





Pope Gregory XIII, inspecting the Medal struck by his order, to commemorate the slaughter on St. Bartholomew's Day.

✓
THE LIVES

OF

T H E P O P E S .

VOL. II.

FROM THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION TO
POPE PIUS THE NINTH.

A.D. 1431—1852.

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THE
LIVES OF THE POPES.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS—PONTIFICATES OF
EUGENIUS IV. AND NICHOLAS V.
A.D. 1431—1455.

No empire, of ancient or modern times, has experienced such marvellous and varied vicissitudes as those which have befallen the empire of the Roman church. Born in obscurity, and reared in adversity, that church nevertheless succeeded in climbing to a loftier throne, and grasping the sceptre of a more absolute dominion, than either a Xerxes or an Alexander could boast. Pretending to despise mere worldly gains, she cunningly turned the channels of riches towards herself, and emptied them without scruple into the reservoirs of her own wealth. When the day of her humiliation had arrived, and her intolerable arrogance and selfishness provoked fierce vengeance from the indignant world, she did not, like other empires, fall beneath the violent blow. Just for

a moment she reeled and recoiled, but it was only to gather new strength and return to her former position. When the German thought to bind her with imperial ordinances and laws, she proudly snapped asunder these "withes of the Philistines," and proclaimed herself superior to all secular control. When the Albigensian Christians hoped to undermine her authority by laying bare her corruptness to the gaze of the world, she was able, and did not shrink from commanding fire and sword to destroy the presumptuous heretics, and set her free from their annoying and dangerous scrutiny. When the French king, Philip the Fair, resentful of her lordly assumptions, dared to degrade and imprison one of her haughtiest pontiffs, and so tampered with the cardinals that they were content to endure a base captivity at Avignon, submitting their high functions to the unhallowed rule of a mere temporal sovereign, there was still vigour enough left in "the church" to wipe off the ignominy and retrieve the disaster. She brought back her chieftains from their "Babylon of bondage," and in spite of schisms within, and new forms of hostility without, engendered by the learning that was now diffusing itself all around, she re-established them on their ancient throne, and re-invested them with no mean share of their ancient power.

And although in the century we are now, in these historical sketches, approaching, a heavier shock was given to the Roman church

than she had ever sustained before, we shall find that, notwithstanding her manifest degeneracy, her strength was far from exhausted. Within herself she yet possessed the means of resisting all her foes, and of once again inducing a large portion of the human family to yield her a devoted allegiance. The REFORMATION, which wrested from Rome the two richest provinces of her empire, was succeeded by a REACTION, which at least checked the progress of her ruin, and established on a firmer basis than ever the authority she still retained. To a Roman Catholic, this momentous era in the history of his church is fraught with the most painful and humiliating, as well as some of the most triumphant reminiscences of her whole eventful career. To us, the collisions between Rome and the Protestant churches in the sixteenth century are far more interesting than all the other struggles of the papal church, and they will therefore detain us a proportionable time.

It will be manifest, as this narrative proceeds, that much of Rome's wonderful vitality is attributable to the characters of the men who successively occupied her throne. But we shall assuredly find that whilst some great men impressed the stamp of their greatness upon the age in which they lived, and on the institutions they governed, it was a Greater than any human hand that secretly and potently directed the current of events, making even the selfish papal imposture subservient to the

highest and most glorious designs. Again and again are we taught the profound truthfulness of the declaration, that "the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it *the basest of men.*"

The pontificate of EUGENIUS IV., who succeeded Martin V. in 1431, was distracted by the dissensions which prevailed both in the church and in the secular dominions of the pope. A war broke out between Eugenius and some of the baronial houses of Rome, in the vicissitudes of which the latter were well nigh destroyed, and the pontiff was once compelled to flee from Rome and seek safety in a neighbouring city. But the proceedings in the Council of Basel, convened by his predecessor, rendered the pontificate of Eugenius so excessively stormy. That council boldly declared its superiority to papal mandates, and would not even admit the pope's legates until they had sworn obedience to all its decrees. It then hastened to enact statutes abolishing annates, reservations, and other lucrative but tyrannical prerogatives of the popedom. To such daring innovations no pontiff could be expected to submit, and least of all Eugenius, who was as proud and passionate as he was ignorant and weak. He summoned a new council at Florence; whereupon the Council of Basel elected a new pope, and all the fierceness of the former schism was revived. The contest between these rival popes and councils was

rapidly rising, and would soon have endangered the unity of the church, if the death of Eugenius, in 1447, had not given an opportunity for choosing a successor to the tiara in whom all parties could unite.

With the accession of NICHOLAS V. a season of comparative peace was ushered in. This pontiff had raised himself from rank to rank in the church chiefly by his studious and literary habits. On being recommended to Eugenius IV., he had at once received a cardinal's hat; but there it seemed probable that his exaltation would cease, as many other members of the college were powerful by their connexions, while he was only the son of a physician. By an accident, however, their votes united in him, and he commenced his pontificate with promises of establishing peace and promoting learning. The latter part of his engagement he fulfilled; the former was beyond his power.

The love of liberty which Petrarch had infused into the Roman people, and which Rienzi's brilliant though short career had so largely developed, had not yet become extinct. They often rebelled against the tyranny of the popes, but were not stedfast enough to succeed in throwing off their yoke. In the interval that elapsed between the death of Eugenius and the election of Nicholas, a noble and honourable Roman, Stefano Porcari, urged his countrymen to oblige the new pontiff to promise and secure to them constitutional liberty. The fickle or frivolous temper of the people prevented his

success, and Nicholas therefore assumed the tiara with a deep-rooted prejudice against Porcari, and with such unlimited power, that he banished him almost immediately to the city of Bologna.

Porcari, however, found frequent opportunities of escaping to Rome, where he stirred up his partisans to attempt a general revolt. Nicholas, hearing of the plot, became apprehensive that his life was in peril, and, from being mild and confiding, grew timid and ferocious. He stained his hands with the blood of the imprudent Porcari, whose sentiments were patriotic and noble, but whose judgment was heated and rash. The patriot was sentenced without trial, and, together with nine of his confederates, was hanged from the battlements of St. Angelo. This cruel transaction was followed by continual acts of severity and injustice; so that the reign of Nicholas, although peaceful in relation to other states, was one of perpetual cabals and terror at home.

The revolt of Porcari was the last effervescence of the republican spirit in Rome, which has continued till the present century in resigned submission to pontifical rule. In the year 1452, the emperor Frederic III. alarmed the citizens by a visit, but his intentions were wholly pacific. His only request was that he might receive the honour of coronation from papal hands; and this was the last instance of a German emperor crossing the Alps for so servile and unnecessary a purpose.

When free from those alarms which had transformed a naturally amiable disposition into one of a suspicious and even tyrannical kind, Nicholas employed himself in pursuits which were as useful to the world as they were congenial to his own taste. In his encouragement of learning, he was as splendidly munificent as his own friend and early patron Cosmo de' Medici, the "pater patriæ" of Florence. The papal court was crowded with men of letters who were fostered by his bounty. He founded the Vatican library, and contributed to its stores above five thousand manuscripts, which were collected at his expense, and in part by his own research. A greater number of the Greek classics were translated into Latin by his command than in all the five centuries preceding his elevation. His patronage of the arts was equally generous. The remarkable monuments of the metropolis were preserved and cherished by his enthusiastic admiration; the churches were repaired and embellished; and the erection of many superb structures attested at once the magnificence of his spirit and the refinement of his taste. Happy should we be to record of so noble a mind that it gave evidence also of having been purified by the grace of God; but alas! this, the crowning virtue, without which all others are comparatively worthless, was the only one of which Nicholas appeared to be destitute. He had not learned to forsake all and follow Christ.

From his literary pursuits, the pontiff

was suddenly called off by the appalling announcement that Constantinople had fallen into the hands of the Ottoman Turks. With the gradual decay of the Greek empire, the insolence and encroachments of this warlike people had kept equal pace. In vain had the emperor Constantine Palæologus sought to propitiate the young and ambitious Sultan Mohammed II. Certain of the weakness of the Greeks, (or, as they still chose to be called, *the Romans*,) Mohammed coolly transported his troops across the Bosphorus, and erected a fortress on its western shore. Issuing thence, with all the munitions of war, in the summer of 1453, he encamped before the walls of Constantinople, and took it, after an obstinate resistance of fifty-three days. In this siege, the artillery of ancient and modern times was combined both in the assault and the defence, thus marking in a singular manner the stage at which the progress of civilization had arrived. The "Greek fire" and the cross-bow were used by the besieged, together with the rude hand-gun and perhaps the arquebus; while in the camp of the besiegers, the catapult and battering-ram stood side by side with the large cannons contrived for the express occasion by the Turks. Mohammed is said to have constructed a cannon by which a ball of six hundred pounds' weight was driven the distance of a mile, falling then with such force as to sink a fathom deep in the ground. By this mingled species of artillery, a breach was at last effected in the stubborn walls of the city, and in the

conflict that ensued, the unhappy emperor finally fell. A large part of Europe thus passed into Ottoman hands, and the beautiful church of San Sophia was forthwith transformed into a Mohammedan mosque.

Apprehensive that the success of the conqueror would tempt him to extend his ravages, and perhaps even to aim at the capture of the more ancient metropolis of the Roman empire, the pope endeavoured to revive amongst the faithful the crusading spirit of former days. In Germany, the eloquence of Æneas Sylvius was employed to inflame the people ; but with very indifferent results. In Italy, a hermit named Simonet was more successful. By his earnestness and activity, he prevailed on the Italian cities to suspend their quarrels, and unite in the common cause. But ere the intended armament could be prepared, Nicholas was taken dangerously ill, and after much suffering expired. His confessions are fraught with instruction to the worldly and ambitious. "Gladly," said he, "would I resign the pontificate if I dared, and become once more Thomas of Sarzana. Under that simple name I had more enjoyment in a single day, than any year has since afforded me."

CHAPTER II.

ALARM OF TURKISH INVASION—CONSPIRACY OF THE
PAZZI.

A.D. 1455—1484.

THE successor of Nicholas was Alphonso Borgia, a Spaniard, and who assumed, with the tiara, the title of CALIXTUS III. His short reign of three years produced no remarkable event, and his name might be passed over in silence but for the "bad eminence" it has reached through the infamous life of Roderic Borgia, who was either his nephew or his son. Of that infamy Calixtus III. justly deserves a share, for he basely used the pontificate for the mere purpose of advancing his nephew, and other equally depraved relatives, to seats of wealth and power. On them he exhausted the papal treasures, and diverted to family aggrandizement the riches that he had sworn to use for the good of a vast community.

A little before his death, Calixtus received a deputation from Germany, complaining of papal exactions, and Æneas Sylvius, formerly the emperor's but now the pope's secretary, forgetful of his obligations to the German nation, took this occasion of flattering the pontiff by stoutly opposing the claims of the delegates. He advocated, with his usual skill and eloquence, the demands of the pope upon the German bishops, and was rewarded by immediate elevation to the purple. It is difficult to believe that this was the same man who, at the Council of Basel,

PIUS II.

had so zealously contended that the authority of a council was superior to that of a pope, and that the latter was "rather to be regarded as the vicar of the church than as the vicar of Christ." But such is the alchymy of ambition—the transmuting power of selfish worldliness.

Perhaps it was the advanced age, as much as the high reputation of Æneas Sylvius, that recommended him to the college, as the most eligible successor to Calixtus III. on the demise of the latter. Be this as it may, he received a majority of their votes, and immediately adopted the title of Pius II. Had the times been equally favourable, it is probable that the career of Pius II. would have closely resembled that of Nicholas V. The new pontiff was a man of the same tastes, but of even greater abilities and loftier distinction. His poems, letters, and orations, still attest the brilliancy of his genius. On attaining the popedom, his success in diplomacy and his elaborate historical compositions had already established his character for extensive learning, and especially for a just knowledge of mankind. But his talents were destined to be henceforth employed in a direction which rendered them far less useful to the world than they might otherwise have proved.

The nearer approach of the Turks to the shores of the Adriatic had thoroughly aroused the fears of the pope, and decided him to neglect no means of stirring up Christian opposition to the march of the infidel. With this object in

view, he summoned a council at Mantua, which was largely attended by Italian bishops, and more reluctantly and meagerly by representatives from the other nations of Europe. At this council, the pope exerted all his eloquence to awaken the fears and inflame the zeal of princes and people for the sacred cause. To all appearance he prevailed. The council promised assistance, but separated to forget their promise. It was at this council that Pius took occasion to recant and reprobate sentiments respecting the popedom which he had held in his earlier days. "An execrable abuse," said he, "unheard of in ancient times, has gained footing in our days, of presuming to appeal from the pontiff of Rome, the vicar of Jesus Christ, to a council; a practice which every man instructed in law must regard as contrary to the holy canons, and prejudicial to the Christian republic." In an edict subsequently published, he declared that his own defence of such a sentiment at the Council of Basel was owing to ignorance. "Wherefore," he added, "despise those opinions, reject them, and follow that which I now proclaim to you. Believe me now that I am old, rather than when I spoke as a youth; pay more regard to the sovereign pontiff than to the individual; reject Æneas, receive Pius." It has been well observed, that "if this change in opinion had been a change to a wiser and better opinion, and not to one so obviously coincident with the pontiff's personal advancement, the sincerity of his pro-

fessions might possibly have been believed." As the case actually stands, there can hardly be a doubt that the pontiff well knew that it was Æneas Sylvius who was right, and Pius II. who was wrong.

There was real sincerity, however, in the pope's dread or hatred of the Turks. Finding the princes of Europe too busily engaged in putting down domestic seditions to think much of a distant foe, Pius resolved to rebuke their remissness by setting them an example in person. "If they will not attend when we say, *Go*," exclaimed he, "they perhaps may if we say, *Come*. We will ourselves march against the Turks; not that we propose to draw the sword; but after the example of Moses, we shall stand on some lofty galley or mountain's brow, and holding the eucharist before our eyes, implore Christ to grant safety and victory to our contending forces." In the summer of 1464, Pius, although suffering severely from illness and the infirmities of age, actually set out to join a considerable body of troops lying at Ancona. He was borne on a litter, and was conveyed by slow journeys to the place of rendezvous. On arriving at Ancona, he found a multitude of ill-armed and ill-disciplined soldiers, who seemed to have little enthusiasm in the great cause they had espoused. Disappointment and mortification, in all probability, hastened his end, and on the twelfth of August, pope Pius II. expired.

PAUL II., a Venetian, was immediately elected

to be the next wearer of the tiara. In early life he had been a merchant, and had not turned his thoughts to study until his uncle or father, pope Eugenius iv., had unexpectedly attained the popedom, and so given an ambitious direction to his desires. In entering upon office, he solemnly pledged himself to continue the enterprise of the late pope against the Turks ; but he soon made it evident that there were other objects much nearer to his heart. Carefully conciliating the cardinals by granting them various favours, among which was the childish one of permitting them to wear mitres made of silk, and to adorn their horses with scarlet trappings, he ventured to employ the treasures which had been gathered by his predecessors for the Turkish crusade, in rewarding the persecutors of the Hussites in Bohemia ; so that the sufferings of that unhappy people were greatly aggravated, and the flames of civil war raged with renewed fury.

At home, Paul displayed himself as the enemy of all learning, and the patron of whatever was frivolous and low. He delighted in shows and spectacles, and his biographer indignantly describes a general racing amusement which was devised for the pleasure of this *venerable* pontiff. " All raced—old men, middle-aged men, young men, and Jews ; the latter, however, were well drenched before they started, that they might not run so fast. Horses raced, mares, asses, and buffaloes ; and at all this racing the populace were so much amused, that they could hardly

SIXTUS IV.

keep on their feet for laughing. The pope took his station at the church of S. Marco, and after the race was over, he rewarded all, down to the little boys, covered as they were with dirt and perspiration, with a carlino apiece."

Even in these contemptible sports the wanton cruelty of this pope's temper discovered itself in his usage of the Jews; and the memory of Paul is rendered not merely despicable, but hateful, by his persecution of learned men, whose learning alone made them odious and suspicious in his eyes. His grasping ambition, moreover, led him to seek, by the most disgraceful means, to subjugate the district of Rimini, and he was thus brought into collision with the rising house of the Medici, of which the "Magnificent Lorenzo" was then the chief representative. Paul died in 1471, too early to reap the advantage of an alteration which he had characteristically made, by which the jubilees were to recur every twenty-fifth year.

SIXTUS IV., the successor of Paul, commenced his pontificate by professing to adopt the policy of Pius II. He loudly demanded that the decrees of the Mantuan council against the Turks should be carried into effect; and promised indulgences to all who would join in the crusade. But finding that his exhortations were coldly received, Sixtus quickly grew apathetic in the cause, and resigned himself entirely to those schemes of selfish and criminal aggrandizement which now continually disgraced the papal chair.

Lorenzo de' Medici was at this time the absolute ruler of Florence, and on many accounts the most remarkable man of his day. His mercantile successes had excited the envy of another Florentine family, the Pazzi, who removed from Florence to Rome that they might not be offended by the greatness or the pride of their rival. This enmity led ultimately to very tragical results, in which Sixtus IV. was deeply involved. The pontiff had several illegitimate sons, whom to enrich and advance was his most anxious concern. He had seized on the estates of one of the nobles of Romagna, intending to confer them on one of these children, Giuliano della Rovere; when Lorenzo interfered on behalf of the injured man. That he might further insure the tranquillity of Italy against the ambitious designs of the pope, De' Medici united Florence in a solemn league with the states of Milan and Venice. The wrath of Sixtus at these measures knew no bounds, and he now engaged the Pazzi, whose hostility to the Medici was no secret, to become the instrument of his vengeance. A plot was soon contrived for the assassination of Lorenzo's whole family, in which the archbishop of Pisa engaged also to bear a part. With the most atrocious and revolting coolness was this plot matured. The assassination was fixed for a Sunday, when high mass would be celebrated at the church of San Reparata at Florence; and when the brothers Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici were almost sure to be present. At the commencement of

the service, Giuliano had not arrived, and one of the Pazzi hastened to his house, and pretending a return of old friendliness, besought him to accompany him to mass. He even placed his arms around his victim as if playfully to draw him to the church, but really to feel if he wore any kind of armour beneath his dress. Giuliano was persuaded, and soon filled his usual station by his brother's side near to the high altar. All things were now ready; and the conspirators gathered around the unconscious brothers. At the moment that the priest raised the consecrated wafer, the assassins rushed on their victims. Giuliano fell, pierced with wounds; but Lorenzo, having received only a slight scar in the neck, stood on his defence till help was procured, and the murderers either despatched on the spot, or safely secured. It was then found that the archbishop of Pisa had gone in the meantime to the palace of the Medici, intending to seize on the government. In this attempt he was baffled, and so enraged were the people, that without waiting for the form of a trial, or even divesting him of his official robes, they hung the archbishop at one of the windows of the palace—a fate which some of the Pazzi shared.

The pope did not conceal his chagrin at the failure of the plot; and immediately declared war against Lorenzo, placing Florence under the censure of the church. For two years did this man fill northern Italy with bloodshed and terror; but the news that the Turkish conqueror

had at last reached Italy, and had actually taken Otranto, brought the frenzied pontiff to his senses, and compelled at least a temporary peace between the conflicting states. But Sixtus passed the remainder of his life in the indulgence of the same passions, and the pursuit of the same ends. To aggrandize his worthless relatives, and gratify his fierce animosities, he shrank from no crime, and his last emotion was one of regret that he was compelled to leave Italy at peace. He died in 1484.

CHAPTER III.

THE PAPACY REACHES ITS CLIMAX OF CORRUPTION—
SAVANOROLA—THE BORGIAS.
A. D. 1484—1503.

INNOCENT VIII. was the next link in this papal chain of ignominy, crime, and horror. And although he proved himself as feeble and indolent as his predecessor had been headstrong and restless, yet his tastes were of the same kind, and his reign was as prejudicial to the welfare of the world. He had spent a dissipated life, and his most earnest wish was to enrich the seven children whom he publicly acknowledged as the result of his various amours. During the pontificate of Innocent, extortion, unblushing venality, and open debauchery were the reproach of the papal court. Innocent was not adapted by nature for warlike pursuits, yet so eager was

he to increase his power and wealth, that when the barons of Naples, groaning under the iron yoke of their tyrannical princes, offered to place the kingdom under the immediate government of the pope, he instantly countenanced the revolt, although he lay under many obligations to Ferdinand the reigning king. The struggle was unsuccessful; and alarmed at the approach of Ferdinand to the Roman territory, Innocent sought the good offices of Lorenzo de' Medici to effect a reconciliation between himself and the Neapolitan king. From this time, Lorenzo acquired unbounded ascendancy over the weak pontiff; and to his talents and genius is to be ascribed the temporary repose which Italy now enjoyed. Lorenzo did not, however, use his influence solely for his country's good. His measures were often dictated by mere policy and ambition, and he did not lose any opportunity of advancing his own family. One of his daughters was now married to a natural son of the pope, and another child, Giovanni, was admitted at the ridiculous age of thirteen into the college of cardinals.

But the most disgraceful event of Innocent's reign was the impulse which he gave to the sanguinary persecutions of the Waldenses of Piedmont. The bull which he issued for this purpose exhorts "all bishops, together with the princes of France," to take up arms against that innocent people, and to "tread them under foot as venomous adders." The response to this bull was as fierce and savage as its bigoted authors

could have desired. The inhabitants of the valleys were hunted to the mountain caves to which they fled for refuge, and the mouths of the caverns were stopped up with large piles of wood which were immediately set on fire. Amongst the crowds thus cruelly suffocated were four hundred infants in their cradles or at their mothers' breasts. Multitudes of both sexes, and of all ages, were hurled over the rocks and dashed in pieces: and altogether three thousand thus perished at the hands of their brutal persecutors.

Roderic Borgia was the successor of Innocent in 1492, and on assuming the tiara he took the name of ALEXANDER VI. He was the son of pope Calixtus III., and the fit successor of Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII. In his character we find at last the extreme limit of papal depravity, and in his history we seem to fathom the lowest abyss of human baseness. If murder, incest, adultery, relentless cruelty, and shameless perfidy never before met in a single individual, in the life of this pope they all found a place, and that with frequent repetition. "He entered on his office," says a contemporary writer, "with the meekness of an ox, but he administered it with the fierceness of a lion." His intellectual qualities, which were not despicable, were far more than counterbalanced by his vices, and, indeed, were merely the instruments of the latter. A Romanist historian testifies that "in his manners he was most shameless; wholly divested of sincerity, decency, and truth; with-

out fidelity or religion ; immoderate in avarice ; insatiable in ambition ; more than barbarous in cruelty ; passionately eager, by any means whatsoever, to exalt his children, some of whom were as detestable as their father." The life of such a man can be but a mere catalogue of crimes, and it could only gratify a prurient curiosity to give a minute account of the deeds of this monster in human form.

The early part of Alexander's pontificate was disturbed by an invasion of Italy by the French, under Charles VIII., who laid claim to the throne of Naples. The French monarch passed through Tuscany and sat down before the walls of Rome, but Alexander, who had hitherto vigorously opposed the object of the invader, now thought it best to adopt a conciliatory policy ; and receiving Charles in due state, entertained him for a month before he renewed his march. The expedition of the French monarch ended in his making a nominal conquest of Naples, and in his suffering the loss of almost his entire army by their ungovernable licentiousness and their harassing travel. But the results of this invasion were to be felt in Italy for many years to come.

To ecclesiastical affairs Alexander paid just so much attention as sufficed to advance his own worldly interests, or to aid in the indulgence of his lusts. He cloaked, yet scarcely concealed his abandoned habits beneath the veil of his priestly office, and abused that office in the most shocking manner for the purpose of swell-

ing the revenues of the papal treasury. The priesthood found their account in pandering to the superstitions of the people. Indulgences for all sorts of sins were never so eagerly bought, and the clergy were never so zealous in promoting their sale as now that they were encouraged by the example of their ecclesiastical chief. To Alexander VI. belongs the shame of being the first pope who officially declared, that souls supposed to be expiating in the fires of purgatory their transgressions and crimes on earth could be released by the will of the church, and that papal indulgences would thus avail, not only the purchaser himself, but also those deceased relations of whose happiness he might entertain doubts.

It was only to be expected that so mercenary and profane an abuse of all sacred and holy things should arouse the indignation of truly devout men. Amongst these, the reformer of Florence, Girolamo Savanorola, was the most conspicuous and daring. He did not hesitate to denounce from the pulpit all the vices of the time, and even rebuked his patron, Lorenzo de' Medici, for the countenance he gave to the corrupt morals of the people. It would be too much to affirm that Savanorola was a reformer of the same class with Luther and Calvin, yet his efforts were prompted by the same convictions as theirs, and, in proportion to his knowledge of the truth, were directed to the same ends. His strong political feelings, however, diverted him from that singleness of aim by which

these other reformers were distinguished. To the vehement excitements of party must also be ascribed that decidedly fanatical complexion which the conduct of Savanorola eventually assumed. It was great matter of rejoicing to the corrupt priesthood to find that their enemy had suffered himself to fall into this trap, and it must be equally a cause of regret to sincere Christians, that the memory of so bold a reformer should be tarnished by delusions and extravagances so gross. Indignant at the tyranny of the Medici, Savanorola proposed the expulsion of that family, and the formation of a republic, of which *Jesus Christ* should be the head. A coin still exists which was struck by his orders, bearing on one side the Florentine *fleur-de-lis*, with the motto, "The senate and people of Florence," and on the other a cross, with the words, "Jesus Christ our king." Proceedings so rash soon exposed Savanorola to the malicious designs of his foes. The fickle populace were induced to give him up to the emissaries of the pope, and these soon finished his career by condemning him to die the death of a heretic. He was burned in the streets of Florence, and, that no relics might be preserved, his ashes were thrown into the Arno.

The offices of the church were, now more than ever, regarded as mere secular property. They were bought and sold without shame; and all orders, from pope to priest, kept up the disgraceful traffic. "What a spectacle," says a Roman prelate of that time, "is this desolation

of the churches! All the flocks are abandoned by their shepherds; they are given over to the care of hirelings!" A bishopric was the prize, not of the worthiest, but of the richest; it belonged to him who was best able to purchase it. The owners of church dignities bestowed them without pausing to inquire whether their favourites possessed either piety or good morals. The pope, beyond them all, was intent on enriching his own family, and his profligate sons held the highest and most lucrative offices it was in his power to confer.

The favourite son of Alexander VI. was Cæsar Borgia, a son, the very image of his sire. Although holding a seat in the college of cardinals, he had no relish for ecclesiastical life. Possessed of great courage and considerable military skill, Cæsar turned soldier, and employed force to give effect to the machinations of his father. Their united aim was to destroy as many as they could of the Romanese nobles, and seize on their estates, so that when the popedom should depart from their family, the house of Borgia should still be amongst the greatest in Italy. In pursuance of this policy, Cæsar Borgia first captured the city of Piombino; then marched against the duke of Urbino, and driving him forth, took possession of his duchy, containing four cities, and thirty fortified places. He finally attacked the states of Camerino, which he also reduced to subjection, after treacherously putting to death the heirs of Giulio di Varano, the lord of that territory.

From one stroke of ambition he proceeded to another, until the pontiff proposed to the college to confer on him the title of *king* of Romagna and Umbria.

It was certainly not the crimes of Borgia that prevented this proposal from being adopted, for his public outrages had been surpassed by the enormities of his earlier life, and he yet retained his cardinal's hat. He was even accused, and not without reason, of having murdered his own brother, the duke of Gandia. The two brothers had been to the house of their mother Vanozza to sup, and left together at a late hour. Next morning, the duke of Gandia was missing, and some fishermen dragging the Tiber found his body pierced with nine wounds, while its dress and ornaments were untouched. Jealousy of his brother's titles and prospective honours are supposed to have incited Cæsar to the deed.

But, though not restrained from elevating Borgia to royalty by any sense of his real demerits, the cardinals were prevented by a more potent argument; for the death of the pontiff himself occurred while the question was held in debate. The end of Alexander VI. was a meet sequel to his life. Borgia and the pope had plotted to poison a rich cardinal that they might lay hands on his wealth. The whole body of cardinals were therefore invited to a banquet, and among the wines provided was one bottle of poison carefully prepared and set apart. But the pope and his son coming in

before supper called for some wine, and a servant presented them by mistake with the bottle containing the poison. Borgia had largely diluted his wine, and being young and vigorous, he recovered under the use of proper antidotes ; but Alexander died the same evening,—a remarkable example of Divine retribution ! *

CHAPTER IV.

PIUS III.—THE WARS OF JULIUS II.—HIS PATRONAGE
OF ART.

A. D. 1503—1513.

To the monster of depravity whose life we have briefly sketched in the foregoing chapter, succeeded Pius III. He was the nephew of Pius II., that Æneas Sylvius who acted so important a part in the Council of Basel. The new pontiff inherited some of his uncle's nobler qualities, and, indeed, was so esteemed for his virtue that great hopes were formed of him. But although the possession of a character of such rare excellence was a good argument for the elevation of the new pontiff, it was by no means the real ground of his election. Behind this plausible pretence, the cardinal della Rovere, whose

* The contemporary historian, Guicciardini, declares that "all Rome rushed to St. Peter's with incredible delight to behold his corpse, nor was there any man who could satiate his eyes with gazing on that serpent, which, by his unbounded ambition, his pestiferous perfidy, his frightful cruelties of all kinds, his monstrous lust, his unheard-of avarice, and his unscrupulous trafficking with things sacred and profane, had poisoned the whole world !"

PIUS III.—JULIUS II.

influence had decided the conclave, concealed other motives of a purely selfish nature. That cardinal, who, it will be remembered, was deeply implicated with Sixtus IV. in the conspiracy of the Pazzi, and whose hands were therefore stained with the blood of a murdered man, was secretly plotting the attainment of the tiara for himself, and, because the time was not yet fully ripe, supported the pretensions of Pius III., an infirm and sickly old man, who was not likely to hold his dignities inconveniently long. In fact, Pius died a month after his exaltation; and whether his end was occasioned by poison, as rumour averred, or by a natural decay, the event was, unquestionably, the most opportune that could have happened for the wily and subtle cardinal della Rovere. He had by this time gained over the whole college to his interest, and the obsequies of the late pope were no sooner over than Giuliano della Rovere was chosen his successor.

JULIUS II. was the title the new pontiff assumed; to indicate, as some say, his preference for the regal and military to the ecclesiastical character. Ambitious, bold, reckless, and grasping, Julius had little sympathy with the sensual vices of Alexander VI., and yet the aspect of the papacy was in no degree improved. The whole ten years of this pontificate were devoted to frauds and stratagems, and deeds of violence and injustice.

The pope's first effort was to appropriate some of the cities of Romagna, and incorporate

them with the states of the church. To accomplish this purpose he seized on Cæsar Borgia, who had conquered these cities in the lifetime of his father, and had placed in them creatures of his own, to keep and govern them for him. The pope then announced to these governors that he would give liberty to their leader only when they should have resigned their authority, with the keys of their cities, into the hands of his envoys. By these summary measures, he quickly succeeded in delivering himself from a dangerous subject, (for Borgia instantly quitted Rome for ever,) and likewise in considerably enlarging the papal domains.

The success of his first enterprise emboldened Julius to proceed. The Venetians, the French, and many of the petty sovereignties of Italy, were in turn the objects of pontifical envy or revenge. The pope had a twofold intention—to free Italy from foreign encroachments, and to secure to the popedom a decided pre-eminence among the peninsular powers. Jealousy of the Venetian republic, which was at this time in the zenith of her glory, induced him to join in the League of Cambray, in which the French, German, and Spanish monarchs combined their forces with those of Julius to humble the mistress of the sea. But speedily growing alarmed at the successes of the League, and apprehensive that the French might thus become sole lords of northern Italy, the pontiff changed his policy, was reconciled

to the Venetians, and declared war against the French. In all these operations, moreover, the pope took an active personal part. As if loving the tumultuous camp more than the tranquil palace, he clothed himself in panoply of steel, put himself at the head of his army, and, despising all danger, was often found the foremost in the fray.

In conducting hostilities against the French, Julius, although suffering from illness, had proceeded with some troops to Bologna, and that city being wholly unprepared for defence, he had, on its being attacked by the enemy, a narrow escape from falling into their hands. But his policy was equal to his courage, and he continued to delude the French general with promises and fair speeches, until strong reinforcements arrived and his safety was insured.

Not long after this, we find the energetic and impetuous old man assailing the city of Mirandula, and heedlessly exposing his person to every conceivable peril. Amidst frosts and storms, in the depth of winter, he marched at the head of his forces, directed with his own hands the planting of the artillery, braved the hottest fire of the enemy, and when a breach in the wall was effected, was the first to mount the scaling ladder, sword in hand, and to enter the captured city.

Had the energetic qualities thus exhibited by the pontiff been employed in a worthier cause, and been animated by right principles, the name of Julius II. might well have commanded

our admiration. But, alas! he was stained with vice. His courage and boldness were made the servants of a base ambition, and they often degenerated into rashness and rage, scarcely to be distinguished from madness. His insolence and tyranny were so excessive, that the cities of Italy dreaded to fall into his hands; and when, in one of the numerous vicissitudes of war, the city of Bologna was on one occasion surprised and captured by his antagonists, the inhabitants were so delirious with joy that they rushed in a mass to the great square, in which stood a noble statue of the pontiff which Michael Angelo had founded in brass, and, regardless of its high merit as a masterpiece of art, indignantly hurled it from its pedestal, and dragged it about the streets with every demonstration of hatred and contempt.

Ambition has many forms of development, and in Julius II. it discovered itself in another mode, far less objectionable than these attitudes of menace and deeds of cruelty. The revival of literature had brought with it the renewed cultivation of the arts; and, imitating the conduct of Lorenzo de' Medici, most of the sovereigns of Italy had become patrons of the painters, architects, and sculptors which that age of genius produced in such numbers. The zeal which the pope felt for aggrandizing the patrimony of the church, added to his private ambition, rendered him a munificent patron of all sorts of artists. By their aid he determined

so to decorate and enrich the metropolis of the church, as to make Rome the pride of Italy, and the admiration of the world. The reign of Julius II. was therefore, notwithstanding the fact that he was a man of little taste and even of savage propensities, distinguished for the prosperity of the arts.

The architect Bramante was an especial favourite with Julius, by whose orders he executed the great task of uniting the Belvedere with the Vatican, thus giving to the whole the aspect of an imposing and stupendous mass of building, almost without a rival. It was the same architect and the same pontiff who commenced the cathedral of St. Peter's, and it has been declared by competent judges, that, had their design been fully carried out, that triumph of art would have been made yet more astonishing for beauty and majesty than it actually is.

Besides Bramante, the pope patronised the painter Raphael, whom he invited to leave Florence and settle at Rome. During the reign of Julius, Raphael was largely employed in adorning the walls and ceilings of the Vatican with frescoes which are to this day the wonder of mankind.

But the brightest star in all this constellation of genius was unquestionably Michael Angelo, whose powers seemed equally adapted for bearing away the palm either in painting, architecture, or sculpture. Hearing of his marvellous skill, Julius sent for him to Rome, and instructed him to design a mausoleum that

should perpetuate for ages the fame of the Julian pontificate. In this design the mighty master seemed even to surpass himself, and it is confidently asserted that, had it been properly executed, it would have wholly eclipsed every similar edifice of ancient and modern times. Its dimensions were so large that it could not be contained in the old church of St. Peter, and on this account it was that Julius resolved to erect the new cathedral on a nobler scale.

The temper of the pope and that of his favourite artist were not unlike. Both were independent and choleric, and it is related that Angelo, feeling offended at some want of respect shown him on a certain occasion, determined on selling his goods and departing altogether from Rome; he had, in fact, established himself once more in Florence, when messages came from the pope desiring his return. After many refusals, Angelo at last made his appearance again in the Vatican, and the interview between himself and Julius is highly characteristic of the latter. "What then!" said Julius, with an angry look, "instead of coming to seek us, thou wast determined that we should come to seek thee!" A bishop in attendance endeavoured to apologize for the artist. "Who told thee to interfere?" exclaimed the pope, at the same time dealing the prelate a hearty blow with his staff. Then bidding Michael Angelo to kneel, he gave him his benediction in due form, and received him once more into favour.

Another anecdote is told which equally illustrates this pontiff's character. He had given directions to Angelo to make his statue in bronze. The clay model was soon finished and shown to the pope. His attitude was the very expression of majesty, but its face wore so terrible a frown that Julius himself demanded, "Am I uttering a blessing or *a curse*?" Michael Angelo replied that he had intended to represent him pronouncing an admonition, and inquired if he would have a book placed in one of his hands. "Give me *a sword!*" answered the fierce pontiff—"I know nothing of books."

It is clear enough from all this that Julius II. had little of the ecclesiastical character, even as it then prevailed, and of that of piety he gave no traces whatever. The unregenerate heart showed itself without disguise in him. The natural passions were unchecked—were indulged and exhibited even to excess; indeed, the chief use that Julius made of his ecclesiastical position, was to arm himself against his foes with spiritual in addition to carnal weapons. Excommunications, interdicts, and all similar fulminations were freely put in requisition; and their power was not yet so far gone, but that the enemies of Julius trembled before him.

The moral aspect of the Roman church continued unchanged throughout this pontificate. Its abuses were further multiplied, and a little company of cardinals, who were disgusted at the profligacy of the court, and who attempted to hold a council for the reformation of the

church, soon found that, abandoned both by the pope and the people, having neither the sanction of the one nor the confidence of the other, their labours were wholly in vain. It was not from such a quarter that reformation, now so urgently called for, was to proceed.

The death of Julius II., which occurred in 1513, was in mournful harmony with his life, and strongly reminds one of the death of pope Boniface VIII. Even on his dying bed, Julius could not lay aside his schemes of ambition, or the fierce invectives of his violent tongue. "Out of Italy, French! Out, Alphonso of Este!" he shouted with all the energy he could command; and whether we regard these expressions as the effects of delirium, or with Mr. Roscoe, as only signs of "the ruling passion strong in death," they give unequivocal and lamentable proof, that pope Julius II. died as he had lived, a man of unsubdued arrogance, and of unrestrained malignant passions. How strongly should such an example impress upon the reader, the necessity of those influences of the Holy Spirit, without which a man cannot see the kingdom of heaven!

CHAPTER V.

LEO X.—HIS CHARACTER AND MANNER OF LIFE—
STATE OF SOCIETY.

A. D. 1513.

No contrast can be stronger than is presented between the character of the turbulent Julius

and that of his mild and almost slothful successor. The choice of the conclave fell, after seven days' deliberation and party-plotting, upon Giovanni de' Medici, second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent. The Medici had known painful reverses since the death of Lorenzo. They had been expelled from Florence, and had lost most of their power and much of their wealth. It was only by observing the most politic course of behaviour that they were enabled to maintain among the jealous princes of Italy a position at all worthy of their hereditary greatness.

But no disposition could have been better adapted for such trying circumstances than that of Giovanni de' Medici ; and it was probably his conciliatory and polite, if not amiable demeanour, that now secured him the high dignity to which he had secretly aspired from his earliest youth.

The accession of De' Medici to the tiara as LEO X. afforded real joy to those who desired repose from the turmoils of war, and who sighed for the uninterrupted cultivation of letters and the arts. Better aspirations than these could hardly be said to exist at that period in Italy. There were few who desired the amendment of morals, or the restoration of pure religion ; perhaps there were none who knew by what means alone such changes could be produced. The Bible was either a sealed or a neglected book.

It was, however, in peaceful and enlightened

pursuits that the new pontiff had passed his life ; and it was expected, not unjustly, that he would distinguish his reign by the most generous patronage of all learned and ingenious men. Amongst the inscriptions that adorned the triumphal arches and the palaces of Rome on the day of Leo's coronation, was one that expressed this feeling in pithy and striking phrase. Alluding to the debaucheries of Alexander VI., and the warlike habits of Julius II., it contrasted with these the mild and studious disposition of the new pontiff, in the following lines :—

“Once Venus ruled ; next Mars usurped the throne ;
Now Pallas calls these favoured seats her own.”

Leo, however, did not combine with his love for literature and art, any desires for the establishment of purity in the Roman church ; even had he done so, however, that vast organization of fraud and wickedness had now gone to moral decay, beyond the reach of any restorative influence that a pope could employ, however excellent he might himself have been. It was not, as we shall see, to be regenerated at all ; and whatever amendment in morals it was destined to receive, the first impulse required to be given wholly from beyond its own borders.

The life of Leo X. was one of intellectual sensuality, which, though widely removed from the debasing habits of his immediate predecessors, was not a whit more favourable to the prevalence of “pure and undefiled religion.” Reared by his father amidst relics of ancient

art, saved from the general wreck of Greece and imperial Rome, he had been accustomed to revere the wisdom and genius of heathen sages far more profoundly than the deepest inspirations of the apostles and of the Son of God. At the time when he assumed the pontificate, the tendency of the age, of which he was the true offspring, had reached its culminating point. The homage for antiquity had attained its greatest height, and was producing its proper fruits in inciting men to emulate, in writings composed in their own mother-tongue, the ancient models of philosophy and wit. Artists and sculptors also were weary of merely *copying* the ancients, and hence we find a Raphael and an Angelo embodying religious conceptions, drawn from the faith or the superstitions of their time, in forms as purely beautiful and sublime as any that emanated from the schools of Greece.

Leo was the patron both of those who delighted in imitating the ancients, and of those who strove after originality in their labours. His education and taste perhaps inclined him most to the former, and he rewarded with the highest favour those who excelled in Latin composition. He could himself write and speak that language with Ciceronian elegance, and an improvisatore of Latin hexameters needed no other recommendation to his esteem than his possession of that art. But Leo also encouraged the attempts of Bembo and others to give correctness and dignity to the native Italian,

and every effort at original writing in that tongue was rewarded with his cordial approval. "Ariosto," we are told, "was among the acquaintances of his youth. Machiavelli composed more than one of his works expressly for him. His halls, galleries, and chapels, were filled by Raphael with the rich ideals of human beauty, and with the purest expression of life in its most varied forms. He was a passionate lover of music—a more scientific practice of which was just then becoming diffused throughout Italy; the sounds of music were daily heard floating through the palace, Leo himself humming the airs that were performed."*

With these intellectual enjoyments Leo blended others of a yet lighter kind; for his life was one of worldly pleasure, and he paid little heed to the most pressing exigencies of either church or state. The autumn he would pass in the country, hawking at Viterbo, hunting the stag at Corneto, or fishing in the lake of Bolsena. His favourite rural residence was Malliano, where he would surround himself with improvisatori, and other men of light and agreeable talents, (down to the jester and buffoon,) who aided in making the hours—those precious deposits—pass, as he thought, pleasantly away.

In the winter, Leo mostly kept his court in Rome, where men of learning and genius were always welcome, and where a round of gay and costly festivities relieved the fatigue which his

* Ranke's "Popes of the Sixteenth Century." (I. ii. 3.)

occasional attention to public concerns might create. "No expenditure was found too lavish when the question was one of amusements, theatres, presents, or marks of favour. There was high jubilee when it was known that Giuliano de' Medici meant to settle with his young wife in Rome. 'Here,' writes cardinal Bibbiena to him, 'we lack nothing but a court with ladies!'"*

Amidst all this merry-making it would have been hard indeed for thoughts of reforming the church to have entered the pontiff's mind. In truth, the church was not in a state very different from that which a man like Leo would have naturally preferred to any other. Had it been an easy task—had there been no vexation and trouble involved in bringing about the change, he might perhaps have endeavoured to repress open immorality in the priesthood, and would have insisted that a teacher of others should be possessed of some learning himself. The open vices of the clergy might have received some rebuke, and the shameful ignorance that generally prevailed might have been partially removed. Although he might not have cared more than his predecessors, whether doctors in theology had ever read a single page of the Bible, he would at least have thought it decent that the priests should be *able* to read the mass with tolerable correctness. But even to effect such seemingly alterations as these, Leo x. was destitute of the requisite energy. They

* Ranke's "Popes of the Sixteenth Century." (I. ii. 3.)

would doubtless have met with his approbation, but to originate them was more than he had courage to attempt. No wish, however, for the establishment of spiritual religion and vital godliness could ever have entered his mind, for in these he was quite wanting himself. Indeed, it is only too probable that, like most of the literati of his age, he was no believer at all in the solemn verities of holy writ. It is affirmed of him that he once exclaimed, "This Christianity! how profitable a farce it has proved to us!"

It is certain that Leo was surrounded by men who held every conceivable shade of infidel and sceptical opinions, from the avowed and unblushing atheist to the secret doubter. The most awful declarations of Scripture furnished matter for the jesting and mockery of the gay courtiers who attended the pope. Even the priests were wont to boast to each other, in their revelries, how they deluded the people, by only pretending to transubstantiate the bread and wine in the mass, saying, instead of the usual formula, "*Panis es et panis manebis,*" "*Vinum es et vinum manebis,*"—"Bread thou art and bread thou shalt remain;" "Wine thou art and wine thou shalt abide." One who was not at all likely to be a severe censor of vice, but who was endowed with keen foresight of social changes, the renowned Machiavelli, observed, that "the greatest symptoms of the approaching ruin of Christianity," (by which he meant Roman Catholicism,) "is that the nearer the nations are to the capital of

Christendom, the less do we find in them of a real Christian spirit. The crimes and scandalous example of the court of Rome are the cause of Italy having lost all principles of piety and all religious feelings. Indeed, we Italians have chiefly to thank the church and the priests for having become a nation of impious persons and cut-throats."* The depravity of the Romish church had, indeed, reached its highest climax; but the same Divine Providence which, in a former age, had raised up an Arnold, a Wycliffe, a Jerome, and a Huss, had now prepared a remedy for the gigantic evils with which the papal system had oppressed the world.

CHAPTER VI.

WARS OF LEO X. WITH FRANCE AND URBINO—CONSPIRACY
OF CARDINALS.
A.D. 1513—1517.

DESPERATE as was the moral state of the church, and loud as was the call for a thorough reform—a call to which utterance had been given with more or less distinctness ever since the Council of Constance, it was not to ecclesiastical matters that Leo x. first gave his attention. He had hardly ascended the throne when Italy was thrown into alarm at the news of another French invasion by the armies of king Louis XII. Ever since the expedition of Charles VIII. the French had laid claim to the duchy of

* Machiavelli: "Dissertation on 1st Decade of Livy."

Milan, and the vigorous efforts of Julius II. to preserve Italy from foreign encroachments have already passed before us in review. The death of that redoubtable pontiff seems to have encouraged the French monarch to renew the attempt to wrest the Milanese territory from Maximilian Sforza, who now held the sceptre of that duchy. Sforza turned an imploring eye to the pope, who, although no military genius, saw clearly enough the demands of the crisis.

Leo first of all attempted to draw the emperor and the king of England into a league of defence for Italy; but finding that succours arrived but tardily from these remote quarters, he engaged at his own expense a numerous body of Swiss mercenaries, which he added to all the force that could possibly be raised within the Italian borders. In the battle of Novara, which was fought June 6, 1513, the question of French occupaney was decided for the present; for, after a dreadful conflict, the Swiss and Italians came off wholly victorious, and Louis XII. was glad to purchase peace on the most humiliating terms.

The death of Louis XII., in 1515, completely changed, however, the aspect of affairs. Francis I., his successor, was ardent and aspiring. He burned above all to achieve for himself the reputation of a warrior, and therefore lost no time in asserting his right to the duchy of Milan. But Francis was not devoid of prudence, and he accordingly commenced opera-

tions by labouring to effect a union between himself and those other monarchs who were likely to obstruct his designs. He succeeded in contracting an alliance with Henry VIII. of England—with the archduke, soon to be the emperor Charles V.—and with the Venetian senate. So formidable a league against the quiet of central Italy made the pontiff tremble ; and his cautious temper induced him to refrain alike from opposing so strong a confederacy, and from giving countenance to their plans, until he should be more certain of the probable results. He resolved, therefore, for the present to leave Milan to its fate.

After some temporizing, however, Leo found it to be quite necessary that he should take a decided part in the approaching contest. Siding, therefore, with those who aimed at keeping the too powerful French out of Italy, he united his arms with those of the Swiss, the emperor Maximilian, and Ferdinand of Arragon.

The details of this struggle may be rapidly told. Francis made his appearance in Italy at the head of a powerful army, comprising the flower of French chivalry, expecting to be joined there by his Venetian allies. But his progress was disputed at every step by the brave Swiss, who were eager to repeat the achievements of Novara. At Marignano, the allied armies met the intruders in full force. In a hard-fought battle, the French proved themselves more than a match for the combined strength of the Italians, Spaniards, and Swiss.

It was towards evening when these last commenced the attack with their wonted impetuosity, and, breaking the French lines, would, perhaps, have carried all before them had not the darkness of night interrupted the combat. All that night both armies continued under arms, waiting impatiently for the dawn that the work of carnage might begin afresh. When day broke, it was seen that Francis had reorganized his forces. He led the vanguard in person, and inspired his soldiers with such enthusiasm that they fought with great courage, and in the end gained a decisive victory.

Francis was now undisputed master of Milan, and the politic Leo hastened forthwith to conciliate a foe, who, if further exasperated, might inflict injury even on the sacred domains of the church. But the French king was content with his present conquests, and, receiving the pope's ambassadors with the greatest cordiality, proposed a personal interview between himself and Leo for the purpose of strengthening the ties of their friendship. The meeting was arranged to be held at Bologna, and thither both the potentates proceeded, attended by a large concourse of followers of all kinds. At Bologna, Francis performed homage to the pope, according to custom, by kissing Leo's hand and foot; and the pontiff insisted, on his part, that the king should keep his head covered, although contrary to the usual etiquette. This visit of Francis to Leo lasted for some weeks, and the time was not wholly

exhausted in tournaments and other festivities ; many really important transactions, which deeply affected the welfare of both France and Italy, took place between the two princes.

Among these was the abolition of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, an ancient covenant between the popes and the monarchs of France, through which the French churches had enjoyed a singular independence of papal control. It was now agreed that all the powers of the pope should be transferred to the king, who should henceforth present to all vacant sees, and adjudicate in all ecclesiastical affairs, with a merely nominal subjection to the supremacy of the pope. The French clergy remonstrated in vain against this arrangement, by which they gained a master who had full power to compel obedience, in exchange for one whose will might very often be safely set at nought. The independence of the French church was thus destroyed, and although the growing insolence of prelates had rendered the step quite essential to the repose of France, it will be hard to exculpate the pope and the king, (with whom it was a mere question of policy, and who acted throughout the business in direct opposition to all their professed convictions of papal supremacy,) from the charge so vehemently urged against them, of buying and selling the spiritual interests of the people.

It was also at this Bologna conference that Francis, solicitous to please the English king, obtained for his ambitious servant, Wolsey, a

cardinal's hat as compensation for the loss of a bishopric in France which Francis desired for a friend of his own.

Relieved from the terrors of foreign invasion, Leo had leisure to undertake some long-cherished designs for the aggrandizement of his own family. For such selfish aims the popes had now become notorious, and the ambitious Medici were not likely to let slip an opportunity so favourable as the present, when one of their house swayed the potent sceptre of the church.

Leo's affections were chiefly directed to his nephew Lorenzo, and he now resolved to obtain for that nephew a lasting position among the sovereigns of Italy. In a state of society so depraved as that of the Italians in the sixteenth century, it was no difficult matter for a pope to charge any of his neighbours with some crimes of a very serious nature. The duchy of Urbino seemed to Leo the most desirable possession for his relative, and he therefore immediately proceeded to accuse its duke of having formerly, with his own hands, assassinated a cardinal in the streets of Ravenna. For this crime, which indeed was not denied, the duke was now summoned to answer before the papal tribunal. An instant refusal to obey the citation furnished a plausible pretext for the employment of force, and a civil war ensued, which, if it did not deluge Italy with blood, like the wars of Charles VIII. and Louis XII., kept the central states embroiled for a long time in continual discord.

The pope appears to especial disadvantage in the whole of this affair. As cupidity prompted and injustice commenced it, so did cruelty and treachery signalize its prosecution and its close. The duchess of Urbino obtained audience of Leo, and forcibly urged how great would be the scandal, how monstrous the ingratitude, if Lorenzo, whom, when an infant, she had caressed in her arms, should now rise up against his benefactors, and repay their kindness with persecution and robbery. But her entreaties and tears were all in vain: ambition had effectually steeled the heart of the pope against the claims of justice, and even the voice of pity. The spoliation was decided on; and so far did Leo carry his harshness, that when, after Urbino had been seized and its duke sent into exile, the latter humbly petitioned to be at least set free from ecclesiastical censures, the pope sternly refused to grant even this cheap favour, which the poor duke sincerely believed to be necessary for the salvation of his soul.

But cruelty goes not unpunished. It often meets a recompense even in the present life; and although this action of Leo's was quite at variance with the usual tenor of his life, yet it was destined to receive retribution. In the course of the contest with Urbino, many wholly unoffending families were, of course, involved in the ruin so indiscriminately dealt out by the violent hands of war. Amongst these was the family of the Petrucci, which had been deprived by the pope of their govern-

ment of Sienna, and expelled altogether from that city. But one of the Petrucci was in the sacred college, and cardinal Petrucci now meditated a deadly revenge against the destroyer of his house. At first, he declared he would not hesitate to assassinate the pontiff wherever he might chance to meet him, but as soon as the paroxysm of his anger had subsided he took other measures, and secretly formed a conspiracy for taking away his life by poison. Still the fierce passions that raged within him could ill brook the delay necessary to accomplish his object, and he often gave utterance to his wrath in a manner so public that he was at last obliged to escape from Rome, to avoid the consequences of his imprudence. To Leo's dismay it was now found that the conspiracy had been joined in by a considerable number of the cardinals, and he instantly caused such as he suspected to be apprehended and committed to prison. Petrucci himself was inveigled to Rome by the sacred promise of a safe-conduct, a promise only made to be shamefully broken. After bitterly reproaching the guilty cardinals for their treachery, Leo sentenced Petrucci and some inferior confederates to be strangled in prison, and the other chief conspirators were heavily fined.

The peace of the pontiff's life could not, however, be restored by judicial punishments. Treason might still, for aught he knew, be working in secret, and Leo was now condemned to experience the miserable torment of always

fearing an unknown and invisible foe. To relieve himself of these miseries he resolved on largely augmenting the number of cardinals, hoping thus to be assured that the majority of the college would be his grateful and faithful adherents. At one time, he promoted thirty-one persons to this much-coveted honour, some of whom were his own relatives, others his personal friends, and the remainder individuals of eminence in connexion with the courts of France, Germany, Portugal, and Spain. By this politic step he greatly advanced his influence abroad, and secured more firmly the bonds of peace and safety at home.

CHAPTER VII.

FONTIFIGATE OF LEO X.—OUTBREAK OF THE REFORMATION—THE OPPOSITION OF ROME.

A.D. 1517—1520.

It is somewhat remarkable that Leo x., who longed for nothing so much as the quiet enjoyment of life, should have been allowed less repose than most of his predecessors. No sooner had he hushed the storms of political and domestic strife than fearful indications appeared of a far more fierce and protracted ecclesiastical war. The REFORMATION now began to gather its forces, and already sounded from behind the Alps the loud clarion of battle.

For ages it had been the common practice of the popes to replenish their treasury, when

ever it was deeply drained, by means of *indulgences*. For the promulgation of these, the slightest occasion or excuse was eagerly seized. Thus, when Julius II. determined on erecting the new cathedral of St. Peter's, it furnished an excellent pretext for the sale of indulgences. And as the completion of this edifice was a slow and tedious work, extending over a space of many years, the same source of revenue continued open long after Julius was laid in the tomb. The lavish expenditure of Leo X. made such resources peculiarly needful and acceptable to him, and we have evidence, if we may so term it, of one of the *best* purposes to which these funds were devoted, in a curious document yet extant,—a letter from Leo to his commissioner of indulgences, requiring a hundred and forty ducats to effect the purchase of a manuscript of the thirty-third book of Livy.

The sale of indulgences had thus become an authorized and regular branch of clerical duties. It was a traffic chiefly monopolized, however, by the Begging Friars, an order which, originally pretending to superior sanctity, had now grown to be the most dissolute and venal of all, and the members of which were even the moral pestilence of the unhappy neighbourhood they chose to infest. Wandering from town to town, they everywhere offered their indulgences for sale in the most public places, and with unblushing effrontery exaggerated the sufficiently impudent claims of the impious indulgence itself. There was no sin, they affirmed, however

awful it might be, for which the indulgence would not secure an ample pardon. Nay! men might thus purchase a complete absolution from all crimes whatever that they might yet intend to commit. All would be pardoned, and that without the disagreeable necessity of repentance. Relatives who were groaning in purgatory might thus be set free, and "the very moment," said one of the indulgence-sellers, "that the purchase-money chinks at the bottom of the strong box, these souls escape from their torments, and soar to heaven." For the paltry sum of twelve groats, they were reminded, a man could deliver his father out of purgatory; and for eight ducats he might *commit murder* without fear of eternal retribution.*

But the labours of Dante and Petrarch, of Reuchlin and Erasmus, had not been so utterly lost as to leave the world quite in the same darkness as of old respecting these blasphemous pretensions. The seller of indulgences now often encountered the laughter of an unbelieving audience, and sometimes received a severer and not undeserved chastisement. Especially in Germany had the bonds of superstition been loosened by that spirit of free inquiry into every sort of doctrine to which the revival of letters had given birth. In Germany, also, it was not felt, so strongly as in Italy, that it was for the interest of the priesthood to uphold absurd

* See further details of this monstrous traffic in Merle D'Aubigné's "History of the Reformation," book iii., who cites Luther's Theses, Tetzel's Anti-Theses, and Müller's Reliq. iii. p. 264.

dogmas which in their hearts men had wholly ceased to believe. There was a spirit rising in Germany that could not endure the loathsome mixture of arrogance, hypocrisy, and blasphemy of which an indulgence-seller was composed, and this spirit pervaded the universities and monasteries, as well as the cities and towns.

Already had LUTHER, preacher in the town church of Wittemberg, and professor of theology in its university, awakened great attention to the paramount authority of the Scriptures, and especially to the Scriptural, but then novel and ill-understood doctrine of the sinner's justification by faith alone in the atonement of Christ. Already he had gathered around him a promising phalanx of ardent young men, who looked up to him with reverence as a revealer of new truth, and in whose hearts was kindled a holy zeal akin to his own.

But at present Luther still retained the profoundest respect for the pope, and for all the ancient institutions of the Roman church. He groaned over the flagrant abuses of the times, but persuaded himself that these abuses were not tolerated by the pope, and needed only to be exposed to be removed. To this very task he was now addressing himself with all the stupendous energy of his soul; and when, in 1516, he heard that Tetzl, one of the most notorious and impudent of the indulgence-mongers, had ventured to approach Wittemberg, hawking his blasphemous certificates for the salvation of souls, and proclaiming their

virtues in the most extravagant and shocking terms, Luther burned with indignation, and he passionately exclaimed, "If God permit, I will knock a hole in his drum!"

How this threat was fulfilled, and what dissensions were created in Germany by the bold stand which the reformer made for a purer creed and worship, it is beside our present purpose minutely to record. We have here chiefly to do with the ultimate results of his labours, and their direct effects on Italy and the papedom. Nevertheless, the noble reformer himself must occasionally pass across the scene.

Luther's boldest stroke was his affixing to the doors of Wittemberg church the famous ninety-five theses or propositions, in which he distinctly impugned the authority of the indulgences. These theses were copied and spread abroad with wonderful rapidity. "It was as if angels had carried them," said his disciples afterwards. In a fortnight, they were talked of throughout Germany, and in a month, had reached the confines of Christendom, both east and west. The emperor Maximilian saw that the bold innovator might one day assist him against the pope, as Savanorola had formerly aided Charles VIII., and he exclaimed, "Take care of that monk, Luther; the time may come when we shall have need of him!" And even the pontiff was not displeased with the theses. He estimated them by their literary merit, and regarding them as proofs of an original and independent mind, "This friar Martin," said

he, "is a very fine genius, and all that is said against him is mere monkish jealousy."

But if the pope was indifferent to the "German squabble," (for so Leo had styled it,) the cardinals and priests thought it worthy of more serious notice. The censor of the papal court, Prierias, undertook to reply to the theses, which he did in a treatise abounding with adulation of the pope, and violent abuse and threatenings for the "barbarous" and daring monk. He contemptuously asks, "Has this Luther an iron nose or a brazen head, so that it cannot be broken?" He insinuates, that if Luther should "receive a good bishopric, he would be ready to preach up the indulgences which he now chose to blacken." And he intimates that the pope "can employ the secular arm to constrain those who depart from the faith." Such was the spirit with which the rising Reformation was met in the metropolis of Christendom.

Rome soon began to bestir herself with considerable energy. Early in 1518, the cardinal Rovere addressed a letter to Luther's sovereign and protector, the elector Frederic, cautioning him that his friendship for the reformer was suggesting suspicions at Rome of his being himself heretically disposed. A little later, the emperor Maximilian, wishing to ingratiate himself with the pope, wrote to Leo, offering his services to carry into effect whatever measures might be resolved on for checking the growth of the heresy.

Leo was now roused to action, and he forthwith issued a summons citing Luther to appear personally in Rome within the space of sixty days. A letter was also despatched to the elector Frederic, warning him against Luther's heresy, and seeking to detach him altogether from the reformer's cause. The order for Luther's appearance in Rome was soon afterwards changed for another to proceed to Augsburg, to meet the cardinal Gaeta, the pope's legate at the imperial court, and be by him examined respecting the doctrines he held. Here, for the present, the court of Rome seemed disposed to rest in its opposition to the German Reformation.

Other matters engrossed the pontiff's attention. On the one hand, the Ottoman Turks were making new inroads on western Europe, and the Italians began to apprehend an attack on their own peninsula. To avert so tremendous an evil, Leo strove to unite the European powers in a confederacy to resist the infidel foe, and hoped, by exciting anew the crusading spirit, to restore that deference for the papacy which was too evidently on the decline.

On the other hand, important political changes were taking place beyond the Alps, which might seriously affect the welfare of Italy. The feeble old emperor Maximilian died in 1518, and a struggle ensued between Francis I. and the archduke Charles for the imperial crown, in which the latter was the victor. Charles had now become the greatest potentate of Europe,

and indeed the most powerful that Europe had seen since the days of Charlemagne. The crowns of the Empire, of Spain, the Sicilies, and the Netherlands, all reposed on his head, so that to his movements the eyes of all sovereigns were of course anxiously turned.

But the excitement of these events having passed away, the pope again directed his attention to the dissensions of the German church. Still hoping to conciliate Luther, he despatched a Saxon nobleman, of courteous manners and consummate address, Charles Miltitz, to endeavour to prevail on the reformer to publish a retractation of his heretical doctrines. But Luther had gone too far to retract, and had gained a much larger number of disciples than people at Rome imagined. Miltitz was astonished to observe, as he proceeded to Wittemberg, innumerable tokens of the strong hold which the doctrines of the reformer had already taken on the minds of the lower classes. "Truly," said he to Luther, "I would not undertake to carry you out of Germany, if I had at my command an army of twenty-five thousand men!" Nor was this mere flattery; it was sober sense. The youth of Germany, attracted by Luther's fame, and by sympathy with the truths he taught, were flocking to the university of Wittemberg by hundreds. "Our city," wrote Luther, "can hardly receive all who arrive here." And it was not to Wittemberg, nor even to Germany, that this movement was confined. The age was ripe for revolt against

effete superstitions, and from Switzerland, from Bohemia, and even from Italy, Luther received letters, vehemently urging him to proceed boldly in the course he had commenced.

And Luther himself was less disposed than ever to retract. The fierce opposition he had met with from German doctors and priests, had led him to a deeper study of the history of the Roman church. New light broke daily on his mind, revealing the utter dissimilarity between the papal imposture and primitive Christianity. Until now he had revered the authority of the pope, but we find him at this period writing to a friend, "I am studying the decretals of the pontiffs, and (let me whisper in your ear) I am not sure whether the pope be Antichrist himself, or only his apostle, to such a degree has Christ been perverted and sacrificed." At a disputation which he held shortly afterwards at Leipsic, he openly impugned the primacy of the pope; and in a very few months he had become satisfied that the mass was not the Lord's supper, and that celibacy was not binding on the clergy.

The blandishments of Miltitz were consequently employed to no purpose; and Rome began to meditate severer measures for the extermination of the dangerous heresy. The pontiff himself was, in all probability, averse to the adoption of these ulterior steps. It was also very doubtful how far the new emperor could be depended on for carrying into effect the decrees of the church. But the dictates of prudence were overruled by the clamours of

bigotry ; for Luther's rival and enemy, Dr. Eck, had industriously poisoned the minds of all the cardinals, and on the 15th of June, 1520, the famous bull was sent forth by which the doctrines of the reformer were officially condemned, and his person handed over to the vengeance of the secular power.

CHAPTER VIII.

PROGRESS OF REFORMATION—LUTHER IMPRISONED—
DEATH OF LEO X.
A.D. 1520, 1521.

THE reception of the papal bull in Germany was not calculated to inspire re-assurance at the court of Rome. At Leipsic, its publication was forbidden by authority of the duke. At Erfurt, the students tore in pieces the copies that were sent, and threw the fragments into the river, exclaiming, "It is a bull ; let it swim !" At Wittemberg, a public meeting was called by Luther, and a large bonfire being lighted, the reformer cast into it, in the presence of an assembly of doctors, professors, students, and citizens, the volumes of the canon law, the decretals, and other papal statutes ; and then holding aloft the pope's bull, and solemnly pronouncing these words, "Whereas thou hast grieved the Lord's holy ones, may the everlasting fire grieve and consume thee," he committed that also to the flames, amidst shouts of approbation from the concourse of spectators.

So bold a defiance of Rome's most terrible fulminations at once stimulated the zeal of Luther's partisans, and infuriated the malice of his foes. The legates of the pope now applied to the young emperor, and implored him to put in prompt execution the decrees of the bull. But Charles v. was too cautious to commit himself to any course that might possibly, at the very beginning of his reign, embroil him with several states of his empire. He said he would consult the elector Frederic, the oldest and wisest of the German princes, and be guided by his counsel. The advice of the elector, who had always been partial to the reformer, and whose convictions were now inclined more than ever to the side of Scriptural truth, was, that before Luther was delivered over to the vengeance of Rome, he should be allowed to plead his own cause before impartial judges. In accordance with this counsel, Charles summoned the reformer to present himself before the diet of the empire, just then about to be held in the city of Worms.

All circumstances seemed to combine to attract an unusual concourse of princes, prelates, and nobles, to this memorable diet. The accession of a new and powerful monarch to the imperial throne; the well-known jealousies between Charles, Francis I., and the pope; and the religious excitement rising higher and higher in all countries, united to swell the numbers of this august assembly. It is beside our present purpose to relate its proceedings in

detail; they may be found in all biographies of Luther, and histories of the Reformation. Luther, in spite of repeated friendly warnings and entreaties to the contrary, did not fail to appear, and was met before the diet by his implacable enemy and eloquent accuser, the legate Aleander.

The excitement was intense when Luther entered the assembly to make his defence. The hall was crowded to excess, and the reformer was well-nigh exhausted by the heat before he was suffered to begin. Then, first in German, and afterwards in Latin, he explained the steps he had taken, the motives which had guided him, and the reasons why he could not possibly retract. Being then desired to give a clear and precise answer to the question, whether he would or would not retract, he firmly and deliberately replied, "Unless fully convinced by the testimony of Scripture, I neither can nor will retract anything. Here I stand," he continued, as if reflecting on his solitary, forlorn, and helpless position, "I can do no otherwise. God help me. Amen."

One would have expected that so manly an assertion of the rights of conscience would have commanded the admiration of the entire assembly; and on many it did not fail to make a very deep impression. But the emperor's education had lamentably unfitted him for rightly appreciating Luther's noble protest against debasing superstitions and priestly imposture. Charles was a blind follower of the

popes, and he therefore finally decreed that the reformer should instantly depart from Worms, and not be found within the bounds of the empire after the lapse of twenty days.

Luther departed, confidently intrusting himself and his cause to the gracious protection of that God who had so manifestly "set him for the defence of the gospel." And God quickly appeared in his behalf. The life of His servant was eagerly sought by misguided and evil-minded men; but there was more work for him yet to accomplish, and so his life was preserved. As Luther leisurely journeyed to Wittenberg, passing through the wood of Altenstein, he was suddenly surprised by a band of armed men in masks, who placed him on a horse brought for that purpose, and riding rapidly through by-paths in the woods, conducted him to a castle called the Wartburg, surrounded on all sides by the dense Thuringian forests; a place of refuge which the reformer, in after days, was wont to denominate his "Patmos."

This rescue had been barely effected in time to save the life of Luther; for on his quitting Worms, the papal legate had influence enough to procure a decree from the emperor, by which the reformer's writings were sentenced to be burned, his adherents to be seized and imprisoned, and Luther himself to be brought in sure custody to the imperial presence, from whence it was intended, no doubt, he should only depart to grace an *auto-da-fé*.

Delivered for the present from the great disturber of ecclesiastical lethargy and corruption, Leo x. had leisure to indulge more thoroughly in those pursuits of literature, taste, and ambition, that were the most grateful aliment of his mind. It may be recorded in his praise, that he gathered around him, and liberally rewarded, such men of genius and learning as Italy then contained; but few of these have left names that claim our highest veneration. The whole character of that age bears the stamp of the German, rather than the Italian intellect. It was the energy of a Luther, the consecrated lore of a Melancthon, the polished wit of an Erasmus, which then gave impulse and direction to the thoughts and opinions of the world, much more than the frivolous jesting or refined pedantry of the infidel ecclesiastics who thronged the halls of the Vatican. Yet the zeal of the pontiff in collecting ancient manuscripts, which he purchased at almost any price, to enrich the Laurentian library; his efforts also to increase the stores of the Vatican library; and his discriminating taste in the patronage of artists and sculptors, amongst the crowds of whom the towering forms of a Raphael and an Angelo are conspicuous, constitute a fair claim in behalf of Leo x. to the gratitude of mankind; and although they can form no justification, may be accepted as some sort of compensation for his encouragement of ribald poets and buffoons.

Amongst other suitors for literary honours at the hands of pope Leo x., was one of singular

character and pretensions. The writings of Luther had called forth a host of replies, and none of these excited so much curiosity, or won such general applause, as that of king Henry VIII. of England. This ambitious young monarch, in his eagerness for all sorts of distinction, and influenced by the vanity which the flattery of his courtiers had inspired, had determined on entering the lists of theological debate with the now world-famed monk of Wittemberg. The "Defence of the Seven Sacraments" which he produced is more remarkable for zeal than for learning or talent, but by the popish party it was extolled for the latter as much as for the former. It was presented to the pope with great ceremony, and was received by him in full consistory. The reward which Henry coveted was also granted after some demur, and a papal bull authorized the English king to style himself henceforth the "Defender of the Faith." Thus the king of England, to his great satisfaction, was at last placed on a perfect equality with the "Most Christian" monarch of France, and the "Catholic" sovereign of Spain.

Whilst Leo was thus diligently establishing his title to be regarded as the patron of letters and the arts, he was not inattentive to political affairs. The occupation of Milan by the French had always been a cause of sore vexation to his mind, and whatever apparent amity existed between him and Francis I., was only a politic cover to secret dislike. He seized the first opportunity of breaking the compact between

them. Uniting the forces of "the church" with those of the emperor, he entered on regular hostilities towards the close of 1521, in the hope of expelling the French altogether from the Italian soil, and once more obtaining the states of Parma and Piacenza, of which his treaty with Francis had deprived him.

It had long been the practice of the princes of Italy, in their frequent wars with each other, to engage the services of the Swiss mountaineers, whose valour was strangely combined with a mercenary spirit, which led them to sell their life-blood to the best paymaster, whoever he might be. On this occasion, the pontiff was the highest bidder; and upon the French retiring into the city of Milan, the allies, strengthened by the Swiss auxiliaries, made a vigorous and successful assault, compelling the French to surrender at discretion, and to promise the immediate withdrawal of their whole force from Italy.

Leo was at his country-seat of Malliano when the news of this victory reached him. Exultation at so signal a triumph threw him into the greatest excitement. The enemies of Italy were vanquished; Parma and Piacenza again sparkled among the brightest gems in the papal diadem. During the whole night, he paced to and fro in his chamber, alternately gazing on the festivities which were commenced by his retainers in honour of the event, and which he could see from his window, and reflecting on the glorious career that now seemed open to his ambition.

On the morrow, Leo returned to Rome, to give directions for the public celebration of the triumph; but on that very day he was seized with a fatal illness, and amidst excruciating sufferings of body, and still more distressing mental agitation—without hope to cheer him, and without faith in the atoning blood of Christ to sustain him—he expired in the course of a few hours. He was only forty-seven years of age, and had reigned but eight years.

CHAPTER IX.

PONTIFICATE OF ADRIAN VI.

A.D. 1521—1523.

THE choice of a successor to the deceased pope was a momentous affair; and had the cardinals been chiefly concerned for the welfare of the church, they would (as Merle D'Aubigné justly remarks) have chosen for such troubled times a Gregory VII. or an Innocent III. But the members of the conclave were, as usual, too busy in pursuing their own separate interests to think of the public good; and thus the providence of God employed them to forward, unconsciously, the great work of the Reformation. Unable for several days to agree, it at last happened that a sufficient number of votes fell upon a man whom none of them really desired to elect, Adrian of Utrecht, formerly a professor at Louvain, and then tutor to Charles V. Contrary to their hopes, Adrian

accepted the tiara, and, contrary to usage, assumed the popedom without changing his name.

ADRIAN VI. was a perfect contrast in character to Leo x. His gravity was so great that it is said he never laughed, a faint smile being his nearest approach to mirth. His habits were severely studious, abstemious, and correct; there can be no question that he was heartily zealous for the welfare of the Roman church. The Dutch were in raptures that one of their countrymen should be chosen to fill the chair of St. Peter, and the Romans were willing to suppress their mortification at the rigid manners of the new pontiff, in consideration of the five thousand benefices which he had it in his power to bestow.

Adrian was determined to set an example in his own person of the deportment which he thought befitting the priestly office. On approaching Rome, he alighted from his carriage, and entered the city with bare legs and feet, intending to impress on the citizens, and especially on the clergy, the duties of humility and self-denial. That he was only laughed at for his pains by the volatile Romans we may be quite sure, and that such a *show* of humility bordered very nearly upon affectation, if not on hypocrisy itself, even charity is obliged to suspect. On taking possession of the Vatican, Adrian determined to continue his former domestic habits. His old housekeeper still provided his frugal and solitary meals in the halls which had so lately been crowded with guests

and servants, and where luxurious banquets had been daily prepared at an enormous cost.

In all matters of refinement and taste, the new pope was equally a contrast to the old. On being shown that noble group of statuary, the Laocoon, which Julius II. had purchased at a great price from those who had recovered it from amidst ruins, Adrian coldly remarked, "These are the idols of the pagans!" The frescoes of Raphael he denounced in the same ascetic or barbarous spirit as "merely useless ornaments." As for poets, he would not have them so much as named in his presence. It is true that the poets of Leo X.'s court were not worthy of much esteem, but Adrian would have treated an Ariosto and an Arretino with an equal amount of contempt.

Great changes had occurred in Germany since the imprisonment of Luther in the Wartburg. The seed which he had sown had had time to grow, and was now bringing forth its earliest fruits. The reformer had hitherto abstained from urging any alterations in the forms of worship, or in the public discipline of the church. But it was soon perceived by his disciples that the great truths which their master taught were wholly incompatible with the customs and forms authorized by the church. The celibacy of the clergy, so productive of immorality, was the first of these customs to be attacked. Some of the reforming priests dared to break their vows, and entered

into matrimonial bonds. The monasteries were the next object of assault. It was declared that monastic vows were contrary to the spirit of Scripture and injurious to society. Thirteen Augustinian monks at Wittenberg at once forsook their monastery and abandoned the dress of their order. One of them even ventured to marry, and petitioned to be admitted as a burgess. Soon afterwards, the mass was publicly denounced from the pulpit by Carlstadt, and at his instigation the university and council of Wittenberg decreed that the Lord's supper, administered in a Scriptural manner, should be substituted for that absurd and superstitious rite.

All Germany was now on fire with a spirit of inquiry. Theological discussions were held at the fireside, in the market-place, and in the halls of justice. The vices of the papacy became increasingly apparent, and Luther threw oil upon the flames by pouring forth treatise after treatise from his secure hiding-place in the Thuringian woods. In fact, the reformer began to be alarmed at his own success, and trembled lest the zeal of his disciples should outstrip their prudence. That there was danger of this was quite evident, and it caused him the most serious concern. Some had used violence in destroying images and in preventing the priests from saying mass in the churches. Others pretended to a direct inspiration from heaven, and were beginning to be carried away by that spirit of fanaticism

which seldom fails to appear in times of religious awakening.

Fearful lest his own labours should thus lose their reward, and the great work of reformation be hindered by these extravagances, Luther resolved on quitting his secluded and secure abode, and presenting himself once more on the open arena of conflict. Finding no obstacle opposed to his design, he forsook the Wartburg, and the pulpits of Wittemberg again resounded with the earnest appeals that had before roused the sleeping soul of the people. Their success was as striking as ever. Fanaticism was exorcised, and the Reformation, again directed in a safe and Scriptural channel, pursued its course with greater speed than before.

The consternation and wrath which these movements excited among the adherents of Rome can scarcely be described. It was one of Adrian's first measures to write to the elector Frederic, sternly rebuking him for harbouring and befriending such pestilent disturbers of the church as Luther and his associates. In this letter, the elector is charged with destroying the unity of the church, and introducing the demon of strife into the fold of Christ. "If Christian peace has fled from the church—if the shout of war resounds from east to west—if an universal battle be at hand—for all this it is thou, even thou, who art to blame!" Proceeding to accuse Luther of all monstrous crimes, and to vilify him with the coarsest epithets, the pontiff pronounces a sentence of utter condemnation,

but in a strain so rhetorical as to leave some doubt whether it is Luther or Frederic at whom the bolt is hurled. "Of what punishment, what martyrdom then, thinkest thou we shall judge you deserving? In the name of Almighty God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose representative I am upon earth, I declare that thou shalt be punished in this world, and be plunged into eternal fire in that which is to come! Repent, and be converted! The two swords are suspended above thy head—the sword of the empire and the sword of the popedom!"

This last menace of the pontiff was not wholly without meaning. The princes of that age were generally far too willing to lend themselves to deeds of persecution in the sacred name of religion; and, except where his political interests interfered, Charles v. did not rank behind the most ardent of them in slavish devotion to the church. The inferior rulers, electors, dukes, and counts, stimulated by the pope, and sanctioned by the emperor, were eager to slake their thirst in the blood of the heretic Lutherans.

No time was lost. The work of slaughter, confiscation, and imprisonment was forthwith begun, and the Netherlands branded themselves with ignominy by sending the first of this new band of martyrs to the stake. At Brussels, three youthful monks, who had renounced their vows, were seized, manacled, torn from their homes, and after a hasty trial publicly burned to death.

In December, 1522, the diet of the empire assembled at Nuremberg; and Adrian, full of zeal against the reformers, despatched a faithful legate to be his representative in the council. It was at Luther that the legate aimed his most powerful blows. "This gangrened member," said he to the nobles, "must be separated entirely from the main body. As your fathers executed Huss and Jerome, so do you go forth and gain a magnificent victory over this infernal dragon."

But although there were not wanting in the diet princes who fully sympathized with the legate, the majority shuddered at his address. They entered on the consideration of the manifest abuses of the papacy, which Luther had so thoroughly laid bare, and passed resolutions which strikingly discovered the decline of papal influence. No fewer than eighty grievances were specified, and the answer returned to the pope's message concluded with these words: "If these grievances be not redressed within a set time, we shall think of other means of escape from so many oppressions and sufferings."

The pope did not, however, expect to heal all the disorders of the church by merely extirpating the heretics. He was too moral a man himself not to feel disgust at the vices and profligacy which everywhere prevailed, and amongst no class so much as the clergy. Adrian, also, was too earnest in desiring the welfare of the church not to give expression to his disgust. In fact, the very legate who demanded the

exemplary punishment of all heresy, was also charged with the pontiff's confession that the accusations of Luther against the papacy were undoubtedly just. "We are well aware," he said, "that for many years past several abuses and abominations have found place even beside the holy chair. From the head the malady has passed down into the limbs; from the pope it has extended to the prelates; we are all gone astray, there is none that hath done rightly, no not one. We would fain reform this Roman court whence proceeds so many evils; the whole world desires this, and for this object we consented to ascend the throne of the pontiffs."

But if, on the one hand, Adrian met with disappointment in his efforts to check the spread of heresy, he was quite as unsuccessful on the other in accomplishing the reforms of his own devising. Where, indeed, was he to make a beginning with the least prospect of ever achieving a thorough reformation? So long had corruption been permitted to grow—so inextricably had its fibres now entwined themselves about the very roots of the church, that to eradicate the one was inevitably to destroy the other. On all sides, the pope met with the most resolute resistance. At the least step towards reform, he was assailed with volleys of reproaches, warnings, menaces, and prayers. And, too probably, Adrian himself was not quite sincere in his reforming projects. If he had been, he would surely have regarded Luther's exposure of abuses as at the worst the

rough treatment of a friendly hand. He would have thought it deserving of praise rather than censure. And so, evidently, Luther himself believed; for on translating into German one of the pontifical mandates in which it was said, "the cure must proceed step by step," the reformer sarcastically added, "with an interval of *some ages* between each step."

Moreover, Adrian was personally unpopular amongst his Italian subjects. His abstemious habits and severe looks gave him no favour with a people accustomed to gaiety, luxury, and uncontrolled license of manners. Wholly unused to business, the secular affairs of the popedom did not prosper in his hands, so that whilst Adrian himself often murmured, "I would much rather serve God in my provostry of Louvain than be pope at Rome," the Romans grumbled at his parsimony and his taxes, and heartily wished his popedom at an end. The gratification of their wishes was not long deferred, for, in September, 1523, Adrian died; and although there is no solid ground for supposing that he expired by a violent death, the citizens in the night-time crowned his physician's gate with garlands of flowers, and inscribed over the top, "TO THE LIBERATOR OF HIS COUNTRY!"

CHAPTER X.

PONTIFICATE OF CLEMENT VII. TO THE SACK OF ROME.
A.D. 1523—1527.

So numerous and determined were the intrigues of the different parties in the conclave, that two months had almost slipped away ere they could fix on a successor to the chair. At last, the influence of the cardinal Giulio de' Medici prevailed. Having secured the prize, he assumed the title of CLEMENT VII.

This pontiff was in many respects well suited for the post he had gained. He had long been familiar with political affairs, and the popedom was now at least as much a political as an ecclesiastical dignity. He was gifted with quick discernment in the most perplexing difficulties, and his assiduity in attending to business was admirable when compared with the remissness of his predecessors. To Adrian's respect for morals and religion he made little pretension, but his zeal for the prosperity of the priesthood, and of the whole hierarchical system which now usurped the name of *the church*, was quite as ardent; while his taste for literature and the arts was far more decided, and in accordance with the demands of the age. Yet, notwithstanding these propitious qualities in his character, Clement's was destined to be one of the most disastrous and unfortunate reigns the popedom had hitherto experienced.

The state of public affairs had, indeed, never been so complicated as at the time when Cle-

ment assumed the tiara. On all sides, problems presented themselves, for the solution of which no single mind could possibly be adequate. To secure the temporal power of the popedom amidst the conflicting strifes of the sovereigns who now disputed the soil of Italy, and to maintain the institutions of the church when German reformers and Turkish invaders, sanctioned by the voice of indignant humanity, were threatening their demolition — these, indeed, were herculean labours, even had they been demanded at long intervals; but to be required all at once and of the same man was enough to overwhelm the strongest mind, and baffle the most skilful genius.

It was the state of the church to which Clement first directed his attention. The reformation had now made considerable progress in nearly all the countries beyond the Alps; it was not without advocates even in Italy, for the revival of letters, the close attention that was paid to the editing and printing of rare and valuable manuscripts, and the intercourse which for these purposes was opened between the learned men of Italy and other countries, had created more liberal modes of thinking, and had directed the minds of many to the corrupted state of religion. Ecclesiastics, zealous enough in behalf of their *order*, were generally the writers of commentaries on the Scriptures, and from a mere love of learning, devoted themselves to the elucidation of the Greek and Hebrew texts, and thu

largely assisted in diffusing truths which had few charms for their own minds. Very justly does M'Crie observe, that "in surveying this portion of history, it is impossible not to admire the arrangements of Providence, when we perceive monks and bishops, cardinals and popes, active in forging and polishing those weapons which were soon to be turned against themselves, and which they afterwards would fain have blunted, and laboured to decry as unlawful and empoisoned."*

But it was on the posture of religious affairs in Germany that the eyes of Clement VII. were most attentively bent. Luther having escaped, as we have seen, from his prison in the Wartburg, was now at Wittemberg, denouncing once more the sloth and avarice of the priests, and restraining the forward zeal of his too enthusiastic disciples. In all things he was successful. The Reformation moved rapidly onwards, yet with a steady and certain step. From city it advanced to city, from province to province. In Nuremberg, Frankfort, and Hamburg, with many other German towns; in Zurich and other cities of Switzerland, the popish forms of worship had been abolished by authority (for in those days *perfect* liberty of conscience was understood by none;) the gospel was preached by faithful and godly men; the Scriptures were expounded without slavish reference to the fathers or the theologians of "the church;" and the idolatrous service of the mass was

* "History of the Reformation in Italy," p. 51.

exchanged for the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, administered in a Scriptural way.

But the greatest triumph of all was the publication of the sacred Scriptures themselves in the popular tongue. Luther had employed much of his leisure in the Wartburg in translating the New Testament into German; and at Paris the same work was performed by Lefèvre, an enlightened doctor of the Sorbonne; so that the French, German, and Swiss nations had now, all of them, the opportunity of judging for themselves between the reformers and the priests.

Thus all Germany and Switzerland, with not a small part of France, had been thrown into the greatest agitation. In some places, the priests were assaulted in the performance of their offices; in others, the images of the saints were broken to pieces; and in all the fever of religious controversy was raging with daily increasing strength.

In February, 1524, a diet of the empire was to be held at Nuremberg, and the pope resolved on sending to it a legate who should urge the immediate interposition of imperial authority to check these alarming innovations. The cardinal Campeggio, who was chosen for this office, was a statesman of singular talent, and possessed of all the arts of Italian finesse. On appearing in the assembly, he boldly demanded that the decree of the diet of Worms against the reformers should be forthwith put in execution. But the German barons and princes

were now too much interested in the cause of reform to listen to such a demand. After much altercation, it was decided that the whole business should be put off to a subsequent diet.

Other diets were in fact held, and the religious dissensions of the empire were seriously weighed; but the political system of the age was in so disjointed a state that nothing could be effected; and finally, in August, 1526, the diet of Spires decreed that for the present each state should act according to its own discretion. Thus was liberty of conscience formally conceded to the Protestant party, which accordingly dates its historical existence from that memorable epoch.

But all this interval of suspense to the court of Rome had been diligently improved by Clement VII., and the innumerable emissaries he was able to employ. Campeggio did his best to sow the seeds of animosity (he cared not whether political or ecclesiastical) among the German princes, and by skilfully stirring up all latent bigotry, he succeeded in leaguering together a powerful band of Catholic nobles, who bound themselves to support on all occasions the interests of the church. In Bavaria and Austria similar exertions were made, and the pope himself wrote to the emperor, to warn him that the stability of the empire was no less at stake than the prosperity of the church.

If the emperor had not been so intent on his own ambitious projects, he might have lent an attentive ear to the voice of the pope. But

Charles's whole resources were already engaged. A struggle was now at hand between himself and the king of France, on which depended the continuance of his power in Italy, and even his pre-eminence in the councils of Europe. The duchy of Milan had been both won and lost by Francis I., who was now resolved to make an effort that should not only retrieve his former disasters, but place the whole of Italy in his power.

To accomplish this object, Francis led an army in person across the Alps, to meet the forces which, under the constable Bourbon (who had basely deserted his own sovereign to serve a hostile prince) and the Spanish general Pescara, defended the emperor's dominions in Italy. For three months did the French king lay siege to the well-fortified city of Pavia, thus allowing the imperialist generals ample time to gather and consolidate their strength; and in a battle that was fiercely fought beneath the walls of the town, the French army was utterly defeated, and Francis himself taken prisoner. He was immediately carried captive into Spain; and the year 1525 is memorable in history, not only for the great and decisive battle of Pavia, but for the strange reverse which caused a powerful French sovereign to languish out an autumn and a winter in a dreary Spanish dungeon.

It was only by entering into a treaty involving the greatest sacrifices that Francis was able to regain his liberty. By a solemn oath, he

bound himself to relinquish all his claims to Italy, besides stripping himself of extensive provinces beyond the Alps. But the pope was by no means willing that the emperor should be left to do as he listed on the Italian soil. He was not only jealous of the emperor's growing influence, but indignant that by his intervention the states of Ferrara had been delivered from the grasp of the church. Francis had therefore no sooner returned to his own dominions than Clement established a league between himself, the Venetians, the duke of Milan, and the French king, to expel the imperial forces from Italy, and to place the Milanese crown upon Sforza's head. This league was infamously ratified by the pope's giving a full absolution to Francis I. for the violation of the treaty he had formerly entered into with Charles, and which, although unfairly and ungenerously extorted by the latter under circumstances which left no option of refusal, was nevertheless rendered additionally binding by the sanctity of a solemn oath. Such was the sort of morality then prevalent in Rome, and to which the chief bishop of her degenerate church did not scruple to set the seal of his authority and name.

The emperor's indignation at the treachery of the pope could hardly be kept within bounds. He even forgot, or purposely laid aside, his hereditary devotion to the Roman church. His letters to the German Catholic princes, who were depending upon his aid in withstanding

the progress of reform, now counselled moderation and conciliation, instead of breathing, as before, the hot breath of persecution and hatred. For a while, the reformers were allowed to proceed in peace. Charles even beat up for recruits in the reforming districts of Germany, knowing that he should not want for soldiers when the people were told that they were going to fight against the pope. "Tell them," said he, "that they are going to march against *the Turks*; every one will know what *Turks* are meant."

A new Italian war accordingly broke out, but the vigour of the conflicting states seemed already exhausted. The months wore heavily away, and there was still no prospect of any settlement of the strife. The forces of *the league* were neither of one mind nor in good spirits; and the emperor's numerous army, commanded by Bourbon, was compelled to draw its daily supplies from the unhappy land it was engaged to conquer. Neither did the pontiff act with the decision and promptitude which so urgent a crisis demanded. Suspicious even of his allies, and seeing dangers on every hand, he knew not what course to pursue, and by his vacillation and supineness lost the only opportunity afforded him of maintaining his position.

Impetuous Bourbon could not long be contented with such unsatisfactory warfare. Nor would his fierce soldiers, a promiscuous and unmanageable horde of Germans, Spaniards,

and Italians, be restrained much longer from the rich booty offered by the pillage of Italian cities. They loudly demanded to be marched on Florence, or even Rome, and Bourbon at last yielding to their entreaties and their menaces, determined on the daring exploit of laying siege to the papal metropolis itself, thus intending to punish the pope for his desertion of the imperial cause.

Great was the dismay of the pontiff at the approach of so formidable a foe. His presence of mind wholly forsook him, and he neglected the plainest precautions for the defence of the city. With thirty thousand citizens able to bear arms, who wore swords at their sides, and used them often in their street quarrels, the pope could only contrive to muster a force of five hundred men. By turns he threatened and entreated; sent messengers to the approaching foe, and then recalled them; and at last found himself fortified by no better defences than spiritual denunciations, which, though always abundant in the papal arsenals, availed little against an enemy who ridiculed his priestly pretensions, and eagerly thirsted for rapine and bloodshed.

On the 6th of May, 1527, the imperial city of the west was destined to fall once more before the fierce assault of a northern foe. The soldiers of Bourbon were impatient for battle, and before the sun had dispersed the mists which veiled the illustrious capital, the scaling ladders were planted and the attack commenced.

Bourbon himself was the first to mount the ladder, clothed in a white vesture, which made his tall commanding figure a conspicuous mark. He quickly paid the penalty of his bravery or rashness. One of the first bullets fired by the citizens who guarded the walls pierced his side, and he was carried off lifeless to the camp. But his followers were only infuriated by the fall of their leader, and rushing forward in crowds, soon captured the devoted city. A scene of carnage and robbery ensued which baffles description. The pope, in an agony of despair, shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo, and helplessly waited the result.

The picture given us of the pontiff during this contest is not very creditable to either his humanity or his professions of religion. He employed his favourite artist, Benvenuto Cellini, as engineer in defending the castle against its assailants. Cellini himself expresses the disgust which he felt at his new occupation. Describing the deadly skill with which he succeeded in marking and slaughtering the enemy, he says, "My drawing, my elegant studies, and my taste for music, all vanished before this butchering business, and if I were to give a particular account of all the exploits I performed in this infernal employment I should astonish the world." Yet Clement, the vicar of Christ, the holy father of the church, would daily walk on the ramparts, and when he saw his cannon doing most execution would give utterance to his delight in terms that it

makes the mind shudder to reflect on. A well-aimed ball had cut a Spanish colonel into two pieces, and on the pope's expressing his admiration of the exploit, Cellini says, "Falling upon my knees, I entreated his holiness to absolve me from the guilt of homicide, and likewise from other crimes which I had committed in the service of the church. The pope, lifting up his hands, and making the sign of the cross over me, said that he blessed me, and *gave me his absolution for all the homicides that I had ever committed or ever should commit, in the service of the apostolic church.*"

The victorious army was inflamed with other passions besides those which a rude soldiery always exhibits. Both the Spaniards and the Germans thirsted for revenge; for Clement had branded the former as infidels, the latter as heretics. Each after his own fashion was now resolved to retaliate on the pope. Whatever articles were esteemed holy, whatever edifices were superstitiously revered, became special objects of attack with the German soldiers. Chalices, pyxes, all silver and golden ornaments belonging to the churches, were unceremoniously swept into the knapsacks of the conquerors. The garments of the priests, and even those of the pope himself, were paraded in the streets by servants and camp-boys in rough and boisterous ridicule. A soldier dressed himself one day in all the state robes of the pontiff, placed the triple crown on his head, and, surrounded by others attired in the scarlet costume

of cardinals, and mounted on asses, went in procession through the streets of the city, receiving on all hands mock homage from the German soldiery.

The revenge of the Spaniards was of a deeper and more sanguinary kind. Nothing could restrain their fury. Even priests and prelates were put to death by them; they spared neither rank, sex, nor age. The pillage of the city, and these scenes of bloodshed and cruel oppression, lasted for ten days. Every house, church, and tomb was ransacked for plunder. Even the jewelled ring, which the corpse of Julius II. still wore on its finger, was carried off. Thousands of victims miserably perished, and the booty amounted to no less than ten millions of golden crowns. The city which Leo X. had taken such pains to adorn and enrich, and which had now begun under pontifical rule to rival the splendours of its imperial prime, was in a few hours despoiled of all its wealth, and in some parts presented to the weeping gaze of the devotee the sad aspect of a dismantled and desolate ruin. No sack of the city under the Goths or Vandals had been equal to this.

The unhappy pope, besieged in the castle of St. Angelo, was reduced to the severest straits. In the hope of being speedily delivered by the troops of the league, he refused to surrender, and was at last compelled, through the failure of supplies, to subsist on asses' flesh. His hopes also were cruelly disappointed, for the forces of the league were commanded by

the duke D'Urbino, who seized the present opportunity of wreaking his revenge upon the house of the Medici. Marching his army sufficiently near to raise the poor pontiff's hopes to the highest pitch—so near, in fact, that the glistening of the lances could be seen from the parapet of the castle—he then suddenly withdrew, pretending that his strength was inadequate to cope with so powerful a foe. Clement only obtained his liberty at last by paying a large sum for ransom, which he unscrupulously raised by the sale of benefices and other offices; and he was even then kept a prisoner at large until he had surrendered to the emperor all the important citadels and towns belonging to the church.

CHAPTER XI.

PONTIFICATE OF CLEMENT VII. AFTER THE SACK OF
ROME.

A. D. 1527—1534.

ALL papal Europe was indignant at the insults thus heaped on its spiritual chief. The emperor, though secretly rejoicing at his double triumph over two of the greatest sovereigns of the age, Francis and Clement, considered it prudent to disguise his joy, and pretended that the treatment of the pope had not met with his approval. And as all Italy was now beneath his feet, he determined to secure the alliance of the pope by granting him unusual concessions.

The pontiff acted with equal duplicity. Con-

cealing his resentment from Charles, he accepted all the overtures of his imperial master, whilst still belonging to the league confederated against him, thus deceiving all parties alike. There were several motives that prompted him to this course. On the one hand, his patriotism was cooled by the conduct of his own subjects. They treated him with open contempt, scoffed at his illegitimate birth, and expressed delight at his misfortunes, although their own country was involved in the same calamities. They declared that "he was no longer pope;" and Clement bitterly retorted, that "he would rather be the emperor's footman than the butt of his people's scorn." On the other hand, the pontiff saw clearly that nothing but an alliance with Charles would effectually stave off the perils that now environed the papacy.

The Reformation had made great progress during these Italian wars. The forms of Divine service had been simplified and arranged in new order in most German churches. Luther had published the mass in the German tongue, and the clergy were arrayed in habits of plain black and white. Throughout Saxony the churches had been remodelled according to the views of the reformed, and had also been stripped of their ornaments. In many districts, a formal and periodical visitation of the churches was undertaken at the bidding of the princes by the leading reformers, in which they suppressed convents and other popish institutions, established unity of doctrine, and dismissed from their

offices all priests who were convicted of scandalous living. The Reformation had now assumed a definite and organized form.

Nor was it in Germany alone that events like these portended the rising storm. In England, the Lutheran doctrines found ready acceptance, and the king himself was evidently declining in his reverence for the pope. Even in Italy there were unmistakable symptoms of defection from papal rule. The German soldiers of Bourbon had boasted of the freedom from priestly sway enjoyed in their native land; and the seeds of truth which they sowed found a prepared soil in a region where full liberty of opinion, even to licentiousness, had now long been indulged. Pope Clement himself wrote: "With heartfelt grief have we learned that in different parts of Italy the pestiferous heresy of Luther prevails, not only among the laity, but even among ecclesiastics and the regular clergy; so that some by their conversation, and others by what is worse, their public preaching, infect numbers with the disease, to the no small injury of the Catholic faith."

Influenced by these views, the pontiff made all haste to be reconciled to the emperor, and Charles himself was not backward in accepting his proposals; for a danger now menaced western Europe, which made it highly important that all parties should be united. The Turks were making rapid progress in conquest, and had already pitched their tents beneath the walls of Vienna. An army of 250,000

victorious veterans, breathing Mussulman vengeance against Christians of all sects, might well excite the profoundest anxieties. Luther and the pope both agreed to preach a new crusade ; and the emperor, desirous of composing the Italian dissensions, readily concluded a private treaty with Clement, by which he confirmed the pontiff in all his former possessions, promised to re-establish the power of the Medici in Florence, and engaged hereafter to support the church in all her struggles with schismatic reformers.

But even before this treaty was fully concluded, the reformers had struck a blow which awakened new fears in the breast of the pope, while it aroused the indignation of the emperor, against whose authority it was directly aimed.

At a diet of the empire held in the city of Spires in 1529, the emperor had commissioned his brother Ferdinand to announce that the decree of the former diet, which had allowed liberty of action to all states in matters of religion, was now absolutely annulled by imperial command. This act of despotic power was seconded by a decree of the present diet, (which was either awed by the boldness of the emperor, or cajoled by the arts of the papal legates,) prohibiting the reformers from making any further innovations, and especially from abolishing the mass, before the meeting of a *general council*.

Against a decree so subversive of religious liberty, and so hostile to the diffusion of truth, six sovereign princes of Germany and fourteen

free cities were found faithful and brave enough to record a solemn *protest*. "We protest before God," was their noble and truly Christian language, "that we, for ourselves and our people, neither consent nor adhere, in any manner whatsoever, to the proposed decree, in anything that is contrary to God, to his holy word, to our right conscience, and to the salvation of the soul."

Thenceforth the reformers of all shades were known as PROTESTANTS; and the Reformation had received a name.

The alliance between the emperor and the pope was ratified in the year 1530, when the former was paying a visit to his Italian subjects. Charles was received in Italy with great apprehension and distrust. His name had been connected in the minds of the Italians only with oppression, persecution, and cruelty, and they naturally dreaded the approach of such a master to their shores. But Charles carefully acted his part, and, anxious to conciliate, charmed his new subjects by his graceful carriage and his generous behaviour.

Proceeding from Genoa to Bologna at the head of twenty-five thousand men, the emperor was there greeted by the pope, who received in return the most humble salutations from the conquering chief. Charles kissed the pontiff's foot, and was then conducted to a palace adjoining that of Clement. A doorway was opened in the wall which divided the two palaces, and the intercourse of the sovereigns

was soon established on a friendly and familiar footing. In compliance with Clement's earnest request, the power of the Medici was now forcibly re-established in Florence; and the pope's fondest desires were all satisfied, except in the case of Ferrara. This duchy the emperor steadily refused to transfer from the duke, its rightful owner; a refusal which Clement could neither forgive nor forget. The pontiff, however, effectually succeeded in prejudicing the young emperor's mind against the Protestant cause; and when Charles had received the ancient honour of coronation amidst general rejoicings and festivities, he left Italy for Germany, with the firm resolution of putting down, at all risks, the dangerous innovations in religion which the reformers had introduced.

It is beside our purpose to give a particular account of the celebrated diet of Augsburg, which immediately took place, as the pontiff was only represented there in the person of his legate; but the events of that diet, altogether so memorable, and so influential on the destinies of the popedom, must not be wholly overlooked. Nor can the public acts of the legate Campeggio be regarded in any other light than as the public acts of pope Clement VII. himself.

Both Reformers and Romanists had anxiously expected the meeting of this assembly, the former hoping to have liberty of conscience guaranteed, the latter to see it annihilated for ever. In the midst of a magnificent court, with

such pomp and splendour as had never before been witnessed in Germany,* Charles seated himself at the head of the diet, and reluctantly prepared himself to listen to dry theological discussions. Much to the annoyance of the Romanists, the Reformers were allowed, after a sort, to plead their own cause. An elaborate exposition of their doctrines, since known as the "Confession of Augsburg," had been drawn up by Melancthon, and was now read in the audience of the emperor and all the chief princes and prelates of the empire.

This "Confession" was swiftly transmitted to Rome, and in sixteen days a message came from the pope, earnestly insisting that there should be *no discussion*, that the decrees of the diet of Worms should be fully carried out, and those of the more recent diet of Spire as absolutely revoked.

The emperor, nevertheless, commanded the Romanist doctors to prepare a refutation of the Confession, for if its doctrines should remain undisputed, how, with any decency, could its framers and abettors be punished? The refutation was accordingly drawn up—"a feeble production," we are told by a candid writer—and was also publicly read. And thus ended the farce of discussion.

The legate Campeggio now whispered in the emperor's ear the steps that were necessary for

* The imperial robes alone, all blazing with diamonds and pearls, were said to be worth 20,000 ducats! about £10,000 in English money; perhaps equal to £40,000 at the present day.

the suppression of heresy and the due protection of the church. His suggestions were truly popish; they breathed nothing but vengeance and cruelty. "Let the emperor and the well-affected princes," said the legate, "form a league. Let promises and threats be unsparingly used. If threatenings should fail, proceed to confiscate the property of all Protestants, from the elector down to the burgess. The mastery once obtained, let inquisitors be sent, who shall punish heretics without mercy, shall burn all their books, and shall send back to their convents all monks who have escaped, there to be treated according to the rules of their order. And if any should still obstinately persist in this diabolical way, let his majesty put hand to fire and sword, and destroy to the very roots the cursed and poisonous plant."

To these fierce suggestions from the pope's ambassador the emperor was unable, and perhaps unwilling to give effect. But the final decree of this imperial diet was quite severe enough to alarm and exasperate the Protestant party. It forbade them to preach, print, or in any way publish their doctrines; and whilst holding out the hope that a General Council would shortly be called to settle all religious disputes, commanded them before next spring to come to accommodation with the Catholic church.

Next spring! The spring was the time for bringing armies into the field and commencing campaigns. It was plainly the emperor's inten

tion to decide this question of religious faith and a free conscience by the sword. The Protestants, however, continued firm. "We deny," they courageously said, "the emperor's power to command in matters of faith." And so these conflicting parties separated, to meet again upon a very different field, a field of carnage and blood. But this was not to be just yet.

While the Protestant confederates were concerting their measures at Smalcald, the pope was engaged in a business which threatened to raise up other, and perhaps more powerful enemies to the papal domination. Henry VIII. of England had been desirous ever since 1527 to be divorced from his queen, Catherine of Arragon, who was aunt to the emperor. As long as the success of Charles in his Italian wars was at all doubtful, the pope had feigned perfect willingness to comply, but nevertheless sent his confidential legate Campeggio to England to delay the matter until his true position should be ascertained. The successes of the emperor had now bound Clement to him hand and foot, and he therefore issued a brief, forbidding Henry to divorce Catherine upon pain of excommunication from the bosom of the church. The duplicity of Clement's character, combined with the real perplexities of his position, caused this affair to be protracted through several years; and innumerable messages and messengers passed to and fro between the Roman and English courts, without any satisfactory conclusion being reached.

CLEMENT VII.

The pope, however, inwardly groaned at his irksome and degrading bondage to Charles. He bitterly resented the separation of Ferrara from the states of the church, and chafed whenever he thought of the general council which the emperor had promised to the Protestants. When Charles, too, on revisiting Italy in 1532, after his conquest of the Turks, besought Clement to delay no longer a measure so needful for the peace of the empire, his patience was quite exhausted, and though he still counterfeited friendship, he secretly meditated revenge.

Charles had no sooner left Italy than the pope entered into communication with the king of France, and acquainted him with his feelings. Francis was delighted to see that at length there was some prospect of dissolving that alliance between the pope and the emperor, which alone had prevented him from holding possession of Milan, and he eagerly invited the pontiff to a personal meeting, when their measures could be carefully and conjointly laid. Clement, equally ardent, actually ventured on a voyage by sea for the purpose, and, in the autumn of 1533, met Francis at Marseilles. It was then agreed that Francis should use all his influence with the Protestant party, and by offering to furnish the supplies of money, should induce them to attack the emperor on the side of Austria. This extraordinary compact was then sealed by the marriage of the king's second son, Henry, to Catherine de' Medici, daughter to a cousin of the pope.

In this alliance we may see the strange embarrassment into which the pontiff was brought by holding under one crown both spiritual and temporal jurisdiction. His religious ties and animosities would have leagued him with the emperor against the Protestants; his political exigencies brought him into alliance with Francis and the Protestants against the emperor. Stimulated by the French king, Philip of Hesse, the most warlike of the Protestant princes, commenced a war with Austria, in which his success was beyond his most sanguine hopes. It was attended, too, by the most important religious results. Thus the immediate consequence of the pope's political ambition was the rapid spread of the reformed opinions; so that Wirtemberg, the palatinate, and several other German states, now followed the example of Saxony, and "in a few years the Reformation of the church extended through the whole of Lower Germany, and had permanently established its seat in Upper Germany."*

Yet at the very time that Clement was thus indirectly waging war with the emperor, he openly professed to be his ally. In the question of Henry VIII.'s divorce, he suffered himself to be wholly guided by the will of Charles, and, in 1533, published the bull which excommunicated the English king. In the spring of 1534, the English parliament enacted that papal supremacy should cease to be acknowledged in the British Isles; and thus, the same year which

* Ranke, book i. chapter iii.

saw Germany promoting and establishing the Reformation, witnessed also the final separation of England from the dominion of the pope.

This calamitous year for the papacy was also the year of Clement's death. Clement has been pronounced by Ranke, not without reason, "the most ill-fated pontiff that ever sat upon the papal throne." His misfortunes arose chiefly, no doubt, from the violent commotions of the age, but it is also manifest that they were often occasioned by his own utter destitution of principle and honour. He entered into the most solemn treaties without the intention of keeping them, and violated the most sacred promises and oaths without hesitation. Of his thorough truthlessness a striking proof is given by the gossipping Cellini, who, from his artistic skill, was a great favourite with the pope. Cellini had been commissioned by Clement to design and execute a magnificent golden chalice to hold the sacramental wine in the pontifical processions. His progress was somewhat slow, and the pope, who, like all the Medici, was passionately fond of the arts, began to grow impatient to see the chalice. He ordered it to be sent for his inspection; but Cellini, who was well acquainted with Clement's character, refused to part with it until he had been paid. Persuasion and menaces proved equally unavailing, and at last Clement sent the governor of the exchequer to say, that if the work were put in a box and carried to the palace, he would engage *upon his word* to return it without even opening the

box ; but that he desired this because his honour was at stake, as he had so often expressed a resolution to get possession of the chalice. "To these words," says Benvenuto, "I answered, smiling, that I would very readily put my work into his hands in the manner he required, because I was desirous to know what dependence could be placed on the word of a pope. I therefore gave it to the governor sealed up in the manner required. The governor having carried the box to his holiness sealed up as above, the pope, after turning it over several times, as I was afterwards informed by the governor, asked the latter if he had seen the work. He answered that he had, and it had been sealed up in his presence, adding that it appeared to him a very extraordinary performance. Upon which the pope said, 'You may tell Benvenuto that Roman pontiffs have authority to loose and bind things of much greater importance than this ;' and whilst uttering these words, he, with an angry look, opened the box, taking off the cord and seal." Benvenuto adds, that when the chalice was returned to him for completion, and the pope's message had been delivered, he loudly exclaimed, "I thank Heaven that I am now able to set a just value on the word of God's vicegerent."

Who can wonder that Clement VII. was mistrusted by all the monarchs of his age, or that the papacy itself should have fallen into such deep contempt, when profanity and falsehood were thus shamelessly indulged in by a pontiff on an occasion so pitifully frivolous ?

CHAPTER XII.

PONTIFICATE OF PAUL III., TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
THE JESUITS AND THE INQUISITION.

A.D. 1534—1543.

THE cardinal Farnese was the next successful candidate for the chair of St. Peter, and on commencing his pontificate assumed the title of PAUL III. His moral character was very similar to that of his immediate predecessors, and was marked by most of the faults which distinguished Italian society at that period. His early life had been passed in voluptuous pleasures, mingled with the cultivation of a taste for refined and intellectual pursuits. In the gardens and museums of Lorenzo de' Medici, he had learned by the side of Leo x. to appreciate the relics of ancient genius and art. He had both the vices and the virtues, if we can so term them, of that demoralized and sensual, but polished circle of men who were entertained in the palaces of Lorenzo the Magnificent.

The claims of Paul to the popedom were based rather on the nobility of his blood than on any real qualification for the conduct of affairs at so critical a time. He had felt keen disappointment when Adrian iv., and still more when Clement vii. was elected to the papal chair. He thought he had at least a better title to the honour than a second scion of the Medician stock. But notwithstanding his chagrin, he had conducted himself so prudently that he offended no party, and even in that age

of fierce partisanship in both politics and religion, it would have been hard to tell, when Paul III. ascended the papal throne, to what side in any controversy his temper was likely to incline.

This extreme cautiousness, which was, indeed, the most remarkable feature in his character, still made itself prominent after his elevation. He carefully examined his position before ever proceeding to act, and thoughtfully weighed every word before pronouncing a decision. Thus Paul III. skilfully steered his course between the Spanish rocks and the French quicksands, between heretical Protestant eddies and orthodox Romish shallows, and continued, notwithstanding all difficulties, to accumulate honours and wealth for the Farnese family.

Although destitute of religious principle himself, Paul's sagacity had not failed to perceive that the tendency of the age was decidedly against that languid indifferency which had prevailed for centuries past, and he anxiously watched for opportunities of enlisting the spirit of religious earnestness in the service of the papal see. The reformed opinions had made considerable progress even in Italy; and in every city and town, in the universities and monasteries, amongst the nobility and prelacy, there were many to be found who held some of the truths developed by the German reformers. But in Italy all men shuddered at the bare idea of a revolt against the papacy, and the

utmost that even the enlightened Italians either hoped for or desired was the prevalence of a somewhat purer gospel in the pulpit, and the removal of all flagrant and palpable abuses in the discipline of the clergy.

The desire, however, to give greater vitality and energy to their degenerate church became a bond of sympathy and union between some of the most illustrious Italians of that period. Hence had arisen the "Oratory of Divine Love," an association of learned men, who met for prayer and mutual edification. A little later, the *Order of the Theatines* was instituted by the same class of men, for the purpose of giving more public expression to their sentiments and views. They took a rigorous vow of poverty; they visited the sick in the hospitals; they preached in all churches with an unwonted fervour; and they undertook to train the rising priesthood to severer habits of morality and self-denial. United, however, as they were in these pursuits, there was a wide difference of character between them; some burning with zeal for the exaltation of the papacy and the suppression of heretics, others strongly inclining to Protestant doctrines and usages.

It was this class of men that the new pontiff desired to engage in his service, and one of his earliest and best measures was to strengthen the papacy by adding to the conclave a few of these ardent spirits. Gaspar Contarini, an aristocratic Venetian, was the first to receive

the honour, and none could be more astonished than himself when the news was conveyed to him. He was wholly devoid of personal ambition, and was desirous rather of privately spreading truth than of encountering the difficulties and temptations which beset a public and exalted station. At his suggestion, the cardinal's hat was afterwards conferred upon the fiery-spirited Caraffa, the elegant Sadolet, Pole, the associate of Wolsey in the legatine judgment on Henry VIII.'s divorce, and some others equally eminent for their abilities and zeal.

But neither Paul's circumstances nor his disposition permitted him to proceed hastily with any reform of the church. He was naturally too cautious to take ill-advised steps, and at present the political condition of Italy demanded his chief care. For a time, all plans of ecclesiastical reforms were placed in total abeyance.

It was the continual rivalry of the emperor and Francis that chiefly absorbed the attention of the pope. The restless king of France had again entered Italy at the head of a large army, and on his route to Milan had laid waste the territories of the duke of Savoy, who was related to the emperor by marriage. Eagerness to retain Milan in his own power, vanity at his recent exploits amongst the piratical states of Africa, and perhaps resentment at the treatment his relative had received, determined Charles to oppose Francis in person, and in 1536 he passed through Rome for that pur-

pose. Halting for a few days in the papal city, he called together the consistory, and harangued the pope and his clergy on the indignities he had sustained from the ambition and faithlessness of Francis. Growing warm in his invectives, he at last challenged the French king to a single combat, by which all their quarrels should be decided. "Let us contend," he shouted, "man to man, with what arms he pleases to choose, in our shirts, on an island, a bridge, or aboard a galley moored in a river. Let the duchy of Burgundy be his stake, and that of Milan be mine; and when this struggle is ended, let the united forces of Germany, Spain, and France, be employed to humble the power of the Turks, and to extirpate heresy out of Christendom."

The emperor, despite his anger, had skilfully touched a tender string in the pontifical breast. It was indeed Paul's most ardent wish to see these quarrels terminated between potentates who might then become dutiful and devoted sons of the church. He recommended peace, and offered his services to procure it; but Charles was too much inflamed by ambition and revenge to listen to such proposals at present.

The war therefore continued to rage, and for a whole year Italy and the south of France were convulsed by the alarms and cruelties ever attendant on the steps of this dread persecutor of the human race. But by the end of that time, Charles's finances were exhausted,

without any decided or signal success having been gained, and he was not unwilling to accept the pope's mediation in proposing and arranging the articles of a peace.

The three potentates, Charles, Francis, and the pope, proceeded to Nice for the purpose of conference; but on their arrival there the two disputants refused to see each other, and it seemed certain that they would never come to terms. Paul, however, was so zealous in the affair that his energy at length gained a complete triumph, though not until he had threatened to leave Nice if some arrangement were not effected. A truce of ten years was agreed upon, and although the monarchs would not meet to sign the treaty, yet a short time afterwards, when Charles was driven by stress of weather into a French port, Francis received him with all possible gallantry and politeness, and the emperor accepted his hospitality with every appearance of sincerity and good-will.

Paul did not forget his own interests in thus securing the peace of Christendom. The emperor engaged to marry his natural daughter, Margaret of Austria, to Ottavio Farnese, the pope's grandson, and transferred to his son, Pier Luigi, the entire government of the territory of Novara. Francis, not to be behindhand, promised to give the duke of Vendome, a prince of royal blood, in marriage to Vittoria, the pontiff's grand-daughter; so that the house of Farnese now bid fair to rival in wealth and influence that of the Medici.

But while these momentous events were agitating the political world, the men who were more mindful of religion than of politics, and who cared more for the church than for the state, had industriously sought to promote the ecclesiastical changes which they thought needful for the welfare of the church. The Theatines were becoming daily more active, and on every occasion were urging the pope to the adoption of measures which should give their views a practical and complete expression.

Since, however, the Theatines themselves were divided into two parties, the one inclined to Protestant opinions, and the other chiefly solicitous to strengthen the hierarchy, and, like their prototypes in the days of Gregory VII., expecting to effect this by conceding in the first place certain articles of reform, we need not be surprised that from the same body two opposite movements should arise. Of the former class the chief representative was Gaspar Contarini, and Giovanni Caraffa was the most prominent leader of the latter.

Ever since his elevation to the conclave, Contarini had made it his labour to seek a real reform of the prevalent abuses, both in discipline and doctrine. He had composed various treatises on the subject, and had submitted them to the pope; but the wary temper of Paul, allowing him to do nothing from principle, but consenting to whatever seemed most expedient, had almost extinguished the hopes

of the zealous reformer. At last, Paul affected to think that the happy moment had arrived.

On a bright cheerful day in November, 1538, Contarini journeyed, he tells us, with the pontiff to Ostia. "On the way thither, this our good old man made me sit beside him, and talked with me alone about our projected reforms. He told me that he had by him the little treatise I had written on the subject, and that he had read it in his morning hours. I had already given up all hope, but he now spoke to me with such Christian feeling that my hopes have been wakened anew. I now believe that God will do some great thing, and not permit the gates of hell to prevail against his Holy Spirit."

But Contarini was again doomed to disappointment. A few petty reforms in the details of administration were effected, and there the matter ended. The doctrine and discipline, the essential corruptions of Rome, continued unaltered; and, although there were some at Rome who, fretted with perpetual strife, were willing to concede much to the Protestants for the sake of healing the unsightly breach in the church; (and for this purpose Contarini was actually appointed by Paul as his legate in a conference held at Ratisbon between the contending parties;) yet, when their differences came to be discussed, it was soon manifest that the time for reconciliation had quite gone by. The reformers of Rome were a very small minority, and neither the pope nor

the conclave would assent to the Protestant demands. With the most eager desire, for the church's own sake, to succeed, Contarini was obliged to desist, and it became daily more evident that it was not from *his* branch of the Theatine order that the Romish church was destined to receive an infusion of new strength.

Amongst the Theatines of Venice, in the year 1538, was a man of extraordinary character. He was a Spaniard of noble descent, and had formerly served in the Spanish army during the wars of Charles v. As a soldier, none could surpass him for courage and gallantry; his ardour had more of the spirit of chivalry than of ordinary military life. Burning for fame, he emulated the daring exploits ascribed by the writers of romance to their favourite heroes, and his chief model and pattern amongst them was the renowned Amadis of Gaul.

Cut short in his warlike career by incurable wounds received at the siege of Pampeluna, Ignatius Loyola (for it is of him we speak) revolved projects for achieving a splendid fame in far different pursuits. From boyhood, a sort of religious enthusiasm had mingled itself with his zeal for a soldier's life, and now he fancied that he had been arrested by Providence in his worldly course, to win a loftier renown in the field of spiritual warfare. He conceived of Christ as a king who had resolved to subjugate all unbelievers, and whose camp, pitched at Jerusalem, was opposed to that of Satan, whose head-quarters were at Babylon. He imagined

that whosoever would fight beneath the banners of Christ must be fed with the same food, must be clad in similar attire, must endure the same hardships and vigils, and according to the measure of his deeds, would be admitted to share in the victory and the reward.

In conformity with this notion of spiritual knighthood, Loyola devoted himself to the service of Christ, after the manner in which knights-errant commenced their perilous career. All night he watched before a picture of the virgin, kneeling or standing, and reciting prayers, with a pilgrim's staff in his hands, and while his relinquished weapons and armour were suspended on the walls. Next day, he gave away his knightly dress, and assuming the coarse garb of a hermit, set off on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

We shall not follow him in all his wanderings. We find him ere long at Paris, studying theology ; practising austere penances to manifest the entire and absolute devotion of his body and soul to the service of Christ ; and drawing under his influence, as a strong and enthusiastic will often does, minds that were otherwise far superior to his own. Of these companions the most remarkable were Francis Xavier, afterwards the missionary to India, and Lainez, the chief organizer of the system to which Loyola had given birth. With these and a few others Ignatius formed a solemn league, vowing to live in poverty, and to devote their days to what seemed the most arduous and dangerous

of all religious undertakings, the conversion of the Saracens.

It was on this very enterprise that Loyola and his friends had proceeded as far as Venice, when the Theatines of that city attracted their attention, and made them hesitate in their course. In this Order, Loyola saw that zeal and self-denial were combined with that complete devotion to superior authority which he, bred in camps, regarded as the first of all virtues. Becoming intimate with Caraffa, Ignatius took up his abode in the convent, and served in the hospitals which Caraffa superintended. He now perceived that as Eastern adventures were made impossible for him by a variety of circumstances, his proper course would be to adopt the rules of the Theatines for himself and his company, with such modifications as his own judgment might direct.

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

In the year 1540, Loyola and his associates visited Rome. On leaving Venice, they determined to journey by different roads, and in prospect of their separation, they established rules for a fixed conformity of life even when apart. As strangers might possibly inquire

their profession, they resolved, as a company of soldiers takes the name of its captain, to call themselves the *Company of Jesus*, in accordance with their leader's old military propensities, and in token of its being their intention to make war as soldiers against the legions of Satan.

On arriving in Rome, Ignatius presented himself to the pope, and fully described to him the objects embraced by the society he had formed. Although the extreme caution of Paul made him suspicious at first, he soon found that he had here such materials of usefulness to the papacy as were seldom to be met with. Elsewhere there were heresy and insubordination; here there was blind devotion to papal interests, for *obedience* was with Loyola a cardinal virtue, and formed the basis of his entire system. On all sides, the pontiff saw a selfish worldliness which constantly led to divisions and desertion; here there was self-denying energy, willing to dedicate itself without reserve to papal authority, and swearing to perform whatever the reigning pontiff should command, —“to go forth into all lands, among Turks, heathen, or heretics, wherever he might please to direct, without hesitation or delay, without question, condition, or reward.” By such flattering terms Paul was quickly won; and though at first he gave his sanction to their institute with certain restrictions, in the course of three years the SOCIETY OF JESUS was absolutely and unconditionally established as a branch of the papal system.

Nor was Paul III. willing to wait until the aid of these new allies could be effectually rendered, before taking active steps for the suppression of heresy, at least in the papal states. Conversing one day with the cardinal Caraffa, he inquired "What remedy could be devised for the schismatic propensities that were becoming so alarmingly prevalent?" The cardinal replied, that "the only certain cure was a *thoroughly searching inquisition.*"

The ancient inquisition, instituted as we have seen in the days of Innocent III. by the fierce and fanatical Dominic, had long since fallen to decay. It was the restoration of this terrible engine that Caraffa now urgently counselled. "As St. Peter," exclaimed he, "subdued the heresiarchs in no other place but Rome, so must the successors of Peter destroy all the heresies of the whole world in Rome." The proposal of Caraffa was strenuously supported by Loyola, and the pope gave directions forthwith for the revival of the Inquisition.

And what were the faults which this terrible instrument was designed to extirpate or punish? Not crimes against humanity and morals, but presumed errors in judgment, and avowed differences in faith! The papal metropolis was at this time a foul sink of all species of immorality. Murder was committed in broad day; bravoës were hired for trifling sums to put to death unhappy offenders against the dignity or the caprice of a cardinal or a bishop. The pope's own illegitimate son, Pier Luigi, was

one of the most lawless and abandoned in a lawless and abandoned state. From the sovereign pontiff to the meanest citizen, all were depraved and vicious, and scarcely thought it needful to preserve even the forms of decorum in the resolute pursuit of their ends. Thus the murderer and adulterer, the cheat and the slanderer, were suffered to sin on with impunity ; but should any thoughtful and sincere man presume to question the infallibility of the pope in matters of religious faith, or openly to censure the flagrant vices of the priesthood, the inquisition straightway seized him, and whatever his character or rank, threw him into prison, confiscated his estates, and finally took away his life.

So eager was Caraffa to carry into effect the new powers entrusted to his care, that he caused his own house to be fitted up with rooms for the officers, and prisons for the accused. Dungeons, chains, bolts, locks, blocks, and thumbscrews, were quickly heaped together. In a short time, the agents of the inquisition were in every Italian city, and so rigorous were their proceedings, that a contemporary writer exclaims in despair, "Scarcely is it possible to be a Christian and die quietly in one's bed." Colleges were broken up ; convents were strictly searched ; literary men were carefully watched ; booksellers were prohibited from selling books that had not been previously examined ; and an *index* was now first made out of heretical books, which the

deluded people were enjoined neither to purchase nor to read. Very soon the work of bloodshed began in good earnest. In Rome, the *auto-da-fé* blazed at regular intervals before the church of Santa Maria della Minerva. In Venice, the heretic was carried beyond the lagoons in a boat which was always attended by a second. On arriving in the open sea, a plank was laid between the boats, and the condemned man being placed on it, the rowers pulled in opposite directions, and the waves closed over their victim for ever.

Thus the first utterances of sincere faith in this age of hollow pretensions to religion were gagged by the strong arm of the pope, and persecution and dismay boldly asserted their dominion wherever his influence could send them. It were only an insult to the reader to point out the discrepancy between a church so governed and the church of Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER XIII.

PONTIFICATE OF PAUL III. AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JESUITS.

A. D. 1543—1550.

WHILST Paul III. was thus intent on strangling the Protestantism of Italy in its cradle, and those future foes of the Reformation—the Jesuits—were steadily maturing their strength and preparing for a deadly conflict, the Pro-

testants of Germany were rapidly gaining accessions to their cause, and were not a little aided in this by political events. Those ambitious rivals, Francis I. and Charles V., could not long maintain the concord which seemed so happily commenced at Nice, and in less than four years all Europe was once more ringing with the harsh din of war. Christendom was scandalized at the sight of a professedly Christian monarch, the French king, entering into alliance with that inveterate enemy of the faith, the sultan of Turkey. Francis appeared indeed to have no alternative, for his ambition and waywardness had alienated from him all the princes to whom he might else have appealed for help. He therefore prepared to invade the Milanese possessions of the emperor on the side of Piedmont, while sultan Solyman marched a vast army into Hungary, with which he hoped to reach Italy, and perhaps even Rome.

To withstand so formidable a league, Charles saw that it was needful to consolidate without delay all the force of the empire; and as religion was always with him the mere instrument of policy, he determined on gaining over the Protestant princes, although he was certain of incurring thereby the severest displeasure of the pope.

At the diet of Spires, held in 1544, the emperor accordingly agreed that no further proceedings should be taken against the Protestant party, that they should be allowed the

free exercise of their religion, and that a general council should be speedily summoned to re-establish if possible the broken peace of the church. The Protestant princes were so gratified with these remarkable concessions that they took the field with a numerous army, resolved on upholding the integrity of the empire against the united power of Francis and the Grand Turk.

The hostilities which ensued produced no further effects than those of devastating some of the fairest provinces of Italy and France, and impoverishing the imperial treasury. Both parties were at length wearied of the struggle, and towards the close of the year Charles and Francis concluded a peace, the conditions of which seemed to promise a permanent alliance between these powerful monarchs. The duke of Orleans was to marry the emperor's daughter or niece, Francis was to renounce for ever his designs against Milan, and both sovereigns were to join in making war against the common enemy, the Turk.

And now the time drew near for a more systematic and desperate onset against the transalpine reformation. Repeatedly urged by the emperor, and himself alarmed at the rapid growth of the schism in the church, the pope could at last do no other, however reluctantly, than summon the general council which had so long been demanded in vain. Innumerable objections had been made, and obstacles thrown in the way, both by Clement VII. and by Paul III. ;

and so long as half Europe was distracted by war it was not possible to convene a large number of the clergy. Now, however, the council was actually summoned; the bishops of the empire received Charles's peremptory orders to attend it; and in December, 1545, the famous *Council of Trent*, the last council of the Romish church, commenced those deliberations which were destined to so many years' wearisome protractions, and afterwards to influence so largely the history and character of the papacy for successive ages.

No delegates whatever were sent by the Protestants to this council. They probably felt, as they justly might, that there was no room to hope for a reconciliation between themselves and the hierarchy of Rome. But the excuse which they gave to the emperor was, that they could not admit the pope's authority to call a council of the whole church, in which he was only one amongst a multitude of bishops; and that no fairness could be expected from an assembly convened under papal influence, presided over by papal legates, and held in a city closely bordering on the papal domains. The decisions of the Council of Trent were, therefore, wholly uninfluenced by the arguments of Protestant theologians.

The emperor had urged that the subject of reform in discipline should be considered first of all, as it was obviously needful to convince the world that so august an assembly would by no means connive at the crying abuses of the

church. But this was altogether opposed to the views of the pope, who was only desirous of applying a check to the spread of sentiments that menaced his supremacy, and dreaded beyond all things a searching inquiry into the abuses on which the papacy fattened and throve. The council, therefore, decided that the two subjects, discipline and doctrine, should be considered side by side, and took such good care to give the latter precedence, that in effect the former was wholly neglected.

In settling the rule of faith, which was the first subject of discussion, the council agreed that the *traditions* of the church were to be regarded with all the reverence due to Holy Scripture itself; thus overturning at a stroke the foundation of all the Protestant doctrines, and we may add the foundation of all consistent and truthful theology. After this, it was easy to decide that the sinner is not justified through faith in the atonement of Christ alone; and the gate was thrown wide open for the undue elevation of the sacraments recognised in Scripture, the introduction of others unwarranted by the word of God, and the triumphant re-establishment of a dominant and tyrannizing priesthood.

Whilst the council was thus busily regulating the creed of future generations, the emperor and the pope were revolving new political schemes. Never was the crafty dissimulation of Charles v., or the unscrupulous worldliness of Paul III., more thoroughly discovered than in

the measures they now adopted. Pretending only friendship and amity, the emperor was growing daily more jealous of the increasing strength of the Protestants, and was secretly devising means for their overthrow. At length, he boldly threw off the mask, and openly declared war against the confederacy of Smalcald. In this enterprise, he was warmly assisted by the pope, who furnished his full proportion both of troops and of money.

The success of these warlike operations exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the allied potentates. Germany was quickly reduced to submission; the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse were taken captive by the imperial forces; and Charles found himself in a position to dictate what terms he pleased to the Protestant party.

But now the pontiff became alarmed at the advancing power of the emperor. Germany once at his feet, the states of Italy would soon have no independence remaining, and the church, that is to say, her territorial possessions, would be wholly at the mercy of a secular prince. Dismayed at this prospect more than at the most woful schisms or heresies, Paul withdrew all his forces from the emperor's army, and at the same time removed the council from Trent to Bologna, that no steps might be taken in the direction of weakening the papal prerogative. He further wrote to Francis I., exhorting him to "succour those who were still holding out against the emperor,

and were not yet overborne." Once more the pope felt that his cause was one with that of the Protestants, and for the moment he heartily wished them success. So completely did political considerations overbalance the most serious questions of religion with the pontiffs of that age!

The pope's animosity towards the emperor was fully participated in and more recklessly displayed by the pontiff's favourite son, Pier Luigi Farnese. That lawless and dissipated man had long aimed at making himself sole master of Parma and Placentia, a project which the emperor stoutly opposed as a gross alienation of church property for the aggrandizement of the Farnese, and not less as tending to diminish his own influence in Italy by multiplying the number of her independent princes. Enraged at the emperor's opposition, Pier Luigi urged all the Italian powers to commence hostilities against Charles, and carried his enmity to such a pitch as to excite against himself the personal hatred of all who espoused the emperor's cause. Five nobles of Placentia at last entered into a secret league to rid their city by one blow of an usurper's tyranny, and so to recommend themselves to Charles's favour. Their plot succeeded. They murdered the depraved Farnese in his own palace, and then made themselves masters of the city.

Incensed at the emperor's estrangement, mortified at his own loss of power, and stung to madness by the death of his favourite son, there

was no act of hostility which Paul would not gladly have undertaken, had not dread of the imperial vengeance restrained him. But Paul's was a nature, as Ranke justly observes, "that great reverses render spiritless, feeble, and vacillating."

His cup of bitterness was not yet full. Despairing of keeping the duchy of Placentia for his own house, Paul now resolved on restoring it to the church, and so at least wrenching it from the grasp of the emperor. But here he met with opposition where he least expected it—from his own grandsons. These young men had long cherished the hope, indeed the expectation, of making that duchy their own, and they now resolutely opposed its restoration to the church. Paul was astounded at meeting with resistance from those who, while he sought their advancement, had always professed implicit submission to his will. His only consolation in this new misfortune was the thought that at least Alexander Farnese remained faithful to him, and would not despise his authority. But when at length the unhappy old man discovered that Alexander also was privy to their design, and had aided them in their plot, his heart was completely broken, and he refused all sympathy and comfort. Summoning the cardinal Alexander to his presence, he violently rated him for his ungrateful conduct, and becoming more enraged as he spoke, he tore his nephew's cap from his hand, and dashed it to the ground. So vehement an agitation of mind was more

than his feeble and tottering frame could bear. He was eighty-three years of age, and nature reeling under the rude shock she had received, he fell dangerously ill, and expired in a few days.

Most pitiable old man! Who would envy him his power or the splendour of his state, coupled with a life which had been, not a blessing, but a curse to the world, a remorseful conscience, a rebellious progeny, and must it not be feared, the tremendous consummation of a soul unsaved?

CHAPTER XIV.

PONTIFICATES OF JULIUS III. AND MARCELLUS II.

A.D. 1550—1555.

THE influence of the deceased pope was still felt in the conclave. The cardinals whom he had raised to the purple were naturally devoted to his interests, and his grandson Ottavio Farnese now leagued these together to secure the election of one who should still favour the views of the Farnese house. The cardinal de Monte was the successful candidate, and it is said that he himself decided the wavering minds of his partisans by promising to make them all his confidants and friends. He assumed the title of Julius in remembrance of Julius II., of whose court he had been the chamberlain.

JULIUS III. was already nearly seventy years of age, yet by no means weary of the pleasures and dissipations then prevalent in Rome. He

immediately conciliated the Farnese by conceding to Ottavio the duchy of Parma, and then announced his determination to keep up a firm alliance with the emperor through the whole of his popedom. In pursuance of this resolution, he gave orders for the general council to be re-assembled at Trent ; and the German bishops, now hopeful of some kind of reform, attended in considerable numbers. The Protestants, also, made some attempt to unite with it, but finding all just and equitable terms sternly refused them, they at length finally withdrew, and the council proceeded to build on the foundation which they had laid in the former pontificate. They now determined that the *real presence* of Christ in the sacramental bread and wine was the true doctrine of the church ; that the host ought, therefore, to be adored ; and that auricular confession was an indispensable pre-requisite for communion. Left wholly to themselves, the anti-Protestant party had now a clear course, (for the German bishops who wished for reform proved a small minority of the whole,) and could at pleasure give the sanction of a formal decree to doctrines and practices which had hitherto been rather suffered than ordained. But they were soon again interrupted in their labours.

Ottavio Farnese, dissatisfied that Placentia was not joined with Parma under his rule, and eager to abridge the imperial power in Italy, had solicited the aid of Henry II., Francis's successor on the throne of France. French troops

soon appeared in Parma and Mirandola, and the ancient feuds were renewed with all the more vigour because of the repose which had been allowed them. The pope united his forces with those of the emperor, while Henry II. sought the help of the German Protestants. So formidable did this league between France and Germany appear to both the emperor and the pope, that whilst Julius gave instant orders for the suspension of the council, lest the reforming bishops should seize the opportunity to urge their plans, exclaiming as he did so, "Never could we have believed that God would so visit us,"—Charles was glad to purchase a peace by giving liberty to the princes whom he had lately led about captive in triumph, and by making large promises of religious freedom and peace to the Protestant party.

Always more given, as we are assured by his contemporaries, to enjoy himself than to govern his states, Julius passed the remainder of his days in those inglorious pleasures which had now become characteristic of the papal court. Possessing a considerable share of that elegant taste which the Medici and other noble families had so assiduously cultivated, Julius busied himself in erecting a palace which yet stands at the Porta del Popolo, and is known as the villa of *Papa Giulio*. The designing and building of this edifice, with the laying out of its spacious gardens, were his most serious avocations. His amusements resembled those of his namesake and favourite exemplar, Julius II.,

and mingled gross coarseness and sometimes blasphemy with a boisterous levity. After spending a few years in this vain and disreputable manner, Julius III. died in 1555.

The party which we have hitherto seen identified with the Theatines and the Jesuits had now gathered considerable strength within the conclave itself. In distinction from the worldly party which was exactly represented by Julius II., Leo X., and Clement VII., this might be called the *church party*, because of their more devoted zeal to the interests of the church, and the vigorous line of action they adopted. At their head stood cardinal Caraffa, whom we have already seen originating the inquisition, and vehemently opposing any attempts to conciliate the Protestants. By his influence one of the same party, Marcello Cervini, was now promoted to the papal throne; and he, like Adrian VI., preferred to retain his original name.

MARCELLUS II. assumed the tiara amidst the approbation of the whole Catholic world, and the most sanguine hopes of his own party. "If ever it be possible," said an observer, "for the church to extinguish heresy, to reform abuses, to compel purity of life, to heal its divisions, and once again be united, it is by Marcellus that this will be brought about."

Vain hope! Had Marcellus been spared for years he would have found all this beyond his power. It must be admitted, however, that the few days of life allowed him were diligently

improved, and in such a way as to answer the sanguine expectations of his friends. In his disinterested zeal for the church, and his abhorrence of the selfish policy of his predecessors, he forbade any of his kindred to approach the capital. He vigorously retrenched the expenditure of the court, and devised measures for repressing many ecclesiastical abuses. His first public act was to enforce the solemn observance of the rites of worship, which it had hitherto been the custom to hurry over with the most indecent haste.

But in the midst of these contemplated alterations, which would doubtless have greatly promoted the real strength of the Roman church, and havè been eventually directed in full force against so-called Protestant heresies, Marcellus was suddenly taken off by the hand of death. He died on the twenty-second day of his pontificate.

It has been the fashion with those who desire a reputation for candour to lavish high praises on Marcellus. Ranke joins in the anthem, but does not cite a particle of evidence to prove that the pope was a truly pious man. That he was a zealous supporter of the papal system there can be no doubt; but of the wide difference between this and being a Christian, the present work has afforded but too many illustrations. The popedom of Marcellus, also, was too brief to permit us to form any accurate judgment of his character from his deeds.

CHAPTER XV.

PONTIFICATE OF PAUL IV. TO THE BATTLE OF
ST. QUINTIN.
A.D. 1555—1557.

FOR centuries, the policy of the popes and of the whole Roman court had been that of expediency, worldliness, and self-indulgence. The tide had now fairly turned, and a RE-ACTION had set in. Under the former *régime*, the spiritual influence of the church had rapidly dwindled away; but a party had now arisen that undertook to restore it—a party called into existence by the just clamours of the world, and by the dangerous rivalry of a Protestant church. Under Paul III. this party had matured its plans, and collected its munitions of war, its Jesuits, and its inquisition. In raising Marcellus to the popedom, they discovered their readiness to assume the reins of power, and they now prepared to launch the thunders they had so silently and secretly forged. The hand, also, that had raised Marcellus to the throne now grasped the tiara for itself, and Giovanni Piero Caraffa came forth from the conclave, bearing the title of PAUL IV.

To a pontiff of high-church propensities, the rival, and sometimes conflicting claims of his secular and his spiritual offices, must have often proved bewildering. Desirous of being a potent sovereign in the councils of Europe, and also of increasing the influence of the Romish church in every land, he would often find it vexatiously

embarrassing to keep both ends in view. On Paul IV. these difficulties produced a very striking effect. His ascension to the throne was hailed by the church party with acclamations of unfeigned joy, for they reasonably thought that a churchman so zealous, a cardinal so austere and devout, would most efficiently work out their scheme for papal aggrandizement. But so entirely was the balance of Caraffa's mind upset by the novel circumstances of his position, that for a long time he almost lost sight of those defects which he had been accustomed all his life to bemoan, in his eagerness to extend the temporal domains of the church. A worldly spirit quite overcame the superstitious and bigoted spirit which usually governed him.

"How would your holiness wish to be served?" was the question addressed to him by his chamberlain. "As becomes a great prince!" was the haughty reply. And in this mood did Paul continue throughout the first half of his pontificate. His coronation was celebrated with unusual pomp, and to the foreign ambassadors who came to congratulate him on his accession he behaved with supercilious *hauteur*, "thundering in their ears that he was superior to all princes, that he would admit none of them on a footing of familiarity, and that he had ample power either to bestow kingdoms or to take them away."

These sublime pretensions, worthy of Hildebrand himself, Paul soon set himself to enforce.

Although nearly eighty years old, his deep-set eyes still retained all the fire of his youth, his tall spare form seemed instinct with energy, and his walk was yet firm and quick. He was one of those men who are born to command, and whose imperious will, when once opposed, must either break forth in vengeful fury on the adversary, or roll back its burning tide on its unhappy possessor.

There can be no doubt that Paul sincerely intended on his accession to commence a reformation of the church, according to his poor notions of what reformation was. As for doctrine, he wished for none other than that already taught; but he desired that a far different manner of life should be adopted by the clergy, so that their influence over the laity might be maintained and increased. In his first bull he vowed that he would make it his "first care that the reform of the universal church and of the Roman court be at once entered on." He appointed also a congregation for the promotion of reforms, and sent two monks into Spain, with full powers to re-establish good discipline in all the convents of that kingdom. Especially did he breathe vengeance against *heretics*, whether Protestant or others. The inquisition which he had been the means of reconstructing under Paul III., was now set upon a broader and firmer basis; and so zealous was the pontiff for its success, that whatever other business he neglected, and although he often forgot the meetings of the consistory, he never throughout

his reign once missed attending the Thursday meetings of the holy office.

But a surprising change came over the new pontiff's mind as soon as his attention was turned to political questions. Like Julius II. Paul was a patriotic Italian, and he had always viewed with jealousy the growing power of the emperor in Naples and Milan. He was old enough to remember the independence of Italy prior to the invasion of Charles VIII. "*Then,*" he would say, "our country was a well-tuned instrument; Naples and Milan, Venice and the States of the church were strings of delightful accord; but now that harmony is broken, and all through the base machinations of those lost and accursed spirits, Alfonso of Arragon and Ludovico Sforza of Milan."

To this dislike of all foreign interference in Italian affairs, was joined in the mind of Paul a fierce personal hatred to the emperor. Charles knew well the character of the proud Caraffa. He had once expelled him from the council of Naples, and had decreed that he should never hold office in that kingdom. He now openly complained that a cardinal so hostile to himself had been raised to the popedom. And the imperialists in Italy, aware of their royal master's indignation, began immediately to plot and cabal, and even dared to begin hostilities, by carrying off from the harbour of Civita Vecchia some ships which they claimed as their own.

An outrage like this was all that was needed

to kindle to a flame the fire which was already smouldering in the bosom of Paul. Always intemperate of speech, he gave the most vehement expression to his wrath. Sitting at table he would drink much more than he would eat, his beverage being a strong, brisk, black wine, "so thick that one might almost cut it," called *mangiaguerra*, or champ-the-war. Then, heated with his fiery potations, he would continue for hours declaiming against the emperor, and declaring that "Charles wanted to finish him by a kind of mental fever, but that he would nevertheless contend with him in open fight, and with the help of France would yet free Italy from the tyranny of Spain. French princes should ere long sit on the thrones of Naples and Milan, and he would sweep away from the Italian soil that scum of the world, that evil generation of Jews and Moors, those schismatics and heretics accursed of God, the Spaniards. The time was come for the emperor Charles and his son, king Philip, to receive the punishment of their crimes, and he himself would inflict it. God would support him in this, and the promise would receive its fulfilment—'Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder, the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under foot.'"

These ravings, wild as they may seem, were accompanied by corresponding deeds. The avowed imperialists, from the cardinal to the monk or serf, were all put under arrest. If they fled, their property was seized and confis-

cated to the state. The pope next entered into negotiation with France, and secured the alliance of the duke of Ferrara. In a formal process of law, he roundly threatened both Charles and Philip with excommunication, and to release their subjects from their oaths of allegiance. All necessary preparations were made for a general war, and Italy seemed doomed to witness new scenes of carnage and ruin.

But this absorption of the pontiff's whole soul in political affairs led to other actions equally at variance with his professed principles and the tenor of his former life. None among the cardinals had so unsparingly denounced the pontifical vice of nepotism as had cardinal Caraffa. Yet even to this weakness was Paul IV. now seen to abandon himself as thoroughly as any of his predecessors. He had one nephew, Carlo Caraffa, who had passed all his days amidst the excesses and vices of camps. Paul himself had often declared of him, that "his arm was dyed in blood up to the elbow." Yet this man did he now promote to the rank of cardinal, and to the responsible position of chief counsellor and confidant in all his political intrigues. "Never," he now averred, "had the papal seat possessed a more efficient servant." He made over to this favourite by far the greater part of all the administration, both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs.

The arts by which Carlo had so won upon the esteem of the pope were soon adopted by

the rest of the family. They, like their worthy pattern, now vowed vengeance against Spain and the emperor, and put on the grimaces of a devotion which in their hearts they derided and detested. Carlo carried his hypocrisy so far as to contrive that the pope should sometimes surprise him in the attitude of prayer before a crucifix, and apparently overwhelmed with agonies of penitent grief.

Deceived by such pretences, the aged pope surrendered himself almost implicitly to the guidance of his nephews. Declaring that the Colonnas were "incorrigible rebels against God and the church," he divided amongst his family the whole possessions of that noble and ancient house, making the elder of his nephews duke of Palliano, and the younger marquis of Montebello. The Caraffas now indulged the most ambitious hopes; they thought of intermarrying with ducal and even royal houses; and when one of them uttered some jest about a child's jewelled cap, the mother of the nephews exclaimed, "This is no time to be talking of caps but of *crowns*."

The war with the emperor had now commenced in good earnest. On the imperial side the duke of Alva commanded, having obtained, besides the alliance of several Italian nobles, the valuable services of Marc Antonio Colonna, one of the best soldiers of his age, and whose animosities were now passionately directed against the pope, because of the late aggressions on his house.

Paul also sought to strengthen himself by alliances. The French king sent him ten thousand foot, with a less numerous but very brilliant body of cavalry. The most efficient, however, of all the soldiers in the pontiff's army were Germans and Protestants! It is even said that Carlo Caraffa established a very close intimacy with that great Protestant leader, the margrave Albert of Brandenburg. Nay, Paul went yet further, and solicited the aid of the sultan himself, imploring him to throw his troops in full force upon the Two Sicilies whilst this war was going forward. So little did the religious scruples of even a bigoted and so-called *reforming* pontiff interfere with the prosecution of his worldly designs! So ready was even a Paul IV. to sacrifice his spiritual duties to his temporal ambition!

No great decisive battle was fought on Italian ground throughout the whole of this contest. The duke of Alva stood mostly on the defensive, for he well knew that the Neapolitans would not revolt so long as he could retain the attachment of the leading barons; and this he secured by favours, bribes, and promises. He had ample resources for all this; and besides foreign contributions, he seized all the ecclesiastical revenues on their passage to Rome, and poured them right gleefully into his military chest. Even the gold and silver of the churches, and the consecrated bells of the city of Benevento, did this devout Catholic devote to the purposes of war. He quickly

invested all the country round about Rome, and it would have been easy for him, if so minded, to have speedily terminated the struggle.

But it was on the frontiers of France and the Netherlands that this conflict was to be decided. Charles knew that the pontiff had no power but such as he borrowed from his allies, and it was therefore against France, the chief of these allies, that he once more directed his arms. The battle of St. Quintin, fought on St. Lawrence's day, 1557, gave a complete victory to the imperial banner. The French army was so utterly routed, and the havoc so ruinous to France, that the battle of St. Quintin has been classed with those of Cressy and Agincourt. Whilst only eighty men fell on the imperial side, the French lost four thousand, including their best generals and the flower of their nobility. Exultation was as clamorous on the one side, as the wailing of woe and despair upon the other. Philip of Spain, in an ecstasy of joy, vowed to build, in honour of St. Lawrence, a monastery, a church, and a palace; all which he soon afterwards combined in one plan, designing the great palace of the Escorial, still the most magnificent in Europe, in the form of a gridiron, in memory of its patron saint.* The French monarch, Henry II., shut himself up in Paris; and all France trembled lest the enemy should immediately march

* St. Lawrence is said to have been roasted to death on a gridiron.

upon that capital, which was just then so ill-fortified and defenceless, that it must have fallen an easy prey.

In this emergency the French troops were hastily withdrawn from Italy. The duke of Guise, who commanded them, declared that "no chains would now avail to keep him there," and hurried with all his forces to the aid of his embarrassed sovereign, leaving the pontiff to fight his own battles.

All Rome was now in alarm. The imperialist forces were rapidly approaching the walls, and the citizens were once more threatened with conquest and plunder. Lights were kept burning in the windows and streets for many successive nights with the absurd notion of scaring away the invaders; and the people, heartily wishing the pope in his grave, besieged him with entreaties and demands that the Spanish army should be forthwith admitted that they might escape the horrors of a siege.

Not till the last moment did Paul relent from his mortal hostility to the Spaniards. But when he did consent to enter into treaty with the conqueror, he received far more favourable terms than he had any right to expect. All that had been taken from the church was readily restored, and the duke of Alva coming to Rome, kissed with profound reverence the foot of his conquered foe, saying that he had never feared the face of man so much as he did that of the pontiff.

Thus the vehement resentments and deter-

mined hostility of Paul IV. were all thrown away. Baffled in every effort, he henceforth abandoned the struggle, and cared little for political affairs during the remainder of his life.

CHAPTER XVI.

PONTIFICATE OF PAUL IV.—DEVELOPMENT OF THE
RE-ACTION.
A.D. 1557—1559.

BUT the remainder of Paul's life was not inactively spent. Finding it useless to think of ejecting the imperial power from Italy, he turned again to his original designs for reforming the clergy, extirpating heresy, and by every means strengthening the papal rule over the consciences of men.

To the accomplishment of these objects he found, however, a great obstacle where he least expected it, and the manner of his removing that out of his path was highly characteristic of this energetic and resolute old man. As long as his whole mind was occupied with political and military matters, he had found his nephews, and especially cardinal Caraffa, so useful, indeed so essential, to his schemes, that he could only think of them with the highest regard. In his view they were the very choicest and most dutiful sons of the church. But now, on turning his attention to reforms of the church and to its general condition, his ears were saluted with loud murmurs respecting the con-

duct of these nephews, who were, in truth, leading most abandoned lives, and deceiving the aged pope with the grossest artifices of hypocrisy. Entering one day very suddenly the apartment of the cardinal, who professed to be ill, Paul found him conversing with some people of the worst character, and in a moment perceived the whole meaning of the rumours he had heard. "I there saw things," he afterwards said, "that opened a wide field before me."

A searching investigation followed, which disclosed enormities that were hardly credible to the pontiff's ears. Agitated with vexation and rage, the old man shut himself up in his chamber, refused all food, and was unable to sleep; a fever almost consumed him. But at length he resolved that the reforms he had contemplated when he ascended the throne should immediately commence, and should begin with his own kindred. He deprived his nephews of all their offices, and condemned them with their families to perpetual exile. The mother of the nephews, now seventy years of age, fell at the pontiff's feet as he entered his palace entreating for them, but he rudely repulsed her. The young wife of one of them hastened to Rome, hoping to prevail with the pope although others had failed; but on reaching the city she found her own palace closed against her, and that orders had been given to all innkeepers to refuse her admission. The night was rainy and cold, but none dared give

her shelter, and she wandered through the streets in distress, till an innkeeper, in an obscure quarter which the pope's orders had not reached, permitted her to lodge beneath his roof.

From this time the pontiff would hold no intercourse with any of his kindred. Their very names were forbidden to be mentioned in his presence. Paul seemed to forget that he had connexions of any kind in the world, and, old as he was, devoted himself with untiring energy to the task he had set himself to perform.

Having thus commenced the reform in the highest places, he carried it out consistently to the very lowest. All secular offices whatsoever were transferred to other hands, for it was taken for granted that the administrators of them had hitherto been corrupt. No excuses and no delays were allowed. If the new governor of a town arrived at midnight, he instantly summoned the officers, and arrested his predecessor. Not only were officers changed; alterations of the utmost importance were made in the system of conducting affairs. Economy, punctuality, and dispatch, were required of all, and the pope endeavoured to acquire for himself a high reputation for justice by establishing a chest, the key of which he only kept, and in which all complaints that the people desired to make might be deposited for his private perusal.

With equal rigour a similar reform was

extended to all ecclesiastical posts. Service was ordered to be performed with more care in all churches. Pomp was added to the ceremonial, and magnificence to the edifices of worship. "To Paul iv.," says Ranke, "we are indebted for the rich ornaments of the Sistine Chapel, and for the solemn representation of the Holy Sepulchre." Protestant readers will hardly recognise the obligation, and will not think much more highly of Paul, because he strove to attain that "ideal of the Catholic service of the altar, full of dignity, devotion, and splendour, which ever floated before his eyes." To a simple and scriptural faith, such vain pomps are rather hindrances than aids to devotion.

Amongst the monks, also, a more strict discipline was now introduced, and those especially who, like Luther, had deserted their monasteries, were hunted out and expelled from the papal states. To the priesthood all begging and collecting of alms for masses was forbidden, and Paul had a medal struck in his own honour, representing Christ driving the money-changers out of the temple. His efforts to strengthen the hold which the church still possessed on the superstitions of the people were unremitting, and he boasted that there was no longer any need of a council, as he allowed no day to pass by without the promulgation of some edict for the purifying of the church. But what a miserable purity was that which cared not how unregenerate and depraved the heart might be, provided the forms of the ritual were decently

observed ! Yet this is the highest form of purity ever aspired to by Rome.

Above all things the inquisition occupied the anxious thoughts of the pontiff. It was Caraffa, it will be borne in mind, who urged Paul III. to revive this cruel institution, and he now followed up his original designs with all the energy and fierceness of his nature. He subjected new classes of offence to its jurisdiction, and barbarously authorized the employment of torture for the detection of accomplices. "The inquisition," said Paul, "is the only means of destroying heresy, and the only fort of the apostolic see." In that he spoke the truth, and weak indeed must be the cause that needs such defences !

How terrible, too, were the munitions and machinery of this infamous "fort !" The first proceeding was to seize the suspected man without notice, and often in the dead of night. Hurried away from the embraces of his family, who felt that they were bidding him a final farewell, he was immersed in a dark cell, sometimes under the bed of a river, at others beneath the suffocating roof of a garret, and where the furniture consisted of but two pots of water, one for washing, and the other to allay his feverish thirst. On being summoned to trial, the prisoner was conducted, bare-headed, and with naked legs and feet, to a large subterraneous chamber, far out of hearing from all inhabited apartments, and there confronted with his judges, tormentors, and execu-

tioners. At the upper end he saw a huge crucifix, beneath which sat the grand inquisitor at the head of the table, surrounded by his assistants. He then underwent a searching examination as to his birth, education, and manner of life, and if he persisted in asserting his innocence of the crimes alleged against him, he was handed over to the executioner. This officer, dressed in a black gown and cowl, which entirely enveloped his features, except where his eyes glared through two holes cut for the purpose, silently took charge of the prisoner, and calmly proceeded to his task of cruelty and blood.

Three kinds of torture were employed, the pulley, the rack, and the fire. By the *pulley*, the sufferer was raised some yards from the ground, his feet being shackled and loaded with great weights. While suspended in the air, stripes were inflicted, and the pulley being suddenly slipped, the wretched man swiftly descended, and was often made insensible by the violence of the shock. In torture by the *rack* the victim was stretched on his back in a wooden trough, having a bar across the middle upon which the back of his body was laid. His arms and legs were then tightly bound with cords, which were drawn tighter by screws till they cut the sufferer to the very bone. Besides this, a thin cloth was often placed over his face, and water was dropped from a height into his mouth, so that the cloth gradually sank down to the throat, and produced the very

agonies of a suffocating death. To these refined devices of cruelty was yet added another, if the man continued obdurate—the torture by *fire*. Here the feet were slowly roasted, and when the cries of the poor victim rose highest, a screen was interposed for a moment, but only that the pain might be increased when the screen should be again withdrawn.

When all torture was in vain, and to extort a confession seemed impossible, the obstinate offender was handed over to the managers of the *auto-da-fé*. Of the extreme publicity and pomp, the cruelty and blasphemy connected with these horrid executions, it is unnecessary to speak here; nor would the doleful tragedies of the inquisition have been at all alluded to, but that no account of Paul the Fourth's pontificate could be complete without it. To such inhumanities, masked under the fair guise of religion, he now devoted his days; and a more melancholy spectacle it is surely impossible to contemplate than that of an old man, bending under the weight of more than eighty years, distracting his brains to find new modes of torturing his fellow-creatures, or fiendishly gloating over the horrors of an *auto-da-fé*; and all this in the name of that Saviour whose gospel is so utterly opposed to violence as a means of disseminating its truths.

Absorbed in these pursuits, Paul forgot all his schemes of political ambition. His sole object now was to diffuse a rigid austerity among the clergy, in which he was powerfully

aided by the ardent zeal and subtle labours of the Jesuits; and to root out every weed of heresy, for which purpose he organized and matured the system of the inquisition. At length, in 1559, he was laid prostrate by disease. Calling his cardinals around his bed, he bade them pray for his soul, and take earnest heed of the holy see and of the inquisition. With these admonitions on his lips, the proud and implacable pontiff breathed his last.

Notwithstanding the zealous exertions of Paul IV. in behalf of the church, the papal influence suffered enormous losses during his reign. His haughty behaviour had quite alienated the English nation, and his animosity against the emperor's son, Philip II. of Spain, who, by virtue of his marriage with queen Mary, was also king of England, had brought the royal family and the aristocracy to sympathize with the movement that had long been going forward amongst the people. "At the close of Paul's pontificate," observes Ranke, "Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, had wholly forsaken the Roman see; Germany was almost entirely Protestant; Poland and Hungary were in a fierce tumult of opinion; Geneva was as important a centre for the schismatics of Latin descent as Wittemberg was for those of the Germanic race; while numbers were already gathering beneath the banners of Protestantism in the Netherlands, and France." And not the least instructive lesson connected with this is the obvious fact

that all the injuries thus sustained by the pope-dom were mainly produced by its own blind and obstinate persistence in its unrighteous and truth-destroying policy. So God in his good providence had graciously arranged it.

On the other hand, there were now within the papacy indubitable signs of returning strength. Paul had infused more decency and more vigour into all administrations, both ecclesiastical and secular. There was much less to shock the moral sense of mankind in the new deportment of the Roman priesthood; and helped by the stealthy Jesuits, who were daily increasing, and by the strong arm of the inquisition, it was yet possible for the papacy to maintain its position, if not to retrieve its losses.

CHAPTER XVII.

PONTIFICATE OF PIUS IV.—THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.
A.D. 1559—1565.

THE successor of Paul IV. was a man of so opposite a character that it seemed for a time doubtful whether the course of events would continue in the same channel. But it seldom happens that a single individual, however exalted his position, can materially affect, much less withstand or alter, the prevalent spirit of his age; and the new pope was no exception to the rule.

PIUS IV. could not boast of noble descent.

Although a Medici by name, he had no connexion with the illustrious Florentine house that had already placed two of its members on the papal throne. His father was a tax-gatherer at Milan, whose resources were so small that he was scarcely able to educate his sons. The elder of these, by his reckless daring, and a conscience that shrank not at any crime, (for he was in truth a mere bravo,) had gained the friendship of the notorious Pier Luigi Farnese, and by marrying that prince's wife's sister, was enabled to advance his brother Giovanni, hitherto a practitioner of the law, to the high rank of cardinal.

By Paul iv. the cardinal Medici had been held in extreme dislike. His low birth, his love of sensual indulgence, his aversion to all harshness and cruelty, aroused the spleen of the vehement and zealous Paul; but perhaps it was the possession of these very qualities, combined with his liberal promises, that secured him the favour of the conclave, as they had already made him the idol of the people, who called him "The Father of the Poor."

Animated by these dispositions, Pius, on ascending the throne, resolved that his reign should not be disgraced by the strifes and agitations which had marked that of his predecessor. He was bent on having, if possible, an easy and pleasant life; and observing that the ambition of former popes had thrown them upon seas of trouble, alienating from the church those princes who were naturally disposed to

give it their strongest support, he determined that no such ambition should tempt him to forsake a policy of peace and conciliation. It had been the full conviction of Paul IV. that a pope was created for the subjugation of emperors and kings; and it was thus that he plunged himself and the church into so many wars and calamities. "Thereby," would Pius IV. often say, "did we lose England—England, that might have been retained with perfect ease. Thus, too, has Scotland been torn from us; and during the wars excited by Paul's severities the doctrines of Germany made their way into France."

If he had been left wholly to himself, therefore, the new pontiff would probably have led a life like that of Leo X. He would have interfered as little as possible with others, and would have only demanded to be allowed to enjoy himself without interruption. But the current of opinion had now fully set in for reforming (after the Roman fashion) and invigorating the church, and especially defending it against heretical assaults. Moreover, one of the pope's own nephews, Carlo Borromeo, to whom he entrusted the chief conduct of affairs, was strongly tinctured with the prevailing views. Of this man his contemporaries—not perhaps the best judges of morality or of religion—speak in the highest language of applause. "In so far as we know," says one, "he is without spot or blemish. So religious a life, and so pure an example, leave the most exact-

ing nothing to demand. It is greatly to his praise, that in the bloom of youth, nephew to a pope whose favour he entirely possesses, and living in a court where every kind of pleasure invites him to its enjoyment, he yet leads so exemplary a life." Of any praise justly due to him we have no right and no wish to defraud him; but one thing is certain, that the Roman Catholic church would never have *canonized* this Borromeo for purity and piety, if he had not been equally distinguished for zeal in defence of her forms, her supremacy, and even her vices.

Under the guidance of this man, the public policy of Pius IV. very nearly resembled that of his forerunner. Indeed, his first act was one of severe justice towards the nephews of Paul. Although that pope had banished them from Rome, they had still continued their criminal practices in other parts of Italy, and on the death of their uncle they had returned to Rome, hoping that their past misconduct would be either forgotten or overlooked. But a strict investigation was now set afoot. They were accused of the most detestable crimes; robberies, forgeries, and assassinations. At the close of a long day's trial, the pontiff condemned both the duke and the cardinal, and the sentence of death was immediately put in execution.

There was now a general outcry that the sittings of the council at Trent ought to be speedily resumed. The French were even threatening to convoke a national council,

which might possibly have led to a schism. Averse as the popes always were to the intrusion of inferior prelates on what they regarded as their own exclusive province, the jurisdiction of the whole church, Pius found it was absolutely necessary to convene such a council at the present time. He had no decent pretext for refusing it; and so putting a good face on the matter, he declared, "We desire this council; we wish it earnestly, and we would have it to be universal. Let what requires reformation be reformed, even though it be our own person or our own affairs."

In the year 1562, the Council of Trent did, therefore, resume its sittings. It was fully seventeen years since the assembly had been first convened, and how altered was now the state of the world, as well as that of the Romish church! There could now be no more any hope of a *universal* council, not even of the western churches. The Protestants were irrecoverably gone. All that could be hoped for was to reconcile those prelates, who, without seceding, had yet exhibited much dissatisfaction with the papal see; to bind in a closer league the forces that were yet left; and to assume an attitude of hostility and aggression towards heresy of every kind. All this the council still might, and in fact did accomplish.

But it was no easy task. There were points on which a union seemed impossible. The German bishops wanted a reform of the pope's own department, and in the management of his

court. They demanded that the choice of the pontiff should not rest so exclusively with the conclave. "How is it possible," they very justly and forcibly urged, "that the cardinals should elect a good pope, seeing that they themselves are not good?" The French required that the cup should be given to the laity, that the communion services should be translated into the spoken tongue, and that there should be both preaching and singing in the French language,—all Lutheran and therefore *heretical* innovations in the eyes of Rome. Some contended for the marriage of the clergy, and others maintained that every bishop derived his authority directly from God, and that it was not merely dependent upon the will of the pope.

Thus a council from which heretics were rigorously excluded, was still far from being in perfect harmony. The strife ran higher from day to day. One party flung the charge of heresy in the face of another, and received it back again with double force. Even *out* of the assembly the contest was carried on, sometimes producing actual blows and shedding of blood. The cries of "Italy! Italy! Spain! Spain!" were the party watchwords, which echoed incessantly through the streets of Trent. The pope declared that it was high time to terminate such scandalous quarrelling and such fruitless discussion, and resolved to effect his purpose by secretly treating with the sovereigns of these refractory bishops rather than with the council itself. So completely had religion now become

the instrument of state policy, that the pope knew he should most effectually influence the council, and so, forsooth, decide what should be the creed of the church, by appealing to the emperor of Germany and the kings of France and Spain! Cardinal Morone was appointed by Pius to discharge this difficult mission, which required neither theological knowledge nor eminent piety, but extraordinary address and diplomatic skill, qualities with which Morone appears to have been singularly endowed.

Proceeding first to the court of the emperor, now Ferdinand I., the cardinal exerted all his skill to soothe the irritation of that sovereign, and to convince him of the pontiff's willingness to do all that was requisite for the good of the church. In short, Morone succeeded with all the sovereigns, who forthwith sent instructions to their bishops and other servants in the council, to maintain a good understanding with the papal legates. Obstacles having been thus removed, the council very rapidly disposed of its business. Articles on which there was still a difference, were purposely expressed with ambiguity; the privileges of the clergy were confirmed; some partial attempts were made at reform; a stricter discipline was established; laws against heretics were renewed with greater severity than ever; care was taken that the rising priesthood should be suitably trained, and especially inured to habits of implicit obedience and austere self-command. But no steps what-

ever were taken to promote the study of the Scriptures, or the preaching of a purer doctrine.

The council did not separate until the prelates had all bound themselves by a solemn *confession of faith*, to "acknowledge the Roman church as mother and mistress of all churches," to "obey faithfully the Roman bishop, the successor of St. Peter and vicar of Jesus Christ," and to receive and to anathematize all things as they are received and anathematized by the Council of Trent.* And thus an assembly, which met for the express purpose of limiting and restraining the papal power, had actually confirmed and extended it, and placed it on a firmer basis than before.

Besides these advantages, another equally important had been gained. The papacy was no longer in direct opposition to the sovereignties of the world. It now claimed them as allies, and could henceforth reckon upon their assistance in all its struggles and ambitious aims. Thus Romanism was once more assuming a bold and domineering attitude, and the pope of Rome concentrated in himself all the powers and energies of the church.

Pius iv. felt that the great task of his life was accomplished when the Council of Trent was thus successfully brought to a close. If, before that time, he had been disposed to self-indulgence, he now became more voluptuous

* *Vide* Pope Pius's Creed—Le Plat's *Decreta et Canones*, Appendix, p. 22.

than ever. He neglected religious service, and addicted himself excessively to the pleasures of the table. He increased the splendour of his court, gave sumptuous entertainments, and erected magnificent buildings. Strict churchmen were much scandalized at the gaiety of the pope; some of the more fanatical even plotted against his life; and the whole reforming party rejoiced when, in 1565, his death delivered them from what they felt as a libel on their reputation, and an insurmountable check to all their efforts.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PONTIFICATE OF PIUS V.—PROGRESS OF THE RE-ACTION.
A.D. 1565—1572.

THE strength of the high church party was now sufficiently matured to enable them to select a pope from amongst themselves. Their leader, Carlo Borromeo, advocated the claims of Michele Ghisleri, cardinal of Alessandria, whose fitness for the office, he said, was proclaimed by his "piety, irreproachable life, and devout spirit." This choice was approved by the whole party; and they who, during the reign of Pius IV., had maintained a sullen silence, were now filled with highest hope. "To Rome—to Rome!" wrote one of them, "God has wakened up for us our fourth Paul again."

PIUS V. was really a man of very similar character to Paul IV. From his youth he had

displayed a marvellous zeal in behalf of the papal authority and against all so called heresy. Invested with the office of inquisitor, he exercised his functions so rigorously that even sincere Romanists hated his name. He was more than once assailed by the peasantry with volleys of stones, and was often obliged to steal secretly from the neighbourhoods in which his tyrannies had been committed.

In his private life, Ghisleri was self-denying, abstemious, and austere. On becoming a cardinal, he had told his domestics that they must fancy themselves in a monastery; and on rising to the popedom he relaxed nothing of his monastic severity, continued his fasts as exactly as ever, and still retained the coarse shirt which he had worn when only a monk. We are not disposed to doubt such a man's sincerity in the opinions and views he advanced, but we may justly censure the opinions themselves, and the means he adopted to give them effect.

The reformation of the papal court was now commenced in good earnest. The expenditure was the first thing to be reduced. Pius v. wanted little for himself, and although he made his nephew Bonelli a cardinal, he allowed him a very moderate stipend, and would not allow him to be visited even by his own father. All bishops and archbishops were strictly prohibited from leaving their dioceses, and parish priests were enjoined, under the heaviest penalties, both to remain at home and to be diligent

in discharging their duties. The regulations for monks and nuns were equally stringent. Fifty thousand of them are said to have been absent from their monasteries, wandering about Italy. They were commanded to return instantly, and the rules prescribed for their daily life were so much more rigid than before, that "some fell into a sort of desperation, and others fled the cloisters altogether."

The laity were next attended to. By one of his bulls, Pius forbade any physician to visit any patient confined to his bed more than three days without receiving a certificate that the sick man had confessed his sins anew. By another, he decreed that the rich should be punished for blasphemy and sabbath-breaking by heavy fines, while those who had no property to mulct were punished for these offences by being made to stand at the church door a whole day with the hands tied behind the back; if guilty of the offence a second time, they were whipped through the city; and if a third time they offended, they had their tongue bored through and were sent to the galleys.

That such laws should produce a change in men's manner of life was to be expected, but it is equally obvious, that such a change could have nothing sincere or durable about it. In a short time, there was a wonderful reform of external life in Rome, but the hollowness of such a reformation did not escape the thoughtful and discerning. "In Rome," said one observer of these events, "matters proceed in a

fashion very unlike what we have hitherto seen. Men have become a great deal better, *or at least they have put on the appearance of being so.*"

The extirpation of what he deemed heresy was a darling pursuit of Pius v. His treaties with the various states of Italy were almost exclusively occupied with this topic. Duke Cosmo of Florence gave up to him without hesitation all who had been condemned by the Inquisition. Carnesecchi was one of the most eminent of those men of letters who had embraced Protestant views, and although of noble blood, and connected with the reigning house, he was surrendered to the Roman inquisitors, and suffered death at the stake. For such ready devotion to papal interests, Cosmo was not unrewarded, and Pius v., overlooking his gross immorality, and wholly disregarding the rights of the people, crowned him grand duke of Tuscany, in return for that species of piety which in the eyes of the pope infinitely outweighed every other order of merit.

But it was Milan that beyond all other Italian states exhibited a strict conformity to the new ecclesiastical spirit. The archbishop of this see was Carlo Borromeo, who, having now retired from Rome, devoted himself so zealously to the duties of his bishopric, that he was cited as a pattern of episcopal virtue, and ultimately attained to a place in the calendar itself. He was incessantly occupied in the visitation of his diocese, traversing it in every

direction. The remotest villages, the highest mountains, the most secluded valleys, wherever inhabitants were found, were all alike known and cared for. "Yet," says one of his encomiasts, "the most efficient result of his labours was perhaps the severity of discipline to which he held his clergy, and which they in their turn enforced upon the people."

It was by no means enough, however, for pope Pius v. that Italy was once more restored to the papacy; he sought triumphs abroad as well as at home. In Portugal he was secure of victory through the influence of the Jesuits, who had so surprisingly increased as to be able now to control all the policy of the government. In Spain the same end was effected by the aid of king Philip, and the bigoted resolution with which he supported the tyranny of the Inquisition. "One *auto-da-fé* followed another till every germ of the hated belief was extirpated." In France, also, Pius did his utmost, and letters still extant, which he wrote on the subject, give painful evidence of the malignity with which he regarded every form of the so called heretical faith.

France was just then the battle-field of the hostile creeds. The Protestants had greatly increased through the preaching of Calvin and Beza, and under the fostering care of Margaret of Valois, queen of Navarre. Although persecuted as in other countries, often dispersed when assembled for worship, and not seldom brought to torture and the stake, their numbers still multiplied until they had become a very

formidable party in the state. At their head stood the prince of Condé and admiral Coligny, besides many other persons high in rank and of notable worth.

The Catholic party was led by the Guises, the most powerful family in France, who aimed at nothing less than governing the throne itself. But in this object they found themselves thwarted by the crafty, licentious, and cruel Catherine de' Medici, mother of the king, who, as Charles IX. was still a youth, was also the regent of France. Catherine, resolving in any case to hold the sceptre in her own hands, leaned sometimes to the Guises and the Catholics, and at other times to the Protestants and Condé. But the repeated acts of violence and persecution committed by the former drove the Protestants at length to open resentment, and the nation was soon divided into two hostile camps, from which Catherine could no longer hold aloof. Thus pressed, she decided for the Guises, and a long and bloody civil war ensued, in which each party was triumphant in turn. Pope Pius could hardly be an indifferent spectator of the strife, and we find him both aiding the Catholics with money, and hounding them on to deeds of the direst cruelty.

When the battle of Jarnac, in 1569, gave the Catholics triumphant predominance, and power to do as they listed, the pope wrote to the king, saying " You ought with all diligence and care to take advantage of the opportunity which this victory offers you, for pursuing and

destroying all the enemies which still remain ; for tearing up entirely all the roots, and even the smallest fibres of roots of so terrible and confirmed an evil. For, unless radically extirpated, they will be found to shoot out again, and the mischief will reappear when you least expect it." To Catherine he wrote in the same strain, imploring her to pursue the enemies of the Catholic religion "until they are all *massacred*, for it is only by the *entire extermination* of the heretics that the Catholic worship can be restored."

It is easy to see from these letters, that if Pius v. was not actually privy to the design which was even then entertained by the infamous Catherine and her depraved and besotted son, of cutting off the Protestants at one blow, this was nevertheless a project which would have met with his hearty concurrence ; and it is hard to avoid the suspicion that the first thought of so terrible a "massacre" as that of St. Bartholomew had its origin, not in Paris, but in Rome.

At England the pontiff could only shake his hand in powerless menaces. Queen Elizabeth had now desisted from that weak coquetting with Rome which disgraced the early part of her reign, and was employing measures of very questionable severity against those who adhered to the ancient faith. Pius returned her hostilities with a bull of excommunication ; and to the discredit of that age it must be recorded, that the man who dared to give it publication,

GREGORY XIII.

by affixing it to the bishop of London's palace gate, was first tortured at the rack and then put to death.

For the loss of England Pius breathed his last sigh. He never ceased grieving over it, and contriving schemes for the recovery of the treasure, until death terminated his illusions in 1572.

CHAPTER XIX.

PONTIFICATES OF GREGORY XIII. AND SIXTUS V.—
SUCCESS OF THE RE-ACTION.
A.D. 1572—1590.

THE successor of Pius was a man who would gladly have lived an easy jovial kind of life, if the spirit of the times would have suffered it. But under the jealous eyes of inquisitors and Jesuits, even a pontiff was not master of his own movements, so that Hugo Boncompagno, on ascending the papal throne, was obliged to appear circumspect and grave, and even to counterfeit sympathy with the prevalent sentiments of the age. No sooner had GREGORY XIII. assumed the tiara, than an opportunity was taken by the leading officers of the court, Jesuits and cardinals, of warning him not to deviate from the track marked out by his predecessors; and so completely did they awe, perhaps paralyse the mind of the old man, now past his seventieth year, that he dared not attempt the enriching of his family, (although he had a son on whom he doted,) nor even the

gratification of his own tastes. Not more than three months of Gregory's popedom had elapsed when the world was startled from its repose, and petrified with horror, at a tragedy which has had no equal in ancient and modern times—a tragedy in which the new pontiff bore no unimportant part. When Catherine de' Medici and the impotent Charles IX. proposed a peace to the Protestants, or Huguenots, of France, it was with the deliberate design to inveigle them into their power, and slaughter them at will. For this purpose they feigned a wish to ratify their friendship by a marriage between the king's sister and the young prince of Navarre. An offer so advantageous, and promising such auspicious results to religion, completely deluded the leaders of the Huguenot party, and in a few months the king and queen of Navarre, with all their court, the prince de Condé, and admiral Coligny, with all the Huguenots of distinction, were assembled within the walls of the French metropolis, and lodged chiefly in the palaces of the royal family itself.

All the heads of the Protestant party were thus gathered in Paris by the beginning of August, 1572, and the 24th of that month, being St. Bartholomew's-day, was fixed by the royal party as the day of sacrifice, when a hetacomb of innocent victims should be offered to the Moloch of revengeful bigotry. With the particulars of that awful massacre we need not stain these pages. They are written in dismal characters upon the annals of the French

nation, and in the history of the Roman Catholic church. And as it cannot be proved that the pontiffs had any direct share in it, we are bound to throw the veil of charity over those parts of their conduct which excite our suspicions. But if Charles IX. was haunted to his dying day by the blood-stained spectres of those he had so ruthlessly murdered, so also ought Gregory XIII. to have been stung with remorse at the remembrance of cruelties which were prompted by Roman bigotry, and which he himself had, consciously or unconsciously, helped to perpetrate. The slaughter of seventy thousand unoffending and unresisting victims, some bent with age and venerable with hoary locks, others too young to have even lisped the prayers of a heretical church, ought surely to have weighed heavy on his conscience, and might well have driven him to pass the remainder of his days in penitence and self-reproach.

On the contrary, however, the news of the direful massacre which dyed the rivers of France with blood, and filled the world with fear, was received at Rome with loud demonstrations of joy. Having been expected, it took none of the papal court by surprise. "The king of France has *kept his word*," said the cardinal Alessandrian; and the cardinal of Lorraine, the eldest of the Guises, questioned the messenger for further particulars, to see if all that had been *intended* had actually taken place. Worst of all, the pope decreed that there should be

public rejoicings to celebrate the event ; high mass was performed with every circumstance of pomp and splendour ; and ere the wailing of the widows and orphans of France, crying to Heaven for vengeance, had died away, the solemn strains of the Te Deum arose from the choir of St. Peter's, thanking God for the accomplishment of the most monstrous crime which history records. Nay, so unblushing was the effrontery of the pope, that he caused a medal to be struck in memory of the deed, bearing on one side the likeness of his own face, and on the other an effigy of the destroying angel, surmounted by the inscription, "*Huguenotorum strages*,"—The slaughter of the Huguenots.

A reign so wickedly begun was not likely to proceed in peace. As Gregory pursued throughout a policy of rigid persecution and insatiable exaction, so he reaped the fruits in a most unquiet and agitated reign. It was his exactions in particular, however, which brought down this just retribution. In seeking to replenish his treasury, which the extravagance and dishonesty of most of his predecessors had deeply drained, the happy thought struck Gregory that many of the feudal estates and castles held by the Italian barons must ere this have lapsed to the sovereign, either by failure in the line of inheritance or by forfeiture of the tenure. Lawyers were straightway set to work ; flaws in deeds of possession were diligently searched out ; and a system of wholesale plunder was

begun, under the venerable names of equity and law. Castle after castle, estate after estate, were wrested from families which had held them for generations and even centuries. The privileges and charters of cities were with equal recklessness taken away, and their revenues appropriated by the pope.

Such flagrant and daring spoliation could only set society in an uproar. "The pope is a thief!" "To arms—to arms!" were the cries which rang through the land; and very soon the whole country was filled with armed men, plundering or resisting plunder. The old factions were revived, and the forgotten watch-words, "Guelph" and "Ghibbeline," were heard again. A population that had been industrious and prosperous was suddenly transformed into a mass of roving banditti; and a region which had lately smiled with gardens, vineyards, and happy homes, now assumed the grim aspect of a battle-field. Atrocious barbarities soon grew out of such vehement party strife, and the public fountains were often seen garnished with the heads of those who had been taken prisoners and afterwards slain. The efforts of Gregory to extinguish the flame he had lighted proved utterly in vain. At home, his resources were exhausted; and the neighbouring states, incensed at the exactions he had also laid upon them, only derided his misfortunes. Thus did he wear away thirteen weary years, and died unlamented in 1585.

To Gregory succeeded pope SIXTUS V., whose

bold character and distinguished genius have given him a prominent place in the history of his age. By his talent and industry he had raised himself from the lowest class in society to the most honourable posts in the church. His father, Peretti, was only a gardener, and could not afford to give him any education; but when, by the favour of an uncle, the young Felix Peretti had mastered the rudiments, he was quite capable of achieving all the rest without aid from others. When only a monk, he had attracted the attention of Ghisleri, afterwards Pius v., and through that pontiff's patronage, Peretti attached himself zealously to the rigid party in the church, so labouring in the cause that he had well earned before he obtained it the hat which distinguished him as cardinal Montalto.

At the time of pope Gregory's death, Montalto appeared to have but little chance of the tiara. Others in the conclave had far more influence than he. In order to procure success, he has been accused of using means unworthy of his high fame. He feigned, say his enemies, to be an infirm and prematurely old man, tormented with a consumptive cough; he entreated to be left alone in his cell to spend his remaining days in solitude and prayer, and affirmed that he had lost all relish for the world or worldly honours. But if such artifices were not too gross to deceive the astute college of cardinals, it will be readily admitted by every generous mind that they were too mean and

contemptible to be practised by the haughty and daring Montalto.

Elevated to the popedom, Sixtus resolved that it should be his first care to bring back peace to the distracted towns and villages of Italy. To effect this he determined on striking terror into the hearts of the evil-doers; and four young men having been taken with rifles in their hands—an offence condemned by law—they were immediately sentenced to death. The next day was the day of the pope's coronation, and so favourable an occasion was seized by the friends of the young men, who hoped that Sixtus would pardon them. "While I live every criminal must die," was the stern reply; and the bodies of the young men, suspended on a gallows at the bridge of St. Angelo, saluted the eye of the pope as he went to be crowned.

Similar instances of severity followed, and the terror of the pope's name soon spread far and near. On decrees being issued that all barons and magistrates should clear their castles and towns of banditti, it was almost universally done; and when it was further ordained that the price set on the head of a bandit should be paid, not out of public funds, but by the outlaw's relations, the whole population felt itself enlisted in the cause of order and peace. No day passed without an execution; over all parts of the country, in field and wood, stakes were erected, on each of which stood the head of an outlaw. No

governor was acceptable to Sixtus who did not supply him largely with these barbarous trophies. "His demand was ever for heads."

Harsh as these measures were, they proved successful. In the year 1586, the foreign ambassadors arriving at Rome, delighted the pope by assuring him "that in every part of his states through which their road had led, they had travelled in perfect peace and security." Sixtus was greatly aided in these successes by his friendly connexions with other princes. Gregory XIII. had contrived to offend nearly every state and monarch in Italy, and their territories had consequently been places of refuge to all the disturbers of peace who were driven beyond the Roman borders. But Sixtus v. assiduously cultivated the goodwill of all neighbouring potentates, and accordingly received many proofs of regard from the Venetians, the Milanese, and the king of Naples.

Successful in appeasing domestic feuds, Sixtus next proceeded to seek the commercial welfare of his country. He drained several of the marshes at the foot of the Apennines. The Chiana of Orvieto and the Pontine marshes were particularly improved by his labours. To promote an Italian silk manufacture, the pontiff decreed that mulberry trees should be planted throughout the states of the church, five on every rubbio of land in every field and wood, and on all hills and in every valley. Wherever corn was not growing, these trees were to find a place. In ecclesiastical matters Sixtus con-

tinued the policy of the party he had joined, although his natural disposition made him much more of a sovereign than a priest. He insisted, however, that the manners of the clergy should be governed by decorum; and the cardinals, who, a century before, would have buckled on their armour for the field, now led a comparatively learned life in the seclusion of the cloister.

Yet with all this change in manners there is no reason to think that there was any advance in piety or even in morality. The *appearance* of these qualities was necessary to success, but as the most eager struggle after worldly greatness was mingled everywhere with the effort to promote them, the *reality* of either was almost impossible. The highest offices were open to all, and the path by which they were to be reached was that of dissimulation. Pretended devotion to the church, even to rank bigotry, with a ready blindness to all immorality that was not scandalous, were the best passports to favour and honour. It could not but ensue that there should be hollowness, hypocrisy, treachery, ambition, and avarice, flourishing on all sides.

The clergy still found it to their interest to favour the most superstitious errors among the people, for superstition is the chain with which priestcraft binds and leads captive the souls of men. Accordingly, now that the age was "religious," miracles began to be revived. An image of the virgin was heard to speak in the

church of San Silvestro, and the event produced so powerful an impression upon the people, that the region around the church, hitherto neglected and desolate, was presently covered with dwellings. In the Rione de' Monti, a miraculous image of the virgin appeared in a haystack, and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, considering it a special token of Divine regard, rose in arms to prevent its removal. This passion for miracle-mongering once kindled, it soon spread to other countries, and the world was again filled with degrading superstitions.

As the "religious" spirit was thus communicated to all things, the fine arts began to be affected. Tasso wrote his "Jerusalem Delivered," for no classic or heathen subject would now win an audience, as in the days of Leo x. The Caracci and other painters drew ideals of Christ and of the saints, full of devout and pensive feeling. Music received a new direction, and from this period is to be dated that exquisite adaptation of harmony to the sense of words presented in the service of the Romish church. This conquest of the arts, and rendering them tributary to Rome, greatly aided in promoting the re-action which had now so thoroughly set in against the deep tide of the Reformation.

The finances of the church were from the first an object of great solicitude with Sixtus v. By rigid economy and dexterous management he accumulated a large amount of treasure, (as

much, say some, as four millions and a half of silver scudi,) which he carefully preserved in the castle of San Angelo. This treasure was only to be touched on special emergencies. It might be used for a war against the Turks, for the conquest of the Holy Land, for recovering some conquered Catholic province, or in case of famine or invasion.

So much wealth, however, enabled Sixtus v. to undertake many useful public works, and he spent large sums in improving or beautifying the metropolitan city. The want of water was severely felt by the inhabitants of the Quirinal and Terminal hills, and Sixtus conferred a real obligation on the city when he constructed the *Acqua Felice*, an aqueduct by which he brought water from a distance of twenty-two miles. Sixtus himself greatly exulted in this achievement, and felt a just and worthy flush of triumph, when he saw the bright stream diffusing its wealth through his own gardens, and when he placed by the side of the fountain the statue of Moses fetching water from the rock by the potent touch of his staff.

In surveying the relations of Rome with foreign states, Sixtus was concerned, like his predecessors, to see so fair a province as England wholly severed from the Roman church. He fully entered into the crusading spirit of Pius v., and was overjoyed when at last he succeeded in rousing Philip of Spain to undertake an aggressive expedition. It was in 1587 that this armament, styled the "Invincible Armada,"

equipped at an enormous expense and protected by a pope's blessing, set sail for the British coast. Sixtus had promised the Spanish king a million of his silver scudi as soon as the first English sea-port was taken. Prudent pontiff! Yet more faith in his own benison, and less carefulness for his purse, would have better comported with his profession. The result of that expedition is well-known. God himself appeared to defend the last asylum of the reformed faith. Before the Armada had touched the land a violent storm arose, and a fleet of one hundred and thirty ships was completely broken up, most of the vessels either foundering at sea or returning home in a shattered and miserable plight. But though this enterprise wholly failed, yet Sixtus v. lived to see the entire success of the re-action commenced under Paul iv., so far at least as respected the checking the further progress of the Reformation, and the restoring of a large part of the alienated countries to the bosom of the Roman church.

In France, the reformed religion had received a great blow by the Huguenot massacre. Still the Protestants were powerful, and seemed so essential to the preservation of a due balance of interests in the realm, that Henry iii. often favoured rather than oppressed them. This soon roused the ire of the priesthood; a spirit of disloyalty was encouraged; and eventually a fanatic, named Clement, found access to the king's private chamber, and there stabbed him

with a poniard. Sixtus did not conceal his delight at the perpetration of this crime. "It is surely the hand of God," he exclaimed, "who thus signifies that he will not forsake either France or his own church!"

In Germany, the Reformation was, perhaps, more complete than anywhere else, but even here it began now to meet with serious disasters. The Roman party had rallied; the increased vigour infused into the hierarchy had inspired it with boldness. And although the Inquisition could find no home in the countries watered by the Rhine and Elbe, yet the Jesuits could do the work of proselytism both more surely and more quietly. Stealthily they crept from city to city, openly avowing their mission only where they were sure of the protection of a Roman Catholic prince. Their schools were acknowledged to be the best for the training of youth; and while their skilful address gave them access to innumerable families, their unscrupulous consciences permitted them to use the most questionable and even immoral means to reclaim wanderers to the fold of the pope. Moreover, whilst the Protestants were divided into Lutherans and Calvinists, the Romanists were all united, and thoroughly intent on the work of re-conversion. Thus we find at this period Roman Catholic bishops in Germany publicly reviving customs that had long been regarded as superstitious, and had sunk into contempt. The streets were again filled with processions; the vesper and matin

bells were daily rung ; relics were once more collected and laid in pompous shrines ; monasteries were re-occupied, and new churches for Roman Catholic worship were built. One bishop alone is said to have founded three hundred, which the traveller may still distinguish by their tall and pointed spires.

But although Rome had been compelled to tighten her hold on her remaining possessions, and had even regained some that were well-nigh gone, there was much, as we have seen, that was irrecoverably lost. Her universal empire was no more. Her dominion over the souls of men had received a fatal blow. Doubtless she had strength enough to rally for a time, but though her decline may be lingering, it must ever be dated from the day of her mortal struggle with Luther. Action and re-action appear to be the eternal law of progression. And thus the temporary revival of the papal power can only be another step to its ultimate dissolution.

Pope Sixtus v. died in 1590. The successes he had enjoyed had induced him to cherish the wildest designs. He would unite all Christian nations to conquer the Turks ; he would capture the Holy Land ; he would cut through the desert that divides the Mediterranean from the Red Sea, and so restore the commerce of ancient times ; or, he would hew the sepulchre of Christ out of its solid rock, and carefully wrapping it round, would bring it to Italy. Success had intoxicated his mind.

SIXTUS V.

At the hour of his death an awful storm burst over Rome, and the superstitious people, hating the pope for his heavy taxation, and marvelling at his glory, said that Sixtus had made a contract with the devil, by whose aid he had risen from step to step, and that the stipulated period having expired, his soul had been carried away in a tempest.

CHAPTER XX.

FROM SIXTUS V. TO CLEMENT VIII.—THE RECOVERY OF
FRANCE TO THE PAPACY.

A.D. 1590—1605.

THE policy pursued by Sixtus v. towards the close of his life had rendered him, as we have seen, exceedingly unpopular. This unpopularity had extended to zealous Romanists abroad as well as at home. At a period when the Romish church was putting forth every energy to recover her lost possessions and destroy the work of the Reformation, the supreme pontiff seemed chiefly intent on schemes of personal aggrandizement, or at best on projects of a mere worldly kind. Instead of following up the efforts of Gregory XIII., and securing the great advantages which the atrocious massacre of St. Bartholomew had placed within his reach—instead of utterly crushing, as he might, the Protestant party in France, or at least lending

a vigorous support to the *League* which the Guises had there formed against Henry iv., Sixtus had manifestly inclined to favour the new king, whose bravery and many noble qualities excited his highest admiration. It so happened, therefore, that notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of the Jesuits, enforced by all the influence and authority of the Spanish court, Sixtus had always wavered between conflicting judgments, and had altogether refrained from active interference in the affairs of France to the day of his death.

With the zealous church party, it consequently became now a point of the greatest importance to choose a successor whose fidelity to the church should be beyond suspicion or doubt, and, after a stormy debate, the conclave elected one who had been a personal antagonist of the late pontiff, the cardinal Giovanni Castagna.

URBAN VII., however, as Castagna chose to be called, did not live long enough to gratify his adherents by any signal proof of his attachment to the church. He died in twelve days' time after his election, and the struggles of the conclave were recommenced. But a second time the contest issued in giving the tiara to a member of the Jesuit party, the strength of which was now well-nigh invincible.

GREGORY XIV., the successful candidate, lost no time in justifying the reliance which had been placed on him. From the first, he resolved that his utmost exertions should be employed

to re-establish the papal authority in France. Writing to the princes of the League, he said, "Continue to persevere, and make no halt until you have attained the end of your course. Inspired by God, we have come to your assistance. First, we send you money, and that more than we can afford; next, we despatch our nuncio, Landriano, whose efforts shall bring back all who have deserted from your banners; and lastly, we send you our dear son and nephew, Ercole Sfondrato, with cavalry and infantry to defend you by force of arms. Should you yet require more, we will provide you with that also."

In fact, the new pontiff was heartily bent on that which now seemed of paramount importance to the Jesuit and high-church party—the recovery of France to the allegiance of the pope. To this object, which he regarded as a new crusade, and one of the greatest exigency, Gregory was determined to apply all the treasures, if they were needed, which had been so carefully hoarded by Sixtus v. For several months in succession, he sent 15,000 scudi each month to support the army of the League; and he would doubtless have exhausted all the resources of his treasury in what he considered so holy a cause, had not death unexpectedly cut short his bigoted and sanguinary career.

INNOCENT IX., who succeeded Gregory, belonged to the same party, and discovered as much zeal as his predecessor in behalf of its

views, but age and infirmity unfitted him for his office, and prevented his engaging with activity in the fierce conflicts then disturbing the world. Even his audiences were held as he reclined upon a couch; and in less than two months he left the toils and the honours of the popedom to another.

By the election of CLEMENT VIII. in 1592, the papal chair received an occupant of longer continuance, the cardinal Aldobandrino, to whom the possession fell, being as yet in the prime of life. His origin was comparatively obscure, and it was only by the force of a powerful genius and by the most diligent industry, that he had risen to so exalted a post in the Roman Catholic church. On becoming pope, he retained his laborious habits, and despatched the diversified business of his new office with exemplary punctuality. Early in the morning he gave directions to his ministers, and disposed of affairs on hand, and in the afternoon he held audiences of all those who wished for his aid. His knowledge of the details of business was so large and exact, that he often enlightened his ministers themselves in their own particular departments. So active and industrious was his disposition, that when asked, "In what he took most pleasure," he replied, "In *everything* or nothing."

No one could accuse Clement of self-indulgence, or indeed of self-seeking in any way. It is true that this was not wholly meritorious. It was no longer possible for popes to act like

those who immediately preceded the Reformation. The time for such abuses of the papal office had gone by. The pope must now attend to all the onerous duties of his twofold dignity, as the sovereign of a state, and the bishop of the Roman Catholic church. Gross neglect of these duties would inevitably have been punished by the total abandonment of his supporters, of the laity as well as the priesthood,—both of his subjects and his brethren. So that whilst by no means inattentive to the multifarious concerns of the popedom, Clement chose, either from inclination or from policy, to be punctiliously observant of the rites of religion. He daily confessed and celebrated mass, and in every way laboured hard for at least the reputation of piety and virtue.

Like his predecessors, Clement early directed his attention to the affairs of France, where Henry IV. was still maintaining a severe struggle with the princes of the League, and was scarcely able, in face of so powerful a confederacy, to maintain his sovereignty intact. Henry, whose religion was wholly of a political nature,—that is, was ever made by him the instrument of political ends,—was now strongly inclined to conform to the Romish faith. He hoped in this way to conciliate the goodwill of the nation, which was still, by a large majority, subject to the control of the priests. Had Henry been a conscientious Protestant he might, perhaps, have effected as much towards Protestantizing France, as had already been

accomplished in England. It is certain, at least, that a powerful and numerous body in the state who were heartily Protestant, looked up to him as their leader; and how much could be performed under such circumstances, in those days of despotic monarchy, by a resolute and determined prince, we see abundantly demonstrated in the history of our own Henry VIII. But, alas! base passions are too frequently a stronger stimulus than any sense of duty; and thus the English monarch succeeded where the French king so lamentably failed.

During the popedom of Sixtus v., Henry iv. had shown symptoms of a disposition to recant his Protestant profession, but Sixtus placed so little faith in his promises, and was so apprehensive of his insincerity, that he gave him very little encouragement to persevere. Clement VIII. also felt how dangerous it would be to the welfare of Romanism in France if, after being admitted to the bosom of the papal church, Henry should in a few months return to the ranks he had deserted. Influenced by these views, the pope received a messenger whom Henry had sent upon this errand in a very guarded manner; and it was not until there was evidently no other alternative for the French monarch but that of becoming a Catholic or abdicating his crown—not until the Jesuits in France had done their work so surely that there was a moral certainty of Henry's continuing faithful to his new vows—that Clement would consent to receive him to the Romish

communion, and to give him absolution for all his past heresies.

In process of time, however, these conditions were fulfilled; for, in 1593, Henry succeeded in winning over to his cause the principal leaders of the League, and to accomplish this did not hesitate basely to sacrifice his party and his faith. The tide of fortune immediately turned in his favour; the whole nation submitted to his authority, (for, bereft of their political leaders, the sincere Protestants were far too weak to continue the struggle,) and, in 1595, the pope's acceptance of his fealty, and the ratification of his apostasy from the Reformed faith, were celebrated in the cathedral of St. Peter. The pontiff sat upon a lofty throne, surrounded by his cardinals, all attired in their most splendid robes. Henry's petition was then read aloud, while his representative, a French nobleman, threw himself at the feet of the pope in a posture of profound humility. Touching him with a light wand, Clement pronounced his absolution, and then bade him arise.

Thus far had the Jesuits successfully carried their enterprise of counteracting the effects of the Reformation. The recovery of France was the greatest of their triumphs. To lose France would have been the severest blow possible to the papacy, excepting, perhaps, the loss of Spain. These two powers had ever been Rome's firmest and most important allies, and when there was danger of both of them

abandoning the church, the Jesuits alone undertook to reclaim them. They had accomplished the task in Spain by the terrible Inquisition, and in France by the more subtle means of state intrigue and private education. Great was the glorying of the order, and great it well might be, over these rich trophies of their sagacity, their courage, and their perseverance. Would that such noble qualities had been devoted to a holy cause, and not to the enslaving of the mind and the eternal perdition of the soul!

France being safely restored to allegiance, the pontiff found leisure to attend to the secular and more domestic affairs of the popedom, and, in the course he adopted, betrayed that unscrupulously tyrannical bias which has so generally characterized the popes, and which disgraced Clement as much as any of his predecessors.

The city and state of Ferrara had been ruled for many generations by the noble family of Este; and although the pontiffs, particularly Julius II., had often laid claim to their possessions as an ancient fief of the church, they had been able notwithstanding to maintain their rights until now. Under the two Alfonsos, Ferrara had become the resort of literature and science. Ariosto, Boiardo, and Tasso, have all sung of the beauty, the gaiety, and the refinement which abounded at the court of Alfonso I., and which continued in almost equal measure during the reign of his son Alfonso II. At the

death of the latter, in 1597, he bequeathed his crown to Cesare d'Este, a near relative; and now that the *direct* line of succession was extinct, the papal court resolved on renewing its claims to the estate.

Cesare was unhappily in no position to make effectual resistance. His rights were incontestable, but he was himself comparatively unknown, even to his own subjects, and the princes who might have aided him were overawed by the menaces of the pope. Driven almost to despair, the new duke appealed at length to Henry IV., believing that if he could obtain it, the support of so renowned a warrior would prove of greater force than even papal denunciations, and would inspire his timid friends with courage to undertake his cause. But Henry was just then too anxious to conciliate the court of Rome to interfere in the matter, and the unhappy Cesare was ultimately glad to save himself from excommunication and the spiritual censures of the church by surrendering to the pope both his crown and his private estates. In May, 1598, Clement entered Ferrara to take possession of the government, and Ferrara, deprived of its court, its sovereign, and its metropolitan title, was reduced to the rank of a provincial town.

The popedom of Clement was not, however, destined to enjoy an unruffled course of prosperity. Not long after this important accession to both his power and wealth, his peace was disturbed by contentions within the church

itself. A fierce theological controversy broke out between the Jesuits and the Dominicans, into which, as supreme pontiff, Clement was compelled to enter. His behaviour on this occasion did not, as we shall see, redound much more to his honour than in the affair of Ferrara.

At the commencement of their existence as a distinct order, the Jesuits had adopted the theological doctrines of Thomas Aquinas, who is known in the Roman church by the name of the "Angelical Doctor." Of these doctrinal views the Dominicans had always been regarded as the authorized expositors, and the Jesuits made no pretensions at first to dispute with them this honourable prerogative. They were not then so intent on exalting themselves as on serving the papacy, by diffusing far and wide whatever was accepted by the church as the orthodox creed. But in the marvellous stride made by the new order to the chief seats of rank and riches, a spirit of haughty impatience took the place of their former zealous humility. The Jesuits could not readily brook the assumption of any out of their own order to be their teachers and guides. They found, moreover, or asserted that they found, the Dominican doctrines a great hindrance in their contests with Protestants; and with that disregard of mere truth which has made them odiously proverbial, they determined on rejecting doctrines which, whether true or false, impeded their triumphant march. Aquinas

had taught, and the Dominicans stoutly maintained the very doctrine which Calvin placed in the forefront of his creed, "that some are predestined to eternal blessedness, and others to eternal damnation." This identity of view between a portion of the Romanist and an important portion of the Protestant churches greatly interfered with those indiscriminate and fierce assaults which the Jesuits were wont to make upon the entire Protestant faith. They found themselves sometimes in an unpleasantly false position, as antagonists of uncompromising hostility to Protestantism in every shade and form, yet pledged to the support of some of the very doctrines which Protestants themselves maintained. They resolved, therefore, without demur, to alter their creed; and forthwith adopting the doctrine of free-will, they urged this with all their accustomed vehemence and boldness.

But such a departure from ancient precedent and from the authority of the church, inflamed to the fiercest animosity that spirit of jealousy which the Dominicans had already begun to feel towards the Jesuits. A controversy commenced between them, which was ultimately referred to the pope, who held no fewer than sixty-five meetings, and was present at thirty-seven disputations, in the vain hope of reconciling the bitter disputants.

Clement's mind was secretly inclined to the ancient and more orthodox opinions, and had he been governed by no other consideration

than a regard for what he held to be true, his decision would doubtless have been clearly given in their favour. But Clement had learned, like too many of the popes, the art of dissembling, and expediency was the motive which mostly directed his actions. The Jesuits were now the spiritual army of the church. To their prowess was she indebted for recovering her lost possessions, and by their aid alone could she hope to extend or preserve her authority. Fearful of offending so powerful a body; overawed also by the threat which they now distinctly uttered—a threat always harsh to pontifical ears—of summoning a general council of the church, Clement silently abandoned the cause which his judgment approved, and on various excuses abstained from pronouncing a definitive sentence. The feebleness and vacillation of the pontiff, produced by advancing age, were rapidly bringing on disturbances, both in the church and the state, which he was unable to control, when he was released from the cares of his office, and called to his final account, in 1605.

The century through which we have just passed is in some respects the most eventful and momentous in the annals of the Romish church. At its commencement, she was fast declining in the esteem of the world, because of the monstrous depravity of her clergy, from

CONCLUSION.

the pope to the priest. When Luther and the first reformers openly denounced her corruptions they found willing and attentive hearers. The doom of the papacy seemed to be close at hand. It is not the express object of this work to exhibit all the causes which prevented so desirable a consummation, but some of the most efficient means which were employed, the labours of the Jesuits and the *outward* reformation of the clergy, have come within its scope, and have passed before the reader's review. The course of the "man of sin" was not yet fully run, and the time has not even now arrived for the perfect understanding of that "mystery of iniquity." The sixteenth century beheld him withered, and drooping, and ready to die; it also witnessed his partial restoration to strength. But it further saw a large portion of the human family emancipated from the bondage in which he had held them for ages, and manfully asserting their right to search the Scriptures for themselves. Liberty of conscience, and the independency of private judgment, are emphatically heir-looms of the German reformers, which, in spite of their errors, will ever endear their names to the heart of the Christian. Viewing the enslaving system in which they had been trained, we should not be so much surprised at the defects or mistakes with which they may be chargeable, as at the amount of Scriptural and essential truth which they were enabled to embrace and uphold. It must ever be remembered that it was out of the church of

LIVES OF THE POPES.

Rome that these venerated teachers of our faith sprang. So from dark caverns do clear streams of water leap forth, at the bidding of the Almighty, to refresh and enliven the earth.

THE
LIVES OF THE POPES.

PART IV.

FROM THE ROMANIST RE-ACTION TO
POPE PIUS THE NINTH.

A.D. 1605—1852.



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THE
LIVES OF THE POPES.

CHAPTER I.

PONTIFICATES OF LEO XI. AND PAUL V.—THE JESUITS
IN VENICE.
A.D. 1605—1607.

FROM the commencement of the re-action which followed so swiftly on the great Reformation, the character of the Roman pontiffs underwent a remarkable change. Men of activity and energy, not mere men of pleasure, were now chosen to steer through troubled waters the "bark of St. Peter." Attention was paid not only to the personal influence, but also to the personal qualities of a candidate for the tiara. Hardly would a Leo x., much less an Alexander vi., have now succeeded in winning the suffrages of the conclave.

To this marked alteration in the character of the popes may in a great degree be ascribed the success of the re-action. The world was by no means prepared for so vast a revolution as that of throwing off altogether the supremacy of the pope. Still it was sufficiently

enlightened to perceive that the teachers of Christianity ought not to be the foremost in breaking its precepts. But, thanks to Luther, this fault was mended. There was at least a regard for outward propriety among those who claimed to sit in the seat of the apostles. The name of *priest* was no longer, as it had been, a byword of reproach for gross covetousness, immorality, and irreligion. At least the *semblance* of the virtues opposed to these vices was assumed; nor would it be fair to deny to some of the pontiffs the meed of praise for self-denying zeal and rigid integrity, although coupled, for the most part, with a fierce bigotry which horribly caricatured the fair features of religion.

With the Jesuits in her van, and the Inquisition in her rear, the Romish church had started afresh in a victorious career of delusion and priestcraft. By the end of the sixteenth century much territory which had seemed lost was wholly regained. France, with some of the German States, had returned to allegiance to the pope, and the march of Protestantism was, to all appearance, triumphantly repressed—but *in appearance* alone. Who can effectually hinder the progress of truth? If aught seems to hinder it, is not the hindrance converted by the infinite wisdom of the Most High into the means of its surer and wider conquests? Although, therefore, the downfall of Rome was arrested when it appeared most imminent, it was only deferred in order that the stupendous

power of that superstition which had so enslaved men's minds might be the better understood, that we might not be tempted to under-rate the mischievous potency of error, that yet a purer form of truth might be arrayed against the monster, and that its ultimate destruction might be the more complete, the more instructive to the world, the more advantageous to the church.

For a while, therefore, we shall see the papacy rearing its head like some tall tree, loftily and proudly as ever. But we may also perceive, in spite of its flourishing aspect, indubitable marks of decay. These we shall find widening and deepening from generation to generation, growing daily more apparent and more fatal, until, weakened by its own corruptness, and scathed by the rough hands of both friends and foes, it is stripped and shattered amid the storms of a revolutionary age; and if left still standing, left only a headless trunk, the seared and blasted relic of its strength, attesting indeed its ancient grandeur, but likewise publishing the just and awful retributions of an almighty and holy God.

The first pope of the seventeenth century, and who, in 1605, ascended the throne left vacant by the death of Clement VIII., held his honours but a very short period. Belonging to the Medici family, he very naturally assumed the title of LEO XI.; but the title was scarcely adopted before death discrowned and disrobed its owner. After a reign of only twenty-six

days, Leo XI. died, oppressed, it was said, by the great weight of responsibility suddenly imposed upon him.

Party spirit ran so high in the conclave that all were prepared to contest the ensuing election with the utmost vehemence. They carried the struggle to such a pitch that they could only arrive at the needful degree of concord by relinquishing all their candidates, and choosing a man who belonged to no party, and to whom, therefore, both Spaniards and Frenchmen were willing to give their votes. The object of their choice was the cardinal Borghese.

PAUL V. had raised himself from a very humble station by his ability and industry as an ecclesiastical lawyer. The quiet pursuit of his occupation, and his habit of remaining buried amongst books and papers, had secured him from the enmity of those who might otherwise have accounted him a rival. That he should be chosen to the highest dignity of the church might well have excited his own astonishment, and actually led him to imagine that he owed it to the special favour and direct interposition of the Holy Spirit.

Impressed with this conviction, his whole deportment now underwent a sudden and striking change. He resolved on elevating the character of the papacy by his own example, and by rigorously enforcing the laws of the church. Perhaps it was partly a fanatical bent of mind, and partly his former studies in canonical law, that induced him to attach a

higher value to the papal office than even his predecessors had done. He declared that as he had been raised to this post not by men but by the will of God, he was in duty bound to guard all the prerogatives of the church, and that he would rather risk his life than be found unfaithful to so high a trust.

To uphold these prerogatives in foreign states, and especially where they were in danger of attack from the prevalence of Protestant sentiments, recent popes had adopted the method of sending agents to foreign courts whom they called *Nuncios*, and whose duty it was to watch over the interests of the papal see. Already had these appointments occasioned jealousies and disputes in numerous states ; but, on the accession of Paul v., the impertinences of the functionaries in question were intolerably aggravated, as the high pretensions of the pope were quickly communicated to his subordinates in office. And to such a pitch were these pretensions pushed, that the pontiff even asserted that none but himself had right to control or regulate the intercourse between the Catholics and Protestants of any nation whatsoever.

Although these extravagances were productive of much inconvenience to the Italian States, they were hardly thought of sufficient importance to justify a quarrel with the pope. But in Venice the interference of the nuncio proceeded to such lengths as to rouse the indignation of the republic, and fierce disputes were the result. First of all, the Venetians were

obstructed in their commercial pursuits ; their fisheries and other establishments on the Po were rudely disturbed, so that they were obliged to protect them with armed vessels, and even to seize on certain subjects of the pope by way of reprisal. Then the prosperity of the Venetian press, which had raised itself to distinguished eminence in the early part of the preceding century, was sedulously diminished by incessant prohibitions of books at the papal court. These prohibitions were so multiplied as both to prove very vexatious to the free spirit of Venice, and very injurious to her trade. All Protestant books, all writings that reflected on the clergy, all works that departed from Rome's standards of orthodoxy, even the entire productions of any author who had once incurred censure, were included in the prohibited list. And so far was the mean spirit of commercial jealousy indulged, that those richly ornamented missals and breviaries for which Venice was so renowned, were put out of request by the alterations which were continually and purposely made at Rome, and with which only the Roman booksellers could become immediately conversant.

The Venetians had long been cherishing on these accounts a secret disgust at the much abused power of Rome. They now determined to retaliate on the pope by enacting severe laws for the control of the clergy, and restraining the erection and endowment of new churches.

Rome's arrogant priestly spirit promptly

took the alarm. The pens of Bellarmine, Baronius, and other eminent Jesuits, were put in instant requisition to denounce such profane usurpations, and never were papal pretensions swelled to a greater height than by these men—the very men who most candidly confess and strongly deplore the vices of the papacy in her former days. “It is for the priest,” said they, “to judge the emperor, not the emperor the priest; it would be absurd for the sheep to pretend to judge the shepherd. So also the clergyman is exempt from all burdens, whether on person or property; he belongs to the family of Christ.”

Starting from so false a conception of the relations appointed in Scripture between a pastor and his flock, it was easy for them to arrive at such unscriptural conclusions. If they had recognised the truth which our Saviour so distinctly proclaimed respecting all believers—“All ye are brethren;” if they had not been seduced by a selfish regard for their *caste* to arrogate exclusively to the clergy those titles and privileges which belong to all believers alike, they would not have rushed into such tyrannical and utterly monstrous doctrines as those we have cited.

Venice also had learned doctors, and she opposed to Baronius and Bellarmine, the acute Paolo Sarpi. The view which he took, though not altogether Scriptural, was yet so evidently grounded on Scripture, that his enemies stigmatized him as a Protestant at heart. But the

calumny was unhappily false. Paolo Sarpi read mass, like a faithful papist, every day of his life.

In conducting this controversy Sarpi drew a most just distinction between secular and spiritual authority. "Temporal government," said he, "belongs to the prince; spiritual government to the pope. The prince judges every man, and may demand tribute from all. In all things the clergy owe him an equal obedience with the laity. The pope's jurisdiction, on the other hand, is exclusively spiritual. Did Christ exercise a temporal jurisdiction? Neither to St. Peter, nor to his successors could he have transferred what he did not claim for himself."

While theologians were carrying on this polemical war the Venetians elected a new *doge*, Leonardo Donato, who was the leader of the party most opposed to Rome, and whose chief advocate was Paolo Sarpi. Confident that reconciliation was now out of the question, Paul v. resolved to have recourse to those once potent weapons, censures and excommunications. In April, 1606, a sentence of excommunication was formally pronounced in the Vatican upon the doge, the senate, and the whole government of Venice. That it might lack none of the terrors of ancient denunciations, Paul especially referred to the most omnipotent of his predecessors, particularly Innocent III.; and in imitation of the stern promptitude of those exemplars, he allowed only a few days' interval for recantation and submission, after

the lapse of which, all churches, convents, and chapels in the Venetian territory were to be laid under interdict, and prohibited from performing divine service. The Venetian clergy were ordered to announce this decree from their pulpits, to affix a copy of it to the church-doors, and to execute all its provisions to the last tittle, under pain of the heaviest penalties, both Divine and human.

But though the papacy thus proved that it had lost none of its resolution or arrogance, it found to its sore disappointment that times had vastly changed. The clergy of Venice, almost to a man, resolved on obeying the doge rather than the pope. The former issued a short proclamation, calmly declaring that the republic would maintain her sovereign authority, and that she "acknowledged no superior in worldly things but God alone." She desired her faithful clergy to continue in the discharge of their functions, and all, with the insignificant exception of the Jesuits, Theatines, and Capuchins, proceeded just as before in the daily performance of the rites of the church.

The Jesuits were strangely perplexed. They begged advice from their general, but he, equally astounded, referred the matter to the pope. Paul v. sternly replied that this was a case in which no compromise, no "mental reservations," would be allowed. They must either comply with the interdict, or, shaking the dust from their feet, quit Venice never to return. They promptly obeyed; and embarking in

their boats, took refuge in the papal dominions.

The churches thus left vacant were easily supplied with priests, and the festival of Corpus Christi soon occurring, it was solemnized with extraordinary pomp, and a more than commonly numerous procession. Venice stoutly maintained her independence in spite of the pontiff.

Paul v. was absolutely enraged at this daring resistance of papal authority, but he knew not how to avenge himself. Sometimes he thought of war, and these thoughts were reciprocated by the republic. The latter even went so far as to solicit the aid of Henry iv. of France, and could that have been obtained, would probably have been the first to commence hostilities. The pope also applied to Philip of Spain for help; but neither Henry nor Philip was disposed to draw sword in a quarrel which would undoubtedly have blazed into a war between Protestants and Catholics throughout the world.

Eventually recourse was had to the milder arts of diplomacy. Venice received the legates of the pope, and Paul again hoped to succeed in re-establishing papal authority in that state without any diminution of its ancient vigour. And virtually he did succeed. It was rather pride than principle that had engaged the republic in the quarrel. And so well did the pontiff know this, that although the haughty Venetians would only consent to pass a vague resolution that "the republic would conduct

hersel henceforth with her accustomed piety," Paul readily accepted it as implying a promise, that assertions would no more be made of a right to interfere in the affairs of the church.

CHAPTER II.

PONTIFICATE OF PAUL V.—JESUIT SUCCESSES AND
RISE OF JANSENISM.

A. D. 1607—1621.

FROM her recent struggles, the papacy had doubtless suffered a severe check in her hasty march to overtake the power she had formerly enjoyed, but at the same time the value of her best servants, the Jesuits, and their capacity for yet greater achievements had been rendered more apparent. The popes had now been twice brought into collision with the growing spirit of independence in the European nations. In the first instance, she waged battle with the national spirit of France under Henry IV., and in the second, with that of Venice under Leonardo Donato and Paolo Sarpi. The Jesuits were the authors of both conflicts. In the former, they triumphed, and were themselves received into special favour by the monarch whom they had subdued. In the latter, their success was less apparent, for they themselves were banished; yet they succeeded in compelling even haughty Venice to retract the proud assertion of her sovereign rights over clergy as well as laity.

Nor was it only in southern Europe that these indefatigable servants of the papacy had exercised their talents. In Germany, Sweden, and Poland, they had made vigorous attempts to regain what the Reformation had taken away, and in Russia to establish, for the first time, the spiritual supremacy of the pope. In Sweden and Russia they failed ; but in Poland the spirit of religious strife was thoroughly roused, and gross cruelties were inflicted on the Protestant party. A nobleman, riding in his carriage, perceived an aged evangelical minister, named Barkou, approaching from the opposite direction. He instantly gave orders to his coachman to drive over the venerable man, who was accordingly struck down, and died of the injuries he received. This is only a solitary example of the persecution which broke out in Poland at Jesuit instigation.

In some of the German states, the progress of the Jesuits was yet more remarkable. Animated by a zeal worthy of a better cause, and admirably trained to the task of beguiling the simple-minded, they made converts on every side. Studying the art of oratory with diligence, they contrived to fill their churches with eager listeners, while those of the Protestants were comparatively empty. Their skill also in controversy usually insured them the victory in all disputations ; and if they ever met with a Protestant given to arguing and proud of his Biblical learning, to whose judgment his more ignorant neighbours looked up with respect,

the Jesuits marked him for their prey, and by their superior talents generally insured success. The converts to Popery were bound by the most sacred vows to be faithful to their profession, and, under the guidance of the Jesuits, numbers now went on pilgrimage, or joined in Catholic processions, who a short time before had been the most zealous and talkative Protestants.

With the emperor the Protestants of Germany were still carrying on the warfare which Luther had so bravely commenced nearly a century before. The empire was ruled nominally by the aged Rodolph II., but really by the archduke Ferdinand, who appeared willing and even desirous to grant some concessions to the Protestant party. But the Jesuits, fully aware of the importance of the crisis, despatched one of their most faithful emissaries to the imperial court, to plead with the archduke in behalf of the Romish church. He used language so strong as to move, if not to alarm, the superstitious Ferdinand. "Let there be no alienation of church property," said the Jesuit; "let there be no imperial confirmation and establishment of that devilish sect of Luther, or of that still worse one of Calvin." Overawed, if not convinced, Ferdinand hesitated to proceed in the path he had taken, and at the following diet of 1608, the dissatisfied Protestants withdrew in a body, and the integrity and unity of the empire seemed destroyed for ever. Both parties began to marshal their forces, and it was

evident that the quarrel would only be settled by a war.

Meanwhile a great alteration was taking place in the religious spirit of society in France. The decline of Protestantism in that country appears to have been the birth-time of a new form of Romanism, which has not inaptly been styled at once the Calvinism and the Methodism of the Romish church. The restoration of France to the bosom of the papacy had not wholly extinguished the pure light of the Huguenot confession, and when Henry iv. had accomplished that act, he still secured to the Protestants the full right and liberty of worship by the Edict of Nantes. Yet the system called *Jansenism* cannot be directly traced to Protestant influence, although it is highly probable that the one owed its existence to the other. Like Protestantism itself, Jansenism seems to have dwelt vaguely in many minds before it assumed a distinct and definite form. But among the most distinguished of its first teachers were Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, from whom it derives its name; M. de St. Cyran, and the Mère Angélique Arnauld of the convent of Port Royal.

So early as the last years of the sixteenth century, the two friends, then quite young, Jansenius and St. Cyran, were pursuing their studies together at the university of Louvain. There they pondered together the deep truths revealed in the Holy Scriptures, and deplored the corrupt condition of the church, to which,

nevertheless, they remained devotedly attached. The influence they exerted on society was wholly of a private nature for many years. St. Cyran took up his abode at Paris, and "by his simple, mortified air, his humble garb, the holiness of his demeanour, and his native dignity of manner," struck with astonishment the gay courtiers who thronged a metropolis which was regarded, even then, as the most profligate in Europe. Jansenius still continued his studies at Louvain, and for several years the world knew little about him until after his elevation to the see of Ypres.

The abbey of Port Royal was destined to become the chief citadel of the new and more evangelical opinions taught by Jansenius and St. Cyran. Angélique Arnauld, at the early, but not then uncommonly early, age of ten years, had been appointed superior of that abbey, standing in a richly wooded valley at about twenty miles distance from Paris. Great was the rejoicing at this appointment among the nuns of Port Royal. They had long been accustomed to a free and fashionable life, totally unobservant of the rules of their order; and they saw in the youthfulness of their abbess the promise of a long term of such enjoyment as luxurious banquets, constant visiting, and public masquerades are capable of affording. Nor was the young Angélique at all averse to the prospect of spending her life among such gay companions, and in a continual round of worldly pleasures.

But in the year 1608, when the Mère Angélique was just seventeen years of age, a Capuchin monk, who had learned the truth as it is in Jesus, and was just then about to quit the Romish communion, passed a day at Port Royal, and was permitted to preach. His sermon was of the most faithful kind, expatiating on the "exceeding sinfulness of sin," and on the power and blessings of true religion. He did not omit, also, to point out the peculiar advantage, as he considered, of a conventual life for enabling females to escape the perils of the world, and to devote themselves unreservedly to God.

The sermon produced a powerful effect on the youthful abbess; and in an illness of some months' duration, which immediately afterwards befell her, she so profited by reflection and the study of the Scriptures, that she arose from her couch an entirely altered character.

The whole deportment of the Mère Angélique, under the new bias she had received, was visibly changed, and in the eyes of the gay nuns she seemed like another person. There is reason to hope, from the accounts given of her, that, although still a Romanist, and probably without directing her thoughts to the differences which divide Protestants and Romanists in modes of worship and church discipline, she had received those vital truths which form the real basis of Protestantism, and been regenerated by the Holy Spirit. She appears to have had a very sincere faith in the atonement

of the one Great High Priest, and a very ardent attachment to his cause. Although displayed under Romish modes, her piety was apparently of the devoutest order ; and the devoutness of her life made her an object of persecution and hatred even to those with whom she had once been the greatest favourite.

Angélique Arnauld determined that the convent she governed should now be brought to the condition which conventual life *professes* to create. Her nuns, she resolved, should be absolutely excluded from the world, and should devote themselves wholly to occupations of a useful and religious kind. And although in effecting this change she expected to encounter opposition, her character was naturally too firm and decided to allow her to desist on such grounds. To her it was a plain duty, and *therefore* must be performed. Her stedfastness was very shortly put to a severe and painful trial.

A nun was about to be "professed ;" and at such seasons it had always been the practice at Port Royal to invite many visitors to witness the ceremony. The event was regarded as festive rather than solemn. But on this occasion the Mère Angélique peremptorily forbade the admission of visitors into the interior of the house. The nuns loudly murmured at this restraint of their liberties, but the immovable abbess turned a deaf ear to all their complaints, and resolutely persevered with her plans.

But when amongst the visitors her own

venerated father appeared, the scene assumed another aspect. A conflict arose in the mind of Angélique between her sense of duty and her filial affection. M. Arnauld was a stern man, and when at the wicket of the convent he was met by his daughter, and received from her the strange intelligence that even he was not to pass farther than the little parlour at the side of the gate, he could scarcely suppress his indignation. To him the long-neglected rules of the convent seemed obsolete and ridiculous, and in a tone of paternal authority he commanded Angélique to unbar the gates, and admit him and his family in the usual way. Pale, and trembling with agitation, the firm abbess still refused, until her father's choler increasing, he loaded her with the harshest epithets and the heaviest upbraidings, threatening at the same time to depart, and to see her no more for ever. Handing his family into their carriages, he was about to quit the place, when Angélique, overcome with excitement, fell senseless on the floor.

This incident softened her father. He saw that there were motives at work in her mind which he could not comprehend, and he left her in a kinder mood. From the day of that severe trial, the course of the abbess was comparatively smooth. Her constancy was evidently unconquerable, and her plans were less vehemently opposed. The reform of the convent was proceeded with for five years with but little interruption, until its aspect was entirely

changed, and its community became, as we are assured, a pattern of piety, charity, industry, self-denial, regularity, and every good work.

From reforming her own convent, the Mère Angélique passed to the reformation of others. In 1619, she was invited to superintend the monastery of Maubuisson, whose abbess had lately been expelled for her dissolute life. Here she showed the same resolute determination to effect her object as she had discovered at Port Royal. The nuns were living in total disregard of their vows; cards, games of chance, and theatrical amusements were their principal employments. In the magnificent gardens of the monastery, or on the terrace of the lake which supplied it with fish, they were often met by the monks of Pontoise Abbey, with whom they spent their summer evenings in gay conversation and dancing. These also were but "the beginnings of their excesses;" the remainder must not here be told. Yet, by indefatigable toil and perseverance, the abbess of Port Royal succeeded in giving quite a new face to the state of affairs in that convent.

The fame of Angélique Arnauld was thus diffused throughout all France, and she was solicited to undertake the reformation of many different convents of the order of Citeaux, to which Port Royal belonged. She became, it is declared by her biographers, a blessing to the whole order, and to French society in general.

It was almost inevitable that minds so congenial as those of Mère Angélique and St.

Cyran should be brought into mutual acquaintance. Before either of them had attained to their greatest height of fame, St. Cyran became the confessor and spiritual director of the inmates of Port Royal, and gave deeper intensity than ever to the dispositions he found prevalent there. By Jansenius and St. Cyran the Holy Scriptures were acknowledged as the only safe and infallible guide, and discarding the lives of saints, and the histories of pretended miracles, which form so staple a part of the literature of convents, they taught their followers to imbue their minds with the spirit of the "Oracles of God." They inculcated the necessity of a change of heart no less plainly than Luther and Calvin, and perhaps even with a leaning to the clearer doctrine of the latter. "When it is the will of God to save a soul," said St. Cyran, "the work is commenced from within; when the heart is once changed, then is true repentance first experienced; all else follows." And Pascal, his disciple, declared that "God changes the heart of man by a celestial sweetness which he pours over it." *Practical* religion they defined to be, cultivating humility and patience, depending wholly on God, and utterly renouncing the world. Blending some sentiments of a Romish cast with those which they had drawn from the pure fountains of truth, these men, nevertheless, were the means of spreading true religion around them to a marvellous degree. And if any should marvel that such men could continue in the church of Rome, let

them consider that Rome did not persecute them as she did Luther. It is persecution, for the most part, that drives men to secession, and the wonder is not so much that they should have remained in that corrupt communion, as that so corrupt a society should ever have produced such devoted and pious men.

It was not in Port Royal alone that these sentiments were taught. There were many in France during the pontificate of Paul v. who thought it possible to engraft true piety upon the corrupt stock of the papacy. This was the time when François de Sales and Vincent de Paul penetrated to the remotest and most secluded corners of France, preaching in an earnest and thoroughly devotional spirit, if not always inculcating pure Scriptural doctrine. Everywhere they established their Congregations of Mission and Sisterhoods of Mercy, seeking to revive that spirit of piety which they saw only too clearly was almost extinct. We even trace at this period some evidences of kindred sentiments prevailing in Italy and Spain.

But, important as these movements were, and though they occasioned some excitement in France and particular districts of other countries, they were almost unnoticed by the court of Rome. The papacy was become too secular to be awake to the spiritual symptoms of society. These must be further developed, and must even have a direct influence on the organized institutions of the church, ere the pope will deign to consider them. Paul v. was solely

intent on political affairs, which, indeed, were assuming a truly serious aspect.

The refusal of the archduke Ferdinand to concede to the Protestants of Germany full liberty of faith and worship, had given umbrage to a very powerful body in the empire, and one which it was highly dangerous to offend. The heads of this discontented party often gathered together at the court of Heidelberg, whose prince, the elector Frederic v., had already discovered qualities which marked him out as the chieftain of their forces, and gave presages of a distinction at which he did not actually arrive.

In these assemblies many plans were devised for the vindication of Protestant rights, but none of them seemed thoroughly feasible, until the Bohemians, revolting from the tyrannical sway of Austria, offered the crown of their kingdom to the elector Frederic. This offer appeared to open the path at once to Frederic's ambition, and to the liberation of the Protestants from Catholic oppression. In the month of August, 1619, Frederic received the Bohemian crown, and he instantly declared war against the emperor, as head of the Austrian house.

But the Catholic party in Germany were well prepared for the emergency. They were even more strongly united than the Protestants, whose theological differences proved very unfavourable to hearty co-operation. Maximilian of Bavaria, the king of Spain, and the pope, all hastened to the assistance of Ferdinand, who also succeeded in gaining over to his cause the

elector of Saxony, whose Lutheran views had filled him with an utter hatred of the Calvinistic Protestants. It was this unnatural alliance, may we not rather say those unnatural jealousies between brethren in faith, that decided the fate of the war.

A brief campaign, and a single battle fought at Weissberg, in 1620, put an end to the hopes of the elector Frederic, and ruined the prospects of the Protestants, so far as they expected to realize them by political means. Other contests, begun in the same spirit in France and Switzerland, had the same disastrous termination. In Switzerland, indeed, the struggle bore rather the stamp of massacre than that of war. The Catholics rose suddenly upon the Protestants without provocation. At break of day, ringing the church bells, they lay in wait, and when the Protestants rushed out of their dwellings at the sound, they were fallen upon in a mass and savagely cut to pieces. "The wild mountains," say the historians, "resounded with the shrieks of the murdered, and were fearfully lighted up by the flames of their solitary dwellings."

These shocking deeds excited an unholy joy in Rome, like that which followed the slaughter of the Huguenots. What feelings of humanity will not bigotry stifle! A procession was appointed to celebrate the victory of Weissberg, and the destruction of the heretics. In the midst of the procession, Paul v. was struck with a fit of apoplexy, from the effects of which he died in the course of a few days.

One favourable feature of this pontiff's character was well developed in the progress of his protracted reign. With that love of art and that patriotic pride which had marked Sixtus v. and some other of the popes, Paul v. exercised much care in embellishing the metropolis of the papal church. He completed the cathedral of St. Peter in all the colossal magnitude, if not the perfect beauty, of the original designs; and as Sixtus v. had given Rome the Aqua Felice, so Paul v. brought water from five-and-thirty miles distance, through the aqueduct called Aqua Paolina. Just opposite to the "Moses" and fountains of Sixtus, the Aqua Paolina bursts forth in four powerful streams, and supplying the numerous fountains which enliven the aspect of Rome, make the slopes of the hills, which would otherwise be only a melancholy scene of ruins, a smiling garden of verdure and fruitful trees. Yet this laborious magnificence but poorly redeems the political aggressions, the bigoted cruelties, and the neglect of real religion, which disfigured the whole pontificate of Paul v.

CHAPTER III.

PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY XV.—THE JESUITS IN EUROPE
AND THE EAST.

A. D. 1621—1623.

THE succeeding pontiff, GREGORY XV., fully sympathized with his predecessor, both in his

political and in his religious views. Although destitute of Paul's energy, and, indeed, from his far advanced age and increasing feebleness, incapable of much personal toil, yet by means of his nephew, the cardinal Ludovisio, he vigorously carried on the policy which had already proved so successful in re-establishing the fortunes of the Romish church. The victory gained by the emperor at Weissberg was a triumph of the deepest moment to the papacy; and one of Gregory's first measures was a mission to Ferdinand, who had now succeeded Rodolph on the imperial throne, beseeching him to follow up the blow with immediate efforts for the restoration throughout Germany of the Catholic religion. For this purpose he offered to supply large pecuniary aid from the treasury of the church, and although it would greatly impoverish himself, leaving him, as he said, "scarcely sufficient to live on," he would give him an annual subsidy of twenty thousand scudi, and a donation at once of two hundred thousand.

Armed with the imperial authority, the Jesuits now boldly commenced the work of *compelling* a general and public recantation of Protestantism in all the states of the empire. In Bohemia, they changed the ritual and service, banished the Protestant clergy, closed the churches on that day which had always been solemnly kept in memory of John Huss, quartered soldiers at the houses of those who were so obstinate as not to recant at the first bidding; and all this, as they themselves said, "to the

end that *revolutions* might enlighten the dull Bohemian intellect." So audacious had this bigoted and persevering order become! And so successfully did they pursue their detestable vocation, that in the course of a few years the country of the earliest great reformer was entirely recovered to the dominions of the pope.

Similar results were witnessed also in Moravia and Hungary; and when finally, in 1623, the palatine electorate was transferred at the behest of the emperor from Protestant hands to those of an ardent papist, Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, the transport of the pope knew no bounds. "Thy letter, O son," writes Gregory to the duke, who had informed him of the event, "has filled our breast with a stream of delight, grateful as heavenly manna. At length may the daughter of Zion shake the ashes from her head, and clothe herself in the garments of joy!"

These changes may well appear astonishing to those who are accustomed to believe in the power of truth, not only to hold the authority it has once acquired, but even to win its way eventually to universal dominion. But it is worthy, of observation, that these national conversions to Rome were not produced by appeals to the judgment of men, but simply to their *fears*. If a prince were converted, his subjects, by a ridiculous, and yet too sadly necessary consequence, were converted too. Even in becoming Protestants, men had too frequently been moved by the same process. Whole

nations, it is true, had assumed the Protestant name, yet the change was oftener brought to pass by the will of a few potent individuals than by the convictions of the entire nation. Protestantism never had, in fact, penetrated the masses of the population. And when we remember, moreover, that most of these re-conversions were effected literally at the point of the sword, we shall not wonder that merely nominal Protestants were induced, with comparative ease, to become merely nominal Catholics. Such has generally been the nature of the *conversions* on which Rome has so plumed herself; for to *retain* the hold so obtained, which would seem to be the chief difficulty, she very confidently relies upon her marvellous skill in influencing the superstition of the heart.

It was to increase the number of these conversions, and promote to the utmost the favourable turns which events had now taken, that Gregory xv. at this time established the *College of the Propaganda*. Missionary efforts had been made, it is true, from the time of the first Jesuits, and some of that order, as Xavier, in India, had been eminently successful. But a congregation of cardinals was now set apart for the exclusive work of superintending the missions of the church. They met once every month in the presence of the pontiff, and exactly suited as the institution was to the spirit of the times, it rapidly grew in prosperity and splendour, and exerted a powerful influence in

the changes which were then occurring in all parts of the world.

The labours of the Jesuit missionaries were hardly less productive of results in France and the Netherlands than in Bohemia and Germany. In France, it became so evident that the tide of political favour would go only with the adherents of the pope, that the degenerate Huguenot nobles abandoned their brethren, one after the other, in the most rapid succession. Fortresses, hitherto held by the Protestants, were given up by their governors almost as if in emulation of each other; and whilst the zeal of the Jesuits was redoubled, that of the evangelical leaders grew daily more cold. A Franciscan, preaching in the city of Foix, is said to have converted the *whole city*; the Protestant church was torn down, and the preacher banished from the town; and to increase the wretchedness of their poor victim, the triumphant papists sent a trumpeter to hunt him from place to place, and proclaim everywhere his name and his religion. Even the learned were carried away by the current, and pretended to be convinced by the arguments of the Jesuits, although no doubt much rather swayed by the prospect of favour; and so decided was the triumph of the papal emissaries that this must be regarded as the period when the Protestant faith in France was virtually destroyed.

In England, also, the pope was not without hopes of a corresponding measure of success. It was well known that the royal house of

Stuart was inclined to the Romish communion, and James I., who now occupied the throne, had given unequivocal signs of a disposition to treat with the pope. The Roman Catholics were still numerous and powerful, especially in the north, and James himself was thoroughly imbued with dislike to the Puritan party, their most hearty opponents. Had it not been for the Gunpowder Plot, which had revived in 1604 the national antipathy to everything popish, he would probably have avowed his sentiments more distinctly than he actually did. Even after that event he did not hesitate to declare that he regarded the church of Rome as "the true church, and the mother of all others, and the pope as the true head of the church, the superior bishop." It was this leaning towards Romanism, also, in all probability, that induced him to seek a Spanish princess as the consort of his son.

Gregory xv. was so delighted at the prospect opened to him in England, that on this last-named project coming to his ears, he wrote a letter to prince Charles, expressing his hope "that the ancient seed of Christian piety which had of old time borne fruit in English kings, would now once more revive in him; certainly he could in no case, desiring as he did to marry a Catholic maiden, resolve on oppressing the Catholic church." Prince Charles replied that he would not only take no hostile steps against the Roman church, but that he "would rather seek to bring things to such a state that we

may all unite in *one* faith and *one* church." Had the English people been of the same mind as their sovereign, or did the progress of real religion depend entirely or even greatly upon the will of monarchs and princes, similar changes would doubtless have followed in England as had been already witnessed in France, and Protestantism would at all events have ceased to be the national confession. But happily the work was too widely and deeply wrought in England to be easily effaced; multitudes who were quite removed from the temptations of court influence were thoroughly imbued with the love of Scriptural truth, and the Reformation had been carried by Puritan zeal and self-denial far beyond the possibility of recall.

But if the labours of the Jesuits were baffled in England, they were recompensed with astonishing success in other parts of the world. With the earliest discoveries that were made in America by the Spaniards and Portuguese, a zealous spirit for converting the native tribes had sprung up in Rome; and since the establishment of the Jesuit order, the work of proselytism had gone forward with marvellous speed. In the pontificate of Gregory xv., the Romish church in South America possessed five archbishoprics, twenty-seven bishoprics, four hundred monasteries, with parish churches and chapels innumerable. Magnificent cathedrals had been built, and colleges established, in which the Jesuits taught the natives gram-

mar, with the liberal arts. They undertook also to instruct them in sowing, reaping, planting trees, and building houses. All this gave them unbounded power, and fully won for them the affections of the people.

In China, India, Japan, and Abyssinia, their triumphs, if not equally vast, were even more wonderful, as they were gained in the face of determined opposition. In all these countries their arts were still the same. Yielding pliantly to all circumstances—"ever keeping," as one of them expressed it, "near the shore while navigating a tempestuous ocean"—skilfully siding only with the prosperous parties in the various states they visited—winning way for their creed by making themselves serviceable in politics, literature, science, medicine, and even war—by adopting all conceivable expedients proper and improper—they continued to obtain nominal converts in multitudes. In India, they conciliated the Mogul emperors, and induced Brahmins to attend their churches; in China, they received permission to build Roman Catholic churches in five provinces of the empire; in Japan, they baptized more than three hundred thousand natives; and in Abyssinia, they persuaded the emperor himself to tender his faithful allegiance to the pope. Well may we exclaim with the admiring Ranke, "How comprehensive! how unbounded was this activity!" And well will it be for the cause of the Redeemer, when Protestant zeal and wisdom, not with Jesuitical cunning, but with pure Chris-

tian simplicity and benevolence, shall learn to imitate the efforts of the Roman Propaganda.

The dominion of the Romish church was now far more extensive, territorially considered, than at any former period of her history. For the possessions she had totally lost in Europe, she was more than compensated by her new acquisitions in remote parts of the globe. But, nevertheless, her real power was vastly diminished, and there cannot be a question that she would gladly have gone back to the condition of former times. The world could not now be persuaded to render that blind obedience to the church which had made the popes so despotic in the days of the Crusades. And, moreover, the seeds of corruption had already abundantly brought forth their fruit, and in the Reformation of the sixteenth century, a ruinous attack had been made upon the constitution of the Romish church, which might indeed be repulsed for a time, but the effect of which could never be wholly recovered. If there was yet a growing enlargement of the limbs which seemed to betoken health, there was notwithstanding a fatal malady at the heart; and so, from the days of Gregory xv. to the present, amidst many mutations and with many interruptions, the course of the papacy has unquestionably been that of progressive decline.

CHAPTER IV.

PONTIFICATE OF URBAN VIII.—THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR
—JESUITS AND JANSENISTS.

A. D. 1623—1644.

IN 1623, URBAN VIII., of the Florentine house of Barberini, succeeded the decrepid and timid Gregory, and immediately began to prosecute with renewed ardour the plans which had been so ably carried out for more than half a century. A change of pontiffs by no means implied, at this period, a change of ecclesiastical policy. The policy of the Romish church had, in the main, continued unaltered since the days of the fourth Paul, of Inquisitorial memory. From the policy of former times it differed chiefly in forbidding the pontiff to act solely for his own personal ends, and in stimulating the priesthood to greater activity and more consummate hypocrisy. In a word, it was the Jesuit spirit that pervaded the entire system; the genius of Caraffa and Loyola still ruled in the councils of Rome; and, as regarded the pontiff, the form of government had become less despotic and more constitutional—less for the *individual*, but more for the *order*.

The character of the new pontiff was, however, too decided not to make itself distinctly perceptible in the mode which he adopted of carrying out the policy of the church. Urban was as yet only fifty-five years of age, and seemed to bear in his mind a presentiment of the protracted reign he was destined to enjoy.

Essentially a worldly-minded man, and belonging to that class of pontiffs who sought the temporal rather than the spiritual prosperity of the papacy, he earnestly devoted himself to plans and operations by which the states of the church might be made an important sovereignty amongst the dynasties of Europe. "Clement VIII.," says Ranke, "was most commonly found occupied with the works of St. Bernard ; Paul v. with the writings of the holy Justinian of Venice ; but on the table of Urban VIII. lay the newest poems, or *draughts and plans of fortifications.*"

For it was the opinion of Urban that the papal states ought to be rendered more formidable by its own arms and strength, and not to be so continually dependent on the armies of foreign princes. He accordingly repaired and enlarged the old fortresses and built new ones, constructed bulwarks for his capital city out of the precious relics of ancient art that in a manner consecrate the dust of Rome ; turned the lower parts of the Vatican into an arsenal, and filled the once peaceful streets with riotous crowds of soldiery.

This disposition to acquire and maintain dominion by martial means discovered itself even in the pontiff's personal demeanour. No pope was ever more peremptory than Urban VIII. in the assertion of his opinions. Woe to the man who presumed to contradict him ; his cause was infallibly lost. So capricious and yet so determined was his behaviour, that if a

favour were asked of him, it was impossible to conjecture what would be his reply, a Yes or a No.

The very first year of Urban's pontificate was marked by new successes on the part of the Romish church. The emperor Ferdinand now showed himself the most devoted, and indeed bigoted disciple that the popes had for centuries seen on the throne of the empire. It was strange that a man who had once thought of concessions to the Protestants should now be so inveterately opposed to them. Led blindfold by the Jesuits, he resolved on restoring Germany, at whatever cost, to the fold of the papacy. To effect this he issued an edict in Austria, Bohemia, Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria, declaring that "after six months from the date of the edict, he would not longer tolerate any person, even though of knightly or noble rank, who should not in all things conform to the Roman Catholic church." By crafty political movements he also contrived to bring such principal seats of Protestantism as Brandenburg and Mecklenburg into his power, and there he again established the Romish hierarchy in all its splendour and wealth. Throughout the imperial dominions edicts were now poured like rain, and the property of Protestants was everywhere confiscated for the use of "the church." "The emperor conceived the idea," says a papal nuncio, "of bringing back *all Germany* to the rule prescribed by the treaty of Augsburg;" and all

the benefices in North Germany and multitudes of churches in various other parts were actually restored, by mere force, to the Romish party.

Nor were those trusty servants of the papacy, the Jesuits, neglectful of the interests of the church in France. There they at once urged renewed persecutions of the Huguenots, and stirred up the national spirit against Protestant England. Cardinal Berulle, in France, and Olivarez, the chief minister of Spain, entered heartily into this latter project. The cardinal busied himself in making calculations how the trading vessels of England might be captured on the French coast, and how the English fleets might be burned in their own harbours.

It was, in all probability, this determination to attack England that provoked Charles I. and his favourite the duke of Buckingham to commence the war by an assault on France. This assault was made, and the result, whatever may have been Buckingham's intentions, and he ostentatiously professed zeal for the Protestant cause, was most disastrous to the Protestants of France. Failing in his descent upon the Isle of Rhé, Buckingham returned to England, and while making preparations for a second expedition was destroyed by the hand of an assassin. Richelieu, the French minister, delivered from his chief antagonist, now wreaked his vengeance on those whom Buckingham had professed to aid. La Rochelle, a strongly fortified citadel, was the principal fortress of the Huguenot party, and to this fortress Richelieu

laid siege, with a firm resolution to capture it. He succeeded, and all the other Huguenot towns soon afterwards fell into his hands; so that the power of the party was now utterly extinguished, and Romanism triumphed again throughout the whole kingdom of France.

But an event happened almost at the same moment which gave an important check to the sweeping triumphs of the Romish church, and which brought out once more in striking relief the everlasting, and, for the world's welfare, the happy opposition of interests between the secular and the spiritual government of the popes.

The dukedom of Mantua having become vacant by the death of Vicenza II., the lawful successor to the throne, Charles de Nevers, was vehemently opposed by both the Austrian and the Spanish sovereigns, with the hope that a prince more nearly allied to themselves, and less dependent upon France, might be placed upon the throne. But the pope viewed the matter with other eyes. To him the preponderance of Austrian and Spanish influence in Northern Italy seemed already too large. He dreaded to see the authority of the emperor in Milan extending itself over Mantua; and when he saw that Ferdinand was resolved to contest it with the sword, Urban lost no time, though it should provoke the emperor to turn heretic, in seeking the powerful interference of France.

The French army was just then engaged in

the reduction of La Rochelle ; but so eager was the pope to preserve his temporal independence, that, forgetting the importance of crushing the Huguenots, he besought Richelieu to hasten with assistance to the new duke of Mantua. "An expedition for the relief of Mantua," he expressly declared, "would be quite as pleasing to God as the beleaguering of that chief bulwark of the Huguenots ;" meaning, of course, that the sceptre of the popedom was as sacred in the sight of God as its crosier—a doctrine which not a few of the popes have zealously espoused. Thus Urban was well content that the triumphs of the Romish faith should be arrested in full career ; that the two principal Roman Catholic powers of Europe, Austria and France, should be brought into fierce collision ; and that the heretics should for a while have rest and impunity, so that he might be unmolested in the exercise of his secular prerogatives.

Although the French were unable to effect much by their own arms, and were restrained from sending forces across the Alps by the fear of a new rising of the Huguenots, still it was in reliance on the goodwill and (if it should prove needful) the active co-operation of France, that Gustavus Adolphus, the chivalrous king of Sweden, now began that long conflict with Austria known as the "Thirty Years' War," and entered on that career of victorious warfare by which, eventually, he completely checked the rapid march of the emperor to despotic power. The alliance between himself and the

French king was formally laid before the pope, and received his entire approbation. The undoubted devotion of Ferdinand to the Romish faith, and the certainty that his increasing authority would always be at the service of the Romish church, were considerations without a feather's weight in the mind of Urban compared with the dread he felt of being eclipsed in power, and perhaps coerced in liberty, as an Italian sovereign. He gladly consented, therefore, that the great champion of Protestantism should begin the havoc of war on German ground; and having sanctioned, in 1630, the treaty between Gustavus and Louis XIII., he had the satisfaction of witnessing its firstfruits in the following year, when the great victory of Leipzig gave the Swedish conqueror a complete triumph over Tilly and the imperial armies.

It was not the vexatious defeat of his armies so much as the wily arts of the Jesuits which induced Ferdinand at this time to renounce his demands in relation to the duchy of Mantua. These skilful tacticians conducted their measures so dexterously, that whilst they obliged the emperor to be the pliant instrument of papal policy throughout Germany, by enforcing edicts of restitution and confiscation, which gave or restored churches and estates of incalculable value to the Romish priesthood, they also effectually prevented his becoming too powerful in Italy, where he might be tempted to encroach upon the papacy, by secretly playing

off against him both French Roman Catholics and Swedish Protestants. The Jesuits were in reality the allies of both Richelieu and Gustavus Adolphus; and so completely was the emperor duped that he not only relinquished his claims upon Mantua, but consented to dismiss his greatest general, the Bavarian Wallenstein, and even to disband the mighty army which Wallenstein had raised and equipped.

As soon as the light broke on the treacherous policy pursued by the pope and his Jesuitical agents, the astonishment and disgust of all Roman Catholic Europe was loudly expressed. The emperor, by his ambassadors, bitterly complained that Urban had first prevailed on him to provoke his Protestant subjects by the decrees of restitution, and then, worse than forsaking him, had even encouraged his adversaries. He now earnestly implored the pontiff to show that his sympathies were really with his devoted and faithful son, and affirmed that it would then be easy to drive the Swedish conqueror out of Germany, as his whole force did not outnumber thirty thousand men.

But Urban was immovable as a rock. He distinctly refused to co-operate with Ferdinand, and adding irony to desertion, replied, that "with thirty thousand men Alexander conquered the world."

Zealous Roman Catholics were amazed and scandalized at the behaviour of their "holy father." "The pope," they cried, "is cold and rigid as ice. The king of Sweden has more

zeal for his Lutheranism than the pope for the only true and saving Catholic faith." The Spanish court was moved to send a deputation of remonstrance, as it had formerly done on a similar occasion, to Sixtus v. But it might as well have been a quiet spectator of the quarrel. Urban received the ambassadors with even greater severity than his haughty predecessor. He peremptorily refused to listen to any pleading, and would only allow the remonstrance to be placed before him in writing.

There can be little doubt, however, that the issue of Urban's treacherous and deceitful policy was very contrary to his hopes. He had expected that Gustavus would soon be wearied of conquest, and hoped that when he had imposed some wholesome restraints on the emperor, and restored to the Romish church all the ecclesiastical benefices which victory had thrown into his hands, he would return home well content with the laurels he had won. But these vain expectations were soon undeceived. Gustavus marched rapidly from conquest to conquest; and even his premature and calamitous death, at the battle of Lützen, in 1632, hardly stayed the progress of his all-conquering troops. For sixteen weary years did the war continue to rage, with every possible variety of fortune, until both Germany and Sweden were utterly exhausted.

From this lingering and long-protracted contest we turn for a space to catch a glimpse, afforded us by the records of that age, of the

intellectual and moral condition of pontifically governed Italy.

The year 1633 was made memorable at Rome by two remarkable trials in the courts of law, one of which has become imperishably incorporated with papal history.

A belief in magic and sorcery was one of the universal delusions of that half-enlightened period. Even the great Wallenstein, a man of gigantic intellect, retained an accomplished astrologer at his court, and never ventured on a battle or a march without first consulting the stars. In Rome this prevalent superstition received a very tragical direction. A company of dissatisfied men having resolved on destroying the pontiff, their ringleader, Centini, a nephew of one of the cardinals, had recourse to magical arts with a view of accomplishing his purpose. He intended to murder Urban, and then to place his own uncle, the cardinal, on the throne of the church. The plot was, however, discovered, and as the judges themselves implicitly believed in the virtue of magic, the crime was made capital. Centini was beheaded, others of the conspirators were burned, and the rest were sent to the galleys.

But the trial of Galilei Galileo, the renowned astronomer, was a far more remarkable event. Galileo had long since incurred the hatred of the Jesuits for aiding in their expulsion from his native city of Padua. His subsequent labours in the field of science, the benefits he had conferred on the world by his invention of

the telescope, and the wonderful discoveries he had made by its aid, were all as nothing in the eyes of these professed friends of learning when compared with the injuries he had done to their "order" in the political squabbles of a provincial town. They only waited their opportunity to take ample revenge.

In the year 1633, they therefore denounced him to the Inquisition as a teacher of heretical doctrines, inasmuch as he taught that the earth moved round the sun, and not the sun round the earth. The illustrious philosopher, then seventy years of age, was immediately cited to Rome.

Galileo had formerly received proofs of regard from pope Urban, and he accordingly indulged the hope of having a speedy and honourable acquittal. But unfortunately for him, in a recent work entitled "A Dialogue on the Ptolemaic and Copernican Systems," he had given great offence to the pontiff. Three fictitious persons conduct the dialogue—Salviati, a Copernican; Sagredo, a banterer on the same side; and Simplicio, a Ptolemaist, who gets much the worst both by jokes and argument. The pope fancied that he was the person held up to ridicule in the last character, as some arguments he had himself used were put into Simplicio's mouth. Exasperated by this imaginary insult, Urban had little disposition just then to screen a man whose genius he unquestionably admired.

After a detention of some months, Galileo was finally brought before the Inquisition to receive

sentence; and although we cannot give the whole of that memorable decree, we must afford space for a sample.

“By the desire of his holiness and of the lords cardinals, the two propositions of the stability of the sun and the motion of the earth are *qualified* by the Theological Qualifiers: (1.) The proposition that the sun is in the centre of the world and immovable from its place is absurd, philosophically false, and formally *heretical*; because it is expressly contrary to the Holy Scriptures. (2.) The proposition that the earth is not the centre of the world, nor immovable, but that it moves, and has also a diurnal motion, is absurd, philosophically false, and, theologically considered, at least *erroneous* in faith. . . . We, therefore, decree that the ‘Dialogues’ of Galilei Galileo be prohibited by edict; we condemn him to the prison of this office during pleasure; and order him for the next three weeks to repeat once a week the seven penitential psalms.”

This ludicrous, and yet disgraceful, sentence was far lighter than it would have been if Galileo had not engaged to abjure his own doctrine in the following terms: “With a sincere heart and unfeigned faith I abjure, curse, and detest the said errors and heresies, and I swear that I will never in future say or assert anything verbally, or in writing, which may give rise to a similar suspicion against me.”

It is an instructive illustration of the uselessness and folly of such extorted recantations and compulsorily enforced creeds, that Galileo

should have immediately broken the promise that he gave. On rising from his knees after solemnly taking this oath, he whispered in the ear of a friend, "*E pur se muove!*" And yet it moves!

During those years of the German wars, the attention of Urban was also drawn away to the semi-Protestant doings of the Jansenists in France. The abbey of Port Royal was now occupied by St. Cyran himself, and the numerous disciples he had gained; the nuns who had previously inhabited it having withdrawn, and fixed their residence at Port Royal de Paris. St. Cyran and his fellow recluses, among whom were some distinguished members of the Arnauld family, brothers of the Mère Angélique—Le Maistre, Le Séricourt, Claude Lancelot, and others eminent for birth and talents, did not bind themselves by monastic vows, yet their life was strictly of the monastic kind. With their own hands they drained the marshes around Port Royal, and cleared them from reeds and other aquatic plants which grew rankly in the swampy soil. In a short time, instead of a pestilence-breathing morass, a clear and beautiful lake reflected the blue sky and the neighbouring wood-crowned heights. The gardens and walks were put in order, and the abbey itself repaired; and then this new society, daily increasing, devoted itself to its primary tasks of devout meditation and laborious study. St. Cyran directed them to make the Bible their chief companion, and so well

understood its worth that he used to say, "A modern bishop has declared that he would go to the ends of the earth with St. Augustine, but I, for my part, would rather go there with the Bible."

St. Cyran's objects were social as well as religious. He seems to have aimed at furnishing the world with a model of really Christian society, that he might show how the world would live if it were wholly governed by Christian principles. He forgot, however, as a Romish priest would be likely to do, that the *law of celibacy*, which, of course, prevailed at Port Royal, was a grand element in his scheme which can never be found in social life ordered throughout by New Testament doctrines and precepts. Aiming, in conformity with his leading idea, to develop the talents of all the brotherhood, St. Cyran employed some in manual labour, others in the practice of surgery and physic, for the good of the fraternity and the neighbourhood, while the rest were occupied in visiting the poor, preaching the gospel, attending the confessionals, or educating the young.

The fame of this new and singular community spread quickly far and wide. Noblemen of the highest rank entreated that their children might be admitted to its schools, and persons of the first ability offered their services in the work of education. Among the chief of these preceptors were De Saci, Claude Lancelot, Nicolle, and Fontaine; and Tillemont the his-

torian, Racine the poet, and Pascal the controversialist and philosopher, were numbered amongst the pupils.

St. Cyran himself was not permitted to see the remarkable success that attended his plans. Port Royal was scarcely established as an educational institution before it excited the jealousy of the lynx-eyed Jesuits, who had hitherto regarded the important field of education as exclusively their own. It was easy for them to find grounds of accusation against St. Cyran, whose creed and whose practice were both so essentially different from theirs, and an outcry of heresy was accordingly raised. The great minister, cardinal Richelieu, was only too ready to lend an ear to the charge, for he had already felt considerably mortified that some overtures he had made to St. Cyran, with a view of making the vast influence of the Jansenists subservient to his own political designs, had been seen through and repulsed. St. Cyran was, therefore, sent to the prison of Vincennes, and there he lingered in sickness and solitude until Richelieu's death, which was soon afterwards followed by his own, in the year 1643.

In the mean time, Jansenius also had died, and it was only after his death that the great work of his lifetime saw the light. For twenty years had he occupied himself in studying the works of St. Augustine, the whole of which he had read through ten times, and some parts as many as thirty. Immediately after his death, the result of his labours, the renowned

“*Augustinus*,” was given to the world, in which he successfully shows that the doctrines and system of the Jesuits are completely opposed to those of the greatest of the fathers.

The rage of the Jesuits, already kindled by secret reports and by the novel proceedings at Port Royal, now broke out into fierce flames. Hoping at once to exterminate their foes, they applied directly to the pope, and demanded that bishop Jansenius should be forthwith numbered amongst heretics, and his writings be proscribed.

But where was the *heresy*? Jansenius had never quitted the Romish church, and at death had bequeathed his work to the judgment and revision of the pope, in language as submissive or servile as even a Jesuit could wish. “I submit its contents,” said he, in a letter to Urban, “implicitly to your decision, *approving, condemning, advancing, or retracting*, whatever shall be prescribed by the thunder of the apostolic see.”

It was hardly enough, in all reason, that Jansenius should merely have dared to differ from the Jesuits to insure his condemnation. Even papal fondness had not yet endowed these faithful and petted servants of the church with the attribute of infallibility. But they were not to be baffled thus in pursuit of their prey. They soon discovered in Jansenius’s work a sufficient ground for condemnation. They found a certain passage in which the bishop affirms a statement of Augustine to be true and

Scriptural, although the same view had already been condemned at Rome. It would have been indecent to have arraigned the *saint* for impugning papal infallibility, but against the bishop a sentence was easily obtained. In the year 1642, Urban VIII. issued a general condemnation of the writings of Jansenius as being heretical and false. Here, for the present, the contest ceased, and the Jesuits flattered themselves that they had succeeded in crushing a very dangerous foe.

The threatening aspect of affairs in Germany and France did not deter pope Urban from eagerly pursuing his own interests at home. It was during his pontificate that the duchy of Urbino was added to the papal states. The aged duke Francesco Maria della Rovere was hopeful of being succeeded in the throne by his only son. But this son was a profligate debauchee, who amused himself by day in driving chariots about the streets after the manner of Nero, and by night in theatrical entertainments and the most degrading excesses. After a night of debauch he was found dead in his bed, and his broken-hearted father dying soon after without heirs, the pope took possession. This event enriched the popes with a valuable line of sea-coast territory, containing seven towns and three hundred castles.

But more intently than the prosperity of the tiara did Urban VIII. seek the enrichment of his own house. Ever since the days of Sixtus V. it had been the invariable practice of the

pontiffs to provide handsomely for their kindred. The self-denying spirit which distinguished the first popes of the re-action had passed wholly away, and the Aldobrandini received their patents of nobility with their wealth from their relative Clement VIII., the Borghesi from Paul V., and now Urban's kinsmen, the Barberini, took their place among the richest and most powerful of the Roman aristocracy. During the reign of Urban VIII., the enormous sum of one hundred and five millions of scudi is said to have gone into the hands of the Barberini, and a writer of the time says, "the palaces, the vineyards, the pictures, the statues, the wrought silver and gold, and the precious stones which were heaped on that house, are of greater amount than can be believed or expressed." During his long pontificate, Urban elevated no fewer than forty-eight of his favourites to the purple of the church, and his nephews and grand-nephews were placed in all the highest seats of emolument and power.

Rapacity and covetousness are always, however, limited by the eternal and inevitable laws of God. It was not possible that the greed and arrogance of papal nepotism should for ever be unmurmuringly endured; and when at last, urged onward by his nephews, Urban VIII. seized on Castro, the most productive corn district in the duchy of Parma, the duke's resentment was passionately aroused, and without waiting to parley, he marched an army across the papal frontier.

For this attack the pope was wholly unprepared. Notwithstanding the sums he had expended in raising militia, in storing his arsenals, in erecting and fortifying castles, the progress of the duke was entirely unchecked. Town after town fell into his hands without resistance, and the pope's militia, instead of opposing him, so completely avoided his troops, that he marched through the country without gaining one glimpse of them. Had he pleased to appear before Rome, he might doubtless have obtained all that he could have demanded or wished.

As it was, a single skirmish concluded the war. In this petty conflict one of the pope's nephews, cardinal Antonio, was saved only by the fleetness of his horse; and the frightened pontiff, in order to conciliate the duke, now yielded all that he asked, restored Castro to his possession, and revoked the sentence of excommunication, with which, in true pontifical fashion, the struggle on the papal side had been commenced.

Although he had lost nothing by this war, the humiliation he had undergone produced a powerful effect on the haughty mind of Urban VIII. His health visibly declined, and his interest in public affairs seemed wholly extinguished. His conscience also appears to have troubled him in his last days, and to have suggested that he had been more careful of his family than became the head of the church. To hush the qualms of conscience he summoned

a council of his friends, and proposed to them his doubts. But they, as might have been expected, easily exonerated the pope, and relieved his apprehensions. They decided that "as his nephews had made so many enemies it was but just that they should have the means of maintaining their dignity after the pope's decease." Such is the morality of Rome! Injustice and oppression may indeed be reprehensible, but on no account are the *nephews of a pope* to suffer the just punishment of these crimes! But men who were themselves fattening on tyranny and extortion, were little likely to be severe in their judgment.

Urban sank beneath the load of disappointment and remorse thus suddenly laid upon him. When called upon to sign the peace of Castro, he was so overcome with distress as to fall into a swoon, and a few days' illness terminated his earthly career. When dying, he prayed not for pardon or for a penitent spirit, but "that Heaven would *avenge* him on the godless princes who had forced him into so calamitous a war." Pope Urban died as he had lived. No meek and lowly spirit like that of Jesus; no repentance on account of sin; no gratitude to the Saviour for the shedding of that precious blood which "cleanseth from all sin;" no evidence whatever even of faith in Christ. This "successor of the apostles," this "vicar of Christ upon earth," this "head of the only true church," was proud, worldly, and avaricious in his life—malicious and

revengeful in his death. He died July 29th, 1644.

CHAPTER V.

PONTIFICATE OF INNOCENT X.—MASSACRE OF THE
WALDENSES.

A.D. 1644—1655.

THE nephews of pope Urban had brought into the conclave no fewer than forty-eight partisans, but their very multitude seems to have baffled their efforts to direct the next election. The successful candidate, cardinal Pamfili, was by no means the man of their choice, and soon showed himself quite hostile to their interests.

INNOCENT X. was already seventy-two years of age, and although retaining much bodily vigour and aptitude for business, was of so weak a mind as to be easily governed in his declining manhood. His cheerful temper and affable manners formed a pleasant contrast to the proud reserve of Urban VIII. ; yet his favour was capricious, he was suspicious of all around him, and in a moment of displeasure would dismiss his most faithful servants. But a yet greater fault was his submissiveness to his own sister-in-law, Olympia Maidalchina Pamfili, a wicked and unscrupulous woman, whose sole object appears to have been to aggrandize her family by any and every means.

In consequence of this resolution on the part of Donna Olympia, Rome was distracted during the first years of Innocent's reign by the rivalry

of the Barberini and the Pamfili, the former struggling to hold, and the latter to obtain the wealth and power accruing from the resources of the church. Taking advantage of the general indignation at the unbounded exactions of the preceding pontificate, Innocent determined on calling the nephews of Urban to account for the administration of the finances during the war of Castro. Alarmed at the prospect of a strict investigation, and perhaps a compulsory surrender of their ill-gotten gains, the Barberini fled precipitately from Rome, the cardinal Antonio leading the way.

And now that the principal obstacle to the advancement of the Pamfili was removed, and it had become a question how they might best enrich themselves out of the already exhausted exchequer of the state, the poor old pope was harassed by brawls and contentions in his own family. Donna Olympia, his sister-in-law, exerted all the energy of her character to secure the promotion of her own children. At first she designed that her son Camillo should assume the office of cardinal nephew, that is, *prime minister* to the pope. But Camillo was of weak capacity, wholly ungifted for public affairs, and an opportunity offering of marrying him to the richest heiress in all Rome, one of the Aldobrandini, he abandoned the clerical order, and prided himself in driving the finest equipage in the Corso, and giving the most luxurious banquets that even Rome had lately seen.

The office of cardinal nephew being, there-

fore, still vacant, Donna Olympia undertook to fulfil it, and her influence over the pope soon became so apparent that her favour was more sought after than that of the pontiff himself. "To her, ambassadors paid their first visit on arriving in Rome; cardinals placed her portrait in their apartments as is customary with those of sovereigns; foreign courts sought to conciliate her favour with presents." Courtiers, and all who sought posts of honour or profit, brought their first bribes to her, and it was even asserted that "from all the inferior offices she exacted a *monthly* contribution." Riches flowed apace into her coffers; she established a great household, gave sumptuous feasts and theatrical entertainments, purchased new estates, and married her daughters into the oldest and wealthiest of the Roman families.

Yet all this prosperity was not without its bitterness. The young wife of Camillo Pamfili was as ambitious a woman as Donna Olympia herself, and ere long a jealousy sprang up between these rivals, the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, which quickly burned to a fiercer hatred than the feeble Innocent could either extinguish or allay. Leaning first to the one and then to the other, the weak old man rather added fuel to the flames, and it soon became obvious that both of these women could not remain near the person of the pope. At length an occurrence took place which precipitated Donna Olympia from the pinnacle she had gained.

A youth, whom she had herself recommended to the notice of the pope, Camillo Astalli, had so won upon his affections that Innocent resolved on confiding to him, as cardinal-nephew, the supreme administration of affairs. The elevation of Astalli was announced by the firing of cannon from the castle of St. Angelo. But all parties took offence at the measure, and most of all Donna Olympia, whose loud complaints at being supplanted led to her dismissal from the presence of the pope, and the re-admission to the palace of her rival daughter-in-law with her husband.

Still, however, the papal family was in confusion. Disputes took place between the two nephews, Pamfili and Astalli, and Donna Olympia was recalled "to keep the house in order." "The crafty old woman," writes a contemporary observer, "has mounted in a short time from the extremity of disgrace to the height of favour." Astalli himself fell by her intrigues, for refusing to share some of the gifts which she was in the habit of extorting from all who sought her patronage.

It would not be fair to charge upon so manifestly weak an old man as Innocent x. all the enormities that were perpetrated in the pontifical name during his reign. In fact, the personal character of the pope had long ceased to have any material and decisive influence on the conduct of the Romish church. A pope of more than ordinary vigour might add a little more venom to the sting of persecution, or

might contend a shade more successfully with the emperor, or with the French and Spanish courts for papal prerogatives; but even an Urban VIII. could, as we have seen, effect little more.

Whoever might be pope, the Jesuits were the real rulers of papal policy. Ever active and encroaching, they still diligently prosecuted their task of conquering Europe to the dominion of superstition and priestcraft. In France they carried on as fiercely as at first their struggle with the Jansenists. Besides the wars of the *Fronde*, and those in which the great Condé distinguished himself by driving the youthful Louis XIV. from his own metropolis, France was distracted by a controversy which reached every house, and often divided families into hostile parties. The Jesuits accused their antagonists of heresies which the Jansenists in vain disclaimed, and in 1654 the former gained an additional triumph by the aid of pope Innocent X.

Hitherto the Jansenists had evaded the bull of Urban VIII. by declaring that they did not hold the heresies which it denounced, and that these heresies were not even to be found in the great text-book of their party, the "Augustinus" of Jansenius. Now, however, the Jesuits obtained a bull from Innocent, declaring that these heresies were certainly contained in that book. This gave the controversy a new and singular form. The Jansenists denied the authority of the pope to pronounce in such a case, and

refused to admit his infallibility in judging of *matters of fact*. They still upheld that infallibility in all doctrinal judgments or questions of faith, but where supernatural faculties were plainly unnecessary, they held that the pope, like other men, was liable to err. Thus they parried for a time the deadly thrust of their foes.

But if thwarted in France, the industrious Jesuits, inveterate enemies to evangelical religion wherever they found it, soon discovered on the Italian side of the Alps a field which would amply repay their toil. The evangelical churches of Piedmont had greatly revived and multiplied since the dawn of the Reformation. From the city of Geneva the disciples of Calvin had gone forth in every direction, confirming and enlightening the faith of the Waldenses, who had now been permitted for some generations to live in the peaceable occupation of their valleys, and in the exercise of their ancestral forms of worship. To these quiet abodes of humble and Scriptural piety the envious Jesuits now directed their eyes.

The present duke of Savoy was a bigoted disciple of Rome, and seemed to his fanatical counsellors an admirable instrument wherewith they might make the experiment of uprooting by sheer force the "heresy" which had planted itself so firmly in the valleys of his kingdom. In January, 1655, an order went forth in the name of the duke, commanding all heads of families, of whatsoever rank, occupying estates

in these valleys, to quit their homes *within three days*, and remove beyond his dominions under pain of death, unless they chose to adopt the Romish faith and worship.

This cruel edict was rendered yet more so by the season chosen for putting it in force, which was the depth of winter. It was obviously a *mere impossibility* for thousands of families to take their aged and infirm, their sick and helpless, with their newborn babes, and convey them in so short a time over mountains whose passages were all blocked up with ice and snow. Had they forsaken their homes, and left behind them all their effects, it would still have been impossible; and the edict was manifestly nothing less than a sentence of death hypocritically or fanatically pronounced in the sacred name of religion.

The remonstrances of the poor Waldenses were denounced as the murmurings of *rebels* against the just authority of their sovereign! An army of six thousand men was immediately marched upon them, which committed all the savage atrocities that ever disgraced a bloody war. This, however, was worse than any war—it was a horrible massacre. The unhappy victims fled from their long peaceful homes to the rugged and snow-covered mountains, but they were hunted out of every retreat. In Villaro and Bobbio, and many other places, the passes were blocked up, and multitudes hemmed in on every side were slaughtered at once. In one village, the soldiers

mercilessly tortured and slew about a hundred and fifty women and children, chopping off the heads of some, and dashing out the brains of others against the rocks. In another, they hung youths of fifteen to the branches of the trees, or nailed them to the trunks by their feet, their heads hanging downwards. Sir Samuel Morland, an eye-witness, relates that "a mother was hurled down a mighty rock, with her little infant in her arms; and three days afterwards was found dead with the little child alive, but fast clasped between the arms of the dead mother, which were cold and stiff, insomuch that those who found them had much ado to get the young child out." As for their dwellings, when they had been plundered of all that was worth saving, they were set on fire; and from the valleys of the Alps the ascending flames and smoke of a vast sacrifice to the Moloch of bigotry mingled with the cries of the persecuted, the tortured, the dying, to the all-seeing, just, and holy God.

All Europe quickly rang with the accounts of this inhuman massacre, and the Protestant states were not backward in expressing their indignation. Remonstrances were addressed to the duke of Savoy in rapid succession, and foremost among them in time, and most earnest and emphatic in its language, was that of the government of England. The heart of Milton, who was then secretary to the council of state, had been deeply affected by the narratives of this persecution, perhaps touched the more

keenly from his familiarity with the scene of its transaction, and burning with indignant compassion, he had penned on the occasion that immortal sonnet—

“Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold,” etc.

The protector Cromwell, also, “rose like a lion out of his place,” and at his command Milton wrote to the duke of Savoy, passionately pleading in behalf of the persecuted Piedmontese. “These things,” says that noble letter, “when they were related to us, we could not choose but be touched with extreme grief and compassion for the sufferings and calamities of this afflicted people. Now in regard we must acknowledge ourselves linked together not only by the same tie of humanity, but by joint communion of the same religion, we thought it impossible for us to satisfy our duty to God, to brotherly charity, or our profession of the same religion, if we should only be affected with a bare sorrow for the misery and calamity of our brethren, and not contribute all our endeavours to relieve and succour them in their unexpected adversity as much as in us lies. Therefore, in a great measure, we must earnestly beseech and conjure your royal highness, that you would call back to your thoughts the moderation of your most serene predecessors, and the liberty by them granted and confirmed from time to time to their subjects, the Vaudois.”

Nor did England confine her sympathy to “bare sorrow,” or even earnest remonstrance.

Contributions were made throughout the whole country in behalf of those families that had escaped the sword, but were yet wandering in nakedness and want ; and the whole product of English liberality was not much less than forty thousand pounds, of which the protector contributed two thousand out of his own private purse.

Yet it is saddening to reflect how ineffectual were all the entreaties and petitions addressed to the hard hearts of the Jesuits, and the slavish bigotry of the duke and his wife. They pretended, indeed, to relent ; but at the end of two years, sir S. Morland declares, " It is my misfortune that I am compelled to leave this people where I found them, among the potsherds, with sackcloth and ashes spread under them, and lifting up their voice with weeping, in the words of Job, ' Have pity on us, have pity on us, O ye our friends ; for the hand of God hath touched us ! ' "

Nor was it Piedmont alone that lay groaning at this time beneath the knotted scourge of Jesuitical bigotry. Germany had likewise suffered, although in another form, from their meddling malice, and the " thirty years' war," stirred up by their artifices, had been brought to a conclusion amid the shrieks and wailings of the whole empire. " The misery of Germany," says Schiller, " had risen to such a height that all clamorously vociferated for peace. The plains, which formerly had been thronged with a happy and industrious population, where nature had lavished her choicest

gifts, and plenty and prosperity had reigned, were now a wild and desolate wilderness. The fields, abandoned by the laborious husbandman, lay waste and uncultivated, for no sooner had the young crops given the promise of a smiling harvest, than a single march destroyed the labours of a year, and blasted the last hope of an afflicted peasantry. Burned castles, wasted fields, villages in ashes, were to be seen extending far and wide on all sides. The towns groaned under the licentiousness of undisciplined and plundering garrisons, and the crowding together of men in camps and quarters—want upon one side and excess on the other—occasioned contagious distempers, which were more fatal than the sword. Under the shelter of anarchy and impunity every vice flourished, and men became as wild as the country.”*

Utterly exhausted by this long protracted struggle, the Protestants and the Roman Catholics terminated the strife in 1648 by the treaty of Westphalia, which guaranteed to the Protestants of Germany an equality of civil and political rights. The Calvinists, or *the Reformed*, were included with the Lutherans, and Protestants and Roman Catholics were to have an equal number of seats in the diet, the imperial chamber, and the Aulic council. The edicts of restitution issued by Ferdinand were revoked, and to pay the expenses of the war many bishoprics were secularized and abbeys were sold. Thus at last was a final check

* Schiller's "History of the Thirty Years' War," book v.

given to the aggressions of the papacy in Germany, as well as to the ambitious designs of the German emperor. "By these events," says Ranke, "limits were imposed at once and for ever to the extension of Catholicism, which has now its appointed and definite bounds. That universal conquest, formerly projected, could never more be seriously contemplated."

But the untiring Jesuits, if defeated in one sphere, soon create another. Far beyond the bounds of Italy, or even of Germany, did the web-like meshes of their Society now extend. It seems more in harmony with the fictions of romance than with the sober truth of history, that the country which had lately sent forth her warrior king, Gustavus, to be the champion of the Protestant faith, should give her next monarch, and that the only daughter of Gustavus, to be a convert to Popery and a devotee of the Romish church. Yet such was the strange metamorphosis undergone by Christina of Sweden.

Christina, left an infant at her father's death, had been carefully and conscientiously educated by the chancellor Oxenstiern, who governed the kingdom after the death of the great Gustavus. Her natural character, combined with the masculine training she received, gave a very singular complexion to all her habits and modes of thought. So learned did she become, that she deduced arguments from Plato which astonished even Descartes. She read daily many pages in the histories of Tacitus, and fairly puzzled her

instructors by her inquiries on metaphysical and religious topics. To all this she added a self-will that brooked no control, and contemptuously spurned at all ordinary rules.

She had not long assumed the sovereign authority; before the war-drained treasury of Sweden was scarcely able, out of its poverty, to provide for even the daily maintenance of the royal household, and the queen presently conceived strong disgust for a position which could only be meanly sustained. Her chagrin was heightened by the endless bickerings of the two leading classes of the clergy, the Lutherans and the Calvinists, and by the stern severity with which she was herself treated by many of them, which only kindled resentment where it was intended to produce obedience.

With these feelings Christina readily listened to the jests and sceptical insinuations of her physician Bourdelot, a gossiping French abbé, who soon filled her mind with painful doubts respecting religion. Longing for certainty, as the heart ever does, yet indisposed to make the Bible itself the object of careful study, by which course alone her doubts could have been safely resolved, Christina was in a very favourable state to become the prey of the Jesuits, who were not wanting even at *her* court.

The interpreter of the Portuguese ambassador at Stockholm was a Jesuit named Macedo, and he soon made discovery of the queen's unsettled opinions. In conversation with him Christina did not hesitate to avow the decided

sympathy which she felt with the Roman Catholic church. "A Catholic," she would say, "has the consolation of believing as so many noble spirits have believed for sixteen hundred years; of belonging to a religion attested by millions of martyrs, confirmed by millions of miracles—above all, which has produced so many admirable virgins, who have risen above the frailties of their sex, and consecrated themselves to God."

These wild and visionary notions do not raise our esteem for the judgment of the young queen. It is quite plain that her judgment was bewildered, and her imagination inflamed by the mere charm of antiquity, and the vaunting but baseless pretensions of the Romish church. She stayed not to inquire if this was truly the unchanged religion of apostolic times, or if the miracles boasted by Rome were genuine or false; and, for the rest, she had always declaimed against marriage, and when pressed for her reasons did not hesitate to declare that it was because she would not submit to be governed.

Other Jesuits were secretly invited to Stockholm, and eventually the queen resolved on publicly professing the Romish faith, and, as a necessary preliminary, on abdicating a crown which was entailed on Protestant heirs, and which had greatly lost value in her eyes by becoming poor. On the 24th of June, 1654, this rare occurrence of a royal abdication took place before the whole Swedish court and parliament, who were filled with sorrow at

losing the last scion of the illustrious house of Vasa. The aged count Brahe even refused to take the crown from her head—that crown which he had himself placed there only three years before. The queen lifted it off with her own hands, and then attiring herself in a plain white dress, she received the parting address of the Estates. The speaker of the estate of peasants was deeply affected. Kneeling down before the queen, he took her hand, and kissed it repeatedly. Then bursting into tears, he silently wiped them away, and, unable to speak a word, turned his back on her majesty, and walked away to his place.

Christina took her departure immediately afterwards for that Elysium of her imagination, the land governed by popes ; and her subsequent life was spent, not at all creditably, for the most part at Rome, but sometimes in other cities of Europe, where her presence was rendered unwelcome by the strange and lawless freaks she chose to commit.

While these extraordinary events were occurring in Sweden, the aged Innocent x. was fast sinking into the arms of death. Worn out by the contentions of his family, he had grown more and more fretful and capricious, until January, 1655, when he finally sank beneath the double load of vexation and old age. So selfish were even those relatives he had most favoured, that not one of them would defray the expenses of his funeral, and for three days the corpse lay entirely neglected.

CHAPTER VI.

PONTIFICATES OF ALEXANDER VII., CLEMENT IX., AND
CLEMENT X.—SYMPTOMS OF DECLINE.

A.D. 1655—1676.

To Innocent succeeded ALEXANDER VII., who, as cardinal Chigi, had gained a high reputation in Rome for disinterestedness and integrity. "This time," said one of the cardinals, "we must seek an honest man." "If you want an honest man," replied a second, "*there* stands one." Cardinal Chigi was accordingly chosen; for this time the deceased pope had left behind him no nephew or party to influence the election.

An "honest man" was indeed especially requisite just now, (although it ought to seem strange that any other should ever have obtained the office of bishop,) for the temporal affairs of the popedom had fallen into a deplorable state. The greed and ambition, the extravagance, luxury, and pomp of successive pontiffs, with the cormorant-like rapacity of their kindred, had burdened the papal see with debts so enormous, that the ordinary revenue was wholly swallowed up in order to meet them. Extortion and bribery were unblushingly practised in every department of both state and church. Magistrates paid large sums of money for their posts, and recompensed themselves by taking bribes from those whose causes they adjudged. Thus, injustice and oppression were never anywhere more rife than in the States of

the Church at this period. A cardinal describing the condition of affairs to Alexander soon after his accession, declared that "the oppressions exceed those inflicted on the Israelites in Egypt. People, not conquered by the sword, but subject to the holy see, are more inhumanly treated than the slaves in Syria and Africa. Destitute of silver, or copper, or linen, or furniture to satisfy the avarice of the commissaries, they will next be obliged to *sell themselves* as slaves to pay the burdens laid on them by the chambers. Who," he exclaims, "can witness these things without tears of sorrow?"

For a time it seemed as if the new pope would really accomplish all that was expected of him. He commenced his pontificate by strictly forbidding all his relatives ever to appear at Rome. The people applauded his self-denying magnanimity, and contemporary writers declared it to be "heroic."

But Alexander was a man of infirm purposes. He had rather yielded to popular opinion than been governed by any determination of his own judgment, and he was quite as susceptible of new impulses in another direction. Very soon the birds of prey set up a clamour which startled and alarmed him. The cardinals and priests who had access to him assured him that it was not seemly for a pope to allow his relatives to starve. Besides, would it not be far nobler to exercise due restraint upon his connexions when they were gathered around him, than thus to abandon them altogether?

And the Jesuit Oliva went further still, even maintaining than the pontiff was guilty of *mortal sin* in not calling his nephews to Rome. "Foreign ambassadors," he said, "would never have so much confidence in a mere minister as in a near relative of the pope."

Easy as it may be to find plausible excuses for the bad actions of another, it is far easier to employ them as pretexts to justify a course we are ourselves inclined to adopt. The "honest" Alexander quickly yielded to the subtle persuasions of this Jesuit adviser, and saw that it was his *duty* to enrich his family. And having called them to Rome, he even surpassed his predecessors in lavishing lucrative offices and choice revenues on his kinsfolk, extending his patronage not only to relatives, but to those who could claim no further connexion with him than that of being natives of the same town. "The imposts of the Barberini," says one of his biographers, "have exhausted the country; the avarice of Donna Olympia has drained the court; some amelioration was hoped for from the virtues of Alexander VII.; but now all Sienna has poured itself over the states of the church, and is sucking the last drops of their strength."

Alexander VII. was, in truth, too weak a man to interfere with effect in any of the proceedings of his creatures. Once installed in their offices, he left them to themselves. His own disposition was inclined to self-indulgence, and he took little active part in the administration. He

would be absent for months together at his country seat, where *business* was never mentioned, and when he was in Rome it was difficult to obtain audience of him for public affairs. "I served," says Giacomo Quirini, "during forty-two months with pope Alexander, and I perceived that he had merely the name of pope, not the command of the papacy. Of those qualities which distinguished him when cardinal, vivacity of intellect, power of discrimination, decision in difficult cases, and facility of expression, not a trace could be found; business was entirely set aside. He thought only of passing his life in undisturbed repose."

Happily for the pontiff the powers of Europe were so thoroughly occupied at home,—France in the wars of the Fronde, and England in the commotions that followed the civil wars, that they left him very much in that state of repose which he loved. One incident, however, annoyed him, as it brought out into vexatious conspicuousness the vast decline which had taken place in the influence wielded by the popedom since the rise of France and England to the position of first-rate powers.

No monarch of that age was more aspiring, or resolute in asserting his dignity, than the then youthful Louis XIV. of France; and although a zealous papist, he was far more devoted to his own and his nation's glory than to the spiritual authority of Rome. The assumptions of the Roman church in his kingdom were more than he could calmly tolerate, and

he even disputed the precedence in matters of ceremony and etiquettes which the popes had ever claimed, and which other Roman Catholic sovereigns had always been ready to concede.

In the year 1659, the duke De Créqui, ambassador of Louis at the papal court, received a public insult in the streets of Rome. Louis demanded that an apology should be given by the pontiff; but Alexander, feeling that it would be a deep humiliation for a sovereign of his proud pretensions to stoop so low, made perpetual delays and excuses, until the incensed monarch of France marched an army into Italy, and plainly signified his intention to inflict chastisement on the pope. Sensible of his real weakness, the pontiff now consented to make ample amends for the injury done. He was forced not only to apologise, but even to permit a pyramid to be erected in Rome, on which an inscription recorded, for the benefit of future ages, the exemplary punishment which papal arrogance had for once received.

For a pope no degradation could have been devised more mortifying and painful than this. So notorious were the pontiffs for their love of inscriptions in their own praise, that the Romans used to say, "Wherever a stone can be placed in a wall the pope will have his name inscribed upon it." And now, in one of the most public thoroughfares of Rome, was Alexander VII. compelled to perpetuate his own humiliation by the means which other pontiffs had chosen to immortalize their fame. Trifling

as this incident was in itself, it marked a vast revolution in the public opinion of Europe, and in the political, perhaps we may say, the religious relations sustained by the pope

To the weak Alexander succeeded in 1667 the cardinal Rospigliosi, who assumed the title of CLEMENT IX.

Between the deceased pope and the new one there were several points of resemblance, at least as to personal character. Both were men of negative rather than of positive virtues. Clement IX. possessed, we are told, "all those moral qualities that consist in the absence of faults—blamelessness of life, diffidence, and moderation." But these are not exactly the qualities suitable for a prince, or which were calculated just then to advance the interests of the popedom.

What Alexander VII. promised, but failed to accomplish, Clement IX., however, actually performed, at least for his own pontificate. He abolished, or rather discontinued, the practice, so inveterate with the popes, of promoting their own kindred to the first offices in the state. It is true that he enriched them, and permitted them to found a new family in Rome; but he selected none of them to be his prime counsellors, or to conduct the administration of public affairs.

Yet even this change is attributable much more to the real decline of papal power than to any self-denying virtue in the mind of Clement IX. The wealthy houses which had been esta-

blished in Rome by successive pontiffs, had at length grown into a distinct class of society by means of frequent intermarriage. They constituted, in fact, the *aristocracy* of the papal states. The English reader of the histories of that age is struck with the tendency just then exhibited throughout Europe to the aristocratic forms of government. Despotic power, as seen in the old monarchies, was fast expiring, and in England by the wars of the Commonwealth, in France by those of the Fronde, in Germany and in Sweden by the efforts of the nobles, aristocracies were created which were destined for a long time to have a predominant share in the government of states. And now we perceive this tendency discovering itself likewise in Italy; and the decline of the pope's personally despotic power is nearly coeval with those last efforts made by the house of Stuart to re-establish a despotism in our own country.

In the last pontificate an institution had commenced which brought the governing power into the hands of the nobles. This institution was essentially a "cabinet," but called the *congregazione di stato*, to which, in the absence of a papal nephew, all matters of business might be intrusted. One of these ministers controlled the ecclesiastical offices in general; a second attended to the department of foreign affairs; a third managed the monastic orders; and to a fourth was committed the decision of theological questions.

As Clement ix. had no nephew to invest with

the functions of government, so neither did he make any alteration in this division of duties. He confirmed the appointments of most whom he found in office; he did not persecute the relations of previous popes; he did not favour his own townsmen, the Pistoians, who were, therefore, grievously disappointed; nor did he strive to aggrandize his own family. On the contrary, he calmly surrendered himself to the prevailing spirit, and unresistingly permitted the tiara to be stripped of some of its most brilliant appendages.

Thus we see that while the sovereign states of Europe were assuming an independent and even defiant attitude towards the papacy; while France and Spain, and even Venice and Genoa often opposed the interferences of Rome; while even in Portugal itself, always priest-ridden, the habit of submissiveness was beginning to be abandoned by king, clergy, and people; and while monarchs ventured to form treaties of peace like that of "Westphalia," or that of the "Pyrenees," without consulting the pope, or caring for his express disapprobation—the personal authority of the pontiff was at the same time declining in Rome. It is abundantly evident that the papal power had received a mortal blow, which might indeed be slow in operation, but which was nevertheless mortal. The battle of the Reformation had not been fought in vain, even in Italy.

Meanwhile the persecution of the Jansenists in France had continued with occasional inter-

missions. The Jansenists denied that the charge of heresy was just. The doctrines denounced by the Jesuits were not, they averred, to be found in the writings of their leader. The Jesuits had already replied by obtaining a bull from Rome, which declared that those heresies were certainly there. In vain did the Jansenists reiterate their denial; and in vain also did the "Provincial Letters" of Pascal make head against the running tide. Armed with an edict procured from Louis XIV., the Jesuits expelled the nuns from Port Royal de Paris, and the aged Angélique Arnauld, exhausted by a persecution of twenty-five years, sank beneath the blow, and shortly afterwards died. From Port Royal des Champs, likewise, all the novices and scholars were carried away, that they might not be tainted with the heresies of the learned and pious De Sacy, Pascal, and Arnauld.

The remarkable conversion of the celebrated duchess of Longueville, sister to the great Condé, produced a temporary change, a brief respite for the persecuted sect. This singular woman, whose life had been spent in revolts, intrigues, and heroic adventures of all sorts, repaired at last to Port Royal, and there, it is said, gave evidence of a genuine conversion to God. She deplored, with bitter tears, the widely extended evils her ambition had occasioned, and now devoted the whole of her immense estates to the service of humanity and religion.

On the accession of pope Clement IX., the duchess, who had formerly honoured him with her friendship, made a personal appeal in behalf of the afflicted Jansenists. Yielding to her petition, Clement accepted the declarations of the alleged heretics that they did not hold the doctrines imputed to them. Now, therefore, the prison doors were opened, the Jansenists who had lurked in concealment again appeared abroad without fear, and Port Royal was favoured with a new era of prosperity. The recent persecution had given publicity, and had won a kindly feeling for the views of the recluses, and multitudes resorted to them from all parts of France for instruction and edification. Considerable sums were expended in enlarging the monastery and gardens, and as the abbey had been formerly famous for its learning, it now became doubly so on account of its magnitude and wealth, and the number of *noble* inmates it contained. "And still," we are assured by its eulogists, "although so many rich, so many noble, so many learned were called, still Port Royal stood a bright example of unfeigned humility and self-abasement, of self-denial and charity, daily taking up the cross, and following a crucified Lord." A strange phenomenon, it must be confessed, in the midst of the Romish church!

Besides the affairs of the Jansenists, the attention of the Roman court during the brief pontificate of Clement IX. was chiefly directed to a war which the Turks were once more

carrying on with the Island of Candia. This island had long been regarded as a kind of outpost to Christendom, and had accordingly been eyed with envy for ages by the Ottoman power. On the decline of the Venetian republic, to which the island was tributary, the Turks resolved on gaining possession of it themselves. The European sovereigns had quite lost the crusading spirit of olden times ; the pope was the only one of them who would come to the rescue, and the force of the Venetians and of the pope combined were wholly unequal to the emergency. The disasters which befel the " Christian " army so affected the mind of Clement that he died of grief in December, 1668, and in the following year the catastrophe he feared took place—Candia fell into the hands of the Turks.

The cardinals were very much divided respecting a successor, and disputed for nine months without arriving at any decision. They then resolved, for the sake of an interval of repose, to choose one whose age and infirmities would insure a speedy renewal of the contest, and, as each party hoped, the gratification of its own aims. Cardinal Æmil Altieri, already eighty years old, was the candidate thus doubtfully honoured.

CLEMENT X. was too old and feeble to exert any influence on the current of public affairs. As a man he was regarded as amiable and upright, and had he been younger, he might perhaps have done something towards stemming

the frightful torrent of corruption which was rolling unchecked over every department of the papal domains. The most profligate excess, the most unprincipled selfishness, were now triumphant in Rome. To such a height did all who were concerned in the government, or had public offices of any kind, carry their extravagance, and support it by the spoliation of public property, that the conclave itself began to fear a universal bankruptcy. The nobles became poorer every day, even while recklessly appropriating the treasures of the state. Evidently, unless remedial measures should be adopted, a crisis of national ruin was at hand. But where was the vigour or the virtue to be found that should work out an efficient remedy? An edict was passed, declaring the pursuit of commerce incompatible with the dignity of nobility; but the degenerate nobles only scoffed at the edict, and heedlessly rushed onwards to the gulf of destruction.

All this was much favoured by the circumstances of the times. Italy was just then entirely undisturbed by foreign interference, and enjoyed a quiet repose, very unusual for that unhappy land. The emperor was busily engaged in coercing his Hungarian subjects; Louis XIV. was at war with the Low Countries—a conflict which also kept Holland and Spain in full occupation; and Charles II. of England was only intent on running his mad career of licentiousness, extravagance, and sin. Had the papal government been imbued with the spirit

of religion, or had it only been honest and upright, this season of repose might manifestly have been turned to the advantage of the pope's subjects, and indeed to that of all Italy. But by the corrupt and altogether irreligious Romans the opportunity was only abused. The cardinals took their pleasure, exhausted in their revels the treasures of the state, and thus tranquilly awaited the time which should promote one of them to the sovereignty of what still bore the name of the Roman Church. Nor had they long to wait. Clement x. died in 1676.

CHAPTER VII.

PONTIFICATE OF INNOCENT XI.—REVOCATION OF THE
EDICT OF NANTES.
A.D. 1676—1689.

By the accession of INNOCENT XI., the church of Rome and her temporal estates received a ruler of quite a different order.

Benedetto Odescalchi, of Como, had entered Rome in his twenty-fifth year, furnished with sword and pistols, intending to devote himself to a military life. But a friendly cardinal discerning his true character, warmly advised him to adopt the ecclesiastical profession, or to enter in some way into the service of the Roman court. He accepted the advice, and in the employments he received acquitted himself so well, that he rapidly rose from post to post, until the sacred college itself welcomed him to

its ranks. And so popular had he become by this time with the Roman citizens, that during the sitting of the conclave, the air resounded with the cry of "Odescalchi!" and shouts of applause greeted him when, as pontiff elect, he came forth adorned with the tiara.

The qualities which had secured him such popularity were carried by the new pope to the discharge of his new functions. Zeal for the Roman church, attempered by a patriotism that would not suffer his native land to be overburdened even for the glory of the papacy; extraordinary firmness and diligence in business, combined with gentle and amiable manners—these were the rare virtues which now, to the astonishment of the world, shone forth in a pope of Rome.

But even this constellation of excellence would not avail to bring back the papacy to a healthy, honourable, and prosperous state. Whatever a pontiff could do, however, Innocent was resolved to attempt. He commenced his career with a vigorous attack upon the abuses that had so long prevailed. He would suffer no nephew or other relative to enrich himself at the public expense. And for himself, he expressed a resolution to die no richer than he was. "I am not the *master*," he would say, "but the administrator of the holy see. When I became a cardinal I began to be poor, and now that I am pope I shall be a beggar."

The Romans had been too far corrupted by the long growth of hereditary vices to appre-

ciate, or even patiently to tolerate these innovations on papal usages. They vehemently inveighed against the meanness of the pope, and declared that he was incapable of rising to the true dignity of a sovereign. Lampoons and satires, and violent declamations, breathing hot defiance, poured forth from the press; and one scurrilous writer even ventured to say, "I do not find a more wicked monster in all ancient annals, nor one who, clothed in hypocrisy, more deeply dyed with blood his beak and wings."

For all this huge outcry the pope steadfastly pursued the course he had marked out. As the expenditure of the government was actually beyond its income, he ordered a reduction of from four to three per cent. in the interest hitherto paid out of the public revenue to the *monti*, or funded stocks. So bold a step naturally enraged the cardinals and noble families by whom these *monti* were held, but to all complaints Innocent turned a deaf ear, and in due course of time had the satisfaction of seeing the exchequer in a solvent condition.

In his intercourse with foreign princes this pontiff showed a similar spirit of independence. The court of Paris had long been hostile to Roman claims, as was abundantly shown in the affairs of the ambassador Créqui; and Louis XIV. had always practised the policy of restraining rather than indulging the clergy of his kingdom. It was his inviolable maxim that all interests, whether social or ecclesiastical,

should bow to his sovereign will, and he exercised an unsparing despotism on those who presumed to dispute it. The clergy and the monastic orders were especially the objects of his mistrust. Here he confiscated their estates, there he loaded their benefices with military fines, and on every occasion of a benefice or a see falling vacant, he insisted on the ancient custom of *regale*, or the right of the sovereign to receive the revenues and appoint a successor.

But of all the clergy the Jansenists had to bear the heaviest strokes of the rod. The Jesuits were favoured by Louis, and it often happened that the pleadings of a Bossuet, or a Bourdaloue, or even of Madame de Maintenon herself, screened others from the penalties of royal visitation, in order that these imposts might fall upon the Jansenists with double weight. On some of them the burden had fallen very oppressively. The bishop of Pamiers, a Jansenist, was actually reduced to live upon alms. At length the Jansenists appealed to the court of Rome, and Innocent was too bold and zealous not to adopt their cause; for even if prone to heretical opinions, they were still *his* clergy.

Writing in no very obsequious strain to the French king, Innocent admonished him "to lend no ear to flatterers, and to refrain from any more touching the property, or restraining the liberties of the church, lest the wrath of God should visit him, and dry up the fountains of grace within his kingdom." As this threatening language plainly pointed to an interdict, the proud

sovereign to whom it was addressed disdained even to reply. A second and a third time Innocent repeated his admonitions, and then finding that Louis still maintained an obstinate silence, he declared that he would write no more, but would have recourse to other measures, and would use every means in his power to compel the French monarch to comply. "He would suffer," he said, "no danger, no storm to appal him; he beheld his glory in the cross of Christ."

To Louis XIV. this vehement and menacing tone was merely an empty noise. He was secure of the obedience of his clergy, and could laugh scornfully at the puny wrath of a petty second-rate prince. So entirely, indeed, were the great majority of the clergy obsequious to his will, that the prince of Condé did not scruple to affirm, that "if it pleased the king to go over to the Protestant church, the clergy would be the first to follow him."

Instead, therefore, of replying to the papal fulminations, Louis convened an assembly of prelates in 1682, for the purpose of further restraining the papal prerogatives, and defining within exact bounds the duties and rights of the clerical order. By this convocation four articles were agreed to, which have ever since been regarded as the manifesto of French independence of papal control. The first of these articles asserted that the pope had no right to interfere in the temporal affairs of other princes; the second, that the authority of councils was

superior to that of popes, as had already been declared by the Council of Constance; the third, that the usages of the Gallican church should continue to be unalterably observed; and the fourth, the most remarkable of all, that “even in *questions of faith* the decision of the pope is not infallible or incapable of amendment, unless subsequently sanctioned by the consent of the church.”

From the days of Francis I. the French church had asserted its independence of Rome in all matters of chief moment to itself; but here, under Louis XIV., we find it boldly shaking off all the shackles of the papacy, save the acknowledgment of spiritual supremacy; which last, moreover, would be little more than a name, encroached on as it was by such novel conditions. Indeed, it was the opinion of many, that although France yet stood within the pale of the Romish church, it stood just on the threshold, as if in readiness to step beyond it. And it is now well known that not only Bossuet and other leading French theologians deeply sympathized with many Protestant opinions, but that Louis XIV. himself was often occupied in devising a scheme for the reconciliation of the Gallican and Lutheran churches. But Louis's thoroughly irreligious character, and the levity and general want of earnestness that pervaded the French nation at that time, prevented that scheme ever taking effect, or even any approach to it being attempted.

Innocent XI. feeling at last his own helpless-

ness, refrained from threatening, and contented himself with using such weapons as he had left. He refused, for instance, to grant *institution* to all bishops appointed by Louis, and no fewer than thirty-five bishops were unable to exercise a single function of their office, although they were in possession of all its emoluments and honours.

Whilst Innocent and Louis were animated with such feelings, an event occurred which was adapted to exasperate to the highest pitch the animosity they mutually cherished.

Amongst other reforms which Innocent XI. resolved to accomplish, was that of the abuses arising out of class-privileges, which had grown up in Rome as elsewhere. By an ancient usage, the ambassadors of foreign courts residing at Rome had in common with the Roman nobility the right of *asylum*, or sanctuary, not only within the walls of their palaces, but reaching even to the contiguous squares and streets. To those quarters did disturbers of the peace in nightly brawls, or even malefactors and criminals of the deepest dye, flee from the pursuit of justice, and within those precincts no officers of justice dared to follow them. There also plots for defrauding the revenue or for promoting sedition were securely carried on. To these dangerous abuses the present vigilant pope was determined to put an end by abolishing the privilege altogether. He accordingly decreed that no new ambassador should be acknowledged at the papal court who did not

wholly renounce these immunities, both for himself and his successors.

All the states that were in the habit of sending ambassadors to Rome demurred at this very reasonable determination; but the death of D'Etrées, the ambassador of France, and the appointment of the marquis of Lavardin in his room, brought the question to an issue. Louis instructed Lavardin "to maintain at Rome all the rights and the full dignity of France;" and in order to support this dignity he gave him a numerous retinue of military and naval officers, sufficient to frighten and overawe the pope even in his own capital.

Lavardin's entry into Rome under this escort resembled the march of a hostile general rather than the peaceable visit of an ambassador. Surrounded by whole squadrons of cavalry, he could easily have maintained his privilege of asylum against any force that Innocent could bring. The pontiff, therefore, had recourse to his *spiritual* armoury. "They come with horses and chariots," said Innocent, "but we will walk in the name of the Lord." Pronouncing the censures of the church upon the impious Lavardin, he laid the church of St. Louis, in which the ambassador had attended a solemn mass, under an interdict.

For a year and a half Lavardin continued at Rome without even obtaining admission to the pontiff's presence. He then returned to France, filled with chagrin at the unconquerable firmness of Innocent; and Louis, to punish the

pope, laid violent hands on Avignon and its territory still belonging to Rome, and shut up the papal nuncio at Paris in a dungeon.

The French king would doubtless have proceeded to more extreme measures, but that he had now found full employment for his energies in the universal hostility which his insatiable ambition had provoked amongst the European powers. And Innocent, perceiving that his future safety depended on the continuance of this hostility, employed all his genius in fomenting it, and urging it to open demonstrations.

It is strange, and yet true, that notwithstanding this perpetual opposition between Rome and France, the pontiff had hardly another prince in Europe so devoted to the Romish faith as was Louis XIV. Louis was, in reality, a bigot. He seems to have tried to make amends for his unscrupulous licentiousness and numerous other vices, by displaying extraordinary zeal in behalf of the established religion. As he oppressed the Jansenists because they differed a few shades from the orthodox sects, so did he persecute the Protestants with unrelenting bitterness, and appeared, indeed, to be bent on their utter extermination.

When Henry IV., in 1598, deserted the Huguenot party, he had deemed it necessary, and only fair to his former friends, to secure them full liberty in all matters of religion. This freedom was guaranteed to them by the celebrated Edict of Nantes; under which, had the Protestants been content with mere liberty,

the cause of evangelical religion might still have prospered in France. But, unhappily, it was not entirely a question of religion with the Huguenots; they coveted *power*; and the elements of discord thus lay only smouldering for a time, to burst out again into flames as fierce as the first. The former struggle had made the Protestants a political party in the state, and they yet strove to maintain that position, succeeding in doing so until the taking of Rochelle by cardinal Richelieu.

Their political insubordination had brought upon them severe persecution even from Richelieu and Mazarin, men who cared very little, if at all, for mere religious distinctions. But Louis XIV. was a man of a different stamp. To the despotic spirit of those ministers he added zeal for the faith and forms of the Romish church, by which, like many other really bad men, he endeavoured to soothe the anxiety of a guilty conscience; and thus, throughout his contest with Innocent XI., he still proved himself a devoted Romanist by cruelly oppressing the Protestant party in France.

The Edict of Nantes was still the strongest bulwark of Protestant freedom, and it so stood in the way of the harsh measures which Louis wished to adopt, that he determined on abolishing its power. His first step was to employ persons to interpret its provisions in a manner wholly contrary to its spirit. Thus, while nominally in their former position, the Protestants were really robbed of their only charter

and safeguard. The work of persecution commenced. Protestants were at first declared inadmissible to the higher offices of state, and by degrees the prohibition was extended to all offices whatsoever. Then the "Chamber of the Edict," a court to which all differences between Catholics and Protestants were referred, was arbitrarily suppressed; next, some churches were closed; and, finally, restrictions were laid on the public worship practised by the Huguenots.

These measures succeeded at least in causing a multitude of wealthy families to emigrate. Many Protestants sought more hospitable shores; and those whose attachment to their native land was too strong to permit them to think of exile, prepared for an open resistance. Then commenced the infamous "Dragonades." A strong line of troops, embracing an extensive area, was drawn around the revolted district, and the circle was gradually contracted, until the Protestants, hunted like wild beasts, fell into the snare of the hunter, and were savagely tortured or slain, according to the caprice of their inhuman butchers.

At length, in October, 1685, the Edict of Nantes was altogether revoked, and the poor mantle of protection, already worn threadbare, was dragged from the backs of the Protestants. All toleration was denied; their ministers were ordered to quit France within fifteen days; and while bribes were offered to converts, the severest punishments were denounced against refractory heretics.

The perpetrators of cruelties are often doomed, in the just providence of God, to outwit themselves, and these cruelties of Louis produced results that to him were at the least most unwelcome. The banished pastors were quickly followed by their flocks; and England, Holland, Germany, and America, were overflowed with refugees from France—to her a signal loss, to them as great an advantage. Some of the best manufactures in silk, so carefully cherished by the French government, had been in the hands of the Huguenots, and these now fell to decay; while no fewer than three hundred thousand of the most moral, quiet, and loyal of the French population were for ever lost to the ungrateful country which had driven them forth.

Alarmed at such unlooked-for disasters, Louis gave orders to stop this vast emigration, if needful, by main force. Strong guards were placed at every frontier pass, in all cities and towns, on the highways, and at every ford and ferry. The refugees were forcibly arrested in their flight, and if persistent in heresy, were brutally thrust into prison. Some perished in the dungeons, others were sent to the galleys; so that, besides the multitudes gone into exile, great numbers—numbers altogether unknown, of faithful subjects, the best and most useful citizens of France, were prematurely destroyed; and energies which would have been used to the vast profit of the nation, were extinguished in the darkness of death. Louis the Fourteenth's government was weaker, and not stronger, in

consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. *So ruinous is evermore the short-sighted policy of bigotry!*

It would be gratifying to be able to state of a pontiff who exhibited so many good points of character as Innocent xi., that he vehemently condemned these barbarous and impolitic cruelties. But, alas ! when shall the dark demon of persecution be exorcised from the Vatican? The pope sent a congratulatory letter to Louis xiv. on this dolefully tragical occasion ; a triumphal ode instead of a dirge, applauding it as an “ illustrious proof ” of Louis’s “ inbred piety ! ” “ The Catholic church,” says Innocent, “ shall most assuredly record in her sacred annals a work of such devotion towards her, and celebrate your name in never-dying praises.”

But Innocent was hardly sincere in the gratitude he professed. In secret he trembled far more at the overgrown and despotically used power of Louis than at all the heresies of the Huguenots ; and thus we find him, in the last years of his pontificate, actually siding with Protestants against his “ devoted ” and “ pious ” son !

The royal house of Stuart in England was just then in a very critical position. James ii. had kindled the resentment of his subjects by his manifestly popish predilections, and his evident design to restore Popery as the established religion. With these predilections and designs Innocent was exactly acquainted, and had so

far availed himself of the occasion as to send a nuncio to England, who resided openly in London. Four Roman Catholic bishops were also consecrated at the Chapel Royal, and Romish ecclesiastics appeared at court in the habits of their orders ; while the Jesuits formed a college in the Savoy, and more than a dozen monks were always entertained at St. James's.

And yet, notwithstanding the brilliant prospects thus opened to the papacy in England, we find Innocent affording political aid to the very prince whose avowed object it was to destroy these prospects, and render Protestantism in England secure and safe for ever ! The banner of William, prince of Orange, when he invaded the British Isles, bore the inscription, "The Protestant Religion and the Liberties of England." Yet, because, while assailing James, the prince of Orange was also making war upon Louis, the head of the Romish church sent him subsidies, and wished him God speed !

"Strange complication !" says Ranke. "At the court of Rome were combined the threads of that alliance which had for its aim and result the liberation of Protestantism from the last great danger by which it was threatened in Western Europe." Who can thoughtfully consider this fact, which is yet only one of a series of such facts carefully noted in this history, and then fear lest the Roman apostasy should ever entirely regain her lost supremacy ? How plain it is that she is even doomed by God to accomplish her own destruction ! "The Lord

reigneth : the world also shall be established that it shall not be moved : he shall judge the people righteously."

The pontificate and life of Innocent XI. terminated in 1689, closing a most eventful reign, although it lasted but thirteen years.

CHAPTER VIII.

PONTIFICATES OF ALEXANDER VIII. AND INNOCENT XII.—
FURTHER TOKENS OF DECLINE.

A.D. 1689—1700.

THE conclave were now nearly unanimous in placing the tiara on the head of the cardinal Ottoboni, who had in fact been the chief administrator of papal affairs throughout the previous reign.

ALEXANDER VIII. was already eighty years old, and the short period which had yet to elapse before he should descend to the tomb was unmarked by many noteworthy events. Before arriving at his final honours he appears to have created many enemies, and unhappily it is chiefly from these that we have accounts of his character. If we may credit a document found in the archives of the Vatican, entitled "The Confession of Alexander VIII.," a full history of this pontiff would show how popes of even a fair reputation, and of far superior morals to many, have been carried away by the inherent vices of the papacy, which render it almost, perhaps quite, impossible, for a pontiff to be thoroughly

honest. In this "confession," affirmed to have been made to a Jesuit priest in the last moments of Alexander's life, the pope laments that he "knowingly and deliberately promoted unsuitable and unworthy, nay, profligate men; had thoughts of nothing but enriching his own kindred; and had, moreover, permitted justice and mercy to be sold, even in the very palace."

Ranke treats this "confession" as "one of the satirical writings of the time." Yet if so, satire is for the most part only truth grotesquely presented. And an eye-witness of pope Alexander's deportment, even while praising the pontiff because he was "easy of access, gentle, compassionate, pliable, and considerate towards princes," expresses his astonishment that this pope should be made a mark for invective "because he showed affection to his kindred, was more disposed to intrust important charges to them than to others, and wished to provide for them with a certain liberality." The probability is that Alexander's conscience was not entirely hardened, and that in his last moments he sincerely lamented allowing himself to be carried away by the current of customary vice.

The principal feature in Alexander's pontificate was the steady opposition he maintained to the encroachments of Louis XIV. On all possible occasions he discovered this hostility, and only just before his death he issued a bull, declaring that the decrees of the French convocation in 1682, which asserted the independ-

ence of the Gallican church, were "vain, invalid, null, and void, having no power to bind even when enforced by an oath." "Day and night," says he, "have I thought of them with bitterness of heart, and lifting my eyes to heaven with tears and sighs." Doubtless few subjects of reflection can be more painful to a conscientious pope than the loss of many of his spiritual subjects, so happily escaped from the thralldom of papal despotism. Alexander died in 1691.

At the ensuing election, the French party in the conclave made the most determined efforts to obtain a pontiff who should be favourable to the views of their royal master; and they thought that in the quiet and peace-loving Antonio Pignatelli, they had found the character they sought. After a struggle of five months, Pignatelli was elected, and in memory of Innocent XI., to whom he had owed his first advancement, he assumed the same title, and moreover, to the great disappointment of the French, adopted his policy.

INNOCENT XII. "laboured," we are told, "to imitate pope Innocent XI.;" and accordingly, when that band of French clergy appointed to vacant bishoprics by Louis XIV. applied to the new pontiff for the "*institution*" which had hitherto been constantly denied them, he again refused to compromise the dignity of the papal see by any departure from canonical rule. Great was the disappointment in France, and loud the remonstrances which were forwarded

to Rome. But Innocent continued firm in his decision, and eventually the French bishops, despairing of ever otherwise obtaining an acknowledgment of their dignity or permission to exercise their functions, fully humbled themselves at the footstool of the pope. "Casting ourselves," said they, "at the feet of your holiness, we profess our unspeakable grief for what has been done." They further declared that the decrees of 1682 should be regarded as not having any legal force.

This surprising humiliation of the French clergy to the Italian pontiff is not, however, to be ascribed to any advance of power on the part of the Roman See. It is wholly attributable to the political difficulties which, at the close of the seventeenth century, enthralled and fettered the proud monarch of France.

The ambitious designs of Louis XIV. had then become so very apparent as to arouse the jealousy of all the European courts; and, guided by the genius of William, prince of Orange, they had so successfully conducted their warlike operations against him as greatly to mortify his pride. Those great generals and statesmen, Turenne, Condé, Colbert, and Louvois, who had adorned and strengthened the first era of his reign, were all now dead; and Louis was compelled to see that the chief lustre of his glory had passed away. Under these circumstances he was unwilling to perpetuate his hostility with the pope, lest his

authority at home should be weakened by the disaffection of the clergy, at a time when he needed the full benefit of all the resources his kingdom possessed.

It is instructive, however, to mark with what unyielding pertinacity the papacy adheres to resolutions once adopted. In vain may even a powerful monarch like Louis XIV. attempt to overawe the *infallible* church. Nothing short of absolute force will divert her from her aim ; nothing whatever will change her purposes. Her plans have often indeed been kept in abeyance for a time, but they only await a fit opportunity. And thus the decrees of Innocent XI., ineffectually repeated by Alexander VIII., were in more auspicious days carried into effect by Innocent XII.

The pontificate of Innocent, notwithstanding this apparent triumph, abundantly discovered that the fortunes of Rome were growing every day more dependent on the political relations of other states. In this pontificate, the tiara and crosier no longer stem the current of European events, or, as they had often done, direct its course ; they float lightly upon the stream, turning hither and thither with all its winding eddies. If Louis XIV. is depressed, the papacy may enjoy a short respite from coercion, but another ruler and oppressor is quickly found. In 1692, Louis surrenders her some liberties, and fondly imagining herself wholly free, she puts on the gleefulness of a bride ; in 1697, the emperor Leopold I. ambitiously seeks

to revive all the ancient grandeur of the empire, and Rome straightway clothes herself in mourning apparel.

In that year the emperor boldly declared that the possessions of the pope were mere fiefs of the empire, and caused an edict to be placarded in Rome, pronouncing the pontiff to be a rebel unless within a fixed time he applied for investiture. It need occasion no surprise that this claim met with a successful resistance. Powerful as the emperor was in comparison with the pope, he could not re-establish an authority which had been extinct for ages, and against which all Europe would have protested. The pope obtained sympathy from the French and several other governments, and the emperor was at last dissuaded from urging his obsolete pretensions. But the fact of their being urged at all sufficiently discovers the real weakness of the popedom; and the politic, but circuitous method by which they were repelled is another illustration of its decline. How fallen indeed from the lofty throne of Gregory the Seventh and of Innocent the Third!

A controversy which had long agitated France was about this time brought for decision before the tribunal of the pope. This was the famous controversy respecting "Quietism," which had long engaged in theological strife the eloquent pens of Fénelon and Bossuet. The writings of Madame Guion* had first of all

* Some of Madame Guion's hymns have been translated by the poet Cowper. Whatever opinion may be formed of some

given celebrity to the views of the Quietists, and the impetuosity with which they were attacked by the "Eagle of Meaux," had brought to their defence, out of his contemplative and beloved retirement, the amiable bishop of Cambray. "That God ought to be loved with a disinterested rather than with a grateful affection," and "that communion with Him is never perfect except when it escapes from the formality of words," were some of the leading doctrines which the Quietists advanced, and which, however difficult they may be of apprehension, or even questionable in their tendency, seem hardly to deserve the epithets applied to them by Bossuet as "monstrous and diabolical." But Bossuet was high in favour, both at Versailles and Rome, and he accordingly procured, first the imprisonment of Madame Guion in the Bastille, and then, in 1699, a sentence from the pope that Fénelon's defence of the system was of a heterodox tenor. With the readers of this narrative, however, a papal sentence will have lost by this time most of its weight; and in truth there is no doubt that whether the system called Quietism be erroneous or right, the Quietists themselves included the larger proportion of the really pious and devout who were to be found at that time in France. It was for the most part the same spirit and the same party that contended at once with Jansenism and Quietism.

of her doctrines, it cannot be doubted by those who have read her memoirs that she was a lady of the deepest piety.

INNOCENT XII.

In his management of secular affairs, Innocent XII. established a fair title to the laurels of a patriot. He did not, like Alexander VIII., attempt to enrich himself and his house from the impoverished exchequer of the states, but diligently applied himself to the task of first increasing the revenue, and then employing it in works of public utility. On the ruins of the ancient Antium he built the modern seaport town of Port d'Anzo, and in Rome he constructed aqueducts, courts of justice, and hospitals. But the depraved mind of that generation could neither understand nor tolerate the virtue of patriotism. Because Innocent departed from the time-honoured precedent of enriching his kindred, he was vehemently assailed with abuse by the cardinals and clergy in general. Those hungry cormorants were greatly dissatisfied at seeing a new precedent established, to which perhaps they might themselves be compelled to conform. And thus, by a vitiated and demoralized people, Innocent XII. was severely blamed for that which constitutes perhaps his sole title to our praise.

CHAPTER IX.

PONTIFICATE OF CLEMENT XI.—FALL OF PORT ROYAL.

A. D. 1700—1721.

A NEW century introduces to us a new pope. Innocent XII. died in September, A. D. 1700

and before the end of the year the cardinal Albani succeeded to the tiara, and commenced a long and important pontificate.

Gianfrancesco Albani, pope CLEMENT XI., was the unanimous choice of the conclave, and in reality stood the highest among the cardinals for merit. The learning and talent which alone had raised him to the seat of power, had formerly obtained for him the patronage of the clever but eccentric and profligate Christina of Sweden, when she kept court at Rome. His affable and yet wary deportment towards both equals and inferiors, had greatly ingratiated him with all classes of the Romans, although some of his contemporaries ventured to insinuate that his popular qualities were only the result of a careful study to avoid giving offence. "Clement XI.," says Ranke, "might be considered the very creation and true representative of the court of Rome, which he had never quitted." A bland behaviour, and a silent, watchful, and cautious course of conduct, have ever been the highest recommendations and surest titles to advancement at the court of Rome. Sad evidence that the religion which inculcates simplicity and sincerity as the chief ornaments of character have no great influence there !

It was a critical moment for Europe when Clement XI. ascended the papal throne. Charles II. of Spain, the last descendant of the Austrian house, had died just a fortnight before ; and already, amid the stillness which portended the

coming tempest of war, the rumbling of distant thunder might be heard. Louis XIV. was resolved at all hazards that his grandson, Philip v., whom he had skilfully contrived to place on the vacant throne, should keep possession of the prize. The other European monarchs, especially those of England and Austria, were equally determined to check the insatiable ambition of the Bourbons; and preparations were commenced on all hands for a general and decisive war.

Presuming on the large resources and the singular good fortune of "the great king," the pope ventured on the hardy step of espousing his cause. In a letter to Louis he expressed his pleasure that the latter had refused to accept less than the entire and undivided kingdom of Spain for his grandson, although there were other claimants equally entitled to a share, and between whom, indeed, the allied sovereigns who were in the field against Louis proposed to divide it. Clement even proceeded so far as to promise subsidies in aid of the French designs.

For a time the forward and rash confidence of the pontiff seemed justified by events. The French arms were quite successful in an expedition against Vienna, and Clement found it impossible, however imprudent, to conceal the satisfaction he felt. But reverses soon followed. The duke of Marlborough's victories over the largest armies of France on the battle-fields of Blenheim, Ramillies, and Donauwerth, and the

astounding capture of Gibraltar, completely changed the aspect of the scene, and humbled the arrogance of Louis.

Unhappy Italy had been regarded for too many ages as the natural prey of the neighbouring kingdoms, not to suffer greatly during this protracted and bloody war. And, although Clement XI. had not openly joined either of the contending parties, yet his well-known partiality for the French brought down upon the papal states all the ire of the emperor. Not only did the Austrian army commit great depredations in its passage through the papal territory to Naples; the emperor, Joseph I., thought the present an admirable occasion for once more reviving the old imperial claims. He took pleasure in mortifying the pope by re-uniting to the empire a number of the fiefs on which the pontiffs had laid their greedy hands, and he insisted on Clement's acknowledging his brother, the archduke Charles, as the rightful successor to the throne of Spain, under penalty of suffering yet greater and more painful losses.

By every means in his power—by stratagems and delays, by entreaties and even threats—did the pope strive to escape or evade the humiliating command. Eagerly, but vainly, he looked on all sides for assistance. On the day appointed by the emperor for his final decision, and after which, if he refused consent, his capital was to be attacked by a hostile force, he waited till eleven o'clock at night in

the vain hope that some escape might be found, and then, with sadness and reluctance, signed the required acknowledgment. No sooner had the deed been accomplished than the French ambassador indignantly quitted Rome, declaring it was no longer the seat of the church.

To what straits do we here see the proud bishop of Rome reduced! How low had the papacy sunk before the increasing might of the European sovereigns! He who was wont to be regarded as the supreme arbiter of peace and war was beaten, like a tennis ball, from hand to hand. Even the political independence of the papacy was virtually gone. It existed only by sufferance.

Although the French ambassador had departed in high dudgeon, it was to France that the pope's eyes were still most hopefully and anxiously directed. The astonishing growth of that nation in power and wealth since the accession of Louis XIV., together with the talent and learning of the clergy who flourished during his reign, had rendered the Gallican church, in spite of its pretensions to independence, the fairest province of the papacy, and the brightest jewel in the papal diadem. It was natural, therefore, that Clement should be loth to lose France, and that the religious condition of that country should attract his profoundest concern.

And just now there were special reasons for that concern. The strife between the Jesuits and the Jansenists had broken out

afresh. Quesnel's translation of the New Testament, with annotations, (*Réflexions Morales*), was the spark that had rekindled the fire. In his notes attached to the sacred text, Quesnel had expressed, in elegant and even fascinating language, the leading doctrines of the Jansenist sect; that is, all those doctrines of grace which gave the Jansenists so powerful a hold on Protestant sympathies. The Jesuits were greatly incensed at this bold reiteration of sentiments which had been once and again condemned, and immediately applied both to the French king and to the pope for the suppression of Quesnel's book.

Clement displayed in this business the cautious and not very sincere character which his eulogists so highly admire. In the first year of his pontificate, he had himself met with the "Moral Reflections," and had expressed in ardent terms his pleasure in the perusal. The abbé Renaudot relates, that being then in Rome he went one day to see the pope, who was himself learned and fond of learned society. He found Clement studiously reading father Quesnel's book. On seeing Renaudot enter the apartment, the pope said, in a kind of rapture, "Here is a most excellent book! We have nobody at Rome who is capable of writing in this manner; I wish I could engage the author to reside here!"

But the request of Louis and the Jesuits was not to be slighted by a pontiff for a mere qualm of conscience; and accordingly the bull known

as the bull *Unigenitus* was issued, which condemned in broad and sweeping terms all the errors of the Jansenists and Quietists. No fewer than one hundred and one heretical propositions were discovered by the keen eyes of the Jesuits in the book of Quesnel, and were condemned by that pope who had once read them with so much approbation and delight!

As specimens of the doctrines taught by the Jansenists, and now openly censured by the pope, we may select a few from the condemned propositions. One of them is this: "It is useful and necessary at all times, in all places, and for every kind of persons, to study and know the spirit, piety, and mysteries of the Holy Scriptures." Others of them run thus: "The reading of the Holy Scriptures is for all."—"Sunday ought to be hallowed by Christians by reading books of devotion, and especially the Holy Scriptures."—"To snatch the New Testament from the hands of Christians, or to keep it shut from them by taking away from them the means of understanding it, is to close the mouth of Christ against them." Such were the doctrines now condemned by the head of the Romish church as "*false, scandalous, impious, blasphemous, and heretical.*" Rome never has and never will tolerate the free reading of the Scriptures: and this alone is sufficient to annihilate her claims to be a true church of Jesus Christ—of him who said, "Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me."

Taking prompt advantage of the storm which they had so successfully raised, the Jesuits now resolved on the total destruction of the detested convent of Port Royal. The archbishop of Paris, De Noailles, reluctantly consented at the royal bidding to give the necessary orders, and in July, 1709, the recluses were all driven from their much-loved home, some of them, overwhelmed by a calamity too heavy for their infirm age, dying on the way from the abbey to the places appointed for their abode. In the following year the abbey itself was pillaged of all that was valuable, and its walls were then levelled with the ground. Finally, in the year 1711, the bodies of those who had been buried there were disinterred, and inhumanly broken to pieces with the most disgusting indecency and brutality, the mangled fragments being hastily heaped together, and hidden from sight in one common grave.

It is said that the archbishop De Noailles afterwards visited the spot, and was so affected at the sad scene of ruin, as to exhibit the most violent remorse. As he looked at the devastated burial-ground, which once had contained the remains of many holy servants and confessors of Christ, the sight seemed to fill him with despair. "Oh!" he cried, "all these dismantled stones will rise against me in the day of judgment! Oh! how shall I ever bear the vast, the heavy load!"

Not without meet retribution do such crimes as those of the Jesuits and Louis XIV. pass

away. The monarch who had done his utmost, and too fatally, to subvert and destroy all vital religion in France, in both the Roman Catholic and the Protestant churches; who had signed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and given over the Huguenots to persecution; who had decreed the imprisonment of Madame Guion, the banishment of Quesnel and Fénelon, and the destruction of Port Royal—was destined to reap his reward in the decay of his own power whilst yet living, and after his death, in the wild hurricane of the French revolution, in the public execution of his descendants, in the total departure of the sceptre from his house, and, may we not say, in the everlasting infamy which darkens the meretricious glory of his name.

And so also were the Jesuits punished; eventually with condign disgrace, and in some degree almost immediately. “Scarcely was the triumph of the Jesuits complete,” says an enthusiastic admirer of Port Royal, “when, like the thunder of Divine indignation, a stroke burst upon them from a distant quarter, which shook their credit to the very foundation. Scarcely had they unjustly destroyed the children of God to obtain unrivalled influence, when the whole of that influence was blasted by a foreign hand.”

Complaints had been made for many years by the Dominican and Franciscan missionaries in China, that the surprising successes of the Jesuits there in making converts were entirely owing to the tricks and frauds which they

employed, and the corruptions with which they adulterated the gospel to make it acceptable to the heathen. The influence of the Jesuits at Rome had hitherto prevented these complaints receiving very serious attention. But now the accusations were preferred by parties too powerful to be disregarded, and a mass of evidence was produced which proved that the Jesuits, for the sake of increasing their own credit and power, had winked at many superstitions and heathenish customs, and in some cases had openly sanctioned and countenanced the most infamous practices of idolatry.

Compelled to take notice of these charges, Clement XI. issued a bull, condemning all such conduct, and forbidding the Chinese converts any longer to practise the idolatrous rites of paying divine honours to their deceased parents, and to their great lawgiver Confucius. The authority of the pope was of course too insignificant in China to alter the course pursued by the Jesuits, and the Romish congregations there continued to be nothing better than a mere caricature of Christian churches; but in Europe the power of the order was greatly diminished by this terrible exposure of their deceits, and they sank for ever in the estimation of all honest and enlightened men.

Clement XI. died in 1721. He had acquired the reputation of being a *prudent* pope; for his deportment was sober and well-regulated, his attention to the public rites of religion rigid and constant, and his visits to churches and

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hospitals unusually frequent. With all this, however, it is impossible to recognise real piety in a pontiff who seems to have had the fear of man before his eyes much more than the fear of God, and whose behaviour was always politic and time-serving rather than truthful and just.

CHAPTER X.

PONTIFICATES OF INNOCENT XIII., BENEDICT XIII., AND
CLEMENT XII.—ADVANCES OF DECAY.

A. D. 1721—1740.

THE election of INNOCENT XIII. gave abundant proof of the dependent state into which the papacy had fallen. Cardinal Paulucci had been first proposed, but the imperial ambassador declared that his master would never acknowledge Paulucci as pope, and that cardinal Conti would be a more acceptable choice. The obsequious conclave thereupon unanimously agreed that Conti should receive the tiara.

Innocent's age was already very advanced, and his feeble health prevented his taking an active part in the business of government. He gave audience to but few, and treated even these with the impatience and querulousness of old age, rather than with the dignity befitting a sovereign. "The ambassador of Malta," wrote an eye-witness, "will long remember how the pontiff, after a somewhat impetuous entreaty for assistance, gave him his blessing on the spot, and rang the bell for his departure."

But if Innocent's age and infirmities incapacitated him for active business, they at least saved him from doing much harm. He did not restore, any more than his predecessor, the *nepotism* of former days, and his relations, who had hoped great things at his accession, were completely and bitterly disappointed. The emperor, who had so warmly promoted his election, also continued friendly throughout his short and uneventful reign, which closed in 1724.

Of BENEDICT XIII., who succeeded Innocent, we have also on the whole tolerably favourable accounts. It was happy for him that he had fallen on quiet times, with little either to stimulate or provoke him. The great conflicts of the eighteenth century, social and religious, had not yet commenced. Except in Germany and England, there was little activity of mind, or, at all events, little freedom of discussion. Central Italy also was beginning to turn her attention to trade and commerce, and the records of Benedict's pontificate are mostly occupied with describing the decline of Venetian prosperity, and the efforts of the papal government to establish a productive commerce at home.

In this direction, however, no great amount of success was possible for such a people as the Romans. The constitution of the papal states, the incurable abuses which prevailed, the listless habits of the aristocracy—in a word, the demoralized condition of Roman society, tended powerfully to repress the activities of commerce. The popes might, and did, build sea-

port towns, like St. Michael and Ripa, in the hope of attracting a lucrative trade ; but what trade of importance could ever be carried on by a people who found pleasure in a life of mere enjoyment, without any other object of desire than the luxury of doing nothing ?

For his own part, the pope set a better example, but to little or no purpose. Benedict was simple in his habits, living almost as frugally as a hermit in his cell ; he disliked the pomp and magnificence which former pontiffs had ostentatiously paraded before the world, and he endeavoured to correct the morals of the clergy by calling an express council in the church of the Lateran. It is even said that he meditated a grand scheme for uniting together all the communities which called themselves Christian—the Romish, Greek, Lutheran, and Calvinist. But his very entertainment of such a thought suggests to us that Benedict's mind was enfeebled by the natural imbecilities of age. He died, eighty-two years old, in 1730.

CLEMENT XII., like his predecessor, was old and infirm at the time of his election, and neither the political nor the ecclesiastical events of his reign possess much interest for the modern reader. So entirely had the papacy been robbed of that influence, once so predominant in the councils of Europe, that it now had less weight amongst them than many a third-rate power. A petty struggle with the emperor for the duchies of Parma and Placentia, in which the latter imposed compliance rather than

obtained a victory, and an offer to mediate between the little republic of Genoa and the Corsicans, were the most important occurrences which marked the popedom of Clement. Such were now the mightiest efforts of the once universally feared Roman pontiff!

Unpleasant embarrassments were also beginning to be felt from a deficiency of revenue. Clement tried, as former pontiffs had done, the expedient of state-lotteries, but the only result was to precipitate the public ruin. The immorality of these measures seemed to infect the whole administration. All the officers of government displayed an incurable corruptness. Breaches of trust and general dishonesty were the order of the day. The papal expenditure far exceeded its income, and with no prospect of being increased, for not only had the emperor succeeded in wresting from the pontiff some of his fairest and richest domains, but even Portugal and Spain, always hitherto devotedly faithful to Rome, now ventured to suspend their annual tribute, and discovered an evident inclination still further to follow the example of Austria and France, in withdrawing from the pope the patronage of all benefices, and vesting them in their own sovereigns.

Clement XII. died early in 1740, and the year was nearly closed before a successor was chosen. On the one hand, the conclave were alive to the urgent necessity of electing a man whose energy and ability should do something towards retrieving the state of affairs; on the

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other hand, they were too sensible of their own weakness to risk giving offence to the neighbouring courts. At length they fixed on a man who was at least unlikely to be offensive, as he had never in his life been engaged in diplomatic affairs either as ambassador or nuncio. This was Prospero Lambertini, a native of Bologna.

CHAPTER XI.

PONTIFICATE OF BENEDICT XIV.—PAPAL CONCESSIONS—
THE JESUITS THREATENED.

A. D. 1740—1758.

BENEDICT XIV. had spent his whole life in the study of canon law, and in discharging those offices of the Roman court in which his studies fitted him to be employed. He was of a frank, open disposition, and would never, we are told, “practise any of those arts which are called *Romanesque*,” in which Clement XI. had so greatly excelled. This candour and sincerity still attended him as pope, and, united with a cheerful temper, made him more an object of love than of reverence. He was apt at conversation, and indulged the habit of seasoning his discourse with witty jests. Often, even after he became pope, would he rise from his occupation when some merry fancy had occurred to him, and whispering it in his broad Bolognese dialect to such members of the court as were in attendance, return to his desk enjoying the mirth his facetiousness had caused.

So thoroughly laborious and studious, however, was the new pontiff, that he had little occasion for counsellors, and those whom he most employed were such as were well qualified to execute his behests, and to attend to the details of plans which he himself had sketched out. "With a bold and comprehensive glance," says Ranke, "he made himself master of the relations in which the papal see was placed to the powers of Europe, discerning clearly what it was possible to retain, and what must be abandoned."

And no sooner was he seated on the throne than he found occasion to employ this useful faculty. It was doubtless well for the safety of the Roman court that it now possessed a head that understood the peculiarity of the times. Benedict's whole genius was engrossed throughout his pontificate in making such timely and appropriate concessions as would stave off the perils which threatened entire destruction to the papacy.

The first step taken in this direction was a measure for conciliating the king of Sardinia. The right of appointing to certain abbeys and other benefices had long been a disputed point between the popes and the house of Savoy. Benedict at once conceded the whole, and by thus gracefully submitting to a considerable loss of revenue and power, secured the goodwill of the Sardinian monarch. So also to the king of Portugal he granted a large extension of the right of patronage, and even in Naples he

consented to restrictions on the papal prerogative, and suffered the clergy to be included in the public taxation. When complaints reached him from Austria that the multitude of holidays interfered with the industry of the people, Benedict not only permitted a reduction of the number, but did not interfere when the emperor proceeded so far as to *exact* labour on those days even from persons who were themselves disposed to abide by the custom of the church and the teaching of the priests.

Sometimes, also, the pontiff contrived yet more skilfully to pluck the flower from the nettle, by making his concessions in the form of a bargain. When the king of Spain demanded the right of appointing to all benefices in his dominions, Benedict assented with a small reservation, on condition of receiving an annual payment from the Spanish treasury equal to the sum formerly paid by the clergy.

If we were not accustomed by this time to the spectacle of a pontiff basely bartering away his pretended spiritual supremacy for gold; if we did not know that the claim itself is but a mere pretence, and that many of the pontiffs themselves have only cared for it as a source of worldly advantage, we might be struck with horror at this transaction. Horrible and detestable it would be were the claim a just one. As it is, however, we do not affect horror at the conduct of Benedict. Regarding him as a successor to a mighty usurpation, which had for ages haughtily maintained its claim to certain tem-

poral prerogatives in all the earth, we rather admire the wise sagacity which discovered that the time for such demands had wholly passed away, and the conciliatory moderation which distinguished Benedict above so many of his predecessors.

By these large concessions the revenue of the papal state was of course considerably reduced. Yet so skilfully did Benedict economize his resources, that he not only silenced all murmuring on this score, but entitled himself to a place among the most munificent patrons of art and science, the most generous benefactors and embellishers of modern Rome. He repaired churches, constructed fountains, dug out antiquities, and engaged himself generally in works calculated to improve and enrich the people. By steadfastly pursuing this disinterested course to the end of life, and doing nothing to aggrandize his own family, he secured peace and plenty throughout his pontificate, and his reign was long remembered as the last period of unalloyed happiness which the country had enjoyed.

This tranquillity of the papal states was not, however, the common lot of the Roman Catholic church. Symptoms were manifesting themselves throughout Europe of some great approaching convulsion. The struggle between the Jansenists and the Jesuits had now assumed a much wider form than in days of old. The cause of the oppressed Jansenists was everywhere espoused by the learned, who revered

the authority of Augustine ; and it soon likewise became the cause of the Orders, whose jealousy of the Jesuits daily increased ; while in France it was adopted by the parliaments, which regarded every act of the pope's as an infringement of Gallican rights.

In every country, therefore, the Jansenists stood forth as the advocates of liberty, whether religious or political ; while the Jesuits were justly considered the main bulwark of despotism both in church and state. At the same time, the sceptical philosophy of the eighteenth century, which opposed itself to all revealed religion, but most of all to any that was dogmatically and violently imposed, was beginning to exert its powerful and fatal influence. Voltaire, the great apostle of that deistical philosophy, had already been twice imprisoned in the Bastille for the freedom with which he dared to satirize the despotic measures of Louis xv. and his Jesuit advisers. And although there was nothing in common between this party and the Jansenists but the antipathy they both felt to the Jesuits, yet this alone was strong enough to induce them to unite their forces in one desperate assault on that proud, powerful, and dangerous Order.

As it was in Portugal that the Jesuits had attained their first successes, and had longest held their absolute dominion alike over the government and the confessional ; so was it arranged in the providence of God that Portugal should first of all witness their humiliation and

fall. The sovereign of that country, Joseph I., had chosen for his prime minister the marquis de Pombal, a statesman of great energy and heroical daring, and who had learned from his youth to detest the machinations of the Jesuits. So early as 1751 Pombal had issued a decree, restraining and limiting the action of the Inquisition, and had thereby drawn upon himself the wrath of the whole Order by which the office of the Inquisition was exclusively conducted. In revenge for this interference of Pombal's, the Jesuits set themselves to oppose every measure of his administration. When, for instance, he created a wine-company for the purpose of increasing the production of that staple article of Portuguese trade, the Jesuits, themselves extensive wine-merchants, raised an insurrection of the people, declaring, among other things, that the wines of the new company were not fit for the celebration of the mass. And when the terrible earthquake of Lisbon took place in 1756, they openly ascribed it to the wrath of God at the impiety of Pombal and his supporters.

But the greatest provocation given by the Portuguese Jesuits, was their daring to carry on a rebellious war against their own monarch in the missions of Paraguay. There they designed to establish a government of their own, so that they might continue without interruption or control their lucrative commerce with the natives. They had already laid the foundation of such a government by leaguering

together more than thirty towns, containing a population of one hundred thousand souls. And now, with these important resources, they ventured to dispute the will of their lawful sovereign, and waged war with Portugal from the year 1754 to 1757.

Entreaties and threatenings proving of no avail, and wearied out at last with these daring acts of treason and revolt ; perceiving, moreover, that the root of the mischief was the practice so long and so successfully used by the Jesuits, of *trading* wherever they pretended to convert, Pombal resolved on making an appeal to the pope against the entire Order, whilst he himself struck a yet more decisive blow against them at home. Both these designs were forthwith accomplished, for at Lisbon he banished the king's confessor, who was a Jesuit, giving directions that no Jesuit should thenceforth approach the court without express permission, and at Rome he made strong representations and complaints of the crimes committed by the Order in Paraguay, and of the factious intrigues with which they disturbed the peace and prosperity of Portugal.

Benedict xiv. was by no means attached to the Jesuits ; indeed, he has been accused of Jansenist predilections. He had already enacted bulls against the devotion to worldly pursuits, and particularly to trade, displayed by the missionaries of the Roman church ; and in one of them had specified the Jesuits by name, forbidding them "to make slaves of the Indians,

to sell them, barter or give them away, to separate them from their wives and children, to rob them of their property, or transport them from their native soil." He now repeated these prohibitions, and appointed cardinal Saldanha, the patriarch of Lisbon, to make a thorough investigation into the state of the Order in Portugal.

This was the last public act of Benedict xiv., who died in May, 1758; and the cardinals, now fully awakened to the perils that threatened the papacy, observing how the tone of foreign courts grew daily more and more dictatorial, and alarmed at the concessions made by the late pontiff, elected as his successor Carlo Rezzonico, a man of entirely opposite character and contrary opinions. But this change in their policy had now come too late.

CHAPTER XII.

PONTIFICATE OF CLEMENT XIII.—JESUITS EXPELLED FROM PORTUGAL, FRANCE, AND SPAIN.

A. D. 1758—1769.

CLEMENT XIII. was a Venetian by birth, and although destitute of talent, had gained a high reputation at Rome by his attention to the rites of religious worship. He prayed much, and with apparent fervour; he was very zealous for the prosperity of the Romish church; he sought the character of a saint, and his highest ambition was to obtain the glory of canonization.

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On his accession to the papal throne, Clement resolved that, far from the ignoble concessions of his predecessors, he would surrender none, not even the meanest of his prerogatives. He flattered himself that by earnest perseverance, those which had been so weakly sacrificed might yet be regained, and the diminished splendour of Rome be raised to its ancient lustre. This was the task he set himself to accomplish, but neither his own genius nor the circumstances of the age permitted Clement XIII. to realize his hopes.

With the dislike which Benedict XIV. had discovered to the Jesuits, Clement XIII. had no manner of sympathy. He regarded them, on the contrary, as the principal supporters and most faithful servants of the holy see. He neither saw the necessity for reforming the Order, nor would he ever listen to suggestions on the subject. And in all these feelings and views, he was strongly seconded by the majority of the cardinals then resident at Rome.

Entertaining such decided opinions and resolves, the dismay of the pontiff may be imagined when, in April, 1759, he received a communication from Portugal expressing the resolution of the king to expel the Jesuits from his dominions. The charges brought against them, however, were of too serious a character, and too well supported by evidence, to be treated with levity, or rebutted with contempt.

The marquis of Pombal's reforms had long ago excited the resentment of the nobles, and

the restraints he had imposed upon the Jesuits had led them to sympathize in the hostility of that Order. To humble, and if possible to destroy the offensive minister, they determined on aiming a blow at the sovereign himself. In the autumn of 1758, therefore, as the king was returning home in his carriage at a late hour of the night, he was assailed by armed assassins, and shots were fired, which pierced his person in several places. On full investigation, this crime was traced to the heads of several noble families, and the Jesuits were also discovered to be among their abettors and instigators.

Upon the guilty nobles the law was allowed to take its proper course, and they were executed with all the frightful cruelties of those times. But, respecting the Jesuits, it was needful to be more cautious, and out of deference to the pope, a memorial was first of all forwarded to Rome, setting forth again their numerous crimes both in Portugal and America, and asking the pontiff's consent to the destruction of an Order whose "dangerous excesses, immoderate licenses, and infamous outrages, fill all Europe with scandal and disgust."

Quite at a loss how to proceed, Clement XIII. delayed his answer for several months, and then reluctantly signified his consent to the king's judicially trying all the ecclesiastics implicated in the above conspiracy, but begged him, at the same time, to use all moderation and mercy; above all, "to avoid *shedding the blood* of those devoted to the service of God."

But so much lenity appeared to the Portuguese minister exceedingly ill-timed, and not at all consistent with the safety of the state. He therefore resolved on the execution of the malefactor-priests, and on the condign punishment of the whole Order. Malagrida, the chief Jesuit conspirator, was strangled and burned in a solemn *auto-da-fé*, and a decree was issued for the immediate expulsion of the Order from all the Portuguese dominions. In a few days the vessels, both of the royal and merchant navy, were filled with these priests, and conveyed them to the coast of Italy.

While Europe stood astonished at the boldness of this deed, there were other monarchs almost prepared to follow the example of Joseph I., for in every kingdom the Jesuits were suspected and hated by a large proportion of the people. In France especially, that dislike to all religions which was daily becoming more apparent, directed itself most intensely and most justly against the Jesuits, as the inveterate oppressors of both the intellects and the hearts of men. The turn of the French Jesuits came next; and, much to the chagrin of pope Clement, without long delay.

Louis xv., the weak and licentious king of France, was governed with almost absolute authority by his mistress, Madame de Pompadour, and his favourite, the duke de Choiseul. Both of these cherished a vehement detestation of the Jesuits; the former, because the king's confessor, with singular severity in a Jesuit, had

refused him the sacrament unless he would dismiss his mistress ; and the latter, because he feared the political effects which the intriguing habits of the Order might produce. But Louis himself was too superstitious, and too much inclined to pay homage to the priesthood, (as a sort of compensation to his conscience for the debaucheries he committed,) to have ever consented to the expulsion of the Jesuits, if his favourites had not found means to work upon his *fears*.

They represented to him, for this purpose, that the parliaments and the nation generally were exasperated against the Jesuits. Nor was the statement unfounded in truth. Disclosures had lately been made of the trading speculations carried on by the Order, which had led to the trial of father Lavalette, the banking priest of Martinique, and to the exposure of the whole Jesuit system. A topic so exciting instantly became the engrossing topic of conversation in every circle. Pamphlets on both sides poured forth from the press. "Nothing," says St. Priest, "was talked of but probabilism, surrenders of conscience, obsolete maxims, and mental reservation." De Choiseul and Pompadour earnestly warned the king to beware of a new Fronde. The people were provoked, they said, and it would be necessary either to silence them forcibly by abolishing the parliaments, or to satisfy them by suppressing the Jesuits. The former was too dangerous an experiment, however tempting to the despotic disposition of a

Bourbon, and the latter course was therefore adopted.

Still anxious in no way to irritate the pope, Louis first of all proposed to Lorenzo Ricci, general of the Order, that a vicar should be appointed to reside in France, a deputy of the general himself, and whose residence within the kingdom would render him, in some degree, amenable to the national government. To this mild and reasonable proposal, the general bluntly replied, "*Sint ut sunt, aut non sint*,"—"Let them be as they are, or not be any longer." Application was next made to the pope, but his characteristic answer was that "he could not venture to change a constitution which had been distinctly approved by the holy Council of Trent." The ultimate result of all this obstinacy was, of course, the downfall of the Jesuits. In 1764, the entire Order was expelled from all the soil of France.

In Spain, the humiliations and chastisements of the Order, as if in retribution for their former cruelties to the Protestants of that country, were even more painful and degrading than elsewhere. Here they had been maintained in all honour up to the very moment of their fall. The stroke came upon them like a clap of thunder. Charles III. had detected their conspiracies, which had led to an insurrection in Madrid; and having silently and secretly, for a whole year, prepared his revenge, poured it out in one day on all the Jesuits in his dominions. He only reproached himself, he said,

for having been too lenient to so dangerous a body; and then, drawing a deep sigh, he added, "I have learned to know them too well."

On the 7th of April, 1767, on the same day and at the same hour, in Spain, in the north and south of Africa, in Asia and America, the alcalds of all towns opened the despatches which they had received from Madrid. These despatches ordered them, on pain of death, within twenty-four hours to enter all the establishments of the Jesuits, to take possession of their property, and send them away to the places specified, giving to each man only a breviary, a purse, and some apparel. Nearly six thousand priests, of all ages and conditions, including many who were old and infirm, were stowed away in the holds of the ships, and so were sent adrift on the ocean. *Sent adrift*—for at the command of the stern general Ricci, Italy rejected them; they were repulsed from Civita Vecchia, Leghorn, and Genoa; and after six months' wandering on the high seas, worn out with fatigue, and decimated by the scythe of death, between three and four thousand found a wretched asylum on the barren island of Corsica.

So secretly had their expulsion been managed, that no notice of it was given even to the pope, who, when he received the news, was violently agitated, and shed a torrent of tears. But the power of the papacy had sunk too low to allow of any effectual resistance to the will of France and Spain, and had the humiliation

of the church terminated here, Clement XIII. would doubtless have submitted in silence. But when Naples, and even the insignificant duchy of Parma, dared to follow the example which had been set them, his wrath could not be restrained. He instantly issued a bull, declaring the style and title of the duke of Parma to be forfeited and extinct for ever.

Little did the unhappy Clement dream of the storm he was bringing upon his own head. He seems to have quite overlooked the connexion of the duke of Parma with both the French and Spanish houses. The cause of the latter was immediately espoused by both these courts, and their troops proceeded forthwith to occupy Avignon, Benevento, and Pontecorvo ; and they demanded, in explicit terms, no less than the total abolition of the Society of the Jesuits, and the secularization of its members.

This sudden and unexpected blow was too much for the pontiff to bear. On receiving it, his fortitude was quite overcome ; he seemed stupified, and remained altogether speechless. Nor did he ever recover from the shock. A slight cold still further weakened him, and in a few days CLEMENT XIII. was numbered with the dead. He was a pope, as St. Priest well says, who belonged rather to the twelfth century, and who was lost and bewildered in the eighteenth. He struggled, uselessly enough, with the mighty tide of events. He did his utmost to retard the inevitable decline of the papal power, but not understanding that it *was*

inevitable, his measures rather hastened than delayed it.

CHAPTER XIII.

PONTIFICATE OF CLEMENT XIV.—FALL OF THE JESUITS.
A.D. 1769—1774.

THE menacing attitude of the European courts was now more than ever alarming to the conclave, and they were exceedingly anxious that the pontiff elected should be one who, by his amenity, would be likely to preserve what was yet left to the popedom, rather than by his obstinacy provoke its total destruction. They had learned at length that the policy of Benedict XIV. was more suitable to the times than that of Clement XIII. They chose, therefore, the amiable Lorenzo Ganganelli.

CLEMENT XIV., as Ganganelli determined to be styled, was of very humble origin; some say the son of a country surgeon, others of a labourer. In early life he had entered a monastery of the Franciscan Order, and there devoted himself most sedulously to every department of learning. Few pontiffs have embraced so wide a scope in their studies as did Ganganelli, or so equally disciplined every faculty of the mind. With this he also associated a disposition so gentle and mild, that one of his masters said of him, while yet a youth, "that it was no wonder if he loved music, seeing that everything in his own character was harmony."

Yet Ganganelli was not devoid of ambition. He had from his boyhood a presentiment that he was destined to a high station, and delighted to speak often of Sixtus v., who had risen from keeping swine in the Sabine fields to a pontifical and regal chair. Indeed, it has been said, "That no one ever bore the stamp of Sixtus v. so strongly impressed upon his character as Ganganelli."

Nor was he wholly free from that habit of dissimulation which seems indigenous or endemic in Rome. When Clement XIII. gave Ganganelli the cardinal's hat, he threw himself at the pontiff's feet, beseeching him to bestow it on one more worthy; yet so much did he in his heart exult in his rapid accumulation of honours, that when he became pontiff he could not refrain from pointing out a stone on which he had once stood near the porch of the Vatican to see the *cortége* of his predecessor pass by, and exclaiming, "See! from that stone I was driven ten years ago."

The new pontiff's first care was to propitiate the hostile courts. It has, indeed, been said that the price of his election was an implied promise to the court of Spain that he would abolish the Order of Jesuits. At all events, he ventured on a step hitherto unprecedented in the annals of the popedom—the suppression of a bull. He ordered that the bull *In Cæna Domini*, always previously read with great ceremony before the congregations once every year on the Thursday of Holy Week, should be

read no more. Great was the astonishment of Rome at so daring a measure, but Ganganelli well knew that he was only treading the path marked out for him by the spirit of the age, and in which the sovereigns of Portugal and Spain had already trodden before him.

This bull, *In Cæna Domini*, originally promulgated by Pius v., is one of those arrogant assertions of absolute supremacy by which the pontiffs in other days were wont to overawe the minds of rebellious kings. It pronounces sentence of excommunication on all bishops, magistrates, and others, who shall venture to propose a future council; and denounces awful anathemas upon all kings and their officers who should dare to compel the clergy to pay tribute to the state, and, in general, upon all who offer any opposition to the discipline ordained by the Council of Trent. So offensive was the bull to even Roman Catholic monarchs, that the reading of it had been forbidden by most of the sovereigns of Europe so early as the year 1767.

It was with more deliberation and caution that Clement advanced to his greatest achievement, the suppression of the Order of Jesuits. Not indeed that he entertained a particle of attachment towards them. None knew better than he the villany of their practices, or the true desert of their crimes. But he had doubts, natural enough to a Roman Catholic, of the propriety of acting so directly in defiance of all former popes. Still more he seems to have feared to reverse the decrees of a council; and

as the Jesuits loudly boasted that their order was specially approved and sanctioned by the Council of Trent, Clement gave directions for that matter to be thoroughly investigated.

Most of all, however, the pope dreaded the secret intrigues and machinations of those subtle, daring, and evil-minded men; for they did not hesitate to whisper atrocious threats, which reached his ears, and evidently wrought upon his mind the effect they wished. His natural gaiety of disposition disappeared, his health declined, he wore an anxious countenance, lived more retired than ever, and would only be served at table by old Francesco, a monk who had been his attendant in his early days.

The picture given by St. Priest of Clement's character at this time is evidently drawn by an unfriendly hand. It represents him as timid to cowardice, making perpetual and even mean excuses to the sovereigns of Europe for so long delaying the measure which they expected at his hands, and as acting in a manner altogether unworthy of the high reputation he has acquired. But no one who carefully reads the letters of Ganganelli, believing them to be authentic, (which there is no reason whatever to doubt,) can admit that this is a fair account of Clement's behaviour. Undoubtedly he was cautious and timid, but he was not too timid to take a step eventually which he might have avoided if he had pleased, and his extreme caution was largely the result of a conscientious

desire to do nothing contrary to his view of the duties and responsibilities of his office.

It would appear that Clement hesitated between a desire to *reform* the Jesuit Order, and a secret conviction that reform was impossible, and that to restore peace to the church and the world, it was necessary to abolish it altogether. It is certain that he greatly feared the consequences of this latter step, and would willingly have deferred it at least until the death of its general, Lorenzo Ricci. Tormented by apprehensions of unknown danger on the one hand, and teased on the other by incessant complaints from the courts of France and Spain, he lost all peace of mind, and regretted the day which had advanced him to the papal chair. Quite unlike Sixtus v., his favourite pattern, in the contexture of his mind, Ganganelli, with all his excellences, was unfitted to steer the vessel of the papacy through the tempestuous seas on which she was now thrown. "Alas!" exclaimed he one day to cardinal Bernis, "I was not born to occupy a throne. Pardon a poor monk the faults which he has contracted in solitude. I believe it to be impossible for a monk to throw off entirely the spirit that attaches to the cowl."

In spite of the esteem in which Clement was personally and deservedly held, his situation in relation to the great business for which he had been elevated to the tiara became worse and worse. Proofs were not wanting, indeed, of the respect felt for his character. Portugal

consented on this ground alone to receive a nuncio from Rome, and when the prelate Conti appeared at Lisbon, he was received in the Tagus by the royal galley, manned by seventy rowers in splendid dresses, amid the shouts of multitudes who lined the banks of the river. But respect shown to the individual was a poor compensation for contempt thrown on the dignity he held, and the honours paid to Conti were more than counterbalanced in the eyes of the Romans by the degradation they felt when the king of Naples gave orders to remove all the rare and invaluable statues which for more than a century had adorned the Farnese palace, and the duke of Tuscany, following the example, stripped the Villa de' Medici of its most precious relics of ancient art, and conveyed them to Florence. The pope fell into disgrace with his own subjects, and all his moderation as a ruler, and his self-denial as a prince, could not save him from the raillery of the fickle populace.

The Jesuits also took advantage of his temporizing policy, and determined so to work on his fears as to prevent his taking any step even towards reforming their Order. They spread reports that France and Spain no longer desired their destruction, and that Austria would certainly revenge it. They raised up a prophetess, a peasant-girl of Valentano, who predicted the rapid approach of the pontiff's death. Although Clement might have despised the prophecy, he knew too well that they who

conceived and published it, would have little scruple to effect its fulfilment.

Meantime, the courts of Charles III. and Louis XV. grew impatient at the long delay of the pontiff in executing their wishes; and Charles sent an ambassador to Rome of special qualifications for the task to which he was deputed of terrifying Clement into compliance. This envoy, Florida Blanca, had already discovered great zeal in suppressing the Jesuits, and when the latter heard that he had arrived in Rome, they justly guessed at the nature of his errand, and felt that a serious blow was impending. Clement himself was alarmed at his coming, for he dreaded being hurried into a step which he might afterwards deplore as precipitate.

Introduced to the presence of the pope, Florida Blanca laid before him a plan for the total abolition of the Jesuits, accompanying it with dark hints of the measures which Spain would adopt unless her requests were complied with. Clement felt that he could not, like his predecessors, be peremptory in his refusal. He merely entreated that the king would wait until the death of father Ricci, the general of the order. "No, holy father," replied the envoy, "it is by extracting the tooth that the pain is stopped. I conjure your holiness to beware lest the king, my master, should come to approve the project, already adopted by more than one court, of suppressing all religious orders whatsoever." "Ah!" rejoined Clement,

“I have long seen that this was the object at which they were aiming ; but they are seeking still more—the ruin of the Catholic church. Schism and even heresy, perhaps, are in the secret thought of the sovereigns.” But when Blanca supported his arguments by suggesting a mercenary motive, and promised the pope that if he would consent, Avignon and Benevento should be immediately restored, Clement’s virtuous indignation was aroused, and he replied with courage, “Remember that a pope governs the church, but does not traffic in his authority.” How rare an instance, the reader of these memoirs will perhaps exclaim, of pontifical virtue !

Delay was no longer possible. The inevitable hour had come ; and Clement, having resolved on the step, was now only solicitous to take it in such a manner as to avert the dreadful consequences he feared—popular tumult and insurrection, and plots against his own life. He wished, he said, to announce the thunderbolt by some flashes of lightning. He therefore caused actions at law to be laid against the Society—a measure hitherto without example—by which their debts, their bad administration of schools, and their other offences were unmasked to public view ; and the citizens of Rome were amazed to find that the revered and immaculate Jesuits were among the most selfish and immoral of men.

Having thus prepared the public mind, Clement advanced to the great and painful duty of

decreeing the abolition of the Order. On the 21st of July, 1773, the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor*, made its appearance. "Inspired, as we trust," runs the document, "by the Divine Spirit; impelled by the duty of restoring concord to the church; convinced that the Society of Jesus can no longer effect the purposes for which it was founded; and moved by other reasons of prudence and state-policy, which we retain concealed in our own hearts; *we do extirpate and abolish the Society of Jesus*, its offices, houses, and institutions." Ricci, the general, was conducted to prison, stripped of all marks of his dignity, and clad as a simple monk. The houses of the Order were occupied by armed soldiers, and seals put upon all their effects; the schools, churches, and confessionals, hitherto supplied by Jesuits, were placed under the care of Capuchins. In a few days the dissolution was complete.

Contrary to the apprehensions of Clement, all this was accomplished without tumult or resistance. Even in Rome the measure seemed to be popular. In truth, the world had been too long expecting it to be taken by surprise, and the crimes of the Jesuits had been too thoroughly exposed for their fall to excite much compassion. Clement was delighted at his success, and his deportment resumed the air of cheerfulness which was natural to him. He indulged his taste for the fine arts, made researches in the suburbs of Rome, the bed of the Tiber, and the Campagna, and so collected

CLEMENT XIV.

those master-pieces of art which have since received the name of the Pio-Clementine Museum. His private life was always simple to abstemiousness, and so far he was not in esteem with the Roman nobles; but his kind, polite, and sometimes jocular affability, won upon all hearts, and united with his unquestionable morality, and apparent piety, gave him much favour even in the eyes of Protestants.

But woe to the man, be he peasant or prince, priest or pontiff, who dares to affront the Jesuits! In less than a year after the abolition of the Order, Clement, the healthful, strong, and comparatively youthful pontiff, was suddenly seized with a most mysterious disease. On rising one day from table, he felt an internal shock, followed by great cold. From that hour his strength declined; his voice, which had been full and sonorous, was quite lost in a singular hoarseness; an inflammation in his throat compelled him to keep his mouth constantly open; vomitings, and feebleness in his limbs, rendered him unable to take his usual exercise, and his sleep was incessantly broken by sharp pains.

With this melancholy change in his health came a strange, but not unnatural alteration in his character. He grew restless, capricious, and passionate. poniards and poisons were continually before his eyes. His sleep was disturbed by horrible phantoms. He thought that the judgments of God were upon him; and amid sobbings which choked his utterance

he would cry, "Mercy! mercy! I have been compelled!" For six months this torture continued; then, for a moment, his intellect became clear and unclouded as ever, and, although conscious that he perished the victim of Jesuit malignity, he peacefully and calmly expired, September 22, 1774.

No doubt whatever exists, notwithstanding the denials of the Jesuits, that Clement XIV. was poisoned. His most intimate friend Bernis, as well as Scipio Ricci, a relation of the Jesuit general, testified that the symptoms which preceded his death, and the appearance of the body afterwards, (much too disgusting for description here,) gave indubitable evidence of the presence of one of those slow poisons, so often mentioned in the annals of Italian crime.

The piety of Clement had too monkish a complexion to appear thoroughly healthful, yet there is good reason for hoping that it was real. His attachment to the word of God was so ardent and devout, that, all Romanist and pope as he was, he could say, "The Gospels contain the religion of Christ, and are so plain, that the meanest capacity can comprehend them." In counselling a friend respecting his reading, he observes, "The first book which I put at the head of your library is the gospel. It is right that a work which forms the principle and basis of religion should be the basis of your reading." Speaking of saint-veneration, he elsewhere says, "Suffer not the piety of the faithful to be nourished by false legends, and

kept up by trifling ceremonies. But take care that they recur continually to Jesus Christ, as to our only Mediator, and only to honour the saints as belonging to him."*

How strangely do sentiments like these sound in our ears as coming from the lips of a pope! If, however, on the one hand, it is gratifying to know that Divine grace can surmount the disadvantages of even a Romanist education, it is no less instructive, on the other, to mark the sad fate of Clement XIV., to observe the violent tempest which arose as soon as he was called to assume the helm of the papacy, and to note the conflict in his own mind between educational prejudices and scriptural convictions.

CHAPTER XIV.

PONTIFICATE OF PIUS VI.—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AT ROME, AND THE POPE IN BONDS.

A. D. 1774--1799.

IN the eyes of the Romans, the grand fault of Clement XIV. had been his dislike of all pomp and parade. He was not sufficiently a *prince* to gratify their pride. They were therefore resolved that his successor should make amends for this defect. Nevertheless, it was a hundred and thirty-eight days before they came to a decision; for it was requisite that the object of their choice should be acceptable to the foreign courts. By the support of France and Spain

* Letters of pope Clement XIV. *passim*.

cardinal Braschi was the successful candidate ; and even in his mode of accepting the honour, he discovered the predominant feature of his character. We need not ascribe it to simplicity or to a strange presentiment of the calamities that were to befall him, that he threw himself on his knees before the whole conclave, as soon as his name was pronounced, and with tearful eyes exclaimed, "Venerable fathers, your assembly is at an end, but how unhappy for me is the result !"

PIUS VI. commenced his reign under the brightest auspices then possible to a pontiff. Rome was filled with rejoicings, for the new pope was precisely a man after the hearts of the people. In dignity of deportment, in magnificent profusion of hospitality, in majestic conceptions of his own importance as head of the Catholic church, he presented a strong contrast to his simple-minded predecessor. "This," said the excitable Romans, "is truly the pontiff king ! How nobly does he assume the twofold character !" Pius was of lofty stature ; the expression of his face was august, yet pleasant ; not a wrinkle blemished his features, and they were still animated with a slight colour ; his forehead was bald, but a few white locks escaped from the tiara to shade his temples and his neck. When the Romans beheld this stately figure advancing to take possession of the Vatican, their admiration burst forth into rapturous shouts. He walked wrapped in a garment of white, spangled with

gold, and a golden hammer glittered in his hand. He strikes the sacred door—it falls: a thousand arms are raised to demolish it, and the people rush over its ruins. At length, followed by a long procession, he seats himself upon his throne. In all this he is attended by the shouts of the admiring populace. One exclaims, “How beautiful he is!” Another replies, “Not less holy than he is beautiful.”*

Untroubled by foreign interference, now that Europe had been appeased by the sacrifice of the Jesuits, Pius VI. spent the first years of his pontificate in executing those projects of magnificence and grandeur which have always been so acceptable to the citizens of Rome, and have shed a terrestrial kind of lustre on so many of her rulers. In pope Pius the spirit of Leo X. seemed to be revived, so intent was he on adding to those rich treasures of ancient and modern art already possessed by Rome. The museum which he had commenced in the Vatican when acting as apostolic treasurer to pope Clement XIV. he now diligently enlarged. Statues were collected from the ruins of Antium, Præneste, and the villa of Tibur. “Immense halls opening on to the grand landscape of the Roman Campagna, lined with jasper and paved with mosaics, were raised to receive these treasures. The eye loses itself in the perspective of galleries, staircases, and porticoes, which are as rich as they are numerous. The Apollo and the Laocoön, till

* St. Priest.

then thrown aside in an obscure corner, were placed in arched recesses at each end of a vast rotunda, skilfully lighted, and kept constantly cool by the play of fountains. By such improvements, as grandly conceived as they were lavishly executed, did Pius vi. raise the Vatican to a degree of magnificence, which renders the pontifical abode the greatest palace, museum, and temple in the world."

Attracted by the brilliancy of the new pontificate, strangers flocked to Rome from all quarters of the world. They came not now, however, on pious pilgrimages, but wholly bent on pleasure. "Among the various motives that drew people from all parts of Europe," says St. Priest, "religion was the only one excluded." But though Pius knew this perfectly well, he was none the less gratified. He caused the papal chapel to be thrown open to Protestants during the performance of high mass, and courteously received the homage which was thus paid him by heretical admirers. Amongst the numerous and notable visitors at Rome during this period were many of the princes of Europe; the heir of the Russian empire, the king of England's brothers, the mother of king Louis Philippe, the sovereigns of Tuscany and Naples, Gustavus iii. of Sweden, and the emperor Joseph ii.

But the noblest of all this pontiff's achievements was unquestionably his attempt, and partial success in draining the Pontine Marshes. This district, lying southward of Rome, and

bordering on the sea, abounds with poetical associations, which, one would have thought, must for ever have saved it from ruinous neglect. Here stood Laurentum, Ardens, Lavinium, and Antium; here were the villas of Rome's proudest and wealthiest nobles in the days of imperial grandeur; here, of old, were temples, and mansions, and towns in the midst of the loveliest scenery that even Italy could supply. Yet Pius found it an arid waste, the only objects breaking the monotony being here and there a few arches of a ruined aqueduct, the shaft of a broken pillar, or the rude hut of the fisherman or charcoal burner. In the rainy season, moreover, the streams from the mountains converted the whole plain into a vast marsh, whence it derived its name. Pius drained a large portion of this region, and made it both capable of tillage and fit for habitation. By the side of a canal he also constructed a road forty miles long, and adorned it with double rows of trees.

In Italy, therefore, Pius VI. acquired glory; but not even he could stay the decline of a decayed institution, and as soon as he commenced intercourse with foreign princes his glory was doomed to an eclipse. His earliest reverse, too, occurred on a side from which it was least expected—from the house of Austria.

In 1780, Maria Theresa, the illustrious mother of the emperor, died, and Joseph II, delivered from her masculine and energetic control, determined on measures which her

zealous attachment to Rome had always steadfastly opposed. Joseph had learned from the philosophers of France to despise the pretensions of the Romish church, and although still professing to be a faithful Roman Catholic, he resolved on reforming the abuses of the priesthood within his own dominions, and on compressing within the narrowest limits the prerogatives of the pope. Had his plans been as carefully and cautiously carried out as they were liberally and wisely devised, vast benefits must have accrued ; but unhappily the emperor was rash, precipitate, and unbending.

Depending, as he manifestly did, on the influence of Maria Theresa for any continuance of his authority in Austria, it might seem certain that pope Pius would greatly deplore the death of that queen. From whatever cause, however, it is certain that he did not discover grief on the occasion ; and that he not only forbade the performance of a funeral service in the Vatican, (an invariable custom on the death of a Roman Catholic sovereign,) but even prohibited the formality of a court mourning. Behaviour so impolitic was sure to be noticed at the imperial court, and to widen the breach of sympathy which already existed. "It matters little to me," said the emperor, "whether the *bishop of Rome* is polite or rude."

In fact Joseph rejoiced at it, as he thus appeared to be acting from recent provocation instead of long meditated intention, when he

issued edict after edict, tolerating all kinds of religious worship; removing all disabilities on account of religion; permitting mixed marriages; declaring papal bulls to be of no effect without imperial sanction; suppressing multitudes of monasteries, so that out of two thousand not more than seven hundred remained; with many other ordinances of a similar nature. So extensive and thorough a reform was not only calculated to astonish and terrify Rome; it was evidently too sudden and sweeping to be borne, and entitles Joseph II. to the appellation he has received of *avant-courier* to the French revolution. To us, indeed, these decrees appear altogether justifiable and right, but the vastly different character of those times made them seem to eye-witnesses the result of a rashness bordering on madness.

At Rome, the conduct of the emperor excited both horror and dismay. Of all the European nations Austria was the only one that had hitherto continued faithful to the pope; and now from this very quarter had come the heaviest blow the popedom had sustained since the days of the Reformation. Earnest and vehement were the remonstrances addressed by the papal nuncio to the emperor. Was the church to be deprived at a stroke of both her authority and her wealth? Were her revenues from Austria,—her ecclesiastical dues, her income from dispensations, anathemas, indulgences, and reconciliations—to be lost for ever? To these questions the emperor gave either the

most frigid and repulsive replies, or else preserved an unconquerable silence.

Hopeless at length of moving the emperor by negotiations at a distance, Pius VI. resolved on the unexampled step of paying a visit in person to the imperial court. He first ascertained that such a visit would not be displeasing to Joseph ; and then, in spite of the dissuasions of the whole sacred college, he set out for Vienna, indulging the hope that his great powers of persuasion might succeed where the formal solicitations of despatches had utterly failed.

Popes had not yet lost the esteem of the German people, howsoever they were disparaged and mortified by their princes, and the journey of Pius VI. thus became a continuous ovation. The towns through which he passed received him with a kind of idolatry. Prelates and nobles, and an envoy of the king of Spain, greeted him on the way. At Vienna, the enthusiasm of the people rose to an astonishing height. They flocked into the metropolis from the most distant provinces, until apprehensions were expressed of a famine, and from twenty to thirty thousand persons thronged the pope's carriage as he passed along the streets, or crowded the space beneath the windows of his palace entreating his benediction. The emperor himself, not to seem behind in courtesy, received him with every appearance of veneration, and assigned him the apartments in the imperial palace which had lately been occupied by Maria Theresa.

Yet, though welcomed with all this excess of homage and outward demonstration of joy, the pope did not gain a single boon of importance by his visit. He soon learned that the emperor Joseph was not likely to change his mind, and that papal supremacy was totally banished (at least for the present) beyond the bounds of the empire. Even during his stay in Vienna, the restrictions on the clergy were increased, and the pontiff's eyes were saluted as he traversed the city by placards on the walls proclaiming the detestable edicts.

So little had the courtesy or the eloquence of Pius succeeded in conciliating the emperor, that he soon had the mortification of learning that the spirit of reform had crossed the Alps, and that even in Italy bold measures were in progress for circumscribing the papal power. The bishop of Pistoia, Scipio Ricci, had received instructions from the duke of Tuscany to commence a searching examination and reform of all convents and benefices throughout the Austro-Italian domains. Although the pontiff and Ricci had once been on the happiest terms of friendship, yet the Jansenist views of the latter, and his firm resolution to check the immoralities of the clergy, at whatever cost of scandal to the holy see, caused the pope so much irritation that he abused Ricci as a fanatic, a liar, a calumniator, and a fomenter of sedition against the vicar of Christ.

There can be no doubt that Ricci's procedures gave good ground for alarm to the

pope. The immorality of the Italian clergy was notorious. Not in Tuscany alone, but in Rome itself, their vices were proverbial, and were tolerated by all. The pope's most intimate friend, cardinal Bernis, lived in open and unblushing concubinage; and the law of celibacy was, as it ever has been, the prolific source of crime. The efforts of Ricci to promote reform were therefore sure to excite scandal by bringing hidden sins to light, and, worse than all, by suppressing useless or infamous convents, to stop the tide of wealth which flowed thence into the papal treasury. Ricci was therefore stigmatized as *a heretic*, was compelled to resign his bishopric, and might think himself happy that he lived in days when the dungeons of the Inquisition and the horrors of the stake were no longer to be feared.

But in the last decade of the eighteenth century every minor event, however interesting, was lost and forgotten in the all-absorbing drama of the French revolution. It was very evident that the flames of that great conflagration were spreading towards Rome, and with trembling excitement did the pontiff watch their gradual approach. He had been forsaken by Austria, but he now justly feared far greater calamities from France. The emperor had at least shown him personal respect; but from fierce revolutionists, indignant at priestcraft, and from a soldier of fortune like Napoleon, no soothsayer could predict the treatment that the church and her chieftain might receive.

The countries bordering on France—Holland, Belgium, and the upper Rhine-land of Germany—were quickly revolutionized, and in each of them the principle of revolution was carried into ecclesiastical affairs. Piece by piece the church of Rome lost her most valued and cherished possessions. Her day of doom seemed to draw nigh. In 1796, Napoleon crossed the Alps and entered Austrian Italy, and his rapid victories in that region struck terror into the heart of the pope. Pius prepared to make such feeble resistance as his resources permitted, but before his troops were half-ready Napoleon was master of Bologna, and another day would have seen him at the very gates of Rome. In swift haste an envoy was despatched to lay the tiara at the feet of the conqueror, and Rome was spared, at the price of twenty millions of francs and a hundred of her finest works of art. When the victories of Arcola and Rivoli had put all Italy in Napoleon's power, even these hard terms were made harder. A French garrison was stationed at Ancona, and within a few months the Apollo Belvidere, the Laocoön, the Transfiguration of Raphael, and the St. Jerome of Domenichino, were placed on the banks of the Seine.

Impoverished by the rapacity of the French soldiery at Ancona, who did not scruple to carry off diamonds and jewels whenever money was not to be found, the Italian nobles prevailed on the pope, in 1797, to seek the protection of the Austrian general Provera. But

for this ill-advised step the aged pontiff paid a heavy penalty. Berthier, the French commander, marched rapidly on Rome; entering that city, he proclaimed a republican government, and then at the head of his soldiers appeared at the gate of the Vatican. The pope was dragged from the altar at which he was kneeling; the apartments he occupied were stripped before his eyes, and even the rings which adorned his hands were rudely drawn from his fingers. He bore these indignities with the courage of a really magnanimous mind, and that fully comported with the majesty he had displayed in his more prosperous days. "I am prepared," he exclaimed, "for every species of disgrace. As supreme pontiff, I am resolved to die in the exercise of all my power. You may employ force, for you can do so; but though you may be masters of my body, you are not so of my soul."

Removed from Rome, Pius VI. remained for a year in a convent near Florence; from thence he was carried across the Alps in a litter to Briançon in France, and finally to Valence, where he died in 1799, in the eighty-second year of his age. We may admire the grandeur of character and pity the calamities of Pius VI., but his slight regard for morality or religion prevents our revering his memory.

CHAPTER XV.

PONTIFICATE OF PIUS VII.—THE PAPACY HUMBLED AND
ENSLAVED, AND RESTORED.

A. D. 1799—1823.

Low as the popedom had fallen in the pontificate of Pius VI., it was destined to sound a yet lower depth in that of his successor. Pius VI. had at least maintained the dignity of his position throughout his misfortunes, but under the next pontiff the Romish church was doomed to become the mere slave of a victorious soldier. Exiled from Rome, the conclave, only thirty-five in number, assembled at Venice, and amongst them there was none who, by nobility of birth and his influence at foreign courts, appeared so eligible for the doubtful honour as Chiaramonti, who was accordingly chosen.

PIUS VII. was already experienced in worldly affairs, and had laboured with some success to ingratiate himself both with the house of Austria and with the young conqueror, who even then seemed to hold in his hands the destinies of France. His policy amidst the conflict of European powers was to continue entirely neutral, at least until he should see on which side the scale would fall. Not that he was at all indifferent to the result; his opinions and wishes were indeed, as we shall presently see, of a very decidedly despotic complexion.

The storm of the French revolution had everywhere beat pitilessly on ecclesiastical institutions, and in France had wholly swept

them away. When, therefore, Napoleon began in the year 1800 to aspire to the imperial dignity, and engaged himself in constructing anew the organic forms of society out of the scattered elements around him, he anxiously considered how he might best reconstruct the outward edifice of the church, which he regarded in the light of a preservative of social order. To use it as an instrument of government was his only intention, for at heart he cared for no church, being simply a deist. "I was a Mohammedan in Egypt," he used to say—"here I will become a Catholic for the good of the people. I am no believer in particular creeds; but as to the idea of A GOD—*look to the heavens, and say who made them!*"

Guided by such views, Napoleon could not long hesitate what form of religion to adopt. True, much that belonged to Popery he utterly despised, and his own preferences inclined to the Lutheran or the reformed mode of worship. But knowing that almost all the religious sentiment yet existing in France was decidedly popish, he concluded that it was better to adopt a religion which many were attached to, and none would seriously oppose, than one which would excite bigoted opposition without conciliating any ardent support. In all this he acted as mere worldly politicians would approve, and if the papacy in consequence obtained a moment's respite from destruction, it was not at all because her authority had revived, but because she was useful as a statesman's tool.

Napoleon now made proposals to enter into a *concordat* with the new pope, who, by the changeful fortunes of war, was by this time installed in the halls of the Vatican.

PIUS VII. had before this secretly acknowledged to Louis XVIII. that he regarded *him* as the legitimate monarch of France. Yet he was not so punctilious in matters of conscience as to permit this to interfere with his now giving a like acknowledgment to Napoleon. His only objections referred to the enormous sacrifices which Bonaparte required from him as head of the Catholic church. Nevertheless, the concordat was ratified, and the Roman Catholic religion was once more proclaimed as that of the French nation. Ten archbishops and fifty bishops were assigned to the republic, who were all to be natives of France. The archbishops were to receive a salary of 15,000 francs (£600) a year, and bishops 10,000 francs, or £400. All these dignitaries, moreover, were to be elected or deposed solely by the ruler of France.

This was all that now remained to the pope-dom of those vast possessions which they had held for ages in the country of Charlemagne and Louis the Ninth, her most devoted and faithful sons! In the revolution no fewer than a *hundred and forty-six* sees, besides monasteries and benefices without number, had been totally lost. Who could calculate the wealth which had formerly belonged to the clergy, or measure their enormous landed estates? All now was gone; and if the restoration of order brought

back the establishment of catholicism, and gave once more a hierarchy to France, it was an establishment shorn of its glories, a hierarchy despoiled of its riches and power, and bound by indissoluble chains, not to the pontiff, but to the national chief. Well may Chateaubriand style Pius VII. the "true pontiff of tribulation." It cost him, doubtless, many a pang to yield to such hard conditions; but how many of his predecessors, the Gregories, the Bonifaces, and the Innocents, would have perished a hundred times rather than have yielded! To bend pliantly, to accommodate himself to circumstances, was the genius and the policy of Pius VII., and as he now stooped to the conquering Bonaparte, so when, in 1797, he was bishop of Imola had he sided with the victorious republicans. "Yes, my dear brethren," said he, "be good Christians and you will make excellent republicans. The moral virtues make good democrats. The first Christians were animated with the spirit of democracy. God favoured the labours of Cato of Utica, and of the illustrious republicans of Rome." When this truckling and supple spirit has taken the place of the heroism of ancient popes, it is not very dangerous to predict that the days of the papacy are numbered.

So completely was the pope humbled before the conqueror of Europe that he could refuse him no request. He felt that Napoleon was his master, and when, therefore, that bold adventurer determined to exchange the title of first consul for that of emperor, he found little difficulty in

obtaining from Pius the honour of a papal coronation. For this purpose, in November, 1804, Pius VII. set out on his journey to France.

Napoleon met the pontiff near Fontainebleau. The emperor was on horseback ; the pope in his travelling carriage. Both alighted, and after embraces and congratulations, the emperor entered the pope's carriage, and they rode amicably together to Fontainebleau. On arriving in Paris, the pontiff received every possible mark of respect, and was lodged in magnificent apartments at the Tuilleries. Many, of course, felt the hereditary emotions of reverence and love ; but in France the philosophers of the eighteenth century had laboured too successfully to allow of any general enthusiasm for a pope being either expressed or felt. Occasionally, Pius was treated with even contempt and insult ; and we are assured that he never failed to endure it with patience and meekness.

On the second of December the coronation took place in the cathedral of Notre Dame. The whole luxury and magnificence of the empire were displayed in this imposing ceremonial. The pope offered a prayer, anointed the head of the monarch, and pronounced a benediction. Yet so little did he sympathize with the gorgeous pageant in which he acted this conspicuous part, that a shade of gloom, perhaps of foreboding, was observed to pass across his countenance at the moment of chief

solemnity, when Napoleon received the crown to place it on his own brow.

Pius had in reality hoped for great results from this visit to Paris. Slight as were the grounds for congratulation when the concordat between himself and Napoleon was arranged, he was transported with joy. "By this event," he said, "the churches have been purified from profanation, the altars raised anew, the banner of the cross once more unfurled, legitimate pastors set over the people, and so many souls that had strayed from the right way restored to the unity of the church, and reconciled to themselves and God." And now he trusted that his presence in France would lead Bonaparte to make more generous concessions. "I go," said he to the cardinals, "to complete the work I have commenced."

Little reason, however, was there for Pius to expect much favour from Napoleon. On the contrary, the emperor had already shown a disposition to impose yet more restrictions on the Romish church, and it was chiefly owing to his suggestions and aid that it had been overwhelmed with ruin in Germany only the year before; her estates having been taken away and given to the Protestant princes. At this unexpected blow Pius himself was filled with dismay. "What!" exclaimed he in despair, "did not Innocent III. expressly decree that heretics should not only be incapable of despoiling the church, but that the church might herself lawfully appropriate the estates of heretics?"

Alas! we are fallen on such calamitous times that it is not possible for the spouse of Christ to practise, nor even *expedient* for her to recall her holy maxims of just rigour against the enemies of the faith." Then, filled with the indignation of injured infallibility, he continued, "But, although she cannot *exercise* her right of deposing heretics from their principalities, and declaring them deprived of their property, yet ought she for a moment to allow that they may rob *her* of her property to aggrandize and enrich themselves? What an object of derision would she become to heretics and infidels, who in mocking her grief would say, that *they had found out a way of making her tolerant!*"

Oh! unalterable Rome!

Indulging these illusive hopes, and calling to mind what vast endowments Charlemagne had conferred on the pope who crowned *him* with the imperial diadem, Pius VII. modestly requested of Napoleon the restoration of some of the territory which had been severed from the papal states at the last invasion of Italy. He received this stern and peremptory reply:—"France has dearly purchased the power which she enjoys. We cannot sever anything from an empire which has been the fruit of ten years' bloody combats."

Disappointed and mortified, yet still cherishing hope, because of the courteous treatment he had personally received in Paris, Pius returned to his Italian dominions, to learn there the bitter truth, that not only was his spiritual

authority curtailed, but that even his clipped and fettered temporal sovereignty was now to be reduced to a shadow. The wars still carried on by Napoleon rendered it needful to occupy Italy with a military force, and Ancona, and all the other sea-ports in the papal states, were accordingly garrisoned with soldiers, in utter disregard of the pope's earnest remonstrances. "You," said Napoleon, "are sovereign of Rome, but I am its *emperor*." In vain did Pius indignantly reply that he acknowledged no earthly superior; that superior was at hand, and, as if endowed with ubiquity, even when beyond the Alps made his presence oppressively and painfully felt in the chambers of the Vatican.

Pliable as he had shown himself in merely spiritual matters, Pius VII. began to grow resolute when his temporal possessions were touched. Napoleon required that a league should be formed between France and the papacy, in the war which he was then waging with England. Pius saw in this demand, not only a disgraceful subserviency to France, but certain and absolute ruin to *his* power, whichever should be the victor. It was to make Italy the theatre of war, and to get no recompense for bloodshed and devastation but insult and oppression. He therefore firmly refused to permit the French soldiers to garrison Rome. "The emperor," said he, "insists on everything or nothing. To his articles I cannot subscribe. There will be no military resistance; I shall retire into the castle of St. Angelo; not a shot shall be fired,

but the emperor will find it necessary to force the gates. I will place myself at the entry; the troops will require to pass over my body." Pius even ventured to mutter something about *excommunication*, which, while it amused, also provoked Napoleon.

In 1809, the vial of imperial wrath was poured out on the unhappy pope. French soldiers occupied Rome, and imperiously called on the pontiff to abdicate his royal functions. "The pope is at present too powerful," said Napoleon; "priests are not made to govern. To the court of Rome I will always be Charlemagne." A cordon of soldiers was drawn around the Quirinal hill, and Pius was kept a prisoner in his own palace. But nothing would induce the pope to surrender his sceptre and crown. At last a decree was issued by the French general, declaring that "the states of the pope are united to the French empire." Guns were fired as the tricolour flag waved from the battlements of St. Angelo.

Then did Pius VII. launch from the Vatican the last thunderbolt in the papal armoury. A bull of *excommunication* against the emperor was secretly affixed to the principal churches in Rome. Yet, not wholly deprived of his usual cautiousness, he took care not to mention the emperor by name. Anxious rather to conciliate than offend the great conqueror, he worded the bull so as to denounce only in general terms "all the spoliators of the church."

Napoleon now resolved on a step which he had long been contemplating. He desired to rule the world of religion as well as the world of politics, and he saw no other method that promised success but the removal of the pope to Paris. By having the pope near himself, he hoped to make him a "mere president of the church," and a president wholly subject to himself. To Paris therefore he caused the pontiff to be conveyed.

When the will of the emperor was announced to Pius VII. it sounded like a reprieve to one doomed to die. He had expected, or professed to expect, nothing less than death. When the officer whose duty it was to perform the task entered into the presence of Pius, pale and trembling with all the superstitious fear of an ignorant devotee, he found the pontiff sitting in an attitude of resignation to his fate. He had called for the ring which Pius VI. had worn in his last moments, the gift of queen Clotilda, and putting it on his finger looked at it, and so expected death, we are told, with calm satisfaction. We might surely have looked for something more than this in a Christian bishop!

He was first carried to Grenoble, and then to Savona, where he remained strictly guarded all the while Napoleon was engaged in war, and unable to attend to ecclesiastical matters. On the conclusion of the disastrous Russian campaign in 1812, the emperor found leisure to inquire for the pope, and ordered him to be removed to Fontainebleau. He was conducted

thither in great secrecy, divested of his pontifical robes, and not permitted to alight from his carriage. Deplorable contrast to his former visit eight years before !

At Fontainebleau, Napoleon and Pius met once again ; and the resolute energy of the emperor easily obtained all that he wanted. It is said, indeed, that he used threats and unseemly violence, seizing the aged pope by his hoary locks, and otherwise expressing his anger. But this could hardly be requisite with a feeble old man, already more than seventy years of age. When afterwards deploring the concessions he had made, Pius blamed the prelates around him. "These cardinals," he would say, "dragged me to the table and forced me to sign."

Henceforth, till the downfall of Napoleon, the pope was the servant of the emperor. He resided at Fontainebleau, like a captive on *parole*. His time was passed in no very dignified employment, but at least harmlessly. He chatted affably, took prodigious quantities of snuff, mended his own clothes for amusement, and sometimes washed them. The vast library at his command was seldom used, and except that he was punctilious in observing the rites of the church, he does not seem to have concerned himself much with ecclesiastical affairs.

But in the year 1814 the pontiff's confinement came to a close. Reverses had fallen thickly on the emperor, and the defeat of Leipsic had thrown Europe into the hands of

the allied sovereigns. On the 24th of January Pius was set at liberty, and commenced his return to Rome. His progress, however, was slow, and not until the 23rd of May did he gaze with tearful eyes on the walls and domes of the metropolis. A procession of the people met him, with young girls carrying gilded palms in their hands, chanting songs of triumph, and shouting "Hosanna!"

With the return of the pontiff to Rome, the tide of clerical bigotry and selfishness set in afresh. Untaught by misfortune, and deaf as ever to the stern demands of an age increasing every day in enlightenment, the Romish clergy brought back with them all their old habits of self-seeking and speculation. By the system of finance begun under the French government, pecuniary prosperity might perhaps have been established in the papal states. But now all was thrown into a confusion more ruinous than ever. There were taxes and duties in the French fashion—general administration in the Roman. And above all there was a spirit of intestine strife between the old and the new parties, those who advocated reform, and those who would have replaced everything on the former footing; a strife which neither the ability of Consalvi, the pope's chief adviser, nor the high and martyr-like reputation of Pius himself was able to allay.

Nor was the pontiff much comforted on looking at the mutilated domains which the devotion or generosity of the allied sovereigns

had allotted him. If France had withdrawn her troops, it was only that Austria might introduce her own. Henceforth the popedom was under surveillance, and Pius found that all his zeal for the cause of the ancient monarchies had only produced him an exchange of masters.

Determined to withstand the innovating spirit of the age, and hopeless of doing it by any other means, Pius VII. resolved on reviving once more the order of Jesuits. This order, although suppressed by pontifical edict, had not ceased to exist; for when expelled from France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, they had found a refuge, strange to say, in states that did not acknowledge the supremacy of the pope. Prussia first, and afterwards Russia, had not only given them protection, but received them into their service.

The Jesuits were not only teachers of Rome's theological dogmas, they were the propagators everywhere of Rome's absolute and tyrannical spirit; and this spirit it had now become needful for the Prussian and Russian monarchs to encourage and diffuse, in order to prop up the authority at home which they saw rapidly failing abroad. Those philosophical writings which, more than anything, had produced the revolution in France, were hastening the same results in other lands; and Frederic the Great perceiving this tendency, and justly dreading a revolt of his subjects against his arbitrary and despotic rule, had abandoned his friendship

with Voltaire at the very time of the suppression of the Jesuits in Italy. He accordingly welcomed them to Berlin, hoping by their aid to conquer the turbulent spirit of democracy ; and the same motives prompted Catherine II. of Russia to invite them to St. Petersburg. Thus, under the patronage of two courts, neither of which had the least sympathy with the pope's spiritual claims, were the pope's most devoted and faithful servants protected until he bid them return to Rome.

And within three months of his own restoration did Pius VII. publish the bull *Solicitude omnium ecclesiarum*, recalling the Jesuits to the side of the pontiff. He justified the measure by the exigencies of the times ; "for," said he, "on the stormy sea, and every moment threatened by death and shipwreck, I should violate my duty by declining the aid of powerful and experienced mariners, who offer themselves for my assistance." So he granted them all their former privileges, reinstated them in all their functions of preaching, confession, and instruction ; and earnestly entreated the foreign powers to extend to them the same indulgence.

Nor were those powers, at least those of southern Europe, reluctant to consent. They were just now repenting that they had ever unchained the spirit which had overturned their thrones. They erroneously supposed that had they retained the Jesuits they might have kept down the spirit of insubordination, which eventually changed into revolution. Their

mistake was the same as the pope's, and to that error may in a large degree be attributed the convulsions which have since that time distracted France, Spain, and Portugal, as well as the states of the church.

Fearful of the liberal spirit which claimed in Italy a similar constitutional and representative government to those which had been established in the western nations, Pius adopted strong measures to repress the growth of the *Carbonari* party, to which that spirit had given birth; and in 1817 he began to condemn them to severe punishment, imprisoning some, banishing others, and putting some to death. But this only increased the rancour of party spirit, and induced the Carbonari, for the sake of strength, to open their ranks to every rude and boisterous spirit. Party contentions grew higher day by day, and amidst the turmoil thus excited the aged pontiff ended his unquiet reign in July, 1823.

CHAPTER XVI.

PONTIFICATE OF LEO XII., PIUS VIII., AND GREGORY XVI.—THE JESUITS AGAIN.
A.D. 1823—1846.

THE successor of Pius was the cardinal della Genga, already sixty years of age, and so infirm, that when told that his friends wished to raise him to the throne, he replied, pointing to his swollen limbs and pallid countenance,

“Don't think of me, for you would elect a corpse.” But he possessed the qualities that the dominant party in the conclave wanted for their purpose, and he was accordingly elected.

LEO XII. had led chiefly a political life as nuncio of the pope at Lucerne, Cologne, Florence, and Paris. His conduct had always been that of a man of fashion; foremost in all sports, fond of the fine arts, and proud of his open licentiousness. To the revolutionary spirit of the times he was bitterly opposed, belonging to that fiery party of the clergy which sought to restore all things as they were before the revolution. The harshness, despotism, and intolerance of the restoration now received a new and greater intensity.

With the acquisition of the tiara, also, Leo seemed to have acquired new energy. His strength was so revived that he appeared like another man, and he used it all to enforce the coercive measures which he thought necessary for the times. His first blows fell upon the Jews. In the recent disorders they had left their quarters called the Ghetto, and were carrying on a flourishing trade in Rome. As if eager to leap back at once into the dark ages, Leo XII. forbade their dwelling within the city, and many honourable and prosperous merchants removed forthwith to Venice and Trieste. He also very consistently prohibited the practice of vaccination, restored the use of Latin in the courts of law, and, but for the sturdy opposition he met with from the people, would have

gone much further in reviving mediæval superstition, ignorance, and barbarism.

Next came, in natural order, deeds of persecution and cruelty. Throughout the papal states the Carbonari party, or liberals, were very numerous, and although most of them kept their principles a secret, there were not a few bold enough to avow them, and to stir up a spirit of resistance against Leo's retrograde policy. To exterminate these, and indeed to annihilate the whole party, became a leading object with the pope. He accordingly sent cardinals into the provinces, invested with full power to seize all whom they suspected of liberal opinions, and to punish them at discretion. The year 1825 was thus a darkly written one in the annals of papal cruelty. Although the restored Inquisition was more humane than its prototype, it was far too severe for the present age. No fewer than five hundred individuals were sentenced to various degrees of punishment in that year for their political opinions alone. Some were put to death, others were imprisoned for life, and the remainder were subjected to milder penalties.

The natural result was the rapid increase of disaffection. Not daring to speak, the subjects of the pope thought and felt the more; and a strong spirit of anguish and disgust was excited even in devoted papists, when they saw other nations running a new and glorious race in civilization, refinement, arts, learning, and commerce, and themselves precluded from the noble

strife—their natural energies forcibly restrained and curbed.

Whilst thus labouring to control the aspiring temper of the Italians, Leo XII. was not unobservant of the vast revolution which had passed over the churches as well as the nations of Europe. He saw with apprehension that a new life seemed to have entered into the Protestant churches, and marked with an anxious eye the growth of those Missionary and Bible Societies, which, although born in the present century, had already attained to a magnificent maturity, and which the quick eye of the pontiff perceived would prove to be the mightiest assailants, not only of philosophical infidelity and pagan idolatry, but also of papal superstition. In an encyclical letter of May, 1824, Leo therefore conveyed to his bishops and clergy the fears he entertained. “You are not ignorant,” says that memorable epistle, “that a Society, commonly called a Bible Society, is audaciously spreading through the earth; and that, in contempt of the traditions of the holy fathers, and against the celebrated decree of the Council of Trent, it endeavours, with all its might, and by every means, to translate, or rather to corrupt, the Holy Scriptures, into the vulgar tongues of all nations. . . . We exhort you, venerable brethren, to remove your flocks, with care and earnestness, from this fatal pasture. . . . Let not your courage be cast down. You will have with you (and for this we rely with confidence on the Lord) *the power of the secular princes,*

who, as reason and experience show, defend their own cause in defending the authority of the church."

The last-quoted sentence received a partial fulfilment. The restored sovereigns were manifestly of opinion that it was mainly by flattering the priesthood, or, as they phrased it, by *supporting religion*, that they would succeed in bringing back a spirit of loyalty, and in firmly establishing their thrones. Even the Jesuits were welcomed at first, but only to repeat their intolerable insolences, and to receive a yet more ignominious expulsion than before from nearly every state. Yet the priesthood were still courted in France, Spain, Portugal, and Austria; and the detestation in which they were held by large masses of the people was either unseen or underrated by the hoodwinked rulers. For a while it seemed as if a new career of glory had opened for the papacy.

Perhaps it was in Protestant Britain that the pope appeared to win his greatest success. The laws of England from the days of the Reformation had laid heavy, and, as was deemed by many, unjust restraints on the Roman Catholic inhabitants of this realm. In Ireland, where the Papists outnumbered the Protestants in the proportion of eight to one, these restraints had occasioned more than one attempt at rebellion. In 1828, the demand for an equality of civil rights had risen to such a pitch that an insurrection seemed certain, and to quiet the clamour of the people, and avert the threatened

danger, the "Roman Catholic Relief Act" was passed by the British parliament in 1829; a measure which many deprecated as fraught with peril, while others regarded it as a just and equitable concession of indisputable rights.

Had the Romish church in Ireland still possessed her primitive vigour, or had she retained only a moderate portion of spiritual life, this event might indeed have proved a great victory. But the unbinding of the cerements which surround the limbs of a corpse will only cause it to fall to pieces the faster, and so has it hitherto seemed with the papal system in Ireland. At the hour of this imaginary triumph pope Leo died, in February, 1829.

As in the former election, so now again, the conclave was chiefly influenced in its choice by the will and policy of Austria. At her instigation, cardinal Castiglione became the successful candidate.

Pius VIII. was well adapted to become the tool of a party, and of the Austrian party especially. He was old and infirm, while he was little acquainted with public affairs, and his religious sentiments were of the gloomiest cast. He promptly rewarded the Austrian cardinal, Albani, whose zeal had secured his election, by making him secretary of state, and the states of the church immediately sank into entire subserviency to Austria. The policy of the preceding pontificate was steadily carried out; liberal opinions were everywhere violently sup-

pressed ; and when the second French Revolution of 1830 gave the Italian patriots the hope that the time was at length come for their emancipation from papal thralldom, the strongest measures were taken to prevent any popular outbreak. In the midst of this excitement, pope Pius died, chiefly weighed down by the infirmities of age.

This time the cardinals were not long in deliberating. The aspect of the political heavens was too lowering to admit of delay. Already there were signs of an approaching revolution, when the conclave announced the election of cardinal Capellari to the tiara and the throne.

GREGORY XVI. was quite as unused as his predecessor to the business of public life. He had been a Carmelite monk, and had acquired the character of a learned theologian ; but was unfitted for government as much by the habits of his former secluded life as by the bigoted and superstitious disposition which such habits almost necessarily create.

Scarcely had the accession of Gregory been published, when revolts occurred in several of the papal provinces. Bologna took the lead, pulling down the pope's arms from the palace of the legate, and replacing them with the tricolour flag. The commotion spread swiftly from Bologna throughout Romagna, then reached the other provinces, and in a few days prevailed in all parts of the pope's dominions, except the metropolitan city.

The avowed intention of the insurgents was to put an end for ever to the temporal sovereignty of the pope, and to unite the states of Italy in one common national bond. But the movement was altogether too sudden, and too immaturely contrived to insure success. There was little or no preparation to encounter the opposition that was certain to arise. It was simply a spontaneous burst of enthusiasm, excited by the revolution in Paris, which had expelled Charles x. and placed Louis Philippe on the throne of France.

Yet so utterly powerless, so universally detested was the pontifical government, that, left to itself, it could not have survived the shock of even this unorganized insurrection. But Austria proffered aid, and pouring her troops into the disaffected provinces, quickly silenced the tumult of revolt. It was evident, however, that agitations like these could only be prevented by timely concessions to the people, and the powers of Europe united to recommend this course to the pope, in order that a "new era" (as cardinal Bernetti, the papal secretary, said) might commence with the popedom of Gregory xvi.

But the *new era* promised by Bernetti was slow in arriving. The papal government, with its usual duplicity, forgot its promises as soon as the danger was past. Earnest petitions came up from the provinces to be coolly ignored at the Vatican. Indignant remonstrances, and partial attempts at revolt, rapidly followed by

confiscations, imprisonments, and exiles, led the way to a complete relapse into the old system of misgovernment and steady suppression of free thought. The papal states were now the only part of civilized Europe in which municipal institutions were unknown, and where the laity were wholly excluded from the conduct of public affairs.

For many following years, the people were busy in plotting revolutions, and the government in practising *espionage* on the largest scale, suddenly searching suspected houses, punishing the suspected without trial, and every way embittering the spirit of hostility. Plans were formed by the exiled patriots to unite all Italy in a confederation for freedom, but these plans were discovered and destroyed by the Austrian police before they were ripe for execution. All Europe looked on with pity, but no state offered to interfere, lest commotions in Italy should lead to disturbances elsewhere. The banished Italians themselves, in a manifesto which they published in 1845, declared that the enormities of Gregory's government had risen to such a height, "that each one of them more than sufficed to give the right of loudly protesting against his breach of faith, his trampling upon justice, his torturing human nature, and all the excesses of his tyranny."

And while the pontificate of Gregory XVI. was one of perpetual domestic unhappiness, it was further degraded by the ignominious subjection

of the papacy to the imperial sceptre. That sceptre had lost its majesty, and was far less potent than in former days, yet it swayed the councils of Rome as completely as those of Vienna. How great the contrast, how humiliating to modern pontiffs, between the popedom of the seventh and the sixteenth Gregory!

Nor was there much in the aspect of affairs abroad to console the humbled papacy for the mortifications she endured at home. The revival of the Jesuits had, indeed, given the appearance of greater vigour to papal operations in the countries they were permitted to enter. But from some of these they had been very recently ejected. France drove them forth in abhorrence when she banished her despotic Charles x. ; and Spain also rejected their services with disdain. And although in England they found a quieter home, it was by no means a congenial sphere of labour. They were neither courted by the rulers, nor viewed with favour by the people.

Yet it was in England that Romanism appeared, during the pontificate of Gregory xvi., to gain its most signal triumph; no such triumphs, indeed, as they had been used to in other lands, no wealthy livings, no powerful offices, but so large an apparent increase of adherents as to fill Protestants with alarm, and excite great rejoicing amongst Romanists themselves. The increase of chapels and priests, and the erection of colleges and cathedral, were much rather *apparent* than *real*

signs of growing strength. That strength had hitherto been concealed, for to discover it had been contrary to law; and now that the restrictions on Roman Catholics were removed, it was only to be expected that they should put forth their utmost might, or even go beyond it.

Many of the aristocracy, and much of the wealth of the land belonged still to the apostate church, and the Romish priesthood have never wanted the skill to obtain munificent gifts from either the remorseful, superstitious, or misguided devotee. Even the wretched emigrants from Ireland, who throng the great cities where Roman Catholic chapels are chiefly to be found, have been mercilessly taxed to uphold that pomp and splendour which the Romish church so dearly loves. There seems, therefore, no great occasion for surprise or for alarm, if the Romanist chapels have increased from one hundred to six hundred, or if they now number ten colleges and nineteen convents where they formerly had none. These do not proceed from the proselytism of Rome—they are simply the *manifestations* of a strength which had before kept its existence a secret.*

From another side proceeded a much greater danger to evangelical religion. In the Church of England, a party had risen to considerable importance which sympathized far more with

* The above statements of course must be viewed as the author's individual opinion. It is a question on which public sentiment is at present somewhat divided.

the principles of Rome than with those of the Bible. Calling themselves *Anglicans*, they claimed for the episcopal church of England a similarity of creed and discipline with that of the church of Rome. The doctrines of the Reformation they openly renounced, and styled that glorious event a "misfortune." The formularies of the Church of England they interpreted as teaching some of the most anti-scriptural doctrines promulgated by Rome. This party was of course vehemently opposed by all those who held fast to the Scriptures, and who refused to admit Tradition to be of equal authority with the Bible. A long and violent struggle ensued; and at length a number of the *Anglican* clergy and laity, including some of the most learned of the former, and some of the most distinguished of the latter, wearied and fretted by the protracted contest, abandoned altogether the Protestant profession, and became avowed members of the Roman Catholic church.

While these events were agitating England, Gregory XVI. died, June 1, 1846. His career had been one of vexation and turmoil; a useless and always baffled conflict with the enlightened spirit of the age. Endeavouring to preserve the old and the obsolete both in government and in religion, he was always hated by his subjects, and overborne and bent down by the strong current of opinion. In so unnatural an effort the greatest genius must have failed, but Gregory's was a mind of the meanest

class. He made a favourite barber first groom of his chamber, decorated him with the badges of nobility, and always confided in his judgment. Under such guidance it can be little wondered at that the papal finances were plunged into greater embarrassment than ever. Accounts were badly kept, so that there were absolutely *none* for ten years of the sixteen that Gregory ruled. At the end of his reign the public debt had mounted from one million and a half to nearly twenty-nine millions of crowns, and all the prisons were filled with suspected political offenders. The papal government was hated at home, and despised abroad; all parties were anxiously watching the darkened firmament, and expecting that from the ominous clouds a tempest would shortly burst.

CHAPTER XVII.

PONTIFICATE OF PIUS IX.—REFORM, REVOLUTION, FLIGHT,
AND RETURN.
A.D. 1846—1852.

THE accession of PIUS IX. was eagerly welcomed by the people, for although they knew little about him, they thought it impossible that a new pontiff should neglect to effect reforms that were become so palpably requisite. Moreover, the new pontiff, when only cardinal Mastai Ferretti, had acquired a reputation for benevolence of disposition. And when, in July, 1846, he published an act of amnesty for all political

offenders, the contrast of such liberality with the stern severity of the preceding pontificate seemed to the Romans like a sudden gleam of sunshine from thick and threatening clouds. "Hosannas were countless; the ninth Pius was hailed as a deliverer; thousands upon thousands of torches blazed at even; no human tongue can adequately paint that festival of souls." Thenceforth the name of Gregory was used as a byword of abuse, and that of Pius, with his likeness, and the colours of his shield, became the prevailing fashion.

It was believed by all, though without adequate reason, that the act of amnesty was only a prelude to a complete reformation of the papal government. The "new era," said the excited people, "has at length dawned, inaugurated by the benevolent Pius." Those who still laboured to maintain the old and detested state of things were known as *Gregorians*; and all the friends of change, of reforms, and of the benignant pontiff, were called *Pians*.

The first year of the new pontificate seemed hardly to justify the sanguine hopes of the people. Some reforms were accomplished, and others were promised; but it was too evident that either the pope was not greatly in earnest, or else that he had opposition to overcome, which did not meet the general eye. Perhaps both these surmises were correct; the latter certainly was. The "Gregorians" tenaciously clung to the ancient abuses, and were by no means satisfied of what was sufficiently obvious

to all but themselves, that the temporal power of the popes could be no longer supported on its decayed, and indeed rotten foundation. Alarmed at the increasing boldness and growing demands of the people, and irritated at the partial countenance they received from the pontiff, they not only intrigued and plotted to withstand the progress of reform, but even to subvert the government itself. The Romans were roused to indignation, and riots quickly ensued. It was a momentous crisis, and Austria, ever watchful for an opportunity to interfere, seized the occasion to reinforce the garrison of Ferrara with a fully equipped army, and to increase the rigour of police government in her own Italian provinces. "For books and journals," says an eye-witness, "her astounding remedy was *the censorship*; for the spirit of freedom, *the jail*; and for the spirit of independence, *the bayonet*."

Other events quickly occurred to urge forward the halting pontiff in the pathway of reform. The revolution of Paris, which, in February, 1848, hurled Louis Philippe from the throne of France, spread through the neighbouring countries until it reached Vienna, and afterwards Milan. Great was the joy at Rome when the news of these occurrences arrived. The citizens believed that now the hour of their emancipation had certainly come; and the pope, to satisfy their demands, and so avert a revolt, granted by the same decree a constitutional parliament and a council of state, in

which, for the first time, laymen were permitted to sit. In this, however, Pius did but follow the example of the other absolute monarchs of Italy, who hoped to save their thrones by making these late concessions to their people, and he took every possible precaution that the privileges of the clergy should be fully sustained.

Meantime the cry for national freedom grew louder day by day throughout all Italy. The shouts that rang from the Alps and Apennines were echoed back by the rocks of Sicily. In March, 1848, Milan and Venice drove out the Austrian troops; and then Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, hoping to turn the national movement to his own advantage, proclaimed war against Austria. Multitudes from all parts flocked to his banners; the grand duke of Tuscany, and even the king of Naples, unwillingly, but helplessly, carried away by the strong tide, gave in their adhesion to the national cause; and last of all the pope, seeing the danger of resisting the revolutionary spirit of an entire people, and hoping that a league of Italian states, of which he should be president, might be the result of the struggle, sent the papal troops to support the king of Sardinia. Thus the tricolour flag bore the symbol of the cross, and popular enthusiasm rose higher than ever in favour of Pius the Ninth.

Nevertheless, Pius IX. was far more a priest than a patriot, and had yielded so much chiefly because it seemed necessary in order to stave off the dangers which threatened the church.

He was trying the experiment whether it was possible for the popedom to retain its temporal sovereignty, by establishing a constitutional freedom ; not at all therefore because he desired that freedom, but because it was evident that only on this condition would his power be suffered to continue. And now, as he anxiously watched the rising tide of revolution, he began to fear that he had yielded more than prudence would have counselled ; so that when reports reached him from Austria that the court of Vienna accused him of being the fomentor of revolutions, and even spoke of forsaking the Roman church, his alarm prompted him to publish a full denial of the charges alleged against him, with a protest that he had never intended to engage in the Italian wars, and that his troops had crossed the border of the states without his consent. Unhappy pope ! He conciliated Austria indeed by these assertions, but at the costly sacrifice of his people's affections. The Romans now perceived that Pius was no hearty associate in the cause of Italian nationality, and the voices which had formerly chanted his praises, now loudly denounced him as a traitor.

For a while, however, the nation suppressed its wrath. The war which Charles Albert was waging with Austria engrossed all their anxieties and passions. But when in August, 1848, after a most disastrous campaign, the Sardinian king resolved on giving up Milan to the Austrian troops, all confidence in princes was

at an end ; Charles Albert and the pope were both of them objects of execration ; and the storm which had hitherto raged on the confines of Italy was now evidently approaching the capital.

Their intense vexation and disappointment at the issue of the war, the Romans wreaked on the successive ministries of the pope. That of Pellegrino Rossi was especially unpopular ; and while many threats were muttered against Rossi himself, the demands of the people were chiefly directed to obtain a constituent assembly which should re-organize the government in accordance with the national wish. The agitation grew deeper day by day ; and when in November, 1848, the parliament of deputies assembled for the first time, the excitement had reached its highest climax. Crowds daily gathered round the chambers, and as Rossi was one day passing from his carriage to the hall of entrance, a dagger from an unknown hand pierced his neck, and laid him at the feet of the populace. The pope, in a wild state of consternation which deprived him of all power of governing, escaped the next day in disguise, and took refuge in the Neapolitan dominions ; while the Romans, triumphing in their emancipation from the detested rule of the priesthood, placed the tri-colour flag on the Capitol, and proclaimed the commencement of a Roman republic.

The republic, however, was not suffered long to exist. Within a few months, the cannon and bayonets of France restored the pontiff to his

slippery throne, and there continues to maintain him. Under this support a third experiment has been tried with the worn-out papacy, to see whether it had life enough left to recover and grow again, if for a time it was screened from the blasts of popular hatred by the presence of an overwhelming military force. But here also the experiment fails, and all that seems possible is to keep together a frail and lifeless form, which must inevitably fall to pieces the moment the protection is removed.

But what humiliations and depressions will ever destroy the proud and aggressive spirit of the Romish priesthood—an arrogance which will last as long as the papacy itself? While plunged in those depths of distress which we have just described, the bold effort was made to re-establish in England the whole hierarchy of Rome in all its ancient completeness and splendour. In 1851, a bull was issued by Pius IX., ordaining that the ancient bishoprics and archbishoprics of the Romish church in Britain should be once more restored. As we have already seen, these proud assumptions and strenuous efforts do not by any means prove that Romanism has a stronger hold upon England than in years gone by. The general shout of indignation which was raised by the whole people at the publication of the bull is a further illustration of the fact. All parties united in denouncing the insulting arrogance of the pope, which was rendered almost ridiculous by his manifest feebleness at home. One

delightful truth, however, was made evident by the impudent "papal aggression" of 1851; it was discovered more plainly than had ever been hoped that the population of England, whatever its divisions into sects and parties, and whatever its leanings to various forms of error, was vastly more Protestant than Popish, and was little likely to be seduced by the mummeries and tinselled baubles of the popish ceremonial into a second allegiance to Rome.

Thus have we traced the fortunes of the Roman church from first to last. We have seen her rearing her strangely-mingled but closely-compacted authority on the ruins of the old Roman empire; we have marked her struggle for mastery with the principdoms which arose from the barbarism of the middle ages; we have admired the victory which she gained in that contest, and the awful supremacy which she thenceforth wielded for many centuries over the mind of Europe, until the Reformation dissolved the fatal spell; with astonishment we have viewed the skill with which she recombined the fragments of her power, shattered well nigh to atoms by that mighty shock, and the desperate energy with which she vainly strove to seat herself once more on the throne of empire; and finally, we have witnessed, not without joy, her decline to the very verge of ruin, amidst the fierce conflicts of a revolutionary age.

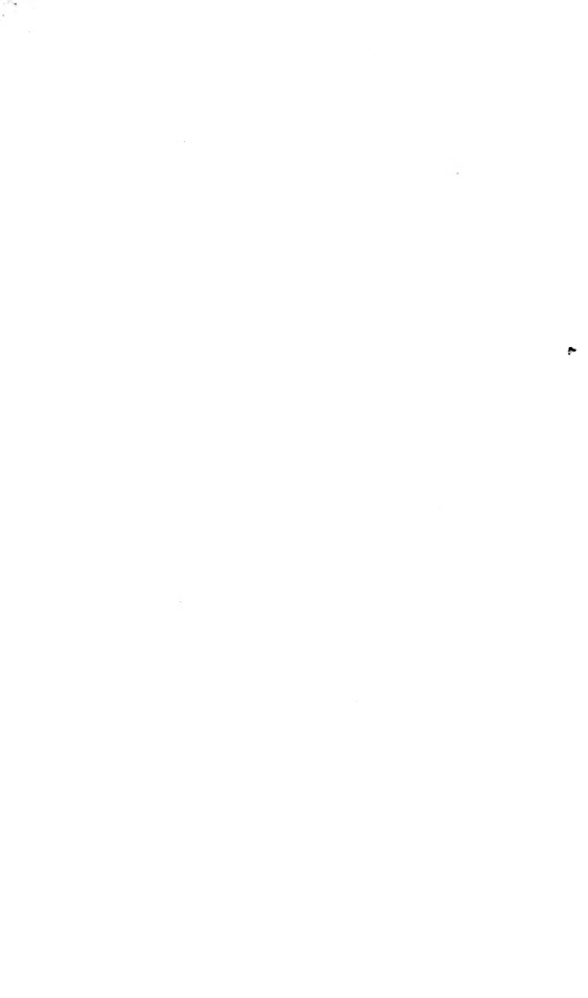
Abundant evidence have we found that the *spirit* of Rome is unchangeably anti-scriptural,

exclusive, and intolerant. Her claim of universal supremacy is as unqualified in this nineteenth century as it was in the twelfth. Her denial of the Bible to the people is as strenuous as ever. Her hatred of civil liberty was never more intense than now. To all these charges we cite the most recent pontiffs, Pius VII., Leo XII., and Gregory XVI., as witnesses at the bar of truth. Were it possible for Rome to regain her ancient power, she would, unquestionably, bring back all the intellectual darkness, the social barbarism, the priestly tyranny, and the spiritual serfdom of ages long passed away.

But the *power* of Rome is shaken. Even in her own Italy is she heartily despised and loathed, and the attempt to re-impose her hateful authority convulses the whole nation into anarchy. There, where she is best understood, she is most unequivocally condemned. Only with the ignorant or the interested have her pretensions any weight, and her decline keeps equal pace with the progress of enlightened and Scriptural education.

The "man of sin," some think, has well nigh run his eventful course. Yet, as he existed for centuries before he possessed regal power, so it is possible that the destruction of the papal sovereignty will not be immediately succeeded by the annihilation of the Romish error. To accomplish this how great an obligation rests upon the Protestant churches! And this the rather because the seeds of Romish superstition seem to be found in human nature itself.

To compensate for sinfulness of life by minute attention to pompous rites ; to delegate religion to a separate class of men instead of making it a personal habit of life ; to seek by our own merits to purchase the favour of God, rather than simply to depend for justification on the all-sufficient atonement of Jesus Christ ; to substitute an outward obedience for that inward obedience of the heart which is produced by the renewing influences of the Holy Spirit ; to trust to the guidance of the Church more than to the teachings of the Bible—these are rather errors of human nature than distinctive peculiarities of Rome. *Then* shall the church of Christ be fully prepared for a decisive and final combat, when from herself she has torn away and cast out the last remains of these polluting and enervating sins. Then shall she with holy confidence march to the conflict, and the towering citadel of falsehood shall fall down like the walls of Jericho. “ And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all,” Rev. xviii. 21.



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