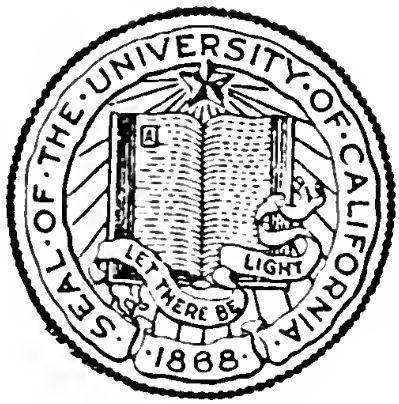

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THE LIVES

OF

THE POPES.

PART IV.

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

A.D. 1605—1852.

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Instituted 1799.

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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 downfal 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 underrate 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 *vexations* 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 pliably 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 Berülle, 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 occuring 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 councillors, 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 Saci, 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 stedfastly 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 thraldom 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 Fénélon 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 Bastile, and then, in 1699, a sentence from the pope that Fénélon'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.

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 sea-port 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.

Gianfranceso 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 Fénélon, 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

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

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 stedfastly 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 Bastile 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 leaguing

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.

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 downfal 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 alcaids 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 Cœna 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 Cœna 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

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 stedfastly 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 popedom 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 pliably, 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 downfal 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 peculation. 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. Petersburgh. 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 *Solicitudo 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 thraldom, 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 popedoms 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 fomenter 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 tricolour 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 princedoms 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.

LONDON: BLACKBURN AND BURT, PRINTERS, HOLBORN HILL.