Nicolo Machiavello y los politicos d'este tiempo enseñan." Anveres, 1597. Princes, he thinks, are servants of the church, but not her rulers; armed to chastise heretics, the enemies of and rebels to the church, but not to impose laws upon her or to declare the will of God. He adheres to the comparison of the body and the soul. The kingdom of the earth, as St. Gregory says, should be subservient to the kingdom of heaven.

to the idea of a sacerdotal religion, supreme and predominant over all temporal powers.

The Germanic institution of royalty, extended over the Romance nations and deeply rooted among them, has never been overthrown or shaken, either by the pretensions of priests or by the fiction of the sovereignty of the people;—a fiction which has in every case eventually proved itself untenable.

The strange alliance into which these principles had entered at the time we are contemplating, was opposed by the doctrine of the divine right of kings. It was next attacked by the protestants, (who appear to have vacillated,) with all the zeal and vigor of an enemy who sees his antagonist playing a desperate game, and entering on courses that must lead to destruction.

The protestants maintained that God alone set princes and rulers over the race of men; that he had reserved to himself the power to exalt or to abase, to divide and to mete out. It is true, they said, he no longer descended from heaven to show by outward signs those to whom dominion should belong: but, by his eternal providence, laws and an established order of things had been introduced in every kingdom, according to which a ruler was appointed. If a king, in virtue of these laws and institutions, came to power, that fact was equivalent to a declaration by the voice of God that he should be king. God had indeed of old pointed out to his people the persons of Moses, the judges, and the first kings; but after an established order was once introduced, the others who succeeded to the throne were not less God's anointed than their predecessors.*

From these principles the protestants proceeded to urge the necessity of submission, even to unjust and culpable princes. Besides, they argued, no man was perfect; and if the law was not treated as inviolable, people would avail themselves of the slightest failings as a pretext for getting rid of a king. Even heresy did not generally absolve subjects from their allegiance. A son ought not indeed to obey a godless father in things contrary to God's commandments, but in all other things he remained bound to pay him reverence and submission.

It would have been a matter of no little moment, if only the protestants had developed and maintained these opinions; but it was far more important that a part of the French catholics likewise adopted them, or rather, that their own spontaneous convictions coincided with them.

In defiance of the pope's excommunication, a considerable body of good catholics remained faithful to Henry III, and afterwards transferred their allegiance to Henry IV. The Jesuit doctrines did not succeed with the party in question; nor were they wanting in

* "Explicatio controversiarum quæ a nonnullis moventur ex Henrici Borbonii regis in regnum Franciæ constitutione,....opus....a Tossano Bercheto Lingonensi e Gallico in Latinum sermonem conversum." Sedani, 1590, Cap. 2.

arguments by which to defend their position, without involving any apostacy from catholicism.

This party next endeavored to define the authority of the clergy, and their relation to the temporal power, from an opposite point of view to that of the Jesuits. They came to the conviction that the spiritual kingdom was not of this world, and that the power of the clergy regarded spiritual things alone. Excommunication, from its very nature, could touch only the participation in ecclesiastical privileges, and had no power to abstract anything from the enjoyment of secular rights. But a king of France could not even be excluded from the communion of the church, since this was a privilege indefeasibly attached to the banner of the lilies; how much less was it then permitted to deprive him of his inheritance! And where was it distinctly written that men might rebel against their king, and resort to force against him? They urged that God had set him over them, as was indicated by the words used in his title, "by the grace of God;" and that the only case in which a subject could refuse him obedience was, if he required anything contrary to God's commandments.*

From these divine laws they then deduced that they were not only permitted, but bound to acknowledge a protestant king. Such as God appoints a king, must his subjects accept him; obedience to him is a commandment of God, nor could there possibly exist a ground for depriving a king of his rights.† They even maintained that their view of the case was the most favorable to the catholic interest; that Henry IV was judicious, gracious, and upright, and that nothing but good was to be anticipated from him; that if they endeavored to shake off his authority, petty rulers would spring up on every side, and that it was precisely this universal division which would throw the power into the hands of the protestant party.‡

In this way an opposition to those ambitious projects of the papacy which had been generated by the catholic restoration, arose within the pale of catholicism itself; and it was from the very first doubtful whether Rome would be able to extinguish it. Not only were the principles of this party, although less elaborately developed, yet more firmly based on the convictions of the European world than those of the orthodox party, but the position they had taken up was perfectly just and irreproachable; the circumstance, however, most propitious to them was, the alliance which subsisted between the papal doctrines and the Spanish power.

The monarchy of Philip II seemed every day to become more dangerous to the liberties of the world; throughout Europe it

* In this I follow the extracts from an anonymous writing which appeared at Paris in the year 1588 in Cayet, Collection of universelle des Mémoires, tom. 56, p. 44.

† Etienne Pasquier, Recherches de France, 341, 344.

‡ Explanation in Thuanus, lib. 97, p. 316: "Sectarios dissoluto imperio et singulis regni partibus a reliquo corpore divisus potentiores fore."

awakened that jealous hate arising less from committed acts of violence and oppression, than from the fear of them, and from the danger which seemed to impend over freedom;—a hate which takes unconscious possession of men's hearts.

The connection subsisting between Rome and Spain was now so intimate, that the opponents of the claims of the church were also the adversaries of the progress of Spanish power. They filled a post which had become necessary to Europe, and were therefore certain of co-operation and support. Nations were united by a secret sympathy. This national party of French catholics found determined allies who had risen up uncalled and in unexpected places;—even in Italy itself, under the very eye of the pope.

The first were the Venetians.

A few years previously (in 1582) a change had taken place in Venice, noiseless indeed, and almost overlooked in the history of the republic, but not the less influential. Up to that period the weightier part of public affairs had been in the hands of a few aged patricians, chosen out of a small circle of families. At the time we speak of, a discontented majority in the senate, consisting more especially of the younger members, who unquestionably had, according to the constitution, a right to a share in the government, were struggling for power.

The government hitherto subsisting had never neglected to keep jealous guard over its independence; yet it had attached itself to the measures of Spain and of the church, whenever it was practicable. The new rulers no longer entertained these views; the mere spirit of contradiction would indeed have sufficed to inspire them with an inclination to hold those powers in check.

The Venetians had certainly a strong interest in pursuing that course.

On the one side, they observed with displeasure that the doctrine of the pope's omnipotence and of blind obedience to his edicts, found apostles among them; on the other, they feared the complete destruction of the balance of power in Europe, if the Spaniards should succeed in obtaining a preponderant influence in France. The freedom of Europe had hitherto appeared to rest on the mutual enmity of these two nations.

The course and issue of French affairs were thus followed with a double intensity of interest. Writings which advocated the rights of kings were caught up with eagerness. There was a society exercising remarkable influence, which assembled at the house of Andrea Morosini, resorted to by Leonardo Donato, Nicolo Contarini, both afterwards doges; Domenico Molino, in later times a leading chief of the republic; Fra Paolo Sarpi, and some other distinguished men;—all of an age at which men are disposed not only to adopt new ideas, but to retain and act upon them; all declared adversaries of the arrogant pretensions of the church, and of the

overbearing power of Spain.* It will ever be very important to the formation and the influence of a system of political opinions, (even when they are founded on facts,) that they are adopted by men of talent who become their representatives and disseminators; it is doubly important in a republic.

Under these circumstances, men did not confine themselves to thoughts and inclinations. From the beginning of his career, the Venetians believed in the ability of Henry IV to resuscitate France, and thus restore the balance of power. Although bound by manifold obligations to the pope who had excommunicated Henry; although encircled both by land and sea by the Spaniards who aimed at his destruction; although possessed of no extensive and commanding power, yet had Venice, of all the catholic states, first the courage to acknowledge him. On the notification of their ambassador Mocenigo, they were the first to authorise him to congratulate Henry IV on his accession to the throne of France.† Their example failed not to animate others. Although the Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany had not courage for an open recognition of Henry's rights, he engaged in a friendly personal correspondence with the new monarch.‡ The protestant king suddenly saw himself surrounded with catholic allies, nay, even taken under their protection, against the supreme head of their own church.

In times when any great and momentous question is to be decided, the public opinion of Europe invariably declares itself in favor of the one side or the other, with a distinctness and energy that leave no room for doubt. Fortunate is he in whose favor it inclines! whatever he undertakes is accomplished with double facility. It now espoused the cause of Henry IV. The ideas associated with his name, though scarcely expressed, were already so powerful, that it appeared not impossible to lead the papacy itself to recognise their justice.

§ 3. LATTER TIMES OF SIXTUS V.

We return once more to Sixtus V. After having observed his internal administration, and the share he took in the restoration of the church, we must say a few words of his general policy.

* In the anonymous *Vita di Fra Paolo Sarpi*, p. 101, (by Fra Fulgentio,) in Grisellini's *Memorabilia of Fra Paolo*, pp. 40, 78, and in some passages of Foscarini, we find accounts of this "ridotto Mauroceno." Besides these we have mentioned, Pietro and Giacopo Contarini, Giacopo Morosini, Leonardo Mocenigo, (who, however, did not attend so regularly as the others,) Antonio Quirini, Giacopo Marcello, Marino Zane, and Alessandro Malipiero, who, notwithstanding his great age, always accompanied Fra Paolo home, belonged to this society.

† *Andreae Mauroceni Historiarum Venetarum*, lib. xiii, p. 518.

‡ Galluzzi, *Istoria del Granducato di Toscana*, lib. v, (t. v. p. 78.)

It is most remarkable what a strange inclination for fantastical political plans was combined with the inexorable justice he executed, the severe financial system he introduced, and the accurate and frugal conduct of his domestic affairs.

How extravagant were the projects he conceived! For a long time he flattered himself that he should be able to annihilate the Turkish empire. He entered into correspondences in the East, with the Persians, and with the Druses, certain Arab chiefs; he fitted out galleys, and obtained from Spain and Tuscany a promise of others. He also imagined that he could render assistance to king Stephen Bathory of Poland, who was to make the principal attack on Turkey by land. The pope hoped to unite all the forces of the northeast and the southwest for this enterprise, and persuaded himself that Russia would voluntarily become not only the ally but the subject of Poland.

At another time he fancied he should conquer Egypt, either single-handed or with the sole assistance of Tuscany. On this project he built the most remote and complicated schemes—the opening a passage between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean,* the re-establishment of the commerce of the ancient world, and the conquest of the holy sepulchre. But if so vast a design should appear not immediately practicable, he imagined that at least an incursion might be made into Syria, and by the aid of skilful workmen, the tomb of the Saviour be excavated from the rock and carefully transported to Italy! Already he indulged the hope of being able to erect in Montalto this most sacred of shrines; then would his native province, the March, where the sacred house of Loreto already stood, contain within its narrow limits the birthplace and the tomb of the Redeemer.

There is another idea which I find ascribed to him, surpassing all these in extravagance. After the assassination of the Guises, it is asserted that a proposition was made to Henry III to acknowledge a nephew of the pope as successor to the throne of France. The legate, it is said, made this proposal with the pope's knowledge. If the adoption took place with the requisite solemnities, his holiness was persuaded that the king of Spain would give the declared successor the Infanta in marriage; such a succession would be acknowledged by every one, and all troubles would have an end. It is confidently affirmed that Henry III was really allured by these projects for a moment,† till it was represented to him what

* Dispaccio Gritti, 23 Agosto 1587. “(Il papa) entrò a parlar della fossa che li re dell' Egitto non havevano fatta per passar del mare rosso nel mar mediterraneo.” He sometimes entertained the project of attacking Egypt single-handed. “Scopri la causa del desiderar danari per impiegarli in una armata che vorria far solo per l'impresa dell' Egitto e pagar quelle galee che ajutassero a far quella impresa.”

† This notice exists in a *Mémoire du Sr de Schomberg, M^e de France sous Henry III*, among the Hohenbaum MSS. in the Imperial Library at Vienna, No.

a reputation for cowardice and pusillanimity he would acquire by yielding to them.

Such were the plans, or rather—for that word seems to imply something far too definite—such were the strange dreams, the castles in the air, which passed through the mind of Sixtus. How utterly inconsistent do they seem with that strenuous practical activity, always pressing onwards to its end, by which he was distinguished!

And yet, who will venture to assert that this was not frequently engendered by the exuberance of thoughts too vast for accomplishment? The elevation of Rome to a regular metropolis of Christendom, to which, after the lapse of a certain number of years, the people of every country, even of America, were to resort; the transformation of the monuments of antiquity into symbols and memorials of the overthrow of paganism by the Christian religion; the accumulation of money obtained on loan and paying interest, into a fund on which the temporal power of the states of the church should repose;—are all plans which appear to outstrip the bounds of the practicable, which have their origin in the ardor of a fancy inflamed by religion, yet which mainly stamped its character on the active life of this pope.

From youth upwards the condition and conduct of man are surrounded by hopes and wishes; the present is, so to speak, encompassed by the future; and the soul is never weary of abandoning herself to the anticipations of personal felicity. The further we advance in life, however, the more do these wishes and expectations assume the form of views for the general interest, and attach themselves to some grand object in science or politics;—to some great public end. In our Franciscan, the excitement and impulse of personal hopes had ever been the more powerful, inasmuch as he found himself embarked on a course which opened to him the most splendid prospects; they had accompanied him step by step, and had cheered and fortified his soul in days of indigence and obscurity; he had eagerly caught up every prophetic word, and

114: “*Quelque tems après la mort de Mr de Guise avenue en Blois il fut proposé par le C^l de Moresino de la part de Sa Sainteté, que si S. M. vouloit declarer le marquis de Pom [probably misspelt] son neveu heritier de la couronne et le faire recevoir pour tel avec solemnitez requises, que S. S. s'assuroit que le roy d'Espagne bailleroit en mariage audit marquis l'infante et qu'en ce faisant tous les troubles de France prendroient fin. A quoi le roy etant prest à se laisser aller et ce par la persuasion de quelqu'uns qui pour lors estoient pres de S. M., Mr de Schomberg rompist ce coup par telles raisons, que ce seroit l'invertir l'ordre de France, abolir les loix fondamentales, laisser à la posterité un argument certain de la lâcheté et pusillanimité de S. M.*”

It is true that Schomberg makes a merit of having prevented the execution of this project, but I should not for that reason be inclined to think it so entirely chimerical. The *Mémoire*, which asserts the rights of Henry IV, has a certain proof of authenticity, from the circumstance of its lying in obscurity amongst other papers. It is only surprising that nothing should have been said about it.

had treasured it in his inmost heart; he had contemplated the success of his lofty schemes with the enthusiasm of a religious recluse. At length all his hopes were fulfilled; he had risen from a mean and hopeless beginning, to the highest dignity of Christendom—a dignity of the significancy of which he entertained an exorbitant conception; he believed himself chosen by an immediate providence to realise the ideas which floated before his imagination.

Nor, in the possession of supreme power, did the habit leave him of desecrating, through all the complexities of political affairs, any possibility of brilliant achievements, and of forming projects for their accomplishment. In all of these an element of a very personal nature is indeed discoverable; he was sensible to the charms of power and posthumous fame; he wished to shed his own lustre over all connected with him—his family, his birth-place, his province; yet these desires were always subordinate to an interest in the whole of catholic Christendom; and his mind was ever open to large and magnificent ideas. But the former he could carry through himself, while he was compelled for the most part to abandon the execution of the latter to others. The former therefore he embraced with that indefatigable activity which is the offspring of conviction, enthusiasm and ambition; whereas in the latter, either because he was by nature mistrustful, or because the most prominent part of the execution (and thence of the fame) must be conceded to others, he was not nearly so zealous. If, for example, we inquire what he really did for the accomplishment of the oriental schemes we have mentioned, we perceive that it did not go beyond the forming alliances, interchanging letters, disseminating notices, and making arrangements: that he adopted any serious measures calculated to effect the contemplated end, we do not find. He caught at the plan with lively and excitable fancy; but as he could not directly co-operate in it—as its accomplishment was remote—his will was not really effective; the scheme which had occupied him so much, he let drop again, and another succeeded in its place.

At the moment we are now contemplating, the pope was filled with the grandest anticipations connected with the enterprises against Henry IV;—anticipations of a complete victory of strict catholicism, and of a revival of the universal supremacy of the papacy. In these he was wholly absorbed. Nor did he doubt that all the catholic states would agree to turn their united energy and force against the protestant who laid claim to the crown of France.

Such was the temper of his mind, such the ardor of his zeal, when he learned that Venice, a catholic power with which he thought himself on a peculiarly good footing, had sent its congratulations to this very protestant. He was deeply mortified at the intelligence. He sought to restrain the republic for a moment from taking any further step; he begged for delay; time, he said, brought forth wondrous fruits; he himself had learned from the good and

venerable senators, to allow them to come to maturity.* But, notwithstanding all his entreaties, Venice recognised De Maisse, (the ambassador who had for some time been resident there in that capacity,) after he received his new credentials, as the plenipotentiary of Henry IV. Upon this the pope proceeded from remonstrances to threats. He exclaimed that he would ascertain what he ought to do; he caused the old monitoria which were published against the Venetians in the time of Julius II, to be searched out, and the formula of a new one to be drawn up.

Nevertheless it was not without pain and inward struggles that he took this step. Let us hear for a minute how he expressed himself to the ambassador whom the Venetians sent to him. "To fall out with those one does not love," said the pope, "is no such great misfortune; but with those one loves—that is indeed painful. Yes, it will grieve us (laying his hand on his breast) to break with Venice.

"But Venice has offended us. Navarre is a heretic excommunicated by the holy see; nevertheless Venice, spite of all our remonstrances, has acknowledged him.

"Is the signory then the greatest sovereign on earth, entitled to set an example to others? There is still a king of Spain—there is still an emperor.

"Does the republic fear anything from Navarre? We will defend her, if needful, with all our might; we have nerve enough.

"Or does the republic meditate any attempt to injure us? God himself would be our defender.

"The republic ought to value our friendship more highly than that of Navarre. We could do more for its support.

"I entreat you recall one step! The catholic king has withdrawn many, because we wished it; not out of fear of us, for our power is, as compared to his, like a fly compared to an elephant; but from love; because it was the pope who asked it, the vicegerent of Christ, who prescribes the rules of faith to him and to all others. Let the signory do likewise; they can hit upon some pretext for retracting; it cannot be hard to them, for they have wise and venerable men enow, every one of whom is competent to govern a world."†

* 9 Sett. 1589: "Che per amor di Dio non si vada tanto avanti con questo Navarra, che si stia a veder," &c.

† Dispaccio Donato, 25 Novbre 1589. The pope made so long a speech that the ambassadors said, if they had written all down, it would take several hours to read in the senate. Amongst other things, he frequently insists on the effects of excommunication, and threatens them with it. "Tre sono stati scomunicati, il re passato, il principe di Condé, il re di Navarra. Due sono malamente morti, il terzo ci travaglia e Dio per nostro esercitio lo mantiene; ma firirà anche esso e terminerà male: dubitiamo puoto di lui.—2 Dec. Il papa publica un solennissimo giubileo per invitar ogn' uno a dover pregar S. Divina M^a per la quiete et augumento della fede cattolica." During this jubilee he would see no one, "per viver a se stesso et a sue divotioni."

But no one continues to speak without receiving an answer. The envoy extraordinary of the Venetians was Leonardo Donato, a member of the society of Andrea Morosini which we have mentioned; completely devoted to the spirit of the ecclesiastico-political opposition; a man of what we should now call the greatest diplomatic address, who had already conducted many difficult negotiations to a successful close.

Donato could not explain in Rome all the motives which actuated the Venetians; he brought forward those which were likely to find acceptance with the pope—which the ruler of the ecclesiastical states had in fact in common with Venice.

For was it not obvious that the ascendancy of Spain in the south of Europe yearly became more powerful and more dangerous? The pope felt this as strongly as any other of the Italian princes; already indeed things were come to such a pass that he could not take a step in Italy without the approbation of the Spaniards. What then would be the case if they should become masters of France? This, therefore—the expediency of maintaining the balance of power in Europe—was the consideration upon which Donato mainly insisted. He sought to prove that not only the republic had entertained no thought of offending the pope, but that its intention was to promote and defend the best interests of the Roman see.

The pope listened to him, but appeared immovable and unconvincible. Donato despaired of producing any effect upon him, and requested an audience of leave. On the 16th of Dec., 1589, he obtained it, and the pope appeared disposed to refuse him his blessing.* But Sixtus V was not so blinded by prejudice, that arguments of real weight, though opposed to his own opinions, did not make an impression upon him. He was self-willed, domineering, opinionated, stubborn; yet he was not inaccessible to inward doubts, or to new views of things, and at bottom was good-natured. Even while he kept up the contest and obstinately defended his principles, he felt himself, in his heart, shaken and even convinced. In the midst of this audience he suddenly became mild and complying.† “He who has a comrade,” exclaimed he, “has a master; I will speak to the congregation; I will tell them that I was angry with you, but that I have been conquered by you.” They waited a few days longer; the pope then declared that though he could not approve what the republic had done, nevertheless he would not adopt the measures against her which he had had in contemplation. He gave Donato his blessing and kissed him.

* Disp. Lonato, 16 Dec.: “Dopo si lungo negotio restando quasi privi d’ogni speranza.”

† Ibid. “Finalmente inspirata dal S^r Dio....disse di contontarsene (to give them his blessing) e di essersi lasciato vincer da noi.”

This was a scarcely perceptible change in the dispositions and thoughts of an individual, yet it involved the most important results. The pope himself abated of the severity with which he had persecuted the protestant king; nor would he absolutely condemn the catholic party which attached itself to Henry and opposed the policy he himself had hitherto adopted. A first step is of vast importance as determining a whole course of opinion and conduct. This was felt in a moment by the other party, which originally had only sought to excuse its own conduct, but now made an immediate attempt to win over the pope to its side.

Monsieur de Luxemburg now appeared in Italy, commissioned by the princes of the blood and the catholic peers attached to Henry IV. In defiance of the warnings and representations of the Spaniards, Sixtus V allowed him to come to Rome and gave him audience. The envoy placed the personal qualities of Henry IV, his valor, his magnanimity and kindness of heart, in the most brilliant light. The pope was carried away by his description. "Truly," exclaimed he, "I repent that I have excommunicated him." Luxemburg said that his king and master would now render himself deserving of absolution, and would return to the feet of his holiness, and to the bosom of the catholic church.

"In that case," rejoined the pope, "I will embrace and console him."

His imagination was already strongly excited, and in an instant these advances on Henry's part gave birth to the most sanguine hopes. He gave it to be understood that it was rather a political aversion to Spain, than religious opinions hostile to the see of Rome, which deterred the protestants from returning to the bosom of the ancient church, and that he did not think himself justified in doing anything to disgust them.* There was already an English delegate in Rome, and one from Saxony was announced. Sixtus was quite ready to listen to them. "Would to God," said he, "that they would all come to our feet!" His behavior to his legate in France, cardinal Morosini, was a sufficient proof of the greatness of the change his own sentiments had undergone. Formerly Morosini's concessions to Henry III had been treated as a crime, and he had returned to Italy under all the weight of the pope's displeasure; now he was introduced into the consistory by cardinal Montalto, and the pope received him with the declaration, that he rejoiced

* *Dispaccio Donato, 13 Genn. 1590.* "Il papa biasima l' opinione de' cardinali e d' altri prelati che lo stimolano a dover licentiar esso S^r de Lucenburg, e li accusa che vogliono farsi suo pedante (his prompter, as we should say,) in quello che ha studiato tutto il tempo della vita sua. Soggiunse che haveria caro che la regina d' Inghilterra, il duca di Sassonia e tutti gli altri andassero a suoi piedi con bona dispositione. Che dispiacerà a S. S^a che andassero ad altri principi, (catholics, of course,) et havessero eommunicatione con loro, ma si consolava quando vadino a suoi piedi a dimandar perdono." He repeats these sentiments under a different form at every audience.

that a cardinal of his choice had obtained such universal approbation.* He was led out to table by Donna Camilla.

How great must have been the astonishment of the high catholic party at this change! The pope leaned to a protestant whom he had himself excommunicated, and whom, according to the ancient maxims of the church, a double apostacy had rendered incapable even of receiving absolution!

It is in the nature of things that this should occasion a reaction. The strict catholic party was not so absolutely dependent on the pope, that it could not set itself in opposition to him; and the Spanish power afforded them a prop to which they eagerly clung.

The French leaguers accused the pope of avarice; they said that he would not open his purse-strings, and that he wanted to save all the gold which he had accumulated in the castle of St. Angelo, for his nephews and kinsfolk. In Spain a Jesuit preached on the deplorable condition of the church. "Not only does the republic of Venice favor the heretics, but—hush! hush!" said he, laying his finger on his lips—"but the pope himself." All this was re-echoed in Italy. Sixtus V was already become so sensitive, that he took an admonition to a day of public humiliation which the general of the capuchins had published, "in order to invoke the grace of God on the affairs of the church," as a personal affront, and suspended the general.

Things did not, however, stop at mere hints, or private and unauthorised complaints. On the 22d of March, 1590, the Spanish envoy appeared in the papal apartments and formally protested in his master's name against the conduct of the pope.† We perceive that there were opinions more orthodox, more catholic, than the head of the church himself; to these opinions the Spanish envoy gave utterance and expression in the very face of the pope.—Strange proceeding! The envoy knelt down on one knee and prayed his holiness to permit him to execute the commands of his master. The pope sought to raise him up. He said it was heresy to behave as he meditated doing to the vicegerent of Christ. The envoy would not be deterred from his purpose. "His holiness," he began, "was entreated to utter sentence of excommunication against all the adherents of Navarre without distinction—to declare that Navarre himself was, in every case and for all time, incapable

* Dispaccio, 3 Marzo. "Dice di consolarsi assai ch' egli soa creatura fusse di tutti tanto celebrato. Il c^{lmo} Morosini acquista molto honore e riputatione per la soa relatione delle cose di Francia."

† As early as the 10th of March the ambassador had proposed the following questions to the pope: "Li ha ricercato la risposta sopra le tre cose, cioè di licentiar Lucenburg, iscomunicar li c^{li} et altri prelati che seguono il Navarra, e prometter di non habilitar mai esso Navarra alla successione della corona;"—and had announced a protest against him. On this the pope threatened excommunication: "Minaccia di iscomunicar quei e castigarli nella vita che ardiranno di tentar quanto egli li havea detto, cacciandolo inanzi e serrandogli in faccia la porta."

of succeeding to the throne of France. If, not, the catholic king would throw off his allegiance to his holiness; his majesty could not suffer that the cause of Christ should be sacrificed.”* The pope hardly allowed him to proceed thus far in his speech; he exclaimed that this was not the king’s business. The ambassador rose, then knelt down again, then attempted to proceed. The pope called him a stone of offence, and went away. But Olivarez was not yet satisfied; he declared that he would and must utter his protest to the end, even though the pope were to cut off his head for it. He knew well, he said, that the king would avenge him, and would requite his fidelity to his children. On the other hand, Sixtus V was inflamed with rage. He declared that no prince on earth was authorised to school the pope, who was set by God as master over all others; whereas the behavior of the envoy had been utterly at variance with decency; that his instructions only warranted him in making a protest, in case the pope should show himself lukewarm in the affairs of the League. How! did the envoy want to direct the steps of his holiness?

Genuine catholicism seemed to have only one aim, one undivided thought; it seemed in the road to victory and on the point of success, when unexpectedly two parties, two opinions, formed themselves within its bosom, opposed both politically and religiously; the one organised for attack, the other for resistance. They began their struggle by laboring, each with all his might, to win over the head of the church to itself. The one had already possession of the pope, and strove to hold him fast by means of bitterness, of threats, almost of force. Moved by his secret feelings, he had inclined to the other on one important occasion, and it now sought to gain him over completely; to seduce him by promises, to allure him with the most brilliant visions of the future. It was of the highest importance to the result of their struggle, which side he embraced.

The demeanor of the pope, so renowned for his energy and determination, fills us with amazement.

When letters from Philip II arrived, in which that king declared that he would defend the just cause; that he would support the League with all the force of his kingdom and with his own blood, the pope was filled with zeal, and declared that he would never bring upon himself the reproach of not having opposed a heretic like Navarre.†

* “Che S. S^a 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 dalla obediienza della chiesa. e procurerà che non sia fatta ingiuria alla causa di Christo e che la pietà e la religione soa sia conosciuta.”

† He declares even in the consistory, “di haver scritto al re con sua propria mano, che procurerà sempre con tutte le sue forze spirituali e temporali che mai riesca ro di Francia alcuno che non sia di compita sodisfattione alla S. Cat^a”

Yet these protestations did not prevent his inclining again to the other side. When the difficulties in which the French affairs were involved, were represented to him, he exclaimed, "If Navarre were here, I would beseech him on my knees to become a catholic."

Never did sovereign stand in a more extraordinary relation to his plenipotentiary, than pope Sixtus to the legate Gaetano, whom he had sent to France in the time of his intimate alliance with Spain. The pope was now not indeed gone over to the side of the French, but was brought into a neutral, irresolute state of mind. The legate followed his original instructions, without paying the slightest regard to this change. When Henry IV, after the victory of Ivry, besieged Paris, it was the pope's legate who made the most effective resistance to him: it was in his hands that committees and magistrates swore never to capitulate with Navarre; and it was by his dignity as a minister of the church, and by a demeanor equally marked by address and by firmness, that he held them to his promises.*

In the end, the inflexibly orthodox opinions displayed the greatest strength.

Olivarez compelled the pope to dismiss Luxemburg, though indeed under the appearance of a pilgrimage to Loreto. The pope had fixed upon monsignore Serafino, who was reputed to hold French opinions, for a mission to France. Olivarez loudly complained of this appointment, and declared that he would come no more to the audience; the pope replied that he might depart in God's name; nevertheless, in the end Olivarez prevailed, and Serafino's mission was put off. There lies an incredible power in an orthodox faith, held with inflexible steadiness; especially when its champion is an able and energetic man. Olivarez had the congregation, which was occupied with French affairs and which had been formed in earlier times, on his side. In July, 1590, negotiations were set on foot for a new treaty between Spain and the pope; Sixtus declared he must do something in favor of that kingdom.†

Let it not, however, be imagined, that he had given up the other party. At this very time he had an agent of one of the leaders of the Huguenots, Lesdiguières, near his person; there were also a

M^r." In January, 1590, the ambassadors already said, "Il papa nelle trattazioni parla con uno ad un modo con suoi disegni et ad un altro con altri (disegni)."

* Discours véritable et notable du siège de la ville de Paris en l'an 1590. Villeroy, Mémoires d'Etat, tom. ii, p. 417.

† The king was to send into the field 20,000 foot and 3000 horse; the pope 15,000 foot and 2000 horse. "Li ambasciatori sollicitano con li cardinali la conclusione e sottoscrizione del capitolato." (Disp. 14 Luglio.) The pope proposed the question in the congregation: "An electio regis Francia vacante principe ex corpore sanguinis speet ad pontificem? Esortato a star neutrale, laudando il consiglio risponde non poter restar a far qualche cosa." (Disp. 28 Luglio.) In the Disp. 21 Luglio it is however recorded, "Laodigeres haveva mandato un suo huomo a trattar con S. S., il quale ha trattato lungamente seco."

chargé d'affaires of the Landgrave, an emissary from England, and already the imperial ambassador was in dread of the suggestions of the Saxon ambassador, who was again expected, and was striving to anticipate and prevent their effect; the manœuvres of chancellor Crell extended even to Rome.*

Thus did the puissant ecclesiastical prince, who lived in the persuasion that a direct power over all the earth was entrusted to him—who had accumulated a treasure which would have enabled him to strike an important blow—remain at the decisive moment irresolute and vacillating.

Ought we to impute this to him as a fault? I fear we should do him injustice. He saw through the situation of things; he perceived the dangers on both sides; he listened to conflicting opinions, and no crisis forcing him to take a final decision presented itself. The elements which divided the world warred even in his soul, and neither obtained a conclusive mastery.

Certainly, however, by this course, he put it completely out of his own power to subdue Europe, or to exercise any mighty influence over it. On the contrary, the causes which then agitated society reacted upon him; and this reaction assumed the most extraordinary form.

Sixtus had subjugated the banditti, chiefly by maintaining a good understanding with his neighbors. But as this was now interrupted; as Venice and Tuscany now held different opinions from those which prevailed in Naples and Milan; as the pope decided for neither, and was, therefore, alternately an object of suspicion to both, the banditti once more rose into activity.

In April, 1590, they appeared again, led, in the Maremma by Sacripante, in Romagna by Piccolomini, and in the Campagna of Rome by Battistella. They were abundantly provided with money, and it was observed that they spent a great many Spanish doubloons; they found adherents chiefly in the Guelf party; they already marched about the country in regular bands, with colors flying and drums beating, and the papal troops had no mind to engage them.† This state of things affected all the relations of the country; the Bolognese, for instance, opposed the pope's project of increasing the number of the senators of the city, with an audacity and freedom which had long been unheard of.

In this situation—a prey to such pressing and near discontent—without having so much as attempted to come to a decision, or to

* We cannot otherwise account for the warning given by the imperial ambassador to the pope not to listen to Saxon insinuations. "L' ambasciatore dell' imperatore prega il pontefice di non voler ascoltare quel huomo che vien detto esser mandato dal duca di Sassonia, in quello che fusse di pregiuditio del suo patron e della casa d'Austria: e cosi li vien promesso."

† Disp. 21 Luglio: "I fuorusciti corrono fino su le porte di Roma." The despatches of the 17th March, 7th and 23th April, 12th May, and 2d June contain details on this subject.

form a resolution on the weightiest matter—Pope Sixtus V died, on the 27th August, 1590.

A storm burst over the Quirinal just as he expired. The stupid multitude were convinced that Fra Felice had made a compact with the evil one, had ascended from step to step by his aid, and that, the term of the agreement having expired, his soul was now carried off in a tempest.

This was their mode of expressing their displeasure at the number of new taxes he had introduced, and the doubt of his perfect orthodoxy;—a doubt so frequently agitated of late years. They proceeded in tumultuous fury to tear down the statues which they had formerly erected to him, and a resolution was passed in the capitol that no statue should ever again be erected to a living pope.

§ 4. URBAN VII, GREGORY XIV, INNOCENT IX, AND THEIR CONCLAVES. 1590, 1591.

The new election was now doubly momentous. It depended mainly on the personal inclinations of a pope, for which of the two principles already engaged in conflict he would declare himself; and his decision might undoubtedly lead to consequences affecting the state of the whole world. The intrigues and the strife of the conclave thus acquire a new and peculiar importance, and for a short time demand our attention.

In the earlier half of the sixteenth century, the electors were generally determined by the preponderancy of the Imperial or the French faction; the cardinals had, as a pope asserted, no longer any freedom of election. In the latter part of the century this influence of foreign powers was greatly diminished, and the curia was left much more to its own decisions. In the ferment of its intestine agitations, a principle was generated which gave rise to a custom of a most singular kind.

Every pope used to nominate a number of cardinals, who in the next conclave attached themselves to the kinsmen of the deceased pope, constituted a new power, and generally tried to raise one of their own number to the papal throne. It is very remarkable that they never succeeded; that the opposition was invariably victorious, and generally elected an adversary of the late pope.

I shall not attempt to explain this fact at length. We are in possession of documents relating to these elections, which are not wholly unworthy of credit; but it would be impossible to give a vivid or correct view of the personal relations and motives which really influenced them; our delineations would be mere shadows.

Let it suffice that we note the principle. Without an exception, during the period in question, it was not the adherents, but the opponents of the last pope—the creatures, that is, of the last but one,

who were victorious. Paul IV was raised to the papacy by the creatures of Paul III; Pius IV, by the enemies of Caraffa and of Paul IV. The nephew of Pius IV, Borromeo, was capable of the highest self-sacrifice, and voluntarily gave his vote to a man of the opposite party, whom he esteemed the most truly devout—Pius V; but he did this amidst the vehement remonstrances of his uncle's creatures, who, as the report expresses it, could hardly believe that they saw what they saw, or did what they did. Nor did they neglect on the next opportunity to turn this concession to account. They endeavored to cause this custom to be acknowledged as a rule; and in fact they chose the successor of Pius V, out of the creatures of Pius IV. The same took place at the election of Sixtus V, who was elevated from among the adversaries of his predecessor Gregory.

It is therefore no wonder if we always find men of opposite character succeeding each other in the possession of the tiara. The different factions drove each other successively from the field.

At the moment we are treating of, this usage opened a brilliant prospect to the opponent of Sixtus V; especially of the last turn of his policy. Sixtus V had made his nephew extremely powerful, and he now entered the conclave, attended by a band of devoted cardinals, as numerous as any that had ever been bound together by a common interest and common feelings. But in spite of all these apparent advantages, he was obliged to give way. The creatures of Gregory raised to the papal chair an enemy of the former pope, one who had been peculiarly offended by him, a man of unquestionable attachment to the Spanish party—Giambattista Castagna, who assumed the name of Urban VII.*

This choice was, however, unfortunate. Urban VII died on the twelfth day of his pontificate, before he was crowned, before he had nominated a single prelate, and the contest immediately opened afresh.

It differed from the former, inasmuch as the Spaniards now took the most active part in it. They saw distinctly how important the event was to the affairs of France. The king resolved on a step which was regarded in Rome as a dangerous innovation, and which even his partisans could only justify on the plea of the urgency of the circumstances wherein he was then placed.† He nominated seven cardinals who appeared likely to be serviceable to him; he would accept no others. At the head of his nominees

* Conclave di papa Urbano VII, MS. "La pratica (di questa clettione) fu guidata dal card' Sforza (capo delle creature di papa Gregorio XIII) e da cardinali Genovesi." In a despatch from Maisse, the French ambassador at Venice, F. Raumer's *Histor. Briefen*, i, 360, it is stated that Sforza dragged Colonna from the papal chair, on which he had already placed himself; but we can hardly understand this literally.

† Il grande interesse del re cattolico e la spesa nella quale si trova senza ajuto nessuno per servizio della Christianità fa che gli si debbia condonare.

stood the name of Madruzzi, and with him, as their leader, the Spanish cardinals immediately made an effort to carry their point.

But they encountered a stubborn resistance. The conclave would not have Madruzzi because he was a German; because it would be a shame again to suffer the papacy to fall into the hands of a barbarian;* nor would Montalto consent to the election of any of the others. Montalto had indeed tried in vain to secure it for one of his followers; but he had at least the negative power of excluding. The conclave was protracted to an undue and unprecedented length; the banditti were masters of the country, there were daily reports of property plundered and villages burned, and there were fears of disturbances in Rome itself.

There was only one means of bringing things to the desired end; to pick out the one from among the candidates who was the least disagreeable to the kinsmen and followers of Sixtus V. In the Florentine Memoirs† it is stated that the grand-duke of Tuscany; in the Roman, that cardinal Sforza, the head of the Gregorian cardinals, principally contributed to bring this about. Secluded in his cell (perhaps for the very reason that he had been told that his interests would be best advanced by silence,) and suffering from fever, lived cardinal Sfondrato, one of the Seven. Upon him the parties agreed, and a family alliance between the house of Sfondrato and Montalto was immediately discussed as a preliminary measure. Thereupon Montalto visited the cardinal in his cell; he found him on his knees before the crucifix, still not wholly free from fever, and told him that on the morrow he should be elected. On the morrow (5th Dec. 1590,) he and Sforza led him into the chapel where the votes were given. Sfondrato was elected, and took the name of Gregory XIV.‡

He was a man who fasted twice a week, said mass daily, always recited the prescribed number of prayers on his knees, and then devoted an hour to his favorite author, St. Bernard, out of whom he carefully noted the sentences which particularly struck him;—a soul of virgin innocence. It was remarked half jestingly, that he had come into the world too early (at seven months,) and was reared with difficulty; and that he had therefore too little of earthly elements in his composition. He had never been able to understand the practice or the intrigues of the curia. The cause which the Spaniards defended, he implicitly held to be the cause of the church. He was a born subject of Philip II and a man after his own heart. Without hesitation or delay, he declared himself in favor of the League.§

* C¹ Morosini said, "Italia anderebbe in preda a' barbari, che farebbe una vergogna." Concl. della sede vacante di Urbano VII.

† Galluzzi, Storia del Granducato di Toscana, v, 99.

‡ T. Tasso celebrated this elevation to the throne in a magnificent canzone, "Da gran lode immortal."

§ Cicarella de Vita Gregorii XIV, contained in all the later editions of Platina.

“Do you,” he writes to the Parisians, “who have made so laudable a beginning, persevere to the end, and stay not until you have reached the goal of your course. Inspired by God, we have determined to come to your aid. First, we send you assistance in money, and truly beyond our means. We likewise despatch our nuncio, Landriano, to France, in order to bring back all deserters into your union. Lastly, we send, though not without a heavy burthen on the church, our dear son and nephew, Ercole Sfondrato, Duke of Montemarciano, with horse and foot, to employ their arms in your defence. Should you stand in need of yet more, we will also provide you with it.”*

This letter contains the entire policy of Gregory XIV. It was, however, very effective. The declaration itself, the repetition of the excommunication of Henry IV, which was connected with it, and lastly the citation to all the clergy, the nobles, the judicial officers, and the third estate, to sever themselves, under pain of severe penalties, from Henry of Bourbon, of which Landriano was the bearer, produced a deep impression.† There were many strict catholics on the side of Henry IV, who were perplexed by this decisive step of the head of their church. They declared that not only the kingdom, but the church, had a succession, and that it was as unlawful to change the religion as the dynasty. From this time may be dated the formation, among the king’s adherents, of what was called the third party, which incessantly urged him to return to catholicism; which remained true to him only under this condition and with this expectation, and was the more important, inasmuch as the most powerful men who surrounded him were among its members.

But the other measures which the pope announced in this letter, and which he delayed not to carry into execution, produced still greater consequences. He remitted to the Parisians a monthly subsidy of 15,000 scudi; he sent Colonel Lusi into Switzerland to levy troops; and after having solemnly committed the standard of the church to his nephew, Ercole, in Santa Maria Maggiore, as their general, he sent him to Milan, where his army was to assemble. The commissary who accompanied him, archbishop Matteuci, was abundantly provided with money.

Under such auspices, Philip II hesitated no longer to engage earnestly in French affairs. His troops advanced into Brittany, and took possession of Toulouse and Montpellier. He thought he had peculiar claims on some provinces; in others he had formed,

* “Gregoire pape XIV, à mes fils bien aymés les gens du conseil des seize quartiers de la ville de Paris.” Cayet, *Chronologie novenaire, Mémoires col.* univ., tom. lvii, p. 62.

† Cayet observes this. “Ce party du roy estoit sans aucune division. Ce qui fut entretenu jacques au temps de la publication des bulles monitoriales du pape Gregoire XIV, que d’aucuns volurent engendrer un tiers party et le former des catholiques, qui étoit dans le party royal.”

by means of capuchin friars, an intimate alliance with the leading commanders; to others he had received the most urgent invitation as "the sole defender of the orthodox against the Huguenots." The Parisians too invited him. Meanwhile the Piedmontese attacked Provence, and the papal army joined that of the League in Verdun. It was an universal movement of the powers of Spain and Italy, for the purpose of dragging France by force into the same high catholic direction which prevailed in those countries. The treasures which pope Sixtus had collected with so much labor, and husbanded with so much care, were now of great assistance to the Spaniards. After Gregory XIV had taken out of the castle of St. Angelo the funds to the employment of which no conditions were attached, he seized upon those which were most strictly tied up. He was of opinion that a more pressing necessity could never assail the church.

Considering the decision with which these measures were undertaken, the prudence of the king, the wealth of the pope, and the influence which their united dignity and station had upon France, it can hardly be calculated what might have been the results which this two-fold politico-religious ambition might have produced, had not Gregory XIV died in the midst of his enterprises. He had sat on the papal throne only ten months and ten days, and had produced such vast alterations—what might he not have effected if he had retained this power for some years? It was the greatest loss which the League and the Spaniards could sustain.

The Spaniards, it is true, once more ruled the conclave. They had again nominated seven candidates,* and one of these, Giovan-Antonio Fachinetto—Innocent IX—was elected. He too was, so far as could be judged, inclined to the Spanish cause; at least he sent money to the League; and the manuscript document is extant in which he urges Alessandro Farnese to hasten his armament, to advance into France, and invest Rouen, which that general executed with so much skill and success.† But the misfortune was, that Innocent IX, like his predecessors, was old and feeble; he scarcely ever left his bed, and even gave audience there; from the dying couch of an old man who had lost all power of moving, went forth exhortations to war, which set France, nay Europe, in agitation. Scarcely had Innocent possessed the papal see two months, when he too died.

And thus were the election struggles of the conclave a fourth

* In the *Histoire des Conclaves*, i, 251, we read, "Les Espagnols vouloient retablir leur reputation." This, however, is a mistranslation. In the MS. which is the foundation of this book, *Conclave di Innocenzio IX*, (*Inff. Polit.*) we find, "per non perder la racquistata autorità," which corresponds to the actual state of affairs.

† According to Davila, *Historia delle Guerre civili di Francia* XII, p. 763, Innocent does not appear to have been so entirely in favor of the League; but the above-mentioned letter (given in Cayet, p. 356,) removes all doubts.

time renewed: they were now the more important, since these incessant changes had strongly impressed the conviction that what was wanted above all, was a vigorous man, who gave promise of long life. The decision which was taken now, would therefore be definitive and lasting. This conclave was an important point in the history of the world.

§ 5. ELECTION AND CHARACTER OF CLEMENT VIII.

Amidst the prosperous advancement of their interests at Rome during the latter years, the Spaniards had at length succeeded in gaining over Montalto. His family had bought land in the Neapolitan territory. Whilst Montalto promised no longer to resist the king's will, the king promised him in return not absolutely to exclude all the creatures of Sixtus V. A sort of compact was thus made between them, and the Spaniards delayed no longer to bring about the election of the man from whom they might anticipate the most active co-operation in the French war.

Of all the cardinals, Santorio, who had the title of San Severina, might be regarded as the most zealous catholic. Even in his youth he had fought out many a battle with the protestants at Naples; in his autobiography, which is extant in MS, he designates the massacre of St. Bartholomew as "the celebrated day of St. Bartholomew, most joyful to the catholics;"* he had always professed the most violent opinions; he was the leading member in the congregation for French affairs, and had long been the soul of the inquisition; he was still in the prime of life and in good health.

This was the man whom the Spaniards wished to invest with the highest spiritual dignity; one more devoted to their cause it would have been impossible to find. Olivarez too had prepared everything,† nor did there seem a doubt remaining; out of fifty-two votes, thirty six were favorable—just sufficient to decide the election, for which two-thirds are always necessary. Accordingly, the morning after the close of the conclave, the cardinals proceeded to the formal act of election. Montalto and Madruzzi, the leaders of the united factions, fetched San Severina from his cell, which, according to custom, was immediately stripped by the servants; thirty-six cardinals attended him to the Paoline chapel; already he was entreated to pardon his enemies, and had declared that he would forgive all, and as the first mark of his placable disposition,

* He speaks of the "giusto sdegno del re Carlo IX. di gloriosa memoria in quel celebre giorno di S. Bartolommeo lietissimo a' cattolici,"

† Conclave di Clemente VIII: MS. "Il conte di Olivarez, fedele et insuperabile amico di S. Severina, aveva prima di partire di Roma per il governo di Sicilia tutto preordinato."

would assume the name of Clement. Kingdoms and peoples were then recommended to his care and protection.

Meanwhile one circumstance had been lost sight of. San Severina was esteemed so austere that everybody feared him.

Hence it happened that many had resisted all attempts to win them over to his cause; young cardinals, and old personal antagonists, assembled in the Sistine chapel; when all collected they were, it is true, only sixteen in number; and as they wanted one more vote to give them the power of exclusion, many showed a disposition to submit to what seemed inevitable, and to acknowledge San Severina; the experienced Altemps had, however, sufficient influence on them to induce them still to make a stand. They had more confidence in his judgment than in their own.

And in fact the same antipathy by which they were actuated, had its effect on those who had given their word to San Severina, very many of whom rejected him in their hearts. They had conformed to the wishes of the king and of Montalto, but they only waited an opportunity to desert. At the entrance into the chapel used for the elections, there was a disturbance, an agitation, wholly unwonted in similar cases, when the choice was already decided. The tellers began to count the votes, but seemed reluctant to finish; even San Severina's own fellow countrymen threw obstacles in the way.* There wanted only a man who would break ground; who would give utterance to the thoughts which so many entertained. At length Ascanio Colonna took courage to do this. He belonged to the Roman barons, who beyond all other men feared the inquisitorial severity of San Severina. He exclaimed, "I see that God will not have San Severina, neither will Ascanio Colonna." So saying he quitted the Paoline chapel, and joined the opposition in the Sistine.

This accession gave them the majority. A secret scrutiny was granted. There were some who would never have dared openly to retract the votes they had promised, but who did so as soon as they knew that their names would remain concealed. When the lists were opened, there were found only thirty votes for the nominee.

San Severina had come in the certainty of his election; he imagined himself already in possession of that fulness of spiritual power which he estimated so highly, and had so often defended; he had passed seven hours between the fulfilment of his loftiest desires and the prospect of an ever-enduring feeling of humiliation and abasement—between sovereignty and subjection—as if between life and death: at length his fate was decided; despoiled of his hopes, he went back to his dismantled cell. "The next night," says he in his autobiography, "was more painful to me than any moment I ever endured. The heavy grief of my soul and my in-

* Besides the account of this matter in printed and MS. Conclaves, we have S. Severina's own narrative, which I shall insert in the Appendix.

ward anguish forced from me—incredible to say—a bloody sweat.”

He knew the nature of a conclave too well to indulge in any further hope. On a subsequent occasion his friends put him forward again, but without a chance of success.

His rejection was a loss too to the Spaniards. The king had named five cardinals, and had not been able to carry the election of one of them. It was now necessary to proceed to the sixth, who had been designated as supernumerary by the Spaniards.

The king, rather to please his ally Montalto, than of his own motion, had also named cardinal Aldobrandino, a creature of Sixtus V, whom he himself had rejected a year before. To him they now recurred, as the only one whose election was possible. He was, as we have intimated, agreeable to Montalto; the Spaniards could say nothing against him, as he had been put in nomination among themselves; nor was he unwelcome to the others, being rather generally beloved. He was therefore elected with little opposition on the 20th January, 1592. He took the name of Clement VIII.

The result of this compromise to the Spaniards is curious enough. They had gained over Montalto to their side, for the purpose of bringing in one of themselves; and now it was precisely this alliance which compelled them to lend their aid to place a friend of Montalto, a creature of Sixtus V, on the throne.

We may remark, that, from this moment, an alteration in the course of papal elections took place, which may be regarded as not unimportant. For a long time men of opposite factions had invariably succeeded each other. The same had recently occurred; thrice had the creatures of Sixtus V been forced to retire from the contest; the elected had, however, enjoyed but a very transitory power, and had been unable to form any strong party; deaths, funerals, and new conclaves had followed each other in rapid succession. The first who once more ascended the papal chair in the full vigor of life, was Clement VIII; and the consequence was, a government conducted by the same party and enjoying a long tenure of power.

The universal attention was now directed to the questions, who the new pontiff was, and what was to be expected from him.

Clement VIII was born in exile. His father, Salvestro Aldobrandino, of a considerable family of Florence, but a violent and active enemy of the house of Medici, was driven into exile on the final success of that house in the year 1531, and had been compelled to seek his fortune in foreign parts.* He was a doctor of

* Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina*, iii, 42, 61. Mazzuchelli, *Scrittori d'Italia*, i, i, p. 392, contains as usual a most elaborate and instructive article under his name; it is not, however, complete. Amongst other things, he omits to mention his proceedings at Venice, a fact with which Joh. Delino begins his relation in a manner that leaves no doubt as to its truth: “Silvestro Aldobrandini ne' tempi

law, and had formerly given lectures at Pisa; we next find him at Venice, where he took part in a reform of the Venetian statutes, and in an edition of the institutes; then in Ferrara or Urbino, in the council and tribunals of the duke; but longest in the service of some cardinal, and deputed in his place to conduct the administration of law or government in one of the cities of the ecclesiastical states. But his chief distinction, perhaps, is, that in the midst of this unsettled life, he found means to educate five admirable sons. The eldest, Giovanni, who was called the steersman of the family, appears to have had the greatest talents; he led the way, and in the career of judicial dignities, rose in 1570 to the cardinalate; had his life been prolonged, it was thought that he might have aspired to the tiara. Bernardo was a distinguished armorer; Tommaso a good philologist; his translation of Diogenes Laertius has been frequently reprinted. Pietro was esteemed an eminent practical lawyer. The youngest, Ippolyto, born in the year 1536 at Fano,* at first caused his father some anxiety; he feared that he should not be able to give him an education worthy of his talents. But Cardinal Alessandro Farnese took the boy under his protection, and gave him a yearly allowance out of the revenues of his bishopric of Spoleto; after which the rising fortunes of his brothers naturally led to his advancement. He obtained first the prelacy, then his eldest brother's place in the court of the Rota; lastly, Sixtus V created him cardinal, and sent him as nuncio to Poland. Here he formed a sort of connection with the house of Austria, every member of which felt as an obligation the successful efforts of the cardinal to free the Arch Duke Maximilian from the captivity in which he was held by the Poles, and the discretion and address with which he had employed his authority for that purpose. When Philip II determined to nominate one of the creatures of Sixtus V as supernumerary candidate, this was his reason for preferring Aldobrandino. Thus did the son of a homeless fugitive, whose parents had once feared that he would have to pass his life in the drudgery of a clerk, rise to the highest dignity of catholic Christendom.

It is impossible to contemplate without pleasure the monument in the Chiesa della Minerva at Rome, which Salvestro Aldobrandino erected to the mother of so noble a band of sons;—to his dear wife Lisa, of the house of Deti, with whom he had lived for seven-and-thirty years in harmony.”

The new pope brought to his office all that activity peculiar to a family which has struggled with difficulties. He held his sittings

della ribellione di Firenze cacciato da quella città se ne venne qui, riformò li nostri statuti e rivedde le leggi et ordini della republica.”

* In the “Libro di battesimo della parochia cattedrale di Fano,” is the following entry: “A dì 4 Marzo 1536 fu battezzato un putto di Mr Salvestro, che fu luogotenente qui: hebbe nome Ippolyto.”

in the morning, and his audiences in the afternoon;* all reports were received and looked over; all despatches read and discussed; legal arguments were sought out, ancient precedents collated; and not unfrequently the pope showed himself better informed than the referendaries who brought the matter before him; he worked as assiduously as when he was auditor of the Rota; nor did he devote less attention to the details of internal administration and to personal affairs, than to the politics of Europe, or the great interests of the church. People asked in what he took pleasure?† In everything or nothing, was the reply.

Nor with all this attention to secular business, had he to reproach himself with the smallest neglect of his spiritual duties. He confessed every evening to Baronius; every morning he celebrated mass himself; at noon, at least during the first year of his pontificate, twelve poor men always dined with him, and the pleasures of the table were utterly unknown to him. On Fridays and Saturdays he fasted. If he had worked hard the whole week, his recreation on the Sunday was to send for some pious monks, or the fathers of the Vallicella, and converse with them on deep theological questions. He thus raised to an extraordinary pitch the reputation he had always enjoyed for virtue, piety, and exemplary life. He knew this, and he wished it. It was this reputation which enhanced his consideration as sovereign-pastor of the church.

In every particular this pope acted with enlightened prudence. He was fond of work; his nature was one of those which borrows fresh vigor from toil, but he did not pursue it with such ardor as to neglect to season labor with regular exercise.‡ Thus too he could fly into a rage, and be violent and bitter; yet when he saw that the object of his anger was mute before the majesty of the papacy, or perhaps expressed by his countenance dissent and displeasure, he recollected himself, and tried to atone for his irritation. He wished

* Bentivoglio, *Memorie*, i, p. 54, gives an account of his manner of passing a week.

† *Relatione al card' d' Este*, 1599. MS. Fosc. According to this he carries on war like Julius II, he builds like Sixtus V, he reforms like Pius V, and withal seasons his conversation with wit. Then follows this description: "Di complession flemmatico e sanguigno, ma con qualche mistura di colera, di corporatura carnoso e grasso, di costumi gravi e modesti, di maniera dolce et affabile, nel moto tardo; nelle attioni circonspetto, nell' esecutioni cuntatore; quando non risolve, premedita.—E tenace del secreto, cupo nei pensieri, industrioso nel tirarli al fine.

‡ Venier, *Relatione di Roma*, 1601. "La gotta molto meno che per l' inanzi li da molestia al presente per la sua bona regola di viver, nel quale da certo tempo in qua procede con grandissima riserva, e con notabile astinenza nel bere; che le giova anco moltissimo a non dar fomento alla grassezza, alla quale è molto inclinata la sua complessione, usando anco per questo di frequentare l' esercizio di caminar longamente sempre che senza scuncio de' negozi conosce di poterlo fare, ai quali nondimeno per la sua gran capacità supplisce."

that nothing should be perceptible in him but what was becoming, and in harmony with the idea of a good, wise, and pious man.*

Preceding popes had thought themselves exalted above all law, and had sought to convert the administration of the highest of all offices into the means of gratifying selfish and sensual desires; this the spirit of the times of which we are treating would no longer permit. Personal character or inclinations were now compelled to yield, and to conform; the man was lost in the office; nor could any one either obtain or administer that office, without a demeanor befitting the ideal of a head of the church.

It is obvious that this change enormously enhanced the strength of the papacy. Human institutions are strong only so long as their spirit animates the living possessors of the power which they create and confer.

§ 6. ABSOLUTION OF HENRY IV.

Public curiosity was now universally excited as to the manner in which this pope, so full of talent, activity, and energy, and moreover of such blameless life, would treat the most momentous question of Europe—the state of France.

Should he, like his immediate predecessors, attach himself unconditionally to Spain? He was neither bound to this by any of the previous circumstances of his life, nor led to it by inclination. It did not escape him that the Spanish domination might become oppressive to the papacy, and more particularly injurious to its political independence.

Or should he take part with Henry IV? It is true, that king made demonstrations of an intention to become a catholic; but promises of this kind were more easily made than fulfilled; he was still a protestant, and Clement VIII probably feared to be deceived.

We saw how Sixtus vacillated between these two possibilities, and what evils and perplexities arose out of his indecision. The zealous party was still as strong as ever in Rome, and the new pope could not brave their enmity or their opposition. In the midst of the difficulties which thus pressed upon him from every side, he was cautious never to commit himself in words, nor to awaken slumbering animosities. It is only from his acts, his conduct, that we can gradually infer his inclinations and opinions.

When he came into power the papal see had a legate in France, who was generally regarded as a partisan of Spain, and an army destined to oppose Henry IV; it also furnished subsidies to the League. These were circumstances in which the new pope could

* Delfino: "Si va conoscendo certo che in tutte le cose si move S. S.^a con gran zelo dell' onor di Dio e con gran desiderio del ben publico."

effect no change. Had he offered to stop his subsidies, to withdraw his army, or to recall his legate, he would have endangered his reputation for orthodoxy; he would have exposed himself to more bitter animosities than pope Sixtus had experienced. But he was far from adding force or activity to the efforts already made in favor of the League; he rather gradually availed himself of every favorable opportunity to moderate and restrain them.

But he very soon found himself called upon to take a step of a more unequivocal character. In the year 1592, Henry IV had sent cardinal Gondi to Italy, with instructions to proceed to Rome. The king daily leaned more and more to catholicism; but it appears that his view was rather to become reconciled to the catholic church by means of a sort of treaty effected by the mediation of Tuscany and Venice, than by submission. And was not even such a reconciliation very desirable for the pope? Was not the return of the king to the bosom of the church a great gain, in whatever way it might be brought about? Nevertheless Clement deemed it necessary not to entertain the negotiation, nor to receive Gondi. The presence of Luxemburg, he remembered, had been productive of very unpleasant consequences to Sixtus V, without any profitable result. He accordingly sent a monk, Fra Franceschi, to Florence, where the cardinal had already arrived, to announce to him that he would not be received in Rome. The pope was well pleased that the cardinal, and even the grand-duke, complained; he wished that his refusal should excite attention and discussion. This was however only on one side of the affair; it could not be the pope's intention to irritate the king, nor to repel all advances towards a reconciliation. In the Venetian reports it accordingly appears, that Fra Franceschi annexed to his official announcement, a note, to the effect that he believed that the cardinal would be received *privatim* and in secret.* It seems probable that Gondi did actually go to Rome; the pope is reported to have said to him, that he must knock at his door more than once. It is at least certain that an agent of Gondi repaired to Rome, and after several conferences, declared to the Venetian ambassador that he had every reason to entertain hope, and to be satisfied;† more he was not at liberty to say. In a word, the open estrangement was accompanied by secret advances. Clement VIII wished neither to offend the Spaniards nor to repulse Henry IV; and his conduct was calculated to accomplish both his ends.

Meanwhile a new and far more important question had presented itself.

In the January of 1593, all the members of the estates of France

* Dispaccio Donato, 23 Ott. 1592, from a statement made to the Florentine ambassador, Niccolini. Fra Franceschi's declaration was, "Che crede che il papa l'admetterà, ma che vuole levare li cattolici fuori di dubio et ogni ombra che admettendolo riceve ambasceria di Navarra."

† Ibid. "Dopo aver lassato sfogar il primo moto della alteration di S. Beat."

belonging to the party of the League, met to proceed to the election of a new king. As the sole ground for the exclusion of Henry IV was a religious one, an unusual authority in the assembly fell to the share of the papal legate, Sega, bishop of Piacenza, who had been appointed by Gregory XIV; a man imbued with the ecclesiastical spirit of that pontiff's reign. Clement deemed it necessary to send him particular instructions, in which he admonished him to look to it that neither violence nor bribery influenced the votes: he conjured him to beware above all things of precipitation in so important a matter;* a caution which would have materially influenced the conduct of an ambassador who thought himself bound to obey the slightest hint of his sovereign; but far too general to draw a dignitary of the church, who looked for advancement rather to Spain than to the pope, from a party to which he had hitherto belonged, and which he esteemed the orthodox one. Cardinal Sega changed not his course in the least. On the 13th of June, 1593, he published a declaration, in which he called upon the estates to elect a king who might be not only a true catholic, but also disposed and determined to defeat all the efforts of the heretics. This, he said, was what his holiness wished more than anything on earth.†

The character of the pope's instructions to which we have just referred, is in conformity with all his other proceedings. In generals he adheres to the high orthodox party of Spain and the church. He does not indeed exhibit that fervor and devotion in the cause which had distinguished other popes; if he feels them, it is in secret; it is sufficient for him to adhere quietly and blamelessly, as the order of public business required, to that side which had already been taken, and which had the greatest analogy with the idea of his high and holy office. It is however evident, that so far from wishing completely to repulse the other party, he avoided driving them to decided hostility. By means of secret advances and vague expressions, he kept them in hope of a reconciliation at some future time; whilst he satisfied the Spaniards, he allowed their adversaries to persuade themselves that his actions were not quite free; that in some particulars he was irresistibly governed by deference to the opinion of Spain. In Sixtus, it was a war of contending sentiments, which hindered him from coming to any final decision; in Clement, it was regard to the opinion of both sides, prudence, circumspection; the offspring of experience of the world, and of a desire to avoid hostilities. The inevitable consequence, however, was, that he, like his predecessor, exercised no determining influence.

Thus left to themselves, the affairs of France were the more free to follow the direction given to them by their own internal impulses.

* Davila gives an extract from this instruction, xiii, p. 810.

† “. . . . qu'il ait le courage et les autres vertus requises pour pouvoir heureusement reprimer et anéantir du tout les efforts et mauvais desseins des hérétiques. C'est la chose du monde que plus S. S. presse et desire.” (Cayet, 58. 351.)

The most important circumstance was, that the chiefs of the League quarrelled. The sixteen attached themselves closely to Spain, while Mayenne pursued the aims of personal ambition. This only inflamed the zeal of the sixteen; they proceeded to the most atrocious crimes against those whom they imagined, or who really were, deserters from their cause; such, for example, as the assassination of the president Brisson, for which Mayenne thought it necessary to chastise them, and to execute the most fanatical of their leaders. Fostered by this division, there arose in Paris, as early as the beginning of the year 1592, a party distinguished by moderate political and religious opinions; catholic indeed, but opposed to the measures of the League, and above all to the sixteen and the Spaniards. A compact was entered into, not very different from the League itself, the foremost object of which was to place the offices of the city in the hands of moderate, judicious men; an object which was nearly accomplished in the course of that year.* A similar turn of public opinion manifested itself throughout the kingdom, and had a great effect on the results of the elections for the meeting of the estates. Hence it happened that the Spaniards, in spite of all their projects, experienced such a pertinacious resistance in that assembly. While fanatical preachers continued to denounce every man as excommunicated, however constant in his attendance at mass, who consented so much as to talk of peace with heretics, the parliament insisted on the fundamental law of the realm, by which foreign princes were excluded from the throne; and it was impossible not to perceive that this whole party, which was called the political party, only waited for the conversion of Henry IV to declare their submission to him. What, then, was the difference between them and the catholic royalists in Henry's camp? It was only this; that the former, before they tendered their allegiance, required to see a step actually taken, which the latter thought themselves justified in awaiting. For the catholic royalists also were unanimous in thinking that the king must return to their church; although they did not make his right, or his legitimacy as successor to the throne, depend upon it. Perhaps also antipathy to the protestants who surrounded the king made them insist the more earnestly on this point; the princes of the blood, the most eminent statesmen, and the greater part of the court united to form a tiers-parti, whose distinguishing characteristic lay in this demand.†

As soon as matters had assumed this form, every one perceived, and the protestants themselves did not deny, that Henry, if he wished to be king, must become a catholic. It is not necessary for us to examine the claims of those who affirm that they gave the last impulse in that direction. More was effected by the grand

* Cayet, lib. iv. (tom. 58, p. 5.,) gives the propositions made in the first assembly.

† Thus it is described in Sully, v. 249.

combination of circumstances, by the necessity of things, than by any individual exertions.* In performing the act by which he became a member of the catholic church, Henry attached to himself and his cause that national French catholicism which was represented by the tiers-parti and the so-called political party, and which had now the prospect of maintaining an ascendancy in France.

This was however, in fact, only that same catholic opposition which had rallied round the banner of legitimacy and of national independence, in opposition to the schemes of the church and of Spain. How mighty was it now increased in power and importance! In the general opinion of the country it unquestionably predominated, and throughout France people adhered to it in secret, if not openly; it now acquired a firm internal station by the conversion of the sovereign—a sovereign too, so warlike, gallant and victorious. Thus raised in magnitude and consideration, this party once more presented itself before the pope and implored his recognition and his blessing. What glory was to be acquired, what influence exercised, by a frank and explicit declaration in its favor! And so much still depended on it. Even the prelates who had received the king into the bosom of the church, had done so only with a reservation, that the pope would grant him absolution,† and this the most powerful members of the League, with whom the king opened a negotiation, solicited.‡ Although promises are not always kept, it cannot be doubted that the absolution, if granted at this moment by the pope, would have had a powerful effect on the course of affairs. Henry IV sent a grandee of his kingdom, the Duke de Nevers, to solicit it; and a truce was concluded until the answer should arrive.

The pope was cautious and mistrustful. As visions of religious ambition had inflamed Sixtus V, so, on the other hand, fears of being deceived and betrayed into difficulties, restrained Clement VIII. He thought that Henry IV would perhaps at last relapse into protestantism, as he had done once before; he declared that he should not believe that the king was really converted till an angel from heaven came and told him so; he looked around him and saw the majority of the curia still hostile to the French; from time to time a pamphlet appeared, repeating the assertion that Henry IV, as a “*hæreticus relapsus*,” could not be absolved even by the pope himself; and Clement still wanted courage to defy the Spaniards who were the leaders and champions of these opinions.§ And was

* That Henry was resolved on this in April, 1593, is proved by his letter to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, on the 26th M. Galluzzi, *Storia del Granducato*, s. v. p. 160.

† “*Messieurs du clergé luy avoient donné l’absolution à la charge qu’il enverroit vers sa S^{ie} la requerir d’approuver ce qu’ils avoient fait.*” (Cayet, 58, 390.)

‡ Villeroy, *Mémoires*. Coll. Univ. 62, 186.

§ Les Intimidations qui furent faites au Pape Clement VIII par le Duc de

not the party which now solicited his favor really engaged in opposition to the claims of the church of Rome?—"traitors to the throne and the church," as he expressed himself, "bastards, children of the handmaid and not of the wife; whereas the leaguers had proved themselves true and legitimate sons.* Certainly it would have required some resolution to grant their petition; a resolution of which Clement was as yet incapable.† Nevers repaired to Rome with a double sense of his high rank and his important mission; he doubted not that he should be received with joy, and this expectation he expressed; the king's letter, of which he was the bearer, was conceived in the same tone. The pope remarked that it seemed as if the king had not only been long a catholic, but that he came, like a second Charlemagne, from achieving a victory over the enemies of the church. Nevers was astonished at the coldness of his reception, and at the small attention paid to his proposals. Finding that all his efforts were vain, he at length asked the pope what the king should do to deserve his holiness' favor. The pope replied that there were divines enough in France to inform him. "But," said the duke, "will your holiness be content with what the divines prescribe?" The pope refused to answer. He refused even to consider him as ambassador of Henry IV; he would treat him only as Louis Gonzaga, duc de Nevers; he desired that all that passed between them should be regarded not as an official negotiation, but as a mere private conversation; it was impossible to prevail on him to give his assent to any written agreement. "Nothing remains for me," said Nevers to cardinal Toledo, who brought him this final answer from the pope, "but to lament the calamity which will once more, when war breaks out, subject France to the fury of the soldiery." The cardinal said not a word, but smiled. Nevers quitted Rome, and gave vent to his disgust in bitter reports of what had passed.‡

Men have, generally speaking, no feeling but for their own situation. The Roman curia knew only what was advantageous to

Sessa,—not very authentic, and which were printed long ago in the *Memoires de M. le Duc de Nevers*, ii, p. 716, though since given as something new in Capefigue, *Histoire de la Réforme*, tom. vii.

* Disp. 20 Aug. 1593. Account of Henry's conversion. "Il papa non s'era per tali avisi molto alterato e tuttavia restava con l'animo molto involto nelli suoi soliti dubbj e perplessità." He said to the Venetian ambassador that Henry remained a *hæreticus relapsus*, and that no reliance was to be placed on the truth of his conversion.

† *Relatio dictorum a Clemente VIII papa die 28 Dec. 1593, in consistorio. Mém. de Nevers*, ii, 638.

‡ Two writings of almost exactly the same import: *Discours de ce que fit M. de Nevers à son voyage de Rome en l'année 1593*, and *Discours de la légation de M. le Duc de Nevers*. Both are contained in the second volume of the *Memoirs of Nevers* just mentioned; the first almost verbatim in Cayet; extracts in Thuanus, Davila, and lately, as if borrowed from documents, in Capefigue.

itself; not a trace of genuine sympathy in the destinies of France is discoverable in its conduct.

We know, indeed, enough of Clement to believe that he would not have utterly repulsed Henry's adherents; and less now than at an earlier period, because they were so much more powerful. On the contrary, it appears that he assured a secret agent, that the king had only to become thoroughly catholic and that he would be sure of absolution. It is very characteristic of this pope, that he, who publicly showed so decided an aversion to take any share in the king's return to the catholic faith, nevertheless sent word privily to the grand duke of Tuscany, that he could object to nothing the clergy of France might think fit to do. The grand duke was employed to communicate to the chiefs of the catholic royalists the conciliatory expressions of the pope.* Nevertheless Clement's only anxiety was about his own future, and hence things went in France as they could.

The truce had expired; the sword was once more unsheathed, and affairs were once more to be decided by the fortune of war. But the superiority of Henry IV now manifested itself decidedly and instantly. The commanders of the forces of the League had no longer that firm conviction which had formerly rendered their position so strong; the doctrines of the political party, the conversion of the king, and his continued successes had shaken the faith and courage of all. One after another went over, without heeding that the pope still withheld absolution. Vitri, the commander in Meaux, who no longer received pay for his troops from the Spaniards, set the example, which was followed by those of Orleans, Bourges, and Rouen. But the most important question was, the part that Paris would take. There the political, or national party, after many oscillations, had obtained a clear superiority, had gained over the most distinguished families, and had filled the most important posts from its ranks. The armed citizens were already officered by men of those opinions, which also prevailed in the Hôtel de Ville; the *Prevôt des Marchands* and the *Echevins* belonged, with a single exception, to that party. Under these circumstances, there could be no obstacle to the king's return. Accordingly, on the 22d March, 1594, he re-entered Paris. Henry IV was astonished to find himself greeted with such cordial and joyous cheers by the people from whom he had experienced such an obstinate resistance, and thought himself justified in inferring that they had lived under a tyrannical rule: this however was not entirely true; the sentiments of the League had really been the predominant ones, though others had taken their place. The king's return was mainly a victory of political opinions. The leaguers now underwent the same persecution which they had so often inflicted on others. The most influential founders and chiefs of the League, such as the formidable Boucher, quitted the city with the Spanish

* Davila, lib. xiv, p. 939.

troops; more than a hundred others who were regarded as the most dangerous were formally banished. All the authorities and the whole population took the oath of allegiance; even the Sorbonne—whose most stiff-necked and intractable members, and among them the rector of the university himself, were banished—submitted to the dominant opinions. Widely different were their decisions now from those of 1589. The Sorbonne now acknowledged that all dominion was from God (according to the thirteenth chapter of the epistle to the Romans); that every man who set himself in opposition to the king, rebelled against God and subjected himself to damnation. It rejected the doctrine that it was lawful to refuse obedience to the king because he was not yet recognised by the pope, as an invention of evil-minded and ill-advised men. The members of the university in a body—rector, dean, theologians, decretists, doctors in medicine, artists, monks and conventuals, scholars and officers—now took the oath of fidelity and allegiance to Henry IV, and bound themselves to shed their blood for him. Nay, what is more surprising, the university immediately opened a campaign against the Jesuits, on the basis of this their new orthodoxy. It reproached them with their anarchical principles, in which, to say truth, that body had fully participated, and with their attachment to Spain. For a time the Jesuits defended themselves with some success. But as in the same year, Jean Chastel,* a man who had attended their schools, made an attempt to assassinate the king, and confessed in the course of his examination, that he had frequently heard from the Jesuits that it was lawful to kill a king who was not reconciled to the church, they could no longer withstand the universal triumph of the adverse party; scarcely could the people be withheld from storming their college; and at length all the members of the order were sentenced to void the kingdom within fourteen days, as seducers of youth, disturbers of the public peace, enemies of the king and of the state.† Thus did the opinions, which in small and obscure beginnings had taken their stand as opposition, now gain possession of Paris, and gradually of the whole kingdom, and drive their antagonists from the field. The change was universal. New submissions to the king's authority were daily tendered; Henry was crowned and anointed at Chartres; prayers were put up for him in all pulpits, the monastic orders acknowledged him, and he exer-

* Juvencius, *partis v*, lib. xii, n. 13, gives the following description of this criminal: "Indoles juveni tristis ac tetrica, mores improbi, mens anxia recordatione criminum atque unius potissimum quod matrem aliquando verberasset. . . . Conscientia criminum ultrix mentem effratam diro vexare pergebat metu: quem ut leniret, immane parricidium impos mentis an potius crebi furiis incitatus designat, quo tanquam de religione ac regno bene meritis peccatorum veniam facilius, ut demens reputabat, consequeretur."

† *Annua Literæ Societatis Jesu*, 1596, p. 350. "Tanta superat adhuc præteriti naufragii fluctuatio ut nondum tabulas omnes atque armamenta disjecta collegerimus."

cised without opposition those ecclesiastical privileges of the crown which are of such vast importance. He administered them like a good catholic: wherever the rites of that church had suffered in the recent troubles, he endeavored to restore them; wherever it had maintained its exclusive exercise, he solemnly confirmed its possession of that privilege. All this he did; yet he was still not reconciled with the pope.

Clement, however, was now urged by absolute necessity to consider the means of effecting a reconciliation.* If he had delayed longer, a schism, a separate church of France, might have arisen.

The Spaniards indeed still opposed this measure. They maintained that Henry was not truly converted, and that the real moment for dreading a schism was that of his receiving absolution;† they even pointed out the occasion on which it would inevitably break out. It still required some resolution in the pope to set himself in opposition to those by whose power he was surrounded, and who had a large party in the curia; to abandon principles which had hitherto passed for orthodox; for which his predecessors had so often set in motion their weapons, both spiritual and temporal, and which he himself had for many years sanctioned. But he clearly perceived that every procrastination must become dangerous, and that he had nothing to expect from the other side; he felt that the rising power in France, although in spiritual affairs it might be in opposition to the strictly orthodox doctrines, yet in temporal, had a manifest sympathy with the interests of Rome: it might perhaps be possible to overcome the former, and to take advantage of the latter; at all events, Clement showed the greatest readiness to listen to the first overtures that were addressed to him. We have the accounts of his negotiations from the pen of D'Ossat, the French minister plenipotentiary; they are agreeable, instructive, and well worth reading, but I do not find that he had any great difficulties to contend with. It would be useless to follow him through all the details of the transactions; suffice it to say, that the conduct of the pope was already determined by the general posture of affairs. The only question was, whether the king would, in return, accede to certain demands made by the pope. Those who were unfavorable to the reconciliation would fain have raised these as high as possible, on the plea that the church stood in need of all the securities she could obtain in the existing state of things; the pope, however, adhered to the more moderate and practicable conditions. He required especially the restoration of the catholic religion in Bearn; the introduction of the decrees of the council of Trent, so far as they were compatible with the laws of the land; strict observance of the concordat, and the education of the heir-presumptive

* It is not till 5th Nov. 1594, that the Venetian ambassador finds the pope "meglio inclinato che nel passato" with regard to the affairs of France.

† Ossat à M. de Villeroy, Rome, 6 Dec. 1594. *Lettres D'Ossat*, i, 53.

to the throne, the prince of Condé, in the catholic faith. The king had still great reason to desire a reconciliation with the see of Rome. His authority rested on his conversion to catholicism, and this act required the pope's absolution to stamp it with perfect authenticity: although by far the greater number were content to waive the point, there were still some who availed themselves of the want of this sanction as a reason for their continual opposition.* Henry IV agreed to the required conditions without much difficulty; he had already prepared their fulfilment in part, of his own accord, for he was extremely anxious to appear a good catholic; and greatly as his power was increased since the mission of the duke De Nevers, the letter in which he now craved absolution of the pope was far more humble and submissive than that of which the duke was the bearer.† “The king,” it says, “returns to the feet of your holiness, and implores in all humility, by the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you would grant him your holy blessing, and your supreme absolution.”

The pope was fully satisfied.‡ Nothing now remained but that the College of Cardinals should declare its assent. The pope, however, would not allow a regular consistory to be summoned, where a consistent adherence to the spirit of former decrees might easily have occasioned inconvenient results. He invited the cardinals to give him their several opinions in private audiences; an expedient which had often been adopted on similar occasions. When he had consulted them all, he declared that two-thirds were in favor of the absolution.

On the 17th of December, 1595, preparations were accordingly made for the performance of that ceremony. The pope's throne was erected in front of St. Peter's, while the cardinals and the curia reverently surrounded their head. The king's petition, and the terms to which he had agreed, were read aloud. Thereupon the representatives of the most Christian king threw themselves at the feet of the pope, who granted them absolution by a slight stroke

* Du Perron au Roi, 6 Nov. 1595: “De toucher icy, combien l'autorité et la faveur de ce siège estant entre vos mains vous peut servir d'un utile instrument non seulement pour remettre et conserver vos sujets en paix et en obeissance, mais aussi pour vous preparer toutes sortes de grandeur hors de vostre royaume, et a tout le moins pour tenir vos ennemis en quelque crainte et devoir par l'apprehension de la même autorité dont ils se sont aydez pour troubler vos estats et vos peuples, ce seroit un discours superflu.” (Les Ambassades du Cardinal Perron, i, 27.)

† Requête du Roi, in Amelot's notes on Ossat, i, 160.

‡ The court of Rome still thought this resolution rash and daring. Dolfino, Relatione: “I più gravi negotii il papa ha saputo espedire e molto bene e molto ancora con gran celerità: perchè con tanti contrarj quanti ogn' uno sa benedisse il re di Francia, lo accettò nel grembo della chiesa, mandòli un legato nel tempo che tutti lo ributtavano sotto pretesto che non fosse sua dignità mandarło avanti che 'l re mandasse il suo ambasciatore a Roma, et in quello l' autorità della S^{ca} V^{ra} giovò assai, che così mi disse S. S', per diversi officii che a quel tempo io aveva fatto a nome di lei.”

with a wand. The papal chair once more appeared in all the fullness and splendor of its ancient and traditional authority.*

This ceremony was indeed a symbol or manifestation of an important fact. The ruling power in France, now strong and firmly established, was again catholic, and had an interest to stand well with the pope. A new focus of catholicism was thus formed, from whence important influences must of necessity emanate.

On nearer consideration, however, this fact presents itself under two distinct aspects.

It was not by the immediate efforts of the pope, nor by a triumph of the strict party, that France had been won; on the contrary, it was by a union of the moderate opinions lying between the two extremes, by the superior popularity of a party originally in opposition to the court of Rome, that this had been brought about. Hence it came to pass that the French church assumed a totally different attitude from that of Italy, the Netherlands, or from the newly-established church of Germany. It submitted to the pope, but it did so with a freedom and an independence based on its origin, and the sentiment of which it never lost. Hence the papal see could never regard France as in the slightest degree an absolute conquest.

But the advantages which resulted to Rome in a political point of view were unqualified. The balance of power, which had been lost, was restored; two great nations, mutually jealous, and involved in interminable wars and conflicts, held each other in check; both were catholic, and might obey the same impulse; at all events, the pope occupied a far more independent station between them than he or his predecessors had for a long time found it possible to attain to. He was now in a great degree emancipated from the bonds in which the preponderancy of Spain had bound him.

It was only by the course of events that this political consequence of the reconciliation of France was brought to light. On the lapse of Ferrara to the papal see, French influence first showed itself again in Italian affairs. This event was also one of such great importance to the growth of the political power of the Roman states, that it must for awhile divert our attention, as it did that of contemporaries, from the affairs of religion.

We shall begin by casting back a glance on that state under the last of its princes.

* Ossat, who usually describes everything most circumstantially, passes over this ceremony with a very slight mention (i, 168). "Tout s'y est passé," says he, "convenablement à la dignité de la couronne très chrétienne." This opinion was not, however, entertained by all.

§ 7. FERRARA UNDER ALFONSO II.

It is frequently assumed by historians that Ferrara was in a peculiarly flourishing state under the last prince of the house of Este; but this is an illusion, like a multitude of others, which rests on antipathy to the secular power of Rome.

Montaigne visited Ferrara in the reign of Alfonso II. He admired the wide streets and the beautiful palaces of the city, but even he was struck, as travellers are in our day, with their empty and deserted appearance.* The prosperity of the country depended on the maintenance of the dams and the regulation of the course of the waters; but neither the dams nor the rivers and canals were kept in good order; inundations were not unfrequent; the Volana and Primaro were choked with sand, so that their navigation was utterly stopped.†

It were a still greater mistake to imagine that the subjects of this house were free and happy. Alfonso II enforced the claims of his treasury in the severest manner. At the conclusion of every contract, even were it only for a loan, the tenth of the sum in question fell to the duke; and he took a tenth of every thing that was carried into the city. He had the monopoly of salt; he laid a new tax upon oil, and by the advice of his administrator of the taxes, Christofano da Fiume, he at last took exclusive possession of the trade in flour and bread; nor could these prime necessities of life be obtained except from the duke's officers; no man dared to lend a handful of flour to a neighbor.‡ Even the nobles were not allowed to hunt for more than a few days, and never with more than three dogs. One day the bodies of six men were seen hanging in the market-place, with dead pheasants tied to their feet, to show, it was said, that they were shot poaching in the duke's preserves.

When, therefore, writers dwell on the prosperity and activity of Ferrara, they cannot mean to apply this either to the country or to the town, but merely to the court.

* Montaigne, *Voyage*, i, 226—231.

† A report on the states of the church in the beginning of the seventeenth century relates, that the duke had employed the peasants whose duty it was to work on the Po, on his own estates at Mesola, and the banks of the river had thus so entirely fallen to decay that they could not be restored. (*Inf. Polit.*, tom. ix.)

‡ Frizzi, *Memorie per la Storia di Ferrara*, tom. iv, p. 364. And especially Manolesso, *Relatione di Ferrara*: "Il duca non è così amato come li suoi predecessori, e questo per l'austerità et esattioni che fa Christofano da Fiume cognominato il Frisato (Sfregiato) suo gabelliere.—Il Frisato s'offerse di vendere miglior mercato le robe a beneficio del popolo di quello che facevano gli altri e di darne molto utile a S. Ecc^{ca}: piacque il partito al duca:—ma se bene il Frisato paga al duca quello che gli ha data intentione, non sodisfa però al popolo, vendendo la robba cattiva quanto alla qualità e molto cara quanto al prezzo."

In the stormy times of the first ten years of the sixteenth century, in which so many flourishing houses, so many powerful principalities, were utterly wrecked, and all Italy was convulsed from its very foundations, the house of Este had contrived, by an union of dexterous policy with spirited self-defence, to sustain itself erect amidst all dangers. With these, however, it united other qualities. Who has not read of that race which, as Bojardo expresses it, was destined to be the preserver of all valor, kindness, courtesy, love, grace, and gaiety?—of their residence, which, as Ariosto says, “they had adorned, not so much with walls and spacious royal roofs, as with fair studies and excellent manners?”† If, however, the princes of the house of Este deserved well of the world for their patronage of learning and poetry, they have been richly rewarded. The memory of their power and their splendor, which would soon have passed away, has been rendered eternal by its connection with the memory of writers who cannot die.

Alfonso II sought to maintain things in the same state in which they had existed under his predecessors. He was actuated by the same views. He had not indeed to resist such violent storms as had assailed them; yet as he was involved in incessant misunderstandings with Florence, and was not always very secure of the dispositions of his feudal lord, the pope, he did not abandon his defensive attitude. Ferrara was esteemed the strongest fortress of Italy after Padua; twenty-seven thousand men were enrolled in the militia,‡ and Alfonso was anxious to foster a military spirit in his subjects. In order to counterbalance the favor which Tuscany enjoyed at the court of Rome, by a friendship of not less importance, he attached himself to the emperors. He crossed the Alps repeatedly with a brilliant retinue, married an Austrian princess, and, it is affirmed, spoke German; in the year 1556 he led an army consisting of four thousand men into Hungary to the assistance of the emperor against the Turks.

Nor was his reign less favorable to literature and art. Seldom indeed has the literary element been so strongly infused into the government or the court of any country. Two professors of the university, Pigna and Montecatino, were successively prime minis-

* 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.”

† Ariosto, Orlando Furioso, xxxv, 6.

“Non per di mura e d’ampli tetti regj,
Ma di bei studi e di costumi egregi.”

‡ Relazione sopra la Romagna di Ferrara: “Erano descritti nelli rolli della militia dal commissario della battaglia a ciò deputato tutti i sudditi atti a portar armi. Erano costretti a starne provisti per haver da servire nell’occasioni a piedi o a cavallo secondo le forze delle loro facultà e godevano essi alcune esenzioni.”

ters; nor did they relinquish their literary pursuits; Pigna at least, while at the head of affairs, continued to deliver lectures, and occasionally published books.* Battista Guarini, the author of the *Pastor Fido*, was sent ambassador to Venice, and then to Poland. Even Francesco Patrizi, although occupied with abstruse subjects, boasts of the sympathy he received from the court. Every kind of liberal pursuit was encouraged. Scientific discussions alternated with disputations on questionable points of love, such as Tasso, who was for a time attached to the university, once held. Plays were given sometimes by the university, sometimes by the court; and the theatre was not only a place of transient amusement, but a school of art, in which new dramatic forms were continually attempted, and which had the merit of perfecting the pastoral drama, and of founding the opera. Occasionally Ferrara was visited by foreign cardinals and princes, by those of the neighboring cities of Mantua, Guastalla and Urbino, and sometimes even by a prince of the imperial house. The court then appeared in all its brilliancy. Tournaments were held in which the nobles spared no cost, and a hundred knights sometimes jostled in the court-yard of the palace.—These were representations of some fabulous incidents or poetical creations, as the names used at them show—the *Temple of Love*,† the *Happy Island*, &c. Enchanted castles were stormed, defended, and conquered.

The court of Ferrara thus exhibited the most singular union of poetry, learning, politics, and chivalry. Pomp was ennobled by its objects, and any defect of means was amply supplied by talent and taste.

Tasso, both in his “*Rime*” and his epic poem, has placed before us a lively picture of this court; of “the high-hearted and energetic prince, of whom it is difficult to say whether he is a better knight or captain;” of his consort, and, above all, of his sisters. The elder, Lucrezia, lived but for a short time with her husband in Urbino, and returned to reside in Ferrara, where she exercised a considerable influence in public affairs, but was chiefly distinguished as the promoter and inspirer of literature and of music—the especial patroness of Tasso. The younger, Leonora, was less prominent in the court and the world; she was of a delicate constitution, and quiet retiring manners, but sharing with her sister the higher and stronger qualities of mind.‡ During an earthquake both of

* Manolesso: “*Segretario intimo è il Sr Giovamb, Pigna, per mano del quale passano tutti negotii. Leggo pubblicamente la filosofia morale, e scrive l'istoria della casa d' Este: è oratore, filosofo e poeta molto eccellente: possiede benissimo la lingua Greca, e servendo il suo principe ne' negotii e trattando e scrivendo quanto occorre, non tralascia però i studi, et in tutte le professioni è tale che pare che ad una sola attenda.*”

† Extracts from descriptions which then appeared, e. g. of the *Tempio d' amore*, may be found in Muratori, Serassi, and Frizzi.

‡ In the year 1566 she carried on the regency during the duke's absence, ac-

them refused to quit the palace; Leonora especially seemed to delight in an opportunity of displaying a stoical indifference to danger, nor did they give way till the peril was imminent; the roof fell in at the very moment they quitted it. Leonora was regarded as so pure and holy a creature that the deliverance of Ferrara from an inundation was ascribed to her prayers.* The homage which Tasso paid to these remarkable women was of a nature corresponding with their respective characters; to the younger, rare and chastened, always as if he felt more than he dared to express; to the elder, perfectly free and unreserved; he compared her with the full-blown fragrant rose, from which maturity has taken none of its charms. Other ladies in subordinate ranks graced the court of Ferrara; among them we distinguish Barbara San Severina and her daughter Leonora Sanvitale. Tasso has described the calm discretion of the mother, the brilliant charm of youthful beauty in the daughter, with exquisite finish; no portrait could bring them more vividly before us. Then follow descriptions of the charming *villiggiature* of the court; of their hunting-parties and sports, and all the pleasures and the business which filled their lives; nor is it easy to conceive how any mind can resist the captivation of his rich stream of harmonious description.

Yet it would not be safe to surrender ourselves implicitly to this impression. The same power which exacted such absolute obedience in the country, was not unfelt at court. Those scenes of poetry and of pleasure were sometimes interrupted by incidents of a far different character: the noble and the great were as little spared as the humble.

One of the family of Gonzaga was assassinated. The crime was universally imputed to the young Ercole Contrario, and it was at least certain that the murderers found refuge on one of his estates. The duke demanded that they should be given up. Contrario, probably fearing their testimony against him, immediately put them to death himself, and sent their dead bodies to the duke. Upon this he was summoned to appear at court in person; on the 2d of August, 1575, he had audience. The Contrarj were the oldest and wealthiest family of Ferrara, and Ercole the last scion of this illustrious stock; yet in a short time after he had entered the palace he was brought out of it a corpse. The duke said the young man was suddenly struck with apoplexy in the midst of their conversation. But no one believed this; marks of violence were visible on the body; and indeed the duke's friends confessed that their sovereign had caused him to be put to death, and excused him on the ground that he did not choose to inflict on an illustrious

According to Manolesso, "con infinita sodisfattione de' sudditi;" "non ha preso," he continues, "nè vuol prendere marito, per esser di debilissima complessione: è però di gran spirito."

* Serassi, Vita di Torquato Tasso, p. 150.

name the stain of an ignominious death.* It was a way of executing justice which kept every man in terror, and which was rendered the more suspicious and the more formidable, from the fact that the property of the family must now lapse to the duke.

But we may affirm generally, that it would not have been prudent in any one to oppose the sovereign in the slightest degree† The court of Ferrara was such slippery ground, that even Montecatino, subtle and polished as he was, could not eventually keep his footing in it. Panigarola, at that time the most celebrated preacher in Italy, was with some difficulty induced to settle at Ferrara; he was suddenly banished in a sudden and violent manner, and when inquiries were made as to the cause of his disgrace, no other charge was adduced against him, than that he had listened to some proposals of advancement from another quarter. It is no wonder if such an atmosphere was fatal to the wayward, sensitive, melancholy Tasso. The duke appeared attached to him, listened to him with pleasure, frequently took him into the country with him, and did not disdain to correct the descriptions of military transactions which occur in the *Gerusalemme*. But from the time that Tasso showed a sort of inclination to enter the service of the Medici, all cordiality between them was at an end; the unhappy poet left the court; dragged back by a resistless longing, he returned, and a few reproachful words which he uttered in one of his melancholy moods, were sufficient to determine the duke to condemn him to seven long years of captivity.‡

We have here a perfect type of an Italian principality, such as it existed in the fifteenth century; resting on well-calculated political relations abroad; unlimited and despotic at home; surrounded with splendor, intimately connected with literature, and jealous of the very appearance of power. Strange form of society! The strength and the resources of the country combine to produce a court; the central point of that court is the prince; and thus the ultimate product of the social body is, in the last result, the conscious power and the unchecked will of one man. The feeling of his own value and importance arises from his position in the world, from the obedience he commands, the respect he receives.

Alfonso II, though twice married, had no children. His conduct under this disappointment is characteristic of his entire policy.

His aim was twofold; first, not to let his subjects believe that it was possible for them to fall off from his house; and secondly, to

* Frizzi, *Memorie*, iv, 382.

† When Tasso is not in good humor, he expresses himself very differently from what we have quoted above: "Perchè io conosceva," says he in a letter to the duke of Urbino, "il duca per natural inclinazione dispostissimo alla malignità e pieno d'una certa ambiziosa alterezza, la quale egli trae della nobiltà del sangue e della conoscenza ch'egli ha del suo valore, del quale in molte cose non si da punto ad intendere il falso." (*Lettere*, n. 284. *Opere*, tom. ix, 188.)

‡ Serassi, *Vita del Tasso*, p. 282.

keep the nomination of a successor in his own hands, and not to raise up a rival to himself.

In September, 1589, he went to Loreto, where the pope's sister Donna Camilla then happened to be, and spared neither gifts nor promises to win her to his interests. He hoped through her means to obtain the power to nominate the one of his nearest relations whom he held to be the fittest. Scarcely however were the negotiations opened, when Sixtus V died.

By similar means, presents to the pope's sister-in-law, and obsequious attentions to his nephew, Alfonso obtained access to Gregory XIV in the year 1591. As soon as he perceived that he might entertain a hope of success, he went to Rome to conduct the negotiation in person. The first question was, whether the bull of Pius V, which prohibited the re-investiture of escheated papal fiefs, applied to Ferrara. Alfonso denied that it was applicable, inasmuch as Ferrara had never escheated. Yet the words were but too precise; the congregation decided that the bull certainly included Ferrara. The only question then was, whether a pope had not the power to give a special decision in a special case. This the congregation did not venture to deny; it only annexed the condition that the necessity must be urgent, the utility manifest;*—a condition involving important consequences. It is not improbable that if the proceedings had been hastened, and a new investiture had been made out in the name of a particular individual, the matter might have been brought to the desired close. But Alfonso would not name his heir; nor indeed was he of the same opinion as the Sfrondati on this point; they proposed marchese Filippo d'Este; whereas he preferred his cousin Cesare. In this way time passed, and Gregory died before anything could be definitely arranged.†

Meanwhile negotiations had also been opened with the imperial court. Ferrara was a fief of Rome, but Modena and Reggio of the empire. Here, therefore, the duke's wonted policy came to his aid; he was on the best terms with the most powerful minister of the emperor, Wolf Rumpf, through whose influence Rudolf II was induced to grant him a renewal of the investiture, and even to allow him a certain period within which he should be at liberty to name whomsoever he pleased as his successor.

But these compliances of the emperor only rendered the new

* Dispaccio Donato: "Quando ci fusse evidentissima utilità et urgente necessità....il che fu fatto per aprire la strada all' intentione del S^z duca." Cardinal S. Severina asserts that it was principally he who prevented this plan, although with much difficulty and opposition; and that afterwards the pope repented of that addition.

† Cronica di Ferrara, MS. Bibl. Albani also says, there was no doubt that Gregory XIV would have done something for Ferrara; that he left the congregation in a fit of rage, which made him ill. Alfonso went to a villa of cardinal Farnese's, "aspettando o vita o morte di questo papa. Venne la morte. Il duca ritornò."

pope, Clement VIII, the more unyielding. It appeared more consonant to catholic and ecclesiastical policy that the pope should reduce an escheated fief into possession, than regrant it; this had been the judgment of the holy pontiff Pius V. In the year 1592, Clement proposed, in secret consistory, the ratification of the bull in question in its original form, without the qualification annexed by Gregory XIV; and in that form it was passed.*

The time appointed by the emperor had also expired, and it was become necessary for the duke to designate his successor. Alfonso I towards the close of his life had married Laura Eustochia, by whom he had already a son: from this son was descended Don Cesare d'Este, who, after long hesitation, was chosen by the duke. But even after his choice was determined, he used the most mysterious precautions. Without the privity of any individual, he sent an autograph letter to the emperor containing the nomination in form; at the same time earnestly entreating him to let no one know it, not even his own envoy at the imperial court; and to express his assent in no other way than by simply sending back the document subscribed with the imperial name.†

He was determined to retain undivided to his last gasp the highest consideration in his narrow territory; he could not endure to witness the homage of his court to the rising sun. Cesare himself knew nothing of the favor conferred upon him; indeed he was kept under rather stricter rule than before; the splendor of his appearance was somewhat diminished, (for instance, he was not allowed more than three nobles in his retinue;) and it was not till the duke's life was at its last ebb, till the physicians had given up the last hope, that Alfonso sent for him to announce the fortune which awaited him. The will was opened in the presence of the first persons of Ferrara, who were admonished by the minister to be faithful to the house of Este. The duke told Cesare that he bequeathed him the fairest state in the world, defended by arms and by its population; strong in its alliances on either side the Alps. Having said this, Alfonso II expired, on the 27th October, 1597.

* Dispaccio Donato, 27 Dec. 1592.

† Relatione di quello che è successo in Ferrara dopo la Morte del Duca Alfonso (MS. Barber). "Il duca fra l'anno concessogli di tempo alla dichiarazione scrisse di suo pugno una lettera all' imperatore e nominò Don Cesare, pregando caldamente S. M. Ces. che in confirmatione del nominato sottoscrivesse la sua, quale sigillata senza pubblicare il fatto la rimandasse indietro per il conte Ercole Rondinelli, conferendogli altramente il negotio. Il tutto faceva S. A. acciò Don Cesare non s' insuperbisse nè della nobiltà fusse riverito e corteggiato come lor principe." .

§ 8. CONQUEST OF FERRARA.

Cesare took possession of the fiefs of the empire without opposition, and even those of the pope did him homage; in Ferrara he was invested by the magistrate with the ducal mantle, and greeted by the people with shouts and acclamations as their new sovereign.

But he was soon in a position to put to the proof the domestic power and the foreign support of which his predecessor had boasted.

Clement remained unshaken in his determination to reduce Ferrara into the possession of the church. He thought he should obtain eternal fame if he could accomplish what had been vainly attempted by so many of his predecessors. On the news of Alfonso's death, he declared that he was sorry that the duke left no son, but that the church must have her own again. He would not listen to Cesare's ambassadors, and called his taking possession an usurpation; he threatened him with excommunication unless he abdicated within a fortnight; and, to give force to his words, he immediately began to prepare to carry his menace into effect. A new loan was made and a new monte founded, in order not to touch the money in the castle.* In a short time, the pope's nephew, Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandino, surrounded by experienced captains, proceeded to Ancona to collect forces; he sent recruiters in all directions, and heavy contributions were levied on the provinces.

Nor did Cesare betray any want of courage at first.† He declared that he would defend his good right to the last drop of his blood; that neither his religion nor his salvation would suffer: he repaired the fortifications of his strong places; the militia took up arms; a body of troops advanced to the frontier of the states of the church, and we find an invitation to them to enter Romagna, where the people were discontented with the papal yoke and only desired an opportunity to throw it off. It was likewise his good fortune that the neighboring Italian states took part with him. His brother-in-law, the grand duke of Tuscany, declared that he would never desert him. The republic of Venice prevented the pope from recruiting in Dalmatia, and refused him the munitions of war which he wanted to draw from Brescia. The aggrandisement of the

* Many, however, maintain that this money was really used. Delfino says, on the other hand, "con gran strettezza de' danari, senza metter mano a quelli del castello per conservar la riputazione della chiesa, in poco più di un mese ha posto insieme un esercito di 22 m. fanti e 3 m. cavalli."

† Niccolò Contarini delle Historie Venetiane, MS., tom. i, lib. i. "Cesare nel principio si mostrò molto coraggioso in voler difender le sue ragioni, o perchè non prevedeva il contrasto o pur perchè gl' inesperti come nei vicini pericoli s'atterriscono così nelli lontani si manifestano intrepidi." Contarini's narrative contains a great deal of accurate and striking information on this event.

states of the church was intensely hateful to all the other Italian powers.

Had Italy been in the same situation as a century earlier—tolerably independent of foreign influences and relying only on herself—it is probable that Clement VIII would not have effected more than Sixtus IV; but those times were over; everything was now referred to the general relations of Europe, and to the great powers of that time, France and Spain.

The inclinations of the Spaniards were no longer doubtful. Cesare d'Este had such implicit confidence in Philip II, that he proposed him to the pope as umpire; the governor of Milan distinctly declared himself for Cesare, and offered him Spanish garrisons for his fortresses. It was, however, manifest, that the king, who had all his life repressed every commotion in Italy, hesitated at his advanced age to give occasion to a war, and conducted himself with extreme caution, which was also observed by his ambassador at Rome.*

Under these circumstances, the war depended on the decision of Henry IV. The restoration of France as a mighty and catholic power, was evidently pregnant with the most important consequences to Italy. Strengthened by the alliance of the Italian princes, Henry IV had victoriously defended his right, and they did not doubt that gratitude would now lead him to take their side in their differences with the Holy See. Independently of this, the crown of France was much bound to the house of Este. During the civil war, that family had advanced above a million of scudi to the royal house; this sum, which was not yet repaid, would now have sufficed to recruit an army to which no pope could have offered effectual resistance.

These, however, were not the considerations which determined Henry IV. Spite of his conversion to catholicism, he would always be compelled to do many things which could not be otherwise than displeasing to the court of Rome; in the affair of Ferrara he beheld only an opportunity of procuring oblivion for these things, and of raising the lilies (as his statesmen expressed it) once more at the court of Rome. Without the least hesitation or wavering, he offered the succor of France to the Holy Father. He was not only ready, he said, as soon as the pope desired, to send an army across the Alps, but also in case of necessity to come in person with all his forces to his assistance.

It was this declaration which decided the affair. The court of Rome, already conscious of all the difficulties in which the coldness of its neighbors and the open resistance of Ferrara, might place it, now drew breath. "I cannot express," writes Ossat to the king,

* Delfino relates how much was feared from him at Rome: "Vi è un pensiero radicato a buon fundamento che la benedizione data al re di Franza sia stata offesa tale al cattolico e a Spagnuoli che non siano per scordarsela mai, e pare a S. S. esserne molto ben chiarita in questa occasione di Ferrara."

“what cordiality, praises, and blessings have been bestowed upon your majesty in return for your offer.” He promises his royal master, that if his performance keep pace with his professions, he will stand in the same relation to the church as Pepin or Charlemagne.

The pope, on his side, now made immediate preparations for the formal excommunication of his adversary.

The princes were surprised and alarmed; they talked of black ingratitude; they lost courage to support Ferrara, which otherwise they would unquestionably have done, openly or covertly, with all their might.

The influence of these circumstances was immediately felt by Ferrara. Alfonso's harsh sway had necessarily created much discontent. Cesare was new to government, without the requisite talents, and entirely without experience. He had almost to make the acquaintance of his privy councillors at his first sittings as their prince;* and as he had despatched to different courts his old friends who knew him, and on whom he could rely, he had no one about him in whom he had any real confidence, or with whom he could have any frank interchange of opinions. It was impossible for him to avoid false steps. From the very first, every one around him seemed infected by that feeling of insecurity which is usually the forerunner of ruin. The great and powerful already began to calculate what advantage might possibly result to them from a change; they tried to make a secret treaty with the pope, and despatched Antonio Montecatino as their delegate to Rome. But the most terrible calamity was, that a division arose in the house of Este itself. Lucrezia had hated Cesare's father; she hated Cesare himself no less, and could not endure to be his subject; she herself, the sister of the late duke, did not scruple to form an alliance with the pope and cardinal Aldobrandino.

Meanwhile the pope had performed the act of excommunication. On the 22d of December, 1597, he went in procession to St. Peter's, and ascended the loggia of that church with his immediate retinue. A cardinal read the bull, in which Don Cesare d'Este was declared an enemy to the church of Rome, guilty of high treason, fallen under the heaviest censure, and under sentence of anathema; his subjects were absolved from their oath of allegiance; the officers of

* Niccolò Contarini: “Cesare si ridusse in camera co' suoi soli consiglieri, de' quali molti, per la ritiratezza nella quale era vissuto così volendo chi comandava, non conosceva se non di faccia, et egli non sufficiente di prender risoluzione da se, vacillava nei concetti perchè quelli che consigliavano erano pieni di passioni particolari e per le speranze di Roma in cui miravano infetti di grandi contaminazioni.” Ossat too, *Lettres*, i, 495, gives as the reason of his misfortunes, “le peu de fidelité de ses conseillers mêmes, qui partie pour son peu de resolution, partie pour avoir des rentes et autres biens en l'état de l'église et esperer et craindre plus du St. siège que de lui, regardoient autant ou plus vers le pape que vers lui.”

his government were warned to quit his service. After the bull was read, the pope with a wrathful countenance threw down a large burning taper on the ground. Trumpets and drums sounded, cannons were fired, and the noise of both was drowned in the cries of the populace.

Circumstances were of such a nature, that this excommunication could not fail to produce its full effect. An inhabitant of Ferrara itself brought a copy of the bull, sewed up in his clothes, into the city, and delivered it to the bishop.* The next morning, 31st of December, 1597, was fixed for the burial of a canon; the church was hung with black and the people assembled to hear the funeral sermon. The bishop ascended the pulpit and began to speak of death. "But far worse," exclaimed he suddenly, "than the death of the body, is the destruction of the soul, which now threatens us all." He paused, and ordered the bull to be read, in which all who refused to separate themselves from Don Cesare were menaced "to be hewn off, as withered branches, from the tree of spiritual life." Hereupon the bull was fixed upon the church door; the church was filled with sighs and lamentations, and fear fell upon the whole city.

Don Cesare was not the man to arrest the course of such an agitation. He had been advised to enlist Swiss and Germans in his service, but he had never been able to resolve on such a step.— Catholics he would not have, because they were adherents of the pope; and still less protestants, because they were heretics; "just as if it was his business," said Niccolo Contarini, "to perform the office of an inquisitor." He now asked his confessor what he was to do; Benedetto Palma was a Jesuit; he advised him to submit.

Don Cesare was in such a situation, that in order make this submission under favorable conditions, he was compelled to have recourse to her whom he knew to be his worst enemy; he was compelled to make use of the secret, and in a certain sense treasonable, connection which Lucrezia had formed with Rome, to secure a tolerable retreat for himself.† At his request she repaired, with her accustomed magnificence, to the enemy's camp.

* A certain Coralta. "Ributtato al primo ingresso da' soldati se escusò che lui ivi dimorava nè era ancora partito per Bologna," (whence however he was just arrived: he had dismounted from his horse at some distance from the gate,) "e ragionando si pose fra loro a sedere, finalmente assicurato si licentiò della guardia, entrò nella città, presentò al vescovo la scomunica con la lettera del arcivescovo di Bologna." (Relatione di quello che, etc.)

† Contarini: "Come chi abandona ogni speranza, più facilmente si rimette nell' arbitrio dell' inimico che nella confidenza dell' amico, andò (Cesare) a ritrovare la duchessa d' Urbino, et a lei, la qual ben sapeva haver pur troppo intelligenza col C' Aldobrandino, rimise ogni fortuna. Accettò ella allegramente l' impresa ridotta dove al principio haveva desiderato Con molta comitiva quasi trionfante, accompagnata dal marchese Bentivoglio, capo delle milizie del duca, faceva il suo viaggio." He describes Lucrezia as "di pensieri torbidi: benchè simulasse altrimenti, era non di meno di lungo tempo acerrima nemica di Don Cesare."

Cesare's adherents always maintained that she might have made better terms for him; but allured by the promise of possession for life of Bertinoro, with the title of duchess, and personally captivated by the young and witty cardinal, she conceded everything that was desired of her. On the 12th of January, 1598, the agreement was drawn up, in virtue of which Cesare was to make a formal renunciation of Ferrara, Comacchio, and his part of Romagna, and in return to be freed from the anathema of the church. He had flattered himself that he should save at least something, and this total loss of his possessions appeared very hard to him; he once more summoned the chief magistrates of the city, the Giudice de' Savj, and certain doctors and nobles, to council. They gave him no comfort; every man was already thinking only how to place himself on a good footing with the new power which was expected; already they vied with each other in eagerness to pull down the arms of the Este and to drive out their officers. Nothing remained for the duke, but to sign his abdication and to quit the inheritance of his fathers.

Thus did the house of Este lose Ferrara. Archives, museum, library, and a part of the artillery which Alfonso I had cast with his own hands, were taken to Modena; all the rest was dispersed or destroyed. Alfonso's widow carried away her property, which filled fifty wagons; his sister, married in France, took upon herself the claims of her house to the crown of that kingdom. But the most unlooked-for conduct was that of Lucrezia. Precisely a month after she had concluded the above-mentioned treaty, on the 12th of February, she died. When her will was opened, it was found that she had made cardinal Aldobrandino, the very man who had driven her family from their ancient seat, heir to all her property. She had even bequeathed to him her claims, which now remained to be contested with Cesare himself. It was as if she had wished to bequeath to her ancient foe an adversary who might embitter the whole of his remaining life. There is something demoniacal in the satisfaction and pleasure which this woman seems to have had in leading on her own house to destruction.



In this manner did the papal supersede the ducal sway. On the 8th of May the pope entered Ferrara in person. He wished immediately to enjoy the sight of his new acquisition, and to bind it to the church by suitable institutions.

He began his work with gentleness and mercy. A certain number of the principal men of Ferrara were invested with ecclesiastical dignities.* Cardinals' hats, bishoprics, and auditorships were dis-

* Contarini: "Al Bevilacqua, che era di molto potere, fu dato il patriarcato latino di Constantinopoli. Il Saciato fu creato auditor di rota. Ad altri si dispensarono abbatie."

tributed; among those thus distinguished was the young Bentivoglio, the historian, the privy chamberlain of the pope. The duke's power had rested on the possession of municipal privileges; the pope resolved to restore to the citizens their ancient rights. He formed a council out of the three classes, in which the higher nobility possessed twenty-seven, the inferior nobility and the better sort of citizens fifty-five, and the trades eighteen seats. Their rights were carefully distinguished; those of the first class were the most considerable, but, on the other hand, their nomination depended chiefly on the pope. To this council the pope committed the superintendence of the provisions, the regulation of the rivers, the nomination of the judges and podestàs, and even the filling the chairs in the university;—all rights which the duke had jealously retained in his own hands; and, as may be imagined, a new state of society was introduced by this important change. Nor were the interests of the humbler classes neglected; many of the strict fiscal regulations were abolished.*

But affairs could not all be conducted in this temper, nor was even the sway of the church all mildness. The judicial duties of ecclesiastical officials very soon became burthensome to the nobility; the first Giudice de' Savj, Montecatino, of whom mention has already been made, was intensely disgusted at the manner in which the rights of his office were limited, and sent in his resignation. It excited universal discontent, that pope Clement deemed it necessary to secure his conquest by the erection of a fortress. The representations which the inhabitants made against this project, however urgent and humble, were vain; and one of the most populous parts of the city was selected for the citadel.† Whole streets were pulled down; churches, oratories, hospitals, the banqueting-houses of the duke and of his court, the beautiful Belvedere, celebrated by so many poets—all were levelled to the ground.

It was perhaps imagined that the memory of the ducal house would be thoroughly obliterated by the destruction of these buildings; on the contrary, more effectual means could not have been taken to rivive it: the almost quenched attachment to the hereditary sovereign race was rekindled. All those who had belonged to the court removed to Modena; and Ferrara, already rather gloomy, became more and more deserted.

But all who were desirous of following the court were not permitted to do so. There is extant a MS. chronicle by an old servant of the ducal house, in which he dwells with delight on the court of Alfonso, its amusements, its concerts, and sermons. "But now," says he at the conclusion, "all these things are over. There is now

* Frizzi, Memorie, v, p. 25.

† Dispaccio Delfino, 7 Giugno, 1698. "Si pensa dal papa di far una cittadella della parte verso Bologna, per la poca sodisfattione che ha la nobiltà per non esser rispettata dalli ministri della giustitia e che non li siano per esser restituiti le entrate vecchie della comunità—dolendosi di esser ingannati."

no longer a duke in Ferrara; there are no longer princesses; no concerts, or concert-givers: so passes this world's glory. For others the world may be made pleasant by changes; but not for me, for I remain alone, old, decrepid, and poor. Nevertheless, God be praised."*

§ 9. DISSENSIONS AMONG THE JESUITS.

It is obvious that the grand results which Clement VIII had attained in accordance with the policy of France, necessarily bound him more and more closely to that power. He now found the advantage of the moderation he had observed in the affairs of the League; he rejoiced that he had opposed no obstacle to the development of events in France, and had finally determined to grant the king absolution. The court of Rome took the same interest in the war which was waging on the frontiers of Flanders and of France, as if the cause had been its own; and that interest was entirely on the side of France. The conquest of Calais and Amiens by the Spaniards excited a displeasure at the court of Rome "which cannot be described," says Ossat; "an extreme melancholy, shame and indignation."† "The pope and his kinsmen feared," observes Delfino, "that the Spaniards might wreak upon them the resentment they felt at the king's absolution." Fortunately Henry IV quickly restored his damaged reputation by the re-conquest of Amiens.

Not that the court of Rome had begun to love those with whom it had formerly been at enmity; those leaders of the clergy who had first taken part with Henry, and had founded the opposition we have described, were never forgiven; and promotion was always bestowed by preference on those adherents of the League who were the last to relinquish their hostility to Henry; i. e. who were in precisely the same predicament as the curia itself. But (as the opinions of men, however nearly they may approximate, yet betray varieties of character and inclination) a catholic party soon appeared, even among the adherents of the king, affecting extraordinary rigor, with a view to maintain a good understanding with the court of Rome; to this party the pope chiefly attached himself, in the hope of reconciling all the differences which still existed between the interests of

* Cronica di Ferrara: "Sic transit gloria mundi. E per tale variare natura è bella, ma non per me, che io son restato senza patrone, vecchio, privo di tutti e povero. Laudetur Deus."

† Ossat a Villeroy, 14 Mai, 1596; 20 Avril, 1597, i, 251, 458. Delfino: "Li pericoli di Marsiglia fecero stare il papa in gran timore e li nepoti: la perdita di Cales e poi quella di Amiens apportò loro gran mestitia e massime che si dubitò allora per le voci che andavano attorno di peggio, temendo quelli che ogni poco che cadeva più la riputatione de' Francesi, i Spagnoli non avessero mostrato apertamente lo sdegno che hanno avuto della resolutione (absolutione?) lora e la sua mala volontà: per questa causa principalmente hanno avuto carissimo il bene della Franza."

Rome and of France; but above all, it was his wish and his endeavor to restore the Jesuits, who had been driven out of that kingdom, and thus, in defiance of the course which things had taken in France, to give greater currency to Romish doctrines.

His designs were aided by a movement in the order itself, which, though originating in its bosom, had a great analogy with the general tendencies of the court of Rome.

So strangely involved are often the affairs of this world, that at the moment in which the gravest charge brought by the university of Paris against the Jesuits was their connection with Spain;—in which it was a common saying and belief in France, that every Jesuit put up daily prayers for king Philip,* and was bound by a fifth vow to devote himself to Spain;—at that very moment the institute of the Company of Jesus was violently attacked in Spain by discontented members of its own body, by the inquisition, by another monastic order, and lastly by the king himself.

This turn of affairs was attributable to several causes, the proximate one of which was as follows. In the early years of the order, the elder and more accomplished men who entered it were chiefly Spaniards; those of other nations were generally young men who had their education still to go through. Hence it naturally followed that the government of the company fell, during the first ten years, almost entirely into the hands of Spaniards. The first general congregation consisted of twenty-five members, eighteen of whom were Spaniards.† The first three generals belonged to the same nation. After the death of the third, Borgia, in the year 1573, Polanco, also a Spaniard, had the best prospect of succeeding him.

It became evident, however, that even in Spain itself, his elevation would not be regarded with satisfaction. The company contained many recent converts from Judaism, to which class Polanco himself belonged, and it was not thought desirable that the supreme authority in so powerful and so monarchically-constituted a body should fall into such hands.‡ Pope Gregory XIII, who had received an intimation to this effect, thought a change expedient on other grounds. A deputation of the congregation assembled to elect a general being presented to him, he asked how many votes each nation had; when it appeared that Spain had more than all the others put together. He inquired further, out of which nation the generals of the order had hitherto been chosen. He was told that there had been three, all Spaniards. “It is fair,” replied Gregory, “that for once you should choose one from among other nations.” He even proposed a candidate.

* “pro nostro rege Philippo.”

† Sacchinus, v, 7, 99. In the second general congregation the proportion already began to be equalised, though in a very slight degree, as out of thirty-nine members twenty-four were Spaniards.

‡ Sacchinus, *Historia Societatis Jesu*, pars. iv; sive Everardus, lib. i: “Horum origo motuum duplex fuit, studia nationum et neophytorum in Hispania odium.”

The Jesuits for a moment resisted a measure which violated their privileges, but at length they elected the nominee of the pope, Eberhard Mercurianus.

This election immediately caused a considerable change. Mercurianus, a feeble and irresolute man, left the direction of affairs at first to a Spaniard and afterwards to a Frenchman, his salaried and official admonitor: factions arose; the one expelled the other from important offices, and the dominant sometimes experienced resistance from the subordinate.

A far more important circumstance, however, was, that at the next vacancy, in the year 1581, Claudio Aquaviva, of a Neapolitan family, formerly attached to the French party—an energetic man only thirty-eight years of age—was raised to the dignity of general.

The Spaniards were at one time persuaded that their nation, by which the society was founded, and to which it owed its character and direction, was for ever excluded from the generalship; they became discontented and disobedient,* and conceived the project of rendering themselves more independent of Rome, either by the appointment of a commissary-general for the Spanish provinces, or by some other expedient. On the other hand, Aquaviva was not disposed to abate a single jot of the authority with which the letter of the constitution of the order invested him. In order to hold the disaffected in check, he set over them superiors on whose devotion to his person he could rely; young men who resembled himself in age and modes of thinking;† and also members of inferior merit, coadjutors, who did not enjoy all the privileges of the order, who beheld in the general their common protector, and were bound to him by national sympathies.‡

The aged, learned, and experienced fathers found themselves excluded, not only from the supreme dignity, but even from the provincial appointments. Aquaviva alleged their own defects as the cause; the one was choleric, the other melancholic; “naturally,” says Mariana, “eminent men are wont to be afflicted with some defect.” But the real reason was that he feared them, and wanted

* Mariana, *Discurso de las Enfermedades de la Compañia*, c. xii. “La nacion española está persuadida queda para sempre excluida del generalato. Esta persuasion, sea verdadera sea falsa, no puede dexar de causar disgustos y disunion tanto mas que esta nacion fundò la compañia, la honrò, la enseñò y aun sustentò largo tiempo con su substancia.”

† Mariana, c. xii. “Ponen en los gobiernos homes mozos . . . porque son mas entremetidos saben lamer a sus tiempos.”

‡ Besides Mariana, the Reports to Clement VIII contain much that is important on this subject. They are printed in the *Tuba magnum clangens sonum ad Clementem XI*, p. 583. “Videmus cum magno detrimento religionis nostræ et scandalo mundi quod generalis nulla habita ratione nec antiquitatis nec laborum nec meritorum facit quos vult superiores, et ut plurimum juvenes et novicios, qui sine ullis meritis et sine ulla experientia cum maxima arrogantia præsent senioribus: . . . et denique generalis, quia homo est, habet etiam suos affectus particulares, . . . et quia est Neapolitanus, melioris conditionis sunt Neapolitani.”

to have more convenient tools for the execution of his commands. Generally speaking, there is nothing which men endure with so little patience as the privation of the right of taking an active share in public affairs. Accordingly jealousies and disputes arose in all the colleges. The new superiors were received with silent animosity, and could carry no important point; they were happy if they could but escape trouble and disorders. They had, however, power enough to revenge themselves. They filled the subordinate posts exclusively with their own personal adherents, who were secured to them by the monarchical constitution of the order, and the ambition of its members; they sent the more obstinate of the recalcitrants to a distance, and, especially when any important deliberation was pending, they removed them to other provinces. Every thing was thus resolved into personal offences and retaliations. It was not only the right, but the duty of every member to point out whatever faults he remarked in another; a rule which in the infancy and innocence of a small society might have some tendency to preserve good morals, but in the present state of the order grew into the most odious tale-bearing; it became an instrument of concealed ambition, of hate clothed in the garb of friendship: were any one to explore the archives of Rome, exclaims Mariana, "he would probably not find one single honest man—at least among us who are at a distance;" an universal distrust reigned among them; there was not one who would have opened himself unreservedly, even to his own brother.

The evil was increased by Aquaviva's inflexible determination not to leave Rome, nor to visit the provinces, as Lainez and Borgia had done. The excuse made for this was that it was an advantage to have things stated in writing, in unbroken series, and without the interruptions caused by the accidents of travelling. But the immediate consequence at all events was, that the provincials, in whose hands the whole correspondence rested, thus acquired a greater degree of independence. It was useless to make any complaints of them; they could easily foresee the representations likely to be made, and defeat their effects beforehand, the more completely in consequence of the favor with which Acquaviva regarded them. Virtually, therefore, they held their places for life.

Under these circumstances, the old Jesuits in Spain perceived that a state of things which they felt as a sort of tyranny, was unsusceptible of any change from within the pale of the society, and, therefore, determined to look around for help from without.

They first addressed themselves to the spiritual authority of their own country—to the inquisition. It is well known that the inquisition had submitted many offences to the judgment of the order. A discontented Jesuit, moved, as he declared, by scruples of conscience, accused his order of concealing and even pardoning offences of this nature, provided they were committed by its own members. The inquisition suddenly caused the provincial, who

was implicated in a case of this kind, together with one of his most active associates, to be arrested.* This first step having opened the way to other accusations, the inquisition demanded that the statutes of the order should be laid before it, and proceeded to authorise new arrests. The excitement throughout Spain—the country of orthodox faith—was the more intense from the mystery which enveloped its cause; and from the general belief that the Jesuits were arrested on account of some heresy.

The inquisition, however, had no power to make any changes in the constitution of the order; it could only decree the punishment of individual members. Affairs having gone this length, the malcontents addressed themselves to the king, whom they assailed with long and detailed representations of the defects in their constitution. Philip II had never liked it; he used to say that he could see through all the other orders, that of the Jesuits was the only one he could not understand; he seemed to be particularly struck with what was told him of the abuse of absolute power, and the mischiefs of secret accusations: in the midst of that mighty European struggle in which he was involved, he found time and thought to devote to this affair, and immediately commissioned Manrique bishop of Carthage to subject the order to a visitation, especially with reference to these two points.

This was an attack affecting, as we perceive, the character of the institution and of its chief, the more sensibly, because it originated in that very country where the society had sprung up and had first taken root.

Aquaviva betrayed no alarm. He was a man who concealed, beneath great external mildness and amenity of manners, a profound inflexibility; a character like that of Clement VIII, (in that age not an uncommon one,) distinguished for deliberateness, moderation, prudence, and taciturnity. He never ventured to pronounce a positive judgment; nor would he even suffer one to be pronounced in his presence—least of all concerning an entire nation: his secretaries were expressly admonished to avoid every offensive or bitter word. He loved piety even in outward appearance; his deportment at the altar was expressive of the most serene yet intense enjoyment of the service; yet he kept aloof from everything approaching to mystical fanaticism. He would not suffer an exposition of Solomon's Song to be printed, because the expressions appeared to him to fluctuate on the confines of spiritual and sensual love. Even when he censured, he subdued and captivated; he showed all the superiority of calmness; he led the erring into the right way by reason and argument, and inspired the young with enthusiastic

* Sacchinus, pars v, lib. vi, n. 85. "Quidam e confessariis seu vere seu falso delatus ad provincialum tum Castellæ, Antonium Marcenium, erat de tentata puellæ per sacras confessiones pudicitia, quod crimen in Hispania sacrorum quæsitorem judicio reservabatur."

affection. "One must love him," writes Maximilian of Bavaria to his father from Rome, "if one only looks at him." These qualities, and his unwearied activity, together with his high birth, and the ever-increasing importance of his order, procured for him an exalted station in Rome. If his adversaries succeeded in gaining over the national authorities of Spain, yet he had the court of Rome on his side; he had been familiar with that court from his youth upwards (being chamberlain when he entered the order), and knew how to manage it with masterly skill, the result of native talents, strengthened and refined by practice.*

It was peculiarly easy to excite in a man of the character of Sixtus, antipathies against the measures now pursued by the Spaniards. Pope Sixtus cherished, as we know, the idea of rendering Rome yet more eminently the metropolis of Christendom than it already was; Aquaviva represented to him that the true and sole object of Spain was to make herself more independent of Rome. Pope Sixtus hated nothing so much as illegitimate birth; and Aquaviva intimated to him that bishop Manrique, who had been selected to fill the office of visitor, was a bastard. This was reason sufficient for the pope to retract the assent he had already given to the visitation. He also evoked the proceedings against the provincial to Rome. Under Gregory XIV, the general succeeded in obtaining a formal confirmation of the institutes of the order.

But the company of Jesus had to contend with artful and obstinate enemies, who saw that the general must be attacked in the very court of Rome. They took advantage of the momentary absence of Aquaviva, who was commissioned to arrange a difference between Mantua and Parma, to gain over Clement VIII. In the summer of 1592, Clement, at the suggestion of the Spanish Jesuits and of Philip II, and without the knowledge of Aquaviva, ordered a general congregation to be held.

Astonished and dismayed, Aquaviva hastened back. General congregations were as inconvenient to the chiefs of the Jesuits as ecumenical councils to the popes. If all his predecessors had sought to evade them, how much more reason had Aquaviva, who was the object of such universal and active hatred! But he quickly perceived that the arrangements were irrevocable;† he therefore

* Sacchinus, and particularly Juvencius, *Hist. Soc. Jesu, partis quintæ, tomus pæterior, xi, 21, and xxv, 33-41.*

† In a Consulta del Padre Cl. Aquaviva coi suoi Padri assistenti, MS. Bibl. Corsini, n. 1055, which relates the details of their internal discord very faithfully on the whole and in conformity with Mariana, Aquaviva is reported to have given the following account of a conversation he had with the pope: "S. S.^a disse che io non aveva sufficiente notizia de' soggetti della religione, che io veniva ingannato da falsi delatori, che io mi dimostrava troppo credulo."—Amongst many other causes which rendered a congregation necessary, this also was alleged: "Perchè molti soggetti di valore, che per non esser conosciuti più che tanto da generali non hanno mai parte alcuna nel governo, venendo a Roma in occasione delle congregazioni sarebbero meglio conosciuti, e per conseguenza

assumed an air of composure and said, "We are dutiful sons; the will of the holy father be done." He then hastened to take his measures.

He managed to acquire a great influence in the elections, and had the good fortune to see several of his most formidable antagonists, for example Mariana, rejected even in Spain.

As soon as the congregation was assembled, he did not wait to be attacked. At the very first sitting, he declared that he had the misfortune to displease some of his brethren, and therefore prayed that an inquiry into his conduct might take precedence of all other business. A commission was appointed; charges were formally preferred, but it was highly improbable that the violation of any positive law could be proved against him; he was far too prudent to fall into such an error. The result was his complete and honorable acquittal. Thus personally secure, he proceeded, in concert with the meeting, to the examination of the proposals for the reform of the institute.

Of these king Philip had insisted on some, and recommended others to the deliberation of the assembly. His demands were two: the renunciation of certain papal privileges, e. g. the reading forbidden books, and the granting absolution for heresy; and a law in virtue of which every novice, on entering the order, should give up whatever inheritance he might possess, and even all his benefices. These were points on which the company interfered with the inquisition and the civil government. After some demur these demands were, mainly through Aquaviva's own influence, complied with.

Far more weighty, however, were the points which the king had recommended for deliberation; above all, the questions, whether the power of the superiors should not be limited to a certain period? and whether the general congregation should not assemble at stated times? The very nature of the institute, the absolute supremacy of its head, were thus brought into question. On these points Aquaviva was not inclined to give way, and after warm debates the congregation rejected the king's proposition.—But the pope too was persuaded of their necessity. What was refused to the king was now commanded by the pope; in virtue of his apostolic omnipotence, he positively ordained that the superiors and the rectors should be changed every third year, and that the general congregation should meet every sixth.*

It is true, however, that the execution of these ordinances had not all the effect which had been hoped from them. The congregations could be gained over; the rectors were indeed changed, but

verrebbero più facilmente in parte del medesimo governo, senza che questo fosse quasi sempre ristretto a pochi."

* Juvencius, in his first book, which he calls the eleventh, "*Societas domesticis motibus agitata,*" gives detailed notices, upon which the account in the text is founded.

they were selected out of a narrow circle, so that the same men very soon returned to office. But it was at all events a considerable blow to the society, that it had been driven, by internal revolt and external influence to an alteration of its statutes.

Another storm, too, soon arose in the same quarter.

The Jesuits had originally adhered to the doctrines of the Thomists, which at that time generally prevailed in the schools. Ignatius had expressly recommended his scholars to espouse the system of the angelic doctor.

They however soon thought they perceived that this doctrine would not enable them to attain their end with regard to the protestants. They likewise desired to be as independent in doctrine as in life; and it was galling to them to follow in the rear of the Dominicans, to whose order St. Thomas had belonged, and who were regarded as the natural expositors of his doctrines. They had already given so many proofs of these feelings, that the inquisition had even animadverted on the free opinions of the father Jesuits,* when Aquaviva openly proclaimed those opinions in his Rule of Studies for the year 1584. He gave it as his opinion, that St. Thomas was indeed an author eminently worthy of approbation, but that it would be an intolerable yoke to follow implicitly in his footsteps, and to be debarred from all freedom of thought; that many old doctrines had been more firmly established by modern theologians, and many new arguments adduced, which were of admirable service in combating the errors of heretics; and that in all such it would be lawful and expedient to follow these doctors.

This sufficed to excite a violent agitation in Spain, where the theological chairs were mostly filled by Dominicans. The Rule of Studies was pronounced to be the most audacious, arrogant, dangerous book of its kind; both the king and the pope were attacked for permitting it.†

But this excitement was greatly increased by the publication of a positive attack on the Thomist system, in one of the most important expository works of the Jesuits.

Throughout the whole range of theology, catholic as well as protestant, the question concerning grace and good works, free-will and predestination, continued to be the most important and the most pregnant with consequences; they still occupied the talents, the erudition, and the speculative acuteness of clergy and of laymen. On the protestant side, Calvius's severe doctrine of the particular decree of God, by which "some were predestined to eternal blessedness and others to eternal damnation," found the greatest

* Lainez himself was suspected by the Spanish inquisition. Llorente, iii, 83.

† Pegna, in Serry, *Historia Congregationum de auxiliis divinæ gratiæ*, p. 8: "Y dado a censurar, fue dicho por aquellos censores [Mariana and Serry speak of the inquisition] que aquel libro era el mas peligroso, temerario y arrogante que jamas havia salido in semejante materia, y que si se metia en practica lo que contenia, causaria infinitos daños y alborotos en la republica christiana."

acceptance. The Lutherans, with their milder system, were at a disadvantage, and lost partisans in various quarters. On the catholic side, the progress of opinion was in the opposite direction. Wherever any leaning even to the most moderate protestant notions, or to a rigid and Calvinistic construction of the expositions of St. Augustine, betrayed itself, (as in the case of Bajus at Louvaine,) it was attacked and crushed.

The Jesuits showed peculiar zeal in this warfare. They defended the scheme of faith expounded at the council of Trent (which indeed would not have been adopted but for the influence of their brethren Lainez and Salmeron) against every deviation verging towards the rejected and abandoned system. Yet even that scheme did not always satisfy their polemical ardor. In the year 1588, Luis Molina of Evora published a book in which he examined these disputed points afresh, and sought to give a new explanation of the difficulties which remained unsolved.* The chief scope of his work was to vindicate a yet wider sphere for the free will of man than that claimed by the Thomist or the tridentine hypothesis. According to the latter, the work of sanctification was mainly founded on the inherent righteousness of Christ; which being infused into us, engendered love, led to all virtues and good works, and at length produced justification. Molina goes much further. His doctrine is, that the free will can, without the help of grace, bring forth morally good works; that it has the power to resist temptation, and to raise himself to acts of hope, faith, love, and repentance.† When man has attained to this point, God then, for the sake of the merits of Christ, grants him grace,‡ through which he experiences the supernatural operations of sanctification; but the reception of this grace, or its increase, in no way affects the activity or freedom of the will. On this, he maintains, all depends; it rests with ourselves to render the help of God effectual or ineffectual. Justification is founded on the joint operation of the will and of grace, which combine like two men towing a boat. It is manifest that this scheme is incompatible with the idea of predestination as enounced by Augustine or Thomas Aquinas; this Molina rejects as too stern and cruel, nor will he admit of any other predestination than that which

* “*Liberi arbitrii cum gratiæ donis concordia.*” In all these controversies it has always been thought necessary to distinguish with care the different editions of Lisbon, 1588, Antwerp, 1595, and Venice, as they all vary.

† The “*concursum generalis Dei*” is always presupposed; but by that is meant only the natural state of the free will, which without God cannot be what it is: “*Deus semper præsto est per concursum generalem libero arbitrio, ut naturaliter velit aut nolit prout placuerit.*” It is nearly thus, that natural and divine law are identified by Bellarmine; God being the author of nature.

‡ This grace he also explains very naturally, Disput. 54: “*Dum homo expendit res credendas....per notitias concionatoris aut aliunde comparatas, influit Deus in easdem notitias influxu quodam particulari quo cognitionem illum adjuvat.*”

is involved in the pure idea of foreknowledge. God, he asserts, from his omniscient view of all nature, knows beforehand the will of every man; what each will do in a given case, although he was free to do the direct contrary: an event does not happen because God foreknew it, but God foresaw it because it would happen.

Molina's doctrine was certainly in direct opposition to that of Calvin, and was likewise the first which attempted to rationalise, if we may use the expression, this great mystery. It is intelligible, acute, and superficial, and therefore could not fail to have considerable success; it may be compared with the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, which the Jesuits promulgated about the same time.*

By the promulgation of such opinions, they however inevitably provoked opposition, were it only that they departed from the angelic doctor, whose *Summa* still formed the most esteemed elementary book of catholic theologians. Henriquez, Mariana, and certain other members of the order itself, openly expressed their censure. The Dominicans, however, engaged with far greater fervor in the defence of their patriarch, and attacked Molina in their sermons, lectures, and writings. At length on the 4th of March, 1594, a public disputation was held between the two parties in Valladolid. The Dominicans, who thought themselves exclusively orthodox, were extremely violent. "Are then," exclaimed a Jesuit, "the keys of wisdom in your hands?" The Dominicans regarded this as an attack upon St. Thomas himself, and broke out into loud cries.

From that time a complete division arose between the two orders. The Dominicans would have nothing more to do with the Jesuits, a large majority of whom, if not all, took part with Molina. Aquaviva himself and his assistants were of the number.

But here again the inquisition interposed. The grand inquisitor (that Geronimo Manrique who had been appointed visitor of the order) seemed inclined to condemn Molina; he caused him to be admonished that his book would not only be prohibited, but condemned to the flames. He refused to receive Molina's charges against the Dominicans.

This controversy threw the whole catholic world into agitation,

* This rationalist tendency appears elsewhere, e. g. in the propositions of the Jesuits Less and Hamel in 1585, at Louvaine: "Propositiones in Lessio et Hamelio a theologis Lovaniensibus notatæ: ut quid sit scriptura sacra, non est necessarium singula ejus verba inspirata esse a spiritu sancto." From words they proceed forthwith to truths: "Non est necessarium ut singulæ veritates et sententiæ sint immediate a spiritu sancto ipsi scriptori inspiratæ." The main propositions of Molina are to be found already in these essays, at least in part; attention is likewise drawn to the complete difference between them and the protestant opinion: "Hæc sententiæ . . . quam longissime a sententiâ Lutheri et Calvinii et reliquorum hæreticorum hujus temporis recedit, a quorum sententiâ et argumentis difficile est alteram sententiâ [the Augustine and Thomist] vindicare."

both on account of the doctrines and their champions, and greatly strengthened that active hostility to the institute of the Jesuits which had arisen in Spain.

Hence arose the strange anomaly, that whilst the Jesuits were driven out of France on account of their leaning to Spain, the most formidable attack upon them originated in Spain itself. In both countries political and religious interests were actively at work. The political movement was in both, in effect, the same—namely, a national opposition to the privileges and franchises of this order; but in France it was more fierce and violent, in Spain, more directed against its peculiar institutions and abuses. As far as doctrine was concerned, it was the novelty of their opinions which had brought hatred and persecution on the Jesuits; their doctrines of the sovereignty of the people and the lawfulness of assassinating kings, were ruinous to them in France; that of free will in Spain.

This was a moment in the history of the company which was of the utmost importance in determining its future destiny.

Aquaviva sought aid against the assaults of the national authorities, the parliament and the inquisition in the head of the church—the sovereign pontiff.

He availed himself of the favorable moment when the grand inquisitor had just died and his place was not yet filled, to induce the pope to evoke the decision of the disputed points of faith to Rome. Much was gained even by a momentary procrastination of the decision, for Rome abounded with various sorts of influences which might be turned to account at any critical moment. On the 9th of October, 1596, the acts relating to the proceedings were forwarded to Rome, where the most learned theologians on either side met to fight out their battle under the eyes of the pope.*

On the French question Clement took part with the Jesuits. He deemed it unjustifiable, on account of the delinquency of one man who might have deserved punishment, to condemn an entire order; the order too, which had contributed the most to the restoration of catholicism—which had been so firm a prop of the church. Did not the Jesuits suffer for their devoted attachment to the papal see? for the eagerness with which they combated in defence of the claims of Rome against the mightiest powers of the earth? It was of the last importance to the pope to put an end to the opposition which France still maintained against him. The more intimate the alliance which he could form with Henry IV, and the more consonant their respective systems of policy, the more weight would his re-

* Pegna, "Rotæ Romanæ decanus istarum rerum testis locupletissimus," as he is called by Serry. "Cerniendo (Molina) lo que verisimilmente podiar suceder de que su libro fuesse prohibido y quemado, porque assi se lo avia asomado el inquisitor general, luego lo aviso a Roma, donde por obra y negociacion de su general su santidad avocò a se esta causa, ordenando a la inquisicion general que no la concluyesse ni diesse sententia."

presentations have: every successive communication from Henry was conceived in a more conciliatory and yielding spirit.*

The pope's measures in favor of the Jesuits were vastly facilitated by their discreet and considerate conduct.

They were careful not to betray any irritation or aversion against the King of France, nor were they inclined to rush into any further danger in behalf of the lost cause of the League; as soon as they perceived the turn which the pope's policy had taken, they adopted a similar one. Father Commolet, who, even after the conversion of Henry IV, had exclaimed from the pulpit that it was needful that some Ehud should arise against him, and who had been compelled to flee before the victorious monarch, changed his opinion on his arrival at Rome. Even he declared in favor of the king's absolution. Amongst all the cardinals, there was none who, by prudent concessions, conciliatory measures, and personal influence with the pope, contributed so much to obtain this absolution as the Jesuit Toledo.† Such was the conduct of the members of the company of Jesus while the parliament was still passing new edicts against them; edicts of which Aquaviva complained, but without suffering himself to be hurried by them into violence or intemperate zeal. It had been impossible to expel all the Jesuits; those who remained now declared for the king, and admonished the people to love him and be faithful to him. Some were already eagerly returning to fill the deserted places; but Aquaviva refused to sanction this, and desired them to await the king's permission. Care was taken that both these circumstances should come to the king's ears, upon which he was greatly delighted, and expressed his gratitude to the general in autograph letters. The Jesuits did not neglect to confirm him in these favorable dispositions. Father Rocheome, who was called the French Cicero, composed a popular apology for the order, the arguments in which were particularly convincing to the king.‡

These combined efforts of the pope and the order received additional strength from the political views of Henry himself. He saw, as he says in one of his despatches, that by persecuting a society which numbered in its ranks so many men of talent and learning—which had so much power and so large a following—he would create irreconcilable enemies and give occasion to conspiracies amongst the still numerous class of zealous catholics. He saw that he could not drive the Jesuits out of those places in which they

* The Jesuits wished to deny that their affairs had become connected with politics; but it appears from Bentivoglio, *Memorie*, ii, 6, p. 395, how carefully cardinal Aldobrandino kept in view their interest during the transactions at Lyons; and the king at that very time made a declaration in their favor. (*Le Roi au Card^e Ossat*, 20 Janv. 1601.)

† Du Perron à Villeroy, *Ambassades*, i, 23: "Seulement vous diray-je que M. le C^l Tolet a fait des miracles, et s'est montré bon Français."

‡ Gretser has translated them into Latin for the benefit of those not understanding French. *Gretseri Opera*; tom. xi, p. 280.

still maintained their ground; while, by attempting to do so, he would have run the risk of exciting popular commotions.* Besides this, Henry had made such large concessions to the Huguenots by the edict of Nantes, that he owed some fresh guarantee to the catholics. Murmurs were already heard in Rome, and the pope sometimes hinted that he feared he had been deceived.† At length, however, the king stood on so commanding a height that he could take a more comprehensive view of the situation of things than his parliament, and had no need to fear the connection of the Jesuits with Spain. Father Lorenzo Maggio hastened, in the name of the general, to France, to assure the king with the most solemn oaths of the fidelity of the society. "If any thing happens to prove the contrary," said he, "let me and my brethren be accounted the blackest traitors."‡ The king thought it more prudent to put their friendship than their enmity to the trial. He perceived that he might make them subserve his own interests against Spain.§

Influenced by so many motives of external policy and internal necessity, the king declared himself, during the negotiations at Lyons in the year 1600, ready to admit the order into his dominions. He chose the Jesuit Cotton for his own confessor; and after various other indications of favor had prepared the public mind for what was to follow, he published, in September, 1603, the edict by which the order of Jesuits was re-established in France. They were subjected to certain conditions; the most important of which was, that not only the superiors, but all the members of the society in France, must for the future be Frenchmen.|| Henry doubted not that he had arranged everything in such a manner as to justify his entire confidence.

He granted them his favor frankly and without reservation, and lent them his assistance in their own affairs—especially in their dispute with the Dominicans.

Clement VIII displayed a lively theological interest in this controversy. Sixty-five meetings and thirty-seven disputations on all the points which could possibly come under discussion, were held in his presence; he wrote a good deal on the subject himself, and, as far as we can judge, he inclined to the traditional scheme of

* *Dispaccio del re de' 15 Agosto, 1603, al re Jacopo d'Inghilterra*; abridged in Siri, *Memorie recondite*, i, p. 247.

† *Ossat à Villeroy*, i, 503.

‡ *Sully*, lib. xvii, p. 307.

§ "Riconobbe chiaramente d'esserne per ritrarre servizio e contentamento in varié occorrenze a prò proprio e de' suoi amici contra gli Spagnoli stessi." (*Dispaccio*, Siri.)

|| *Edictum Regium*, in *Juvenius*, p. v, lib. xii, n. 59. In *Juvenius* is to be found everything said at that time in favor of the Jesuits; and in the *Historia Jesuitica Basileæ*, by *Ludovicus Lucius*, 1627, lib. ii, c. ii, everything that was said in their disparagement. From neither do we learn the decisive causes which turned the scale in their favor; they are however more nearly indicated by their apologist than by their accuser.

faith, and would have decided in favor of the Dominicans. Bellarmine himself said, that he did not deny the pope's inclination to declare himself against the Jesuits, but that nevertheless he knew he would not act upon it. It would have been too perilous, at a time when the Jesuits were the most eminent apostles of the faith throughout the world, to break with them on account of one article of that faith; indeed, they already talked of demanding a council: the pope is said to have exclaimed, "They dare everything—everything!"*

It would also have involved him in disagreements with the French, who were their decided supporters. Henry IV was on their side; either because their system of opinions was more congenial to his mind—which is certainly possible; or because he wished to show peculiar approbation to that order which made war upon protestantism, that so he might place his orthodoxy beyond the reach of doubt. Cardinal du Perron took part in the congregations, and sustained the Jesuit party with dexterous zeal. He told the pope that a protestant might subscribe the creed of the Dominicans; and it is not impossible that these words made some impression on Clement.

The great contest between France and Spain which agitated the world was likewise blended with these dissensions. The Dominicans received as cordial support from the Spaniards as the Jesuits from the French.†

Hence it happened that Clement eventually came to no decision. To offend either of these influential orders, or either of these puissant kings, would have involved him in fresh perplexities.

* Serry, 271. Contarini also maintains that they had indulged in threats: "Portata la disputatione a Roma ventilata tra theologi, il papa e la maggior parte de' consultori inclinavano nell' opinione di Domenicani. Ma li Gesuiti, vedendosi in pericolo di cader da quel credito per il quale pretendono d' haver il primo luoco di dottrina nella chiesa catolica, erano resoluti di mover ogni machina per non ricever il colpo." The doctrine which, according to Contarini, they threaten is, that the pope was undoubtedly infallible, but that it was no article of their faith to acknowledge one man or another for the true pope. "La potenza di questi e l' autorità di chi si proteggeva era tanta che ogni cosa era dissimulata e si mostrava di non sentirlo e sopra diffinire della controversia si andava temporeggiando per non tirarsi adosso carica maggiore."

† Principal passage in du Perron, *Ambassades et Negotiations*, liv. iii, tom. ii, p. 839. Lettre du 23 Janv., 1606: "Les Espagnols font profession ouvertement de proteger les Jacobins [Dominicans], en haine, comme je croy, de l'affection que le pere general des Jesuites et presque tous ceux de son ordre, excepté ceux qui dependent des peres Mendozze et Personius comme particulierement les Jesuites Anglois, ont montré de porter à vostre majesté: et semble que d'une dispute de religion ils en veulent faire une querelle d'estat." This shows that, a small fraction excepted, the Jesuits were held to incline to the French party. In Serry, p. 440, we find, that the Dominicans were at that time excluded from the French court: "Prædicatores tum temporis in Gallia minus accepti et a publicis curiæ muneribus nuper amoti."

§ 10. POLITICAL SITUATION OF CLEMENT VIII.

It was indeed now one of the chief cares of the papal see to alienate neither of the great powers in whose hands rested the balance of the catholic world; to appease their mutual differences, or at least never to allow them to break out into open war; and while thus mediating between them, to preserve its influence over both.

The papacy here appears to us employed in its highest vocation—as mediator and peacemaker.

The world was mainly indebted to Clement VIII for the peace of Vervins, which was concluded on the 2d of May, 1598. He seized the favorable moment when the king of France was constrained by his disordered finances, and the king of Spain by the increasing feebleness of age, to think of some accommodation. He prepared the preliminaries, and made the first overtures; while the general of the Franciscans, Fra Bonaventura Calatagirona, whom he had fortunately selected for this business and had sent to France, removed the first and greatest obstacles. The Spaniards were in possession of a number of strong places in France; they were ready to give them all up with the single exception of Calais; the French, on the other hand, insisted on the restitution of Calais also, and it was Fra Calatagirona who prevailed on the Spaniards to cede it. It was not till this point was gained that the negotiations at Vervins were formally opened. A legate and a nuncio presided over them; the Franciscan general continued to mediate with consummate address, and even his secretary Soto acquired no little credit by his share in the transactions. The main thing was to induce the king of France to separate himself from his allies, England and Holland. This was regarded as an advantage to catholicism, since it seemed to complete the secession of Henry IV from the protestant cause. After long hesitation Henry consented, upon which the Spaniards gave up all their conquests; they were restored to the power which had possession of them in the year 1559. The legate declared that his holiness would feel a greater pleasure at this restitution, than even at the acquisition of Ferrara; that a peace embracing and tranquillizing all Christendom, was far more important in his eyes than that temporal conquest.*

At this peace there was but one point which remained unsettled—the dispute between Savoy and France.

The Duke of Savoy had, as we mentioned, taken forcible possession of Saluzzo, and could not be prevailed on to give it up again;

* At the end of the edition of the *Mémoires d'Angoulême*, Didot, 1756, there is, i, 131—363, under the title of *Autres Mémoires*, a circumstantial account of the negotiations at Vervins, distinguished for its accuracy and impartiality: the accounts I have given are derived from it; the last in p. 337.

after many fruitless negotiations Henry IV at length had recourse to arms. The pope, to whom the mediation of this affair had previously been expressly committed at Vervins, had the greatest possible interest in restoring peace, which he urged at every opportunity and in every audience; every time the king sent him assurances of his devotedness, he demanded this peace as a proof of the sincerity of these professions—as a favor which must be granted to himself. The real difficulty lay in the apparent prejudice to Italian interests generally from the restitution of Saluzzo, and in the unwillingness of the Italians that the French should possess a province in Italy. The expedient of leaving the Duke in possession of Saluzzo, and indemnifying France by the cession of Bresse and certain neighboring Savoyard districts, was, as far as I can discover, first proposed by the minorite Calatagirona.* In the year 1600, cardinal Aldobrandino had the merit of reducing this proposal to a positive agreement at Lyons. The French were grateful to him for his successful negotiation, since Lyons thus acquired a more extended boundary, which had long been the object of her desire.†

Under these auspicious circumstances, pope Clement occasionally cherished the idea of turning the forces of the whole catholic world, now reunited under his authority, against the ancient and hereditary foe of Christendom. A Turkish war had broken out anew in Hungary; even at that time people thought they perceived symptoms of declining strength in the Ottoman empire; and the personal inefficiency of the sultans, the influence of the seraglio, and the incessant revolts of the people, especially in Asia, seemed to justify the belief that some attack upon Turkey might now be attempted with success. The pope at least gave the project his strenuous support. As early as the year 1599, the sum which he had applied to this purpose amounted to a million and a half of scudi, and shortly afterwards we find a papal army of 12,000 men on the Danube. But far more momentous consequences might be anticipated when once the powers of the west should combine on a large scale for an expedition against the east, especially if Henry IV could be brought to add his forces to those of Austria. The pope was indefatigable in his exhortations, and in fact Henry wrote immediately after the peace of Vervins to the Venetians, that he hoped in a short time to embark at Venice, like the French captains of old, on an expedition against Constantinople. He repeated his promise to that effect at the ratification of the peace with Savoy.‡ But unquestionably the execution of such an undertaking must have been preceded by a more sincere and cordial friendship than was possible after so violent a shock of interests and passions.

* Ossat to Villeroy, March 25, 1599.

† Bentivoglio gives (in the principal part of the second book of his Memoire, c. 2.—c. 6.) these transactions in detail.

‡ Lettre du Roy, in the Appendix to the second volume of Ossat's Lettres, p. 11.

On the other hand, the animosities and rivalries which still subsisted between the two greatest powers, were more than once advantageous to the pope's interests. Pope Clement had indeed occasion once more to turn them to account in the affairs of the ecclesiastical states.

In the midst of these brilliant achievements and successes abroad, Clement exercised a rigorous and very monarchical power in his own states.

The new constitution which Sixtus V had given to the college of cardinals, appeared to him necessary in order to give it a due and regular influence in public business. But form is not substance: and the very contrary to his expectations took place. The tedious course of law proceedings, and the cumbrousness and immobility to which a deliberative body is condemned, (chiefly from the diversity of opinions it comprises,) rendered it impossible to Clement VIII, to confide important business to the congregations. At first he consulted them, though he often departed from their decisions; then he only communicated affairs to them immediately before they were concluded; in short the consistories served rather for giving publicity than for consultation, till at length he employed them only on subordinate matters or mere formalities.*

It is not to be disputed that the new turn which Clement gave to the policy of the court of Rome, rendered this curtailment of the powers of the congregations almost inevitable, yet it was not a little prompted by his inclination for absolute power. The administration of the country was carried on in the same spirit; new taxes were imposed without the slightest inquiry into the resources of the country; the revenues of the communes were placed under special supervision; the barons were subjected to the rigorous operation of the laws, and not the slightest deference was paid to aristocratic descent or privileges.

As long as the pope conducted all public business himself, this worked well. The cardinals, at least, although their thoughts were not all on the surface, were full of admiration and submissiveness.

Gradually, however, as the pope advanced in age, the real possession and exercise of this monarchical power devolved on his nephew, Pietro Aldobrandino. He was the son of that Pietro Aldobrandino who had distinguished himself, among the remarkable band of brothers to which he belonged, by his practical talents as a lawyer. At the first glance he promised little. His person was

* Delfino: "Ora li consistorj non servono per altro che per comunicare in essi la collation delle chiese e per publicar le resoluzioni d'ogni qualità fatte dal papa e le congregazioni, da quella dell' inquisitione in poi che si è pur conservata in qualche decoro e si riduce ogni settimana, tutte le altre, anche quelle che sono de' regolari e de' vescovi, sono in sola apparenza: perchè se bene risolvono ad un modo, il papa eseguisce ad un altro e nelle cose più importanti, come nel dar ajuto a principi, di spedir legati, dichiarar capi."

insignificant; he was marked with the small-pox; he had an asthma and coughed incessantly, and in his youth he had made no great proficiency in his studies. As soon, however, as his uncle took him into public business, he showed an address and ability which no one expected from him. Not only did he know how to adapt himself to the character of the pope, and, if we may use the expression, to fill up the deficiencies, to soften its asperities, and to render less conspicuous and less mischievous the weaknesses which gradually appeared in it,* but he won the confidence and approbation of foreign ambassadors to such a degree, that they all desired too see political affairs in his hands. It was originally intended that he should divide them with his cousin Cinthio, who was also a man of some talents, especially for literature: but Pietro soon shook off his associate in power. In the year 1603, the cardinal was omnipotent at court. "All negotiation," says a report of that year, "all favor and patronage originate with him; prelates, nobles, courtiers, ambassadors throng to his house. It may be said that everything passes through his ear, and is determined by his opinion; that every project is proclaimed through his mouth, and executed by his hands."†

Such a power as this, so unlimited, so all-pervading, and at the same time with so little claim to legitimacy, whatever friends it might find, inevitably excited in the majority a profound though secret feeling of discontent. A slight incident afforded an occasion or this feeling to break out into open resistance.

A man who had been arrested for debt, seized the moment when the sbirri were leading him past the Farnese palace, to throw off his chains and rush into it for shelter. The popes had long refused to recognise the right of the great families of Rome to grant asylum to malefactors in their houses. Cardinal Farnese, though connected with the pope by the marriage of an Aldobrandino into his family, now reasserted that right. He ordered his people to drive out the sbirri, who wanted to search the palace for their prisoner; he told the governor, who sought to interpose his authority, that it was not the custom of his house to give up the accused; he peremptorily refused the mediation of cardinal Aldobrandino, who, wishing to avoid scandal, came himself to arrange the affair amicably; and told him that after the death of the pope, which might soon be

* *Relatione al Cl. Este.* "Dove il papa inasprisce, Aldobrandino mitiga: dove rompe, consolida: dove commanda giustizia, intercede per gratia."

† "Orbis in urbe." Yet even Aldobrandino was subject to secret influences. "Ha diversi servitori," says the same narrative, "ma quel che assorbe i favori di tutti, è il cav. Clemente Sennesio, mastro di camera, salito a quel grado di privatissima fortuna, e che per ampliar maggiormente la sua autorità ha fatto salire il fratello al segretariato della consulta: così possedendo tra lor due la somma, l'uno della gratia del cardinale, l'altro della provisione d' officj e delle maggiori espeditioni."

looked for, a Farnese would be of more importance than an Aldobrandino.

What mainly gave him courage for so daring a defiance of the pope's power, was his connection with the Spaniards. Henry IV's cession of Saluzzo (which had been regarded at Rome as rather poor-spirited) had led to the inference that he would not meddle in Italian affairs. This had raised the importance of Spain again in public estimation, and as the Aldobrandini manifested so strong a leaning towards France, their antagonists attached themselves to Spain. The Spanish ambassador Viglienna, gave his entire approbation to Farnese's conduct in this affair.*

What more could be wanting than the support of a foreign power and the protection of a great family, to bring to an open explosion the discontent of the Roman nobles? Cavalieri and nobili thronged to the Farnese palace; some cardinals joined them openly, others favored them secretly.† There was an universal outcry that the pope and the church must be emancipated from the thralldom they were in to cardinal Aldobrandino. On the pope ordering troops to Rome, the Spanish ambassador promised subsidies to the conspirators, and advised them to call in some armed bands which just then appeared on the Neapolitan frontier. But little was wanting to cause the outbreak of an open feud, in the spirit of past ages, within the walls of Rome itself.

But cardinal Farnese would not suffer things to proceed to such an extremity. It was enough for him to have proved his independence, his power, and the possibility of resistance. He determined to retire to Castro, his own estate. He executed this in a grand style. He secured one gate, caused troops to be posted at it, and then left the city, escorted by a retinue of ten carriages and three hundred horsemen. He had indeed gained all he wanted; this display of insubordination answered his ends; a formal negotiation was set on foot; the pope's party affected to believe that the whole blame rested with the governor, and made a show of effecting a reconciliation between him and the house of Farnese. The cardinal then returned, with not less pomp and splendor than had marked his departure. Every street, window, and roof was filled with people, and never, in the time of their greatest power, were the

* Contarini, *Historia Veneta*, tom. iii, lib. xiii, MS., amongst all the authors of the time, the most circumstantial and worthy of credit on this subject: "Viglienna mandò ordine a tutti i baroni e cavalieri Romani obligati alla corona che per servitio del re fossero immediate nella casa del cardinal Farnese."

† Contarini: "Diede grand' assenso al fatto la venuta de' cardinali Sfondrato, e Santiquatro, che niente mirarono trattandosi di Spagna al debito de' cardinali verso il papa: ed a questi che apertamente si dichiaravano diversi altri in occulto adherivano, tra' quali il cl. Conti.—Ma il popolo, la plebe senza nome, sempre avida di cangiar stato, favoriva al cardinale, e per le piazze, per le strade a gran caterve applaudevano al partito di lui."

Farnesi so brilliantly received, or greeted with such loud acclamations.*

But it was not only weakness or forced compliance which led cardinal Aldobrandino to permit this triumphal entry to take place; the Farnesi were after all near kinsfolk of the papal house; neither would it have answered any end to display implacable resentment; the main thing was to remove the cause of the evil, which lay in political circumstances. It was impossible to obtain from the Spaniards any alteration of their system, or even the recall of so troublesome an ambassador; Aldobrandino's only resource therefore was, to inspire Henry IV with a lively interest in Italian affairs.

The arrival, in December 1604, of three French cardinals at once, all distinguished men, was as refreshing to him, say his enemies, as a cool and gentle breeze in a scorching day. It was once more practicable to form a French party in Rome. The new-comers were received with joy, and the signoria Olympia, the cardinal's sister, declared to them a thousand times that her house would place itself unconditionally under French protection. Baronius declared that his historical researches had proved to him that the Roman see was more indebted to the French nation than to any other; when he saw a picture of the king he broke out into a shout of delight. He endeavored to discover whether after the cession of Saluzzo there was no other pass of the Alps remaining in the hands of the French. Now Baronius was not merely a writer of history, he was the pope's confessor and saw him every day; and however circumspect and reserved the pope and Aldobrandino might be, the effect was the same, so long as their nearest followers expressed themselves so openly, since they were supposed to repeat the sentiments of their master. As Henry at length resolved to grant pensions, he had soon a party strong enough to counter-balance that of Spain.

But Aldobrandino's views reached much further. He often represented to the Venetian ambassadors and cardinals, the necessity of setting bounds to the arrogance of the Spaniards. "Can it be endured," he said, "that they should rule in the house of another in his own despite?"† It might indeed be dangerous for one who would soon have to return to private life, to draw upon himself the ill-will of that power; but his honor would not permit him to endure that the papacy should lose any thing of its reputation under his uncle. In short, he proposed to the Venetians a union of the Italian states, under French protection, against Spain.

* Contarini: "S' inviò in Roma entrando in Guisa trionfante con clamori popolari che andavano al cielo, incontrato in forna di re dall' ambasciator di Cesare, di Spagna, dalli cardinali Sfondrato, Santiquatro, San Cesareo e Conti, dal general Georgio suo cognato, tutta la cavalleria e tutte le guardie del papa, confluendo li cavalieri e baroni."

† Du Perron au Roi, 25 Janv. 1605. (Ambass. i. 509.)

Already too he had entered into negotiations with the other states. He did not love Tuscany—with Modena he had continual disputes—Parma was implicated in the transactions of cardinal Farnese; but he seemed to forget all these things for the sake of avenging himself on Spain. To this object he devoted himself with passion; he spoke of nothing else—he appeared to think of nothing else. In order to be nearer to the states with which he wished to combine, he repaired to Ancona in the beginning of the year 1605.

He had as yet accomplished nothing, when his uncle died on the 5th of March, 1605, and with him ended his power.

Meanwhile the stimulus given to public opinion, and the industrious revival of French influence in Rome and Italy, were already of considerable importance. They marked a tendency of the general policy of the Aldobrandini.

We shall not, I think, be over-refining, if we trace the causes of this policy to the original situation of that family in Florence. It had always belonged to the French party. Messer Salvestro had been an active leader in the commotion in the year 1527, in which the Medici were exiled, and the French called in. Accordingly, when his enemies, the Spaniards and the Medici remained masters of the field, he had to pay the penalty of his hostility, and to quit his country. Was it likely that pope Clement would forget this? that he would love the Spaniards and the Medici? He was naturally of a close, reserved temper; on the rare occasions when he opened himself to his intimate friends, he uttered this maxim: "Ask your forefathers, and they will show the way in which you should go."* It is certain that he once had the view of reforming the state of Florence, as he expressed himself. His partiality to France is obvious; he found the papacy in the strictest alliance with Spain, he led it to the verge of a union with France against Spain. If the restoration of a national power in France was for the interests of the church, it was at the same time with Clement an affair of inclination—a personal satisfaction. Nevertheless he was cautious, provident, guarded; he attempted nothing that he could not carry through. Instead of reforming Florence, he reformed, as a Venetian said, his own thoughts; when he saw that it could not be done without universal danger, he abandoned it.† It never was his intention to invite the French arms into Italy. He was satisfied with restoring the equilibrium, emancipating himself

* Delfino: "La poca inclinazione che per natura e per heredità ha il papa a Spagnoli."

† Venier: "Vedendo le preparazioni e risoluzioni di V^{ra} S^a et anco del granduca e che la nostra republica s'era dichiarata col mandar un ambasciatore espresso per questo negotio a S. S^a, conoscendo ella che si sarebbe acceso un gran fuoco in Italia e con pericolo di gravissimo incendio della chiesa, in luogo di tentar la riforma dello stato di Firenze riformò i suoi pensieri."

from the tyranny of Spain, and giving a wider basis to ecclesiastical policy; peaceably, gradually, without noise or convulsion, but so much the more securely.

§ 11. ELECTION AND FIRST PROCEEDINGS OF PAUL V.

The influence of the French manifested itself in the very next conclave, and, when Aldobrandino joined them, became irresistible. They raised to the papal dignity a cardinal whom the king of Spain had expressly excluded—a Medici, nearly related to the queen of France. The letters in which Du Perron announces this unexpected event to Henry IV, are full of exultation, and the accession of the new pope was celebrated in France with public rejoicings.* The triumph, however, was short, for Leo XI survived his election only twenty-six days; it is asserted that the weight of his new dignity, and the feeling of the arduousness of the office imposed upon him, extinguished vital powers already enfeebled by age.

The contest at the new election raged with greater violence than before, from the circumstance that Aldobrandino was no longer in such close connection with the French, and was powerfully opposed by Montalto. As at some former elections, a contest ensued between the creatures of the last pope and those of his predecessor. Each of these party leaders, surrounded by his followers, conducted his chosen candidate to one of the chapels, and proposed him in opposition to the other party; attempts were made to elect several in succession. Baronius, in spite of the most violent resistance on his part, was dragged to the Capella Paolina; but the opposition only seemed more furious each time, nor could either party succeed in carrying the election of any one of its candidates. The election of a pope, like most other successes of the kind, was gradually determined by the question, who had the fewest enemies, not who could plead the most merits.

At length amongst his uncle's creatures, Aldobrandino cast his eyes upon a man who had succeeded in conciliating general favor, and in avoiding all dangerous enmities—Cardinal Borghese. He contrived to enlist on his side the French, who had already partially effected a reconciliation between Montalto and Aldobrandino; Montalto, therefore, gave his vote to Borghese, who was accordingly

* *Historie de la Vie de Messire Philippe de Mornay Seigneur du Plessis*, p. 305: "Ce pape de la maison des Medicis, dit Leon XI, qui avoit cousté au roi 300,000 escus à faire, en la faveur duquel il faisoit grand fondement, et pour l'élection duquel par un exemple nouveau furent faits feux de joye et tiré le canon en France, qui veseut peu de jours et ne laissa au roy que le reproche par les Espagnols d'une largesse si mal employée et le doute de rencontrer une succession, comme il advint, plus favorable à l'Espagnol."

elected before the Spaniards even knew that he was proposed, (May 16, 1605.)*

We have here a fresh example of the rule we formerly remarked; the kinsman of the last pope decided the choice of the new one. The Borghesi too were originally in a similar position with the Aldobrandini; they had quitted Siena, as the latter had abandoned Florence, in order to escape the domination of the Medici. From these causes it appeared evident that the new government must be a direct continuation of the preceding.

Paul V, however, immediately on his election, betrayed a harsh and eccentric disposition.

From the situation of an advocate, he had risen through every step of clerical dignity;† he had been vice-legate at Bologna, *auditor di camera*, vicar of the pope, and inquisitor. He had lived in seclusion, buried in his books and deeds, and had never taken part in any political affairs; hence he had incurred no personal or active hostilities. No party beheld in him an antagonist; neither Aldobrandino nor Montalto, neither French nor Spaniards, had experienced or feared his opposition; and this was the quality that gained him the tiara.

He, however, took a totally different view of his own success. That he should have attained the dignity of pope without any effort of his own, without employing any arts or intrigues, appeared to him an effect of the immediate interposition of the Holy Ghost. He felt raised above himself by it; the entire change in his air and demeanor, in his gestures and tone of voice, astonished even a court so familiar with metamorphoses of all kinds. He also felt the whole weight of his duties and obligations, and proposed to himself to administer the supreme power with the same uncompromising rigor he had shown in adhering to the letter of the law in all his former offices.

Other popes had usually signalled their accession by some act of mercy. Paul V, on the contrary, began his reign by passing a sentence which even to this day excites horror.

A poor author named Piccinardi, a native of Cremona, out of revenge for some real or supposed injury, had employed his solitary hours in writing a biography of Clement VIII, in which he compared that pope to Tiberius—small as is the resemblance between those two rulers. Not only had Piccinardi never allowed this singular work to be printed, but he had kept it to himself, and com-

* Still it may also have been, that Montalto and Aldobrandino first came to an agreement about Borghese. *Conclave di Paolo V*, p. 370; it is there said of both, "Dopo d'haver proposti molti, elessero Borghese, amico di Montalto e creatura confidente di Aldobrandino."

† *Relazione di IV Ambasciatori mandati a Roma, 15 Genn. 1605, m. V, i. e. 1606.* "Il padre Camillo non volendo più habitare Siena caduta della libertà, se ne andò a Roma. Di buono spirito, d'ingegno acuto, riuscì nella professione d'avvocato. . . . Il papa non vuol esser Sanese ma Romana."

municated it to scarcely any one; a woman who had formerly lived in his house gave information of its existence. Paul V at first expressed himself very calmly on the subject, and, as several powerful persons and even ambassadors used their influence in the author's behalf, he seemed to have little to fear. The universal astonishment may be imagined, when one day Piccinardi was brought out and beheaded on the bridge of St. Angelo. Whatever might be said in palliation of his offence, it is undeniable that he had committed the crime of high treason, to which the laws awarded the punishment of death. No mercy could be hoped from a pope like Paul; even the unfortunate man's small pittance was confiscated.*

At court the pope immediately re-established the rules of the council of Trent with regard to residence; he pronounced it a deadly sin for a bishop to live out of his diocese while enjoying its revenues. He did not even except the cardinals, nor would he allow a place in the administration of public affairs as an excuse. Many retired to their sees; others only petitioned for delay;† while others again, rather than either quit Rome or be thought regardless of their duty, sent in their resignation.

But the most serious evil was, that he had imbibed from his canonical studies the most exaggerated ideas of the importance of the papacy. He maintained in its fullest significancy the doctrine that the pope was the sole vicegerent of Jesus Christ; that the power of the keys was confided implicitly to his discretion, and that he was to be revered by all nations and sovereigns in profound humility.‡ He said he had been raised to the papal seat, not by men, but by the Holy Spirit, which imposed upon him the duties of protecting the immunities of the church and executing the judgments of God; and that he was bound in conscience to exert all his powers to deliver the church from usurpation and oppression: for this he would rather risk his life, than hereafter, when he had to appear before the judgment-seat of God, be called to account for a single neglect of his duty.

With lawyer-like keenness he assumed that the rights of the church were commensurate with her claims, and looked upon it as a matter of conscience to maintain and renew them in all their strictness.

* The four ambassadors mentioned in the last note relate this incident; "si congettura," they add, "fondatamente che abbi ad esser il pontefice severo e rigorosissimo et inexorable in fatto di giustizia."

† Du Perron à Villeroy, 17 May, 1606. "Le pape ayant fait entendre ces jours passez que sa volonté estoit que tous les cardinaux qui avoient des éveschez y allassent ou bien les resignassent ou y missent des coadjuteurs, . . . j'ay pensé."

‡ Relazione di IV, Ambasciatori: "Conoscendo il pontefice presente sua grandezza spirituale, e quanto se le debba da tutti li popoli christiani attribuir di ossequio e di obedienza, non eccettuando qualsivoglia grandissimo principe."

§ 12. DISPUTES BETWEEN ROME AND VENICE.

From the time that the papal power had succeeded in making head against protestantism, and had brought into fresh activity the ideas on which the hierarchy is mainly founded, it had also successfully re-asserted all its canonical rights with relation to the internal affairs of catholic states.

In subduing her adversaries, the church increased her authority over her adherents.

As soon as the bishops had been constrained to a more perfect obedience, the monastic orders closely united to the curia, and all reforms made in a spirit calculated to advance the supreme power of the pope, regular nuntiatures arose in all the capitals of Europe, and combined with the dignity of an embassy from an influential power, a jurisdiction which enabled them to exercise an important control over all the most momentous affairs of public and private life.

But even where the church had re-established herself in unison with the state, and where they had employed their combined powers for the suppression of protestant opinions, this very connection between them soon produced disagreements.

At that time, as indeed at the present day, the court of Rome was extremely attentive to the maintenance of all its claims in Italy; we find the Italian states involved in interminable disputes with the church from this cause. The ancient struggles between the popes and those states had not been put an end to, either in general, by a decisive principle, or in detail, by treaty and agreement. The popes themselves differed in their conduct on this point. Pius V and Gregory XIII (in the former half of his reign at least) were the most obstinate in the assertion of their claims; Sixtus V was in several instances far more yielding. The policy of the states and of their envoys was, to get over the moments of difficulty without prejudice to themselves, and to turn the favorable ones to account; a line of conduct which can never entirely fail of success: the inclinations of individual popes changed and passed away, but the interests of states remained unaltered. At all events the questions to be resolved thus fell far less within the province of the canon law and legal interpretation, than within that of policy, and the adjustment of mutual demands and concessions.

Pope Paul V, however, viewed his rights in a thoroughly lawyer-like manner: he regarded the canonical regulations of the Decretals as the laws of God. The occasional concessions or connivances of his predecessors he ascribed, not to the stringent necessity of the case, but to their own weakness and negligence, and felt himself bound to atone for their faults. Hence we find him, shortly after

his accession, involved in the bitterest animosities with all his Italian neighbors.

In Naples, the regent Ponte, president of the king's council, had sentenced to the galleys an ecclesiastical notary for refusing to give information of a marriage to the civil court; and also a bookseller, who, contrary to a royal decree, had published the work of Baronius against the Sicilian monarchy. A remonstrance of Clement VIII against these sentences had produced no effect. Paul V did not hesitate an instant to pronounce sentence of excommunication against the Regent.*

The duke of Savoy had conferred some benefices, the gift of which was claimed by the court of Rome; Genoa had prohibited meetings held at the Jesuits' colleges, because they endeavored to control the appointments to public offices; Lucca had forbidden the execution of any decrees whatever of papal officers without the previous sanction of the local magistrates; and certain ecclesiastics, guilty of heinous offences, had even been brought before the temporal criminal court of Venice. It was the very universality of this resistance that so inflamed the official zeal and indignation of the pope. In every case he interposed the most imperative orders, the severest menaces. He even chose this moment to extend the claims of the spiritual power. Amongst other things, he maintained the unheard-of assertion, that it was not the business of the state to prohibit the intercourse of its subjects with protestants; that, he affirmed, was the affair of the church, and one belonging exclusively to the spiritual jurisdiction.

Most of the Italian states looked upon these proceedings as the result of exaggerated notions which experience would soon correct, and none of them wished to be the first to break with the pope. The grand-duke of Tuscany declared he had affairs in hand which would make the pope furious, but that he sought to postpone their execution; that Paul V was a man who judged of the world from a town in the States of the Church territory, where everything was conducted according to the letter of the ecclesiastical law; but that this could not last; the Spaniards would be caught, and then they must either be voluntarily set free, or they would tear the net for themselves; and that others had better wait for their example.† The other powers were nearly of the same opinion, and at first gave way. Genoa revoked her ordinance; the duke of Savoy suffered the disputed benefices to be transferred to one of Paul's kinsmen; even the Spaniards allowed their regent to request and receive absolution before numerous witnesses.

The Venetians alone, usually so prudent and so pliant, disdained

* *Les ambassadas du cardinal du Perron*, ii, 683, 736.

† *Relazione di IV ambasciatori*. "Il granduca ricordava che il pontefice non era uso a governar come principe grande, perchè aver avuto qualche governo di città delle chiese, dove si procede col rigor ecclesiastico e da prete, non basta per saper governare come capo supremo."

to adopt this policy. Venice had indeed received greater provocation than the other powers; the matter in question afforded an example how irritating the interference of the court of Rome might become, especially to a neighboring state.

This vicinity was in itself a great inconvenience, especially after the church had obtained possession of Ferrara. The boundary disputes which the republic had with the dukes were now carried on with far greater eagerness and violence by the court of Rome; the Venetians were molested in the work of clearing the channel of the Po, which they were then carrying on at a great expense, and in their ancient rights of fishing. They were forced to protect their workmen with armed vessels, and to make reprisals on the subjects of the pope for some fishing boats which the legate of Ferrara had captured.

In the meantime Paul also laid claim to the rights of sovereignty in Ceneda, which Venice had quietly exercised for centuries; he attempted to transfer the appeals from the episcopal court, which had appellate jurisdiction there, to Rome. The hostility became very serious; the pope's nuncio proceeded to excommunications, while the Venetian senate took measures to prevent any civil consequences, resulting from them.*

The disputes concerning the tithes for the clergy were not less bitter. The Venetians declared that they had hitherto levied them without consulting the pope, and that they would not acknowledge his permission to be necessary for the collection of that tax. But it was still more exasperating to them that the court of Rome daily increased the number of exemptions from the payment of it. The cardinals, who possessed very rich livings, the knights of Malta, the monasteries, the mendicant friars, all who were abroad on the service of the church, or who could under any title be included in the pope's household, and, lastly, even those to whom the court of Rome had granted pensions payable out of the revenues of Venetian benefices, were declared exempt; the three former classes from half, and the others from the whole of the tax. The consequence was, that the rich not being obliged to contribute anything, the whole burden fell on the poor, who were unable to support it. The revenue of the Venetian clergy was estimated at eleven millions of ducats, whereas the actual tithes did not exceed 1200 ducats a year.†

* Nicolo Contarini: "Mentre si disputava, pareva che da alcuno fusse suggita la conversazione de' censorati, (officers of the republic who had opposed the transfer of the appeals to Rome,) la qual cosa giudicando il senato apportarli offesa, primieramente fece pubblicare un bando contra chi li avesse a schivo, e dopo a questi tutti in vita li fu data annua provisione quale era corrispondente alla loro fortuna."

† From a memorandum presented to the government at Rome: "Mentre s'esagera sopra la severità del magistrato, non si ritrovava fin hora essersi conseguiti più di 12 m. dueati, per li quali non si doveva far tanti richiami, e le for-

To these grievances were added innumerable points of difference regarding individuals rather than the state. I will only cite one instance.

It is well known how the press flourished in Venice during the early part of the sixteenth century; the republic was justly proud of this honorable branch of industry, which however was gradually ruined by the ordinances of the curia.

There was no end of prohibitions of books in Rome: first, all protestant works, then all publications against the morals of the clergy, against the immunity of the church, all that in the slightest degree departed from its dogmas, and all the works of any author who had in any one instance incurred an ecclesiastical censure. The trade could now only be carried on in articles of unimpeachable orthodoxy; in a purely mercantile point of view, it certainly revived a little by means of the splendid decorated missals and breviaries, for which the revival of catholic feelings and tastes now created a considerable demand. But even this was soon materially diminished; the court of Rome set on foot certain emendations in these books, which, in their new form, were to be published only at Rome.* The Venetians remarked, with the exasperation always produced by an abuse of public authority for private ends, that several of those employed in the congregation of the Index to superintend the affairs of the press, shared the profits of the printing-offices at Rome.

Under such circumstances, the relations subsisting between Rome and Venice were of course exclusively those of hatred and constraint.

It is easy to conceive how powerfully this temper of the public mind at Venice must have fostered that politico-religious opposition which conduced so essentially to the success of Henry IV, as early as 1589. Henry's victory, and the whole current of the affairs of Europe now confirmed and encouraged it. Even the disagreement with the pope contributed to throw the conduct of affairs into the hands of the representatives of these opinions; since none appeared more fit to defend the interests of the republic against the encroachments of the spiritual power. Accordingly, in January 1606, Leonardo Donato, the chief of the anti-romanist party, was elected doge; he admitted all the friends who had assisted him in the secret struggles of party, to a participation in power. Whilst the tiara was worn by a man who overstrained all his doubtful and disputable claims with blind and reckless zeal, the government of Venice fell into the hands of men in whom hostility to the domina-

tune della republica per gratia di dio non erano tali che ne dovesse far conto più che tanto." Certain arrangements were hereupon made, intended to avert the evil. But Contarini says, "In effetto montò poco percióche il foro era già fatto e l'abuso troppo confermato che distornarlo era più che malagevole."

* Contarini: "Al presente s'era devenuto in Roma in questo pensiero di ristampar messali et altro, levando di poterlo far ad altri."

tion of Rome had grown into a personal feeling; who owed their rise to it, and maintained the principle of resistance the more strenuously, because it enabled them to keep down their antagonists in the republic itself.

The character of both the powers rendered it inevitable that their collisions should every day become more hostile and more extensive.

The pope demanded, not only that all spiritual offenders should be delivered up to him, but also that two laws lately renewed by the Venetians, forbidding the alienation of immoveables to the clergy, and rendering the erection of new churches dependent on the civil authority, should be repealed. He declared that he would not tolerate ordinances so directly at variance with the decrees of the councils, the constitutions of his predecessors, and to all rules of canon law. The Venetians would not yield one hair's-breadth; they said that such were the fundamental laws of their state, transmitted to them by their ancestors, who had rendered such essential services to Christendom, and that the republic must keep them inviolate.

The contending parties did not long confine themselves to the immediate subjects of dispute. On the one hand, the church considered itself injured by the entire constitution of the Venetian republic; a republic which forbade reference to Rome; excluded, under the name of papalists, those who, by holding spiritual offices had been in any degree connected with the curia, from any participation in discussions on spiritual affairs; and even ventured to impose taxes on the clergy. The Venetians, on the other hand, declared that these provisions were quite insufficient. They demanded that their benefices should be given only to natives of Venice, who should also have the sole direction of the inquisition; that every bull should be submitted to the approval of the state; that every spiritual assembly should be held in presence of a secular president, and that all pecuniary aid to Rome should be forbidden.

Nor did they stop even here, but proceeded from the immediate questions in debate to general principles.

The Jesuits had long ago deduced the most important consequences to the rights of the church from their doctrine of the supremacy of the pope; and these they did not delay to bring forward anew.

Bellarmino said, that in like manner as the spirit guides and governs the flesh, and not the flesh the spirit, so the secular power should not dare to exalt itself above the spiritual, or attempt to guide, to order, or to restrain it; for that this would be a rebellion, a heathenish tyranny;* that the priesthood had its own sovereigns,

* Risposta del Cl. Bellarmino ad una lettera senza nome dell' autore. (Pamphlet of 1606.) "La raggione indirizza e regge e comanda alla carne e talvolta la castiga con digiuni e vigilie, ma lo carne non indirizza ne regge nè comanda

whose office it was to govern it not only in spiritual but also in temporal affairs; it would therefore be impossible for it to acknowledge any temporal sovereign, since no one could serve two masters: that the priest was to judge the emperor, not the emperor the priest, since it would be absurd for the sheep to attempt to guide the shepherd.* Neither ought a prince to levy any taxes on ecclesiastical property; he should draw his revenues from the laity;—the clergy contributed the far more effectual aid of prayer and sacrifice. The clergy were to be exempt from all burthens on person or property: they belonged to the family of Christ; this exemption, if not founded on an express command of holy scripture, at all events rested on inferences drawn from it, and on analogy; the ministers of the gospel were entitled to the same rights as the Levites in the Old Testament.†

These doctrines were calculated to secure to that spiritual republic which exercised so material an influence on political government, an equal degree of independence from its reactions. The greatest pains were taken at Rome to establish them by innumerable proofs and arguments from scripture, and by passages from decrees of councils and imperial and papal constitutions, and they were generally regarded as beyond the reach of refutation. Who in Venice would venture to oppose a Bellarmine or a Baronius?

But in the person of their consulter of state, Paolo Sarpi, the Venetians possessed a man so formed by nature and circumstances, and placed in such a situation, that he could dare to take up arms against the spiritual power.

Paoli Sarpi was the son of a merchant who had come from St. Vitus to Venice, and of a lady of the Venetian family of Morelli, which enjoyed the privileges of citizenship. His father was a man of small stature, dark complexion, and turbulent, quarrelsome temper, who ruined himself by imprudent speculations. His mother was one of those tall and beautiful Venetian blondes who are still not unfrequently to be seen, and was remarkable for modesty and good sense. Her son resembled her in his features.‡

nè punisce la ragione: così la potestà spirituale è superiore alla secolare e però la può e deve drizzare e reggere e comandarli e punirla quando si porta male; ma la potestà secolare non è superiore alla spirituale nè la può drizzare ne reggere ne gli può comandare ne punirla se non di fatto per ribellione e tirannide, come hanno fatto talvolta li principi gentili o heretici ”

* Bellarminus de clericis, i, c. 30: “ Respondeo, principem quidem ovem ac spiritualem filium pontificis esse, sed sacerdotem nullo modo filium vel ovem principis dici posse, quoniam sacerdotes et omnes clerici suum habent principem spiritualem, a quo non in spiritualibus solum sed etiam in temporalibus reguntur.”

† These maxims may be found verbatim either in the above-mentioned *Risposta*, or in Bellarmine's book, *De clericis*, particularly in lib. i, c. 30.

‡ Sarpi, born August 14, 1552. His father was named Francesco, his mother Elisabetta. *Era Fulgentio, Vita di Paolo Sarpi*. Grisellini, *Memorie di Fra Paolo Sarpi*, translated into German by Lebret, p. 13.

At the time we are now considering, the brother of Paolo's mother, Ambrosio Morelli, was at the head of a school enjoying a very high reputation, and principally devoted to the education of young nobles. The nephew of the master naturally shared in the instruction; among his companions were Nicolo Contarini and Andrea Morosini, with both of whom he became very intimate: thus on the very threshold of life he formed ties which had the strongest influence on his future destiny.

He did not however allow either his mother, his uncle, or these friends to deter him from indulging his inclination for solitude, and as early as his 14th or 15th year he entered a convent of Servites.

He spoke little and was always serious; he never ate meat, and till his thirtieth year drank no wine; he hated all lewd conversation: "there comes the virgin," said his companions when he approached; "let us talk of something else." Every wish, aspiration and desire he was capable of was directed to study, for which he possessed extraordinary aptitude.

He was endowed with the invaluable gift of a quick and accurate perception; thus he recognised any person he had once seen; as soon as he went into a garden he saw and remarked everything in it at a glance; in short, he was furnished both bodily and mentally, with clear and penetrating vision.* He dedicated himself to the study of the physical sciences with remarkable success. His admirers ascribe to him the discovery of the valves in the blood-vessels, and of the expansion and contraction of the pupil of the eye,† the first observation of the polar attraction of the magnet, besides several other magnetic phenomena; and it cannot be denied that he took an active share in the labors of Aquapendente, and still more of Porta.‡ To his physical studies he united mathematical calculations, and the observation of the phenomena of the human mind. In the library of the Servites at Venice, there is a copy of Vieta's works, in which the numerous mistakes of that author are corrected by the hand of Fra Paolo; there was in the same place a small treatise of his on the origin and decline of the opinions of men, which, judging from the extracts given by Foscarini, contained a theory of the intellectual powers which assumed sensation and reflection as their basis, and had considerable resem-

* According to Fra Fulgentio (p. 38), he himself spoke of his "gran passibilità, perché non sola l'oggetto in lui facesse moto, ma ogni minima reliquia." "Come un perito suonatore," continues Fulgentio, "ad un sol tocco fa giudizio del instrumento, così con far parlar le persone con prestezza ammirabile conosceva i fini, gli interessi," etc.

† See also Fischer, *Geschichte der Physik*, i, 169.

‡ "A quo," says Porta of him, "aliqua didicisse non solum fateri non erubescimus, sed gloriamur, quum eo doctiorem, subtiliorem, quotquot adhuc videre contigerit, neminem cognoverimus ad encyclopædium." *Magiæ natur. lib. vii. præf.* Grisellini, i, § 20, 24.

blance to that of Locke,* although not so entire a one as some have supposed. Fro Paolo wrote no more than he was forced; he had by nature no inclination for producing; he read incessantly, and appropriated what he read or observed: his mind was distinguished by sobriety and comprehensiveness, method and boldness, and went steadily forward in the paths of free investigation.

Such were the mental powers now directed to questions of theology and ecclesiastical law.

It has been said that Fra Paolo was in secret a protestant; it is not however probable that his protestantism went beyond the first simple principles of the confession of Augsburg—if indeed he held those; at all events he said mass every day during his whole life. It would be difficult to define to what form of Christianity he was inwardly attached; it was one often held in those times, especially by men who had devoted themselves to the physical sciences—a religion bound by none of the established systems—original, speculative, but neither absolutely defined nor completely worked out.

This, however, is certain, that Fra Paolo entertained the most determined and irreconcilable hatred towards the secular influence of the papacy; probably the only passion he ever cherished. Some have ascribed it to the refusal of a bishopric for which he was a candidate; and certainly no one can deny the effect that a mortifying rejection which shuts out the prospect from natural ambition may have, even on a manly spirit. Fra Paolo's feelings however had a far deeper foundation. His was a mingled political and religious sentiment, allied to all his other convictions, strengthened by study and experience, and shared by those friends and contemporaries who had formerly met at the house of Morisini, and who were now at the helm of the state. The chimerical arguments with which the Jesuits had endeavored to support their assertions, vanished before the clear-sighted and searching inquiry of Fra Paolo.

Indeed, the Jesuitical doctrines were entirely founded on a devotion to the holy see, arising from a bygone state of society.

It was not without labor that Sarpi at first wrought conviction in the minds of the jurists of his own country. Some held, with Bellarmine, that the exemption of the clergy was a rule of the divine law; others maintained, that at least the pope had the power to command it; they appealed to the decrees of councils, in which that exemption was expressly declared, and urged that what had

* His explanation of substance was peculiarly striking. Paolo Sarpi, according to Foscarini and Grisellini, infers substance from the multiplicity of ideas existing on a basis which we cannot discover; and in this unknown basis, he says, consists what we call substance. Grisellini, i, p. 46, German translation. Locke, *Human Understanding*, vol. ii, ch. 23: "Not imagining how the simple ideas can subsist of themselves, we accustom ourselves to suppose some substratum wherein they do subsist and from which they do result, which therefore we call substance."

been within the competence of a council was far more within that of a pope. The former of these disputants were easily confuted; to the others, Fra Paolo's main argument in reply was, that the councils with which this power rested were convoked by temporal sovereigns, and were to be regarded as assemblies of the empire by which a multitude of other political laws had been enacted.* This is a point upon which the doctrines inculcated by Fra Paolo and his friends were mainly grounded.

They set out from the principle which had been so warmly and successfully asserted in France—that the kingly power was derived immediately from God, and was subject to no human control;—that the pope had no right or authority even to inquire whether the political acts of a country were sinful or not. For to what would such a right lead? Was there one which might not be sinful as respecting its objects? The pope would have to examine everything, to interfere in everything;—the temporal authority would, in short, be annihilated.

But to this authority the clergy, as well as the laity of a country, were subject. All power, says the apostle, is of God. No one is exempt from the obligation of obedience to the established authorities, any more than from that of obedience to God. The sovereign enacts the laws, administers justice, and raises taxes; in all these particulars the clergy are equally bound to obey him as the laity.†

It is not denied that the pope has jurisdiction also; but that jurisdiction is exclusively spiritual. Did Christ exercise any temporal jurisdiction? He could not transfer, either to St. Peter or his successors, what he never claimed for himself.

The exemption of the clergy cannot therefore be traced to any original divine right;‡ it can rest only on the consent of the sove-

* Letter from Sarpi to Leschasser, 3d of February, 1619, in Lebet's Magazine, i, 479. A remark so much the more important in those times, as Marianna, for instance, deduced from the resolutions of the Spanish councils the most extensive worldly privileges for the clergy. It may, however, be constantly remarked, that even then, spiritual and temporal pretensions were already either confounded or at variance. The old Gothic monarchy in Spain contained, in fact, a strong spiritual element; for old laws are generally grounded upon circumstances belonging to a remote state of society.

† Risposta d'un dottore in theologia ad una lettera scrittagli sopra il breve delle censure. "Sono dunque tutti gli ecclesiastici et i secolari de jure divino soggetti al principe secolare. Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit. E la ragione si è perchè siccome niuno è eccezzuato dall' ubbidienza che deve a dio, così niuno è eccezzuato dall' ubbidienza che deve al principe: perchè comme soggiunge l'apostolo, omnis potestas a deo."

‡ Difesa di Giovanni Marsilio a favore della risposta delle otto propositioni, contro la quale ha scritto l' ill^{mo} e rev^{mo} Sr. Cl. Bellarmino, Venezia, 1606, explains in the following manner the meaning of its author, who has expressed himself somewhat obscurely; the explanation is at least authentic, as it comes from the same side: "Dice l' autore due cose: la prima si è che le persone ecclesiastiche non siano esente dalla potestà secolare nè meno i beni di esse, inten-

reign. The sovereign had granted to the church, property and jurisdiction: he is its protector, its general patron; and therefore to him naturally and justly belong the nomination of the clergy and the publication of bulls.

It is not competent to the sovereign to renounce his power, if he would; since it is a trust committed to him, which he is bound in conscience to transmit unimpaired to his successor.

Thus were the claims and the theory of the church boldly met by the claims and the theory of the state. The tendencies of the conflicting powers are expressed in these opposite systems. The blending of temporal and spiritual interests in the states of Europe is so intimate, that a wide field of action lies open on the ground where both meet and mingle. This entire field has long been claimed by the church, and to this day she is continually renewing her pretensions to its exclusive possession. The state, on the other hand, has occasionally set up a similar claim; but perhaps never so boldly and so systematically as in Venice at the time we are speaking of. It was impossible that these conflicting claims could ever be adjusted legally and politically, it was only practicable by means of mutual concessions; whenever these were refused, there was no other arbiter but force. Each side had then to try its strength; in a struggle for the right to obedience, there was nothing to be done but to prove which party was strong enough to enforce it.

On the 17th of April, 1606, pope Paul V, with all the rigid and imposing forms of the early ages of the papacy, and with express reference to so omnipotent a predecessor as Innocent III, pronounced sentence of excommunication against the doge, the senate, and all the constituted authorities of Venice, and in a more especial manner on the Consultores. He granted them only the shortest possible intervals for recantation, three of eight and one of three days. After the lapse of these, all the churches of the Venetian territory, convent churches and private chapels not excepted, lay under interdict, viz. prohibition to perform divine service. The clergy were imperatively enjoined to announce this brief of anathema to the assembled congregations, and to fix it on the church doors.* The whole body, from the patriarch to the parish priest, were commanded to do this on peril of heavy chastisement from the hand of justice, human and divine.

Such was the attack; the defence was not equally vigorous.

It was proposed in the Collegium of Venice to enter a solemn protest, as had been done in former times; but this was not carried,

dendo in quelle cose alle quali la detta potestà si estende (i. e. not to the purely spiritual): la seconda che l' esentione ch' hanno li detti ecclesiastici non è de jure divino, ma de jure humano." (p. 62.)

* "Mentre in esse si troverà adunata maggior moltitudine di popolo per sentir li divini officj" . . . which had occurred at Ferrara with such serious consequences. Breve di censure et interdetto della Stà di N. S^{te} P. Paolo V. contra li S^{ri} Venetiani 1606.

on the ground that the pope's sentence was null and void, and had not so much as a show of justice. In a short proclamation contained in one quarto page, Leonardo Donato announced to the clergy the determination of the republic to uphold and maintain the sovereign authority, "which in temporal things acknowledged no superior but God;" adding, "that her faithful clergy would of themselves recognise the nullity of the censure uttered against them, and would go on uninterruptedly in the performance of their sacred functions—the cure of souls and the worship of God." There was not the smallest expression either of fear or menace; it was a simple declaration of confidence. Probably however something more was done orally.*

The question of claim and of right was thus directly transformed into a question of might and of possession. Enjoined to obedience by the conflicting commands of their two superiors, the pope and the republic, the Venetian clergy had now to decide to which of the two they would render it.

They did not hesitate;—they belonged to the republic. Not one single copy of the pope's brief was fixed up.† The time granted by the pope for recantation expired. The service of God everywhere went on in its accustomed manner, and the regular clergy acted in perfect unison with the secular.

The new orders, who were the especial representatives of the ecclesiastical restoration, i. e. the Jesuits, theatines, and capuchins, afforded the only exception. The Jesuits were not entirely resolved within themselves; they first consulted their provincial in Ferrara, and then their general in Rome, who applied to the pope himself: Paul's answer was, that they must either obey the interdict, or shake off the dust from their feet and leave Venice; doubtless a hard sentence, since they were distinctly informed that they would never be permitted to return: but the principle on which the society was founded, left them no choice; and, embarking in their own boats, they sought refuge in the papal territory.‡ Their example infected the other orders with a similar spirit.§ The theatines proposed a middle course, which however the Venetians would not listen to; they would suffer no division in their land; their subjects must obey, or void the country. The deserted churches were

* This proclamation, issued on the 6th of May, 1606, is printed by Rampazetto, stampator ducale. On the title page is the Evangelist St. Mark with the Gospel and drawn sword. In the senate, according to Priuli, they investigated "le nullità molte e notorie" of the papal letter,

† P. Sarpi, *Historia particolare*, lib. ii, p. 55, asserts that certain people who had attempted to fix up copies of the bulls, were arrested by the inhabitants themselves.

‡ Juvencius, *Hist. Soc. Jesu*, v. ii, p. 93.

§ V. Sandi (vi. 1110) continues to speak of "i reformati di S. Francesco;" but this error, although shared by many other authors, is attributable merely to the fact, that the capuchins are in truth reformed Franciscans, and are mentioned as such on this occasion by A. Morosini.

readily supplied with other priests, and it was carefully contrived that no trace of a deficiency should be discernible. The following Corpus Christi day was celebrated with peculiar pomp and an unusually numerous procession.*

Here then was a complete and open schism.

The pope was amazed; the realities of things stood in the most abrupt contrast to his exaggerated notions; were there any means of mastering them?

Paul V thought at times of trying the force of arms, and the warlike spirit was on one occasion so far predominant in the congregations, that cardinal Sauli exclaimed that they would chastise the Venetians; and legates were actually commissioned and troops armed. But at bottom they dared not go to war. They must have known that Venice would probably call in protestant assistance, and would throw Italy, nay, the whole catholic world, into the most perilous agitation.

An adjustment of the question of the rights of the church must eventually be attempted, now as heretofore, by political means; only that now these could not be resorted to by the contending parties, between whom animosity had arisen to too high a pitch, but fell to the mediation of the two great powers—Spain and France. The particular interests of those countries were of course consulted in this negotiation. In each there existed a party desirous of an open rupture.

In Spain, it consisted of the zealous catholics, who hoped once more to enchain the see of Rome to the monarchy; the governors of the Italian provinces, whose power would be enhanced by war; and the ambassador Viglienna, who thought that his house would acquire spiritual dignities.

In France, on the contrary, the war party was composed of the zealous protestants. Sully and his followers would have gladly seen a war in Italy, as a diversion in favor of the Netherlands which were just then pressed by Spinola.

The parties at length came to demonstrations of hostility. The king of Spain sent a letter to the pope, in which he promised him assistance, at least in general terms. In France, the Venetian ambassador received so many offers from considerable men, that he was of opinion he could have raised an army of fifteen thousand Frenchmen in a month. These movements however led to nothing. The most influential ministers, Lerma in Spain and Villeroi in France, sincerely desired to maintain peace. The reputation of the former mainly rested on the establishment of peace; the latter was a strict catholic, and would never have consented to make France a party to an attack on the pope.† The sovereigns were of the same opinion.

* A. Maurocenus, *Historia Ven.* tom. iii, p. 350.

† *Relatione di Pietro Priuli ritornato di Francia* 4, Sett. 1608, contains a detailed exposition of the part taken by the French in these transactions. Villeroi

Henry IV justly remarked, that by drawing his sword for the republic, he should risk his reputation as a good catholic. Philip III despatched a second letter to the pope, explanatory of the first, in which he said that he would support his holiness, but not unless he was secure of indemnity for the cost; and added that he would stand by him for good, but not for evil.*

Thus vanished all possibility of a war. Both the great powers now strove which should contribute the most to bring about a peace, as a means of strengthening its own interests; to this end, Francisco de Castro, Lerma's nephew, was sent by Spain, and cardinal Joyeuse by France, to Venice.

I have neither the inclination nor the power to explain the whole course of their negotiations; it is sufficient for the present purpose to mark its most important points. The first difficulty was, that the pope demanded, as an indispensable condition, the suspension of the Venetian laws which had given him so much offence, and rendered the suspension of his ecclesiastical censures dependent upon it.

On the other hand, the Venetians, with a certain republican self-complacency, were wont to regard their own laws as something sacred and inviolable. When therefore in January, 1607, the affair came under discussion, it was rejected in the senate, though not absolutely in the Collegium.† The French, who had promised the pope to bring it forward again, could not even succeed in ob-

declares, "esser questa opportunissima e propria occasione di guadagnare l'animo del papa.—Il re, assicurato dal suo ambasciatore presso la republica che V. S^a non metteria in mano d' altri questo negotio che della M^a S, ebbe mira di guadagnare et obligarsi con questa occasione l'animo del pontefice."

* Francesco Priuli, *Relatione di Spagna*, 20 Ag. 1608. "Venue il contestabile a trovarmi a casa, e mi disse costantemente che gli ordini dell' ammassar genti non erano per altro se non per non star in otio mentre tutte potenze del mondo si armavano, ma che però non s'erano provoduti di danaro: raccomandò la pace d'Italia non potendo perder la republica nell' esser liberale di parole ossequenti, per haver in effetto quello che desiderava. . . . In quel tempo che il duca di Lerma delle forze da amassarsi parlò iperbolicamente all' ambasciator d'Inghilterra, . . . scrissono al papa che S. M^a gli aveva ben promesso d'ajutarlo ma che ciò s'intendeva al bene e non al male, . . . che il cominciar le guerre stava in mano degli uomini et il finire in quelle di dio."

† Ger. Priuli, *Cronica Veneta*, 20 Zener, 1606 (1607): "Dopo lunga disputa di otto giorni e varie pendentie di giudicio deliberò il senato rispondero agli ambasciatori di Francia e di Spagna che il devenir a qualsivoglia forma di sospensione non si può accomodar la republica, essendo cosa di perpetuo pregiudicio; il che fu proposto da S. Bembo et Al. Zorzi savj del consilio et A. Mula et S. Venier savj della terra ferma." Others were for a more moderate decision. Nor was it improbable that they would carry their point. In the mean time came the news that there was nothing to fear from Spanish arms, in consequence of the disturbances at Naples. "E fu perciò preso la total negativa di sospensione." With ninety-nine against seventy-eight they had a majority of twenty-one voices. On the 9th of March however Bembo himself retired from the commission. On the 14th of March, the more moderate decision was taken, in opposition to Zorzi, and in spite of Mula and Venier.

taining a hearing for it till the following March. Of the four opponents in the Collegium, one at least then withdrew his opposition; and the senate, after the matter had been a second time thoroughly debated (though even now it could not be brought to a formal and express suspension of the laws), passed a resolution to the effect "that the republic would conduct itself with its accustomed piety." Dim and vague as these words appear, the ambassador and the pope thought they perceived in them the fulfilment of their wishes, and the pope accordingly suspended his censures.

But another most unlooked-for obstacle immediately arose. The Venetians refused to re-admit the Jesuits, who, after their voluntary departure, had been excluded from the dominions of the republic by a solemn decree. Was it possible for the pope to abandon his faithful sons, who had been guilty of no crime but implicit obedience and unalterable attachment to him, in such a strait?

He tried every means to change the determination of the Venetians. The French, too, espoused the cause of the Jesuits, who had secured the king's good will in this exigency by a special mission, and had also interested Joyeuse in their favor. The Venetians remained inflexible.*

The most remarkable thing was, that the Spaniards declared against the order, and not, as might have been expected, for it. The Dominican interest was paramount in Spain; Lerma did not love the Jesuits, and thought it wrong, on general grounds, that a state should be forced to receive back such disobedient subjects; in short, Francisco di Castro at first avoided all discussion concerning the Jesuits, and at length set himself in direct opposition to the steps taken by the French in their behalf.†

This phenomenon, though originating in the situation of things, was so striking, that the pope himself was startled by it, and suspecting that it proceeded from some mysterious source, ceased to press for the restoration of the Jesuits.‡

This resolution, however, must have cost him dear. For an insignificant law or two, he had seemed prepared to set the world in

* Pietro Priuli, *Relatione di Francia*, adds to this: "Solamente l'ufficio dell' ambasciatore ritenne la disposizione che aveva S. M^a, eccitata dall' efficaci istanze che furono fatte da un padre Barisoni Padoano mandato in Francia espressamente dalla sua congregazione con pensiero d'ottener di interessarsi acciocchè fossero di nuovo ricevuti."

† Francesco Priuli, *Relatione di Spagna*: "Sentendo (i Spagnuoli) che Franciosi insistevano nell' introduzione de' Gesuiti, scrissero a Roma et a Venezia che non trattassero di ciò, dando ragione alla republica di non voler capitolare con gente suddita che l'aveva sì gravemente offesa."

‡ Francesco Priuli: "Venuto l' avviso dell' intiero accomodamento, desisterono dal procurare che si trattasse di loro con la S^{ta} V, non solo per non aver voluto parlar di loro, ma per essersi attraversati alli gagliardi ufficj di Francesi: che fece dubitare il papa di qualche recondito mistero, e non vi volse insistere con che essi non sapevano che dire."

commotion; he now acquiesced in the perpetual exile of his faithful adherents from a catholic, an Italian territory.*

The republic, on the other hand, consented to deliver up the two priests who had been imprisoned.

She however claimed the right to enter a protest, of which the pope absolutely refused to hear anything. The expedient on which the parties at length determined is very curious.† The secretary of the Venetian senate led the prisoners into the palace of the French ambassador and delivered them up to him, "out of consideration," said he, "for his Most Christian Majesty, and with the previous reservation that the rights of the republic to judge her own clergy shall not be in any degree infringed or diminished by this act."

"So I receive them," said the ambassador; and led them to the cardinal, who was walking up and down in a loggia. "These are the prisoners," said he, "who are to be delivered up to the pope:"—without the smallest allusion to the reservation. The cardinal, without adding a word, then gave them in charge to the papal commissary, who received them, making a sign of the cross.

It is evident how far the hostile parties were as yet from anything like a good understanding. Their only object was to make a show of reconciliation; and to effect this, it was still necessary that the pope should revoke the censures and grant absolution.

But even on these points the Venetians had objections to offer; they persisted in maintaining that the censures had been null and void *in se*, and had never touched them, and that consequently they stood in no need of absolution. Joyeuse declared to them that he could not alter the forms of the church. At length it was agreed that the absolution should not be pronounced with the customary publicity; Joyeuse presented himself in the Collegium, and pronounced it as it were *privatim*. The Venetians have always imagined that they had thus got off entirely without absolution, nor indeed was it granted in all its forms;‡ but granted it unquestionably was.

It is evident that, on the whole, the disputed points were not settled so entirely in favor of the Venetians as is generally affirmed.

The laws of which the pope complained were suspended; the priests whom he demanded were delivered up to him; even the absolution was, in fact, accepted. Yet all these points were carried under the most extraordinary qualifications. The Venetians proceeded, as in an affair of honor, with the most anxious solicitude

* Ger. Priuli: "Pesó molto a S. S^{ta} questa cosa de' Gesuiti, non per loro ma per la sua propria riputatione."

† Joyeuse thus mentions it as a condition: "che levandosi le censure siano consignati li due prigioni a chi li riceve in nome di S. Santità, li quali, se bene S. Serenità (Venice) dice di darli in gratificatione di S. M. Chr^{ma}, si dovessero consignare senza dir altro."

‡ Daru, at the end of his 29th book, gives Joyeuse's letter, which is unquestionably the only thing of importance he brings forward in reference to this affair; but he makes some objections to it which appear to me very untenable.

about their reputation, and surrounded every concession with as many reservations as possible. The pope, on the other hand, was at a disadvantage, inasmuch as he was constrained to make a more obvious and less honorable concession than those he obtained, and one which excited the notice of the whole world.

From that time the relations between Rome and Venice fell, at least to appearance, into the old track. On receiving the first ambassador from Venice, Paul exclaimed that old things were put away—that all was new; he sometimes complained that Venice would not forget what he had forgotten, and showed a temper as mild and indulgent as any of his predecessors.*

But the only real result was, that fresh dissensions were avoided, the latent discords still subsisted, nor indeed was it possible for genuine confidence to be so easily restored.

§ 13. ISSUE OF THE AFFAIRS OF THE JESUITS.

In a similar, that is to say, in as imperfect a manner, was the dispute between the Jesuits and the Dominicans terminated.

Clement died, as we have seen, before he had pronounced judgment. Paul V, who entered upon the affair with all the zeal which distinguished the early part of his administration, (as a proof of which we find that between September 1605 and February 1606, no less than seventeen meetings were held in his presence,) was not less inclined to the old system, of which the Dominican party were the representatives, than his predecessors. In October and November, 1606, assemblies were even held for the purpose of settling the form in which condemnation was to be pronounced on the Jesuitical doctrines, and the Dominicans thought the victory was already in their hands.†

It was just at this time that the disputes with Venice had been adjusted in the manner which we have related above; the Jesuits had given a proof of attachment to the See of Rome far exceeding any exhibited by the other orders, and for this Venice made them suffer.

Under these circumstances it would have appeared an act of cruelty on the part of the Roman See to visit these its most faithful servants with a degree of condemnation. Accordingly, when all was prepared for its publication, the pope paused. For a while he allowed the affair to rest; at length, on the 29th of August, 1607,

* *Relatione di Mocenigo, 1612.* The pope declared, “che conveniva per servizio d’Italia che fosse sempre buona intelligenza fra quella sede e questa republica.”

† Serry, *Historia congregationum de auxiliis*, p. 562 and further, gives the documents relating to the matter. “*Gratiæ victrici*,” he says himself, “jam canebatur ‘Io triumphe.’”

he issued a declaration by which Disputatores and Consultores were dismissed to their several homes; the decision was to be made known in due time; meanwhile it was his holiness's most earnest desire that neither party should censure or reproach the other.*

In this manner the Jesuits had a compensation for the loss they had sustained in Venice. It was a great gain for them that their controverted doctrines, although not confirmed, were not rejected. They even boasted of victory. With the prejudice of orthodoxy in their favor, they once more pursued, with persevering zeal, that doctrinal path upon which they had entered.

The only question now was, whether they would also succeed in perfectly appeasing their internal dissensions.

The society was still in a state of the most violent fermentation. The changes in its constitution proved to be inadequate, and the Spanish opposition, with a view to its own ends, was unwearied in its endeavors to get rid of Aquaviva. At length the procurators of all the provinces declared a general congregation to be necessary—a measure never attempted before; in the year 1607 they met, and radical and sweeping changes were once more discussed.

We have frequently remarked the close connection which subsisted between the society and France, and the favor which Henry IV had shown it. He even took an interest in the internal divisions of the order, and was a warm partisan of Aquaviva. In a letter written with that express object, he not only assured him of his good-will, but also gave the congregation to understand his wish that no alteration should be attempted in the constitution of the society.†

Aquaviva knew how to make excellent use of so powerful a protector.

The opposition he had to encounter had its seat chiefly in the provincial congregations. He now passed a law, in virtue of which, first, no proposition should be regarded as agreed to in a provincial meeting unless it were supported by two-thirds of the votes; and secondly, a proposition even when approved in this manner, could not come under discussion in the general meeting, unless it had the previous consent of the majority; ordinances, by which it is obvious the influence of the provincial congregations was extremely diminished.

But besides this, a formal sentence of condemnation on the enemies of the general was pronounced, and the provincial superiors were expressly admonished to proceed against the so-called disturbers of the peace. Tranquillity was thus gradually restored.

* Coronelli, secretary to the congregations, in Serry, p. 589: "Tra tanto ha ordinato (S. Sà) molto seriamente che nel trattare di queste materie nessuno ardisca di qualificare e censurare l'altra parte."

† Literæ christianissimi regis ad congregatos patres, iv, Kal. Dec. 1607, in Juvencius, v, ii, lib. ix, n. 108: "Vosque hortamur ad retinendam instituti vestri integritatem et splendorem."

The Spanish members submitted, and ceased to struggle against the new spirit which actuated their order. A more tractable generation gradually grew up under the reigning influences; while on the other hand, the general strove to requite Henry IV for the countenance and favor he had received from him by redoubled devotedness.

CONCLUSION.

Thus did all these dissensions seem once more likely to be tranquillised.

But if we reflect on their growth and general result, we shall perceive that changes of a most important nature had been wrought in the bosom of the catholic church.

We started from the point at which the papacy, engaged in a victorious struggle, advanced by constant progression to the plentitude of power. In strict alliance with the Spanish policy, it conceived the design of urging on all the catholic states in one direction, and overpowering the refractory by one great movement. Had this scheme succeeded, the ecclesiastical spirit would have risen to absolute supremacy, would have incorporated all catholic states in a unity of idea, faith, conduct and policy, and would thus have acquired a resistless influence even over their internal affairs.

At this very juncture, however, the most violent internal disunion showed itself.

In France the feeling of nationality rose in opposition to the claims of the hierarchy. Even the more orthodox catholics would not submit to be guided in all points by the interests of the church, or the commands of the ecclesiastical sovereign; there were still principles at work, such as temporal policy and national independence, which resisted the encroachments of the papacy with unconquerable energy. In the main these principles obtained the victory; the pope was forced to recognise them, and the French church adopted them as its basis.

Hence it followed, however, that France resumed her hostile attitude towards the Spanish monarchy; that two great powers, rivals by nature and always disposed for strife, advanced to the conflict in the centre of the catholic world. So little was it possible to preserve unity. The circumstances of Italy were such as to render this conflict, and the equilibrium of which it was the cause, advantageous to the See of Rome.

Meanwhile too, new theological schisms broke out. However acute and precise were the definitions of the council of Trent, they were ineffectual to prevent them; within the circle which it had traced there was still room for controversy. The two most powerful orders entered the lists; the two great powers took part to a

certain degree in the contest, while Rome had not courage to pronounce a decision.

To the sources of dissension there were now added the disputes concerning the limits of the spiritual and the temporal jurisdictions; disputes of a local origin, and with a neighbor of no formidable power, but carried on in a spirit, and with a vehemence which conferred upon them a general importance.* Justly is Paolo Sarpi's memory held in reverence in all catholic states. He was the able and victorious champion of those principles determining the bounds of ecclesiastical authority, which are their guides and safeguards to this day.

These conflicts between ideas and doctrines—between constitutional government and absolute power—now proved the grand impediment to that ecclesiastico-secular unity which the papacy sought to establish, and indeed seemed to render it utterly impossible.

The progress of things, however, proved that pacific ideas were the strongest. It was impossible to prevent the internal discords, but an open struggle was avoided. The peace between the great powers was restored and maintained; the Italian states were not yet fully conscious of their strength, nor active in the exertion of it; silence was imposed on the hostile orders; the struggles between church and state were not pushed to extremity; Venice accepted the offered mediation.

The policy of the papacy was, as far as possible, to assume a position superior to the contending parties, and to act as a mediator in their differences; a position and character which it still possessed sufficient authority to sustain.

Without doubt, the perpetuation of the struggle with protestantism, and the advancement of the catholic reformation, in which the influence of the papacy on the world was mainly exerted, reacted upon this policy, in which it at the same time originated.

We must now return to the consideration of this grand struggle, and to its further development.

* "V. S^a," exclaims P. Priuli on his return from France, "a dichiarato, si può dire, sin a quai termini sia permesso al pontefice estendere la sua temporale e spirituale autorità." (Relazione di Francia, 1608.)







1 1012 00015 4759