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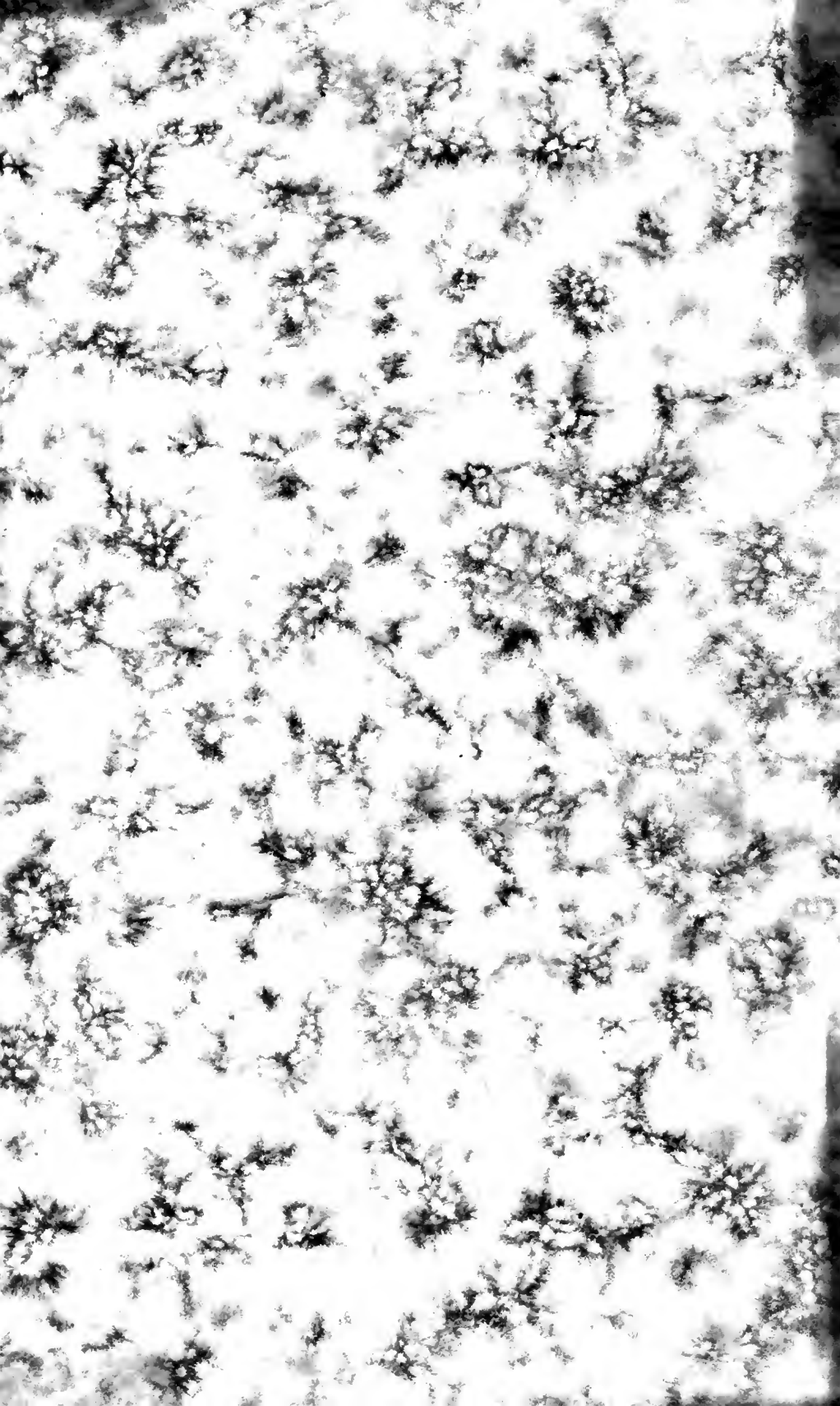
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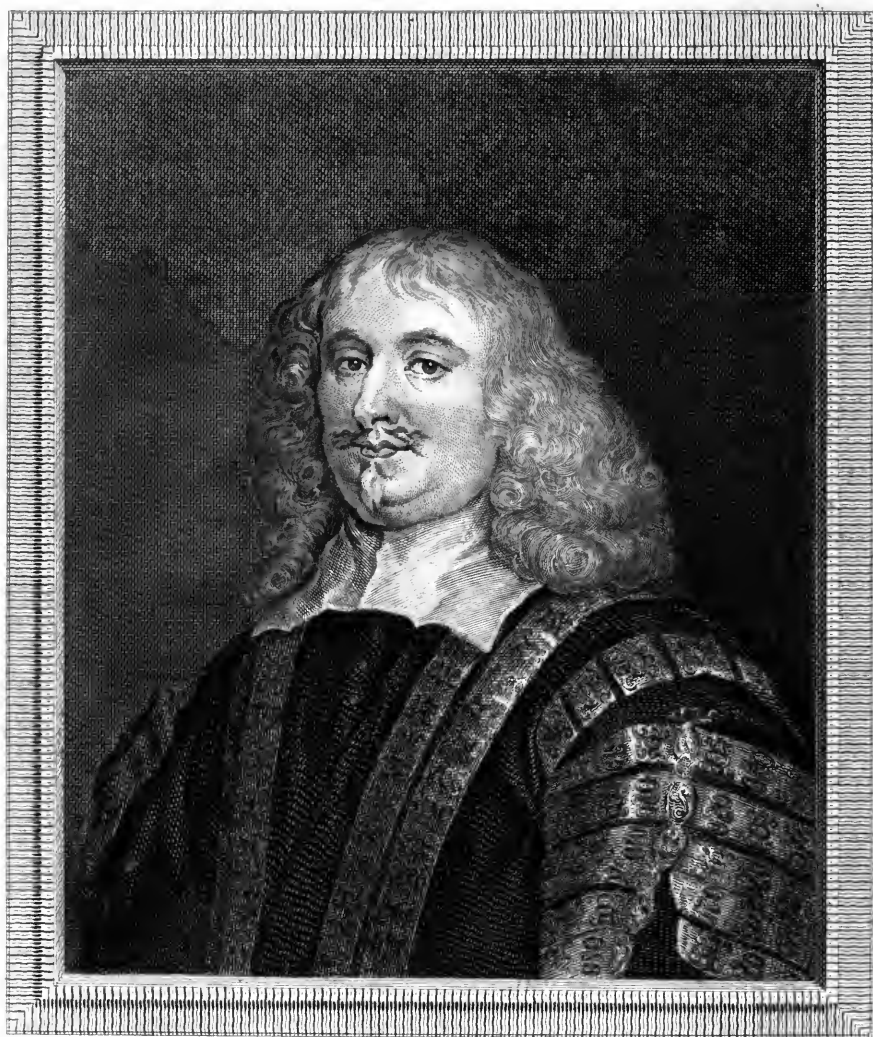
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*from a Picture in the possession of the Right Hon^{ble} Charles Abbot
Speaker of the House of Commons.*

RELIGION AND POLICY

AND THE

COUNTENANCE AND ASSISTANCE

EACH SHOULD GIVE TO THE OTHER.

WITH A SURVEY

OF THE

POWER AND JURISDICTION OF THE POPE

IN THE

DOMINIONS OF OTHER PRINCES.

BY

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND,

AND

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

OXFORD:

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.

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HENRY Viscount Cornbury, who was called up to the House of Peers by the title of Lord Hyde, in the life time of his father, Henry Earl of Rochester, by a codicil to his will, dated Aug. 10. 1751. left divers MSS. of his great grandfather, EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON, to Trustees, with a direction that the money to arise from the sale or publication thereof should be employed "as a beginning of "a Fund for supporting a Manage or Academy for riding "and other useful exercises in Oxford;" a plan of this fort having been also recommended by LORD CLARENDON in his Dialogue on Education.

Lord Cornbury dying before his father, this bequest did not take effect. But Catharine, one of the daughters of Henry Earl of Rochester, and late Duchess Dowager of Queensberry, whose property these MSS. became, afterwards by deed gave them, together with all the monies which had arisen or might arise from the sale or publication of them, to Dr. Robert Drummond, then Archbishop of York, William then Earl of Mansfield, and Dr. William Markham, then Bishop of Chester, upon Trust for the like purposes as those expressed by Lord Hyde in his codicil.

The present Trustees, William Earl of Mansfield, John Lord Bishop of London, The Right Hon. Charles Abbot, Speaker of the House of Commons, and the Rev. Dr. Cyril Jackson, (late Dean of Christ Church, Oxford,) having found the following unpublished Work amongst these MSS. have proceeded in the execution of their Trust to publish it: and it is presumed that the following information may be sufficient to establish its authenticity.

The

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ADVERTISEMENT.

The Manuscript is comprised in 407 folio pages fairly written, and bears date on the last page, Moulins, 12 Feb. 167 $\frac{3}{4}$. Laurence Earl of Rochester, son of EDWARD the first EARL OF CLARENDON, in a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Turner, President of Corpus Christi College Oxford, dated Nov. 30. 1710. speaking of this work, calls it a MS. of his Father's intitled, Religion and Policy; and says, "It is in the same hand-writing that most of the History was in." And the Earl of Rochester's grandson, Henry Viscount Cornbury, in a memorandum of the 7th June 1729, prefixed to the MS. describes it in the state in which it is now found, and as the work of the LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON.

In committing this work to the Press, no alteration from the copy has been made, except in the orthography, and where grammatical or verbal inaccuracies have appeared to require it. The work itself has been divided into Chapters according to the Author's division of his subject; and a Table of Contents and an Index have been added.

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RELIGION AND POLICY.

CHAP. I.

Introduction, and proposed Subject of Inquiry.

THAT the sovereign care protection and propa- **CHAP.**
gation of Christian religion are committed by God to **I.**
Christian kings and princes needs no other evidence The sove-
than his own declaration by the Prophet Isaiah con- reign care
cerning the church ; ^a *Kings shall be thy nursing fa-* protection
thers, and queens thy nursing mothers. It is the duty and propa-
of sovereign princes to preserve and provide for the gation of
advancement of religion, and for the due exercise of Christian
it and devout reverence for it in their several domi- religion
nions : and reason dictates that it can only belong to committed
those who have authority to give laws to their sub- by God to
jects, to which they are bound to submit, and power Christian
to cause those laws to be executed, if they refuse to kings and
submit to them. And as they cannot prescribe what princes.
laws they please upon their subjects which are con-
trary to the laws of nature or to those laws which

^a Isa. xlix. 23.

CHAP. I. God himself hath prescribed, so they cannot impose what religion they please contrary to what he hath enjoined. He hath directed and established what religion shall be embraced by prince and people, and that must not be altered; but the ways to propagate and improve the same, and the removing of all that would obstruct that improvement, and the suppressing of all that would corrupt or discredit it, is committed to the sovereign power, to provide for the peace of church and state according to its discretion by all remedies which are not contrary to God's own direction.

The forms and circumstances of religion belong to temporal jurisdiction.

Whatsoever God hath commanded to be done in his Scriptures must be observed, and what he hath forbidden must not be permitted, by kings and princes in their several dominions: what he hath not directed or forbidden may be supplied by the wisdom of those his lieutenants: or otherwise they could not provide for the peace and well-being of the people committed to their charge. And as they explain or alter old laws upon doubts and inconveniences which arise, or enact new upon the defects discovered in their policy, in such manner as by the constitution of their several governments laws are to be made, and with the assistance of such persons who understand the nature and humour and just pretences of the people, (which cannot be so exactly known and understood by the prince himself without such assistance;) so, upon doubts which arise in religion which are not manifestly cleared in and by the Scripture, or upon pretences that the Scriptures do direct or imply or inhibit somewhat that is or is not in practice, new rules or canons and injunctions may be prescribed by the sovereign power, with the assistance

ance of such learned and pious persons whose educa- CHAP.
tion and experience and other qualifications make I.
them fit for that great affair.

The body and substance of religion (as is said) is enjoined and determined in Scripture, which must not be altered. Whatsoever is not determined there (and the circumstances formalities and ceremonies which are to be used in the exercise of religion and the more decent worship of God are not prescribed and directed by the Scriptures) must therefore be provided for and enjoined by that authority which is entrusted with the government of that dominion and people where the same is to be exercised; and in which the nature and humour of the people, the custom and disposition of the time, have been always and may always lawfully be considered and indulged to; and they never were in all respects the same even in those churches which were planted and instituted by the Apostles themselves, nor will nor need be the same to the end of the world; since the nature of the climate and manners of nations have always had, and always will have, a great influence upon the circumstances of religion and forms of religious worship throughout the world. As we are justly offended with those amongst ourselves who, in those religious duties which require the humblest postures and most devout adoration, will affect to stand or to sit rather than to kneel, (this latter being the posture in which they would for the humility of it present their petition to the King, and the other that which they would practise if they were to speak to any man no better than themselves,) I say the singularity and irreverence of these men may justly be reprehended and punished: and yet, if the Turks and eastern nations should become

B 2

Christians,

CHAP. Christians, it would be equally unreasonable to con-
 ———
 I. — demn them for not kneeling, which is not the posture
 of their devout reverence and consequently not the
 fittest for their devotions.

It is no wonder that the differences are so great and many between the inhabitants of Europe and of Asia in the habits postures and gestures, that it would be impossible to establish an unity and uniformity in the outward form and practice of their devotions, though the inward and substantial parts of religion were equally submitted to by all; when the same or as important dissimilitudes in the manners habit and practice amongst the European nations themselves renders that conformity extremely difficult, if not equally impossible; since decency (which is the best rule in many cases) is not the same, nor are the same things comely and uncomely in all places. But every thing of that kind, which is not of the essence of religion, must be ordered and regulated by the sovereign power as may best suit with the peace and prosperity of their government; and therefore it is a very unreasonable and unjust presumption of those who, upon those circumstantial differences in practice, or indeed upon any differences which may consist with the essence of Christian religion, proclaim men and nations to be of several religions: which is an odious distinction to exclude all the obligations of religion, and to introduce a bitterness animosity and uncharitableness that is inconsistent with any religion; and as if the salvation they desire and depend upon were not the same, the same confidence of Christ, and the same confidence in him, which is and can be but one; though the circumstances and forms and ceremonies in his worship
 and

and service, and even expressions of him and his at-tributes and merits, are not, nor ever have been, nor will be the same. CHAP. I.

It is not in the power or liberty of private and particular men to choose these circumstances of religion for themselves, or to use what forms or ceremonies they please in the exercise of it, because they are not of the substance or essence of religion. They may not change the substance, because it is prescribed by God himself; and they may not change the circumstances, because they are enjoined by that authority to which God referred the forming and composing and establishing them; and they thereby become so much of the very substance and essence of religion that we can no more reject the one than the other; and we may as lawfully make a new creed for ourselves as new canons and rules of practice. Things that were of themselves indifferent cease to be indifferent, and become necessary, when they are by lawful authority commanded to be practised; and kings are as well obliged to exact obedience to the latter, as to take care that there be no invasion of the former; and it is by such authority only that unity and uniformity (which are very wholesome if not necessary ingredients unto peace) may be established by every prince in his particular dominions; and these cannot universally be established, because there is no universal monarch but God himself, who hath left that work to be performed by his vicegerents according to the wisdom he hath given them, and which can no other way be provided. Princes and kings, to whom this necessary supreme trust is committed, and upon which the glory and honour of God as well as the peace happiness and prosperity of themselves

CHAP. and of the people so much depends, cannot transfer
 I. — this trust to another over whom themselves have no authority : they must take such aid and assistance to them in discharge of the trust as may enable them to perform it ; but they ought not to put it out of their own power, upon any presumption that it will be as well or better done than by themselves, without being able to take it out of his hands again who is not faithful in it. That nurse who is chosen by the parents is inexcusable if she commits the nourishing the infant she hath received to the care of another without their consent, and to one from whom she cannot require it again ; but much more if she delivers it into the hands of a foreigner, who transports it into a foreign country to suck the milk of a stranger, and to learn the manners of a country to which the parents would not have it subject. The nursery must be performed by those to whom it is committed, and to those ends for which it was principally committed.

Inquiry
 how princes
 have lost,
 and the
 Bishop of
 Rome ob-
 tained, a
 supreme
 jurisdiction
 in the do-
 minion of
 other
 princes by
 usurping a
 spiritual so-
 verignty.

Since it cannot be reasonably supposed that kings and princes have supinely waved and declined this part of their trust of the church and religion which God hath so solemnly bequeathed to them, or stupidly transferred it to any other, and thereby deprived themselves of the better moiety of their sovereignty in their own dominions ; it will be worth our inquiry how they come to be without it, (for it is too apparent that most of the Christian princes are without it or without the exercise of it, which is all one,) and what just title he who usurps it from them hath to it ; by what inducements and motives they have been prevailed with to relinquish it ; and what colour or pretence the Bishop of Rome, who usurps
 and

and exercises that supreme jurisdiction in the dominions of other princes, makes to so monstrous and unlimited an authority; which without doubt hath been the immediate cause of more rapine and the effusion of more blood than all the ambition of other princes or usurpers hath been since the death of our Saviour; and the propagation of Christianity hath been more obstructed by that obstinate humorous and senseless ambition than by the arms and tyranny of the Turks and Infidels. And how can we reasonably hope that those great and powerful princes who command so much the greater part of the world will ever embrace the Christian faith, when they know that they are not only thereby to cease to be Mahometans but to be monarchs, and admit another prince to have an equal if not superior command over their own subjects in their own dominions, and must cease to be Emperors before they can be admitted to be Christians? when our Saviour himself, whilst he was upon the earth, and instituting that religion by which all men are to be saved, was so tender of and jealous for the entire power prerogative and privileges of kings and princes, that he would not suffer either to be invaded or affronted for the advancement of the Gospel itself, and consequently never intended that by becoming Christians and followers of him from being Jews and Gentiles, they should lose any of the preeminences they were possessed of, or that their subjects should pay them a less entire obedience and submission than they had formerly done; and when he intended that their conversion should be the most effectual means to reduce all the world to the faith of Christ; as indeed it was like to have been till the Pope's usurpation of

CHAP. a spiritual distinct sovereignty obstructed the pro-
 1. gress of it, and drove more from it than it ever re-
 conciled to it.

The supre-
 macy usur-
 ped by the
 Pope never
 looked
 upon in ca-
 tholic times
 as part of
 catholic
 religion.

It is true that so much hath been said by many learned and pious men of almost all nations against the claim and usurpation of this papal power, and all pretences thereunto from Scripture or consent and submission of the church have been so fully answered and confuted, that little new can be said upon this argument. Yet since so much of the peace and good of Christendom depends upon the reforming and rejecting that error, and the putting an end to this single controversy would quickly put an end to all the rest; and since what hath been said hath rather been spread amongst other controversies than contracted to that point alone, and so is not known and considered by many who do not take the pains to read great volumes; and since their confidence is not at all abated in those who are concerned to support the claim, but they do as confidently aver tradition from the apostolical times and practice throughout the primitive church for all that authority the Bishop of Rome usurps or lays claim to, as delegated to him from our Saviour himself, and unquestionably possessed by him throughout the several ages of the church, and that the contradiction thereof was never heard of till Luther's time, and amongst his novelties, and not before; (all which pretences are most romantic and known to be most untrue to those who urge it, if they have any knowledge;) it may be of some use to collect shortly by itself, and without any mixture with any other argument, the whole series of the Bishops of Rome, from the time that themselves pretend that there was any, out of their own most
 avowed

avowed and allowed authors, and those records which by themselves are reckoned most authentic, with that candour which impartial inquirers ought to have, and without any other sharpness of language (which it may be hath discredited many very reasonable and true informations and attempts towards reformation) than what cannot be severed from the fact and the persons who are mentioned, and that is used by the catholic writers themselves. And it will thereby best appear how little of antiquity or warrantable tradition can be applied to the support of that power which the Pope pretends to have in the dominions of other princes, or in the determination of those doubts and controversies which arise in religion itself; and how far that supremacy which he doth usurp in many places, and which is absolutely denied to him in others, (and the pretence to which is the original and the continuance of all the schisms in the Christian world,) is, from having ever been looked upon in catholic times (even where it hath been tolerated) as a part of catholic religion: and then whatever concessions of power have been made by any kings to the Pope to be exercised within their dominions, or whatever he hath imposed or usurped upon others without their consent, can signify nothing, nor be applied to the prejudice of those who do or shall refuse to admit him to have any kind of authority in their territories where they have the sovereign power.

They, who will maintain an opinion or right only upon the stock of tradition, had need have very exact memorials of what was done in those times to which they refer, which are as much wanting in matters of religion if not more than in any other part of story :

for

CHAP. for I think we may reasonably believe, that we have a
I. better collection and tradition of the secular and temporal affairs for some hundred of years after our Saviour's time (we may say from our Saviour's time to this in which we live) than we have of ecclesiastical affairs and matters relating to religion and the church; and we may without doubt believe that we have a better account of all affairs within these last five hundred years, both spiritual and temporal, than our predecessors had of any ages before from that of our Saviour: the growth and improvement of learning from this time, the extent of dominions under one government, and the method and policy of that government throughout all the parts of Christendom, the civilizing and reforming the manners of all nations since this time, and the great number of learned men in all nations having been better means and conduits to transmit and convey the knowledge of all that had been done in these last five centuries to posterity than our ancestors had before: and yet even in this little retrospect of five hundred years there have been in all parts of Christendom so great mists and so much darkness and obscurity, that we have a very sorry account either of the ecclesiastical or secular affairs in this short time; insomuch as we have great reason to wonder at and envy the excellent account and information which we have received of the greatest time under the government of the Greeks and the Romans for many hundred of years together, when we have scarce one century of any one kingdom in Christendom so carefully and exactly writ, that we can say we have a clearer knowledge of this time than we have of that. And in truth there is so great an alteration within these last hundred years or little

little more and in all the western parts of the world, CHAP. not only in the religion and policy and language and I. manners, but in the very nature and humour of the people of the several nations and kingdoms, that if the several kings and princes who then reigned could now again take a survey of their several dominions and subjects, they would scarce understand their language, much less their habits natures and humours. What shall we say then to those propositions and conclusions which men would have us believe the more exact, because they say it was reported and agreed to be so sixteen hundred years ago ?

 CHAP. II.

*Succession of Popes, their Forms of Election, and
Extent of Jurisdiction, from the Time of St. Peter
to Pope Paul V. A.D. 1605.*

CHAP. II. **I**F we look upon the fountain of all ecclesiastical story, from the time of the Apostles even to that of Constantine, which was about three hundred and twenty years, in which there were three and thirty Popes, we may reasonably say that no rivulet conveyed any thing from that pure fountain of moment to us, more than what the Scripture itself tells us of the very history. There is not only no authority that obliges, but no reason that persuades us, to believe any thing positively in the transactions of the church or of churchmen; nor does it appear from whence we have the very lives of the Apostles and other holy men which are derived to us; and which we have much more reason to suspect, because as there was no collection of them in writing till after Constantine's time, so what was afterwards put in writing hath been oftentimes altered, many things having been reformed and left out according to the discretion and gravity of the age; and that body of the lives of the saints which hath now most reputation amongst the Catholics was compiled but in our own age by the Jesuit Ribadineyra, who was chaplain to

Imperfect
ecclesiasti-
cal history
from the
Apostles to
Constan-
tine.

to

to Philip the Second in England when he married Queen Mary, and of whose skill in collecting history we may make some judgment by what he hath left us of England; which relating only to the transactions of twenty years is so full of mistakes and errors with reference to persons times and actions, that no Englishman who is best versed in the accounts of that time can receive any information. But, as I said before, his collection of the saints hath most reputation in all catholic countries of any other, and is translated into all languages, though it contains not half the particulars even of St. Peter himself as former and more ancient editions do; and yet it contains very much more than any learned and wise catholic will seriously profess to believe.

CHAP.
II.

There is no consent in the very succession of the Popes, very little pretence to jurisdiction over any other persons where themselves resided, and no mention of the manner of their election and how they came to be chosen, till after three hundred years. For, taking it as granted that St. Peter sat seven years at Antioch and four and twenty at Rome, and that he suffered in the year sixty-nine after the birth of our Saviour; and admitting likewise that St. Paul suffered on the very same day with him, though in a different manner, (which is of great use to them, since they do not deny that St. Paul had equal authority with St. Peter in Rome itself) yet it does not appear who did immediately succeed St. Peter, whether Linus or Clement; for they who prefer Linus and Cletus both before Clement do yet acknowledge that St. Peter did appoint Clement to succeed him, and that Clement was so humble that he refused it, and so he is placed the fourth after Linus and Cletus.

Of thirty-three Popes in the first three hundred and twenty years, no consent as to their succession, nor account of their manner of election.

But

CHAP. But then again there is as great a difference whether
 II.

Anacletus and Cletus were one and the same person; and then there will want one in the number of the Popes, for Eusebius places Evaristus to succeed Clement; others put Anacletus between them, and say he reigned nine years: but for the precise time that the several Popes for many successions lived and reigned scarce any two writers agree. And if their tradition be so uncertain an evidence of such an historical verity in so few years after Christianity was first preached or professed, how can we or any reasonable man give credit to those allegations of many things done and words spoken by our Saviour himself and of his Apostles, for which they allege no other proof but tradition so concealed between themselves, that nobody ever heard mention of either till nine hundred years after the death of Christ? But let tradition be as weak and as partial a witness as it must be still reckoned to be, we do deny that they have even such a witness for them; and by the particular disquisition we shall make into every half age and less of the church, it will appear that this their pretence is not in the least degree supported or favoured by tradition.

Nature of
 their juris-
 diction till
 the time of
 Constan-
 tine.

Towards any thing that looks like jurisdiction (and how far it extended or was submitted to is not apparent) there is some dark mention of the bringing in of holy water, and of the ordaining that no priest should say above one mass a day, by Pope Alexander the First; and of the ordering three to be said on Christmas eve by Pope Telesphorus; and of the appointing godfathers and godmothers in baptism by Pope Hyginus, which the Anabaptists will hardly be persuaded to believe. The difference about Easter indeed

indeed made a great noise and divided the churches, and was determined by Pius the First; but revived and continued with great passion and animosity for forty years after, until Pope Victor, in a council at Rome (which they say was the next lawful council to that of the Apostles at Jerusalem) with as much passion, declared his judgment in that particular; which is a shrewd evidence that the authority of Pope Pius was not considered with a full resignation. Some particulars of less moment, as the ordering that no vessels of wood should be used in the mass but of glass, and shortly after that cups of plate should be only used in that service, are mentioned to be established about or soon after that time.

But in what manner those orders were issued and accepted, and what obedience was paid thereunto, is no where mentioned, and may be best guessed at by the respect that was given to the judgment of Pope Pius in the point of Easter. And certain it is that no act of solemn jurisdiction by the Pope or church itself will be found manifestly to have been done till the Emperor became Christian; nor can it easily be conceived that any of those edicts could be digested or published with any formality, or that they were communicated with less secrecy than the Pope concealed his own person or the place of his abode; either of which was no sooner known than he was seized upon and carried to his execution. And therefore it is not easy to conceive how that council should be assembled at Rome in which Victor determined the time for the celebration of Easter, both parties equally urging tradition for the day they observed, and which they say was the first lawful council after that of the Apostles; and as hard how that council

was

CHAP. was called in Africa, when Stephanus determined
 II. against the rebaptization of heretics, to which St. Cyprian would never submit, which is no sign of his believing himself to be subject to the Pope's jurisdiction; or that other at Antioch, when Dionysius censured and deposed Paulus Samosatenus from that bishopric; and lastly, how the other was convened at Sinuessa in the kingdom of Naples, for the examination of the idolatry of Pope Marcellinus. It is very probable, that whatsoever was decreed in these particulars was secretly transmitted to the persons concerned, and not transacted in any public or solemn manner, and the more probable because all the several Popes lived many years after those decrees, which they could not have done if what they had done had been known. Yet it cannot be denied that all those councils are mentioned to be held in that excellent collection made by the learned Sirmondus, who no doubt had authority for it, though his memorials contain no more than that there were such councils held in those places at those times, without mention who were present or any one canon that was made. And the Popes have gotten nothing by it, but the eminent and obstinate contradiction and contempt of their authority from St. Cyprian, (which much weighs down all the civility and deference in his letters to Pope Cornelius) and the preservation of the record of that indelible reproach upon the papacy in the idolatry of Marcellinus; who, being terrified with the persecution in the time of Dioclesian, (when in thirty days there were seventeen thousand Christians put to death for their religion,) preserved his life by sacrificing to the idol gods, and was for that scandal and impiety, they
 say,

say, convened before a number of bishops at Sinu-^{CHAP.}
 essa in the kingdom of Naples, who might more ^{II.}

 securely have met in Rome itself; he for some
 days passionately denied the charge until he was
 convinced by thirty witnesses, when he made great
 submission, professed great repentance, and declared
 that he deserved to be deposed, but the council
 refused to do it for want of power; whereupon the
 dejected Pope assumed new and unnecessary cou-
 rage, returned to Rome, defied and reviled the Em-
 peror to his face till he caused his head to be cut off:
 and there need not be a better argument of the inse-
 curity of such meetings than that there passed above
 seven years from the death of Marcellinus before
 Marcellus, who immediately succeeded him, was
 chosen Pope.

We are beholden to the pontifical recorders for ^{Conversion}
 supplying us with evidence long before this time of ^{of Britain}
 our King Lucius having writ to Pope Eleutherius, ^{to Christi-}
 (who by some of them is reckoned to be the four- ^{anity.}
 teenth Pope, by others the thirteenth, and by Beda
 the twelfth, so soon their tradition left them in the
 dark,) that both himself and his kingdom might re-
 ceive baptism, which was presently granted; inso-
 much that many of their most unquestioned histo-
 rians do acknowledge that King Lucius and his king-
 dom was the first entire Christian kingdom. But
timeo Danaos et dona ferentes, and they always sell
 their baptism at a much dearer price than our Sa-
 viour appointed should be paid for it. And therefore
 since so authentic evidence as the original letter writ-
 ten by King Lucius to the Pope and his answer back
 to the King (both which they acknowledge to have
 in their custody, with the names of the persons de-
 c
 puted

CHAP. II. puted by Eleutherius for the performance of that function) have not gained so much credit with them, but that they have given the precedence and priority to a prince born near four hundred years after King Lucius and his kingdom were baptized; (for Clovis, whom they declare to be the first Christian King, became Christian but in the year four hundred eighty-one; whereas Pope Victor, who succeeded Eleutherius and reigned eight years, died but in the year two hundred and one;) we will therefore claim no benefit from King Lucius, but leave those precious records (though they are mentioned by many of the most ancient writers) to be made use of to their own advantage, and will content ourselves with a much ancients Christianity from the unquestioned testimony of Gildas, (to whose knowledge and sincerity antiquity pays the greatest reverence and submission, who declares *Evangelii lumen in Britannia radiasse* in the last year of Tiberius; which was the fifth year after the resurrection, and so before St. Peter himself came to Rome, at least if he remained Bishop of Antioch seven years. And this declaration of Gildas is confirmed by Baronius upon the authority of a very ancient manuscript (which he says remains in the Vatican) of the History of England, by which it appears that Christianity was brought into Britain about that time by Joseph of Arimathea and his company: nor is there more probable evidence, because there is not so general a consent or so many circumstances alleged for the planting Christian religion in any kingdom in Europe as concur in the arrival of Joseph of Arimathea and his company in Britain, and of his dying there; and they who profess to believe this, would persuade us that in little
more

more than a hundred years it was so near exting- CHAP. II.
 guished that King Lucius did *fidem sopitam susci-*
tare, which is not only in the highest degree impro-
 bable, but is clearly contradicted by more authentic
 records remaining with us than those are of Lucius
 and Eleutherius in the judgment of all ecclesiastical
 writers; there being such an incongruity between
 the letter supposed to be written by Lucius and the
 Pope's answer, and such an uncertainty who Lucius
 was, or when he lived. Beda says the letter was writ
 in the year one hundred fifty-six, which was many
 years before Eleutherius was Pope; (for his prede-
 cessor Soterus died but in the year one hundred se-
 venty-six;) others say that Lucius died in the year
 one hundred eighty-one; whereas Matthew of West-
 minster will have that letter to be written by him to
 the Pope in the year one hundred eighty-five. .

To the end of Pope Marcellinus, who was put to
 death in the year three hundred and seven, there was
 no form prescribed for the election, nor any persons
 appointed or who pretended power to elect; and it is
 probable enough that the Pope dying might recom-
 mend his successor; for besides that they say that
 St. Peter nominated Clement, they say likewise that
 Stephen the First was recommended by Pope Lucius
 that went before, who was the three and twentieth
 Pope; and it is very probable that those pious per-
 sons who were all martyrs, (for of the first three and
 thirty Popes, the last of which was Melchiades who
 suffered in the tenth and last persecution under the
 Emperor Maximianus, there were not above three or
 four who died natural deaths;) I say, it is very pro-
 bable that they had all so great a reverence and ve-

CHAP. II. neration from the people, that they were very willing to receive any man whom the Popes recommended to be their successors ; and most of the admittances being within five or six or seven or eight days after the death of the last Pope may persuade us, that there was very little faction or formality in the election, there being then no room for any ambition (except it were for martyrdom) or any secure place to assemble in for such a business ; so that we may reasonably presume that they, who during that long time supplied that high office, did it rather by a general admission and acceptation than by any formal election.

It is true, after the death of Marcellinus, and when the see had remained void above seven years, (which would have produced an irreparable damage to Christianity if so much of it had been trusted to the person of the Pope as hath been since imagined,) Marcellus, who was his successor, was said to be chosen by the clergy and people of Rome, which is not probable ; for if the Emperor Maxentius, who put him afterwards to death, had known of any such thing, (as if it had been so notorious he could not but have done,) he would never have suffered him to have reigned five years, which is the time assigned him ; neither is there mention that his two successors Eusebius and Melchiades had any such election ; nor that Pope Antherus's ordinance " that none but a Bishop should be chosen Pope " was afterwards pursued ; for after he was put to death by the Emperor Maximus, his successor Fabian had no such qualification : and of any pretence to a larger power and jurisdiction than is mentioned before we have no
foot-

footsteps before the time of Constantine the Emperor, who being himself a Christian preserved them from any more bloody persecutions. CHAP. II.

Our next inquiry shall be to discover what claim or exercise the Popes had to any jurisdiction in other kingdoms and states in or after the reign of Constantine, and whence they derived it; and what opposition and contradiction they met withal from time to time, by which the current opinion of antiquity will best appear. Reign of Constantine, and subsequent state of Papal jurisdiction till the irruption of the Goths. A. D. 420.

It is agreed on all hands, I think, that Silvester the First was Bishop of Rome when Constantine came to be Emperor; though there is no mention what interval there was between the death of Melchiades and the election of Silvester, or in what manner he was chosen; and there seems to be some contradiction in the authors about the computation of that time; for Silvester is said to have reigned three and twenty years and ten months, and to have died in the year three hundred thirty-four; whereas it was in the year three hundred twenty-one that Melchiades was put to death, between which several times there are but thirteen years or thereabouts. However it appears that Silvester was then Pope, and some authors will have it that Constantine was christened by him. Sure it is that as that Emperor performed many acts of piety in building of churches in several places for the exercise of the Christian religion, so he paid great respect to Pope Silvester and gave him a rich crown, which they say he never wore himself, though he left it to his successors. Yet we do not find that he gave him any part in the Council itself of Nice, Council of Nice. (for the allegation that his commissioner resided there is without any colour of authority,) where Arius

CHAP. II. was condemned by three hundred and one Bishops ; the whole number present being but three hundred and eighteen, and of the seventeen who dissented eleven afterwards recanted and submitted, so that there remained only six who continued obstinate. Constantine himself was present in this council, and he and he alone confirmed the decrees and acts thereof, and sent them so confirmed to Pope Silvester, who thereupon called a council at Rome of two hundred sixty-seven Bishops, who confirmed all that had been done at Nice, which confirmation was no other than a submission and conformity thereunto ; as the Council at Granada in Spain, which was then likewise assembled and is called the first *Eliberitan* Council, likewise did. And there needs no other evidence of the Emperor's supreme authority in that Council than his Letter to all churches for the due observation of all that was concluded at Nice, and for the observation of Easter, and the burning of all books written by Arius, which he commanded to be done in a very imperial style : “ *Si quid autem scriptum ab Ario compositum reperiat, ut igni id tradatur volumus ; ut non modo improba ejus doctrina abrogetur, verum etiam ne monumentum quidem ali- quod ejus relinquatur : Illud equidem predictum volo ; Si quis libellum aliquem ab Ario conscriptum celare, nec continuo igni comburere deprehensus fu- erit, supplicium ei mortis esse constitutum.*” And the Letter which was shortly after written from the Council of Arles (where Eborius Bishop of York and Restitutus Bishop of London were both present and subscribed) is very notable to the argument we are upon, and for the abridgment whereof we are beholden to Sir H. Spelman in the first tome of the

Coun-

Council of Rome.

Eliberitan Council at Granada.

Council of Arles.

Councils^b: “ *Domino sanctissimo, Fratri Silvestro,* C H A P. II.
 “ *Marinus, vel cætus Episcoporum, qui adunati fu-*
 “ *erunt in oppido Arelatensi, quid decreverimus com-*
 “ *muni concilio, charitati tuæ significavimus, ut omnes*
 “ *sciunt quid in futurum observare debeant.*” This is the same Pope Silvester to whom they would persuade us the Emperor Constantine had such deference, when we see how the poor Council at Arles treat him as they did any other Bishop.

Pope Julius sent some reprehension as they pretend to the Eastern Bishops for having presumed to meet in council without his consent; but they expressed all manner of indignation at his reprehension, and shortly after met in a council at Antioch; and the Emperor continued so obstinate in that opinion, that Pope Liberius who had succeeded Julius was banished, and Felix was chosen Pope; but Liberius redeeming himself from banishment by becoming and turning Arian, Felix was again turned out; and to wipe off this scandal in Liberius the distinction was first made between the Pope and his office, which hath so often since been inverted owned and contradicted, as the occasion and the humour of persons concerned in the disputation have thought fit. In this time was St. Austin born in Africa and Pelagius in England, as those historians report who did not distinguish between England, and Scotland, where that nation will needs have him be born, preferring the fame of his wit and learning as a greater honour to their country than the infamy and reproach of his heresy can detract from it.

And now succeeded Julian in the Empire; whe-

^b P. 40—45.

CHAP. II. ther an apostate or no, may for aught I know be lawfully doubted. That he was a great enemy to the Christians, and that he found a way more to discredit and dishonour Christianity by his wit and mirth and scoffs and discountenance, (which made a greater impression upon the Christians of that age, and made more of them to renounce their faith, than any one of the fiery and bloody persecutions had done,) is very clear: yet I have never seen ground enough to conclude that he ever embraced the Christian faith, or was instructed in it; for though he had conformed in some outward appearance to the commands of his uncle the Emperor Constantine, yet he appeared always addicted to the religion of the Gentiles, in which he was very learned; and taking him as a Gentile, he may be well looked upon as a prince of extraordinary virtue; and one, who if he had not been carried by a wonderful providence, and against all the advice of his friends and several predictions (to which he was naturally superstitious enough) into that war where he was slain, it is probable might have extended the empire to as great an extent of dominion and reputation as ever it had under any of his predecessors. And here it may not be unfit (though I believe it will be very unpopular) to observe how much passion and prejudice contributes to the corruption of history; for we know not to what else to impute all those relations of the manner of his death, and his last speech in contempt of our Saviour, than to the overzeal of religious persons of that age; who, believing his apostasy, thought they could not load his memory with too many reproaches, nor sufficiently celebrate God's mercy in the vengeance acted upon him in so extraordinary a manner. And the Spaniards do still believe

believe that he was killed by St. Mercurius with one of the lances which was always kept in that Saint's tomb, as it was missed on the day in which Julian was killed, and found again the next day in its place all bloody. Whereas, if we will believe Ammianus Marcellinus, (who is incomparably the best writer of that age, and was himself in that battle,) he was hurt in a very sharp charge of the enemy when great numbers fell on both sides ; and being carried out of the field into his tent, where he lived some days after he found his wound to be mortal, he sent for the principal officers of his army, made a long discourse to them of the public affairs and of his particular person and his actions and intentions, full of wisdom and magnanimity, and died with as great serenity and tranquillity of mind as any Roman general of whom we have received very good account in story.

CHAP.
II.

Not long after Julian, Damasus was Pope, who reigned no less than nineteen years ; and there were but three Popes after him, that is to say, Siritius and Anastasius (in whose time the Council of Toledo was held in which priests were forbidden to marry) and Innocent the First, before the Goths entered Italy with an army of two hundred thousand men, and entered and sacked Rome, Innocent himself being then at Ravenna ; and this was about the year four hundred and twenty, being two years before the death of Innocent.

In this great deluge both the language and manners and religion of Italy grew so much corrupted that there are few records of the actions of that time which have any credit: and this confusion was shortly improved by the Hunns and the Vandals who overran all Italy ; so that for an age or two there

Irruption of the Goths and subsequent state of Papal jurisdiction till the time of Pope Hildebrand Gregory VII. A. D.

was 1073.

CHAP. II. was little other notice taken of the Papacy than by the schisms that were in it, and by the Popes' applications to the Emperors to assist them, and the acts of jurisdiction by the Emperors in punishments and

The Emperor Honorius banishes Boniface I. and Eulalius.

reformation. Thus the Emperor Honorius, in the schism between Boniface the First and Eulalius, (which was the third schism) first banished both the pretenders the city of Rome for seven months; and then, after examination of the business, he confirmed Boniface to be the true and right Pope, and made a law, which is still amongst the decretals, that if two were chosen Popes together neither of them should be allowed. And again in the time of the very next Pope, which was Celestine the First, the Emperor

Council of Ephesus.

Theodotius the Second called the Council at Ephesus, where Cyrill Bishop of Alexandria presided; but they will have this office to be performed by Cyrill by commission from the Pope; for which as there is no authority, so there appears no probability; because Sixtus the Third, who was the very next Pope after Celestine, was a person so totally neglected by all degrees of men, upon a scandal which Bassus had raised upon him, that nobody would so much as communicate with him, until he had prevailed with the Emperor Valentinian the Third to call a council which might examine the whole matter; which being done at Rome, where fifty-seven Bishops met, all allegations and suggestions being examined, the Pope was cleared and acquitted, and Bassus excommunicated. Of so little authority was the Pope himself in that age when so much was done in the matter of religion. For in the time of the very next

Council of Calcedon.

Pope, which was Leo the First, the Council at Calcedon was held; and in his successor's time, which

was

was Pope Hilarius, the four general Councils of Nice CHAP.
Ephesus Constantinople and Calcedon were confirm- II.
ed. And yet the Popes were in much more liberty,
and received more respect from the new invaders the
Goths (who were Christians though Arians) than the
Emperors did; for about this time and by means of
the Goths and Vandals the western empire grew so
totally suppressed, that for above three hundred years
(which was to the time of Charlemain) there was
not so much as the name of an Emperor of the West
heard of; Italy and the Popes living for the most
part under the protection of the Kings of the Goths,
who exercised their power as much over one as the
other. So in the fourth schism between Symma-
chus the First and Laurentius the Anti-Pope, (which
was after the year five hundred,) Theodoric King of
Italy keeping his court at Ravenna called a council, Council of
Ravenna.
by whose advice he commanded Symmachus to be
acknowledged Pope, and the other to discontinue all
pretence.

This manner of questioning, receiving, and re- Form of
election of
Popes un-
settled till
the decree
of Pope
Nicholas II.
A. D. 1060.
jecting Popes, makes it seasonable again to make
some reflection upon the unprescribed unsettled and
unobserved course or manner of the election of
Popes; of which antiquity is either silent or doth
not pretend that there was any constant rule ob-
served therein: which we cannot reasonably suppose
could possibly be omitted, if our Saviour had ever in-
tended that the Bishop of Rome should be the sole
monarch of the Church, and that religion should so
much and so absolutely depend upon his pleasure
and determination: for then he would have pre-
scribed some such order for his election, that it should
at all times be manifest who is and who was truly
Bishop

CHAP. II. Bishop of Rome: and if it were confessed that all the texts of Scripture, which from all antiquity are agreed to be spoken to and of all the Apostles, are in truth only to be applied to the person of St. Peter, it would confer no more right upon his successors, than the breathing of the Holy Ghost and the gift of tongues upon all the Apostles have derived the same illumination upon all the successors of the Apostles. Though Rome was for some time the seat of the empire and so the place to which men were obliged to resort upon several occasions, yet the place and city itself never appeared to be chosen by God with any peculiar privilege or title for his worship; but on the contrary hath borne the deep marks of his displeasure in being exposed to more affronts, more sackings and devastations than any other great city in Europe hath been. And therefore, that after the glory of the empire is departed from it, it should still retain a power to give to all the empires and kingdoms of the world a supreme magistrate to whom they are bound to submit and obey in all those things which concern the salvation of their souls and their hopes in the next world, is so very irrational, that less than the most clear evidence that it is the will of God it shall be so can never convince mankind that they ought to consent thereunto. From the time that the manner of elections was taken notice of, sometimes the Pope was chosen by the clergy and people of Rome, and sometimes by the clergy alone: and when there were scandalous elections made upon which schisms ensued, sometimes the Emperor, sometimes the Kings of Italy, and sometimes the Exarch, regulated those contentions, and settled such a Pope as they thought fit; sometimes appointing them to
choose

choose such a man, and sometimes that none should be admitted to be Pope until, upon notice given to the Emperor, his election should be confirmed or approved by him. Nor was there any form prescribed or accustomed for those elections till the year one thousand and sixty, when Pope Nicholas the Second (whose own election might well have been questioned, he being chosen upon a schism when Benedict the Tenth pretended to be Pope and continued so nine months, and then waded the contest and returned to his bishopric of Velitri) made a decree that from thenceforth the election of the Pope should be only in the Cardinals; the Cardinals themselves not being looked upon with any reverence, or in any degree above other prelates, till the time of Leo the Ninth; who had been made Pope by Harry the Fourth, and was attended and acknowledged as Pope in his journey throughout Germany; (though afterwards he appeared in Rome as a private person till he was formally elected, which was quickly done;) and therefore this decree of Nicholas would have found opposition enough if the world had looked upon the Pope as the universal Bishop of Christ. And Nicholas was no sooner dead, and Alexander the Second chosen in his place by the Cardinals, but the Bishops of Lombardy took exception to the election, and called a council in Milan and declared the election to be void; and chose Honorius the Second to be Pope, who was acknowledged by the Emperor, and so there was a new schism. And when Cardinal Hildebrand, who was the next successor, under the name of Gregory the Seventh, was chosen by the college of Cardinals, he would not assume the Pontificate, till he had first sent to the Emperor for his

CHAP.
II.

Cardinals.

Council of Milan.

Hildebrand
Greg. VII.

appro-

CHAP. II. approbation; and till the Emperor had sent his ambassadors to Rome and approved his election; which he had no sooner obtained than he threatened his benefactor, and soon after excommunicated him; which let in that deluge of blood into Germany that was not assuaged in that age.

Irregular course of Papal elections from Pope Greg. VII. till the decree of Pope Honorius III. 1227.

From this time or shortly after new schisms arose upon this course and method of elections, according to the humour of the Emperor and other Kings and Princes; who, unsatisfied that men should be put upon them for Popes by such a small number, received and acknowledged him for Pope whom they liked best and who they thought would live towards them with the most dependance: and so when two or three Popes were chosen together by several Cardinals, (as there were three Anti-Popes at several places when Paschal the Second was created,) they all created Cardinals; and these Cardinals, when he whom they acknowledged died, chose a successor according to their several factions. Thus after the death of Gelasius the Second who fled out of Rome upon the coming of the Emperor Harry the Fifth thither, (who made the Archbishop of Bragha Pope and died in France,) the five Cardinals who were with Gelasius when he died chose the Archbishop of Vienne Pope, called Calixtus the Second; and he found means to obtain the approbation and consent of those Cardinals who were absent, and likewise to reconcile himself to the Emperor: upon which Gregory the Anti-Pope, though he had absolved the Emperor and made Cardinals, was forced to fly out of Rome; and being afterwards taken prisoner was put into a monastery by Calixtus, where he died about the year one thousand one hundred and twenty. This course of election continued

tinued with several pernicious schisms until the time of Honorius the Third, who died about the year one thousand two hundred twenty-seven, and ordered that from thenceforth the Cardinals should be always shut up in the conclave till the election should be made.

Though the elections were still made by the Cardinals, yet all persons in orders were capable of being chosen Popes; and very frequently persons were chosen who were not of the body of the electors. So after the death of Nicholas the Fourth, who died in the year one thousand two hundred ninety-two, after a vacancy of seven and twenty months, Pedro de Moron a hermit was chosen and took the name of Celestine the Fifth; and he after six months, for pure want of wit and inability to govern, resigned the chair; upon which Cardinal Caietan was chosen and took the name of Boniface the Eighth.

After his death and the short reign of Benedict the Eleventh, which lasted but nine months, succeeded that infamous election of the Archbishop of Bourdeaux; when after a vacancy of thirteen months the faction between the Italians and the French was so strong and equal in the conclave, that after a long contention they found no other expedient to agree upon than that either faction should nominate three, and the contrary faction should have forty days to choose one out of those who should be Pope. The Italians nominated three, whereof the Archbishop of Bourdeaux was one, who was a person so unacceptable for many contests he had with Philip King of France, that they thought it impossible for the French faction to make choice of him. The Archbishop was then in France, and the King having notice

CHAP.
II.

Subsequent elections of the Cardinals, but not out of their own body exclusively.

Celestine V.

Clement V.
how elected.

CHAP. tice of this found means privately to speak with him:
 II.

and then, that he might obtain the King's consent that he might be Pope, he took a solemn oath to the King that he would absolve him for whatever he had done to Boniface and all his friends who had been employed by him; and that he would restore the family of Colonna who had been deprived by Boniface; and that he would condemn the memory of Boniface; that he would make such of his friends Cardinals as he should recommend; and that the King should receive all the tenths of the kingdom for five years; and for the performance of all this the Archbishop did not only give his own oath, but gave his brother and two sons of his brother for hostages to the King, who were sent to Paris: and thereupon the Archbishop was chosen Pope, and was called Clement the Fifth, and removed his court to Avignon: all which is confessed by the present Bishop of Montpelier Francis Bosquet in his Lives of those Popes who had kept their courts at Avignon, printed at Paris in the year one thousand six hundred thirty-two. It was this Pope Clement the Fifth who in a Council held at Vienne upon the Rhone in the presence of King Philip and his three sons, in the year one thousand three hundred and nine, condemned and suppressed the order of Knights Templars, and reserved all their lands and goods to his own disposal, (which was thought to be one of the conditions which he made with the King of France who enjoyed the greatest part of the benefit thereof,) and caused many of the order to be put to death with great torments for offences not yet communicated to the world, and as it is thought principally to get the possession of their large estates, if there were nothing

Council of Vienne,
 A. D. 1309.
 and suppression of the Templars.

thing of religion in their opinions which hastened their fate. CHAP.
II.

After the death of Clement, the Cardinals being shut up in the conclave at Carpentoract, after much time spent in debate could not agree upon the election of a Pope; but there being great differences within the conclave between the Cardinals, and without between their friends and servants, they agreed to issue out of the conclave, and to defer the election to a fitter time, which they appointed. But they met not until two years after, when Philip Earl of Poitou, brother to Lewis the French King, and who was King after him, brought them together at Lyons in the monastery of the Dominicans in the year one thousand three hundred and sixteen, (according to Bosquet;) “*Ibique diligentia, arte, et ingenio, præfati Domini Philippi et concilii sui fuerunt omnes conclusi nec exire permissi, cum prius nescirent nec crederent se ibi debere concludi, non enim potuissent in unum divisis animis alias congregari:*” and so they made their election. Mezeray, a much more exact writer, describes this very pleasantly, and says that the Cardinals being shut up in the conclave by Philip could not any otherwise agree upon the election of a Pope than by their joint referring it to the single voice of James D'Ossat, Cardinal, and Bishop of Port; he without any scruple at all named himself, to the great astonishment of all the conclave, who nevertheless approved of him; and so he took the name of John the Two-and-twentieth, and reigned quietly eighteen years or thereabouts, without ever having his election questioned or doubted. This John the Two-and-twentieth declared that the souls of the dead were neither happy nor miserable till the day of judgment;

CHAP. II. ment; which opinion was generally held in the former age. But the university of Paris having more exactly examined this point, corrected the holy father in it, as Mezeray says, and thereupon the King, Philip of Valois, writ to the Pope in these terms; "*Que s'il ne se retractoit il le feroit urdre.*" Whether he was converted by this threat, or convinced in his conscience, the Pope did not only change his opinion, but published an act of retractation. So far was the holy chair from being infallible when it rested in Avignon. Yet this very Pope had the courage to excommunicate Lewis the Emperor for presuming to take upon him the title of Emperor without his confirmation, and declared him *Apostata y rebelde a los mandamientos de la Santa madre Iglesia*; deprived him of all his dominions, and anathematized as rebels heretics and apostates all persons who gave him any title of dignity. The Emperor appealed to a future council and called a council at Spires, which declared that the Pope had no jurisdiction over the Emperor, but was his subject.

Univ. of Paris censures the Pope's doctrines.
His jurisdiction denied by the Council of Spires.

To this time and long after, though the election was made by the Cardinals, yet other persons were as capable of being chosen as they. So Pope Urban the Fifth, who died but in the year one thousand three hundred and seventy, was chosen from a private monk of St. Bennett's order without ever having been a Cardinal; and Urban the Sixth, who succeeded him next but one and who died in the year one thousand three hundred eighty-nine, was chosen, being Archbishop of Barri, upon the Cardinals agreeing in the conclave that since they could not concur in the election of any person amongst themselves, they would choose one out of the college: and so long all Christian

Christian countries were capable of having a Pope of their own nation; and all prelates, indeed all clergymen, were capable of being chosen Pope. But the last stratagem of restraining the election to be made out of the sacred college (which hath produced that combination that the Church shall not for the future ever have a Pope who is not an Italian) is very modern, and would deprive the whole Christian world of the greatest privilege imaginable, if any other part of it than Italy were really concerned who is Pope or what he does. And there can be no right reason why the neighbour kings and sovereign princes do not always insist upon the precedent made in the Council of Constance; where, as the ambassadors of Italy France Spain Germany and England had concurred in the Council in the sentence against Benedict and deprived him of the Papacy, so the Council appointed six persons of either of the five nations, whereof three or four were bishops and the other learned men, to assist in the conclave for the election of a new Pope; and so there were thirty of those five nations who with twenty-three Cardinals (for there were no more upon the place) entered the conclave, and after many contests and difficulties chose the Cardinal Colonna, who was called Martin the Fifth; of whose lawful election there was never any question raised; and this Council was dissolved but in the year one thousand four hundred and eighteen. Twenty years after the Council of Basil proceeded in the same method; and when they had deprived the Pope Eugenio, and had but one Cardinal with them, they appointed thirty-two, eight of each nation; Italian French Spaniards and Germans, England not having sent to that Council; and they chose Amadeo

CHAP.
II.

Council of
Constance.
A. D. 1418.

Martin V.

Council of
Basil.

Eugenio.

CHAP. Duke of Savoy, who accepted the election, came to
 II. the Council, and assumed the title of Felix; and
 Felix. though this was looked upon as a schism, and Eugenio was afterwards received at Rome and looked upon as the true Pope by many princes, as not having deserved to be deposed, yet the Emperor and many other princes adhered to Felix and acknowledged no other; till Nicholas the Fifth (who was chosen after the death of Eugenio by a general consent) dissolved the Council at Basil, and Felix renounced all right, and was made a Cardinal and Legate of Germany. There can be no reason why Christian princes do not insist upon those precedents, leaving that election entirely to the Cardinals, except that they look upon it as in their own power to remedy all inconveniences which shall fall out thereby, by excluding the Pope from having any thing to do in their dominions, when he shall meddle more than they have a mind he should, without making any alteration in religion. The truth is, the foul arts and practices which are used in all conclaves to fill the infallible chair in a *sede vacante*, the corruption of the Cardinals by money, and the power that the two crowns of France and Spain do assume to themselves in excluding such and such men by name from being chosen, under a protestation that they will never acknowledge them if they be chosen, are so notorious and detected in the world in this last age, that no serious man can look upon the transactions as relating to religion, or that our Saviour can acknowledge any to be his vicar who is substituted without the least pretence of authority from him.

Julius III.
 A. D. 1549.

Upon the death of Paul the Third, which was in the year one thousand five hundred and forty-nine,

Harry

Harry the Second, King of France, writ to his ambassador at Rome, Monsieur D'Urfé, that he wished that the election of the future Pope might not be so hastened nor so quickly dispatched as that the Cardinals of these parts might not have time to come to Rome to assist in the conclave as well as others; otherwise that in regard to the place which he held in Christendom, and the quality which he had of being eldest son of the Church, he neither would nor could admit of such an election, where his Cardinals, who represent the Gallican Church, should be despised and neglected: upon the receipt of which order from the King the ambassador went to the door of the conclave, and six Cardinals deputed to that purpose came to him, to whom he declared that the Cardinals of France were upon the way, and would probably be there in a few days; and therefore he prayed the conclave to stay and suspend the election until the next week, in which time the French Cardinals might be there; and in case they would deny that request, and frustrate the voice of the King's Cardinals, he did protest on his Majesty's account (according to the power that he had given him) a nullity of all which they should do, and not to approve of their election. The Cardinals desired that they might see his power; upon which he delivered the order above mentioned into the hands of Cardinal Tracy, who promised to communicate that and all that he had said to the whole conclave^c; upon which and the like importunities there was such a dissension amongst the Cardinals, that the election was put off so long that both the Emperor and the

CHAP.
II.

^c Memoires de Monsieur Ribier, tom. ii. p. 254.

CHAP. King of France complained of the delay; and the
 II. King of France writ to the Cardinal de Guise that every body there laughed at the combustions in the conclave, which he said did every day increase the errors in religion, and that for one Lutheran that was in Germany before the vacation of the holy chair, there were now many; and the conclave continued from the beginning of November till the middle of February before Julius the Third was chosen.

Management of conclaves.

It is a part of the will and last advice that the wise King Philip the Second of Spain gave to his son who succeeded him, that he should always keep a good correspondence with the Pope and the Cardinals, gain what number of voices he can in the conclave, and order his pensioners to be well paid by secret and faithful hands. But there needs now none of that caution or reservation; the Cardinals are as ready to receive as any prince can be to give pensions; and it is as much known in Rome of what faction they are as where their palaces are; and though it would be too much levity to believe all that is scattered abroad in those relations which are usually published of the corrupt transactions in the conclaves, yet there are such authentic accounts privately transmitted to princes by their subjects who are in the conclave, that there can be no kind of doubt of the truth thereof. To omit the several relations made by the Cardinals Joyeuse Perron and D'Ossat to the King in their several dispatches (since unwarily published) of the conclaves in which Clement the Eighth and Leo the Eleventh were chosen, and other very faithful accounts of other conclaves, that which the Cardinal Joyeuse writes to Harry the Fourth of the conclave

clave which succeeded the short reign of Leo the Eleventh (which continued but twenty-seven days) deserves to be very particularly remembered, in the very words it was contained in his letter of the 19th of May, 1605, which are these: “The Cardinal Aldobrandini and the Cardinal Montalto (which were the two great factions) with all their creatures came to us,” (Cardinals Perron and D’Ossat being in the same conclave,) “desiring us to join with them to make the Cardinal Tosco Pope. After we had discoursed a great while on this affair, we had much ado to resolve upon it; because the said Cardinal was looked upon as a man who had lived a life not too exemplary, very apt to be choleric and angry, who had always in his mouth unchaste and immodest words, and who was given to other customs unbecoming not only the head of the Church, but any person whatever who had but the least advantage of an honest education. In a word, he was a man from whom we could expect no good to the Church, the election of whom would go against the conscience of many pious persons of the college, and might perhaps gain us nothing but disgrace and reproach from all the assembly of Cardinals. Nevertheless the little hopes that we had of having a Pope to our mind, the fear of falling on one of those who were excluded by your Majesty, the desire of not displeasing the Cardinal Aldobrandini, and the opinion which we had that this man would be inclined to favour the affairs of your Majesty, made us resolve to assure Aldobrandini that we gave our full consent to this election.”

CHAP. II. — There hath never been the least doubt made of the truth of this relation, most of it being likewise included in the letters of the other two Cardinals upon this occasion, and therefore we will not enlarge farther upon the integrity and piety of those elections. It is very true the singular courage and conscience of Cardinal Baronius, who protested against so infamous a person, prevented the election of Tosco notwithstanding so scandalous a combination; and the conclave ended in the choice of Cardinal Borghese, called Paul the Fifth, who shewed so much folly and mettle against the republic of Venice, and repented it. But from this short review of the absence of all religious and sincere cogitations, and the sinister practice of such unrighteous ways in those elections for politic and worldly ends, the Catholic Church itself may easily discern how impossible it is that a person so chosen can be of the essence of Catholic religion; and how ridiculous it is that any particular Catholic shall expose his life and fortune as a sacrifice to maintain and defend the imaginary jurisdiction of a man so imposed upon the Church against the established laws and government of his own country. If it were fit that there should be such an universal submission of all Christian nations to such a magistrate, reason and justice would require that there should be an equal impartial and incorrupt way prescribed for the election of him; and that every catholic nation in succession might have a Pope chosen of that nation, who might by his particular knowledge of what is wanting administer to the defects which that national Church labours under, and that such a little corner of the world as Italy,
and

Election of
Paul V.

and a handful of persons of that nation, so unacquainted with the world, may not prescribe religion to the whole Church of Christ, by making a Pope who must declare it. And so from this cursory prospect upon the course and practice of the election we return to the history of their assuming, and the general contradicting, of that authority which is now unreasonably made a vital part of Roman Catholic religion.

 CHAP. III.

*Origin of Papal Usurpations and their Progress to
the time of Pope Hildebrand, Gregory VII.
A. D. 1073.*

Origin of
Papal power
from the
distractions
of Christen-
dom.

IT appears very evidently that the greatness of the Papacy, and its pretence to that extravagant jurisdiction which it afterwards acquired and attained to, grew very much out of the distractions of Christianity, and out of that desolation which the barbarous incursion of the Goths and Vandals made over the western world. For as soon as they had covered Italy, the Popes began to neglect and oppose the Emperors.

Contests
between
the Kings
of Italy and
the Empe-
rors of the
East.

Thus Gelasius the First took upon him to threaten Anastasius the Emperor of Constantinople, and to excommunicate him if he did not renounce the Eutichian heresy; when the very next Pope, Anastasius the Second, became himself an heretic in the same point, and died (as Arius did) at the end of the first year of his Papacy, and was succeeded by Symmachus the First, who (as was said before) received the confirmation from Theodore: and yet when Laurentius some years after renewed his claim to the Papacy upon his old title, and Theodoric sent a Bishop to visit Rome and call a council there for
the

the composing all differences, it no sooner met than by the Pope's good counsel they in very mannerly terms disclaimed the King's power to call them ; but they received a second summons from the Pope, and proceeded as called by him : so that they made use always of the name of the Emperor when they would elude and decline the King's jurisdiction, and of the King's power and greatness when they would contend with the Emperor's.

Under this countenance Gelasius had begun his contest with Anastasius the Emperor; and Hormisda the First, who succeeded Symmachus, prosecuted that quarrel against the same Emperor with the same insolence ; but the Emperor Anastasius, seconded by his patriarch John, the patriarch of Constantinople, renounced his jurisdiction and contemned his authority ; and if that Emperor had lived he would have taken sharp vengeance on Hormisda, whose death (together with the Emperor's) for the present silenced that dispute.

That which happened to his successor is a shrewd evidence that such submission to the Pope's authority was not in that time held a part of the Christian faith ; for Justin succeeding Anastasius in the empire of the East, and John the First being chosen Pope, the same Theodoric sent the Pope as his ambassador to the Emperor to treat of several affairs. The Emperor was well pleased with the Pope, and being to be crowned would have that office performed by him ; and the Pope was as willing to perform it, that Emperor being the first Emperor that ever was crowned by any Pope. But the Pope no sooner returned to Italy and informed the King of all his transactions than Theodoric committed the Pope to prison for having

CHAP. III.

John I. imprisoned by Theodoric for presuming to crown the Emperor Justin.

pre-

CHAP. III. presumed, being his ambassador, to crown the Emperor; and the Pope continued in prison to his death. This being as known a truth as any matter of fact in that age, and reflecting so much upon the sovereignty which the Popes claim as from the beginning, they make no other answer to it than by denying that John went as ambassador from Theodoric; and saying he went of himself to visit the Emperor, and to consult with him upon some affairs of the Church, and that Theodoric tyrannically imprisoned him after his return, out of a jealousy that he had been treating with the Emperor to disturb the peace of Italy; but what is before said hath much more authority.

Reign of
Justinian.

Justinian succeeded in the empire after the death of Justin, and he reigned full eight and thirty years; during which time there is no pretence of any one sovereign act to be done by either of the seven Popes who succeeded one another during his long reign; for Felix the Fourth was Pope when Justinian the First assumed the empire, and during his whole time was positively opposed by the patriarchs of Constantinople, who disclaimed any subjection to him: and Felix being dead, and Boniface the Second chosen to succeed him, there was so great disorder about his election that many men were slain in it; and Dioscorus made Anti-Pope; which was the fifth schism: whereupon it was ordained that upon the death of every Pope a new one should be chosen in three days. But this ordinance was never observed, for the successor to Boniface (John the Second) was not chosen till after seventy days, nor was any form of election observed; the Popes being sometimes chosen by the clergy and the people, sometimes by the clergy alone,

alone, sometimes by the King, whilst the Goths and the Vandals governed Italy, and sometimes by the Emperor for several ages together. It is very true that Justinian the Emperor, who resolved to invade Italy, and knew well the benefit he might receive from the Pope, sent ambassadors and a present to Pope John the Second; but at the same time John the Patriarch of Constantinople refused to submit in the least degree to the Pope; and it is as true that Pope Agapetus the First, who was the immediate successor to John, was himself sent ambassador to Justinian by Theodatus King of Italy, to dissuade the Emperor from making any war upon Italy, and he died at Constantinople in that embassy. Pope Sylverius succeeded next by the recommendation, if not by the absolute nomination, of Theodatus, Vigilius being at the same time elected, which made the sixth schism; and within one year Belisarius the general of Justinian's army (after he had taken Naples and defeated Theodatus in battle, where he was slain,) took Rome, compelled Sylverius to renounce the Papacy, and settled Vigilius as being well chosen by the clergy, when the other was supported by Theodatus. But Pope Vigilius having not performed some promise he had made to the Empress, was sent prisoner to Constantinople, where the Empress Theodora treated him very ill, and caused him to be whipped; nor did he ever after return to Rome, though they reckon his reign to be no less than seventeen years.

In the time of his successor, Pelagius the First, Justinian the Emperor died, being fourscore years of age, after he had approved the choice of Pelagius; and because they cannot find any record of such authority

CHAP. III. thority as they would have the Popes to be successively possessed of during that whole space of eight and thirty years, (when God knows they had neither then nor long before nor long after any pretence to such authority,) they load the memory of that excellent Emperor (by whose labour care and piety Christianity was so much advanced) with many unworthy reproaches; and endeavour to have him thought an heretic in his old age, (in the point of our Saviour's flesh being liable to corruption,) rather than that so orthodox an Emperor should be thought so little inclined to a subjection to the see of Rome. But they will have as much cause in that particular to be angry with very many Emperors after Justinian; and they will find that Pope Pelagius the Second (who was the third in succession from the other Pelagius) sent an ambassador to the Emperor Tiberius the Second (who was second or third from Justinian) to excuse his presumption in having entered upon the Papacy after his election, before he had received his imperial approbation, by reason that the ways and passage were at that time so dangerous, that he could not expect a speedy return. This Pope indeed took upon him to ordain that no council should be called without the Pope; which as it was a great violation of the imperial dignity, so it exceedingly lessened the reverence to councils themselves: and this Pope himself met with more opposition and contempt than his predecessors had done; for not only the Patriarch of Constantinople, but likewise the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Bishop of Ravenna, and other Bishops of Italy itself, refused to submit to him in their own diocese.

We are now come to the time of Gregory the First,

First, (afterward surnamed the Great,) who being a monk of St. Bennett's order, wrote a Letter to the Emperor Mauritius, beseeching him not to approve of his election, and fled to a mountain to avoid being found, until he was discovered by a pigeon; and when he could not avoid the acceptance of his office, to shew his great humility he introduced a new style into his bulls; for he was the first who inserted that expression, "*Servus servorum Dei*," though Monsieur Mezeray (who deserves to be looked upon as the most accurate and impartial historian this age hath produced) assures us that the title of "Pope," of "Father of the Church," of "His Holiness," of "Pontifex Maximus," of "*Servus Servorum Dei*," were common to all Bishops before his time, of which we shall say more hereafter. But let him be as humble in his title as he please, it cannot be denied that from the time that he was Pope he used all the means he could, fair and foul, to make himself greater than any of his predecessors. And so indeed he did. For notwithstanding all his obligations to the Emperor Mauritius, and the professions he had made to him, Phocas no sooner rebelled and killed Mauritius, and made himself Emperor, than Pope Gregory acknowledged him, sent a Legate de Latere to him, gave him all the assistance and countenance he could to support his wicked action and title, and received again from him all those offices which might contribute to his own greatness: and he did indeed many great things, and raised the Papacy to a higher pitch than ever it had been at: and this was about the year six hundred, for he died not till six hundred and five; about which time Mahomet was born in Persia. Yet, for some allay to all his greatness, he received more

affronts

CHAP. III. affronts in matters merely ecclesiastical than any of his predecessors had done; for besides that the council at Constantinople in his time ordered that the Patriarch should be reputed universal Bishop, he was so much contradicted in Italy itself, that when he added the four first days to Lent, and likewise compiled the Missal, and required both to be observed throughout the Catholic Church, the church of Milan did obey him in neither; and refused to begin their Lent till the first Sunday, and continued their old Missal, which was left by St. Ambrose; both which I suppose they observe to this day. His successor Sabinianus had also so little reverence for him that he resolved to have burned all his works, and had done it if he had lived a little longer. But it is very true that the contest continuing with great animosity between the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Bishop of Rome for superiority, Phocas the Emperor, after the death of Gregory, (and to return the civilities he had received from three several Popes,) adjudged it to Boniface the Third, who was then Pope.

His authority denied by the church of Milan as to Lent and the Missal of St. Ambrose.

Infancy of the pretences of the Popes. —View of the state of Christendom.

As we are now entering upon the infancy of the ambitious pretences of the Popes, (which from this time were frequently advanced and improved, though they were as often discountenanced and restrained by the sovereign princes, and sometimes to that degree that they seemed utterly suppressed,) it may be seasonable enough in this place to take a view of the state of Christendom about this time, when there was a general mutation of government in all the kingdoms and states of Europe, in consequence of the incursions and invasions made upon all the parts thereof by that stupendous number of barbarians under

under the names of Goths Vandals Hunns Lombards and Saxons. Of these the Goths only were Christians, (but Arians,) who first covered Italy and Spain and some parts of that which we now call France; the rest were all Pagans and Gentiles; nor were the dominions of the East and in Africa, which were possessed by Christians, in much better condition. In what manner therefore and by what measures the Papacy advanced itself at this time will be the subject of our observation.

We shall say little of the state of England at the time when Gregory the First was Pope, which was then and had been long before and continued for a good time after under the government of the heptarchy; whereof all the Kings in the beginning of it were Pagans, though some of them afterwards grew to be Christians, such as they were. The Saxons had been by a wicked prince called in about the year four hundred and fifty to assist him against the Britons; and they did assist him in such a manner that by degrees they dispossessed him of all his dominions; and in the end defeated likewise all the British forces, which, together with all the other Christians, (or at least so many of them as could make their way thither,) fled into the mountains of Wales; where they defended themselves and their religion till the Saxons were driven out by the Danes, and they again by the English, and the whole kingdom upon the matter was become Christian. But the enlargement upon this particular is the less pertinent because Christianity having been so soon planted there after our Saviour's resurrection, (as hath been said before,) the Pope had never made any claim of jurisdiction there.

CHAP.
III.

It is indeed true that this Pope did send Augustin with some other company thither to suppress the Arian heresy, which was spread too far amongst the Christians who possessed that island; and we are contented to believe that Augustin did convert a Pagan king of Kent, and thereby got great credit and opportunity to advance the knowledge of Christianity in that island; but it is confessed on all sides that the Christian clergy of the land would by no means or inducements in the least degree submit to his authority, or to the authority of him who sent him: insomuch as, though the Archbishop of St. David's with six other Bishops under his province were content to meet in a synod to confer with him, (there being present the Abbot of Bangor, who had at that time two and twenty hundred monks in his monastery,) all the arguments he could use could not prevail with any of them to submit to him, or to concur with him; which a catholic writer of great account (Dr. Harpsfield) in his History of the Church of England seems to think might proceed from the great pride and insolence of Augustin, who, when any of them came into his presence, would not shew the least respect unto them, or rise from the place where he sat. Let the reason be what it will, sure it is that neither in the time of Gregory the First nor long after was the Pope looked upon with any reverence in England; and therefore we shall say no more of the then temper and constitution of our country, but that it may be judged reasonably of by the circumstance of our countryman Benedict's coming (some years after the time we are now upon) into England upon his return from Italy, to which he had made many voyages, and bringing with him
from

from thence architects to build houses of stone, which were then rare in England, and where till then glass windows had never been seen. For though no doubt there had been fair buildings in the Roman government, yet, that having been determined near two hundred years before the time of Gregory, the Saxons had so demolished all those monuments, as well as corrupted and confounded the manners and the government of the nation, that this kind of barbarity had invaded it when Benedict brought over those artificers with him for our instruction, which was in the time of Pope Agátho, who died before the year seven hundred; all which we are informed by Dr. Harpsfield, who was a very industrious enquirer into those times. In this posture was our country with reference to any correspondence with Rome; and so many years had Christianity been planted amongst us without any imagination that a submission to the authority or jurisdiction of the Pope was a part of it.

Let us in the next place take a view of the condition of France in that time, and of the advantage that from thence the successive Bishops of Rome got to promote their own ambitious designs. It was within two or three years of the year five hundred, when Clovis, or Louis (for they are the same name) became Christian; who, though he built some churches, and induced many of his nobility and other subjects to become Christians, and was a prince of great valour, and by the winning of many battles extended his dominions far; yet upon the losses he afterwards sustained he too soon forgot his Christianity, and did many foul actions, in perpetrating many murders and most odious assassinations; who,

CHAP.
III.

State of
France.

CHAP. if he were not the first, would justly occasion some
 III. doubt whether he were in truth a Christian King ;
 at least there would be shewed arguments that the
 oil with which he was anointed was not so miracu-
 lously supplied by an innocent dove, nor the scut-
 cheon presented by an angel ; since neither of them
 made any supernatural impression.

State of
 Gaul.

Though this was the state and condition of the King
 and the kingdom of France, as it was then called at that
 time, it must be confessed that the Christian religion
 was then spread very far over Gaul, which compre-
 hended the greatest part of Dauphiné, all Provence, all
 Languedoc, all Guyenne, Lyons, Rohanne, Tours, Sens,
 and part of Burgundy, all which was governed by se-
 veral princes who had no dependance upon France,
 and where many learned and pious prelates had been
 industrious in the propagation of it, from the time
 that it was planted by the disciples of the Apostles,
 whereof many had undergone martyrdom in the se-
 veral persecutions, and had caused many churches to
 be built. Of these good Bishops, who every day sa-
 crificed their blood for their faith in Christ, as many
 as could with security meet together assembled upon
 the disputes which arose upon opinions in religion ;
 and as they were called councils, so they made ca-
 nons for the determining those points, and for the
 disposing men to live well ; to which canons the se-
 veral churches did usually submit. And these and
 the like councils, which at first met of themselves
 without any compulsory authority, after the Emperor
 was Christian assembled and came together by his
 summons and command ; as Constantine the First
 called a council at Arles in Provence to put an end
 to the errors of the Donatists, (where our two Eng-
 lish

lish Bishops were present, as before mentioned,) which was in the year three hundred and fourteen, many years before that of the Council of Nice; and after that, as Christianity extended itself, councils were frequently called and held by order from the Emperor, and more frequently by the appointment of Kings in their several dominions and territories; and sometimes upon the desire of the Popes or the request of a metropolitan, or that of one only Bishop, as Monsieur Mezeray assures us; who confesses that, there being yet no great episcopal see erected in France, those in Gaul grew insensibly into a kind of subjection unto the Roman Bishop, at least more than those of the East or Africa, though not so much as that of Italy. For the great piety learning and martyrdom of so many Popes for several ages had drawn so general a veneration towards those who succeeded them, that the Bishops of Gaul used to have recourse to them (besides that they were much nearer to them than those of the East or Africa) in the most weighty affairs, as about the use and right meaning of canons, and usually conformed themselves to their advice; which the Popes no sooner discerned than they took upon themselves often to send them advice before they were asked or the other desired to consult with them, and by degrees made themselves judges of any differences which arose between them, and would have limited their jurisdictions and territories. The Bishops however grew quickly jealous of these encroachments, and very carefully watched that the Popes should not infringe the canons; and the Popes themselves did declare (as the same good author affirms) and acknowledge that they were obliged to observe and

CHAP. to follow the canons. From this time and before
 III. — the baptism of Clovis the privilege of the Gallican Church hath its original, and at this time controlled all the pretences of the Pope which were not grateful to the King. And as the Pope was not in any degree accessory to the baptism of Clovis, (of which they use to make very unnatural and very unevangelical use,) so the churches in Gaul (which probably had Christianity preached to them as soon as Rome itself) had no other dependance upon the Bishops thereof than what was the effect of Christian humility; which obliged them to a civil correspondence and to receive information and advice from each other.

Churches
 in Gaul in-
 dependent
 of the Pope.

That this temper, and nothing like subjection, continued long after the Emperors became Christians there is abundant evidence; of which I shall in this place (because in the progress I shall have frequent occasion to mention others) only give two notable instances. The first of which is the abstract of the letter sent by the council at Arles to Pope Silvester, with the canons made there, of which Sir Harry Spelman (who is not accused of partiality by any party) gives us a transcript in the first tome of the English Councils^d in these words; “ *Domino sanc-*
 “ *tissimo Fratri Silvestro, Marinus, vel cætus Epi-*
 “ *scoporum, qui adunati fuerunt in oppido Arelatensi,*
 “ *quid decreverimus communi concilio charitati tuæ*
 “ *significavimus, ut omnes sciant quid in futurum*
 “ *observare debeant.*” This council was called (as hath been said before) by Constantine, who was himself present; and, besides the Bishops of Gaul and

^d Pag. 40.

Brittany, there were likewise twelve present from the churches of Africa: and here they of Rome would persuade us that the Emperor Constantine wrote a very humble letter to the Pope excusing his presumption in calling that council upon the importunity of the Church, to stop the current of that mischievous error of the Donatists, "*Licet id a functione suâ alienum non ignoraret,*" as Harpsfield says; but no such letter hath been produced, (though they have the records of whatsoever Constantine ever said or did) that they can apply to their advantage. How contrary this is to the opinion of Constantine appears by the part he acted afterwards in and after the first council of Nicee; which, as it was called by his sole authority, and the canons confirmed by him, so the letter he wrote thereupon, not only to those Bishops who could not be present in the council, but "*ad omnes ubique ecclesias,*" sufficiently declares how far he was from thinking that he had exceeded his jurisdiction. The letter at large is recorded by Spelman^c, in which there is this memorable clause, "*Si quid autem scriptum ab Ario compositum reperitur, ut igni id tradatur volumus, ut non modo improba ejus doctrina abrogetur, verum etiam ne monumentum quidem aliquod ejus relinquatur, illud equidem prædictum volo, si quis libellum aliquem ab Ario conscriptum celare, nec continuò igni comburere deprehensus fuerit, supplicium ei mortis esse constitutum: illicò; namque in crimine tali comprehensus pœnam sustinebit capitalem.*" And as all that the Emperor and council together could do was not enough to extinguish that odious heresy, but

CHAP.
III.

^c Pag. 43.

CHAP. III. that it continued and flourished very many years after that council, and after Arius himself was dead, so it is evident that it was the sole power of the Emperor, and even against the will of the Pope, that suppressed it at the last. This was the state and condition of that great kingdom which is now comprehended under the name of France at that time when Gregory the First was Pope, from whence was made this digression.

State of
Spain.

Let us in the next place take a view of the kingdom of Spain, that we may there see what devotion was paid from thence to the Bishops of Rome, or what jurisdiction they exercised there, or what power they had to resist or restrain the pretences which then might be or afterwards were made from thence. But this enquiry will take us up very little time. For although the Spaniards believe that the Christian religion was quickly planted there by the Apostle St. James himself, and some of them think even, from the Scripture^f, that St. Paul was there, (for it appears that he had a purpose to go thither,) certain it is that the light of the Gospel did shine with the first, and that they had both Churches and Bishops there as soon as in any part of Europe: but as sure it is, that Christianity flourished not long there in any kind of lustre before the Goths with the other barbarous nations overflowed that kingdom, insomuch that the absolute government of it was under the Goths, and continued in the empire thereof full three hundred years; when the insatiable revenge of the Conde Julian, for the rape of his daughter by the King Roderigo, brought over the Moors from Africa

^f Rom. xv. 24.

with a very powerful army; which, after other lighter actions, gained a battle of the King Roderigo with so stupendous a slaughter of the Goths and Spaniards, that, besides the death of the King and all the great nobility, the Gothic government was quite extinguished; and the Moors, who were suddenly followed and relieved by vast numbers out of Africa of their own countrymen, obtained the whole government of that large region: all who were left of the Goths and the Spaniards betaking themselves into the mountains, and defending themselves there, without being able for some ages to make any such impression as was of great damage to the Moors. This fatal battle, according to Mariana's computation, was about the year seven hundred and fourteen; when the Empire had been enjoyed by the Goths more than three hundred years. So that as we cannot find any great correspondence between the Bishop of Rome and the Goths who were Arians, (and yet some orthodox Bishops will be found amongst them,) and less subjection from the other, we can less expect any intercourse between Spain and Rome whilst the so absolute dominion remained under the Moors; which began not to decline till the time of Charlemagne, nor much in a long time after; and then we shall take another survey of it as soon as the Popes pretended to any authority in that kingdom.

At this time three parts of Germany were possessed by the Pagans, when Pope Gregory sent St. Augustin into England with so good success that he had converted the Pagan King of Kent. Gregory the Second above a hundred years after delegated our countryman Wenfrid, whom (that he might not be suspected to be an Englishman) he called Boniface, and

CHAP. and made him (that is, called him) Archbishop of
 III. Mentz. This indeed was a true and the first bare-
 faced champion that is recorded for the authority of
 the Pope in the act of the conversion of souls; for
 whatever good intention Augustin the monk might
 have to advance that title, we do not find that he
 made it any condition of his baptism, or promised
 the vindication of it when he was sent; but this Bo-
 niface frankly undertook his mission upon that con-
 dition, and solemnly swore, laying his hand upon
 the body and relics of St. Peter, "*Se Catholice fidei*
 "*sinceritatem integram atque illibatam per omnem*
 "*vitam conservaturum, Romanæque Ecclesiæ Pontifi-*
 "*cibus, ut divi Petri successoribus officiosè paritu-*
 "*rum;*" for which we have the word of Dr. Harps-
 field^s; and it is I believe the first precedent they
 can produce of such an obligation before the time of
 Ignatius Loyola, and only concerns our countryman
 Boniface, who was therefore obliged to do the best
 he could towards it. And so we have finished our
 present survey of all the considerable parts of Eu-
 rope, Italy only excepted; and we shall best discover
 what was the concurrent doctrine of the Pope's au-
 thority, at that time and after, there as well as in the
 West, by returning to the time of the death of Gre-
 gory the Great, (from whence we made this digres-
 sion,) and prosecuting our former method, in which
 we shall make those discoveries which are necessary
 to our purpose.

Papal power
 after the
 death of
 Gregory I.

It was in this time that the Emperors were killed
 so fast by their captains and servants, who com-
 monly put themselves in their places; and the Popes

(who were courted by all pretenders, and commonly favoured those who were most in the wrong) took those opportunities to increase their own power and authority; yet there never passed many years without some such acts of controlment, either by the Emperors themselves or their Exarchs, (who were their administrators in Italy,) as might very well satisfy the world how far the Popes were from being supreme in any respect. So when Severinus was chosen Pope, which was after the year six hundred and thirty, he did not presume to meddle with the administration of the Church till he had prevailed with Isacius, Exarch of Ravenna, to approve his election; who deferred the giving his approbation above a year and a half. Shortly after the Emperor Constant the Second commanded the Pope Martin the First, for some disobedience to him, to be taken prisoner and sent to Constantinople, where he died in prison; the same Constant being killed by Maxentius, who made himself Emperor in his place. It is no wonder that such Emperors, who came to their titles by such means, took the best way they could to ingratiate themselves with the Bishop of Rome, who by this time had great power in Italy and more than ordinary reputation in some Christian kingdoms. The Emperor Constantine the Fourth, the more to endear himself to that chair and to exalt it to do him service, was pleased to release to Benedict the Second and the succeeding Popes the necessity of being approved by the Emperor; but this was thought to be so far from divesting the Emperors of their right, that Justinian the Second (who was the immediate successor of Constantine) sent an order to take Pope Sergius the First prisoner, and to bring him

CHAP.
III.

Severinus.

Martin I.

Benedict II.

Sergius I.

him

CHAP. him before him ; or, if that could not easily be done,
 III. to kill him : but the poor Pope escaped fairly by the
 treason of Leontius, who took the Emperor Justinian, cut off his ears and nose, and made himself Emperor ; which Tiberius shortly revenged, and used Leontius as he had done the other. After nine years Justinian recovered the empire again, and cut off the heads of Leontius and Tiberius in the time of Pope John VI. John the Sixth ; and though he continued his displeasure and anger against the Popes, (for there were three or four successions in his time,) the Kings of the Lombards in Italy were strong enough to protect them, and had given them some towns and territories, by which they became princes and had a temporal jurisdiction : and yet afterwards this Pope Constantine the First finding the ecclesiastical power to be lessened and undervalued in Italy itself, (the Archbishop of Ravenna refusing to be confirmed by him,) thought it necessary to ingratiate himself with the same Justinian, and to that purpose made a journey in person unto him in Constantinople : but Justinian and his son Tiberius being shortly after killed in a battle, and Philippicus making himself Emperor, the same Constantine knowing how odious Philippicus was to the people, and knowing no other way to do him hurt than by his spiritual sword, and to shew his gratitude to the memory of Justinian, excommunicated and deprived Philippicus as an heretic ; which was the first sentence of its kind that any Pope had ever presumed to give against any who assumed the title of Emperor : for though I have mentioned one before of excommunication, this was the first deprivation ; and in truth against such an Emperor who, besides the sorry title he had to it, was so odious for his

John VI.

Constantine I.

Excommunicates and deprives Philippicus Emperor of the East.

his tyranny, that the people arose upon him, took him prisoner, put out his eyes, and chose Arthemius Emperor in his place. Arthemius was shortly after overcome by Theodorus and put into a monastery, and Theodorus himself was quickly used in the same manner by Leo; and so there were at the same time four alive together who had been Emperors. It was this Emperor Leo the Third who caused all the images to be pulled down and burnt, and made a large declaration that the worshipping of them was idolatry, in spite of whatsoever the Pope said to the contrary; so far were those times from acknowledging the Pope's judgment in matters so merely spiritual as cases of idolatry must be confessed to be.

CHAP.
III.

The Emperor Leo III. burns all images as idolatrous, in spite of the Pope.

We are now come to the time when the Popes grew great indeed; but not by those arts or weapons which our Saviour and his Apostles had bequeathed to the Church. The power of the Emperor was sufficiently suppressed in Italy, but the King of the Lombards continued still strong, and how to abate this was the great design. France was but newly become Christian, and accordingly fullest of zeal to advance any power they thought might advance Christianity. Charles Martel was the great general under Childebert, and his friendship was the most like to advance the design of the Pope, and to suppress those under whose power he could not grow to the height he aspired. To that purpose Gregory the Second sent very earnestly to intreat Charles Martel to aid him against Luitprandus King of the Lombards; and the Pope had the more need of support, because notwithstanding he had called a council at Rome, and therein made a canon in favour of images, the Emperor Leo and Constantine the Fifth expressly

Growth of the papal power.

Gregory II. leagues with Charles Martel.

ly

CHAP. ly forbad the use of them, and punished all those
 III.

very severely who paid any reverence to them. It was Gregory the Second who wrote to Boniface's legate in Germany, "*quod illi, quorum uxores infirmitate aliquâ morbide debitum reddere noluerunt, alii poterant nubere.*" His successor Pope Zacharias deprived and deposed poor King Childeric for weakness and insufficiency to govern, and absolved his subjects of their oaths, thereby to make Pepin the son of Charles Martel King in his place; who probably would not forget the obligation, nor suffer that authority to be suppressed which had given him so great a crown.

Zacharias
deposes
King Chil-
deric.

Stephen II.
invites Pe-
pin to in-
vade Italy.

The Pope, Stephen the Second, makes a journey into France unto Pepin, who shortly after marches with his army into Italy to vindicate the Church from the tyranny of the Lombards; and, that he might be sure of the prayers of the Church for his success, vows to consecrate all that he should win to the Church; and so all the towns which had continued under the Exarch, and were all the remainder of the power of the Emperor, were delivered into the possession of the Pope; and from that time the Emperors of Constantinople have had no more to do in Italy. The Lombards upon the death of their King Astolphus grew so divided amongst themselves that the Pope was courted on both sides, and complied still with those who would be most at his disposal; and so quickly wrought himself above all their power; Luitprandus himself having first given to Pope Zacharias and to the Church the territories of Ancona and many other cities, and much other land, in hope to have gained the favour of the Popes. And now Pepin according to his vow delivers up to the Pope

Ancona,
Ravenna,
&c. deli-
vered to the
Pope.

Ravenna,

Ravenna, Parma, Mantua, and many other places, besides all the towns of the Exarchat: so that office was determined, after it had continued a hundred seventy five years from Narses, and had kept the Popes from attaining their ambitious designs by very severe mortifications. CHAP.
III.

Yet this growth was like to be nipped in the bud; and Pepin was no sooner dead, and the see became void, but there was a new schism in the Church, and Constantine was chosen by the nobility and some of the clergy to be Pope; and though a layman he was consecrated and did exercise the office of Pope near a year; when it being discovered that he endeavoured to bring in again the power of the Emperor of Constantinople, Stephen the Third was chosen Pope by the people and the clergy; and Constantine was taken by tumults and had his eyes put out; who notwithstanding appeared before the council which was then called at Rome, insisted upon his right, justified his election, and named other Bishops who had been chosen before they were in orders: but the council deposed him and acknowledged Stephen, and ordained that no layman should be capable of being chosen Pope. All this was very little before the year eight hundred; and so long time had the Popes been without that jurisdiction and authority which they would have the world believe to be founded in divine right, and the basis upon which the whole fabric of the Christian religion is supported. Constantine.
III.

Charles the Great, the son of Pepin, continues his great affection and reverence to the see of Rome, confirms the donation formerly made by his father with other great privileges, marches with a strong army into Italy, and there overthrows and takes prisoner Charle-
magne
overthrows
the Lom-
bards, and
confirms
his father's
grant to
the Popes.

Desi-

CHAP. Desiderius, the last King of the Lombards, after they
 III. had governed Italy above two hundred years: and in
 lieu of these benefits a council at Rome of above a
 hundred and fifty Bishops, in the time of Adrian
 the First, ordained that Charles the Great should
 have the right to approve the election of whom-
 soever for the future should be chosen Bishop of
 Rome.

Obtains the
 right of ap-
 proving the
 election of
 the Bishops
 of Rome.

How far this addition and access of greatness was
 from imprinting in the hearts of the people any reve-
 rence to the person of the Pope or opinion of his
 spiritual capacity, is evident enough by what was
 done to the very successor of Adrian, Pope Leo the
 Third; who was taken in the streets at Rome as he
 went in procession by two priests, Pasquall and Cam-
 pallus, and by them, after they had put out his eyes,
 was cast into prison in irons; and when Charles the
 Great came again into Italy for his relief, and called
 a council of the clergy and people of Rome, Pasquall
 and Campallus appeared and charged the Pope with
 many enormous crimes; from which he freed himself
 no otherwise than by going up into the pulpit, and
 with the Evangelists in his hands making oath that
 all that he stood accused of was false; and so they
 believed him, without giving any such reparation to
 him, or inflicting such punishment upon those who
 had used him so rudely as would have been due to
 one who they thought could have opened and shut
 the gates of heaven. Charles the Great was recom-
 pensed for his journey by being declared "*Imperator*
 "*Romanorum*;" and from this time, which was in
 the year eight hundred, the Emperors of the West
 took their beginning. This poor Pope was after the
 death of the Emperor driven out of Rome by the
 people,

And is de-
 clared Im-
 perator Ro-
 manorum.
 A.D. 800.

people, all his houses were pulled down, and he was himself kept in banishment till he died. CHAP.
III.

At the same time, when Charles the Great was declared Emperor with the sole power of approving and consequently of disapproving the election of every Pope, his eldest son Pepin was likewise crowned by the Pope King of Italy. And France, that had never yet undergone any encroachment from the Pope, and had raised him to that height, and had made him a great and an absolute prince, (yet so beset with enemies or rivals that he had still as much need of her protection as he had before of her creation,) looked upon him now as so absolutely her creature, and obliged to be so, (because he could not be but by her approbation) that she thought fit to give him some authority, and to make use of it for her own greatness: and this was done by Charles the better to suppress those contestations which he was liable to in his own kingdom; without any apprehension that from thence would ever grow a presumption to control his own power or dispute his own jurisdiction.

It is a vulgar error (entertained by men of no vulgar faculties) that the privileges of the Church and of churchmen in all kingdoms had their original from the grants or declarations of Popes; whereby they conceive that the clergy stand engaged to support all the extravagant pretences of the Popes, from whom their own greatness proceeds, and that the Pope is equally obliged to defend all their concerns, as flowing from his grace and bounty. Whereas in truth the rights and privileges which the clergy claim in any Christian kingdom are as ancient as Christianity itself in that kingdom, and in most places

Origin of
the privi-
leges of the
Church.

CHAP.
III.

Universal
reverence
for mini-
sters of re-
ligion.

places much ancients than any authority of the Pope in that kingdom, and of another nature and extent than ever any Pope pretended to grant. If it were otherwise, they would produce the record of any one such grant that they have ever made to the clergy of any nation. But religion, true or false, as it is devotion paid by Pagans as well as Christians to that divinity which they acknowledge, (whether they comprehend it or no,) so the ministers of that devotion (whether Druids or Flamens, or by whatsoever style or appellation they were called) always found a respect and reverence from the people, who looked upon them as better acquainted with and more favoured by those deities which they were all bound to worship. And upon this ground (as much founded in nature as any prospect or inclination to religion is) at the first dawning of Christianity, the same persons upon whom its doctrines made impression in any nation had, in the same instant, a singular esteem of and regard for those who preached it to them, as men sent and employed by God himself; and they had no sooner the least apprehension of the joys of heaven than they had all imaginable deference to those who would shew them the way thither. This was the foundation of all the glorious successes which the Apostles themselves had in all their labours; and the persons qualified and sent by them over all the world found the same regard from all to whom God gave his grace, to believe what they said, and to be advised and instructed by them; and though Christianity did not then in its infancy nor (God help us!) ever since do its work so perfectly, that they who were converted to the belief of its doctrine did equally practise the obligations of it; yet the persons
who

who instructed them, the preachers themselves, appeared men of great endowments, of unparalleled piety and virtue; men of the most unblemished lives, who they saw every day lay down those lives in the defence and maintenance of the truth of that doctrine which they preached, against all the temptations of interest and worldly advantages; and for which they could receive no benefit or recompence but what they were to receive in another world. The consideration and view of this, with the brightness of their manners, wrought so much upon all who were converted by them, that they looked upon them as inferior only to him whose messengers they were; and were so transported with reverence to their persons that they gave up their lives by their examples, disposed their estates by their directions, built churches by their advice, and in all things which concerned their fortunes so totally referred it to their determination, that all other judicatories ceased, and nobody was looked upon as a good Christian or an honest man that would not refer any difference he had had with any neighbour to the judgment of the clergy. And that they might not be disturbed in or diverted from intending wholly all offices of piety and charity, they were exempted from all impositions and charges whatsoever, and had all such privileges granted to them as the primitive devotion and simplicity thought requisite for such excellent persons.

This extraordinary virtue and piety in the first planters of the Christian religion was (as hath been said) the true foundation and original of all the rights and privileges of the Church and the clergy; and as soon as Constantine was converted, he confirmed all

Privileges conferred upon them by the people, confirmed and enlarged by Constantine.

CHAP.
III.

Churches
founded.

Clergy be-
come the
third estate
in most
parts of
Europe.

the liberties and privileges of which the Church and churchmen were possessed before from the voluntary devotion of the people, and added new and important concessions to them, and ordained that the clergy should be judges in all causes whatsoever though of never so temporal a nature : and so, probably by his example and that they might be more acceptable to him, as soon as ever any prince became Christian (though it appeared not in any other actions of his life or manners) he was very active and solicitous for the building of Churches, (which many impious men did,) and immediately confirmed all the old and granted new privileges to the Church and to all ecclesiastical persons ; by which they then came to have a title to all they claimed which could not be shaken by their original founders, when the first zeal that begat it was exceedingly decayed, and when the views of churchmen grew as notorious as their prudence and piety had been eminent. This is manifest by the records which are yet left with all the nations who were first Christian, between which (at what distance soever they were) there seemed a correspondence or rather an instinct and sympathy dictated from nature in the joint reverence they had for their clergy, who were in all places assigned to a principal part in the government of all kingdoms and states, and quickly obtained in most of the provinces of Europe the stile and appellation of the third estate. This gave them a great ascendant in the government, which together with their faculties made them very necessary and of signal authority with the crown itself. Nobody can believe that this prerogative was granted to them by the Pope, who doth not yet pretend to any such power, even in those regions which
are

are newly converted, and in some degree by his own missionaries, but that it was settled in the first constitution or institution of all Christian governments, as necessary to the peace and security of it; and when they had that, they were not capable of receiving any addition of benefit from the Popes, but were always very vigilant and jealous upon the first visible improvement of their power, that the Popes might not invade their interests, and rob them of those advantages which they had never conferred upon them.

CHAP.
III.

Jealous of
the Papal
power.

I wish it were in my power to conceal the too soon decay of this primitive affection and zeal for the Church and religion; or to shew that it proceeded not from the decay of learning and virtue in the clergy, and from their eminent ignorance and the improbity of their lives, which made too much haste to pull down or deface the memory and the monuments of their predecessors' sincerity and merit: so that the power and authority which the people had first given, and the princes afterwards confirmed, grew grievous and even odious to their founders and benefactors. Though there was in truth no age in which there were not in every Christian region some prelates and other clergymen of that extraordinary and transcendant knowledge, (for the dark times in which they lived,) and that singular perfection and integrity in their lives, which still uphold the credit and reputation of the purity of the religion they professed; yet the scandalous laziness and ignorance and iniquity of others (even of some Bishops as well as of the common and inferior clergy) did so much discredit it, that the power of the Church and the clergy seemed more active in disturbing and almost dissolving

Corruption
of the clergy.

CHAP. III. ing the practice of religion and the peace and tranquillity of kingdoms than it had formerly been in the establishing the one or composing the other; neither was there any seditious attempt against the sovereign power in any country, nor any unjust and tyrannical encroachment and oppression upon the peace and quiet of the subject, to which the clergy did not contribute too much.

Charles the Great introduces the Papal authority into France.

Charles the Great himself (when he had done so great things and had settled his own authority and the Pope's according to his wish in Italy) was sensible of this temper or distemper in France and all his other dominions. The assemblies of the clergy (which they called councils, and were often called by the bishops or metropolitans without so much as the privacy of the kings) had usurped or exercised a very extraordinary jurisdiction, and assumed a power of judging in cases of all natures as if there had been no other judicatory in the kingdom. Nor was this latitude of authority always applicable to the King's purposes, but did as often thwart his designs as advance them. To remedy these excesses this great Emperor could not find a better expedient than by introducing a superior ecclesiastical power into France, which with his help might control that of his own bishops; and to this he found less opposition in his dominions in Germany, where our countryman Boniface (as hath been said before) had with the elements of religion infused such a reverence towards the Bishop of Rome that the ecclesiastics had signed an engagement in writing, by which they were not only obliged to preserve the catholic faith, but also to remain united and obedient to the Roman Church, and to the Vicar of St. Peter. This was the

The German clergy sign an obligation to obey the Church of Rome and the Pope.

first

first declaration of that kind that had been heard of and embraced by any temporal authority. King Pepin his father, when he had gotten the upper hand of all his enemies, (towards which he had committed and countenanced horrible outrages,) and intended to place himself in the throne, (which his father never durst attempt,) yet could not rely upon the affection of the bishops of France, who were chosen by their chapters as the abbots were by their monks. So that though the King's recommendation found usually much respect in those promotions, yet they had not so much dependance upon the crown as they afterwards came to have; and therefore before Pepin would accept the crown, which the convention of the states offered to settle upon him, and to depose Childeric their King, he made use of the Pope's benignity for a dispensation of that oath of fidelity which himself had taken to his King, and likewise for absolving all the subjects from their obedience; both which the Pope very cheerfully granted and performed, and likewise declared Childeric to be unfit and incompetent to govern. Over and above this, when he came into Italy, Stephen the Second crowned and consecrated with his own hands Pepin and his two sons; exhorting the French to pay them all fidelity, and excommunicating them from that very time in case they should ever choose any King but of that race; which stupendous proceeding, never before heard of, terrified much all the small neighbour princes and their bishops and clergy. And now the Emperor (after repeating and confirming all the generous acts his father had performed on the behalf of the Church, and adding so many favours to them himself, and being made Emperor and his eldest son crowned

C H A P.
III.

CHAP. King of Italy, and the investiture of all bishoprics
 III. being granted to him, and upon the matter the donation of the Popedom itself) had all assurance that he might make what use he would of the power and greatness he had conferred upon the Pope without any apprehension that himself or his posterity might receive any prejudice from it: and therefore the more to gratify Pope Adrian the First and to introduce his authority into France, (which he thought he could limit as he found it convenient,) at his return from his fourth journey into Italy brought back with him into France the Gregorian office, and the liturgy or mass which was then in use at Rome, and wished to abolish the service that had been always used in the Gallican Church: but this change met with very great difficulties, and begot very severe persecutions against the old Gauls, who resolved to defend and maintain their ancient service without any consideration of the Pope's injunction.

The Gregorian office and mass brought into France.

Without doubt, if Charles the Great had used that providence for the future which might have been expected from so great an Emperor, he might have very well secured his own dominions from being ever invaded by the ecclesiastical authority, though he had raised it to that height; and he had the example of that line which was extirpated to exalt his father to the crown, to shew him how the power and greatness of it were to be preserved; or rather how much it would be inevitably weakened and unavoidably dissolved, which was as useful an instruction. Clovis, the first Christian King, after he had by his exemplary industry and courage (and without any restraint from his religion or justice) enlarged his dominions to a much greater extent than what had descended

to

to him, thought he could not leave a better testimony CHAP. III. and record of his having been a great King than by making his territories support the state and dignity of four kings after his decease; and so having four sons, he made them every one a King in his large dominions, which would well have provided for the greatness of one and the security of the rest. To one he gave the kingdom of Metz with Austrasia, to another the kingdom of Orleans, to a third the kingdom of Paris, and the fourth was the King of Soissons. So that every one had enough to cherish the love of empire, and to foment jealousies of each other, and none of them enough to secure it from the power of ill neighbours nor their own invasion of one another. They began presently to welter in each other's blood; and the eldest quickly subduing the second, the other two united to defend themselves; and this unnatural temper raged throughout the whole race till all the virtue of them was spent and the line extinguished in Childeric, by which Pepin got the crown.

Charlemagne now after all his wonderful actions, when he had utterly extinguished the empire of the Lombards in Italy, (which had continued for the space of above two hundred years to the infinite damage and disinherison of the Emperor, but to the advancement of the Pope, who gained somewhat of all men's losses, yet under mortification enough,) was himself crowned King of Italy by the Archbishop of Milan; whereby he had a dominion in Italy itself much superior to that of the Pope after all his bounty to him: besides that all the other princes, to most of whom he had given or enlarged their principalities, were at his devotion. After he had received the im-

CHAP. III. imperial crown he did providently enough to cause his son Pepin, though not his eldest, to be crowned King of Italy; but not so providently in causing his third son Louis to be crowned King of Aquitaine, which made himself less King in France than he was before: whereas he had not the less power over Italy though Pepin was crowned King; of which latter he had sufficient evidence by the death of Pope Adrian, when Leo the Third was made choice of to succeed him, who first applied to the Emperor for his approbation, and sent the keys of St. Peter's Church with a desire that some person might come to Rome to receive the oath of fidelity to the Emperor from that city.

Leo III. sends to the Emperor for his approbation.

The great misfortune and oversight of this great Emperor was, that when he had lived to bury his son Pepin, (who was a great prince and equal to the charge he had,) and likewise to see his eldest son Charles dead, so that Lewis (whom he had before crowned King of Aquitaine without any visible damage to himself) remained now his eldest son, and worthy to inherit whatsoever he should leave behind him, he nevertheless chose to make Bernard, the bastard son of Pepin, and a boy of twelve or thirteen years of age, King of Italy; with such a dependance however upon his uncle as was like to restrain him from giving him any offence.

Stephen IV. does the like.

The Italian writers would persuade us that Charlemagne before his death released the obligation he had upon the election of the Popes; but they produce no evidence of it, and the contrary appears by the proceeding of his successors: for Ludovicus Pius (whom the French called *Le Debonnaire*) succeeded Charles the Great, and Stephen the Fourth succeeded Leo,

Leo, and was compelled to go into France to the Emperor to desire his help to put him into possession of his bishopric, and would not at that time confer a bishopric that was fallen in Italy till the Emperor gave his approbation as a right belonging to him.

Paschal the First was the next Pope, and the hundredth from St. Peter; and he was no sooner chosen but the people compelled him (or he was willing to be compelled) to assume and exercise the office, without sending to the Emperor for his approbation; which he excused afterwards by his ambassadors to the Emperor, laying the whole fault upon the passion of the people, whom he durst not displease: and the good Emperor was so well satisfied that he released that right of approbation to the Church; and, to imitate the piety of his father and grandfather, granted the islands of Corsica Sardinia and Sicily to St. Peter and his successors, which the most catholic King doth not believe that St. Peter will be offended with him for detaining. But notwithstanding the release which Ludovicus Pius had given of his right of approbation, it seems he did not intend to divest himself of all kind of authority with reference to the elections; for when Gregory the Fourth was chosen Pope, upon some surmises which were cast abroad the Emperor sent to Rome to examine whether the election were canonically made or not, and being satisfied proceeded no farther.

But yet this good Emperor (who the French historians say would have been a better Bishop or Abbot than he was a King) was so totally addicted to reform the Church by reforming the clergy, (which in truth stood in great need of it, and towards which he asked no other body's assistance,) that he was not

provi-

CHAP.
III.

Paschal I.

The right of
approbation
released to
Paschal I.
by Louis le
Debon-
naire.

Appeals to
Rome al-
lowed by
him.

CHAP. provident enough to secure even that government :
 III. but the licence which had been so many years contracting was grown to that excess in the superior as well as inferior clergy, that they could not bear that measure of severity which he thought necessary to apply for the reformation, and so they devised all the ways they could to lessen his authority in the Church and to disturb his affairs abroad, in order that he should not have so much leisure to inquire into their extravagancies and enormities. And in this combination they found a concurrence from many of the great nobility, who did not think the King's constitution agreeable to their designs, nor their condition secure under his rigid inquisition. Towards the first, Charlemagne, who always valued himself upon the notoriety of his affection to religion, desired to increase the power and reverence to the Bishops, that they might have the people the more at their devotion ; and to that purpose he revived a law that Constantine had made, (and which my author says may be found in the sixteenth book of the Theodosian code,) which permits either of the parties that hath a suit depending before the secular judges to carry the cause before the Bishops, whether the other consent or not, and that their arbitrement shall be binding and admit no appeal. This as it had given great reputation to the Bishops in the beginning, and in respect of their integrity had as much pleased the people, so when the Bishops were now grown lazy ignorant and corrupt, it brought no less scandal upon the Church, and raised equal discontent in the subjects : and their delays corruption and injustice grew so visible, that the parties concerned, upon the manifest iniquity of the judgments
 would

would appeal to the metropolitan; where, finding not a remedy to the disease, appeals were quickly after carried to Rome, contrary to the express terms of the law. This was the first door that was opened to let the jurisdiction of Rome to enter into France; nor did Lewis care to shut it, being willing to curb and reform his own Bishops and clergy by any expedient, without any apprehension that himself or his successors should receive any damage from that excess.

The other stratagem was more effectual for the present, and the mischief and danger thereof was sooner discovered; though the consequence of the former, which was not then discerned, produced in succeeding time worse effects. The discontented party, whereof a great many remained in the court and near the person of the King, found means to work upon the youth and levity of poor Bernardo King of Italy, (who had by this time attained to the age of eighteen years or thereabouts,) and persuaded him that the whole kingdom of France and the empire itself did of right belong to him as being the son of Pepin, who was older brother to Lewis: and to compass their designs the more easily they held correspondence with the Emperor of the East, and were willing to introduce his authority into Italy, which would easily extinguish the power of the Western, and which made the conspiracy much the more dangerous. Lewis having discovered the whole design before it was ripe, lost no time for the preventing it; and though the unfortunate Bernardo had provided and assigned some troops to guard the passages of the Alps, the Emperor's forces no sooner approached than the others fled and dispersed themselves; and the

CHAP.
III.

Imprisonment and death of Bernardo King of Italy.

CHAP. the poor King and all the conspirators were seized
III. upon by such a consternation, that they abandoned
all other hope than in the clemency of the Emperor ;
at whose feet they made too much haste to cast them-
selves, before he had recovered himself of the dismal
apprehension he was in, especially upon the project
of calling in the Emperor of Constantinople, who
had given over all thoughts of the West and had
lived in very good intelligence with his father and
himself. And so the humility of their application
wrought nothing upon him ; but he caused them all
to be arrested and cast into prisons, and without any
delay their process to be made ; upon which the se-
culars were all condemned to die, and the Bishops
were degraded and confined to one monastery : some
of the principal of the other underwent the rigour of
the sentence and were publicly executed, and others
had their eyes burned out, of which the poor Ber-
nardo himself and two of the other best qualified
died within three days.

The nature of the Emperor was so changed upon
the discovery of this treason against him, and with
the severity he thought himself obliged to exercise,
that he was jealous of every body, and caused his
natural brothers the bastards of his father, who were
many, to be all shaved and put into monasteries
to prevent their falling into the like temptations ;
and chased others, abbots and great men whom he
suspected, till they left the realm. But after some
recollection, or the loud clamour and curses of the
people, he so much repented his cruelty to his ne-
phew, (a youth then of nineteen years of age and a
King,) that the remorse of it broke his mind and
disquieted him to the end of his life. And yet how
bar-

barbarous soever, this was no new example; for, both in that age and in that which went before it and in some that followed after it, many princes who were taken prisoners in war, and whose liberty was thought dangerous to those who took them, were not only secretly murdered and assassinated, but some were exposed to process and had their heads cut off upon public scaffolds in the sight of the people.

The Emperor grew every day more and more afflicted with the sense of what he had done; and to that degree that he made confession to the Bishops and took penance publicly in the presence of all the people; and that he might as far as was possible undo the injustice he had done, he permitted his bastard brothers to go out of the monastery, and recalled those whom he had violently driven out of the kingdom, and received them into his favour, and employed them in his councils. He continued however still in this agony; and being tossed to and fro by the tempest of his mind, he took a vengeance upon himself that none of his enemies could have contrived. His wife whom he much loved was now dead, and had left him three sons, Lotaire Pepin and Lewis; and upon this new fit of melancholic, he caused Lotaire the eldest to be made King of Italy, and associated him with himself in the empire; Pepin his second son he made King of Aquitaine; and Lewis his third son King of Bavaria.

Shortly after, upon a new affection, as all his affections were very violent, he married again and had another son, Charles, whom at the age of six years he made King of Rhesia; which gave his other three sons such a jealousy of the great power that his new wife appeared to have with or over him, that from that

CHAP.
III.

that time he had never any quiet : but his sons first made war upon each other and then upon him until they had very near deposed him : so that having weakened himself by dividing his power and dominions amongst them, his reputation was likewise lessened in all places ; all parties making address against each other to the Pope ; who, though he was weary of the authority the Emperor had in Rome, and glad of the distracted condition he was in, and had made great use of it to improve his own power in France, which he had cunningly introduced (and not without the King's connivance if not his consent) upon the infamy of the clergy, yet forbore to do any thing publicly to incense the King, but appeared to do all offices towards the reconciling the royal family : and some agreement there was made and some alteration in the partition, Pepin his second son being dead, and his son Pepin, a boy of fourteen years or thereabouts, challenging the kingdom of Aquitaine, which his father died possessed of.

Death and
character of
Louis le
Debon-
naire.

Shortly after Louis le Debonnaire ended his troublesome reign, having been Emperor and monarch of France twenty seven years ; a man of very unhappy parts, learned and heartily inclined to religion and virtue, but capable by the softness of his nature to be diverted and misled from the obligations of either, which was imputed to his too much hearkening to ecclesiastics ; and yet he left his Gallican Church deprived of many of her privileges, and all other his dominions in worse state by much than he had received them.

Wars be-
tween Lo-
taire and
his bro-
thers.

Lotaire his eldest son succeeded in the empire and was likewise King of Italy. Pepin the son of Pepin, who was second son of Lewis, was King of Aquitaine ; Louis the third son was King of Germany ; and Charles

Charles the son by the second wife (who was afterwards called Charles the Bald) was upon the reconciliation between Lotaire and his father made King of Burgundy and of Neustria with the consent and approbation of Lotaire; which Lewis at his death put him in mind of and conjured him to observe it. But he, as well upon the advantage of being Emperor as of being elder brother, refused to observe any act done by his father, or any contract made by himself or with his own consent, and challenged his superiority over them all, and that they should submit all to him; which they as positively refused, and prepared to raise armies for their defence.

It was the year eight hundred and forty when the Emperor Louis le Debonnaire died; and before the expiration of one year his four sons (reckoning Pepin in his father's place) brought their armies into the field together to decide the right between them. Pepin the son of Pepin, being the weakest of the four, and expecting less courtesy from his younger uncles, joined himself to his elder, Lotaire the Emperor; and the battle was fought with so great ardour that the like had never been then done since the foundation of the French monarchy, for there was above one hundred thousand men killed upon the place, besides what died afterwards of their wounds. The victory fell to the two younger brothers, who used it with great humanity, and forbore to prosecute it, with hope that there might be no more blood spilt. But Lotaire the Emperor and Pepin his nephew had thus time to gather new armies, and Pepin gave a great defeat to his uncle Charles, who would have taken Aquitaine from him; but in the end, by the interposition of bishops and other great men, they were persuaded to consent

CHAP.
III.

Battle of
Fontenay.

CHAP. III. to acquiesce in their divisions, after some alterations were made for the satisfaction of the humour and pretence of Lotaire the Emperor, who had Lorraine (with a much larger extent than is now accounted to be part of it) assigned to him.

Division of
the empire
and its con-
sequences.

This division of the dominions, which when united had preserved the dignity of the Emperor and had made him generally obeyed in Italy France and Germany, so that the Church and State were kept within their regular limits, had still been and was now more attended with a division and separation of the affections of the people of Germany Gaul and Italy, which grew into factions jealousies and animosities against each other, and to have less fidelity towards their several princes. And at this time the Danes and Normans (both Pagans) increased their inroads into Neustria and Brittany; and the Saracens infested those parts which lay next Arragon, and made incursions over the Alps into Italy, from whence the Emperor had been compelled to draw a great part of his forces after the battle of Fontenay between the four brothers, wherein such a vast number had been killed. Being thus weakened in all parts and all persons being made a prey to those who were strongest, the noblemen and gentlemen themselves of France betook themselves to the same course of life, and lived upon what they got by plunder, and took from those who were as ready to take from them or at least were too weak to resist them. In these disorders Pepin behaved himself so ill, in the debauchery of his manners, and his ill conduct in the defence of his subjects against the invasion of the barbarians, that the great lords of the country seized upon his person, and delivered him into the hands

hands of his uncle Charles, (who had himself narrowly escaped the same fate, being liable to the same reproaches,) who caused him to be shaved and inclosed in a monastery, and became thereby possessed of Aquitaine and all that his nephew had been master of. There remained therefore now only Lotaire the Emperor (who associated his son Lewis with him in the empire) and Lewis and Charles: and shortly after the Emperor Lotaire, being an inconstant man, and tired with the disorders and vicissitudes of the times he lived in, gave over his imperial crown to his son Lewis, and retired from the world into a monastery, where within a few months after he departed this life, which was about the year eight hundred fifty-five.

Whatever the Emperor Ludovicus Pius released Lewis II. to the Pope, his grandson Ludovicus the Second it seems believed the power still remained in him, by his sending two ambassadors, after Benedict the Third was chosen, to approve the election: and I do not find but the Pope was glad of it, for it supported him against a competitor; besides that in those times the Pope's authority was ever and anon contested by the Bishop of Ravenna; and the successor of Benedict, Pope Nicholas the First, had great trouble by it, and much contention with the eastern Catholics upon the point of images, insomuch that in the end of his time or the beginning of his successor Adrian the Second, the council at Constantinople condemned Pope Nicholas and all that adhered to him in the use of images. This signal opposition in so catholic a point the Pope could no otherwise master than by courting Basilius, who being favourite to the Emperor of Constantinople Michael the Third,

CHAP. fously murdered his master and so made himself
 III. Emperor, and to endear himself to the Pope called
 another council at Constantinople which condemned
 the former and justified the use of images, for which
 a very good Spanish historian gives him this testi-
 mony, "*Era Basileo muy buen Christiano y Catho-
 lico, y sobre manera devoto de la Iglesia Romana*."^a

Extinction
 of the line
 of Charle-
 magne.

After Lewis the Second was dead, and Charles the
 Bald his uncle took the empire upon him, (though
 his elder brother Lewis was then alive,) Pope John
 the Eighth, without any consideration of matter of
 right, adhered to Charles the Bald; and after his
 death (Lewis and Charles being in competition for
 the empire) the Pope first declared himself for
 Lewis; upon which the people of Rome adhering to
 Charles arose and imprisoned the Pope, who making
 an escape fled into France and there crowned Lewis
 Emperor. But Charles in the mean time making
 haste to Rome, and causing himself to be crowned
 there, assumed likewise the title of Emperor; which
 the Pope no sooner knew, than, finding that Lewis
 was like to prove the weaker, he made all the haste
 he could to Rome, revoked the declaration he had
 formerly made on the behalf of Lewis, and with
 great solemnity again crowned Charles Emperor.
 Thus the great divisions and bloody wars which fell
 out amongst the children and progeny of Charles
 the Great, and his whole line being expired within
 ninety years, (for Carolus Crassus was the last, and
 was deposed when Arnolphus was made Emperor,)
 the Emperors wanted leisure and power and reputa-
 tion to look after the Church and the regular govern-

^a Illéscas en vida de Hadriano II.

ment thereof; and the Popes grew so much to undervalue them, that Adrian the Third declared, that it did not and could not appertain to the right of the Emperors to make any approbation to the election of the Popes.

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III.

The Emperors' right of approving the election of Popes denied.

It was about this time (or not many years before) that our King Ethelwolf, a prince more given to devotion than action, after he had spent a good part of his revenue for many years in building churches and founding monasteries in his own kingdom, granted an annuity of three hundred marks to be disposed of in pious uses at Rome, and went thither twice in person, and carried his younger son Alfred with him, whom Pope Leo the Fourth anointed, as if presaging that he should be king. The Roman writers also say that he gave that grant of one penny upon every head of his subjects to be paid once in the year to the Pope, which was afterwards called *Peterpence*; but they say this (which they uncivilly called *tributum*, whereas it could be only whenever it begun *elemosyna*) had its original long before this time, and that it was first given by Ina and then confirmed by Offa upon both their first conversions, and therefore they think that it is a sacrilege that it is still detained from payment. But neither of those kings nor Ethelwolf himself had any power to lay any such imposition, they being all of them but private princes, kings of the Heptarchy, (which governments were shortly dissolved,) and it could be only an earnest of their own particular charity, towards the distribution of which all new converts were most inclined in the infancy of their Christianity. And the same temper we may still observe in all converts to this day; for we seldom see any men to change their

Peterpence in England first granted by the princes of the heptarchy.

CHA P.
III.

religion from that in which they have been born and bred, but in the instant of their conversion they contract a wonderful warmth and zeal for the religion they are newly acquainted with, and an equal fierceness and animosity against that which they are departed from ; as if they could not enough manifest the sincerity of their conversion, and the delight they take in the change, if they do not say and do somewhat which sober people of that faith which they have now put on do neither use nor think themselves obliged to do. And we have reason to believe that those princes before mentioned were a little transported with this distemper ; or else (neither of them acknowledging any dependance upon the Bishop of Rome, as neither of them did) they would not have chosen those seasons to have visited Rome and to offer their devotions there, when both the manners and impiety of that place were notorious throughout the world, and the Popes themselves exceedingly contemned both at home and abroad.

Enormities and disgraces of the Popes, during 100 years, from Formosus to Gregory V.

As this was a time when the empire was so much lessened, and the persons of the Emperors in little esteem, so (God knows) the Popes got nothing of what the Emperors lost either in reputation or interest ; but grew themselves to be so much undervalued and contemned, especially in Rome and Italy, that there passed above one hundred years (that is from the time of Formosus who was before the year nine hundred to the time of Gregory the Fifth, which was about the year one thousand, in which time there was one and thirty Popes, or thereabouts) wherein there will not be found above two or three Popes of virtue or reputation, and scarce any one action done or pretended to by any of them which can

can be made a precedent or instance for any one thing they now claim in temporal or spiritual jurisdiction. And if the Christian religion had not been supported by the learning piety and virtue of the bishops in other parts of the world, it had been discredited if not utterly lost at Rome; there being so many prodigious and infamous wickednesses done in that time by the several Popes, or much the major part of them, and all the holiness of their predecessors being so much discredited by their extravagant impieties; one condemning all the actions of his predecessor, as Stephen the Sixth did of Formosus, and declared all the bishops made by him to be lay; and as John the Ninth did the like to Stephen, condemning all his decrees and causing the council to be burnt that had condemned Formosus; that no Catholic reads their lives without open detestation; and all must confess that in so many years the Bishops of Rome were very unhappy conservators of the integrity of Christian religion, and that it was impossible that the people of that age could have that reverence for them in their hearts, as must be due to the Vicar of Christ and Head of the Universal Church.

Many of these Popes were thrown into prison by John X. the people, and some put to death there; as John the Tenth, who after he had beaten the Moors in several battles and taken Naples (as he was a very good general) was taken himself by the Earl of Guido, and hanged or at least strangled in prison; others were put into monasteries by the people; and one (Stephen the Eighth or the Ninth, for he is reckoned Stephen VIII. IX. both in several Pontificals) was become so exceeding odious and contemptible, that a particular gentleman

CHAP. III. set upon him in the streets, and cut him over the face and nose with his sword, and disfigured him in such a manner that, though he reigned above a year or two after, he never came out of doors, or shewed his visage to any. His next successor but two, John XII. the Twelfth, was from the hour of his election looked upon as one chosen by subornation briberies and threats, and abhorred by the people; he cut off the noses and the right hands and put out the eyes of several cardinals for finding fault and complaining to the Emperor of him; and the Emperor Otho the Second coming afterwards to Rome called a council in which this Pope was reprehended for his dissolute life; which working no reformation in him, the cardinals and the people besought the Emperor to depose him, which was done accordingly, and Leo the Eighth chosen in his place, who was held for the true and lawful Pope. The Emperor however was no sooner departed Rome than the people arose, drove Leo out of Rome, and called in John again, who was afterwards (and after he had reigned nine years) found by a gentleman of Rome with his wife, and killed upon the place. After his death Benedict V. the Fifth was tumultuously chosen in his place, in so much as the Emperor was compelled to make another journey to Rome, where after the people had suffered many miseries in a siege, they were compelled again to acknowledge Leo, and to deliver up Benedict into the hands of the Emperor, who carried him with him into Germany, where he died in prison; and at this time the old right was again revived, and it was ordained in a council at Rome that to the Emperor and his successors the right of approbation of the election of the Popes did and should always belong.

John

Revival of the Emperor's right of approving the election of Popes.

John the Thirteenth succeeded Leo, and though he reigned seven years he was so far from being looked upon with reverence, that he was taken prisoner by the Prefect of Rome, and shut up in the castle of St. Angelo above eleven months; and his immediate successor Benedict the Sixth, upon a difference with a particular knight of Rome, (I think they call his name Cintius,) was taken prisoner by him, and afterwards hanged; and this was about the time of our Edward the Confessor.

CHAP.
III.
John XIII.

Benedict
VI.

Gregory the Fifth, whom we mentioned as the outside of that hundred years of licence and infamy, because he had a great reputation in the world, and raised the drooping and dishonoured Papacy, lived not long enough to establish his own greatness to his successors; for he reigned but two years, and even in that time was once driven out of Rome by Cricentius, who declared his election to be void, and to be made for fear of the Emperor, (whose kinsman the Pope was,) and thereupon chose an Anti-Pope. The Emperor Otho the Third was thereupon forced to bring a great army into Italy, where he besieged Rome, caused Cricentius to be cut in pieces, put out the eyes of the Anti-Pope, and sent him prisoner into Germany, where he died; yet in this short time of two years, the Pope, being a wise man and near of kin to the Emperor, did by the vengeance he had taken upon his enemies and the good conjuncture he lived in, raise the Papacy to a great height, and in some respect greater than any of his predecessors had ever aspired to; for the Emperor Otho the Third (who was indeed a great prince) being himself impotent by nature, and having none of his family left whom he desired to make his successor,

Gregory V.

The Empe-
ror Otho
III. esta-
blishes the
modes of
electing
Emperors,
and their
coronation
by the
Popc.

ordered

CHAPTER III. ordered for the future that in the vacancy of the em-

pire, six princes of Germany (who have been since called Electors) should always make choice of an Emperor; and because he would procure the more reverence and submission to this new method, and that it might be settled with the more formality and for the better countenance and support of his cousin the Pope by so great an addition of honour, he ordained him a part in the ceremony, though not in the election of the Emperors; and that after the Electors had chosen the Emperor he should be confirmed by the Pope, which gives no more title to the Pope of superiority over the Emperor than every Elector can challenge because he was one of those who made him.

In truth the intention of this ceremony was principally that the Pope might receive countenance and protection by the Emperor's sometimes resort to Rome; for that the power and ancient jurisdiction was still understood to remain in the Emperor, appears in few years after; when Benedict the Ninth, after he had reigned six or seven years, was for several crimes deposed by the people, and Silvester the Third chosen; who being by the same people again rejected in a short time, with the consent of Benedict, John the Twentieth was chosen; and he again cast out, and Gregory the Sixth chosen in his place; upon which Benedict revoked his former consent for John; and so all four of them assumed the title of Popes together, and every one of them exercised the jurisdiction severally: whereupon the Emperor Henry the Third came to Rome and called a council, which declared that neither of the four was worthy

Clement II. to be Pope, and Clement the Second was then chosen
who

Benedict IX.

Silvester III.

John XX.

Gregory VI.

Four Popes together.

who crowned the Emperor ; and then all the clergy and people of Rome took a solemn oath never to make any election of a Pope, without the express licence of the Emperor. And though Clement was quickly rebelled against by the people and poisoned after the Emperor was gone, and though they chose thereupon, and contrary to their oath, Damasus the Second, yet he only living three and twenty days, they then sent ambassadors to the Emperor to desire him that he would give them a Pope.

The Emperor appointed Brunus, who thereupon called himself Leo the Ninth, and went immediately from Germany towards Rome, attended and acknowledged for Pope ; but true it is when he came into Italy, Hildebrand the monk came to him and advised him not to assume the papacy in that manner, and without any formality of election ; and thereupon he dismissed his train and went privately to Rome, where he was immediately chosen by a general consent, and had afterwards a great fame for sanctity, even to the doing of miracles in his life time. In his time (who died about the year a thousand fifty-four) the Cardinals began to be taken notice of, and to be treated with that stile ; and about this time likewise it was, (or three or four years after,) under Stephen the Ninth, (who was brother to the Duke of Lorraine,) that by the dexterity of Cardinal Hildebrand, the Archbishop of Milan was persuaded to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Pope, which his predecessors for full two hundred years upon some ancient exemption had refused to do.

But before I part from Leo the Ninth, who is in all their pontifical histories spoken of as a person of great sincerity, I cannot but take notice of a very

pretty

CHAP.
III.

Damasus
II.

Leo IX.

First claim
of the Pope
to the sole
right of

CHAP. pretty art of his, and upon a strange occasion to de-
 III. clare, “*quod convocatio conciliorum generalium, et*
 calling ge- “*depositio Episcoporum solius est Romani Pontifi-*
 neral coun- “*cis:*” This is the most ancient record they have
 cils and de- “*cis:*” This is the most ancient record they have
 deriving bi- to prove that title, so contrary to all former prac-
 shops. tice; and very probably no declaration or claim was
 heard of in some hundred of years since; and sure
 the practice hath been contrary to that rule since as
 well as before. A bishop in Africa had written a
 letter to this Pope Leo the Ninth to desire his ad-
 vice and information, who was the metropolitan bi-
 shop in Africa; because, though there were but five
 bishops at that time alive in all Africa, which was
 then held to contain the third part of the world,
 there was a difference amongst them, who was me-
 tropolitan that had authority and power to call gene-
 ral councils and to depose bishops. This bull la-
 ments that Christianity was so much decreased and
 declined where it had formerly so much flourished;
 commends him, “*quia Sanctæ Matris vestræ Eccle-*
 “*sia Romanæ sententiam requiritis;*” and then tells
 him that the Archbishop of Carthage is the metro-
 politan of all Africa, and “*primus Archiepiscopus*
 “*post Romanum Pontificem;*” but adds, “*Hoc autem*
 “*nolo vos lateat - - - non debere præter sententiam*
 “*summi Pontificis, universale concilium celebrari, aut*
 “*Episcopos damnari vel deponi; quamvis enim omni-*
 “*bus generaliter Apostolis dictum sit a Domino, Quæ-*
 “*cunque ligaveritis in terra, ligatæ erint ut in cælo,*
 “*&c. tamen non sine causa et specialiter, et nomina-*
 “*tim, dictum est beato Petro, Tu es Petrus, et super*
 “*hanc Petram, &c.:* and so he magisterially deter-
 mines and establishes his own authority. And truly
 they were not careful enough of themselves, if, hav-
 ing

ing so frequent opportunities to give judgments on their own behalf, they shall ever be without records to prove their title to whatsoever they have a mind to; when it is very probable that no emperor or prince concerned ever heard of this grave decision till many hundred years after it was made, that is, till the Bullarium was printed. It is found in the first tome; in which they were not well advised in printing another bull so little before it, which is so contrary to it, and that is of Pelagius the Second; whereby he condemned the three councils of Constantinople, “*non jure convocati a Johanne Episcopo Constantinopolitano, universalis Episcopi, nomen sibi perperam vindicante:*” That bull takes notice of the injury done to St. Peter, to whom our Saviour granted “*potestatem ligandi et solvendi, &c. quæ etiam potestas in successoribus ejus indubitanter transivit,*” &c. but the great offence was the stile of *universalis*, “*Nullus enim Patriarcharum, hoc tam prophano vocabulo unquam utatur, quia si summus Patriarcha universalis dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur:*” the whole bull contains good learning, and is worth the reading. But it was no hard matter in that time for the Popes to extend their power and jurisdiction by the opportunities which were every day offered to them by the neighbour princes; for in France there were almost as many sovereign princes as there were provinces, and all making war upon each other, so that he who was called King of France had least authority there. In the mean time the bishops met frequently in councils, in which they assumed unlimited jurisdictions, not only in controversies of right between particular persons, but in contradiction to their several princes; which made them

CHAP.
III.

The Bullarium.

CHAP. III. them resort to Rome, where the Popes were glad of all occasions to condemn the privileges of the Gallian church, and sometimes excommunicated the bishops, who as confidently protested against their power even in the decision of matters of faith; as in the point of predestination, wherein the learned Hinckmar Archbishop of Rheims positively refused to submit to the Pope's judgment, and the Pope proceeded no farther.

Hinckmar denies the Pope's authority in point of doctrine.

Victor II. After Leo the Ninth, Victor the Second succeeded, who reigned but two years, and then Stephen IX. the Ninth was elected. It was this Pope Stephen who went out of Rome towards Florence, and took Cardinal Hildebrand with him, and made the cardinals and the other persons who were to elect (for the election was not yet entirely in the cardinals) take a solemn oath that if he should die before he returned to Rome, they would not proceed to any election of a new Pope till Cardinal Hildebrand came to them; but before he went out of Rome, Hildebrand prevailed with the Archbishop of Milan to submit to the Pope's jurisdiction, which his predecessors had refused during two hundred years ever to acknowledge.

Benedict X. They at Rome did not observe the oath they had taken; as soon as the news came of the death of Stephen, part of them chose the Bishop of Veletri to be Pope, who called himself Benedict the Tenth; but other of the Cardinals and the greater part of the city went out of Rome to Sienna, and there chose the Bishop of Florence, who was called Nicholas the Second; and he called a council which declared the election of Benedict void, who after he had been Pope nine months submitted and returned to his bishoprick.

Nicholas II.

shoprick. And it was then decreed that for the time to come the election of all Popes should be made by the Cardinals only, and this was about the year one thousand and sixty; but how that decree was afterwards observed will appear in its time.

Pope Nicholas the Second being dead, Alexander the Second, who was in the time of William the Conqueror, and who is mentioned in our records and of those of France as if he were indeed of great reputation and authority, succeeded him.

Mezeray observes, that from the beginning of the eighth age the Popes, as much out of credit as they were, had found means to weaken the authority of metropolitans, by obliging them in a council held at Mayence to receive the Pallium necessarily from Rome, and to subject themselves and obey the Roman Church canonically in all things; nay more than this, they had spread abroad their patriarchal jurisdiction throughout all the West, by necessitating the bishops to take their confirmation from them, for the which they paid a certain right which in time converted itself into that which at present is called Annates: but (he says) they never made a greater breach into the liberties of the Gallican Church, than when they introduced the belief that no council could be assembled without their authority; and when after divers attempts to establish their Perpetual Vicars in Gaul, they found out the means at last to make their Legates to be received there. After they had accustomed the French prelates to suffer and accept their legates, they gained by little and little another advantage during the weakness of princes, which was to send their Nuncios into all provinces, although they were never desired or called upon

CHAP.
III.

Alexander II.

Gradual encroachments of the Popes.

The Pallium.

Annates.

Perpetual vicars.

Legates.

CHAP.
III.

Maxim of
Alexander
II. That
the Pope
ought to go-
vern all the
churches.

upon to do it; and in a word, when they had once put on the yoke, Alexander the Second (of whom we are now speaking) laid down this as an undoubted maxim, “*That the Pope ought to have in his hands the government of all the churches.*” This was the season and those the artificers (says that excellent author) by which the Bishops of Rome by degrees ascended to their greatness in France; and we shall find the same stratagems practised in all other kingdoms. It may be thought a judgment upon the crown of France, that that kingdom which had entirely given the Pope all the power and authority he had, and (by making him a great temporal prince, when most of the other princes of Europe by the smallness of their dominions and domestic strugglings were very weak) given him opportunity to insult upon his neighbours, and was well contented that he did, because that he was at its disposal if not at his nomination; I say, it looks like a judgment from heaven that this spiritual prince, so created a temporal prince, should shew and manifest his power by first invading and then destroying his founder; first stripping France of the empire, and then dividing it into many several hands, so that it could and did insult more over the kings and princes thereof than over any other in Europe, as we shall be obliged to observe in the following discourse; though it hath in this age resumed its full power and authority, and hath begun to make the Popes pay some interest for their long presumption and usurpation.

State of
Spain.

Spain was in too miserable a state to undergo any encroachment from Rome, the Moors being entire lords of that large dominion. But the poor Christians (who for some hundred of years had supported them-

themselves in the mountains) making some sallies CHAP. III. upon the Moors in the low lands, and returning from thence with small booty and more benefit by the experience they got of the courage and manner of fighting the Moors, about this time made more prosperous descents, and got some footing both in Castile and Arragon, under their several princes. This was no sooner known at Rome, from whence they had never received any assistance, than the Popes thought how to get advantage over them, before they should be better settled; their pretence being still to inform them better in the religion they professed, and principally to reform their clergy, who were extremely degenerated in their manners, (being either married or keeping concubines,) and were grown incredibly ignorant in all matters of learning; and therefore all overtures which tended towards a reformation of these men were very acceptable to the princes, who had not power to do it themselves.

As secular princes usually gain by the rebellion of their subjects, and by the confiscations and forfeitures which commonly result from thence, so the Popes have commonly enlarged their power and sometimes extended their dominions by the advantage of heresies which have grown up; their help towards the suppressing thereof being often called upon, and believed to be necessary. Thus Victor the Second (who reigned as was said before but two years) had called a council in Florence to reform the ecclesiastical state; and had sent his nuncios both into France and Germany, to move the Emperor to concur in the renewing the ancient discipline of the Church, and to prevail with France to suppress those

CHAP. alterations and insurrections in their government
 III.

which proceeded from the new opinions which then broke out, and every day got more credit by the doctrine of Berengarius ; which was like to be the more dangerous, because it contradicted the two vital parts of the religion of Rome, the real presence in the sacrament, and the universal authority of the Pope.

Dispute between the Emperor Henry II. and Ferdinand of Castile settled by the Pope's Legate.

In this council, the Emperor Henry the Second complained by his ambassadors against Ferdinand King of Castile, (who had got two or three battles against the Moors with great courage, and thereby much increased his reputation,) for that he had contrary to custom exempted himself from all dependance upon the Emperor ; and not only that, but that he had presumed to call himself Emperor ; whereupon the council, without hearing the other side, (which having received so little advantage from their Christian neighbours had not sent their deputies to Florence,) the Pope being a German, gave judgment for the Emperor ; and they sent ambassadors to the King of Castile, that they should declare to him in the name of the Pope and the council that he should hereafter shew all respect and reverence to the Emperor, and no more assume the title of Emperor to himself, for it did not belong to him ; and the ambassadors had order to pronounce an excommunication against him if he did not obey the judgment. The King was much perplexed with this declaration, and called the Cortes, (composed, as our parliaments, of the nobility prelates and deputies chosen by the people,) to advise what he should do. Some were of opinion that he ought to conform to the judgment of the Pope and the council ; for that, having a war with the Moors and many other troubles in his kingdom, it

it was not fit to fall out with the Pope and the Emperor at the same time. The major part was of a contrary opinion, and that the King could not in honour submit to it; and that it was better to die with their swords in their hands than to admit an authority so prejudicial to his dignity. In conclusion, the King raised an army for his defence, and then the matter was referred to the compromise of the Pope's Legate, (who had given an assurance to the King that such a reference should not prove to his prejudice,) and of some others, who upon hearing all the allegations gave judgment for the King, and declared that from thenceforth the Emperor should not pretend any right or authority over or in the King's dominions; and though it was no part of judgment the King forbore to use the stile of Emperor from that time. So the Pope gratified the King, by exempting him from all pretences of the Emperor; and thought he had obliged the Emperor, by leaving him in the sole possession of the title of Emperor; whereby his power and authority would find the more respect with all other princes of Europe.

Urban died before he could make any farther progress; but Alexander the Second, (as Mariana tells us,) to make a farther essay of his power, sent a legate to the King of Castile, that he should give over and suppress the Gothic or Moçorab Missal and use the Roman for a better conformity with the other Christians of the West. This the Spaniards would not hear of; and there being a council then called at Mantua, there were three bishops sent thither who carried with them all the Gothic office which the council upon perusal approved and declared to be Catholic. Ferdinand's dying soon after

CHAP.
III.

The Castilians refuse to obey the Pope's mandate for suppressing the Gothic missal, which the council of Mantua declare to be Catholic.

CHAP.
III.

Alexander II. set aside and succeeded by Honorius II.

and dividing his kingdom between his three sons and making them all kings, they grew all so unfit to contest or oppose any encroachment, that the succeeding Popes usurped what they would upon them; as will appear hereafter. However this Pope Alexander was so far from being great at home and from being obeyed in Italy, that the Bishop of Lombardy excepted against him, and calling a council in Milan declared the election of Alexander to be void, because it was made without licence of the Emperor, and thereupon chose Honorius the Second to be Pope, (whom the Emperor acknowledged,) and rejected Alexander.

State of England. William the Conqueror alters the ecclesiastical laws without reference to the Pope.

We are now in the time of William the Conqueror; and the principal end designed of this discourse being to shew, how far that Catholic time was from acknowledging that authority and superiority of the Pope in England, which is now insisted on as an article of the Catholic faith, it will not be amiss to remember that in that King's reign the ecclesiastical laws of the realm were altered and changed in Parliament by the King with the advice and counsel of the bishops and nobles of the realm, without the least reference to the Pope; and in the same King's time the Abbot of Bury was by an ordinance of Parliament exempted from all episcopal jurisdiction, which would not have been done if the Pope had been looked upon as supreme ordinary.

Lanfranc canonizes Aldelmus without the Pope's interposition.

But there is another instance that cannot be paralleled in any kingdom where the Pope's jurisdiction was suffered to have the least influence, or in truth was ever heard of, and which was the highest act of jurisdiction that can be exercised; which was this, that Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury took upon him

him in the time of William the Conqueror to canonize a saint. Aldelmus (who was a person of great sanctity, and was dead above two hundred years before) had contributed very much to reducing the nation to civility by his skill in music, whereby he softened the fierce and rough nature of the people, and then instructed them in the obligations of Christian religion, of which they knew little, though they had been baptized; he lived a pious life, and died in the year seven hundred and nine, and after his death was reported to have wrought many miracles, of all which Lanfranc being well informed, “*Edicto sanc-*”
 “*civit, ut per totam deinde Angliam Aldelmus inter*”
 “*eos, qui civibus cælestibus ascripti erant, honorare-*”
 “*tur, et coleretur*^a ;” and shortly after the bones of Aldelmus were gathered together, “*et in antiquam*”
 “*thecam reposita, a quo tempore divina per eum ni-*”
 “*racula indies magis ac magis accumulabantur.*” Lanfranc was a man of great learning, born and bred in Italy, and for his eminency had been called from thence to be Abbot of Caen in Normandy, and was afterwards made Archbishop of Canterbury, and cannot be supposed to be so ignorant of the authority that was invested in the Bishop of Rome, that he would have usurped the highest exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, if he had known or believed that he was his superior in England. And since we are upon the mention of canonization it may not be unreasonable to take notice, that the first bull of canonization by the Pope, of which there is any record, was not many years before this of Aldelmus; and of which it may reasonably be presumed that the Arch-

CHAP.
III.

^a Dr. Harpsfield, p. 135.

CHAP. III. — bishop Lanfranc could not be ignorant, for it was but in the year nine hundred ninety-three, when John the Fifteenth granted a bull of canonization of Ulric Bishop of Augsburg in a very different stile, and with much less ceremony than is practised in these days. It was done in an assembly of the clergy, where the Pope being present “*cum Episcopis et Presbyteris astantibus Diaconis, et cuncto Clero,*” (no mention then of the Cardinals,) the present Bishop of Augsburg stood up and desired that a little book “(*libellus*)” that he had in his hand containing the life and the miracles of Ulric might be read; which done, the Pope with the advice and consent of all the rest declared him a saint with this expression, “*Honoramus servos ut honor redundet in Dominum, qui dixit, Qui vos recipit, me recipit*.”

State of
France.

This age is confessed in all histories to deserve the name of the Iron age; not only from the inhumanities which were committed by the incursions of the barbarians into almost all the borders of Europe, but for its ignorance and irregularity of manners, which Monsieur Mezeray says was rather in respect of the Roman Church (in which he says the disorders and crimes were horrible) than of those of France or Germany. It is very true there were in France some learned and pious Bishops; but it is as true there were too many who were neither learned nor pious, and who engaged their persons in war with all pleasure and delight in blood and rapine. The crown was stripped of all pretence to the empire, or to any power in Germany or Italy, and indeed was reduced into so narrow a circle of dominion (though some of

* Bullar. tom. i.

the kings before the expiration of the line of Charle- CHAP.
 magne had several sons,) that they left only the eldest III.
 son the title of King, and granted appanages to the
 younger; being sufficiently infested with their ill
 neighbour kings who had been raised to those digni-
 ties by the improvidence of the ancestors of the
 crown; and from this wise reformation the power of
 the kings did sensibly and presently begin to grow,
 though so many of the roots of it were pulled up. But
 the line of Charlemagne expiring about this time,
 and the crown being set upon the head of Hugh Ca-
 pet, great wisdom and moderation was to be used at
 home, and many condescensions abroad before the
 natural lustre could be attained. The bishops only
 retained and enlarged their power by the King's
 want of power; and they called frequent councils,
 in which little or nothing of religion was handled
 but differences and contests between great persons;
 which were decided according to the number of
 friends both parties had in the council.

The marriages within the degrees prohibited (which Origin of
 the Popes had now declared to be to the seventh de- appeals to
 gree, contrary to former usage) made a great part of the Pope
 the business of councils, and was often the sole occa- on cases of
 sion of convening those assemblies. As soon as any marriage.
 husband or wife were displeased one with the other,
 or that any man had a mind to separate them, they
 had nothing to do but to draw up articles and swear
 that they were kindred within the degrees prohibi-
 ted, and to produce nine witnesses thereupon, (which
 were never wanting,) and the Bishop, who was well
 prepared, presently declared the marriage to be void.
 If either party appealed, a council was called; and
 whatsoever they determined, he who liked it not ap-
 pealed

CHAP. III. pealed to the Pope, who laid hold on the occasion to give his definitive sentence ; so that in the time of the distractions in France he began to settle a supreme judicature there, which all parties acquiesced in ; the kings, as I have said before, calling often to them for help against their own bishops, and so introduced that authority which could never have introduced itself, and which gave them much trouble afterwards, and produced much mischief before the crown recovered strength enough to expel it.

John XIX. puts all France under an interdiction on the marriage of Robert and Bertha.

Upon this occasion it may be seasonable enough to give an instance of that wonderful presumption, being the first that can be given, and upon which precedent they afterwards founded much of their usurpation. It was about the year one thousand when Robert the son of Hugh Capet came to be king, and shortly after buried his wife, after whose decease he was inclined to marry Bertha the daughter of the King of Burgundy, who was his kinswoman in the fourth degree. And he (having held a child with her in baptism) supposed that he might make this marriage lawful by the authority of the Gallican Church, which had in all times given those dispensations ; whereupon he caused all the bishops of his kingdom to assemble, who having heard the case and the reasons which induced the King to desire that marriage, were of opinion that upon the consideration of the public good he might take her for his wife, notwithstanding all canonical hindrances. Whether Benedict the Eighth or John the Nineteenth was then Pope I cannot determine ; but one of them it was, (and the French historians impute it to the last,) who was so highly offended because he had not been consulted, that he excommunicated the bishops who

who had authorized the marriage, and likewise the King and the Queen who had contracted it, if they did not immediately separate themselves. The King was much offended with the sentence, which beside the presumption, seemed to him to be contrary to the good of his state, and therefore refused to obey it; with which the Pope was so offended that he forthwith published an interdict of the whole kingdom, which had never been before heard of: to this sentence the people generally submitted themselves with that humility that all the domestic servants of the King (excepting two or three) abandoned him, and they cast whatever was taken from his table to the dogs; there being no man how poor soever that would eat any of the meat which he had touched^a. So much had a little usurpation, together with the intermission of the proper and natural government, and the ignorance and stupidity of the nation, moped the people, that they were terrified with a thing they had never before heard of, and only because they had never before heard of it; but they were afterwards often put in mind of it.

^a Mezeray in the Life of Robert.

 CHAP. IV.

*Progress of Papal Usurpations from Gregory VII.
A. D. 1073. to Clement V. A. D. 1305.*

Gregory
VII. (Hil-
debrand)
excommu-
nicates the
Emperor.

BUT to return. In the next vacancy Cardinal Hildebrand was chosen, who called himself Gregory the Seventh; who indeed laid about him and made a great noise in the world, no man before having presumed to brandish the ecclesiastical sword with so much lustre and obstinacy. Upon his election, like a wise man, he made sure of all titles; and so sent ambassadors to the Emperor Henry the Fourth, to desire him that he would approve his election, which the Emperor very graciously did, and sent an ambassador to Rome to that purpose, who with all formality gave his approbation there. This the Pope very ill requited shortly after; his great spirit engaging him in disputes, and disposing him to send uncomely menaces to the Emperor: and yet the reverence for him in Rome itself was not so great, but that a particular person, having taken offence at him, took him out of the church when he was saying mass, and carried him to prison. With these menaces the Emperor was so incensed that he called a council

council at Worms and deposed the Pope, forbidding all persons to acknowledge him; and sent an ambassador to Rome publicly to declare to him what was done, and to forbid him any longer to assume the title of Pope. It is very true, Gregory's spirit did not at all abate; he also called a council in Rome and deposed the Emperor, (absolving all his subjects from their obedience,) and appointed the electors to make choice of a new Emperor; which falling out in an unhappy conjuncture, disposed some of the German princes to rebel, who chose Rodolphus Duke of Suevia, insomuch as the Emperor thought it fit to submit and ask pardon; which he again repented, and was again deprived.

CHAP.
IV.
Council of
Worms.
Council of
Rome.

These proceedings were so new and extravagant, that it may not be improper to mention in this place somewhat of the form that was used in these transactions, in a stile never before used in the court of Rome, and by which the spirit of the man and of the time are both enough illustrated. His bull began with a kind of expostulation with St. Peter; "*Beate Petre Apostolorum Princeps, inclina quasumus pius aures tuas nobis, et audi me servum tuum &c. Tu mihi testis es, et Domina mea Mater Dei, et Beatus Paulus frater tuus inter omnes sanctos, quod tua sancta Romana Ecclesia me invitum ad sua gubernacula traxit &c. Et ided ex tuâ gratiâ, non ex meis operibus, credo quod tibi placuit, et placet, ut Populus Christianus tibi specialiter commissus mihi obediat, et specialiter pro vitâ meâ mihi commissus est potestas a Deo data ligandi atque solvendi in cælo, et in terrâ &c. Hac itaque fiduciâ fretus pro Ecclesiæ tuæ honore et defensione ex parte Omnipotentis Dei, Patris et Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti, per*"
"*tuam*"

CHAP. IV. “*tuam potestatem et auctoritatem &c.*” and so proceeds, and deposes him from any government in Germany or in Italy, and declares all his subjects to be absolved from all the oaths which they had formerly taken to him. After the Emperor had made his peace, that the world might not suspect that he had procured his absolution at too cheap a price, the Pope caused it to be published to all nations; that the Emperor, after many reiterated professions of his hearty sorrow and penitence, came to Canusium, the place where the Pope then was, “*Ibi-
que per triduum ante Portam Castri, deposito omni
Regio cultu miserabilior, ut pote discalceatus et lacrymis persistens, non prius cum multo fletu Apostolicæ miserationis auxilium et consolationem implorare exitit.*” After this his clemency vouchsafed to admit the Emperor to his presence, and then his absolution followed.

Clement III.

Whether this great Emperor received promises of a better treatment, and so grew more irreconcilable by his reconciliation, or whether the princes of Germany upon the death of Rodolphus (which suddenly happened) promised more obedience, or whether from their resolution of his own nature, which was not popular, sure it is, he quickly repented his repentance, raised a great army, again declared that Gregory was not Pope, and caused Gilbert of Parma to be chosen, who took the name of Clement the Third. With this new Pope in his company he marched directly with his army and besieged Rome, where the Pope durst not expect him, but fled to Salernum in the kingdom of Naples; and resorting to spiritual artillery published a new bull of excommunication against the Emperor and Clement, in which he renewed his complaints

complaints to St. Peter and St. Paul jointly in very tragical expressions; “*Beate Petre Princeps Apostolorum, et tu Beate Paule, Doctor gentium, dignemini quæso aures vestras ad me inclinare, meque clementer exaudire, &c. Hæc ideo dico, quia non ego vos, sed vos eligistis me, et gravissimum pondus vestræ Ecclesiæ super me posuistis, et quia super montem excelsum me jussistis ascendere et clamare atque annunciare populo Dei scelera eorum, et filiis Ecclesiæ peccata eorum &c. Agite quæso Patres et Principes Sanctissimi, ut omnis mundus intelligat et cognoscat, quia si potestis in cælo ligare et solvere, potestis in terra imperia et regna &c. et omnium hominum possessiones pro meritis tollere uniuscujusque et concedere &c.*” And truly from this time a man may justly say, if all the comical interpretations of Scripture and profaneness and the blasphemy upon the word of God were lost, it might all be found in the bulls of ecclesiastical censures, in those of canonizations and foundations of monasteries and religious orders; where their several texts of Scripture, (which are frequently cited to very ungrave purposes,) are no more applied to the natural sense of those places than those instruments are written in the stile of Cicero; the divinity and the Latin being alike barbarous.

The very vigorous proceeding of the Pope against the Emperor struck a great terror into the neighbour princes; Alphonso the Sixth, King of Castile, sent an ambassador to him with a desire that he would send a legate into Spain, “*Con plena potesdad para reparar por todas lay vias posibles las costumbres de los Ecclesiasticos.*” Whereupon he sent a legate, who called a council in Burgos and made great alteration; and

CHAP. and upon the advantage of being sent for prevailed
 IV. — for the abolishing the missal and breviary of the
 Goths, which had been practised with the first Chris-
 tianity, and had so lately before been insisted upon
 against Alexander the Second, and justified by the
 Council of Mantua, but was upon this demand of
 Gregory's laid aside: the Roman missal, and all the
 customs and usages there, were quietly submitted to,
 and received. In this council they also revived the
 old ecclesiastical laws against the marriage of priests;
 and Mariana confesses it was high time, for that the
 clergy for the most part had so far forgot their duty
 that they were most of them married, and charged
 with wives and children. Notwithstanding all which,
 this great Pope enjoyed little ease or quiet, the Em-
 peror remaining still with his army in Italy, and
 keeping his Pope Clement still with it; so that Gre-
 gory durst not return to Rome, but remained still as
 it were in banishment at Salernum; where after a
 very troublesome and mischievous reign of about
 twelve years he died, and left his successor to justify
 what he had done, or rather begun.

Introduces
 the Roman
 missal into
 Spain.

- Victor III. When Gregory was dead, Victor the Third was
 chosen in his place; who being poisoned within a
 year, Urban the Second succeeded; both of them con-
 tinuing and renewing the censures against the Em-
 peror and Clement. The Emperor remained as obsti-
 nate against submitting to them, and drove Pope Ur-
 ban to very great straits, though he had prevailed with
 the Emperor's own sons to rebel against their father.
- Paschal II. Pope Paschal the Second succeeded, and was the
 first Pope who was crowned with any circumstances
 of pomp and majesty; which, a Spanish writer says,
 did not proceed out of any arrogance or ambition in
 his

his nature, but only “*Para la representacion della* CHAP. IV. “*Majestad Pontificall.*” And a great Pope indeed he was, especially in England and France; and he reigned many years, yet without any felicity or calm at home; for the Emperor Henry the Fifth (who by the Pope’s instigation had rebelled against his father, being afterwards Emperor himself, and crowned by Paschal before he departed from Rome,) took the Pope prisoner, and compelled him to restore unto him the investiture of all bishops in Germany, which he had formerly taken from him by a council; which when the Pope afterwards repented and revoked by another council, the Emperor came again into Italy, made war upon the Pope and drove him out of Rome. So that though he reigned eighteen years (which few Popes had done before) he could not be said to enjoy that superiority for which he contended eighteen months of his time.

It is very true that this Pope did get more power and authority in England than any of his predecessors had pretended to; which cannot be much wondered at, when it is remembered that it was in the time of King Henry the First; who having got the crown unjustly from his brother Robert, and having much to do in France, (where the Pope was in greater reputation and power than he had in Italy,) and having great differences with his own Archbishop of Canterbury Anselm, (who carried himself with great insolence towards him,) it is no wonder that he desired upon any terms to make a fast friend of the Pope, by granting him some privileges which were not his due. But when the Pope afterwards desired to send a Legate into England, the same King, by the advice of his bishops and nobles, refused to admit him; and being earnestly

Henry I.
refuses to
admit a Le-
gate into
England.

CHAP. nestly pressed by the Pope to receive him, answered,
 IV. " That he could not admit any such authority to be
 " exercised in the kingdom without the approbation
 " and consent of his bishops and nobility, who were
 " against it." Thus he absolutely refused to let the le-
 gate enter the kingdom, and this was the reverence
 of that Catholic time towards the see of Rome.

Mezeray's
 account of
 the growth
 of Papal
 power.

It is the observation that Mezeray makes of this
 time, and in these words ; " The famous quarrel be-
 " twixt the Popes and the Emperors, which hath
 " caused so many mischiefs in Christendom, was very
 " high in this time. It had begun between Gregory
 " the Seventh and Harry the Fourth ; the first ex-
 " ceeding imperious and ready to undertake any
 " thing ; the latter wicked cruel and monstrous irre-
 " gular in his life. The taking from the Emperor
 " the investiture of benefices, as an unjust and sacri-
 " legious thing, was the Pope's pretence to quarrel ;
 " although his true motive was, the desire of the em-
 " pire of Italy, and of subjecting all princes under
 " his pontifical power ; which appeared easy enough ;
 " because Europe being divided into an infinity of
 " dominions, most of the princes were very weak,
 " and the greatest part of them (either for devotion
 " or to shun the sovereignty of those who were more
 " powerful than they) submitted, and even devoted
 " themselves to the holy seat, and paid tribute to it."
 So far that excellent historian. And whosoever takes
 a view of the constitution of Christendom at that
 time, how far the greatest kingdoms and principalities
 which do now controul that ambition were from
 any degree of strength and power ; that Italy was
 then crumbled into more distinct governments than
 it is at present ; that France (that is now entire) was
 under

under the command of very many sovereign princes; that Spain (which is now under one monâreh) was then divided into the several kingdoms of Castile, Arragon, Valéntia, Catalonia, Navarre, and Leon, when the Móors were possessed of a greater part of the whole than all the other Christian Kings; that England (which hath now Scotland annexed to it) was then (besides the unsettlement of the English provinces upon the contests in the Norman family) without any pretence to the dominion of Wales; and that Germany was under as many sovereign princes as it had names of cities and provinces; I say, whoever considers this, will not wonder at the starts made by many Popes in that age into a kind of power and authority in many kingdoms, how interrupted and contradicted soever it was.

And there need be no other representation of the small size and stature of Christianity at that time, than the influence that the Popes then had upon all the parts of Europe to inflame them with a zeal of going to the Holy Land; insomuch as an infinite number of all qualities ages and sexes enrolled themselves in that sacred warfare. The mark which they bore was a red cross sowed on the left shoulder, and the word in war, "God will have it so." By this frenzy, which we are now too good Christians to believe could proceed from any sober reflection of conscience or religion, so many millions of men (whereof were many thousand kings princes and noblemen of the highest extraction of Europe) and such vast treasure were consumed and lost, to no other purpose than to discover the falsehood and treachery of the Christians of another climate; who would rather have their faith impaired by the Infidels, than their sessions

CHAP. sessions disturbed or endangered by the access of
 IV. such armies of their own religion, out of a curiosity no way warranted by religion. And so the Christians of those parts contributed more to the destruction of their wandering brethren, than all the power of the Pagans did or could do. By this sottish stratagem the Popes made no small advance towards the usurpation of that authority, which they would have the world look upon as the pure legacy bequeathed to them by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the service of his church and the good of mankind. But that the world had no more opinion of it then than it hath now, will appear by what follows.

Gelasius II. Gelasius the Second, as hath been said before, succeeded Paschal, and as soon as he was chosen (being at that time no priest) two citizens of Rome fell upon him, and the body of the Cardinals together; Cincius pulling the Pope to the ground by the hair, and giving him many wounds, whilst Leon used many of the other Cardinals as ill; and the Emperor Henry the Fifth, who stood excommunicated and deprived by Paschal, came quickly to Rome, and forced him to fly from thence, and caused Gregory the Archbishop of Braga to be chosen Pope, who absolved the Emperor, made Cardinals, and did all that Popes used to do; whilst Gelasius fled into France, and died there in a monastery.

Calixtus II. After the death of Gelasius, the five Cardinals who were with him in the monastery when he died chose the Archbishop of Vienna to be Pope; who, though he accepted the election, forbore to exercise any jurisdiction till he had procured the approbation of the rest of the Cardinals who had been absent; and then he

he took the name of Calixtus the Second, and came to Rome and was crowned, (Gregory flying out of the city,) and shortly after made a full agreement with the Emperor; the Pope granting to him other powers over the chapters in Germany, in recompence of the investitures which the Emperor was contented to part with. CHAP. IV.

After the death of Calixtus, the Cardinal di Santa Anastasia was chosen without any exception, and called himself Celestin the Second. But Leon, a great citizen of Rome, protested against the election, and incensed the people to that degree that they declared they would have Lambert, Bishop of Astia, to be chosen Pope, and prevailed so far that the Cardinals revoked their former election and chose Lambert, who called himself Honorius the Second; and Celestin was so tender of the peace of the church and the city, that he renounced to Honorius; upon which as good a pontifical history as any is, says, that though the entrance of this Pope might seem somewhat violent, yet his administration was so good and commendable, that afterwards his election was taken to be very canonical. Celestin II.
Honorius II.

France would in this time have recovered itself from the Pope's jurisdiction, which their own differences amongst themselves had brought upon them, if the same contentions had not still broken out to have continued, and improved it. They had Councils there very frequently; and every Council produced more controversies than it resolved. In the year one thousand twenty-nine there was a Council called at Lymoges, upon a contest that had arisen, whether they ought to give the title of Apostle or of Confessor to St. Martial, who had been Bishop of that place. State of the Gallican Church. Council of Lymoges. A. D. 1029.

CHAP. place. Such frivolous questions as these (says the
 IV. French historian) proceeded from the ambition of prelates ; who, to have the precedence before others, attributed the foundation of their churches to the Apostles and Disciples of Jesus Christ ; and to this end forged stories, and perverted all history. Wherever the fault was, the church and the crown sustained the damage ; for an appeal of the one or the other side always carried the matter to Rome, where great use was made of it. So this business of St. Martial having been in vain agitated in several Councils after that at Lymoges, was again debated in another at Beauvais ; and afterwards the Pope's judgment was demanded, who declared that St. Martial ought to be revered as an apostle : for the wisdom of the court of Rome always took care never to discountenance any contest for the frivolousness, nor to judge on either side, (which in most cases would have been the most equal judgment,) but it always gratified one party, without which the litigation could never have been kept up. However the Bishops found, that though they gratified his particular passions and humours in those proceedings, besides the prejudice that was thereby brought upon the privilege of the Gallican Church, the mischief fell in general upon themselves in their several jurisdictions ; for when any person of condition was excommunicated, or otherwise grieved by them in their own diocese, he presently had recourse to the holy chair, which (whatever it did afterwards) always obliged the parties to attend. Complaint being made thereupon in the second Council at Lymoges, a decree was there passed, " That nobody could receive
 " absolution from the Popes except he were sent to
 " him

Council of
 Beauvais.

“him with a letter from his own Bishop.” But that restrained few angry men from repairing to Rome; and it never hindered the Pope from receiving their complaint; and Gregory the Seventh declared it as a rule in law, “That no man should be so bold to condemn any person for appealing to the holy seat.”

Lewis the Sixth, whom the French call Louis le Gros, had always shewed great respect towards the church, and was desirous to support all their privileges; but the Bishops treated him with so much insolence that he withdrew his favour and kindness from them. They would not suffer him to have any thing to do in the nomination to benefices, as contrary (as they said) to the privilege of the Gallican Church, though his predecessors had enjoyed it. Upon which he seized their lands, and would have imprisoned some of their persons, if they had not concealed themselves, or fled out of his power. The Bishop of Paris and the Archbishop of Sens had more courage, and after many expostulations with him they presumed in the end to excommunicate him; which compelled him to have recourse to the Pope, Honorius the Second, who willingly accepted the appeal, disannulled their censures, and declared them to be void, but yet would not permit the King to proceed by justice against them; so that it was plain enough that he did not allow them to be entirely his subjects.

Next to Honorius, Innocent the Second succeeded, who presently made war upon Roger King of Sicily, and was therein together with many of the Cardinals taken prisoner. Thereupon Leon the citizen of Rome (whom I have mentioned before) got himself chosen Pope, and was called Anacletus.

CHAP. cent shortly after getting out of prison, and flying
 IV. into France, called a council there, condemned Ana-
 Anacletus. cletus for an heretic and schismatic, and then pre-
 vailed with the Emperor Lotharius to march with an
 army into Italy; where they entered Rome without
 resistance, and the Emperor was crowned by the
 Pope.

Victor VIII. But the Pope enjoyed very little peace; for though;
 upon the death of Anacletus, the Cardinal of the
 twelve Apostles, who was chosen in his place and
 called Victor the Eighth, presently submitted to the
 Pope, upon the making all his friends cardinals; yet
 the senators of Rome gave him so much vexation
 in excluding him from any part of the temporal ju-
 risdiction, that he called a council in St. John de
 Council of Lateran. St. John de
 Lateran. Lateran, and excommunicated them, which they con-
 demned; and he was afterwards in another battle,
 which he fought with Roger King of Sicily, again
 taken prisoner, and kept till he agreed with the King
 upon his own terms, and thereby obliged himself to
 join with him against the Emperor.

Council of Estampes. In that contest between Innocent and Anacletus;
 Council of Louis le Gros found his want of power; for though
 Estampes. he was most inclined to Innocent, (against whose
 election there could be no objection,) yet he thought
 it necessary to call a council, which he did at Es-
 tampes, and desired to know which side he ought to
 take. St. Bernard the Abbot of Clervaux sustained
 very strongly the interest of Innocent, and had so
 much credit, that much the major part of the assem-
 bly was of his mind. But the council of the Bishop
 of Angoulesme, (to whom Anacletus had sent again
 the legation of Aquitaine, which had before been
 taken from him) was so powerful, that the King's
 declaring

declaring for Innocent did him little good ; so that he was forced to repair to the Emperor, (as I said before,) which made him the more undervalue the King.

In his successor's time, Lewis the Seventh had a difference with the clergy of Burgos about the election of their Archbishop. The clergy had chosen Peter de la Chastre, a very pious and learned man ; but the King not liking him, or having designed that charge for another, refused to give his consent to the election ; and thereupon Peter being of a very quiet and peaceable nature, desired to desist from the prosecution of his right ; but Pope Innocent would not consent to it, and commanded him to do his office, and the King as much resolved to hinder him ; whereupon followed great disorders, which were at last heightened to that degree, that the Pope excommunicated the King, and put the kingdom under an interdict that produced great troubles and war in the kingdom for two or three years.

Upon the interposition of St. Bernard, the King was at length prevailed upon to yield, and likewise to raise an army, and in person to conduct it to the Holy Land ; whereof let the success be what it would (as it was always very unfortunate) the Popes were still great gainers, and extended their power by the opportunity very far in the West, how ill soever the armies prospered in the East. Worse they could not at any time do than they did in this expedition of Lewis, in conjunction with the Emperor Conrade, either of them having levied vast armies : though they had marched several ways, they both met at Jerusalem, after Lewis had taken Antioch in his way, and they agreed to besiege Damascus ; but that design, as all others of that kind, was miserably broken by the per-

His crusade
with the
Emperor
Conrade.

CHAP. IV. fidiousness and even open acts of treason and violence committed by the Eastern Christians; which might have prevented any more engagements for the future, if the world had not been strangely infatuated with those enthusiasms. The people indeed were at that present much incensed against St. Bernard, who had taken upon him by his spirit of prophecy to foretell a most glorious success of that enterprize; notwithstanding which Lucius the Second was very importunate with him within a year or two to preach up another crusade, and to have gone himself in person into the Holy Land; which he believed would have carried a great number of people with him: but St. Bernard's monks would by no means suffer him to engage himself farther in that affair, in which he had already lost so much credit: besides which, St. Bernard was at that time engaged in a business of much more consequence to the church, which was in continual disputation and preaching against the Albigenses, whose opinions had been spread abroad by one Henry, who had been a monk, with great applause: these were almost the same opinions which the Calvinists have preached up in these latter ages, and which did at that time get much credit in the principal towns and cities of Languedoc, and upon the confines of the kingdom of Aragon.

Adrian IV. Three or four succeeding Popes were very ill used by the people, and often in danger of their lives, upon their pretences to the temporal power; and though our countryman Adrian the Fourth did a little restrain them, and interdicted the city of Rome because the people had in a tumult wounded a Cardinal, yet what he got at home he lost abroad: and the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa being offended with him,

him, forbade all his subjects to prosecute any appeals CHAP. IV. to Rome, and refused to receive any legate from him. —

After the death of Adrian, Alexander the Third succeeded, who reigned above twenty years, and who is so famous in our chronicles by his abominable proceeding with King Henry the Second upon the death of Thomas a Becket; yet he was so far from being looked upon with that reverence in Italy, that there was another schism in the church; and Victor the Fifth was chosen by a contrary party, who raised such tumults every day in Rome, that very many men were killed by them: and the Emperor, for determination of the difference, called a council at Pavia, and summoned both the pretenders to appear; which Alexander refusing to do, and Victor submitting, the Emperor declared him to be canonically chosen, and Alexander to be no Pope. Alexander thereupon called a council and excommunicated the Emperor and Victor, but durst not stand to what he had done, and fled into France. So that if our King Henry had not found such a condescension to be very suitable to his affairs both in England and in France, it is probable he might have declined so unjust and unreasonable an imposition.

The cause of this schism was extraordinary, and worth the naming; for the election was thought to be very fair, all the Cardinals except two having concurred in the election of Alexander. But the people of Rome, with those two other Cardinals, gave their voices for Octavian a Roman, who called himself Victor. It is true, there had been the decrees of several Popes which had granted the election to the Cardinals only, and it had been observed since the death of Nicholas the Second. But the Roman people pretended

CHAP. tended to have a greater part in it, and declared that
 IV. it was not in the power of the Popes to deprive them
 of a privilege which they said was, as it were, born
 with their church, and practised from the time of the
 Apostles; and it cannot be doubted but that it had
 been practised much longer than the other. The
 Emperor as positively rejected him because he had
 installed himself without his approbation; and Ger-
 many and many parts of Italy joined with the Em-
 peror, who was then with an army before Milan,
 upon some insolent behaviour of theirs towards him.
 So that Alexander fearing that the Emperor, when
 he should have tamed the pride of Milan, would
 come to Rome, and that his party would not be
 strong enough to withstand him, fled into France,
 and staid there above three years; and in a council
 at Clermont excommunicated the Emperor and Vic-
 tor, and all their adherents. At a town called Torcy,
 upon the river Loire, our Henry the Second of
 England and Lewis the Seventh of France together
 received the Pope with extreme submission. Both
 of them alighted from their horses, taking each one
 the reins of his bridle in their hand, and so conduct-
 ing him to his lodging; and our Henry believed
 himself to be upon as good terms with the Pope as
 Lewis, however it fell out afterwards.

Affair of
 Thomas a
 Becket.

Since the Roman writers are so solicitous in the
 collecting and publishing the records of that odious
 process, and strangers are easily induced to believe
 that the exercise of so extravagant a jurisdiction in
 the reign of so heroical a prince (who had extended
 his dominions farther by much than any of his pro-
 genitors had done) must be grounded upon some
 fixed and confessed right over the nation, and not
 from

from an original usurpation entered upon in that time, and when the usurper was not acknowledged by so considerable a part of Christendom; it will not be amiss to take a short view of that time, that we may see what motives could prevail with that high-spirited King to submit to so unheard of tyranny. That it was not from the constitution of the kingdom, or any pre-admitted power of the Pope formerly incorporated into the laws of the land, is very evident: for though it be very true, that the clergy enjoyed very great privileges and immunities, which had been granted to them by the extraordinary zeal of the age, and confirmed by former princes, whereby they had so great an influence upon the hearts of the people, that the Conqueror himself had been glad to make use of them, and William the Second, Henry the First, and King Stephen, had more need of them to uphold their usurpations, their ill titles being principally supported by the clergy, who in recompence thereof drew new confirmations and greater concessions from the crown; yet these privileges, how great soever, depended not at all upon the Bishop of Rome; nor were any persons more solicitous than the clergy themselves to keep the Pope from a pretence of power in the kingdom. The Bishops themselves had in the beginning of Becket's rebellious contests with the King consented in parliament, that for his disobedience all his goods and moveables should be at the King's mercy; and it is enacted (after the Archbishop had fled out of the kingdom to make some application to the Pope) that if any were found carrying letter or mandate from the Pope or Archbishop containing any interdiction of Christianity in England, he should be taken and
without

CHAP. without delay executed as a traitor, both to the King
 IV. and kingdom ; that whatsoever Bishop, priest, monk, &c. should have and retain any such letters, should forfeit all their possessions, goods, and chattels to the King, and be presently banished the realm with their kin ; that none should appeal to the Pope ; and many other particulars, which enough declare the temper of that Catholic time, and the aversion there was to have any dependance upon a foreign jurisdiction. And after the death of Becket, and that infamous submission of the King to the Pope's sentence thereupon, when the same King desired to assist the successor of that Pope, Lucius the Third, when he was driven out of Rome, and to that purpose endeavoured to raise a collection from the clergy, (which the Pope's Nuncio appeared in and hoped to advance,) the clergy were so jealous of having to do with the Pope or his ministers, that they declared and advised the King, that his Majesty would supply the Pope in such a proportion as he thought fit ; and that whatever they gave might be to the King himself, and not to the Pope's Nuncio, which might be drawn into example to the detriment of the kingdom.

Causes of Henry the Second's extraordinary submission to the Pope.

The truth is, the King himself first shewed the way to Thomas a Becket to apply himself to the Pope, till when, the Archbishop insisted only upon his own rights and power ; for the King not being able to bear the insolency of the man, and finding that he should be able enough to govern his other Bishops, if they were not subjected to the power and authority of that perverse Archbishop, was willing to give the Pope authority to assist him ; and he did all he could to persuade the Pope to make the Archbishop

bishop of York his legate, meaning thereby to divest the other Archbishop of that authority which was so troublesome to him, and which he exercised in his own right. But the Pope durst not gratify the King therein, knowing the spirit of the Archbishop, and that he would contemn the legate, as the supreme ecclesiastical power resided in his own person as Archbishop of Canterbury: yet he sent to advise him to submit to the King, and then the haughty Prelate fled out of the kingdom, and was too hard for the King with the Pope, and was content to be assisted himself with the Pope's authority, that he might the better tyrannize over the rest of the Prelates. Being thus fortified with the Pope's bull, he suspended the Archbishop of York, and all the other Bishops who adhered to the King in the execution of his commands; which so much the more incensed the King, that his Majesty had (upon the intercession of the King of France, and in his presence) admitted the Archbishop to come to him in Normandy, and had told him, that what the greatest and most holy of all his predecessors had done to the meanest of the Kings, let him do the same, and it should suffice; and had afterwards given him leave to return into England, where, upon those his insolent proceedings, he was killed before the King left Normandy. It must be likewise remembered, that the King when he bore all that from the Pope was indeed but half a King, having caused his son Henry to be crowned King with him, who thereupon gave him so much trouble and joined with the French King against him; and that he had so large and great territories in France, where the Pope was generally received, and where his power was very great, and so his friend-

CHAP. friendship very necessary to the King. Lastly, (and
 IV. which it may be is of more weight than any thing
 that hath been said in this disquisition,) it may seem
 a very natural judgment of God Almighty, that the
 Pope should exercise that unreasonable jurisdiction
 over a King who had first given him an absurd and
 unlawful jurisdiction over himself, and for an unjust
 end; when he obtained from Pope Adrian our coun-
 tryman a dispensation not to perform his oath which
 he had taken, that his brother Geoffrey should en-
 joy the county of Anjou according to the will and
 desire of his father; and by virtue of that dispensa-
 tion (which the Pope had no power to give) defraud-
 ed his brother of his inheritance, and broke his oath
 to God Almighty, and so was afterwards forced him-
 self to yield to him, when he assumed a power over
 him in a case he had nothing to do with, and where
 he had no mind to obey him; and this is all I shall
 say to that matter.

Conclusion
 of that af-
 fair.

Though neither the fact supposed, nor the process
 thereupon was such as they have been generally re-
 ported to have been, (for it evidently appeared, and
 the Pope believed, that the King was not privy to the
 death of the Archbishop, but extremely afflicted for
 it, nor had the least purpose or imagination that any-
 body should attempt it,) yet it was evident that upon
 his choleric expressions and hasty words those de-
 sperate persons had performed that assassination.
 After the Pope and he had for some years struggled
 who should appear to have the more courage, (the
 Pope having for some time in great passion refused
 to give his ambassadors audience, and the King pro-
 secuting his other business and making an entire
 conquest of the kingdom of Ireland, and every way
 increasing

increasing his greatness and dominions, and often speaking in such a manner that it might come to the ears of the Pope, that he had received propositions from the Emperor about joining with him in the acknowledgment of Victor, and as if he would hearken to it in case he were not better used,) the Pope grew more moderate than he had been, and professed great respect to the King, if he would make himself capable of receiving it, and sent two legates into Normandy, as if they should proceed farther into England, to examine all the evidence that could be produced concerning the assassination of the Archbishop. The Pope however knew well that the King would not suffer his legates to enter into England, and Henry was contented himself to go into Normandy, as a place he could better treat in, and at the same time be ready to oppose all the machinations of the King of France, who he knew used his utmost endeavours to incense the Pope against him and to drive all to the highest extremities. The success of the treaty was, after long debate, that the King purged himself by his oath (laying his hands upon certain relics of saints and upon the Evangelists) of commanding or consenting to the murder of Becket; and farther consented to certain articles, and swore to observe them, whereof the principal was, that he would adhere to Alexander and his Catholic successors, if they should treat him as a Catholic King; that all persons should have liberty to prosecute their appeals to Rome; and that the King himself would within four years undertake the Cross and go himself to the Holy Land, except the Pope thought fit to dispense with it: the other articles were of less moment; and hereupon that business, which had depended

CHAP. pended near if not full four years, and filled all the
 IV. mouths of Christendom, was determined; and the
 Pope and the King were ever afterwards good friends,
 without the King's ever seeing the Pope, or subject-
 ing his person to any indignities, which was not
 only ridiculously reported, but was dispersed abroad
 in books and writings of that time, and was I believe
 credited by Machiavel, when in his history of Flo-
 rence, mentioning that time about which this contest
 was, he says, "that so great and powerful a King (as
 " no doubt he was the greatest prince then in Eu-
 " rope) was content to submit to such a judgment,
 " *che hoggi un homo privato si vergonerebbe a sotto-*
 " *mettersi*—that a gentleman (at the time he writ)
 " would have been ashamed to have submitted to it:"
 and he adds, "that it was the more wonderful in
 " that the Pope, while he exercised such authority
 " over princes who were far off, could not be obeyed
 " by the Romans, nor would they suffer him to re-
 " side in their city."

The Pope's
 assumption
 of power
 over the
 crown of
 Portugal.

How excessive soever this power was which this
 great spirited Pope had opportunity to exercise in
 England, and how little soever he had in Rome it-
 self, there can be no doubt that in that time it met
 with little resistance in Europe, in many parts where-
 of he used it with more extravagance and insolence
 than he did in England. Portugal in his time, or a
 little before, had raised itself into the reputation or
 appellation of a kingdom; for Don Alonso, who was
 the Prince, or Condé, or Duke, (for the historians do
 not agree upon his title,) some days before his great
 battle against the Moors (in which there were five
 Kings against him, all whom he conquered) had, to
 please his own army, and that he might have the
 greater

greater authority over them, assumed the name of King, and continued it many years after, without any contradiction from any of his neighbours; but when Alexander the Third came to be Pope, he let him know that he could not wear that title if it were not confirmed by him, and sent him withal a bull; wherein he confirmed to him the title of King, but reserved as a certain tribute to be paid every year to himself and his successors as Popes, “*dos marcas de oro*;” which Mariana says he doth not know whether it was paid in those times, but he says in the present age, “*Siempre a quel reyno se ha tenido por libre de todo panto.*” Lastly, (for nothing can be added after this,) this Pope Alexander, after he had reduced the Emperor Frederic to so miserable a condition that he could no longer contend with him, and refused to receive any ambassador, or messenger, or letter from him, was prevailed with to give the Emperor leave to attend him personally in Venice, where the Pope then was; and what his treatment was there, we may best understand by the account his Holiness gives of it in his bull of absolution; in which, after a large relation of all that passed, he adds these words, “*Et cum ascenderemus palafredum nostrum ibi paratum, stapham tenuit, et omnem honorem et reverentiam nobis exhibuit quam predecessores ejus nostris consueverunt antecessoribus*.”^a And now I hope it appears that our Harry the Second was treated with much less tyranny; and as the length of his reign (which was full twenty-one years) very much advanced his power, so probably if he

CHAP.
IV.

His insolent treatment of the Emperor Frederic.

^a Bull. tom. i. Alex. III.

CHA P. had lived longer, he might have extended his domi-
 IV. nion in the East as far as he did in the West.

Crusade of
 Richard I.
 of England,
 and Philip
 II. of
 France.

The five succeeding Popes did not reign above nine years ; yet, upon that stock of spirit that Alexander had left, they kept up their dignity, and prosecuted still the design he had left ripe of engaging the two Kings of England and France, who alone had power to restrain their encroachments, in a new enterprize upon the Holy Land. And our Richard (upon compunction for his undutiful carriage towards his father) and Philip the Second of France, frankly undertook the expedition, each of them at the head of a very puissant army, to which multitudes of all degrees flocked upon the bull of Gregory the Eighth ; by which they believed that whosoever died in that war was sure to go to heaven. It cannot be enough wondered at, that so many people could be deceived by such an invitation ; the clause being, “ *Eis qui corde contrito et humiliato spiritu, itineris hujus laborem assumpserint, et in pœnitentiâ peccatorum et fide rectâ decesserint, plenam eorum criminum indulgentiam et vitam pollicemur æternam ;*” which conditions if they had observed at home, they had been as sure of salvation, as if they had never gone : and the same, or the like clauses, are still in all those bulls of indulgencies which are scattered throughout all Catholic countries, with an obligation of visiting some churches even in the same town, and which the people flock unto on those days, as if that only entitled them to the forgiveness of their sins ; without considering the other conditions, which would better do the business. There was indeed in the bulls another clause that probably brought

Bull of
 Gregory
 VIII.

brought more desperate persons to attend those marches, which was, “ that they should be free from CHAP.
IV. “ the payment of any usury for the debts they “ owed ;” which though a matter so temporal that it exceeded the Pope’s jurisdiction, the temporal princes never considered the encroachment and usurpation, but were satisfied in that they found it added great numbers of men to the armies. The success of that voyage is enough known ; and that though the two Kings met and besieged the strong city of Acre, in which the Emperor Saladin then was, and had it delivered to them upon conditions, by which all the inhabitants remained prisoners, or rather hostages for the performance of the other articles, and were equally divided between the two Kings, they presently grew jealous of each other, and studied more how they might contrive a mischief against one another, than to advance the conquest against the common enemy. Philip of France refused to march farther, and returned home with the consent of Richard ; and upon his oath, taken with all solemnity, that he would not commit any hostile action upon any of the dominions of King Richard in France ; which oath he broke as soon as he returned. And Richard, after he had marched to Jerusalem, found it convenient to make a cessation with Saladin for three years, and so returned without due consideration of his journey, in order that he might prevent the mischief which threatened him by a combination between the King of France and his brother John, who at once invaded his dominions in both kingdoms. He was taken prisoner by the Duke of Austria as he passed through his country with one single servant, and was delivered by him to the Emperor ; who (in

CHAP. IV. spite of all the interposition and threats of the Pope, that he would excommunicate them if they detained him) kept him prisoner, till, after above a year's detention, he paid a very great sum of money for his ransom; upon which he was delivered without having gained more by his most expensive voyage than the reputation of a very courageous prince; the French writers saying of him, that he performed so many actions of a prodigious valour; that they almost surpassed the belief, as well as the ordinary force, of men; in a word, he had certainly conquered the Holy Land, if the jealousy of Hugo Duke of Burgundy had not stopped his progress^a.

Wars between Richard I. and Philip II.

Celestin III.

In the war that was in France, (after the redemption and return of Richard,) which was full of cruelty, the animosity of the two kings being in the height, it happened that the Bishop of Beauvais (who was cousin-german to the King) was taken in the battle armed and fighting by the soldiers of Richard, who caused him to be put in a very strict and unpleasant prison. Philip knew not how to redeem him, but prevailed with the Pope, Celestin the Third, to interpose his recommendation and mediation with Richard for his deliverance; and in his letters to the King he called this Bishop "his dear son." Richard writ a letter back to his Holiness, in which he made a large relation of the action in which he was taken, with all the circumstances thereof; and gave the messenger, by whom he sent the letter, the Bishop's arms and coat of mail, all bloody, and commanded him to shew it to the Pope, and to ask him; "*Sanctissime Pater, an hæc est tunica filii tui?*" The

^a Mezeray, Life of Philip.

Pope answered, that the treatment that had been used towards this Prelate was very just, since he had CHAP. IV.

quitted the warfare of Jesus Christ to follow that of this world. I choose to make this relation, (the matter of it being common in all men's mouths) not only because it fell out in this time of Celestin, and very little before the death of Richard, but because it is so different from that which the next Pope gave to the same King Philip in the very like case. It happened shortly after that, in the war between the same King of France and the Earl of Flanders, that the King's soldiers took Peter Bishop of Cambray prisoner, who had a great command in the other army. The Pope, who was now Innocent the Third, sent a round letter to the King, and required the liberty of the Bishop; and the King as positively refused to deliver him; whereupon the Pope commanded his Legate to put the kingdom of France under an interdict, which he without any pause performed; and the King expostulating in vain, at the end of three months was constrained to set his prisoner at liberty. The case was clearly the same; but Richard was a rough man, and would not be ill used or provoked but he would take signal revenge. Others may think that there was a great difference between the spirit of Celestin the Third and Innocent the Third; and that the last would have been a more equal match for our King Richard: and yet Pope Celestin shewed more than ordinary courage against Philip, which made his respect to Richard more notorious. For Philip, having buried his former wife, married Isembergh the daughter of the King of Denmark, a lady of great beauty and virtue; but he was quickly so unsatisfied with her, that, without giving
any

CHAP. any reason, he left her and married Agnes daughter
IV. to the Duke of Dalmatia, with whom he lived with
much satisfaction and consent. Canute King of Denmark, and brother of Isembergh, would not brook the repudiating his sister, (whom Philip had shut up in a nunnery,) but sent ambassadors to Pope Celestin to complain of the injury and indignity done to himself and his sister, in King Philip's having taken another wife. The Pope sent two Legates into France to examine the affair, who called an assembly of the French prelates to Dijon; and though the King had put in an appeal to the Pope himself, they proceeded and published a sentence of interdict upon the whole kingdom, in presence of, and with the consent of, all the Bishops. Philip, who had always shewed great respect to the church, let loose all his anger and choler against his own clergy and ecclesiastics, whom he looked upon as the contrivers of this affront and inquiry; and therefore, in his fury, he drove the Bishops from their sees, the prebends from their churches, the curés out of their parishes, and seized upon their goods. The interdict continued seven months; in which time the King, by great importunity and many professions of duty and entire deference to his Holiness's determination, so prevailed, that another assembly was appointed to meet at Soissons, where Philip, (after he had used all the devices he could,) finding the cause would go against him, went one morning to the monastery, and took Isembergh out of her lodgings, and caused her to be set behind him on horseback, and so carried her away; and sent one to the Legate to let him know that he did acknowledge and would have her for his wife. About the end of the year Agnes
her

her rival died; having lived five years with the King, and had by him a son and a daughter, both whom Innocent the Third afterwards legitimated. CHAP.
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We now come to the time of Innocent the Third, who seemed to have the spirit of Alexander the Third doubled upon him, and lived almost as long as he did, (for he reigned eighteen years,) to cultivate all those occasions which fell out in the several kingdoms of Europe to contribute to his greatness. And there were several contingencies, which in the very entrance of his reign looked like a good omen to him. The voyages of so many Christian princes (how unprosperous soever) with such vast armies to the Holy Land, had made wonderful impression in the East upon all those who feared the mighty power of the Saracens; and so the King of Armenia made a voyage to Rome to solicit for new forces to be sent thither. Innocent received him graciously, and sent him home with more promises than ever he intended to make good; and in the mean time (as if he had come only for that purpose) vouchsafed to crown him by a bull, as a record of his own greatness, “ *Gaudemus quod &c. Sed ad honorem et gloriam Apostolicæ sedis, quam constitutam esse novisti super gentes et regna, Diadema regni recepisti de manibus ejus, et enim curasti devotè ac humiliter honorare, et Nos per ipsum et literas tuas ad Orientis talis terræ subsidium invitasti &c.*” and so he returned with some relics of saints, and an opinion that the Pope was the only powerful prince of the West. The King of Bohemia gave him another opportunity to exercise his sovereignty more notoriously. There was then great trouble in Germany by the opposition which Otho the Emperor met with from the

CHAP. IV. other princes, who were more inclined to the Duke of Suevia: but the Pope had prevailed with the King of Bohemia to quit the other party, and to adhere to Otho; and now, upon the King of Bohemia's coming to Rome, the Pope would do him some grace; and to contribute to his greatness he declares by his bull, "*Licet ante tuæ promotionis tempora, multi fuerint in Bohemiâ Regio Diademate insigniti, nunquam tamen potuerunt a predecessoribus nostris Romanis Pontificibus obtinere, ut Reges eos in suis literis nominarent.*" But because he had left the party of the Duke of Suevia at the Pope's desire, and adhered to Otho the Emperor, &c. "*tam intuitu precum ejus, quam tuæ devotionis obtentu, Regem te de cætero reputare volumus et vocare; Tu igitur taliter gratiam tibi factam agnoscas &c.*" and so dismissed him with giving him what he and his predecessors had long enjoyed; a device that court frequently used, that they might seem to consent, and to confirm what they could not deny, or take away. Indeed Don Pedro of Arragon was more indebted to him; for though he had nothing but what he had with signal courage got and won from the Moors, yet neither the King of Castile, (who thought all belonged to him,) nor the other princes, would allow him to be a King: he therefore applied himself to the Pope, who was glad of the occasion to shew his power, and with great solemnity crowned him in the monastery of St. Pancras in Rome; which having repeated in his bull, he adds, "*Nos gratiam tibi a nobis exhibitam ad successores tuos derivari volentes &c.*" grants authority to the Archbishop of Taragona to crown them in Zaragoza; "*Et quoniam jure civili statutum est, ut mulieres maritorum honoribus*"
 " de-

“*décorentur, presentium auctoritate, concedimus ut* CHAP.
 “*per manus ejusdem Archiepiscopi eas liceat coro-* IV.

“*nari.*” And Mariana confesses, that, in lieu of this great grace from the Pope, Don Pedro made his kingdom tributary to his Holiness, and agreed and promised to pay “*cada uno cierta cantidad de oro, cosa que llevaron mal los naturales,*” which, he says, “his subjects took very ill.” These several opportunities falling out shortly after his coming to the holy chair, could not but prepare all the neighbour princes (most whereof either at present did, or were like shortly to want his assistance) to look upon him with more than ordinary reverence.

The Pope thought no more of the desire and sup-^{Crusade}plication of the King of Armenia, or of prosecuting ^{against the}the war in Palestine, but found other use of his spi-^{Albigenses.}ritual artillery nearer home. Notwithstanding all the preaching of St. Bernard, who was now dead, the Albigenses and Waldenses spread their heresies very far, even over all the province of Languedoc. They preached directly against that power which the Popes assumed; and declared “that the Pope had “no power to pardon sins—that the body of our “Saviour was not really in the sacrament of the al-“tar—that the holy water had no virtue to those “ends for which it was used, and that the prayers “which the priests made for the dead did no good;” and many other things, which are all reckoned up by Mariana; who confesses that many persons of qua-
 lity, princes, condés, &c. much favoured those Albigenses; and says, that many did believe that the King of Arragon favoured them too much, because those great towns where they were most sheltered were very much devoted to him. St. Dominic

CHAP. was the most famous preacher at this time, and, Ma-
IV. riana says, converted many of them. But Pope In-
nocent the Third proved much the more effectual
preacher. He had first sent Peter of Chateaucuf
his Legate into Languedoc to give all the counte-
nance he could to the Catholics, and to incense and
to unite them against those he called heretics; and
he being active in his charge, Raymond the Count
of Thoulouse (who was a sovereign prince, and an es-
pecial supporter of the Albigenses) caused him to be
killed. The Pope, herewith enraged, excommuni-
cated the Count, and gave his lands to the first pos-
sessor; which would not have frightened him; and
therefore the Pope applied that zeal, which had used
to encourage the people to the deliverance of the
Holy Land, now to the destruction of the heretics,
and caused a crusade to be preached against them;
whereupon a great number of lords and prelates en-
rolled themselves in this warfare. Raymond Count
of Thoulouse was indeed so terrified with this, that he
came to Valence to wait upon Mylon, Legate of the
Pope, and submitted himself entirely to the Pope's
discretion, and gave eight strong places to the Ro-
man Church for ever as a pledge of his conversion.
Nor could he yet hereby procure his absolution till
he suffered himself to be whipped with rods at the
gate of St. Giles's church, where Peter of Chateau-
neuf was buried, and to be dragged from thence to
his tomb by the Legate, who laid the stole on his
neck in the presence of twenty Archbishops, and an
infinite number of people. Mariana will not ac-
knowledge that this crusade was granted against the
Albigenses, (who could not but be acknowledged to be
Christians,) but says it was granted against the
Moors

Moors in Spain. And indeed though the Pope never contributed to that war, there was some difference in the cross; for they who went to the Holy Land wore the cross upon the shoulder, those against the heretics upon their breasts, but the indulgence was the same. The general rendezvous of this new army was at Lyons, from whence they marched into Languedoc under the command of Simon Montfort, who was by a general consent chosen to command it. Their first attack was upon Beziers, one of the strongest towns the Albigenes were possessed of; who for some time defended themselves well; but at last the Crusaders entered and exercised all manner of cruelty, putting man woman and child to the sword, insomuch as there were at last (as Mezeray confesses) three score thousand persons killed there; which put so great a consternation upon those of Carcassonne, (a very considerable place too,) that they rendered at discretion, and were glad to march away only in their shirts.

Upon these victories, and for the better encouragement to prosecute what yet remained to be done, the Count Montfort received the bulls of Pope Innocent, which (in pursuance of a decree that had been made in the council held at Montpelier some months before) granted to him and his heirs all the lands which lay about Thoulouse, which yet held out, and also all other lands and places which had been conquered by the Crusaders, on condition that he should take the investiture of them from the King of France, and pay him his feudal duties; which was all that King got by this devouring unchristian war, to which he had contributed an army of fifteen thousand men; nor was he probably like to keep it long, for

all

CHAP. all those places were of right holden of the King of
 IV. Arragon, and, if they were forfeited, did of right be-
 long to him. Mariana also confesses, that after Simon
 Montfort had taken Thoulouse and was made Condé
 of it in his own right, the King of Arragon (who was
 suspected to incline to the heretics) died; and then
 the Pope by mediation and by threats wrought so
 with Simon Montfort, that both Thoulouse, Carcas-
 sonne, Narbonne, and other places, were restored to
 the young King of Arragon, when he was but six
 years of age. Simon Montfort was not complied
 with in all that was promised, and therefore endea-
 voured to recover it by force, but was killed in the
 attempt: and his son Americo (not being able to
 support the war that was necessary for the recovery
 of so great territories) renounced and conveyed his
 right to the King of France, who, besides other re-
 compence, made him Constable of France; and this
 was the first and original title that crown had to
 Languedoc. In this manner the resolute Pope made
 himself very terrible to all men, whilst he seemed
 only to court Philip of France, rather out of kind-
 ness than fear; for Philip's hands were full with the
 war he had with Otho the Emperor, and with John
 the usurper in England, from whom he took most
 of his dominions in France, whilst John had work
 enough to keep his sovereignty in England: so that
 Germany and France and England being in war
 against one another, and the many Christian Kings
 in Spain (whereof two had made themselves tribu-
 tary to Rome) being in continual war against the
 Moors, the Pope was at leisure without controul to
 increase his own greatness, and extend his jurisdic-
 tion; which he transported into England with another
 kind

kind of omnipotence than he practised in any other kingdom. CHAP.
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And indeed the Popes found not so much tameness any where as in England, nor exercised their jurisdiction any where so wantonly, as in the reign of those two Kings Henry the Second and King John; of which their successors quickly shewed disdain enough, and by degrees freed themselves from a power that knew not how to be moderate. Nor can it be much wondered at, that the Pope should obtain any thing from King John, who had no title to the crown but usurpation, and had so many enemies to contend with in England and in France. To shew that the subjection to the Pope was not of the religion of that time, the most popular ground which the nobility alleged to justify their taking arms against the King was, the concessions he had made to the Pope. And the King himself in his greatest agonies afterwards, and when he was most perplexed, with much passion said, (as Matthew Paris, who is the best author of that time, reports,) "Since the time I sub-
"jected myself and my kingdom to the Church of
"Rome, nothing hath happened prosperously, but
"all things contrary to me." So that whatever the Pope got then in England is to be imputed to the guilt and weakness of the King, not to the consent of the time; and the Pope no sooner expressed his concernment for King John, than he lost his credit and authority with his friend the King of France.

Since the court of Rome hath so carefully preserved all the records of that odious proceeding against King John as of sovereign use to them, when their jurisdiction is questioned, I think it is not amiss in this place shortly to sum up that case, in
hope

The proceedings
between
Pope Innocent and
King John
of England.

John's defective title
to the
crown.

CHAP. IV. hope that Catholic princes will reflect upon the precedent, as no less to concern them, with all other monarchs, in that groundless presumption, than it did that poor unfortunate King, whom nobody pitied. All the writers of that age do acknowledge that Harry the Second (though he underwent mortification of very unusual kinds, all his children having been in rebellion and battle against him) died the greatest Christian King of the age in which he lived; and Richard his eldest son, who succeeded him, albeit he consumed much of his wealth, lost none of the dominions or honours that his father had left; and dying without children, the crown of right ought to have descended to Arthur, the son of Geoffrey of Anjou, his next brother; but John the younger brother of Richard, and the younger son of Harry, as he had in his father's life time rebelled against him, and afterwards against his brother Richard when he was King and in the Holy Land, so now as soon as he was dead possessed himself of the crown that belonged to his nephew, who was then in France; and found means, by a party he had in that kingdom, to seize his person and to take him prisoner, and within a short time after caused him to be murdered. This horrible parricide gave the French King advantage to summon him as his feudatory to appear at Paris, and in justice to defend himself against the charge for that foul murder, which neither his guilt nor his pride would suffer him to do; and so by a legal process Normandy was adjudged to be forfeited, and to escheat to the King, and from that time the legal title was never restored to the crown of England. Philip had also, before this forfeiture, seized upon many of his other dominions in France, merely by the
the

the advantage of his power, and so pursued it afterwards, that in a short time he possessed himself of all or very near all that belonged to John in France. CHAP. IV.

By his ill government in England, John had lost the affections of his nobility and people there, who refused to give him any assistance towards the recovery of what was taken from him in France. And he then agreed with his lords, and solemnly took an oath to perform all he promised to them; upon which they did all he desired of them: but this was no sooner done than he renounced all that he was engaged to do, and thereupon they withdrew themselves again from him. His wants and necessities increasing with his breach of faith and frequent perjuries, he next found that he could get most money (which was the only thing he cared for) from the church, and so he began to prey upon that, and required great sums of money from the Bishops and the monasteries, which at the first they were contented to pay; but their submission and obedience did but increase the King's demand; and then they refused to give him farther supplies. This incensed him to such a degree, that he seized upon their persons, received their rents, and possessed himself of their plate and money, as fast as he discovered where it lay. The Bishops fled out of the land and appealed to the Pope, (Innocent the Third,) who was well pleased with the opportunity, and promised them protection and relief; Philip of France using all his credit to inflame and incense the Pope; who was so willing to have a hand in the pulling down a house which he saw ready to fall, that he had already written to some of the Bishops, that they should let the King know that the dowager Queen (the wife of his brother

CHAP. brother Richard) had complained that he withheld
 IV. her jointure from her; to which complaint he could not but give ear, being bound to do justice to all; “*illius vicem licet immeritò gerentes in terris; qui hominis personam non accipit, sed cum tranquillitate judicans facit misericordiam et judicium omnibus injuriam patientibus, et reddit retributionem superbis.*” And he therefore wishes the Bishops to let the King know, that if he did not by a day there prescribed give the Queen just satisfaction, that he should then appoint some proctor to appear at Rome on his behalf, by a day likewise set down, to defend his cause; and if he should do neither, he should cause all those cities towns and castles, which had been assigned for the Queen’s jointure, to be sequestered for her use.

Now that the complaint of the church was brought before him, the Pope proceeded with more vigour; and though the King sent him many humble letters, and promised to observe all he commanded, yet he would not be put off with any promises, but writ roundly to him, that he had long enough expected whether he could recover him from his errors; “*Ecce tibi benedictionem et maledictionem proponimus ejus exemplo, qui per Moysen famulum suum benedictiones et maledictiones proposuit filiis Israël, ut eligas quam malueris, vel benedictionem si satisfeceris ad salutem, vel maledictionem si contempseris ad ruinam.*” This and much more you shall find in that Pope’s 232d Epistle, in the same imperious stile, advising him to submit and conform himself; “*Alioquin ejus exemplo qui populum suum de servitute Pharaonis in manu validâ liberavit, Anglicam Ecclesiam in forti brachio de servitute tuâ studebimus*
 “ libe-

“*liberare* ;” and so he wished John to make peace whilst he might have it, or, if he did not, he should find that when he had a mind to it he should not have it. The truth is, the King found himself so ill used by the Pope, and by the King of France, and by his own subjects, that he desired more to be revenged on every one of them, than to have a peace with any of them ; and thereupon he made a peace with France, that he might the less fear his own subjects ; and then with his subjects, that they might help him against the Pope and France ; and then with the Pope, that he might secure him against both ; until, by breaking the oaths he had made to every one of them, he made himself so odious to all, that none of them would trust him. But the Pope’s spiritual arms marched quicker, and did more speedy execution, than the other’s temporal could do ; for he (when the King had no credit left to deceive any more, because nobody would trust him) issued out his excommunication against him, which he seemed to neglect ; but when he found an interfection put upon the kingdom, and his subjects absolved from all the oaths they had taken to him, his spirits quite failed him ; whilst the Pope still added new mortification to him, and writ to the Bishops in his 237th Epistle ; “ that if he should die before he made ample satisfaction to the church, none of them, or any other, should presume *ullum de heredibus suis ungere vel coronare in Regem*,” and withal sent a bull to Philip King of France, by which he gave the whole kingdom of England to him and his heirs, and required them to seize upon it ; which Philip prepared an army presently to do, having encouragement enough likewise from those in England who were ready to join with him.

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CHAP. IV. It was now time for King John to bow, when he was ready to break, and so he made haste to implore the Pope's protection, almost in the stile of Innocent himself, making the lowest act of baseness to be the effect of the conviction of his conscience; "*Vobis lentes nos ipsos humiliare pro illo qui se pro nobis humiliavit usque ad mortem, gratiâ Sancti Spiritus inspirante, non vi inducti nec timore coacti sed nostrâ bonâ spontaneâque voluntate offerimus &c.*" Thus offering to give up the kingdom of England, with that of Ireland, to be held of his Holiness and his successor, upon the payment of a yearly tribute, which he desired him to accept, "*Vobis et successoribus vestris mille marcas annuatim reddendo.*" This wrought upon the tender bowels of Innocent, who presently sent a Legate over to comfort him, and to reduce all his own overtures into such a form, and to add such circumstances to it, that the Pope might be enabled to give him such a full protection, that it might be in nobody's power to hurt him. And thus having so amply divested himself of all manner of sovereignty, he might be truly and literally called the Pope's Beadsman; for he was reduced really to want of bread, which he received in monasteries, not without the good grace of the abbots and monks in the supplying. His Holiness vouchsafed to write to the King, (which stands recorded amongst his letters,) wherein he congratulates his sincere conversion, and promises his apostolical grace and favour; assuring him, "*Sicut in arcâ fœderis Domini, cum tabulis testamenti virga continebatur et manna, sic in pectore summi Pontificis cum scientiâ legis divinæ, rigor destructionis et favor dulcedinis continentur:*" and so, he says, he was inclined to help

help him, "*cum ad nos possis habere recursum, per quos multa poteris honestè perficere, quæ honestè perficere non possis per te ipsum.*"

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From this time it cannot be denied, that the Pope shewed himself a thorough friend to the King (if he were still worthy the name of a King) to all purposes. First he writes to the King of France, that England was now become the dominion of St. Peter, which he was obliged to protect, and defend from any violence; and therefore he desired and advised him to desist from making any farther warlike provisions to invade that kingdom; and, when he found that this advertisement made no impression upon Philip, but that on the contrary he proceeded the more vigorously in his preparation, he writ to him again, "That being preferred to the government of the universal church, he was obliged by the command of God to proceed in this affair according to the forms of the church, and to declare the King of France idolater and publican, if he did not manifest his right either before him or his Legate; for though it did not belong to him to judge of the scoff, yet it did to examine the sin." And a short time after he did excommunicate both that King, and Lewis his son, who succeeded him, because they would not give over that enterprise against John. After the King was brought to this entire obedience, and was become vassal to the Pope, his Holiness took care that he should be more a King than ever over his own subjects. He absolved him therefore from the observation of all oaths which he had made to them, as extorted from him by force; and excommunicated all who should presume to rebel against him. And hereupon John, finding the delight of be-

The Pope
takes John
under his
protection.

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ing no longer restrained by his oaths and promises, exercised new oppressions upon his Lords and his common people; resolving to take revenge upon them for what he had suffered from Rome or France.

The French
invade
England,
and upon
John's
death re-
turn to
France.

This, and the ill spirit of the time, which was too much inclined to rebellion, disposed the Lords to enter into a new combination and conspiracy, which they carried with so much secrecy, that it was concluded with Lewis the son of Philip, that they would put the kingdom into his hands, and become his true and faithful subjects, before the King had any notice of it: as if they might as lawfully give themselves up, without the King's consent, to become subjects to France, as the King might, without their consents, divest himself of being King, and make both himself and them subjects to the Pope. Lewis thought this bargain too advantageous for him to quit it, upon the terror of the Pope's spiritual artillery, how much terrified soever his father was with it; and so prosecuted it with such vigour, that he landed with a great army, and, without any opposition, marched to London, which was delivered to him by the discontented Lords; whereby he was upon the matter in possession of the whole kingdom, whilst the miserable King, without hope of an army, and with a very small train, went from place to place, and without welcome to any place, lamenting his misfortunes which he had drawn upon himself, and in a deep despair of finding any remedy: by which, and by the agony of his own mind, (rather than by poison which though suspected was never discovered,) he fell into a high burning fever, of which within few days he died; and left behind him the reputation of being the worst subject, and the worst son, the worst brother, and

and the worst friend, the worst King, and the worst Christian, that hath ever before or since sat upon the throne of England. This he had no other way to recover or preserve but by dying; and by his death much was quickly done towards both; for his son's title was unquestionable, and his youth and nature administered great hopes to the nation; and the Lords were already weary of their new sovereign Lewis, and he jealous of their fidelity, so that both contrived all the ways they could think of to compass each other's destruction. Under these circumstances (in a shorter time than could be imagined) the French were glad to get safely home; and the English more joyfully submitted themselves to their lawful King, who by too much desiring to take vengeance upon all his father's enemies, (which, how piously soever intended, was too great an undertaking,) did not escape some of his father's misfortunes.

To such an immense height did this great Pope, Innocent the Third, raise or carry his power and jurisdiction, that there was not a King or nation in Christendom that did not feel and undergo the insupportable burden of his pride and usurpation; the memory whereof ought to be as sensible and as terrible to all the monarchs of the world; since the evidence is too notorious, that his successors retain the same ambition, and think themselves injured to be without the same power, and cherish the seeds he sowed, that it may in due time grow up again to the same vigour. And in truth he had not a greater care to possess himself of all that authority which he thought himself worthy, but was as solicitous that his successors might ever enjoy the same; not so

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IV.

Character
of Innocent
III.

CHAP. much by his example, as by the just title to govern
 IV. all the world; (and he had little reason to doubt of the validity of their title, when he founded it always upon Scripture.) That the court might be answerable to the grandeur of the prince, he raised that also to another lustre than it had ever known before. This is the Pope who declared, that as God made the world he created two lights in the firmament of the heaven, the one to govern the day, and the other to rule the night; “*Sic ad firmamentum universalis ecclesiæ, quæ cæli nomine nuncupatur, duas magnas instituit dignitates, majorem quæ quasi diebus animabus præesset, et minorem quæ quasi noctibus præesset corporibus, quæ sunt Pontificalis auctoritas et Regalis potestas.*” And then he says, that as the moon borrowed the light of the sun because she is in all respects below and inferior to the other; “*Sic regalis potestas ab auctoritate Pontificalis suæ sortitur dignitatis splendorem, cujus conspectui quantum magis inhæret, tantum minori lumine decoratur; et quod plus ab ejus elongatur aspectu, eò plus proficit in splendorem.*” This is the Pope who declared, though not so publicly, (for we heard not of it till the time of Eugenius the Fourth,) that the Cardinals (who had not been mentioned in many hundred years after there were Bishops of Rome, and, after they were taken notice of, had always subscribed and taken place after all Bishops till about the year one thousand) had their original by God’s own institution in the Old Testament; and that what was said in the 17th chapter of Deuteronomy, *If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment, &c. And thou shalt come unto the priests, the Levites, and unto the judge that shall be in those days, and inquire;*

quire ; and they shall shew thee the sentence of judgment ; “ *de summo Pontifice intelligendum esse et fra-* CHAP.
tribus ejus, id est S. R. E. CARDINALIBUS, qui ei IV.
jure Levitico in executione sacerdotalis officii coad-
jutores existunt.” These foundations he laid for his successors, to support the greatness to which his example had prepared the way ; and it is now time to take a view with what success they endeavoured to tread in his footsteps.

Upon the death of Innocent, Honorius the Third was elected ; who first ordered upon a *sede vacante*, that the Cardinals should be shut up in the conclave till election should be made of a new Pope, which was not always observed afterwards, though in this last age the conformity to it hath been very punctual, notwithstanding some conclaves have been very long. He lost none of the respect his predecessor received, but enjoyed it with less noise and more affection ; and took more care to make Italy conformable to him than to meddle farther off, except by his Legate’s customary residence, to preserve the reverence that was paid him in other courts. This was improved by his exercise of another jurisdiction, with which many were pleased, and nobody was damned, because it had reference only to the next world, and did nobody any hurt in this ; and that was, the canonization of saints, which the world was better pleased with, than with the excommunications and interdictions of his predecessors. St. Francis and St. Dominic were his acquaintance and his friends ; and they were but a short time dead, before so many miracles were wrought by them, that he thought fit to canonize them both. The saint’s place, however, in those days did not cost half a quarter of the money

Honorius III.
Orders the Cardinals to be shut up in conclave for the election of a Pope.

St. Francis and St. Dominic canonized.

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St. Law-
rence ca-
nonized
A. D. 1225.

ney it now stands in ; nor was there so much cere-
mony or preparation necessary towards it as in these
days. The first canonization made by this Pope (for
he made more saints than all his predecessors before
him had done) was of St. Lawrence, "*Archiepiscopi*
"*Dublinensis, Regis ac Reginae Hiberniae filii* (as the
" bull says) *ejusque relatio in numerum Sanctorum.*
"*Confessorum, et festivitatis ejusdem praefinitio pro*
"*die 14 Nov.*" The canonization was by Pope Ho-
norus, the third year of his reign, one thousand two
hundred and twenty-five. What age the saint lived
in appears not ; and it will be hard to find that any
King in that time had the stile of "*Rex Hiberniae.*"
He was canonized upon the petition of the Archbi-
shop of Rouen, in whose diocese he died in his jour-
ney. The certificate upon which he was made a
saint was from Irish Bishops, and the Prior of the
Trinity in Dublin, "*Quod claudi gressum, caesi visum,*
"*surdi auditum, muti loquelam, leprosi mundationem,*
"*et variis afflicti languoribus sanitatem, ad invoca-*
"*tionem ejus nominis receperunt.*" Ribadineyra (who
hath written his life) was better informed ; for he
tells us that he was the son of Prince Maurice of the
blood royal of Ireland, and that he died in Normandy
as he was going to our King Henry the Second,
who was then in France. Honorius did all he could
in England to repair the mischief that had been done
by his predecessor, and constantly adhered to the
infant King's interest. And it cannot be denied that
his Legate or Nuncio did contribute very much by his
mediation, and by his threats of ecclesiastical cen-
sures, to reconcile the rebellious barons to the King,
and to restrain them from new impetuosities, to
which they were too frequently inclined, after they
were

were reconciled. However, as it did the King some good, so it preserved his own authority and jurisdiction in the kingdom, which had been so newly brought thither, and was burdensome and odious to the people, and to none more than the clergy, who enjoyed much greater privileges in their own right, and by virtue of old ecclesiastical constitutions, than they did or could do by any countenance from the Pope; which (though it sometimes served the turn of a refractory Bishop or abbot that had a mind to contradict or affront the King) never produced benefit to the body of the clergy, that yet was sure to pay dear for what others received.

After Honorius, Gregory the Ninth succeeded; a man of as great a spirit as any Gregory who had gone before him, or come after him; and he desired as much to be doing; but the times were not so favourable to him. The senators of Rome not only questioned, but denied his authority in temporal affairs, and all the neighbour kingdoms and provinces grew every day more composed within themselves, and thereby less apprehended his power. Harry the Third of England (who was too much the son of his father John) had too often occasion to use his omnipotence in giving leave to break his promises, and the oaths which (being sure of the remedy) he never made scruple to make for the obtaining any benefit or convenience. And the Pope never failed him in those occasions; but, knowing the value of it, exacted great rewards for the commodity. Once he sent a mandate to the King that he should prefer three hundred Romans to the first cures or dignities, or ecclesiastical preferments, which should fall vacant in England; and shortly after he sent his Legate to demand

CHAP. demand a great sum of money from the clergy ; but
IV. the King was not much troubled with those imperious desires ; which were so ungracious and unpopular, that the Lords and Clergy and People were always ready to take the refusal upon them. So the proposition for the preferment of so many ecclesiastical persons was rejected by the Bishops and clergy ; with protestation against his having any authority in those cases : and his other demand by his Legate for a great sum of money was the more popularly rejected, because the Emperor at the same time sent to the King, that he would not suffer any money to be raised or collected in his kingdom for the Pope ; inasmuch as all the Pope could get was employed against him, and to disturb the peace of Christendom, which he was more inclined to do than to prosecute a war against the Saracens. Hereupon the Clergy passionately and positively refused to contribute any thing, notwithstanding all the threats of the Legate ; and prevailed with the King that there might be a remonstrance prepared by the Parliament to the Pope and the Council that was then summoned to be at Lyons, against the great exactions of the Pope and his officers in England ; and therein to mention the vast sums of money that he had received out of the kingdom since his coming to the Papacy, and therefore to desire him that he would no more make any such desires or demands. This remonstrance being sent to the Pope, he rejected it with great pride and insolence, and some expressions undervaluing the King and Parliament ; the which being reported, a law was made, by which all men were prohibited to pay any money, upon what reason soever, to the Pope. But this gave him not the trouble

ble he received from the Emperor, whom he excommunicated, and who contemned his excommunication: for when the Pope called a Council at Rome, and had granted a crusade against the Emperor, the Emperor found means to seize upon the persons of ten or a dozen Cardinals and many Bishops, and kept them prisoners; so that they could not be present at the Council, nor would the Council proceed without them; and the Pope's spirit not being able to bear all these several kinds of vexations, he died of pure anguish of mind. This Pope, Gregory the Ninth, as if he had not thought St. Francis to be saint enough by the canonization which his predecessor Honorius had made, added by another Bull a testimony or verification, that St. Francis (though his modesty would not suffer it to be known whilst he lived) had the very marks in his flesh of our Saviour, "*Quod idem sanctus, cum adhuc spatium præsentis vitæ præcurreret, et postquam illud feliciter consummavit, manibus latere ac pedibus, specie stigmatum divinitus exstitit insignitus.*"

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All Italy itself was so weary of the perpetual contests with the Emperor, that upon the death of Gregory they made choice of Celestin the Fourth, who was known to be desirous of peace, and who would have brought it to pass if he had lived; but he died after he had reigned sixteen days; and when they were to enter into the conclave for a new election, those Cardinals who had been taken prisoners in the time of Gregory the Ninth, and who were still detained, sent their protestation against any election that should be made till they should be at liberty, which kept that chair empty for the space of full twenty months.

In

CHAP. In the end, Innocent the Fourth was chosen, prin-
 IV. cipally because he was generally thought to have
 Innocent great affection for the Emperor; but he quickly
 IV. deceived their expectation, and resolved to be rather like Innocent the Third than the man they took him to be. And therefore shortly after he was crowned, the Emperor being then in Italy, he thought it not safe to stay in Rome, but made haste into France, where he called a Council to assemble at Lyons, and the Emperor resolved likewise to go thither, being then at Turin: and there he heard that the Pope had renewed the excommunication that Gregory had before issued out against him. The Emperor had before, in the time of Gregory, (and to get reputation for his piety above the passion of the other,) undertaken the cross, and made a voyage to the Holy Land; where, his army being much wasted, he had entered into a treaty with the Sultan, who all agree was inclined thereunto rather for the respect he bore to the Emperor, than for the fear or apprehension of his army: and the city of Jerusalem had been delivered by the Sultan to the Emperor, (but dismantled,) and a good part of the land about the city; with which the Emperor was satisfied, and returned before, or immediately after, the death of Gregory. But the new Pope disliked and disavowed the treaty, declared it to be void, and published a new crusade for the carrying on the war; which produced infinite damage and dishonour to the Christians; for it was no sooner known in the East, (as it could not be long concealed,) but there was a general massacre of all the Christians in those parts; and the report thereof kindled that indignation and zeal in the pious breast of Lewis of France, (who was called the Saint,)

Excommu-
 nicates the
 Emperor.

Saint,) that he, without the deliberation that was necessary for such an expedition, immediately took the cross, and made all possible haste to raise forces, and whatever else was necessary, towards so great an undertaking; all which he could not compass in three years after. In the mean time the Pope in the Council at Lyons renewed the condemnation and deposition of Frederic, "*Imperatoris anathematis vinculo a Gregorio nono hactenus innodati;*" with many expressions very new, "*non sine proditiōis et læsæ criminæ Majestatis;*" which I suppose refers to the Emperor's treaty with the Sultan, as if he betrayed Christendom; "*meritò insuper contrà eum de Hæreticâ pravitate suspicio est exorta,*" because, being excommunicated by Gregory, he had presumed to cause mass to be celebrated; and so proceeds to the declaring all his subjects to be freed from their obedience, and absolved from their oaths which they had taken to him, "*quippe propter suas iniquitates à Deo ne regnet vel imperet est abjectus, suis ligatum peccatis, et abjectum, omnique honore et dignitate privatum;*" and with this he sends ambassadors to the princes electors that they should proceed to the election of another Emperor; which they did. The Pope however had not the courage to return into Italy until Frederic was dead; but staid in France above six years, and then returned to Rome.

Mezeray observes, that about this time, (which was about the year one thousand two hundred and seventy, or a little sooner,) when St. Lewis was returned from his unfortunate voyage from the Holy Land, where he had been taken prisoner by the Sultan, after the whole defeat of his army, and had still the same zeal for a new expedition thither, and when

our

CHAP.
IV.

Crusade of
St. Lewis.

Return of
St. Lewis
A. D. 1270.

CHAP. our Henry the Third grew towards the end of his
IV. reign, the abuses and enterprises of the Roman court

Papal power checked in France.

were come to so high a pitch, that St. Lewis (though he had always paid a greater respect to the holy chair than any other prince of that time did) made a pragmatique to stop their farther progress in France; which gave that court very much trouble for many years; and they are at this day upon an emergent occasion put in mind of it, the Parliament having never consented to its revocation. Although Pope Innocent parted with no power without struggling to retain it to the utmost, yet he durst do no more at that time with reference to France, not only for the great reputation the King had gotten of sanctity and justice, but also lest it might divert him from pursuing his resolution for a second voyage to the Holy Land.

And in England.

In England he made new attempts to recover the power his predecessor Innocent had there, and to reverse that Act of Parliament which the pride of Gregory had produced against the payment of any money out of that kingdom to the Pope; but his attempts there likewise miscarried; so that he found himself much lessened, which went to his heart; yet, to keep up his spirits, he found an opportunity to take vengeance upon one King, and thereby to make others see what he could do.

Excommunication of Don Diego, King of Arragon.

Spain was the ready scene upon which the Popes could always celebrate what triumphs they pleased; there were so many Kings there, and so jealous of each other, besides their joint jealousy of the Moors, who, though they lost ground every day, possessed as much yet as all the Christians. Don Jayme, or Don Diego, King of Arragon, had in his younger days some familiarity with a lady of great quality, Donna Teresa Vidaura,

daura, and had a mind afterwards to marry another. Donna Teresa sued before the Pope, and alleged that the King had given her his word and promise, by which it was not in his power to marry any other woman. The King denied it; and when the cause was heard, there were not witnesses enough to prove the allegation, for defect whereof the Pope gave judgment against Donna Teresa. The Bishop of Gerona had been the King's confessor, to whom the King had confessed the whole secret of that amour; and he, pretending that he could not with a good conscience conceal a truth of such a nature, wrote the whole relation to the Pope in cipher, and then the Pope gave sentence against the King. The King quickly found how this came to pass, and immediately sent for the Bishop, and, as soon as he came into his presence, (persons being ready to execute the command,) he caused his tongue to be cut off, which was presently done; and when the Pope was informed of it, he pronounced the King excommunicated, and interdicted the whole kingdom. Every body thought the offence was great in the Bishop; yet because it was not examined, nor he heard as to what he could say in his defence, the judgment seemed very severe; and Mariana calls it cruel "*carniceria et torpe vengença.*" The King with all humility acknowledged his offence, and begged the Pope's absolution; and the Pope sent ambassadors, before whom, and in the presence of some Bishops, the King kneeling upon both his knees, (after they had given him a great reprehension,) received absolution for his offence: his penance was to build a monastery, which he had begun many years before.

CHAP.
IV.

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IV.

The Inqui-
sition esta-
blished.

This was the sole act of transcendant sovereignty performed by this Pope. He vented his other passions in adding to the grandeur of his court, by the great privileges he granted to the Cardinals which they had not before, erecting the Inquisition with illimited jurisdiction, and ordaining many severe laws for the punishment of heresy, without giving any definition or description what heresy was, or should be taken to be; which might be more wondered at, because of the unheard of rigour of the punishments; they who were guilty of it being to forfeit all their goods and lands, their houses to be pulled down, and all their children or kindred to be incapable of all trusts or employment; though they should give satisfaction to the Church of their being good catholics, nobody should presume to harbour or entertain them; if he were an advocate, he was incapable of pleading any cause; and if he was a scrivener, all instruments made by him should be void; and, lest all this might not be sufficient to depress heresies, to which the age was inclined, he decreed and forbad "*ne cuiquam laicæ personæ liceat publicè vel privatim de fide catholicâ disputare.*"

Alexander
IV.

Disputed
succession
to the em-
pire.

Alexander the Fourth succeeded Innocent the Fourth; he had as much mind to be like Alexander the Third as the last Innocent had to equal the former, and failed not of it for want of courage to attempt it, and was without one disadvantage which the other Alexander had to struggle with; for there was no schism in the Church, and so no Anti-Pope to contend with. There was also no Emperor to control him; for besides that the Emperor Frederic was lately dead, the other Emperor William, who had been chosen by the Electors upon Innocent's depos-
ing

ing of Frederic, was miserably killed unknown ; and the electors differed in their choice of a successor, three of them choosing Alonso the Tenth King of Castile, and the other three choosing Richard Duke of Cornwall, and brother to the King of England, whilst the King of Bohemia, who had the casting voice, refused to give his vote either way. Both the competitors accepted the election, and both assumed the title. Richard advanced his right so far that he went into Germany, and was crowned at Acon with the iron crown by his electors ; but Alonso, though he put himself not to the charge of going out of Spain, (having enough to do with the Moors,) yet supported his party in Germany so well, that all the princes of the empire were so much divided, and had that animosity against each other, that though Richard transported with him a vast sum of money, with which he believed he could have reconciled all the princes of Germany to his party, yet he found, after about a year's stay, and the consumption of his treasure, that he could make no progress towards a peaceable attaining the empire ; and was necessitated to return into England, keeping his title and wearing the name still of Emperor, as Alonso likewise did ; whilst the Pope would displease neither of them, and thought himself more at ease and more secure by this division and displeasure against each other, than he could have been if the whole power were vested in any one of them.

Alexander was thus possessed of as many advantages towards the making himself great as he could wish ; and though he had some trouble in Italy by the several pretences to the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, yet he had thereby advantage too, by having it in his power (as he believed) to confer that noble

CHAP.
IV.

Disputed
succession
to the king-
dom of Na-
ples and Si-
cily.

CHAP. IV. kingdom (which he knew he should not be able to keep to himself or annex to the Papacy) upon a powerful friend, who might be able to protect him from oppression. He had it in his thought to have given that investiture to Charles of Anjou, brother to Saint Lewis, whom he most desired and courted to be his fast friend. But before he would enter upon such a public declaration, (which he well knew could gratify but one, and would disoblige many,) he resolved that he would first vindicate his own title, and so make it appear to be in his power to bestow. To that purpose he granted the crusade against Manfred and Eccelino, and all other enemies of the Church, who made any claim to the kingdom of Naples or Sicily. Manfred claimed the kingdom of Naples by the death of the Emperor Frederic his father, and was well received by the people, who preferred their subjection to him before submission to the Pope, or to any upon whom he would confer the dominion: so that Manfred was not like to be driven out by bulls and excommunications, which, by the lavish spending them, grew every day less terrible; and the Pope therefore hoped to raise an army by this crusade, with which many princes were very much scandalized, to see an expedient made use of against a Christian prince and a Catholic kingdom, that was only proper to invite all Christians to make war against Turks and Infidels.

Attempts of the Pope to draw money from England resisted in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I.

Alexander now foresaw, that though he might have some benefit from the crusade, his chief dependence must be upon a stock of money of his own, which he used all possible devices to procure, and had some encouragement to hope well from the old King of England, (for Harry the Third was still living,) notwithstanding the inhibition by parliament, which

which his predecessors could never shake. That unhappy and irresolute Prince had at this time need of the Pope to dispense with him for not performing some oath he had taken, (as he had often use of his omnipotency in that point,) and therefore was willing to dispense with that ordinance of parliament, and gave the Pope's ministers leave to come into the kingdom to collect money from the Clergy ; but the Clergy protested against it, and declared they would neither yield therein to the Pope or the King, and so kept their money to themselves. And Henry the Third was no sooner dead, but his son Edward the First (who had observed from what fountains his father's calamities principally flowed, and had a greater reputation in the world,) resolved to lessen that power the Clergy had by the laws and customs of the kingdom ; the insolent using whereof had compelled his father and his grandfather to introduce the Pope's authority to control the other, and which, without the help of the crown, could never have found that submission in England : and therefore he did not only make them supply him with very great sums of money, but took away those liberties and privileges from the greatest monasteries which most subjected the people to their obedience, and caused the statute of Mortmain to be passed in parliament, to hinder the increase of their temporal possessions as prejudicial to the kingdom, and which indeed made them so powerful with the people : by another statute he retrenched and limited the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical judges : and all this without consulting the Pope, and in a time when heresies, as they call them, were broached and countenanced in England, of which it will be more proper to speak hereafter.

CHAP.
IV.

Statute of
Mortmain.

CHAP. IV. Pope Alexander, receiving this discountenance in England, could not prosecute his other designs with that vigour which they required, and ended his seven years reign without any other notable record or monument of his having been Pope, than two very notorious bulls: one whereof was a testimony or declaration and verification of what Gregory the Ninth had sufficiently published, of the marks which St. Francis had in his flesh of the wounds of our Saviour; which Alexander confirms “*cum pœnarum impositione adversus aliter affirmantes. Siquis spiritu temerariæ præsumptionis insaniens, divini muneris invidus, Apostolica judicia sacrilegus impugnatur, et præmissa vel alia prodigiorum signa, quibus in ecclesiâ Dei sanctitus prædicti confessoris eluxit, improbe contradictionis morsibus obtrectanda crediderit, Volumus et Mandamus, ut eum sanæ menti restituat judicialis severitas disciplinæ, ita quod districtâ proprii Prælati castigatione correctus, Dei opera blasphemare dediscat &c.*” which being in a still more tragical way than had been before in any bull, I thought not unfit to be inserted. The other bull was to authorize and compel all secular or civil magistrates to assist and execute all the sentences and judgments which should be inflicted by the Inquisition in cases of heresy, or upon heretical persons, which had never before been required. And so we leave Alexander the Fourth in the peace and quiet of his grave.

Urban IV. Urban the Fourth was chosen upon the death of Alexander; and, following his example in all he had done and all he intended to do, renewed the crusade against Manfredo, and declared the nomination and investiture of Charles of Anjou. But there was quickly a fire kindled in his own house, so that he could

could neither much help or much hurt his neighbours. For the senators of Rome assumed to themselves all authority in whatsoever concerned the temporal jurisdiction; and, because he would not acquiesce in that their assumption, they drove him out of the city of Rome, and so vexed him, that his short reign of three years gave him no time to prosecute, or to bring any of his great projections to any maturity. For Charles of Anjou, to the end that he might come into Italy attended and accompanied as became the son and the brother of so great a King, spent so much time in making those preparations, that before he could come to Rome the Pope was dead; and so his expedition for Naples was likewise necessary to be deferred.

Upon the death of Urban, Clement the Fourth, who was at that time employed in France to reconcile the displeasure of the King of England towards Simon Montfort, was chosen Pope. Being a Frenchman, he confirmed the grants his predecessors had made to Charles of Anjou, brother to the King of France, made him Governor of Rome, with the title of Senator, and crowned him King of Naples and Jerusalem; with a condition (which he was sworn to perform) never to accept to be Emperor, though he should be chosen, nor upon any conditions whatsoever to put the kingdom of Naples into the hands and possession of the Emperor, and likewise to pay yearly to the holy chair eight thousand ounces of plate, and a white hackney, or palfrey. Thus was that investiture given that hath cost France and Italy such a deluge of blood and devastation; and which had been offered before to Edmund, brother to our Edward the First, and was by the advice

Clement
IV. crowns
Charles of
Anjou King
of Naples
and Jerusa-
lem.

CHAP. of that wise King declined, who neither liked the title,
 IV. nor the expense he foresaw the recovering and keep-
 ing it would require: nor was St. Lewis very fond of
 it for his brother, who, the excellent French historian
 says, was drawn to accept it by the vanity of his wife,
 who burned with envy to have the title of Queen, as
 well as her other three sisters.

Defeat and
 death of
 Manfred.

The fierceness and cruelty of Charles in his first
 entrance into his charge, was a sad omen of all those
 tragedies that ensued. He made the haste that be-
 came him to come to a battle with his rival Man-
 fredo, who was as impatient as he for that trial of his
 right: but the treachery of those he trusted lost the
 day, and himself, behaving himself bravely, was killed
 in the fight. Charles might very probably have en-
 joyed the fruit of his conquest, if he had used his vic-
 tory as worthily as he had gotten it; but he suffered
 his army to exercise all the rapine, insolence, and in-
 human cruelties that could be devised, and (which
 made as great a noise) suffered the wife and children
 of Manfred, and all the great men who were taken
 prisoners in the battle, to die in prison for want of
 such accommodation and treatment as persons of that
 condition are seldom deprived of; and this inhu-
 manity was universally odious; besides the not suf-
 fering the body of Manfred to be buried because he
 was excommunicated: but this he did soon after so
 outact, that so slight a piece of cruelty was no more
 worth mentioning.

Defeat and
 execution
 of Conra-
 din.

Conradin, (of whom we have spoken before,) the
 son of Frederic the Emperor, upon the death of his
 father, thought he had a good title to the kingdom of
 Sicily; and returning about this time from the holy
 war with great reputation, though not above sixteen
 years

years of age, drew many of his friends, the princes of Germany, to assist him with such forces, (which were suddenly drawn together,) that he landed in Sicily before he was expected, and when Charles was engaged with all his army in the siege of Nocera, the only considerable town in the kingdom of Naples that resisted him. Charles no sooner heard of Conradin's being landed, than he gave over his siege, and made haste to a second battle, which proved as prosperous to him as the former had been, and was more horribly used by him than the other. The battle was fought with equal courage, and almost equal loss of blood; yet in the end the French prevailed, and Conradin himself, Frederic Duke of Austria, and Henry, brother to Alonso King of Castile, were all taken prisoners, all young gallant princes, and near of an age. Whilst they were contriving the means they could to procure their liberty by ransom, or any other way, Charles had other thoughts: though he had subdued all his public visible enemies, he found his kingdom full of faction and disposition to revolt, upon the great tyranny that was exercised over them; and he believed also there would be great difficulty and danger in detaining Conradin and Frederic in prison, but much more in setting them at liberty, they having both great interest and great inclination to give him farther trouble: whereupon, after long deliberation, that made it so much the worse, and after they had been prisoners above a year, he referred them to the common justice of the kingdom: and the judges caused their process to be made in their usual form, and condemned them to die as perturbators of the peace of the Church, and they had both their heads cut off upon a scaffold in the middle of Naples,

CHAP.
IV.

CHAP. IV. “*Execution qui fait encore fremir d’horreur la posterité,*” says the prudent Mezeray. Henry of Castile had his life saved, but was kept in prison five and twenty years, and had then leave to return into Spain.

Character
of Clement
IV.

Clement the Fourth was enough afflicted at the distempered spirit which he could neither restrain nor reform, and lived not to see the ruin and mischief he brought upon Italy and himself; for after he had reigned about three years he died, and left the character behind him of being a very virtuous man; and (as hath been said of him) his modesty hath been particularly admired by all, but imitated by few of his successors. He protested, upon his first coming to the Papacy, that he would not raise any of his kindred above their ordinary station; and observed his word so exactly, that of three prebends which his brother possessed, he made him to resign two of them; and having daughters of his own, (for he had been a counsellor in France, and married before he entered into orders,) he was so far from desiring to marry them to great lords or princes, (as he might have done,) that he suffered them all to enter into a convent, and to become nuns. But what this good Pope wanted of indulgence to his kindred, he abounded in it towards the two mendicant orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis: and upon their complaint that the Archbishops and Bishops took upon them (under pretence of interpreting the Pope’s bull of privileges and immunities) to make themselves judges of the privileges themselves that had been granted, he gave them a more especial and plenary bull; and, without hearing the Archbishops or Bishops upon the matter, declared that neither the
one

one or the other should presume to intermeddle in the interpretation of any thing that had been granted, whether the expressions of the said grant were clear or doubtful; “*Volentes, ut cum ejus sit interpretari cujus est condere, interpretatio super hujusmodi dubiis et obscuris dictæ sedis judicio requiratur; Nulli ergo hominum liceat &c.*” This was the highest invasion that had been yet made upon the Prelates of the Church, and was a fair warning to all princes, whose subjects all ecclesiastics are to be, in whatever kingdom they are permitted to reside.

The Popes of this time had used all the endeavours they could to draw the entire dependance of the Clergy of all kingdoms upon themselves; so that their own kings might not have any command over them: and to that purpose they had persuaded the Bishops of France to refuse to do their homage to their King, as exempt from any temporal jurisdiction. But they quickly found that to be a business too hot for them to handle; for St. Lewis himself (who was the most meek and devoted son of the Church of any prince alive) had threatened loud what he would do in that case; so that they gave over that barefaced design, and prosecuted it only by discountenancing the Bishops upon any appeal by religious communities, and gave all the encouragement they could to the building and erecting monasteries there and in all other kingdoms, and granting and enlarging their privileges to the utmost; and were satisfied for the present in using all their skill to abate the power of the Emperor, especially that he might have none in Italy; and therefore (as hath been said before) Clement the Fourth had made it a solemn condition, upon the investiture of Charles, that no
King

CHAP. King of Naples should be capable of being chosen Em-
 IV. peror; and by the opportunity of the contest between Richard of England, and Alonso of Castile, Germany had been long without an Emperor, whereby the Pope's authority had exceedingly flourished in Italy.

Gregory X. After the death of Clement the Fourth, (which was about the year one thousand two hundred sixty-eight,) the vacancy continued near three years, through the dissension of the Cardinals, who adhered obstinately to the particular interest of several princes; and then Gregory the Tenth was chosen, who at that time was with Edward the First (then Prince of Wales) in the Holy Land. In a short time afterwards the Emperor Paleologus and the Greek Church withdrew from the agreement they had made four years before at the council of Lyons; and with which that Church was so unsatisfied, that notwithstanding it was well known that the poor Emperor had made that submission only to be free from the claim of Baldwin to the empire, and had thereby silenced that rival; yet within a few years after, when Michael Paleologus the Emperor died, the Patriarch of Constantinople would not suffer him to be buried, because of his apostasy in having submitted to the council at Lyons, and thereby to the power of the Pope: so odious is that supremacy to the whole Church of the East, which yet they dare not pronounce to be no Church, and so admit their ordination to be good to those who come from thence over to them.

Rodolph of Austria chosen Emperor of Germany. Gregory found that Germany would now be settled under the government of an Emperor; for Richard of England was dead, so that Alonso remained sole with that title; yet the Electors who had chosen

Richard

Richard would never submit to Alonso, but pressed for a new election; and therefore the Pope prevailed with Alonso to quit his pretence, and thereupon all the Electors chose Rodolph of Austria, who carried himself with great kindness to the Pope, which was improved and advanced by another circumstance. Charles of Anjou, being now in possession of Naples and Sicily, how odious soever to his subjects, was of that intolerable pride and unlimited ambition, that he was not only uneasy but formidable to his neighbours. His being Senator of Rome gave him so much authority there, (and the insolence of his nature disposed him to use all he had, and all he could get, to the magnifying himself,) that the Pope grew weary of Rome, and, without the least declared jealousy, removed and resided at Viterbo. The factions in the commonwealth of Florence grew every day more notorious, so that Charles hoped to reduce them all to his devotion, and thereby to add that large territory to his other dominions in Italy; and thereupon grew to that vanity, that he spake very slightly of both the Emperors, and that neither of them should have any thing to do in Italy. The Pope therefore and both the Emperors entered into a good correspondence together, and into secret consultation how they might abate the pride and ambition of this new comer, and keep him from doing either of them hurt. But this negociation could not be brought to any perfection in consequence of the death of the Pope Gregory, who reigned but four years; and his two or three next successors scarce lived to enjoy their greatness; for Innocent the Fifth lived but six months, and Adrian the Fifth not full forty days.

CHAP.
IV.

Innocent V.
Adrian V.

CHAP.
IV.
John XXI.

John the One and Twentieth succeeded Adrian, who, the Spanish writers say, was a man abundantly versed in all kind of learning, “*Y principalmente singularissimo medico.*” Whether he depended upon his own skill, or upon his knowledge in astrology, in which he was notoriously expert, he did really believe that he was to live very long, and so betook himself to the adding a very sumptuous building to the palace at Viterbo, having no more mind to live at Rome under the jurisdiction of the Senator, than his predecessors had. But as he was with great delight visiting his new buildings, a great part of it fell upon him, and so broke him to pieces, that he died within six days: so that three Popes in succession had not lived much above a year. They had, however, continued underhand the same combination against Charles; and the other confederates were as jealous of his greatness; and the very next successor, Nicholas the Third, (who was of the powerful house of Ursini,) quickly after his election appeared barefaced, resolute against Charles; and first deprived him of being Senator, settled himself in Rome, declared that nobody else should govern there; and farther, made a decree, that no person whatsoever “*de stirpe regiá*” should be capable of being made Senator of Rome; and moreover invited both the Emperors, and Pedro King of Arragon, to join together for the expulsion of Charles out of Italy; and made some secret promise to Don Pedro, to encourage him to make an attempt upon the kingdom of Sicily. But all these contrivances were for the present disappointed by the unexpected death of the Pope, who lived not above three years. It was the observation of Machiavel, that the Popes of this time, sometimes
upon

Nicholas
III.

upon pretence of religion, and at other times to comply with their own ambition, "*non cessavano di chia-* CHAP. IV.
mare in Italia homini nuovi, e suscitare nuove
guerre, e poi quegli havevano fatto potente un prin-
cipe se ne pentivano et cercavano la sua rouina ;" not being willing that any body else should enjoy that province which their own weakness would not permit them to enjoy themselves.

The death of Nicholas did not so much put an Martin IV. end to all these designs, nor contribute so much to the settlement of Charles, as the election of his successor, Martin the Fourth; who, being a Frenchman, and privy to all the contrivances which his predecessors had against Charles, did all that was in his power to prevent the execution of them; and in order thereunto he restored all to Charles that Nicholas had taken from him, and wedded himself wholly to his interest. But Charles took not so much pleasure in enjoying what he had, as in contriving how to get more; and was more intent how to possess himself of Florence, than how to secure Naples and Sicily; and at the same time prepared a fleet to invade the Eastern Emperor, whom the Pope excommunicated for falling from the agreement at Lyons, made by his father. This made the Emperor and the King of Arragon continue in the same resolution they had entered into with the last Pope. Nor was Charles without very particular advertisement of it; yet, between not believing and contemning the danger, he took no care to prevent it. Indeed the King of Arragon proceeded with all imaginable secrecy and cunning; and seemed wholly intent upon prosecuting the war against the Saracens; in order to which, he had desired assistance from Philip the King of France, and likewise from Charles
his

CHAP. his uncle, King of Naples, and had paid a good sum
 IV. of money to both of them to that purpose, which made Charles to apprehend nothing from him, and with his money to prosecute his design upon Florence, upon which his heart was most set; and then he had a fleet ready, when that work should be done, for Constantinople.

Sicilian
 Vespers.

In the mean time the King of Arragon caused a body of men to be shipped, and to lie upon the coast of Africa till they should receive advice from Sicily to land there. And all things being in this readiness, the Sicilians had resolved upon the most prodigious way of revenge that had been ever thought of; and upon Easter day, at the first stroke, or sign of the bell to Vespers, the natives of the island fell upon the French (who had no apprehension) in all places, and cut their throats without mercy; which action, the French writers say, was executed with so much fury, that the good fathers, the Jacobins and Cordeliers, imbrued their hands in blood with as much pleasure as any other executioners; and massacred those unfortunate wretches upon their altars, who fled thither for safety. The fathers ripped up the bellies of their very daughters who were with child by the French, and dashed out the brains of their infants against walls and rocks. There were eight thousand killed within the space of eight hours, and this inhuman act was ever after called the Sicilian Vespers. The Spaniards would have it believed that this slaughter was not premeditated, but proceeded from the extraordinary insolence of the French, that put the people into a sudden insurrection; and Mariana says, that it was confidently affirmed that it began in Palermo upon the rudeness of a Frenchman, whom he names, and who, it being a day when
 the

the women in devotion used to visit the Church of the Holy Ghost, “*quiso con saltura catar a una mu- ger para ver si ellevava armas,*” by which the people were so provoked and enraged, that they all arose. But no sudden accident could have caused the work to be dispatched so completely.

Charles was at this time in Tuscany, cultivating his designs there, and received the news with that rage that was natural to him, and at this time very lawful: and for the present he laid aside all other thoughts but of revenge, in which both the Pope and the King of France concurred with him in equal passion; and they both gave him such assistance, that sooner than could be imagined, and before the King of Arragon was ready to second them, he entered Sicily with a great and strong army, where, finding no enemy ready to fight with him, he besieged Messina, and might presently have had it rendered to him, and with it all Sicily, (the people being under a general consternation,) if he would have endured any application to be made to him: but he breathed out nothing but fire and sword, as if less than an utter extirpation of the nation would not expiate for their crime. This despair disposed those of Messina to defend themselves vigorously, as their only refuge, and added courage to all the people of the island. At the same time the fleet of the Emperor Palcologus having defeated and scattered that of Charles, the King of Arragon landed at Palermo with his army, and was received with that universal joy, that without delay he was crowned King of Sicily.

Upon which, Charles (not enough advised) thought it necessary to raise the siege from Messina, which he needed not to have done; and the King of Arragon, well

CHAP.
IV.

Siege of
Messina.

Challenge
between
Charles of
Anjou and
Don Pedro.

CHAP. well knowing the temper of his enemy, and finding
 IV. his forces too weak to encounter the other puissant
 army, that received recruits every day from Rome
 and France, sent a challenge by a herald at arms to
 Charles, and proposed that they two might deter-
 mine their right to the kingdom of Sicily by combat,
 in their own person, accompanied with one hundred
 knights each, and in the mean time that there might
 be a truce. The fierceness of Charles's nature, and
 the personal animosity he had against Pedro, (upon
 whom he looked as the author of all the damage dis-
 honour and indignity that he had sustained, besides
 his being crowned King of Sicily,) made him lay
 hold upon this opportunity of revenging all by his
 own hand; and so he accepted the challenge, against
 the advice of all his council. According to Mariana,
 the Spaniards do say that the challenge was sent by
 Charles, and by a Dominican friar: all, however,
 agree that it was mutually accepted, and that Ed-
 ward the First of England (who was equally allied
 to both) assigned them a place for the battle near
 Bourdeaux, of which he was then sovereign; and
 thereupon, the French say, that Charles both raised
 the siege from Messina, and made the truce. The
 Pope, however, sent to the King of Arragon to re-
 quire him not to persist in his ambitious designs,
 and forbid him to meet in the place appointed, and
 likewise sent to the King of England, "*a mandar*
 "*con palabras muy graves,*" (say the Spaniards,) that
 he should not allow any place, nor suffer the Kings
 to fight in his dominions; but they say also, that this
 moved not the King. The first of July was assign-
 ed for the combat; and upon the day Charles ap-
 peared with the equipage agreed upon, and waited (say
 the
 the

the French) upon the place from the rising of the sun to the setting, without any appearance of the King of Arragon; who, the Spaniards say, had received advertisement that the English intended to seize upon him, and so durst not appear. But it is probable that he was more terrified by the Pope; for he had not only excommunicated him for bringing his army into Sicily, but degraded him from his royalty, and exposed his kingdom as a prey to whomsoever would possess it. All which the King turned into raillery, and as if he would submit to the sentence of the Pope, he would not be called King any longer, but Knight of Arragon, Lord of the Sea, and Father of the three Kings.

This carriage of Don Pedro equally incensed all his enemies, and none more than the Pope, who aggravated his former sentence of excommunication and depravation, published a crusade against him, with the same indulgences and privileges as are granted to those who engage themselves in an expedition for the Holy Land, gave his kingdom of Arragon to Charles Count of Valois, second son to Philip King of France, and sent a special Legate (the Cardinal John Colet) into France to perform the ceremony of the investiture, which was done accordingly, and accepted there: and Philip himself raised a great army of horse and foot, to march into Arragon, and to put his younger son into the possession of that crown. Thus did the unwarrantable ambition of Kings contribute to the greatness and superiority of the Popes, who gladly embraced all opportunities to leave precedents to their successors of the power and authority of their predecessors; France only looking upon what the Pope did against Arragon as

CHAP.
IV.

Crusade
against
Don Pedro
of Arragon.

CHAP. an effect of his own power over the Pope, and never
IV. like to be attempted against him, or his kingdom ;
and yet the succeeding Pope (within one or two) exercised the same authority and jurisdiction over his own son, Philip the Fair. Don Pedro contemned all these enterprises, and, being vigilant and fortunate, he left Sicily well united under the care of his Admiral, Roger de Lauria, who was held generally to be the best commander at sea that the world then had; and himself made haste into Arragon, to attend the motion of the King of France, who was at the head of a very numerous army. De Lauria had several advantages over the French; and went with his fleet against Naples, where in some encounter, besides obtaining the victory, he took Charles le Boiteux, son to Charles the King, prisoner, and carried him to Palermo; where he had much ado to preserve him from being made a sacrifice, to expiate for the barbarity that had been shewed in Naples to Conradin and the Duke of Austria. The Sicilians would have condemned him as formally to die as the French had done the others, but that Constance, the wife of Don Pedro, (who remained there, and knew the value and privilege of royal blood,) by wonderful dexterity and address, pretending to be angry at the Sicilians, took care with the Admiral that he was sent into Arragon, to the King her husband. This last blow, and to see his son in the hand of his greatest enemy, wrought so much upon the spirits of Charles the father, that he died within six months after; and within a little more, all the French were driven out of Italy. Philip of France had better fortune, and made a great progress victoriously in Catalonia, and took many places. And Don Pedro made

made all the haste he could to encounter him; which he did indeed too soon, for, falling into an ambuscade of the enemy, he received many wounds, of which he died in a short time, and left to Alonso his eldest son his kingdom of Arragon, with all that belonged to it, and to James his second son the kingdom of Sicily. The King of France had not much better fortune, for the Admiral of Arragon fell upon his naval forces, after he had too soon dismissed the ships of Genoa that helped him, and some other misadventures befel his land forces; and his own health failing him, he caused himself to be transported in his litter to Perpignan, where in a short time after he died; having first seen all those places which he had conquered in Catalonia reduced, and return to their allegiance to the King of Arragon. And so in very few months three Kings perished in this quarrel, and all things shortly after came to be in the same condition they had been formerly between France and Arragon. The successors of Charles remained only with a title to Naples, and the son of Arragon in the possession of Naples, which kept the quarrel alive for the wasting much more blood.

By all these tragedies Pope Martin, the author of them all, was the only gainer; and he had another opportunity at the same time to triumph over another King, or rather over another kingdom; for Don Zanchó, the eldest son of Don Alonso King of Castile, who had won several battles, and got great victories against the Moors, rebelled against his father, and had so great a party in the kingdom, that Don Alonso could think of no better way than to complain to the Pope of him, “*de impio, desobediante*

CHAP.
IV.

Interdict of
Arragon
and Cas-
tile.

CHAP. IV. — “*y ingrato, y que in vida de su padre le usurpava toda la autoridad real &c.*” The Pope gave a willing ear to the complaint, and in a short time dispatched his bull into Spain, by which he excommunicated all those who followed the party of Don Zanchó, or in any degree assisted him against his father. So that in one and the same time both Arragon and Castile were upon the matter interdicted, and had in one kingdom all, and in the other the most of the churches shut up, and no mass said; and those two great Kings, who had obtained several great victories over the Moors, and had very much straitened their quarters, underwent now more damage and oppression from the Pope than from all the other. Yet it is to be observed, that as Don Pedro of Arragon prosecuted the war of Sicily with all vigour, notwithstanding all the bulls and excommunications from Rome, so Don Zanchó did not desist from his enterprises upon all the anger of the Pope; and many of those who followed him gave over his service, with a full resolution to have killed all the judges and commissaries, that had been sent thither by the Pope: so much of the reverence he had then lost in those kingdoms, which would have been paid to a person whom they believed to have been the Vicar of Christ. It was that Alonso of Castile, who, without consulting with the Pope, had caused the whole Scripture to be translated into Spanish, that it might be read and understood by the people.

The house of the Virgin Mary at Nazareth removed to Loretto. A. D. 1291.

It was about this time (that is, in the year one thousand two hundred ninety-one) that they say that the house at Nazareth, in which the Virgin Mary lived when she was saluted by the angel, was removed from thence, and found upon a mountain in

Dalmatia;

Dalmatia; where, after it had rested about three days, it was brought into a wood that belonged to a certain widow, who was called Lauretta, and from thence, by two stages more, it was removed again, and left in the place where it now stands, and where they have providently built a great and a noble church over it; that so it may be safely inclosed, that it may gad no farther. And the resort thither by all degrees and conditions of persons in pilgrimage to visit that holy place, and the presents that have been and every day are offered to our Lady in her old mansion house, have made that church to be in plate and jewels the richest church in Christendom; which being a matter of so extraordinary a nature, it might be thought worthy the care of the supreme Pastor, to cause some such evidence of it to be published, at least of one of the stages by which it made its voyage, or to undeceive the world, that so egregious a figment may not receive the countenance of being thought to be believed by the Pope: and it falls out, unluckily, that the remove of this house (which was never heard of from the time of the salutation till this occasion) should happen in the next year after the loss of Acre, which put an end to all those chargeable expeditions to the holy war, and so made it necessary to bring that precious relic to a more convenient distance for resort.

We come now to the time when the appetite passion and interest of secular princes prevailed so far in the election of the Popes, that, besides the very long vacancies in the church, there was such gross corruption in the conclave, and such force and violence used upon it, that it was apparent to all the world how little the Holy Ghost had to do in those elections;

CHAP. elections ; and that they were rather made according
 IV. to the will and humour of those without, than the suffrages of those within.

As the see continued void for near three years (as I have said before) between Clement the Fourth and Gregory the Tenth, so, after the death of Honorius the Fourth, (who succeeded Martin the Fourth,) the Cardinals, being shut up in the conclave, were forced to break up, and above ten months passed before they entered again into a new conclave, in which Nicholas the Fourth was chosen. After the death of Nicholas, who was Pope but four years, Charles King of Naples came to Rome to get a Pope chosen who would be his friend ; and raised such factions amongst the Cardinals, that the see continued void seven and twenty months before any election could be made ; and then they could find no other expedient to agree, but the taking a resolution to choose such a man as should not be a Cardinal, nor known to any of them, (which was an excellent qualification to provide an universal governor for the church;) and so they all agreed to choose an hermit of the order of St. Benedict, who was called Celestin the Fifth, a man of so great simplicity, that he never denied any thing to any body who asked it, inso-much as, for want of memory, he very frequently gave the same thing to three or four ; and grew so weary of the charge he could so ill discharge, that, after being Pope six months, he made a solemn renunciation to the Cardinals, that they might choose another ; which as soon as he had done, he stole away again by himself to his cell, where he died ; and though he was good for nothing else, he stands canonized for a saint by the name of St. Peter the Hermit.

Upon

Upon that resignation, Boniface the Eighth was chosen, about or little before the year thirteen hundred; in whose time there were such signal passages as cannot but be remembered. Shortly after his entrance into the papacy, he desired to revive his power in England, which he thought the supine spirits of his two or three last predecessors had suffered to be restrained; when indeed the wisdom and spirit of the King had upon the matter expelled it. Edward the First continued still King, and had reigned about twenty-five years when Pope Boniface was chosen. He had reduced his clergy to an entire obedience to him, and drawn vast supplies from them for his assistance in the wars. But as his father and grandfather had introduced and countenanced the Pope's authority, that by it they might lessen that power and jurisdiction which his clergy enjoyed by the laws of the kingdom, and independent upon Rome, as I have said before; so now, the clergy finding that this King had by new laws taken away from them many privileges and powers which the old ones had conferred on them, and in the doing it had not been beholden to the Pope, they wished to try whether, by adhering to that foreign jurisdiction, they could be even with the King, and abate somewhat of that dominion he exercised over them. The Pope therefore, upon some private application and address to him, published a prohibition, that the church should not pay any tallage or imposition that should be imposed upon it by what prince soever; and thereupon, when the Parliament gave a great supply to the King for the carrying on his war, the clergy, upon this prohibition of the Pope, absolutely refused to give any thing. The King, according to the natural vivacity of his

CHAP.
IV.

Boniface
VIII. A. D.
1300.
His disputes with
Edward I.
who resists
his authority.

CHAP. spirit, found a notable remedy for this new distem-
 IV. per without sending to Rome, and presently put the
 clergy out of his protection, whereby what wrong or
 damage soever they sustained, they could not de-
 mand justice in any of his courts; at which they
 were so confounded, that the Archbishop of York,
 and several other Bishops, made all the means they
 could to pacify the King, and paid the fifth part of
 all their goods to be received into his grace; and the
 rest, who stood out long after all their estates were
 seized into the King's hands, were glad at last to re-
 deem themselves, by giving a fourth part of all they
 had towards the maintenance of the King's wars.
 And this they got by the Pope's interposition, who
 was not indeed at leisure to look so far from home;
 and he had received a very sharp answer from the
 King, upon his interposition to divert the King from
 his prosecution of the war in Scotland, which the
 King would not admit; and made his nobility at the
 same time write to his Holiness, that they would de-
 fend the King's proceedings with their lives, and
 wished him to intermeddle no more in that matter;
 and (as I said) the Pope had somewhat else to do.

His dis-
 putses with
 the Em-
 peror Al-
 bert.

The Emperor Albert of Austria, having lately de-
 feated the Emperor Adolphus in a sharp and bloody
 battle, in which Adolphus himself was killed, and, as
 was said, by the hands of Albert, who remained then
 acknowledged Emperor by the Electors and all the
 princes of Germany; the Emperor sent ambassadors
 to the Pope to be confirmed: the which, though all
 the princes of Germany solicited the same for the
 establishment of peace and quietness in their country,
 the Pope refused to do, saying, that he that had killed
 an Emperor with his own hands did not deserve to
 be

be one. In a short time after there grew some difference between the Pope and Philip King of France; and the Legate behaving himself with too much boldness in the expostulation, the King committed him to prison. Boniface, seeing that he was like to lose the King of France, for whose sake he had much neglected the Emperor, sent a Legate to the Emperor with the ratification he had before denied, and with all the obliging circumstances that could be; and sent another Legate into France to demand the liberty of the former, or to excommunicate the King. Philip resolved to have nobody command in France but himself; and thereupon forbad all his subjects to have any commerce with, or to admit any bulls from Rome, or to have any suits there; and then called a Council in Paris, and in it declared Boniface to be no Pope, and appealed to a general Council. The Pope would not sit down with this affront, but called a Council in Rome, deprived the King, gave his dominions to his new friend the Emperor, and used all possible means to engage him and all other princes in a war against France. Though Philip knew very well that a little compliance would divert this storm, he yet resolved to pull up this licence and presumption by the roots; and, to shew what remedies he thought natural to be applied to those exorbitances, which would persuade his subjects to rebel against him for conscience sake, he sent Sciarra Colonna, with his brother, a disgraced Cardinal, and a French gentleman, with two hundred horse; and with these they marched with so great secrecy to the place where the Pope was, and whither he came out of Rome to take his pleasure, that they took him prisoner, and killed him; which Philip was so far from repenting, that

CHAP.
IV,
And with
Philip of
France.

Boniface
killed.

he

CHAP. he publicly justified his proceedings: and Benedict
 IV. the Eleventh, who succeeded Boniface, did not only
 Benedict absolve the King of France, but likewise the two Co-
 XI. lonnas, who had been both condemned by Boniface,
 and one of which had killed him.

Jubilees
 with plenary indul-
 gences instituted by
 Boniface
 VIII.

This Pope Boniface the Eighth was a man of that spirit, that he desired to set the whole world on fire; and if he had not found two such princes to stop the career of his pride, as Edward the First of England, and Philip the Fair in France, he would have proceeded very far in the suppression of regal power. He observed no rules practised or prescribed by his predecessors, but resolved to walk only in his own ways. He began with instituting the Jubilee for the next year, and so to be observed once in every hundredth year; and he promised to all persons who should that year, and so in every hundredth year, visit the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome, "*non solum plenam et largiorem, imo plenissimam omnium suorum veniam peccatorum,*" which was then very new: but his successors, knowing the benefit of it, brought it first to every fifty years, and afterwards to five and twenty. His design was to engage all Christian princes in a war for the recovery of the Holy Land, which he thought he had authority to compel them to undertake, and in order thereunto to be at peace amongst themselves; so he began with writing very imperious letters to Edward the First of England, that he should no farther prosecute the war against Robert Bruce of Scotland, "*quod Ecclesie Romanæ patrimonium esse usserebat;*" and withal sent to the Kings of England and of France, requiring them to make a truce between themselves, under pain of excommunication. But Philip answered him, that

that he would not receive law from any man for the government of the kingdom; and that the Pope in this case could only exhort, but not command. Boniface, however, thought he should reduce them both by forbidding the clergy of either kingdom to submit to any impositions their King should lay upon them without his consent. How Edward persuaded his clergy to a better conformity is mentioned before; but Philip had need of his clergy's consent and assistance to make the Pope sensible of his error; who, being enraged at the commitment of his minister, gave the King greater advantage, by sending him a rude message; "That the King was under his correction for the sins which he committed in the administration of the temporal, as well as for other matters; and that the collation to benefices did not belong to him, but that it was an usurpation:" by another bull he suspended all the privileges which had been granted by his predecessors to the King: and by a third bull he commanded all the Prelates of France to appear at Rome at a certain day, that he might the better resolve what remedy to give to the disorders of Philip, and the encroachments which he had made upon the ecclesiastical state. And he no sooner heard that the King had forbidden the Bishops to go out of the kingdom, or to receive any thing from Rome, but he issued out another bull, by which he declared the King to be excommunicated for having hindered the Prelates to go to Rome, and forbade them to administer to him either sacrament or mass, and required them all to appear at Rome, within three months, upon pain of being deprived. Whereupon the States and Bishops joined in the declaration mentioned before; and Monsieur Vogaret,

CHAP.
IV.

Excommu-
nication of
Philip le
Bel.

the

CHAP. the King's advocate, in presence of several princes of
 IV. the blood, and Bishops, presented a request to the King, accusing Boniface of heresy, simony, magic, and other enormous crimes, and demanded his Majesty's assistance to the calling a general Council, which might deliver the church from the oppression under which she did groan: and the King declared, that in the person of Boniface there was no affront put upon the Vicar of Jesus Christ, but upon a wicked fellow, who had intruded himself into the pontificate, "*un meschant homme qui s'estoit intrus dans la Papauté*;" and so the King proceeded in the manner that is before mentioned.

Death of
 Boniface
 VIII.

The French writers will by no means acknowledge that Boniface was killed by those who took him prisoner. They confess, that, being at Anagnia, the town where he was born, and where he thought himself more secure than in Rome itself, Sciarra Colonna had found means to conceal the men he had drawn together in a neighbouring castle, till he had gained the people of Anagnia to join with him; and then they forced the castle, and seized upon the person of the Pope, and a very great treasure: but they say, that the fourth day after the people of Anagnia repented their baseness, and drove all the French out of the town, and thereby the Pope was set at liberty, and removed to Rome; where his great heart with pure indignation cast him into a burning fever, of which in few days he died; which is a very probable story, that the greatest enemies he had in the world, Italians, and whom he had most implacably injured, (for he had sent Sciarra Colonna to the galleys, and if he could have apprehended the Cardinal he had been strangled,) would have so parted with him,

him, after having had him in their hands four days. The Spanish writers (who are as unwilling that a Pope should be so used by Catholics) say, that as soon as he found that he was in the hands of those his enemies, choler and rage broke his heart. There is no probable evidence that he was ever seen alive after he was in their hands; and Philip's proceeding after his death shews manifestly enough what temper his displeasure was of. Mariana says, that the reason why Philip and the Council at Paris declared Boniface to be no Pope, was, because the renunciation of Celestin was not valid; and concludes this affair, "*Grande es la auctoridad de los Pontifices, pero las fuerças de los Reyes son mas grandes.*"

CHAP.
IV.

Without doubt he was a man who delighted to tread out of the common road, and did nothing like other men: and so when the Kings of Castile and Portugal sent ambassadors to him for a dispensation, whereby they might accomplish a marriage that was agreed upon between them, but by reason of the nearness in blood required a dispensation, Boniface readily granted it; and likewise another dispensation, to confirm the marriage that had been between the Queen Donna Maria and the King Don Zanchó, who were both dead, and which he always refused to grant whilst they were alive; and this, by all the rules which were then to be judged by, was generally held void after death: but Mariana says, they that think so do not understand the authority of the Pope, and how far he can extend it when he sees it is for the public good. All the world was glad he was gone, though few were pleased with the manner of his going; and it looked like a judgment, that, whereas he did intend to have left a more absolute power

CHAP. power and authority to his successors than they had
IV. yet grasped at, his pride did so much awaken all
princes to an apprehension of their own interest, that
they were well content to see the succeeding Popes
made properties of for many years after.

 CHAP. V.

Farther Progress of Papal Usurpations from Clement V. A. D. 1305. to Eugenius IV. A. D. 1431. during the Residence of the Popes at Avignon—and the great Schism.

AFTER Benedict the Eleventh was dead, (who reigned not a year,) the vacancy continued thirteen months; and the factions were so equal and so obstinate in the conclave, that, after they had continued together nine months, they found only this expedient that they could agree upon; namely, that those of the French faction should name three, and the Italians should choose one out of those three to be Pope; or, that the Italians should choose three, out of which the French should elect a Pope; and that they who were to make choice out of the three should have forty days allowed them to make their election. And by this kind of lottery, and according to the humour and appetite of these two nations, the universal Church of Christ must be provided of a supreme Bishop.

The Archbishop of Bourdeaux (who had incensed the French King, and was in truth a subject to the King of England, who had then Aquitaine and Guyenne) was one of the three named by the Italians, who

Conclave upon the death of Benedict XI.

Clement V. elected.

CHAP. who in the forty days to come found means to pacify
 V. the King of France; and the King agreed to make him Pope, upon his faithful promise and obligation; first, that he would absolve the King from all censures which Pope Boniface had inflicted upon him; secondly, that he would give him for five years the tenths of all the churches within his dominions; thirdly, (which was worth the other two,) that he would keep his pontifical court in France; fourthly, that he would condemn Boniface; fifthly, that the house of Colonna should be fully restored, and some of their friends made Cardinals: all which the Archbishop contracted to perform, and did not only give his own oath for it, but put his brother and nephews as hostages into the King's hand.

Removes to
 Avignon.

Thereupon he was chosen Pope, and called himself Clement the Fifth; and shortly after came to Avignon, where his court was kept; and then called a general Council at Lyons, in which Philip was very importunate to have the bones of Boniface the Eighth burnt as an heretic: this the Council would not be persuaded to; but, to gratify the King, they repealed all the judgments which Boniface had given against him, and absolved the King for whatsoever he had done. It is an easy matter from hence to imagine what influence the King of France had upon the ecclesiastical state; and what opinion the Christian world had for above five hundred years of the infallibility or universality of the Pope, may be easily collected from the instances which follow.

Absolves
 Edward I.
 from all his
 oaths for
 the obser-
 vation of

I must not omit in this place to remember, (as a record of the sanctity of this Prelate, and of the time in which he lived,) that it was this Pope Clement the Fifth, who, even as soon as he came to be Pope, absolved

solved our King Edward the First from the oath he had taken, with all imaginable solemnity, for the observation of the laws and charters he had granted and confirmed to his subjects in his three last Parliaments; the desiring whereof was a great blemish to that glorious King; though it was when his judgment was thought to be corrupted, and wrought on by wicked men, it being in the thirty third year of his reign, and when he was very old. And though his virtue restrained him from making any use of that dispensation, and so in a degree he expiated the sin of asking it, yet the iniquity and impiety of the Pope in granting it can never be excused. It is an instance what a wicked price they paid, that they might be admitted to exercise a sovereignty over the consciences of princes. And, I am persuaded, if there were a short collection of the bulls and dispensations they have granted, (which is no difficult work,) from time to time, for the dissolving and making of marriages, the breaking of oaths and lawful contracts, and for absolving of perjuries, and the like, they would be found to have introduced more mischief into the Christian world, and to have brought more scandal upon Christian religion, than all the heretics whom they have condemned from the time of the Apostles.

All the writers of this time, as well French as Spanish and Italian, are very particular in the famous conditions which Clement entered into with the King of France for the obtaining the Papacy; all which he performed to the utmost of his power. Benedict the Eleventh had, as soon as he was chosen Pope, disannulled and reversed all the acts which Boniface had done against Philip, received his am-

o

bassadors

CHAP.
V.
the laws
and char-
ters.

Perform-
ance of the
conditions
upon which
Clement V.
was elected.

CHAP. V. bassadors with much respect and kindness, and had likewise revoked all the acts of condemnation which his predecessor had passed against the house and family of Colonna; but he would not restore the two Cardinals that he had deprived; and moreover he gave order for the prosecution of all those with the utmost severity who had a hand in the taking the late Pope prisoner, which made Philip so exact in providing a particular article for them. As soon therefore as Clement was chosen, they pursued their former accusation against Boniface for heresy, &c.; and the King pressed very earnestly for the condemning his memory, and that his body might be taken up and burnt, without which they thought the censures and reproaches he had laid upon them could not sufficiently be taken off. Clement yielded to all that they desired, except to the condemning of Boniface; this he reserved, and referred it to a general Council, which he had appointed to meet at Vienne in Dauphiné; and in the mean time he directed all the preparations to be made towards the condemnation of Boniface.

Suppression of the Knights Templars. A. D. 1310.

The French say, that, over and above the five recited conditions, there was a sixth, that at the present was not known. It seems the other five were generally spoken of; and they say that sixth concerned the Knights Templars, whose fate shortly after followed, and was the great business of the following Council, and administered discourse to all the world, that was amazed at it, it being only contrived between the Pope and the King; nor is that affair to this day understood. Upon the agreement made with the Pope, the first prosecution against the Knights Templars begun at Paris; where, by the command

mand of the Pope, the Great Master Jaques de Molay, CHAP. V. a Burgundian, who was then at Cyprus, (which he had with notable courage defended against the Turk,) appeared before the King with threescore Knights of the order; whereof Guy, the brother of the Dauphin of Vienne, and Hugh de Paralde, were two; and the rest were all principal officers, who came to accompany their Great Master, not knowing what he was sent for: but upon his appearance, they were all apprehended and committed to close custody with him. The King had called or appointed the Archbishop of Sens to call a provincial Council at Paris, to which the examination of that affair was referred. This was in the year one thousand three hundred and ten, when they were charged with many foul crimes, without the proof of any one witness. The Pope had appointed that the Great Master, and the other two Knights who are named, should be reserved for his own examination; the other seven and fifty were all put to the torture, and upon the torture confessed all that they were charged with, and were all thereupon condemned to be burned. This sentence was executed with a circumstance of great cruelty, the fire being kindled so slowly that they endured all the torment imaginable; at their deaths however, every one of them declared their innocence, and absolutely denied all that they had confessed in their torture. In Council of Vienne. A. D. 1311. In the year following, (one thousand three hundred and eleven,) the general Council assembled at Vienne; where the Pope told them, that the cause of calling that Council was for the carrying on the holy war, for the condemnation of the Knights Templars, and for reforming some other things that were amiss. Bosquet, the present Bishop of Montpelier, (in the lives

CHAP. V. of those Popes who lived at Avignon,) says, in the life of Clement the Fifth, that the Pope, "*multis Præ-
" latis cum Cardinalibus coram se in privato consisto-
" rio convocatis, per provisionis potius quam condem-
" nationis viam, ordinem Templariorum cassavit, et pe-
" nitens adnullavit; personis et bonis ejusdem ordinis
" dispositioni et ordinationi suæ et ecclesiæ reservatis."* But he says, in the month following, in a second ses-
sion, "*prædicta cassatio ordinis Templariorum fuit per
" summum Pontificem radiante concilio promulgata,
" præsentem Rege Franciæ Philippo cum tribus filiis
" suis, cui negocium erat cordi.*

Cruelty ex-
ercised to-
wards the
Knights
Templars,
and doubt-
fulness of
the crimes
imputed to
them.

Mariana says, that they were accused of all man-
ner of beastliness; and that they held the same opi-
nions with the Albigenses concerning the Sacrament,
the power of the Pope, &c.; and that some of them
were brought to confess the worst part of the charge,
and amongst them Molay, the Great Master, had been
led by great promises to make some confession; but
that when he was likewise (contrary to the promise
made to him) brought to the stake, he utterly denied
all that he had formerly confessed; and said it was
not a time in the last minute of his life to lie; and
swore by all that was to be sworn by, that all that
had been objected against him and the other Tem-
plars was false, and without any ground; "*Porque
" aquella ordenes santa, justa, y Catolica,"* and that
all that was imputed to them was false, "*a persua-
" sion del summo Pontifice y del Rey de Francia."* In-
deed the bull of Clement for their condemnation and
dissolution had very strange general expressions,
"*obscenitatibus, pravitatibus, maculis &c. quæ (propter
" tristem et spurcidam eorum memoriam) præsentibus
" subticemus; ejusque ordinis statum habitum atque
" nomen,*

“ *nomen, (non sine cordis amaritudine et dolore) sacro* CHAP.
 “ *approbante concilio, non per modum definitivæ sen-* V.
 “ *tentiæ, (cùm eam super hæc secundùm inquisitiones*
 “ *et processus, super his habitos, non possemus ferre*
 “ *de jure) sed per viam provisionis, seu ordinationis*
 “ *Apostolicæ irrefragabili, et perpetuo valitura sustu-*
 “ *linus sanctione.*” Nor is there, I think, (for I have
 made diligent inquiry in places where they would be
 most like to be found) any memorial preserved of the
 crimes which were charged against them. Certain it
 is, that no part of the Christian world appeared then
 satisfied with the manner of the proceeding. But
 the Pope had so good a second, or was himself so
 good a second, that the work must be gone through
 with; and therefore the next year the Pope sent his
 apostolical letters to the Archbishop of Toledo, and
 the Bishop of St. Jago, commanding them to pro-
 ceed effectually against the Templars in Castile; and
 the like he sent into Arragon, and to all the pro-
 vinces in Christendom where they had possessions.
 Notwithstanding which a Council being called at Sa-
 lamanca, and a process being made against some
 Knights who were prisoners, upon their confessions,
 and all the information that was given, they were de-
 clared innocent; and this declaration was sent to the
 Pope; notwithstanding which he required them to
 execute his decree, “ *cuyo decreta y sententia provale-*
 “ *cis contra el voto de todos aquellos padres y toda*
 “ *aquella orden fue extinguida; (says Mariana, and*
 “ *concludes,) necessario es que confessamos que las ri-*
 “ *quesas con que se engrandecieron sobre manera, fue-*
 “ *ron causa de su perdicion:*” but Philip was known
 to have had a long displeasure against them before
 this prosecution; upon some countenance they had
 given

CHAP. given to a mutiny in Paris, upon the occasion of some
V. adulterate money which the King underhand had directed. The order was universally suppressed in all places, and their estates seized; but I do not find that their persons were put to death any where but in France: and in all other kingdoms their estates were assigned to the Knights Hospitalers, and so to those of Rhodes, and now remain for the most part to the Knights of Malta. This bloody prosecution, with so many unheard of circumstances, was attended with an accident more wonderful, which being mentioned by Mariana, and confirmed by Monsieur Mezeray, (two who cannot be suspected to be of doubtful faith in a particular of this nature,) may not be unworthy to be here inserted; which is, that the behaviour of Molay at his death, and his extreme constancy and resolution, persuaded all the world that he was innocent; and it was reported, that at his death he summoned and cited the Pope and the King of France to appear before the tribunal of God, the Pope within forty days, and the King within a year. The Pope grew very ill, and desired to be carried to the place of his birth, that was not far off, and in his journey died at Roquemaure upon the Rhone before the fortieth day was expired. The King was at that time very well and vigorous, being but eight and forty years of age; but he grew less cheerful, and whether from some secret inward cause, or from a fall he had from his horse in hunting a wild boar, he fell sick, and died at Fontainbleau, where he had been born, within a year after the citation. And the fate likewise that afterwards, and in a short time, befel his three sons, with whom his family expired, was very observable; and persuaded many men to believe

lieve that there was some secret vengeance (the cause whereof was not manifest) that produced so many signal judgments. And in this manner was that famous order of Knights Templars, which had performed many notable services against the Turks, and after it had flourished a hundred eighty-four years "*impinguatus ac dilatatus nimis*," says the Bishop of Montpelier. But Daniell (who was a better calculator, and differs not from him in the time of the dissolution) reckons that it lasted about two hundred years; and says, that it was instituted by Baldwyn the Fourth, King of Jerusalem, and was first appointed for the defence of that city, and the safe convey of such as travelled thither; and therefore they were afterwards through all the kingdoms of Christendom, and by the bounty of Princes and others, enriched with infinite possessions: he says also, that the King of France begun that prosecution, with a purpose to make one of his sons King of Jerusalem, and to possess him of all their revenues, which indeed were much greater than all that belonged to that crown; but I know not from whence he had that evidence, more than that he was a very laborious inquirer, and a man of good judgment, and seems to believe that their wealth had made them much to degenerate from their first institution, and that they were become execrably vicious; yet he confesses that they were condemned rather by fame than proof: and so we shall leave them to their fate.

After a vacancy of eighteen months upon the death of Clement, John the Two and Twentieth was chosen Pope in the manner mentioned before, that is, by his own nomination: and he quickly shewed whose subject

CHAP. V. he was; for there being then great difference between the Emperor Lodovico and Philip King of France, the Pope not only excommunicated the Emperor for taking upon him that style without his confirmation, but cited him to appear at Avignon within three months; which time being expired, he declared him an apostate and a rebel to the commands of his holy mother the Church, and thereupon deprived him of all his dominions, and anathematized all persons who gave him any title of dignity, as rebels, heretics, and apostates. In what a dismal confusion had Christendom been at this time, if it had believed that the dictates of the Pope were the dictates of the Holy Ghost! The Emperor was not much troubled, but appealed to a future Council, and to the Pope himself, when better informed; and went with what haste he could to Rome, where he chose a Franciscan Friar to be Pope, who called himself Nicholas the Fifth, and having made Cardinals, absolved the Emperor and crowned him.

Nicholas V.
Anti-Pope.

John XXII.
takes part
against Ed-
ward II. in
England.

And here again, that we may be careful to transmit the evidence of the Pope's current authority in our own kingdom, it will not be amiss to remember that it was this Pope John the Two and Twentieth who took the advantage of the weakness of our King Edward the Second, and of the ill temper of that age; and disposed most of the Bishops to join with and assist all the rebellions against him, and to insist upon the ecclesiastical privileges, so as not to suffer the Bishop of Hereford to be proceeded against by the laws of the land, for rebelling against the King; and afterwards sent a Legate to attend the Queen when she made war against her husband, and to excommunicate all those who took arms against

against her ; because, he said, she only endeavoured
 the delivering the kingdom from the misleaders of
 the King, who was shortly after taken prisoner, and
 then murdered.

This Pope John the Two and Twentieth lived to a
 great age, even to ninety years, and reigned eighteen
 years. Though he was but the son of a cobbler, yet
 he had a great and an active spirit, and was more
 learned than most scholars of that age ; and if the
 foulness of his election, and his so entire dependance
 upon France, had not exposed him to the disesteem
 and irreverence of all other Christian Princes, he had
 a great mind to be busy in the world. The Em-
 peror, whom he so unreasonably and absurdly ex-
 communicated, went to Rome and set up an Anti-
 Pope, (as hath been said before,) a Franciscan Friar,
 who called himself Nicholas the Fifth ; who made
 Cardinals and did all other offices of the Pope, and
 absolved and crowned the Emperor, which put all
 Italy into a flame. And though France adhered to
 John in the vindication of his authority and govern-
 ment, yet they could give him no other assistance ;
 for their own wars in Flanders and with England
 took up all their thoughts, and spent all their money.
 He was elected in truth after the death of Philip le
 Bel, but the death of the King was not known then ;
 for though Lewis, who succeeded, (and who caught
 the Cardinals and shut them up in the Dominicans'
 cloister at Lyons, when they never thought of en-
 tering the conclave,) was gone to Paris, yet he took
 such care for the strict guarding them that they had
 no news of the King's death till the election was
 over, and John was declared and acknowledged
 Pope. He lived to see the line of Philip le Bel ex-
 tinguished,

CHAP.
 V.

Character
 of John
 XXII.

1234
 1234

1234
 1234
 1234
 1234

CHAP. V. tinguished, for his three sons, who were all Kings in their turns, died; and Philip de Valois became King whilst John the Two and Twentieth lived. By these quick changes he had only opportunity to use his authority in getting money; and this he did to an incredible proportion, and by an incredible oppression and tyranny over the French Clergy, which made him not acceptable to the new King, Philip de Valois. This same Pope was the first that settled, as a fixed and permanent law, the reserving of the first-fruits of all vacant benefices to the holy seat; and he attempted to revive his power in England by sending a bull to our Edward the Second, very imperiously requiring him not to suffer the Irish to undergo so great oppressions by his governors and ministers, "*contra formam concessionis habitæ a sede Apostolica*;" which found no regard even in that ill time.

Philip de Valois resists the Pope's decree upon the intermediate state of the soul, and overrules it by a judgment of the Doctors of Paris. A. D. 1333.

But the greatest affront he received, and which would have been insupportable if he had believed that supremacy to be in him which some of his successors have since challenged, was in the very exercise of the Keys. He had published a decree in Avignon, that the souls departed knew neither happiness nor misery till the day of judgment, which was agreeable to the opinion of some former ages of the Church; but it was now no sooner heard of, than the faculty of theology of Paris inveighed against it with much passion and bitterness. Whereupon the Pope sent two Nuncios to Paris, the one the General of the Cordeliers, and the other a Dominican, both men famous for learning, to inform and satisfy the King in the point. But Philip de Valois (who was now King, and had no reverence for John) made the matter to be discussed by thirty Doctors of the faculty;

culty; who were so much too hard for the Nuncios, that the King sent their judgments under their seals to the Pope, desiring him that he would believe that those Doctors understood theology better than any of the canon Lawyers of Rome did. The Pope, finding that his decree was not approved, declared that he had only proposed it as a matter to be debated. Certain it is, that upon this judgment of the University of Paris, the Pope did not only desist from justifying his decree, but gave a public act of retraction; whether it was that he was convinced in his conscience of his error, or upon the threats of King Philip of Valois, who had sent him word in these very terms, "*que s'il ne se retractoit il le feroit ardre,*" Monsieur Mezeray will not take upon him to determine: and this was the opinion that the Church of France had of the infallibility of the Pope in the year thirteen hundred thirty-three.

After John's death, Benedict the Twelfth was chosen Pope, who presently, upon the importunity of King Philip, renewed the censures against the Emperor; and though he declared a very great desire afterwards, upon the Emperor's sending ambassadors to him, to absolve him, yet he durst not do it, the King of France in plain terms threatening him, that if he should do it he would raise such a war against him, as would trouble him; and thereupon the Emperor called a Council at Spire of all the learned men in Germany, who adjudged and declared that the Pope could not excommunicate the Emperor, nor had any jurisdiction over him, but that he was his subject: and as this may be reasonably thought the opinion of all Germany, so there were but four cities

in

CHAP.
V.

was Benedict
XII.

The Council at Spire denies his authority over the empire.

CHAP. in all Italy, Modena, Reggio, Parma, and Lucca,
 V. which paid any obedience to the Pope.

This Pope Benedict (whether his predecessor had only retracted his error concerning the souls departed, and not finished the decree, or whether the manner by which he had been obliged to do either did not please him) reduced that controversy in a formal decree; and after reciting the dispute that had been amongst learned divines upon that point, and that his predecessor John was prevented by death to give that determination to it which he intended to have done, he declared, "*Quod animæ sanctæ non egentes purgatorio statim faciem Dei vident; mandantes sub pœnâ anathematis ac incursionis hæresis, ne quis contrâ hujusmodi determinationem suam dogmatizaret aut crederet.*"

He endeavours to remove from Avignon to Rome, but fails.

He was a good man, and much afflicted with the just reproaches under which he lay, of not being the common Father, nor at liberty to declare his own judgment in any thing otherwise than as it was conformable to the humour and the interest of the King; nor could he devise any other remedy to silence this scandal than by removing out of France, which he resolved to do, and to reside in the place that gave him his title and reputation; and that in the meantime, and till such preparations as were necessary to be made for his reception could be adjusted in Rome, he would go into Italy, and remain in the city of Bononia; and this he declared in consistory as a resolution he meant to be published. However, (whether upon the reasonableness of the thing, or the fear of offending France,) he was put in mind how insolently the city of Rome had carried itself towards his
 pre-

predecessor John, and that they had expelled his Legate out of the city, after they had first refused to obey him in any thing; and that he had received many affronts from most of the considerable places in Italy; and therefore he was prevailed with, first to send to Rome to let the people know that he intended shortly to be there; whereby they who were employed by him would easily discover by the very countenance of the people what their inclinations were; and if they were such as were to be wished, they might forthwith prepare his own palace to be ready, and likewise such accommodations for the Cardinals as were necessary: and the fame of his being expected at Rome would the better dispose all the other places in Italy through, or by which he was to pass, to receive and pay him that respect that was due to him. The counsel was good; and the messengers were sent, who received so ill entertainment in their journey, and so much worse when they came to Rome, that upon their return they gave the Pope no encouragement to pursue his former purpose, but to acquiesce in Avignon.

A principal motive that had disposed him to that resolution, was the foresight, that as he had been compelled, contrary to his judgment and inclination, to proceed in that manner against the Emperor, so, in the war that was upon the matter entered into between Edward the Third of England and Philip of France, he should not be able to behave himself in that manner as to please both: and as he was much more in the power of Philip, who had an influence upon all the Cardinals, and upon most of his own servants; so he was to be wary in provoking Edward, who in respect of his dutchy of Guyenne, and other

CHAP.
V.

His conduct
towards
France and
England.

CHAP. other his French territories, was too near a neigh-
 V. —bour to him to bear an affront from him, which it
 was manifest enough his great spirit would bear from
 nobody. When therefore his remove into Italy ap-
 peared desperate to him, he set his heart upon the
 hope of reconciling the two Kings. He sent two
 Cardinals as his Legates to interpose between them ;
 and with directions that when they had first at-
 tended the King of France, who was in their way,
 they should prosecute their journey into England,
 and negotiate with that King. Philip had given spe-
 cial order that the Cardinals in their passage towards
 him should be treated with all imaginable respect
 and reverence; and he received them himself with all
 the demonstrations of honour, professed all readiness
 to obey the Pope, and to be willing to defer all dif-
 ferences to his determination. They advanced then
 towards England ; but when they came near the sea,
 instead of any accommodation for their embarkation,
 they met commissioners, who were sent by the King
 to receive their propositions, and to treat with them,
 and with civil excuses for their master's not receiv-
 ing them in his own kingdom, which that conjunc-
 ture of his affairs would not permit. So that the
 two Cardinals were obliged to return, without any
 other fruit of their journey, than their testimony that
 Philip was willing to make a just and a reasonable
 peace, and that Edward had rejected it.

Seizure of
 the English
 ambassa-
 dors at
 Avignon,
 and their
 release.

Notwithstanding this rejection of his interposition,
 the Pope shewed himself very heroically just to Ed-
 ward, upon an extraordinary accident that fell out,
 in which it is true his own honour and dignity was
 highly concerned. As the quarrel grew higher be-
 tween the two Kings, and when Edward was resolved

to

to prosecute it to the utmost, he thought it fit to send ambassadors to the Pope, to satisfy him of his just pretences, and to preserve all fair correspondence with him. His ambassadors arrived safely at Avignon, where they were received, and accommodated very well. I know not whether it were the first night after their coming thither, but it was not long, some officers of the King of France, being then in that city, so contrived their design, that in the night they seized upon the persons of the ambassadors, and carried them away prisoners to the other side of the river of Rhone, into the dominions of the King, "*Scientibus consentientibus, imò etiam faventibus ali- quibus officialibus Papæ et specialiter Mariscallo suo,*" says the Bishop of Montpelier, in his life of Benedict the Twelfth. It was not possible for any man to express more indignation, detestation, and horror, than the Pope did upon the affront; he caused as many of his own officers and subjects, as he could find cause to suspect, to be immediately apprehended, with all the circumstances of severity and rigour. Where the ambassadors were could not be discovered; it was only known that they had been put into a vessel, that was quickly rowed to the other side of the river; and there it was no hard matter to conceal them, that it might not be known in what place they were. The Pope therefore thundered out his excommunication against all persons who had a hand in the seizing upon their persons, or in the carrying them away, or in the detaining them, and all those who knew, and did not discover where they were; and likewise interdicted all places from all divine offices where they were detained. In a word, the Pope proceeded so vigorously in the resentment

CHAP. V. ment of this indignity and outrage, that within few days the ambassadors were set at liberty, and returned again to Avignon. Having thus provided for the liberty and security of the ambassadors, he prosecuted as vigorously and as passionately the vindication of his own honour; and caused all those of his own family, or of dependance upon him, of what quality soever, and against all the importunity that could be used, to be condemned and executed. Some were hanged before the gate of the house from whence the ambassadors had by force been taken out, and others in other places of the city; and because his Mareschal, (who had been much in his favour,) when he found that the Pope could not be prevailed with on his behalf, to prevent the public disgrace, had killed himself; sentence was pronounced against him after he was dead, and his body deprived of Christian burial, and hanged up in the fields in the public place of execution, "*inclusum in unâ thecâ ligneâ, inter duas bigas appensâ ad terrorem aliorum.*" By this exemplary justice (which made a good noise in the world) Benedict XII. freed himself from all suspicion of partiality; and though Philip (it may be) would have been better pleased if he had been so, yet he was thought to have much the more reverence for him.

Interdict of certain towns in Flanders.

When Edward the Third assumed the title of King of France, and called Philip only Count de Valois, and by that name sent him a challenge to fight singly with him, or each to bring two hundred knights, some towns of Flanders, (as Lisle, Douay, and Orchiers,) partly out of displeasure to their own Earl, and partly out of their inclination to Edward, (to whom the Flemings were generally well affected,) opened

opened their gates and proclaimed Edward for their King, and took an oath of fidelity to him; with which Philip was highly offended, and complained to the Pope, and desired assistance from his spiritual sword. He said that they were not reduced by the chance or force of war; for England had brought no army before those places, nor had put any garrisons into them; but the people, by a mere act of treason and rebellion, had taken upon them to reject and renounce their true and lawful King, and to choose another for themselves, who had no title but the voluntary oath of fidelity that they had made to him. Hereupon Pope Benedict laid all those places under an interdict, which all the priests in the several places obeyed exactly; whereby all the people at first were under great consternation. But the English presently sent them ecclesiastics of their country, who were not so scrupulous, and who presently opened their churches, celebrated the mass, and performed all other offices of their functions, with the same confidence it had been formerly done; and in a short time the people became generally as well satisfied as they had been before. As that ecclesiastical artillery was still called for, and desired by those who believed it would do them good, so it never did any execution where it was not feared; and Edward well enough knew the ingredients of which it was compounded; and the Pope knew that King too well, to renew and prosecute those censures against his own immediate subjects, who were not Flemings, but were only executing their master's commands.

This Pope was too good to live long; for he intended only what was good for the public, without any private thoughts. He had always hoped to have

CHAP.
V.

Edward III.
of England
sets it at de-
fiance.

Character
of Benedict
XII.

CHAP.
V.

seen Christendom in such a posture of peace and amity, that the princes thereof might have been engaged in a war against the Infidels; and to that purpose he had, with much husbandry, collected a great treasure, which he left entirely to his successor, without having ever given any of it to any of his kindred: in which kind of bounty he was so restrained and severe, that he never preferred to any prelature more than one ecclesiastical person who was allied to him; and that was upon the importunity of the Cardinals, in conferring the bishopric of Arles upon a person so worthy, that if he had not been his cousin, he would have been by him thought worthy of a greater preferment; and if any body else had been Pope, he could not have failed of a better: of his lay kindred, though he reigned eight years, he never preferred one; and he had only one niece, whom several of the greatest nobility desired to marry, but he would not hearken to any proposition, and married her to a plain citizen of Toulouse, a merchant, and gave her such a portion as the merchant's estate did well deserve.

Clement VI. elected. Makes the cities which had adhered to Lodovico swear, as matter of Catholic faith, that the Pope was above the Emperor.

After Benedict, succeeded the Archbishop of Rouen, who was called Clement the Sixth. He pursued the former sentences against the Emperor with the same spirit as his predecessors had done, sending his bull to the electors, requiring them to proceed to a new election, and deposed the Elector of Mentz because he adhered to the Emperor; with which proceedings some of the rest were so frightened, that they made choice of Charles the Fourth to be Emperor; which probably would have come to little if Lodovico had not suddenly died of an apoplexy. The cities which had adhered to Lodovico were freed by the

the Pope from their censures, after they had sworn, CHAP. V. as matter of Catholic faith, that the Pope was above the Emperor, an oath which he durst not make a part of the religion of France.

It was in this Pope's time that our Edward the Edward III. makes it death for any man to present or admit any person upon any collation from Rome. Third so much restrained the jurisdiction of the Pope, by the laws that were then made, that none of his subjects should commence any suit in the court of Rome, and that it should be death for any man to present or admit any person upon any collation from Rome; for the reason and ground of which, though we find no other cause in our records than the wisdom of that Catholic King, and the policy of the government in those Catholic times, yet a very good pontifical history tells us, that that displeasure in the King of England proceeded from the Pope's having denied to create a person a Cardinal who was recommended by his Majesty. And if this be true, it seems the most Catholic princes did resent disrespects from the Pope, with another kind of severity than they could have done if they had believed that his jurisdiction over them and their subjects had been of divine right. But whatever the reason was, this great King did, during his whole reign of fifty years, keep his authority from being invaded by the Pope; and though he had very much to do in France, where the Pope was powerful, (his residence being at Avignon, even to the year that King died,) he did from first to last, by the advice and full consent of his whole kingdom, enact as severe laws, and in almost as sharp terms, against the Papal power, as ever was done in after times by Harry the Eighth, whose memory they charge with

CHAP. so many reproaches of innovation, and departure
 V. from the religion of his predecessors.

Charles IV.
 elected Em-
 peror of
 Germany.

Whether it were before the election of Charles, or after the death of Lodovico, certain it is, that Edward the Third of England was elected Emperor, and all the princes offered to submit to him; but that wise King said it was too much out of his way; though Pope Clement used all the means he could to persuade him to accept of it; which he positively refused, and resolved to make no other enemy than Philip, nor to enter into any other war than with France; for he had totally reduced Scotland to submission. Though the Pope had deposed the Elector of Mentz for adhering to Lodovico, (as hath been said,) and made Gerard, son to the Condé of Nassau, Archbishop in his place, yet the other would not submit to his deposition; but he, together with the Marquis of Brandenburgh, and the Elector of Saxony, and other princes, met, and elected Guntherus, Comte de Swassenburgh, to be Emperor; who shortly after falling sick, and being unwilling to embark himself and his small fortune in so hazardous a contest, prevailed upon the Electors who had chosen him, and (with their consent) resigned all his right to Charles, who had been chosen by the rest: whereby Charles remained without a rival, and was acknowledged and obeyed by all, and Germany remained in peace.

Nicolao
 Laurentio
 sets up for
 Tribune of
 Rome, and
 governs for
 seven
 months.

There was in the time of this Pope Clement the Sixth a very extraordinary accident, which very few of the Italian pontifical histories think fit to take any notice of; and which indeed is an instance of the very small devotion the city of Rome had at that time

time for their Bishop, and how little power or credit he had then there. It was in the year thirteen hundred forty-seven, one Nicolao Laurentio, a public notary of no birth, and of a very mean fortune, entertained some of his companions with historical discourses of the great jurisdiction and authority which the city of Rome had in former times exercised over all the world; and that it had still the same right to be sovereign of all other nations as it had formerly been. He came one day after this to the Capitol and called himself the Tribune, removed the senators, and, without any force or resistance, assumed the government to himself. All people submitted to him, as to a man sent from heaven; for he behaved himself with that wonderful gravity and discretion, and dispatched all business with that notable justice, that the people were never better pleased, and nobody complained or murmured at his assuming the province. This lasted full seven months; in which time many of the neighbour princes sent to him, and asked his advice in their affairs, and desired to live in good correspondence with him. On a sudden, however, he fell into a great melancholy, and had an apprehension that many plots were laid to take away his life, and that every body had a purpose to kill him; and in this distemper he stole out of Rome by himself, without any purpose of going to one or another place; and in his wandering was apprehended by some troops belonging to Charles the Emperor, and by them sent to the Pope, who thought not fit to put him to death, but committed him to a very strict imprisonment.

This Pope enlarged the privileges to the Cardinals in conclave, which had been made very strict by Gregory

Privileges
of the con-
clave en-
larged.

CHAP. V. Gregory the Tenth, who had ordained, that if they made not their election of a Pope within three days after they had entered the conclave, from that time they should only have such a proportion of bread and wine to every Cardinal. But Clement the Sixth indulged to them better accommodations for their lodging, and liberty to have two servants each Cardinal, and that, after the expiration of the three days, they should have to their bread and wine an addition of fruit and cheese, and a little quantity of flesh or fish. It was this Pope Clement who purchased the principality of Avignon to the Church for ever; whereas before it was only mortgaged to the Popes for a good sum of money by Jane Queen of Sicily, who held it as feudatory to the church. But from this time it hath appertained to the Pope in his full right; the Emperor Charles the Fourth having likewise confirmed the sale. By this Pope likewise the Jubilee was reduced from every hundred years to every fifty.

Avignon
purchased
by the
Pope.

Innocent
VI.

Upon the death of Clement, Innocent the Sixth succeeded, who found how little a prince the Pope must be, if he were without his dominions in Italy, and the respect of that country. He set his heart therefore, in the first place, to recover some reputation of authority in those parts; and to that purpose sent a Legate de Latere thither, to try how far he could prevail in the rectifying their understandings or recovering their affections: but he found the people of all conditions to be so aliened from any reverence to the Pope, that, excepting only in that province that is called the Patrimony of the Church, the Legate could not so much as get lodging in all the other lands and dominions which belonged to
the

the Pope; nor could he with security be known, nor own his character. In Rome itself, Baroncello Romano usurped the same authority that Nicolao Laurentio had done, and called himself Tribune, and took possession of the Capitol, and took upon him the administration of all that that the other had; but neither with the same gravity nor justice; and yet nobody cared to oppose him, but suffered him to do all that he had a mind to do: of which when Innocent was advertised, and how little his own authority was considered there, he could not think of a better expedient than to set Nicolao (who was still in close custody) at liberty, with the sense of having his life given him, and to whom he owed the obligation. Nicolao went presently to Rome, and no sooner came thither but he found himself welcomed, and in the same respect he had formerly been. He took Baroncello prisoner, and cut off his head, with which nobody seemed to be offended; but then in the exercise of the power himself, he shewed much less temper and discretion than he had formerly done; and by his pride and insolence provoked the people to that degree, that he found he could be no longer safe there, and so endeavoured to have made an escape, but fell into the soldiers' hands, who, enraged, cut him in pieces: and all things returned into the channel in which they had run before, without any more advantage or inclination to the Pope.

It was in the time of this Pope Innocent the Sixth that there was so great and so universal a clamour against all the orders of Mendicant friars, that the Pope was much perplexed with it; and though he was resolved not to part with subjects who were so necessary

CHAP.
V.

Baroncello
Tribune.
Deposed
and put to
death by
Nicolao
Laurentio,
who also is
afterward
put to
death.

Complaints
against the
Mendicant
friars.

CHAP. sary to him, he knew not well how to protect them,
 V. — nor how to silence the complaints against them. The
 Archbishop of Armagh, “*magnus et profundus in*
 “*Theologiâ Magister,*” (as the history stiles him,)
 came purposely to Avignon to prosecute them; and
 very earnestly pressed their total extirpation, as a
 people who “*extendebant falcem suam in messem*
 “*alienam:*” and there was so great a reverence for
 his piety and learning, that it was believed that the
 Pope would have found it necessary to have abridged
 them of divers of their privileges, if that Archbishop
 had not suddenly died in the prosecution; “*de qua*
 “*dicti fratres* (says the author of the life of Inno-
 “cent) *potiùs de GAUDEAMUS quàm de REQUIEM can-*
 “*taverunt.*”

Urban V. Upon the death of Innocent, the Cardinals, being
 shut up in the conclave, fell into great factions upon
 the election of another Pope; which begot such irre-
 conciliable animosities amongst themselves, and to-
 wards one another, that they could agree upon no-
 thing else, than that no Cardinal should be chosen;
 which being resolved upon, they entered into a more
 temperate debate; and in a short time after they
 made choice of a monk of St. Bennet’s order, who
 was a man much esteemed for piety and learning,
 and who at that time was employed in the kingdom
 of Naples, he having been sent thither by Innocent
 about the weighty affairs of the church. When he
 returned, he took the name of Urban the Fifth, and
 the people in all places were much pleased with the
 choice.

Cardinals
 entitled to
 vote in con-
 clave im-
 In this election there was a case determined, that
 was contrary to the received doctrine of the former
 time; nor did the present decision gain so much au-
 thority

thority as to keep it from future controversy. An- CHAP. droinus de Rocha had been made Cardinal by Inno- V. cent the Sixth, when he was *in extremis*; so that he mediately upon their nomination. was never installed in Consistory, nor had a title assigned him. Contrary, however, to all former precedents, and the doctrine received, he was present, and voted in the conclave; where it was resolved, “*quod sola assumptio seu promotio ad Cardinalatum dat vocem in electione Papæ, et non tituli assignatio.*” Nevertheless it hath been since held, that a new Cardinal cannot speak in any Consistory till the Pope first opens his mouth; which he frequently forbears to do for a Consistory or two: and in late time [Clement VIII.*] having not many days before his death made [Conti, a Cardinal,] and presently repented it, he not only refused to open his mouth in the next Consistory, but declared that he should have no voice in the next conclave; whereupon the Cardinals thought that he was to be excluded by the late Pope’s declaration: but in the conclave the Cardinal Joyeuse (notwithstanding that the new Cardinal was thought to be of the Spanish faction) undertook to support the contrary, it may be upon this precedent; and the new Cardinal declaring, that if he were not admitted to his vote he would enter his protestation against the election, it was agreed that he should vote; and in that conclave [Leo XI.] was chosen, and from that time there hath been no more dispute upon that point. Gregory XI. in orig.

France was now the scene of a general devastation, it being shortly after the battle of Poitiers; and Urban V. besieged in Avignon,

* [Ciacconi *Hist. Pontif. Romanorum*, tom. iv. p. 351.—*D’Aubery Hist. du Card. Duc de Joyeuse*, p. 64]

though

CHAP. V. though there was a peace concluded between England and France, and thereupon many soldiers disbanded, (Charles the Fifth being now King,) yet those disbanded soldiers did more mischief than the armies had done; and upon correspondence drew themselves together into one body, consisting of all nations, and chose themselves a captain, under whose conduct they took towns and castles, and gathered great plunder. Amongst other enterprises they besieged the new Pope in Avignon, and would not raise their siege till they had compelled him to lay down a good sum of money for his ransom; the King at the same time causing as much more to be paid them, that the Pope might be freed from that indignity.

Goes to Rome, and after two years' residence there returns to Avignon.

In these distractions, the good Pope, wearied with these insolences, and being still liable to the like, had a great mind in person to visit Italy, without giving notice of it, as his predecessors had done, who had thereby prepared affronts for themselves. In his late journey to Naples he had received great civilities from all the princes and places by and through which he had passed, and had every where left a very good name behind him, and no question had thereby made the conjuncture more favourable to visit Rome itself. Of this his inclination he gave advertisement to the King, whom he would by no means disoblige; and assured him, that with his good liking he might make that journey, and could put all things in order there; or, finding that it was not to be done, he would not fail to return to Avignon. With this promise the King was satisfied, and gave him his consent for the journey; being in truth afflicted and ashamed for the affront he had undergone at Avignon. His journey succeeded

ceeded to his wish ; for in his passage he was received with solemnity and reverence in all places, and reconciled many differences which were between the princes and between great families in divers great cities ; and when he came to Rome, his reception was also according to his wish, and the people were glad to see him. He presently began great buildings there, and encouraged others to do the like ; promising them, that though it was necessary for him to return to Avignon, yet by that time his buildings should be finished, he would be again in Rome : and so having stayed near two years in Rome, he went again to Avignon, where in a short time after he died.

Upon the death of Urban, Gregory the Eleventh was chosen, who was a haughty and imperious man, and resolved to stretch his authority as far as it would reach, in order to make himself and the Papacy more considerable. It was no sooner known that he was placed in that chair, than he received letters from St. Bridget of Sweden, and St. Catharine of Sienna, (who lived in that time in the reputation of very godly women,) in which they both persuaded him with great earnestness, and without any correspondence or communication with each other, that it was God's pleasure that he should leave Avignon, and reside at Rome ; that they had both visions, which required them to signify so much to him ; and that it was necessary for the good of the church, and of his own honour. Upon this repeated advice Gregory resolved with himself to go to Rome ; but he kept it so privately, that, going away by night from Avignon, he was embarked at Marseilles before he was missed, and whilst all men believed him to

CHAP.
V.

Gregory
XI.

Removes
to Rome.

be

CH AP. be still at Avignon: he sent afterwards to the Cardinals
 V. and his family to follow him to Rome; whither he came himself before he was looked for, and was entertained accordingly. This man was so unlike Urban in his carriage and behaviour towards all men, that they had as great a prejudice to his person as aversion to his power.

Lays Flo-
 rence un-
 der an in-
 terdict.

There was grown a great correspondence between those of Rome, who desired to preserve their liberty, and those of Florence, who, notwithstanding the bloody and irreconcilable factions between some great families, governed themselves as a commonwealth, and desired to induce all their neighbours to affect the same government; which made them wish that the Pope's authority might never be again admitted into Rome, lest it should have an influence there, as it had had over all Italy. Gregory had been well informed of the working of this republican spirit, and thought the best way to reduce his Romans, and his subjects of his other dominions, to that temper and obedience that was necessary, would be to break the proud and insolent spirits of their neighbours; and therefore, without enough deliberating upon the method and ground of his proceedings, he declared a very great displeasure against the Florentines: he pretended that they detained his rights from him, and that they were guilty of many disrespects towards him, and to the chair of St. Peter; and therefore, without any of those formalities, which were usual and necessary in an affair of that importance, and with such an adversary, he issued out all his ecclesiastical censures against that city, and interdicted them and all their subjects. The Florentines, how bitter soever their jealousies and animosities

sities were between themselves, were easily united against a common enemy; they compelled the priests to say mass and perform all their other functions, and the people laughed at the interdict, and left the Pope to feed upon his own rage and fury, without making any application to pacify him; and the people of Rome were very glad to see him so notoriously despised. This impious stubbornness vexed him to the heart, and the more, that he found nobody have that sense of it, as he thought they were in conscience bound to have; upon which he fell into a deep melancholy, and seemed to foresee great trouble and miseries which were like to befall the church: and Monsieur Mezeray says, that he much repented that he had given more credit to those deceitful revelations of others, than to the light of his own reason. In this discomposure of mind, and within fourteen months after his coming to Rome, Pope Gregory died, when the court had been absent from thence and remained at Avignon above seventy years.

During this long residence at Avignon, the reputation of the Papacy was very low; all other kingdoms and provinces looking upon the Popes as in wardship to France, and in no degree free to use their own judgments, nor to be equal and just to the interests of any other prince, or of the church itself. And indeed no rank or class of men suffered so much in all places as the clergy did; and the liberties of the Gallican Church were never so much invaded; whilst the Popes themselves grew very rich, and amassed more money than they had ever done before in any other place: for the Gallican Church (which for many years had defended itself by its privileges against the invasions and impositions of their

CHAP. V.
Which the Florentines disregard.

His death.

State of the papal power whilst the Popes resided at Avignon for seventy years.

CHAP.
V.

own sovereigns, and had afterwards unwarily and unadvisedly appealed to the Popes for relief and assistance, and thereby had given them a jurisdiction over them,) now when they were invaded on all hands, and when great impositions were laid on them for the maintenance of the wars, repaired for protection to the Popes at Avignon: they indeed never refused their interposition, and readily mediated with the King; but the conclusion always was, that the King should levy all that he had proposed to do, and the Pope himself (by the King's consent) should likewise raise such a proportion of money upon them as was agreed upon. Thus they were compelled to serve the occasions of both, without their being protected by either. And so it was in all other countries; the Popes never denied any princes to levy any money upon the church for their affairs, and the Kings consented that they should likewise take what they thought requisite. Thus also the Emperor Charles the Fourth, having visited the Pope at Avignon, and performed great respects to him; and having, upon pretence that he would carry an army to the Holy Land, (which he never did,) had liberty given him to raise a great sum upon the church over all Germany, the Pope's collectors likewise received as much as the Pope required. However, during these seventy years residence at Avignon, albeit the authority of the Popes was undervalued, and their jurisdiction limited; there was yet no question who was Pope: so that all princes and states paid him that reverence and submission as by the constitution and custom of their several states was due to him. Neither was there any schism, for the Emperor Ludovicus setting up a poor Franciscan friar,

friar, who called himself Nicholas the Fifth, in the time of John the Two and Twentieth, was in itself so ridiculous, and without a colour of any election, that no other prince acknowledged him; and the poor man himself was in a short time brought prisoner to Avignon, and cast himself, with a halter about his neck, at the Pope's feet; who only cast him into prison, where he remained till he died: so that, I say, in all this time Christian princes were never divided by any notorious schism, but always acknowledged one and the same person to be Pope, how little soever they valued or considered his authority. But we are now to enter upon such a scene of confusion, that as the enormities of the papal chair were most notorious and most grievous to the world, so the reformation seemed most difficult, by their being no resolved or confessed distinction between the head and the members, nor was it agreed for many years together who was Pope.

When Gregory the Eleventh died there were only twenty-three Cardinals in the church, whereof one was then employed in a foreign legation, and nine remained still at Avignon; for Gregory, when (after he had got to Marseilles) he sent to the Cardinals and to his family to follow him to Rome, sent word likewise that he intended to return thither; which he desired the King of France should believe; so that there were at Rome only thirteen Cardinals who entered into the conclave, and of them there were but four Italians. The people of Rome therefore the more apprehended to have the Court carried again from them; which to prevent they flocked in great multitudes to the conclave, and cried out day and night that they would have a Pope who should

be

CHAP.
V.

Schism
for forty
years.
Urban VI.
elected at
Rome.

CHAP. V. be an Italian. And when the Cardinals could not agree upon the election of any particular person amongst themselves, they at last resolved that they would make choice of one out of the college; and thereupon they chose the Archbishop of Barri, a Neapolitan. After the election was made, eight of the French Cardinals went out of the conclave to the castle of St. Angelo, and the other received the Archbishop and consecrated him, who called himself Urban the Sixth, and then the other Cardinals came out of the castle, and all paid him obedience.

Clement VII. elected at Fundi; removes to Avignon.

This Pope was a virtuous and an austere prelate, and of a nature and humour not agreeable to those who had lived so long at Avignon. He was very severe in his reprehensions of the levities and lives of the Cardinals; insomuch that they grew weary of him, and repented their choice; and the eight Cardinals who had been before in the castle of St. Angelo went together to Fundi, in the kingdom of Naples, and there declared that force had been used upon them in the election of Urban, that the see continued still void, and that they resolved (as the better and more sober part of the college) to proceed to the election of a Pope. Accordingly they chose the Bishop of Cambray, who accepted it, and called himself Clement; and made what haste he could with his Cardinals to Avignon, and formed his court there, and created many Cardinals, all France and Naples acknowledging him. And so Clement against Urban, and Urban against Clement, thundered out all the ecclesiastical censures; each giving to the other all the reproaches which those processes are usually stuffed with; and the learned men of the time differed amongst themselves which was the true Pope;

Pope; and some of them declared, that the one and the other of them might be obeyed and submitted unto with a good conscience. The princes of Italy in the mean time were best pleased and got most by the schism, and received all the church revenues to themselves; and when either of the other sent to demand it, their answer was, they knew not to whom it did of right belong.

It was this Pope Urban who was declared by Act of Parliament, in the second year of our Richard the Second, to be the true and lawful Pope; and that the livings of all Cardinals and other rebels to the said Pope should be seized into the King's hands, and the King to answer the profits thereof; and that whosoever within the realm of England should obtain or procure any provision or other instrument from any other Pope than the said Urban, should be out of the King's protection; and but for this Act of Parliament he had never been acknowledged for Pope in England; so much his spiritual power wanted the countenance and confirmation of the temporal. The morosity of Urban continued to that degree, that if he had not at one time created six and twenty new Cardinals, whom he chose out of the best and most learned men of that time, he had been left very near alone; for all the other Cardinals, one only excepted, deserted him, and returned to Avignon; though the Emperor Wenceslaus had sent to Clement, to forbid him to assume to himself the title of Pope.

It was a great countenance to Urban's title, that it was five months before Clement was chosen; in which time he stood sole, and sent his Nuncios to all Christian Princes to dispose them to a concurrence

and

CHAP.
V.

Urban declared by Richard II. and his Parliament to be the true Pope.

Comparative pretensions of Urban and Clement.

CHAP. and good correspondence with him. On the other
 V.
 ——— hand, the force that was upon the conclave was very visible and notorious, and made a great and scandalous noise in the world : it was known that the Cardinals had declared to each other in the conclave, at the time they made their election, that they did it out of fear of their lives, and that if they were at liberty they would not have chosen the Archbishop of Barri ; and that as soon as the Cardinals were able to get out of Rome to Anagnia, they had written to Urban, “ That he could not be ignorant of the force “ that was upon them, nor suppose that, if they had “ been at liberty, they would have chosen him, and “ therefore they advised him not to assume the title, “ and that they would meet at Fundi and make “ choice of a Pope ;” and it was likewise known, that there was so strict a guard kept by Urban upon all the ways and passages, that they were with great difficulty and danger able to get to Fundi, under the protection of that Earl ; which was the reason that the election was not made sooner. Clement also got much reputation by sending to Urban that there might be a general Council called, and that they might both refer their right to the decision and determination of the Council, which he was ready to, but the other refused.

Admitted
 by some
 states, and
 rejected by
 others.

Then the authority that many princes assumed, and the method which they used in the examination of the right and validity of the election, was no small mortification to Urban. The King of Castile, who had acknowledged him, and with whom he had a Nuncio residing in his court, upon second thoughts, and upon the general rumours, called an assembly of all his Bishops and Superiors of all colleges and monasteries,

nasteries, and of all orders, and heard the matter debated by them, and by their unanimous advice changed his mind, rejected Urban, acknowledged Clement, and sent ambassadors to him to Avignon: and (which was more grievous) Gomesius, who had been made Cardinal by Urban, and was at that time his Nuncio in the court of Castile, disclaimed and renounced his master, and acknowledged Clement; who, that he might not be a loser by his good will, made haste to send him a cap; and so he remained where he was, and still Cardinal. This example prevailed with many others of those who had been made Cardinals by Urban; and they also (convinced, as they pretended, by their consciences of the forcible election of Urban, and that the other of Clement was free and fair,) betook themselves to the last, who gratified them likewise with caps. Peter King of Arragon, who had looked on, and appeared a neuter, (though some writers say that he had acknowledged Urban,) sent ambassadors to Avignon; not to Clement; but to be truly informed of the force that had been used upon the conclave in Rome, in which Urban had been chosen. Clement wisely consented, that not only many persons of quality in his court, who had been present in Rome at that time, should be examined by the ambassadors, but that the Cardinals themselves should, upon their corporal oaths, answer to all such questions as the ambassadors thought fit to administer to them: the Cardinals on their part were as willing to set out all the disorders threats and violence that had been upon or towards them; and the ambassadors returned so well satisfied and convinced, that the King resolved immediately to send ambassadors to Clement,

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V.

CHAP.
V.

and to acknowledge him: he was prevented from this by a sudden death; but John his son and successor immediately performed what he knew his father intended. So that Urban had now only Germany, England, and Flanders, who adhered to him; Scotland followed France, and acknowledged Clement.

Schism
forty years
—a proof
that Chris-
tianity may
be preserv-
ed without
a Pope.

It is no easy matter to give an exact account of all the particular actions of Rome and Avignon during this long schism, which continued full forty years; by reason that all the authors who have transmitted what was done were partial to one side or the other; and the whole Christian Church was so divided in opinion of the right succession, that the most equal and indifferent writer, Monsieur Mezeray, declares that it will be a very great presumption in any man to call those who kept their residence in Avignon the Anti-Popes. Upon the whole, I think it may be from this tedious rupture inferred and concluded, that the Christian religion may be preserved in its integrity without a Pope; and that it must have been in great danger in this prodigious vacancy, if the Bishop of Rome were the sole conservator of it.

Boniface
IX. at
Rome.

After eleven years troublesome reign, and without the acknowledgment of so great a part of the Catholic Church, Urban died, and Boniface the Ninth was chosen in his place, being not above thirty years of age. He making no question of his being lawful Pope, renewed all the excommunications and spiritual censures against Clement; and he again thundered out the same against Boniface, who, in addition to the contradictions he found from abroad, found a great weight of vexation at home; the Se-

nate

nate of Rome not suffering him to exercise the least temporal jurisdiction: in which they were so magisterial, that they by force took three or four ecclesiastical persons out of the Pope's own chamber, and carried them to prison, because they had opposed their authority; and by these affronts they forced the Pope to leave the city, and to keep his Court at Assisium.

In the mean time Clement died at Avignon, having governed as Pope sixteen years, and in that time created thirty-four Cardinals; and after his death the Cardinals at Avignon chose Pedro di Luna, who took upon himself the name of Benedict the Thirteenth.

Boniface had, in addition to the vigour of his youth, a great reputation of wisdom and virtue; and so behaved himself, that in the year fourteen hundred (being the year of the Jubilee) the people of Rome sent to entreat him to return thither; which he refused to do, except they would put the whole government into his hands, and receive such magistrates as he would give them. This in the end they were contented to do, and so he returned and possessed himself of that absolute jurisdiction which his successors have since enjoyed: and it may be truly said, that he was the first Pope that ever had Rome in an entire subjection, whatsoever sovereignty they pretended in other parts of the world.

In this Pope's time all learning, and the Greek and Latin tongues, which had suffered a dismal eclipse for near five hundred years, began again to get light, and to be restored to some credit and reputation in the world.

CHAP.
V.

Denial of
the Pope's
Supremacy
in England
in the reign
of Richard
II. by the
Archbi-
shop of
Canterbury
in Parlia-
ment.

In this time also, and about the sixteenth year of our King Richard the Second, the Archbishop of Canterbury made his protestation in open Parliament, "that the Pope ought not to excommunicate any Bishop, or intermeddle for, or touching any presentation to any ecclesiastical dignity recovered in any of the King's courts:" he further protested, "that the Pope ought not to make any translation of any Bishopric within the realm against the King's will; for that the same was the destruction of the realm and crown of England, which hath always been so free as the same hath had none earthly sovereign, but only subject to God in all things touching regalities, and to none other."

Accusation
against the
King for ac-
knowledg-
ing it.

And it was one of the articles in Parliament against King Richard the Second, for which he was deposed, that the crown of England, being freed from the Pope and all other foreign power, the King notwithstanding procured the Pope's excommunication on such as brake the last Parliament, in derogation of the crown statutes and laws of the realm; which is evidence enough (how unwarrantable and wicked soever that proceeding was) what opinion that Catholic time, or at least that Catholic kingdom, had of the Pope's jurisdiction.

Endeavours
of Boniface
IX. to put
an end to
the Schism.

As soon as Boniface was chosen Pope, as he had always professed a great desire to determine the Schism, so he had sent a Carthusian Monk to Clement to desire him to consult upon the proper and best way to give peace to the Church: but he, instead of receiving the overture civilly, caused the messenger to be imprisoned with great strictness, that nobody might resort to him. This had made the greater noise;

noise; and the University of Paris had made such loud complaint of it, that Clement found himself obliged to set the Monk at liberty, and to make many professions of an extraordinary desire to put an end to the Schism.

That University was grown to so great authority in France, that whatsoever they determined found no opposition or contradiction from the Prelates or the Council; and though the crown adhered to Clement, yet his behaviour and depredations upon the Church had exceedingly irreconciled the whole Clergy towards him. He had possessed himself of all the estates of such Bishops and Abbots as died, with such sordid circumstances, that he scarce left their clothes, and the most ordinary furniture of their houses, to their servants: he had exacted a year's full revenue of all the benefices which became vacant by resignation, or mutation, or what way soever, and laid other insupportable burdens upon the Church; and, that the Court might not hearken to complaints against him, he had consented that the Duke of Orleans (who was the great minister in the government of the young King, Charles the Sixth,) should levy a tenth upon the Clergy, and otherwise gratified the great men of the Court. The Cardinals who lived at Avignon were so many tyrants; Clement giving way, and indeed not daring to restrain any of their excesses, which were so great, that as benefices offices or commanderies fell, they had engrossed them to themselves, or extorted great pensions from them, or sold them outright for money; which sacrilegious and simoniacal way of proceeding much incensed many of the principal Doctors of the faculty rather

CHAP.
V.

Power and
proceedings
of the Uni-
versity of
Paris.

CHAP. V. to incline to Urban than to him; and the University began to demand a Council as the only sovereign remedy for those evils.

Death of
Clement,
and election
of Benedict
XIII.

And now, after the death of Urban, upon this Christian overture made by Boniface, and that rough proceeding of Clement towards his messenger, the University of Paris was more inflamed; and when he thought to reconcile himself to them, by feigning a wonderful desire that some good means might be consulted for the ending the Schism, they declared that it was a thing impossible to be done by any other way than by the absolute renunciation of both the pretenders. This Clement would not think of, but employed the Duke of Berry, and other great persons, who were solicitous to support him, to interrupt the consultations of the University, and to prevent any public conclusion; which all his endeavours could not do; but they proceeded with that vigour that many books were published by their order, and so many remonstrances made and sent to Clement, and in an assembly of the Cardinals read in his presence, and even against his will, that in a great fit of choler and rage he died; and though upon the news of it the King of France writ to the Cardinals to defer the making election of any other Pope, they proceeded, after they had made an order in the conclave, (to the observation whereof every man was sworn,) that they would use their utmost power to put an end to the Schism; and that whoever should be chosen Pope should be obliged to resign, if that should be thought necessary: and so they made choice (as hath been said) of Benedict the Thirteenth, who had with great cheerfulness taken the oath.

Upon

Upon this refractory choice of Benedict, Charles the Sixth (in the *lucida intervalla* between his great distempers, when he always assumed the government to himself,) called an assembly of all the Prelates of his kingdom to meet in his palace, to consult together upon the Schism; where it was unanimously agreed that the cession of both pretenders was the easiest and best way to put the Church in peace. Upon which the Dukes of Orleans, Berry, and Burgundy, went with the King's ambassadors, and with the Deputies of the University, to speak with Benedict at Avignon; and informed him of the debate and resolution that had been before the King; and proposed to him that he would perform his part towards the accomplishment thereof. All the Cardinals who were then at Avignon, and were fifteen in number, concurred in the same opinion, one only excepted. Benedict himself seemed inclined at first to satisfy, and only to take time to consider a matter of so great importance; but he employed that time in private conferences with the Princes and ambassadors, severally to work upon them by arguments of all kinds, and such as were most like to prevail with their persons, that they would themselves believe, and then persuade the King, that what was proposed was neither good for his service, nor for the peace of the Church; and he granted to the King a new tenth upon the Clergy, much of which he knew would be for the benefit of some of the great men who were employed. Nothing however could be said or done to the Deputies of the University that could work upon them; and it is probable that their constancy fixed all the rest; so that there appeared no receding in any of them; but they continued jointly

to

CHAP.
V.
Embassy
from
Charles VI.
of France to
persuade
Benedict to
resign.

CHAP. V. to importunate him either to do what they proposed, or to declare his resolution to the contrary. But as he was fully resolved not to satisfy them in the main, so he was as wary to give no such answer as should amount to an absolute denial; and so fenced with them in doubtful expressions and with such delays, that they returned all to Paris without taking their leave of him, which they conceived to be the best denunciation of what he was to expect. The other Christian Princes, who had adhered to Clement, when they heard the resolution of the University of Paris, and the instances that had been made by Charles, resolved to press Benedict to the same proposition: and so, many Princes of Germany, the Kings of Hungary, Castile, Arragon, and Navarre, joined in desiring the cession; but England desired that there might be a general Council. Benedict made great use of this conjunction, and gave one answer to one, and a quite contrary to another; made one proposition to one, and one of another nature to another; and all with such a dexterity and subtilty, that they all believed that he was rather irresolute in the manner of what he was to do, (and as thinking a general Council to be the best expedient to compose all differences and to secure the future peace of the Church, whereas others pressed for a present cession,) than that he had a purpose still to insist upon his own right.

Benedict
besieged in
Avignon.

These shifts and tergiversations of Benedict the more provoked and incensed the King of France and his Council; and another great assembly of the Bishops, Abbots, and Deputies of the University being called, it was unanimously resolved, that France should withdraw its obedience from him until he

con-

conformed to what had been proposed for his cession; and the Cardinals who were at Avignon so far concurred in the same resolution, (to withdraw their obedience and to abandon him,) that they left the Court, and retired to the new town. But Benedict was too hard for them, for he had sent into Arragon (that was his country) for troops of soldiers to be a guard to his person, who arrived at this time; by which he reduced the Cardinals, and shut them up in his palace. Whereupon the Marshal de Boucicaute had order from the King to draw forces together and to besiege Avignon; which he did so effectually, that in a few days he stopped all recourse of victuals from thence, so that they would be very soon in want of bread. The assembly had resolved, that till the Church should be in peace they should conform to their ancient liberties, and be governed by their ordinaries, and follow the ancient canons. But Benedict found a way by his friends in the Court (to whom he was always very liberal) to divert this terrible storm; and when he was reduced to that extremity that he must have rendered himself, an order came to the Marshal that he should not make the siege so strait but that victuals might be got into the town, which he should likewise permit; and that it would be sufficient if he blocked it up that no more forces might enter into it. This present calm, together with a letter from the King, in which he promised never to abandon him, renewed Benedict's reputation again to that degree, that the Cardinals gladly reconciled themselves to him; and the city asked his pardon; and the King of Sicily made him a visit. All this alteration proceeded from the factions and emulations amongst the great men in the govern-

CHAP. V. government; who, in the time of the King's distraction, and then upon his *lucida intervalla*, made and altered all counsels and resolutions according as their power was in the several seasons. And the Duke of Orleans was so solicitous for the authority of Benedict, and that their submission might not be withdrawn from him, that he declared that he would himself be caution for his good intention; and that when the time should be ripe for it he would in all things conform to the King's pleasure; and hereupon the kingdom returned to the obedience of Benedict with the approbation and consent of the University itself, and of the whole kingdom; Normandy only excepted, which would not be persuaded to have any more recourse to Benedict. Being in this manner fortified, and (as he thought) now well settled in the Papacy, so he grew more insolent and vexatious to the Clergy, and usurped more authority over them than he had ever done before; by which he quickly lost the University, that began again to inveigh against his proceedings; and when affairs were in this state Boniface died, after he had reigned fifteen years.

Submission
of France.

Innocent
VIII. suc-
ceeds Boni-
face IX.

After the death of Boniface, Innocent the Eighth was elected, and the rather, because whilst he was Cardinal he was much taken notice of for censuring the Popes for continuing the Schism, and Christian Princes for suffering them to do so; and had himself proposed and taken a solemn oath in the conclave, that whosoever should be chosen Pope should endeavour by all possible means to compose and put an end to it; but after he was Pope himself he would never so much as suffer the ways for the doing it to be debated in his presence. The University of Paris however prosecuted the removal of this scandal very vigorously,

vigorously, and sent Deputies to Rome to Innocent; and with more passion complained to the Parliament against the University of Thoulouse, that had presumed to write a declaration in defence of Benedict, and likewise had sent a very bold letter to the King on his behalf; for which (notwithstanding all the interest of Benedict's friends in the court, and his own interposition by a Cardinal, whom he had sent on purpose on the behalf of the University of Thoulouse) the Parliament of Paris pronounced and declared, that the letter should be burnt before the ports of Thoulouse Lyons and Montpellier, and that process should be awarded against those who had composed it. This was a new mortification to Benedict, who had undertaken to have so much interest in Innocent that he would persuade him to resign, and give over his pretences, which though he was not like to do, death did; for Innocent lived not two years, and so the chair became vacant again.

Innocent being dead, Gregory the Twelfth was chosen, who immediately sent to Benedict, that they would both quit the pontificate, to the end that the church might be supplied with one whose rights should be unquestionable; which Benedict seemed to consent to; but it was quickly found to be a collusion between them, for they pretended to meet together to adjust the manner of their abdication, and seemed to be in so good earnest that they both began their journey, the one from Rome, and the other from Avignon, and put himself on board his gallies at Nice. But then much time was spent as to what passes they should get for their security. The King of France offered all they could desire of passes or convoys, and all other princes did the like; but they

CHAP. V.
 Gregory XII. succeeds Innocent VIII. His collusive proceedings with Benedict XIII.

were

CHAP. V. were not to be satisfied with any thing that was proposed: upon which the King of France (who enjoyed a long interval) expressed a wonderful displeasure, and resolved, against all importunity of Benedict's faction, to publish his letters of withdrawing all obedience from him: of which Benedict being advertised, he resolved to try another expedient than he had yet made use of to divert that tempest, and sent a bull to Paris to inhibit and forbid the publishing any such subtraction under pain of excommunication; and sent Sancio Lupi, and another of his servants, to deliver the bull to the King himself and to the Duke of Berry, who caused the men presently to be arrested and kept in close custody.

Benedict's bull torn in pieces by the Rector of the University of Paris.

France withdraws all obedience from the Pope.

The Council was presently assembled, and the Deputies of the University; whereupon a little penknife was put through the bull, and then the Rector of the University tore it in pieces. This being done, the subtraction was published with all formality; and then order was given for proceeding in justice against the messengers who brought the bull; and their sentence was, that they should be drawn twice about the palace in a cart, and then they should be set upon a scaffold, with mitres of paper upon their heads, and in painted coats, with the arms of Benedict, and that they should be there reprehended by a grave Doctor for their presumption, and so to be carried back again to prison: all which was executed with the utmost rigour; and many Prelates and other ecclesiastical persons, who were known to be of Benedict's party, were committed to prison. This proceeding discouraged both the Popes, who pretended to meet in Savoy to prosecute their dissimulation, and they no sooner received the news, but they resolved to shift

shift for themselves. Benedict upon his gallies fled into Catalonia, being yet owned by his own prince the King of Arragon; and Gregory made haste to Sienna by land; both of them abandoned by their Cardinals.

CHAP.
V.

In the time of this Pope Gregory the Twelfth, and of his two predecessors, our King Henry the Fourth reigned in England. He had raised himself to the crown too foully to be willing to provoke or make more enemies than he had, and valued himself very much upon the opinion the world had of his sanctity, and spake of nothing more than of a voyage to the Holy Land; and in the beginning of his reign he did all he could to divert his people from making complaints, or seeking redress against the oppression of the church of Rome, which in the weakness of the former King, and the distractions of those times, had insinuated itself: yet in the ninth year of his reign he could not avoid to enact in Parliament, that the Pope's collectors should not from thenceforth levy any more money within the realm for first fruits of any ecclesiastical dignity, as due by any provision from Rome, on pain of *præmunire*; and to appoint that all the former statutes made in those cases should be rigorously executed.

Henry IV.
of England
prohibits
the levying
of first
fruits for
the Pope.

And in the thirteenth year of his reign there was a very signal case, which is a convincing evidence and manifestation of what account the Pope's supremacy was then in England. The Archbishop of Canterbury complained in Parliament, that the University of Oxford had obtained a bull from the Pope to be clearly exempted from the visitation of the said Archbishop, to the end that they might better support Heretics and Lollards; notwithstanding which bull King

Archbishop
of Canter-
bury claims
jurisdiction
over the
University
of Oxford
in opposi-
tion to the
Pope's bull,
and the
Parliament
confirms
the Archbi-
shop's ju-
risdiction.

Richard

CHAP. Richard had ordered, that the said University should
 V. be subject to his, the Archbishop's visitation: that however in this King's time he had been disturbed by the Chancellor, and the Proctors of the University, (whom he named,) and hindered from making his visitation; whereupon it had been by his Majesty's direction, decreed in chancery, that the said whole University and all orders persons and faculties in the same, should be fully subject to the visitation of the said Archbishop and his successors, and to his and their officers; and that as often as the said Archbishop or his successors, or his or their officers, were therein by the said Chancellor interrupted; their liberties should be seized into the King's hands until the Archbishop were thereto restored; and further, that for every time of such interruption, the Chancellor or other officer should be bound to pay to the King one thousand pounds: all which articles and orders were at the request of the Archbishop confirmed by assent of Parliament: which the Archbishop durst never have demanded, nor probably would such a Catholic Parliament have consented to it, against an express bull of the Pope, if any such primacy or jurisdiction of the Pope had been acknowledged in England.

Council at
 Pisa elect
 Alexander
 V.

The Cardinals having thus abandoned both Benedict and Gregory, a Council was called at Pisa; where the Cardinals of both factions met, and summoned both Benedict and Gregory to appear; and commanded all people to withdraw their obedience from both, till the Council should proceed to a new election; and now only the Kings of Arragon and Scotland submitted to and obeyed Benedict; and only the kingdom of Naples, and some few cities of Italy,

Italy, obeyed Gregory. The Council at Pisa pro- CHAP. V. ceeded to declaring both Popes schismatical, and en- joined the people to obey neither of them, and then chose the Archbishop of Milan to be Pope, who was called Alexander the Fifth, and went to Rome, and was crowned there : and in this perplexity the Archbishop of Florence declared, that all three Popes might be obeyed with a very good conscience. Be- nedict called a Council at Perpignan, and condemned the Council at Pisa, and made nine new Cardinals ; and Gregory went out of Rome to a little town in the patriarchat of Aquileia, and there excommunicated the Cardinals at Pisa for schismatical.

Alexander being thus chosen, and, in the opinion of all men who had reverence for the Council, esteem- ed the true and only Pope, Lewis Duke of Anjou came to him, and the Pope, with the consent of the Council, gave him the investiture of Naples ; and he gladly accepted it, though it had cost his father and his brother so dear, and though France was in too ill a state to give him any assistance ; for our Harry the Fifth was then in the bowels of it with a victorious army. The new Pope quickly found that the long Schism, which was not yet at an end, had so weaken- ed his authority, that, even where his person was ac- cepted and he acknowledged to be Pope, his power was disputed and rejected in matters in which his predecessors had been always obeyed. This Alexan- der had formerly been a Cordelier, and as soon as he was Pope he thought it very fit to express some gra- titude to that order in which he had been bred ; and yet, that he might not draw more envy upon it than it could bear, he communicated his favour equally to the other Mendicant orders, and so granted a new privilege

CHAP. V. privilege to the four Mendicant orders, the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustines, and Carmes, that they should administer all their sacraments within the parishes, and receive the tithes where people were willing to give it to them.

The University of Paris expels all who accept this grant.

The University of Paris was so much incensed with this novelty, that they cut off and expelled from their body, and all the privileges that belonged thereunto, all those four orders, if they would not renounce whatsoever was granted to them by that bull. The Dominicans and the Carmes durst not contest it, and quietly submitted to the decree of the University; but the Cordeliers and the Augustines were refractory, and insisted upon the privileges the Pope had granted to them; whereupon they were deprived of the chairs they had in the University, and likewise of their liberty to take confessions; by which the Dominicans gained well, as the Cordeliers had formerly done upon the displeasure of the University to the other.

Death of Alexander V. and election of John XXIII. who repeals the grant.

There is no doubt but that Alexander would have loudly resented this affront if his reign had not been very short, and he had had any time to have declared his sense of it; but he lived only eight months after he had been chosen: and his successor, who was presently chosen, and called himself John the Three and Twentieth, was so far from being willing to enter into a contest with the University of Paris, that, as soon as he was elected, he cancelled and repealed all those privileges, and left all the orders in the state they were before, and thereby seemed to confess that his predecessor had exceeded his jurisdiction. Of this Pope the Spanish writers say, "*Era Juan harto mejor para Soldado o Capitan que no para*"

“*para Pontifice* :” and it is very true he did a very rough act as soon as he was in his chair; for he granted the Crusade against Laodislaus King of Naples; and, having sent it to be preached all over Germany, when it was published in Prague it gave that offence and scandal to the people, that they rose in tumult, and said that the Pope was Anti-Christ, otherwise he would not grant the Crusade against Christians, which was only proper to be done against Infidels: and if this was not the beginning of the [Reformers] in that city and kingdom, it was a very great countenance to them, who had not been taken notice of.

CHAP.
V.
Crusade
against the
King of
Hungary.

By this time Sigismund was chosen Emperor, who was brother to Wenceslaus, who had been deposed; and he found that the church was as far from peace as it had been in any time of the Schism. Instead of two, there now remained three, who with equal confidence assumed the chair, and usurped the same power to each which had been claimed when there was no doubt of the person: and though all adhered still to John, who had submitted to Alexander, yet the world was unsatisfied still to whom the right belonged. The Council of Pisa, that was risen, and had appointed another Council to meet within three years, had not obtained the reputation of being a General Council: it did not appear by what authority it had been called; nor were the ambassadors of many princes there; nor had it reformed the Schism, but added a third Pope to the other two pretenders, who began to recover new friends and dependants. John had now sent out his summons to call a Council to Rome, which in many respects was not thought a convenient place for it to assemble in. And most of the Kings and Princes had earnestly besought Si-

Sigismund
elected
Emperor.

CHAP. gismund by his imperial authority to call a Council
 ——— V. ——— to such a place as he thought fit, and they would all assist him with their authority till the Schism should be ended.

Council of
 Constance.

Sigismund had at that time some differences with the republic of Venice, and went himself into Italy; where they say that John sent his Legates to him to consult upon the place for the Council to assemble, and that they agreed together that it should be at the city of Constance upon the Rhine, and that the Pope appointed the day for the meeting. Be this as it will, Constance was the place; and the Emperor came in person thither before the first session, and assisted in it in his imperial accoutrements, John being likewise present; but because many of the Prelates and ambassadors were upon the way, and as it was in the winter season, the second session was deferred for some months. The day being come, John went up to the throne that was prepared for him; and, after he had sat there for some time, he arose, and, turning to the altar, read a paper, in which he promised and obliged himself to renounce the Papacy, in case Gregory and Benedict would do the same, or if they should chance to die: and with this the Council was well satisfied, and forthwith summoned Benedict and Gregory to appear within such a time appointed. Some say there were certain complaints and accusations prepared and preferred against John, which produced great fear and apprehension in him. But the Council, before it would enter upon any thing that was controverted, began with asserting its own power and jurisdiction, and frankly declared, that a General Council in matters of faith and general reformation is above the Pope, and that all Christians, and the Pope himself, is bound

bound in those occasions to submit to its determinations. CHAP.
V.

This ground being laid, they fell to the business; and John (whether upon the fear of his accusation, or sorrow for the engagement he had made,) stole out of the town, and fled to Frederic Duke of Saxony, who entertained him, notwithstanding the process made against him by the Council for so doing. But John himself in a short time appeared so irresolute and void of courage, that all his friends forsook him; and Frederic (to make his peace with the Emperor,) delivered him up to him, and so he was put in prison; and, after he was deprived, he consented to the sentence, and made a solemn renunciation of the Papacy into the hands of the Council.

This being done, Gregory, though he thought not fit to be present in person, sent Charles Malatesta to make his full renunciation, who performed it accordingly: and the Emperor and Council sent an express to give him thanks, and to make great expressions of respect and reverence towards him; but the good man died within few days after of grief (as some writers say) for what he had done; and it is generally agreed that he had been canonically chosen, and was the true and lawful Pope. Benedict hereupon refused to appear at the Council; and sent them word, that if there had been heretofore any doubt of his right and title, it was now clear by the renunciation of the other two, by which he became the true and unquestionable Pope; and so the Council was neither lawful, nor had any authority over him.

The Council, though it doubted not its own authority, desired rather the taking in of all parties

CHAP. V. who adhered; and, to persuade him to do as the other two had done, they sent other ambassadors again to him; and the Emperor Sigismund himself went to Perpignan to confer with him, but could not in any degree persuade him, nor get him to make other answer than he had formerly sent to the Council. So that; upon the Emperor's return to Constance, and the ambassadors of England Germany Italy Spain and France giving their consents, the Council pronounced sentence against Benedict, and deprived him of the Papacy, declaring him schismatical, and a perturbator of the peace of the Church and of Christendom; and likewise condemned as schismatics the King of Scotland, (who was the only King that adhered to him,) and all other persons who held Benedict for the true Pope. The see being now void, the Council pronounced a decree, that within five years there should be another Council called in Pavia, and that afterwards, for the time to come, from ten years to ten years, there should always be a General Council; which decree, if it had been since observed, would probably (whatever abatement there would have been of the grandeur of Popes) better have preserved the peace and unity of Christian religion.

Martin V. The Church being now void, the Council appointed (as the most reasonable expedient to procure an universal submission to and acceptance of the person who should be now elected,) that six persons of the five nations mentioned before, whereof three or four were Bishops, and the other learned men, should assist in the conclave for the election of a new Pope: and so those thirty entered the conclave with the three and twenty Cardinals, who were on the place; and

and after much difficulty they all agreed in the choice of the Cardinal Colonna, who called himself Martin the Fifth, and acknowledged the Emperor to be "*Restorador della Christiandud y reformador del Estado Ecclesiastico,*" as the Spanish pontificals confess. And since this method of allotting the several nations a part in the election of a Pope was once thought necessary for the peace of the church, and therefore can at no time be thought unlawful, it might be wondered at that all Catholic princes, who admit the papal authority in any degree to have an influence upon their dominions, do not insist upon having still that share in the conclave in the choice of the Pope; if it were not very plain, that they allow that authority more or less as they judge convenient for their affairs, without any other obligation of conscience as in matter of religion.

Doctor Harpsfield (whose knowledge or integrity in history no Roman Catholic doth suspect,) says, in his Ecclesiastical History of England, that in this Council of Constance there was a treaty and agreement between Pope Martin and Chichely Archbishop of Canterbury, (who was a Cardinal, and sent by our Harry the Fifth to be present in that Council,) upon the reformation of many particulars of which the Archbishop complained with reference to England; amongst the rest the Pope promised, that the number of Cardinals should not hereafter be so excessive, lest the multitude should bring them into contempt, and that they should be chosen "*ex omnibus promiscuè gentibus idque ex Cardinalium reliquorum voluntate et consensu:*" and the Cardinal complaining of the multitude of Indulgences which were sent into England for the benefit of some parti-

CHAP.
V.

Agreement between Martin V. and Chichely Archbishop of Canterbury, for limiting the number of Cardinals and repressing the abuse of Indulgences.

CHAP. cular churches, which whosoever should visit and
 V. offer there should enjoy the privileges and benefits granted thereby; and that, besides the oppression which the people suffered in many places by the collectors and treasurers for the said Indulgences, the parishioners of other parishes upon those occasions frequented and resorted unto those particular churches, and made their offerings there, to the defrauding their own proper curates of the churches and parishes where they inhabited; upon these complaints the Pope granted this remedy; “*Facultas data est Episcopis, ut idoneè illi rei prospicerent, rescissis etiam, ubi scandalum ministrarent, Indulgentiis illis;*” which is evidence enough that Indulgences were very grievous, and complained of many years before Luther’s time; and that, upon complaint from England, reformation was sooner granted than in other places: the temper of that nation being well known, that they would quickly remove that themselves which did not please them, if it were not quickly done by them who pretend to authority to impose it.

Return of
 the Pope
 to Rome.

The Pope formally took his oath that he would faithfully observe all the articles which were established in the Council; and the Council was thereupon dissolved; and the Pope began his journey towards Rome, remaining some months in Florence, that there might be the more [care] taken for his reception in Rome: and in that time John the Three and Twentieth, who had been deposed by the Council and committed to prison, corrupted his keeper, and, whilst the Pope remained in Florence, came on a sudden into the room where he was, cast himself at his feet, acknowledged him for the lawful Pope, and begged

begged his pardon; whereupon the Pope received him graciously, made him Bishop of Tusculum, and gave him the cap of a Cardinal: he then prosecuted his journey to Rome, (where he arrived in September one thousand four hundred twenty-one,) which had been a hundred and ten years without a peaceable Pope; for the Popes had remained in Avignon seventy years, and the Schism had continued full forty years, so that the people were quite altered both in their fashions and in their language.

But, alas! all this did not put an end to this Schism. Benedict refused still to submit, and took upon him the title and exercised the jurisdiction of Pope. And shortly after Alonso King of Arragon, (taking offence at the Pope about the business of the kingdom of Naples,) when the Council was called at Pavia, at the five years' end, in pursuance of what had been decreed in the Council of Constance, sent his ambassador to Pavia, and proposed to the Council the hearing and examining the case again of Benedict; with which the Pope was so exceedingly frightened, that he found some means, on pretence of sickness and other accidents, to suspend the Council, and after some time to call a new one at Basil; and during this suspension Benedict died, having continued with the stile of Pope near thirty years; which a grave writer makes as an argument that he was not true Pope, because, says he, no true Pope hath ever yet attained to the years of St. Peter, which were but five and twenty.

The death of Benedict produced not an end to the troubles; for Alonso, to be revenged of the Pope, caused the Cardinals who had remained with Benedict to choose a Canon of the church of Barcelona to

CHAP.
V.

Death of
Benedict
XIII.

Clement
VIII. An-
ti-Pope
elected in
Spain. Af-
ter five

CHAP. be Pope, who accepted it, and was called Clement
 V. the Eighth, and created Cardinals, and kept the stile
 of Pope near five years; till Martin made peace with
 Alonso, and gave him the investiture of Naples; in
 recompence whereof Alonso returned to his obedi-
 ence, and caused Clement to resign, who was by the
 Pope made a Bishop. And so the Schism, which
 had lasted little less than fifty-two years, expired,
 and Martin remained Pope without a rival,

The Cardi-
 nal Bishop
 of Win-
 chester
 made a
 Privy-
 Counsellor
 to Henry
 VI. with
 an exclu-
 sion from
 council in
 all matters
 concerning
 the Pope.

This fell out about the year a thousand four hun-
 dred twenty-six, which was within three or four
 years of the beginning of the reign of our King Hen-
 ry the Sixth; during whose unhappy reign, though
 there was all fair correspondence held with the Pope,
 who always encroached most in such times of faction
 and contention, yet there was one memorable de-
 termination in Parliament, which shewed with what
 jealousy the power and authority of the Pope was
 then looked upon. The Bishop of Winchester was
 then made a Cardinal by Pope Martin, and after-
 wards called to be of the King's Council, with this
 protestation, "that the said Cardinal should absent
 "himself in all affairs and councils of the King,
 "wherein the Pope or see of Rome was looked
 "upon;" and this the Cardinal consented to, and ob-
 served accordingly; which had been a very unnatu-
 ral limitation, if the Pope had been acknowledged to
 have had the supreme spiritual jurisdiction.

 CHAP. VI.

*Eugenius IV. A. D. 1431. to Paul III. A. D. 1534.
from the end of the Schism, to the Reformation.*

UPON the death of Martin, Eugenius the Fourth ^{Eugenius IV.} was chosen, who began his reign with persecuting the family of his predecessor. The Council of Basil continued to sit, and declared, (as that of Constance had done,) that the Pope was subject to the Council; and thereupon summoned him to appear, and to preside in person. The Pope, without contradicting any of their conclusions, used all the means he could to translate the Council to Bologna; but the Council absolutely refused; and the Emperor Sigismund, and Charles the Seventh of France, concurred with them, and resolved it should continue still at Basil; where the Bohemians got a decree, that they might continue the communion, *sub utráque specie*.

This Pope, Eugenius the Fourth, left a lasting monument to Christendom of his mischievous power and jurisdiction, in two infamous dispensations which he granted, to dispense with oaths formally and religiously entered into: the first was his absolving the Duke of Burgundy from the faith and promise that

^{Eugenius IV. dispenses with the oaths of the Duke of Burgundy and Ladislaus King of Hungary.}

he

CHAP. he had given to the King of England, never to enter
 VI. into any treaty with France, without the consent of the English; and the Pope's dispensing with him to break that oath was attended with the loss of much blood, and was really the original cause and ground of the ruin of that most illustrious family: the other was in the case of Ladislaus King of Hungary, who had made a good and advantageous peace with the Turks, and with all solemnity had sworn to observe it; but this Pope (though Christendom was at that time enough distracted by bloody wars amongst themselves,) importuned and prevailed with him to break this peace, and dispensed with him for his oath; upon which that bloody battle of Varnas was fought with the Turks, in which that young King lost his own life, and all his army, "a wound (says "Monsieur Mezeray) which bleeds yet at this very "day;" and he says farther, "that the Popes did "things of that nature very often, believing that it "did belong to that power which our Saviour had "granted them of binding and unbinding." From these unhappy and impious precedents, the Turks themselves learned the infidelity which they had not before practised, and justified all those barbarous violations of the treaties and conditions which they made in the kingdom of Cyprus, and many other places, which cost the lives of so many thousand Christians.

Council of
 Basil.

After great and high contests, the Pope requiring one thing, and the Council another, and threatening to depose him, the Pope by degrees, by gifts and promises, wrought upon some of the Prelates to withdraw from Basil; and then published his bulls for dissolving the Council at Basil, and for convening another

another at Ferrara: whither those Prelates which adhered to him came accordingly, and where they had the more credit, by the Emperor of Constanti-
 nople's repairing thither to compose the disputes with the Eastern Church. The Council at Ferrara declared those who remained at Basil schismatics; and they at Basil (with whom the Emperor France Naples and Milan joined,) declared the apostolical chair to be void, and, proceeding to a new election, chose Amadeo Duke of Savoy: he had long before given over the world, and retired into a monastery; yet he accepted this election, (which Germany Spain and France, and so much of Italy as Naples and Milan contain, concurred,) and came to the Council at Basil, and took the name of Felix the Fifth.

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Council of Ferrara.

Amadeo, Duke of Savoy, elected; takes the name of Felix V.

Eugenius had this likewise added to his affliction, that he was driven out of Rome too by the people; and after seven years absence he returned thither, but it was only a little before his death. The greatest part of the time that he was banished from Rome he spent in Florence, of which Machiavel, in his History of Florence, makes a very pleasant relation. At that time Cosmo de Medici was banished by the power and faction of the Albizi, and confined to Padua. The year following, when the election of new magistrates was to be, there being a design, or at least thought to be, to create a new Bailiff, and then to recal Cosmo de Medici, the contrary party, of which Messer Rinaldo delli Albizi was the chief, put themselves in arms; nor would they be persuaded to lay down their arms, though the Signiory disclaimed any such purpose, either to choose a new Bailiff, or to recal Cosmo. Pope Eugenius, however, who was a friend to the Albizi and that party, gave so much credit

Banishment of Eugenius IV. to Florence. Election of the Albizi, and recal of Cosmo de Medici.

CHAP. VI. credit to the professions and protestations of the Signiory, that he prevailed with Messer Rinaldo to dismiss the people, and lay down his arms, and to stay himself with him in his palace; where he gave him his word and faith, that he should be secure from any injury or affront. The Pope having thus far prevailed, the Signiory no sooner perceived that the party was dispersed and disarmed, but they sent privately to Pistoia for soldiers to come into the city, and then they chose a new Bailiff, and recalled Cosmo de Medieci, who was received in triumph by all the best of the people of all conditions, and was saluted "*Benefattore del Popolo, et Padre della Patria*;" and presently after Messer Rinaldo delli Albizi, and all the chief of his party, notwithstanding all the interposition and importunity the Pope could use, were banished. The Pope was infinitely displeased and grieved for having been made the instrument to cozen and undo his friends, and to promote those who were not loved by him: he made a thousand excuses to Messer Rinaldo for having been so much abused himself, without which he could not have abused him: to which Messer Rinaldo answered, that his friends giving less credit to him than they ought to have done, and his believing the Pope more than he should, had brought this ruin upon him; but that he had reason to complain most of, and to be offended with himself, for believing, "*che voi che erate stato cacciato della patria vostra potessi tener me nella mia*:"—"That he who was driven out of his own country, could have credit enough to preserve him in his country;" and so he went into banishment, from whence he never returned.

After

After Eugenius was dead, Nicholas the Fifth was chosen to succeed him, and carried himself with that respect to the Emperor and other Princes, and with that dexterity towards the Council of Basil, that it was consented by a full consent to be dissolved; and Felix, renouncing his right, was made Cardinal and Legate of Germany.

CHAP. VI.
Nicholas V. succeeds Eugenius IV. A. D. 1450. Felix resigns.

This was about the year one thousand four hundred and fifty, a little before the time that Christianity received that deadly wound in the loss of Constantinople to the Turk, where the Christian Emperor was himself killed in the storm: and that dismal and irreparable damage cannot be imputed to any human cause, but that fatal Schism in the Church, which for so many years kept all Christian Kings divided in that quarrel, and diverted them from being united in any one honourable or generous action for the good of Christianity; and to that accursed dispensation of the Pope, by which Ladislaus was induced to break the faith he had given.

Constantinople taken by the Turks.

Nor did ever any Pope interpose or desire to procure such an union; but the Popes professed and avowed such an implacable animosity against the Greek Church, because it would not submit (as it had no reason to do,) to their extravagant jurisdiction, that it is evident to all the world that they rather desired to see them live in servitude under Infidels, than that they should be free members of Christ's Church, without being subjects to their lawless authority. To decline and renounce that authority, they have however much more authentic evidence of primitive tradition, than the Popes can produce for their unreasonable pretences; besides a concurrence of much the greater part of Christendom with them in the

Causes and consequences of the separation between the Church of Rome and the Greek Church.

same

CHAP. VI. same refusal and protestation ; the which with great
— VI. — ignorance, or greater impudence, the most active men for the Roman Church would not have to be believed in Europe ; but they persuade men to believe (and prevail over too many by being believed,) that none but the Protestants, and those of the reformed religion, refuse to submit to the infallible judgment and determination of the Bishop of Rome. It is recorded to the honour and excellent memory of that good Pope Nicholas the Fifth, that he was never seen to smile after that fatal loss of Constantinople, but spent the remainder of his wearisome life, that did not last above two years after, in continual acts of piety and mortification. If his successors had continued in that blessed temper and just sense of that calamity, the reparation would have been long since brought to pass, and the daily triumphs of that brutal enemy over the flock of Christ would have been prevented, by confining him to his old limits. But nothing is more notorious than that the Popes, from that time to this, do much rather wish that Constantinople may remain in the possession of the grand Signior, than be in the hands of a Christian Emperor, by whose lawful authority and jurisdiction over them they have so often been restrained and controlled in their greatest excesses, and as often imprisoned and deposed, as appears by what hath before been faithfully alleged. It is also very observable, that the most dangerous and scandalous schisms have arisen in the Church, since the Emperors have been weakened and deprived of their just authority ; and that Christian Princes have always, upon those occasions, travelled and laboured to compose those differences, and to restore
peace

peace to the Church ; whilst no Pope hath ever yet endeavoured to extinguish any one schism, by departing from the least tittle of his own interest and grandeur. And it is also notorious, that what hath been ever yet done towards a reconciliation of the Greek and Latin Churches, hath been attempted and endeavoured by the Christian Emperors, with the consent and approbation of the Patriarchs, as the only natural means under heaven to extend the Christian bounds, and to drive both the Mahometans and Pagans into narrower quarters to dispute with each other ; and that no Pope hath to this day ever contributed towards that blessed reconciliation, by shewing the least inclination to recede from, or to qualify his vain pretences to a supreme jurisdiction, which in truth (whatever is pretended of essential and fundamental differences in religion, concerning the Trinity, and other points, which are equally embraced by them as by us) is the sole important matter that keeps that wound from closing ; and this being agreed would quickly produce an agreement in all other particulars : whereas the opposing this subjection is so vital a part of the religion of the Greek Church, and so contrary to the Christian doctrine that was first preached to them before this part of the world was informed of it, that they choose rather to be subject to the Turk in temporals, than to the Pope in spirituals. That this is the sole substantial ground of this contestation, so pernicious to all Christendom, except to the Court of Rome, needs no other evidence than the connivance and indulgence that the Popes have granted to those small members of the Greek Church, such as part of Muscovy, and of Armenia, which have made a verbal

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CHAP. VI. profession of subjection to the Pope; upon which he is well contented that they receive the Sacrament in both kinds, that their priests may marry, and he further dispenses with their practice of many other particulars, which they persuade their neighbours are against the faith in Christ: so that the ambition of this worldly greatness and Supremacy is the sole ground that divides the Pope's flock from Christ's flock, and makes his Vicar believe that such only are within the Church who are under his peculiar obedience, and that the rest (how observant soever of their Saviour's precepts) are to be left to Christ's own immediate care, to be defended against Turks and Pagans under the security of his promise, that "the gates of hell shall not be able to prevail;" whilst the Popes themselves observe and perform better intelligence, and more rules of justice and amity with those Infidels, than towards those other Christians.

Calixtus
III.

Upon the death of Pope Nicholas, Calixtus the Third, a Spaniard of the house of Borgia, was chosen Pope without opposition, being then above fourscore years of age, which is always a principal motive and recommendation in those elections. He reigned not above three years, which was too short a time to make him troublesome to his neighbours, or to enter upon any contests in his jurisdiction. The chastisement and mortification from the Councils of Constance and of Basil kept those feathers yet from growing, with which they impeded their wings afterwards to mount very high, and to make great flights. The Spanish writers mention a letter that was found written by this Pope Calixtus, all with his own hand, to the Queen of Arragon, in which he said, "*que le*
"*devia*

“ *devia mas, que a su madre ; pero que no conviene se* CHAP. VI.
 “ *sepa cosa tan grande,*” as Mariana remembers in
 his history.

The distemper that had threatened the Church in the Council of Basil, to which France had adhered, grew to that height that it deposed a Pope, Eugenius the Fourth, and elected another, Felix the Fifth, who contested it full five years, as hath been said before ; and he in truth then resigned it rather as a piece of bounty, and to give peace and quiet to the Church, than that he doubted his title ; for besides that he had all things granted to himself that he desired, all his friends who had been made Cardinals by him were confirmed in the same dignities : and the Council had likewise made itself so terrible, that all succeeding Popes could not but have the image of a deposition still before their eyes. Of all this Charles the Seventh of France had made that use and benefit, that (after he had given himself some ease by many victories he had obtained over the English, and by regaining most of the principal towns which had been long possessed by them) he thought it time to redeem the poor Gallican Church from that insupportable tyranny which that of Rome had long usurped and exercised upon it ; and of which it had as long complained without redress, whilst the crown was too weak to vindicate itself from present outrages, much less from past oppressions. It was now notorious that the policy of Philip the Fair in drawing the Court of Rome to Avignon was not founded upon that true wisdom and foresight which made it lasting ; and that it rather contributed to the particular end and appetite of that King, and one or two of that short race, than to the

Charles VII. of France by his Pragmatic restores the liberties of the Gallican Church.

CHAP. greatness of the King, or happiness of the subject.
VI.

For as, during the time of the Pope's residence there, they took the opportunity of several distractions in that kingdom to exercise a greater sovereignty over the crown itself than they had ever before presumed to do; so, when their power was restrained and controlled in all other provinces, especially in Italy itself, they then made a prey of the poor Church of France, by imposing what impositions and tribute they pleased upon it. In that time the Annates and Tenths had their birth, and several other taxes, which the Gallican Church had not been accustomed to, and from which they had been able to preserve themselves by their own old privileges and immunities. But now, when their own emulations and divisions had first by their Appeals introduced a superior jurisdiction, from which they had been originally exempted, and that jurisdiction, which used not to be concerned till it was called upon at so great a distance from them as Rome, was now brought into their own neighbourhood, and upon the matter into their bowels, and would not stay till it was resorted to, but took all occasions and opportunities to extend itself, it grew too formidable to be contended with: and when they appealed to the Court for relief and protection, the remedy proved so much worse than the disease, that, by the Pope's consent, as much more was laid upon the Church for the benefit of the Court as he had taken for his own occasions; and this equality in enlarging and multiplying the oppression was always the fruit and benefit of the complaint; all which hath been more particularly observed and mentioned in the proper place. But now, I say, Charles the Seventh, upon this good
con-

conjuncture of the Council of Basil in abating the pretences of the Popes, took care to pull up all those oppressions by the roots, by enacting and publishing that Pragmatique which freed the Church from all those enterprises of the Court of Rome, and which proved the ground of so many warm disputes afterwards, when the State was no less engaged in the defence and support of it than the Church itself. The poor old Pope knew no better way to resent the affront done to the holy chair than by manifesting all imaginable respect to the authority that did it, and to comply with all the desires of that King who inflicted it: and so the English, having by a formal process in justice proceeded against the famous Pucelle of Orleans (she being then their prisoner) for her many famous martial exploits, and having condemned and burned her for a witch and a sorceress, this Pope Calixtus appointed such new commissaries as were named by the French King, as the Archbishop of Rouen, the Bishops of Paris and Constance, to take a new examination of the affair; who, upon the testimony that was given to them, justified the poor wench, and declared her to be an heroic dame, and caused all the process and proceedings that had been against her to be publicly burned.

When the short reign of Calixtus was expired, Cardinal Piccolomini, better known by the name of Pius II, Æneas Silvius. Silvius., was chosen Pope, and took the name of Pius the Second; of whom the prudent Mezeray makes this observation; “that there never was any private person who laboured more to reduce the power of the Pope within the terms and limits of the Canons than Æneas Silvius did; and never did any Pope make more attempts to extend it beyond all

CHAP. VI. “right and reason, than he did, after he came to be
VI. “Pius the Second.” It cannot be denied that he was a man at least equal in wit, learning, and parts, to any man of that age; of great experience, and great eloquence; and as he had a great reputation of virtue and piety to promote any thing he took in hand, so he was never taken notice of to have any secret alloy of improbity, or any vice that might discredit his pretences. He well understood the bonds and shackles by which the Papacy was restrained, or at least entangled, and which he himself had so industriously endeavoured to fasten to it; and till those should be taken off or loosed, he knew well that he depended upon too many to undertake any great matter by himself.

Denies the right of appealing from the Pope to a general Council.

The Council of Basil, which was the idol that he had erected, was to be broken down or discredited before the Pope could ascend to a throne, to which terror should be paid as well as reverence, and from whence he might make himself formidable as well as submitted to. In order to which, he was no sooner chosen Pope, and the ceremonies of his coronation over, than he published a bull, by which he bravely declared, that all men of what condition soever, “*Appellantes a summo Romano Pontifice, ad futurum Concilium, eorumque Consiliarium et fautores, pœnis excommunicationis, criminisque læsæ majestatis, divinæ et humanæ subjiciuntur :*” and finding that this instrument was looked upon generally rather as an act of the Consistory, which he could not in discretion prevent or divert, than as proceeding from himself, and upon his own judgment, which he had formerly published so contrary to this determination, he thought it fit to set out another declaration, which he very ingeniously styled,

styled, "*Retractatio eorum, quæ ipse Pontifex, in mi-* CHAP.
noribus existens scripserat pro Concilio Basiliensi VI.
contra Eugenium quartum." In this he sets out
 at large the history of his conversion, and by what
 steps and degrees, and upon what reasons he came
 to change his opinion; which, though it compre-
 hends as much as could naturally occur to a man of
 great wit and eloquence, to dispose him to retract an
 opinion that he had so solemnly maintained after he
 was forty years of age, yet hath the less weight, be-
 cause he doth allege no new arguments which
 wrought that change in him, (except his reverence to
 some particulars,) but those which he had before so
 substantially answered, and against the judgment of
 persons fully as venerable: and therefore it seems very
 unwarily done of those, who (after the expiration of so
 many years, and so great a change and alteration in
 the time, with reference to that doctrine) have revived
 the memory of it, and consequently the argumenta-
 tion, by printing in the last edition of the Bullarium,
 together with that bull of Pius the Second, the other
 whole discourse and instrument of his retractation.

When Pius had declared his judgment and resolu-
 tion in this bull, he very magnanimously chose to
 try the effect and operation it would have upon that
 Prince who was most like to contradict it; and so
 he formally sent to Charles the Seventh of France,
 requiring him to recall and abolish the Pragmatique,
 which if he should not do, he threatened to excom-
 municate him. Nor did this wise Pope make this
 attempt rashly, or without well deliberating it; as
 he knew well, that if it prevailed over that great and
 powerful King, it would not probably be disputed
 by any other: and he conjectured that it might be

Requires
 Charles
 VII. to abo-
 lish the
 Pragma-
 tique, who
 appeals
 against the
 Pope's bull
 to the next
 general
 Council.

CHAP. like to have some good effect upon him, by the operation of his son's rebellion against him, which divided his kingdom, and gave him great apprehension and more vexation, and wrought so far upon him, that he had a purpose to disinherit that son, and to leave his crown to his younger son Charles, if he could have got the consent of those great men, without which he durst not attempt it; and the Pope well knew that those mighty operations could never succeed without his having a hand in the application, and from thence promised himself a more than ordinary compliance from him. But this not unreasonable conjecture failed him; for that wise and resolute King was no sooner assaulted with this rude threat, but he chose seconds proper to manage that quarrel, and upon whose courage he might safely rely; and so left it to the Procureur Général, who formally made a complaint to the Parliament of the Pope's high presumption, and entered his protestation thereupon, and appealed to the next general Council, which was accepted, entered, and registered by the Parliament: and this, being so directly in the face of the Pope's bull, made that stratagem vain, and exceedingly grieved him.

Makes the
like requisition to
Lewis XI.

However, that King soon after dying, and his son Lewis the Eleventh succeeding without that opposition which might need the assistance of the holy chair to extinguish it, the Pope again importuned the new King with a little more ceremony to revoke that Pragmatique; and with the more hope of success, because that humorous Prince was not suspected to be guided by the persuasions of any particular person, was known to have no reverence for the policy of his father, nor to observe any old established

blished rules of government, but to vary his counsels and to change his most deliberate resolutions upon any trivial accident that occurred: and so, not knowing yet what use he might have of his Holiness, he entertained all his overtures with singular reverence, and more perplexed and affronted him with a total resignation of himself to his fatherly advice, (consenting to whatsoever he proposed, and giving his absolute promise to revoke and annul the Pragmatique,) than his father had done by his frank and positive aversion to all his demands: for, according to his natural temper of dissimulation, he never made the least advance to the performance of what he promised with the most solemnity, but was well contented that the University of Paris took upon them to answer all the reasons and authority of the Pope; and so exposed him to the contradiction and insolence of an ecclesiastical spiritual body, that was thought to have a peculiar dependance upon him, whilst the Crown itself pretended to be willing to gratify him in all he desired. In this manner Pope Pius was defeated from any benefit from his lusty bull, and died in the sixth year of his pontificate, leaving the world as much inclined to the Council of Basil as he found it, and more persuaded by the doctrine of Æneas Silvius, than by the authority and declaration of Pope Pius the Second.

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Opposed by
the University of Paris.

In the place of Pius, Paul the Second was chosen; who, hoping to make good use of the divisions in France, (by the league of the Duke of Burgundy with Charles the brother of the King, the Duke of Brittany, and Bourbon, and divers other great persons, against Lewis the Eleventh,) sent the Cardinal Iofridi, Bishop of Albi, as his Legate to the King, to

cause

Paul II. renews the same requisition.

CHAP. VI. cause his revocation to be verified of the Pragmatique
 VI. that he had so often promised to his predecessor Pius; and the King seemed so much to have the same purpose and resolution, that he sent the Cardinal Balue, Bishop of Angers, (a man trusted by him in his most secret transactions,) to the Chastelet, and to the Parliament, to see that revocation registered and verified. At the Chastelet he found no opposition; but when he came to the Parliament, the King's Procureur Général resisted the Cardinal to his face; and the University sent their deputies to the Legate, to signify to him that they did appeal to the future Council.

Arrest of Cardinal Balue, and disputes about the mode of his trial.

And in a short time after, the King, upon a discovery that the Cardinal, who had been trusted by him in the managery of the whole treaty of Péronne, (by which he had redeemed the King from the great danger of having thrown himself into the arms of the Duke of Burgundy,) held secret correspondence with his brother Charles without his privity, although it was to no other purpose than to persuade him to observe the treaty that was made on his behalf with the King, he caused the Cardinal Balue to be arrested and carried prisoner to the Bastile: with loud threats that he would cause him to be put to death. This diverted the Pope from prosecuting the revocation of the Pragmatique, to prosecute, as a more popular argument, the enlargement of the Cardinal, and remission of his cause to him, before whom alone he said he ought in justice to be tried; and the King, without seeming to contradict or doubt the Cardinal's privilege, or the Pope's jurisdiction, but rather to acknowledge both, made great instance at Rome that the Pope would appoint judges within the kingdom of France, before whom the Cardinal's process might be made; and by these

these reiterated importunities, wherein the one seemed not to gainsay the substance of the other, the poor Cardinal remained prisoner in the Bastile for the space of eleven years; by which the King obtained his end in depriving the Cardinal of his liberty, which he was afraid to grant him, without opposing the Pope's claim, by exposing him to any other judicatory. Nor did the Pope dare to nominate or send any judges into the kingdom, knowing that the King would compel them one way or other to comply with his purposes. I find nothing of the activity of this Pope, out of his own dominions, in assuming an extraordinary power, but in his excommunication and depriving Gregory King of Bohemia, "*per pergiuro et cresa*," because, having at his coronation sworn to obey the church of Rome, he afterwards refused to do somewhat that the Pope required him to do.

Upon the death of Paul the Second, who, without any visible sickness or indisposition, was found dead in his bed, after a great supper of fruit, Sixtus the Fourth succeeded, who was a man of very temporal designs, and resolved to make business, if he could not find it, that might cause him to be much spoken of. In the beginning of his reign he ordained the Jubilee to be kept every five and twenty years, than which he could not have done any thing that could have pleased the city of Rome more.

He had always professed a great animosity and hatred against Florence, and particularly against the family of the Medici, which was the most powerful in that commonwealth; and upon that account he was ready to engage himself, contrary to his dignity and his office, in any of the particular and private contests of the disagreeing families in that city; and the

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Sixtus IV.
Orders the
Jubilee to
be kept
every twen-
ty-five
years.

Conspires
with the
Pazzi of
Florence to
assassinate
the Medici.

CHAP. the faction being then greatest between the Pazzi
 VI. — and the Medici, (the former being the more ancient, and that of Medici being become much the more rich and powerful,) the Pope publicly declared himself to be of the party of the Pazzi, and took all opportunities to manifest his disrespect and displeasure towards the Medici. Machiavel says, that he shewed what a Pope can do, and that many things which have been accounted foul faults, “*poterono sotto la Pontificale autorità nascondersi;*” he was so transported with that implacable malice, (which did not pretend to have its rise from any motive of religion or conscience,) that, when upon secret conferences with the family of the Pazzi, or any other notorious enemies of the Medici, (who frequently resorted to Rome, and received there more than ordinary respect,) he found that there was no hope to lessen the mighty power of that family but by the death of Lorenzo and Julian, the two brothers, (to whose persons the whole city paid reverence,) he entered into consultation how to procure the assassination of them; the manner of which, and all the circumstances by which the conspiracy was to be conducted, was first debated in Florence, and then presented to the Pope for his approbation. Philip of Medici, who was Archbishop of Pisa, died, and the Pope presently, against the express desire and protestation of the Signiory, conferred the same upon Francisco Salviati, a known enemy to the Medici, and as much a friend to the Pazzi. The Signiory would not be deprived of their right, and refused to admit Salviati into possession, which added new indignation to the Pope’s choleric disposition. He sent, together with his Archbishop of Pisa, (who was to solicit his own
 affair

affair at Florence,) Giovanni Baptista de Montesecco, CHAP. VI.
 a person of the nearest trust about him in martial as well as civil business, to accompany the Archbishop and Francisco Pazzi thither, and with authority to make use of the name of his Holiness for the encouragement of any powerful person to enter into the conspiracy; and by that means Jacomo de Pazzi, who was the chief of the family, of the same malice, but of more wariness and jealousy, was induced to consent. John Baptista returned to Rome, and gave the Pope full information of all the consultations; and that it was only left unresolved in what manner to assassinate them; since it was generally concluded, that if they should not be both killed together, the survivor would be able to take revenge upon all the other party.

Hereupon the Pope sent the Cardinal Raphael de Riario, of a Florentine family, wholly devoted to the Pazzi, (and whom for that reason he had made Cardinal,) to visit his friends at Florence, and that he might be present to countenance any thing that should be done; and sent back John Baptista to conduct the whole design with the Archbishop, and Francisco Pazzi; whose orders the Pope's soldiers, out of Romagna, were to observe, being appointed to be in readiness near Florence to second the attempt, by entering the town when it should be in uproar. The Cardinal was received and entertained at the villa of Giacomo Pazzi, near Florence, whither it was concluded that the two brothers would come in civility to gratify his arrival, and then would be a fit time to dispatch them. One of them came, but the other staid at home, which made it necessary to defer it: then it was resolved that the Cardinal should

CHAP. VI. go to Florence, and that the two brothers should be invited to sup with him ; and then, going or coming, or in the place, they might easily be killed. They were then again disappointed by Lorenzo's coming to supper, and Julian's not coming ; with which being much dismayed, and fearing that the design, which was communicated to many, would be discovered, it was resolved, that it should be executed the next day, being Sunday, in the cathedral church of Santa Reparata, whither it was to be presumed they would both, according to custom, accompany the Cardinal ; and, that there might be no mischief fall out by the not exactly timing it, it was resolved, that in the instant of the elevation, when the priest took the sacrament in the high mass, the assassination should be performed. This circumstance again was like to have spoiled all ; for Giovanni Baptista, who either had undertaken, or they believed would kill Lorenzo, excused himself that he had not the courage "*commettere tanto eccesso in chiesa, et accompagnare il tradimento col sacrilegio,*" and so they were to find new men for that work ; Francisco Pazzi and Bernardo Bordini having undertaken the assassination of Julian. The Archbishop Salviati, with a brother of his, and some other young men, were to seize upon the palace, that thereby they might persuade or compel the Signiory to approve what they had done. The Cardinal came to the church, and Lorenzo with him, and the service thereupon begun ; but Julian was not yet present ; whereupon the two who were to massacre him went to his house to call him, and with importunity hastened him to the church, and walking entertained him with much pleasant discourse ; Francisco Pazzi (under pretence of

of

of embracing him) searching with his hand whether he wore any coat of mail, or other defence: but Julian, though he well knew the malice of the Pazzi, had not the apprehension of treachery at this time. When they were come into the church, to as good a place as the crowd (which was extraordinary upon such a day) would admit them, at the instant of the time agreed, Bernardo Bardini, with a short dagger purposely provided, struck Julian upon the breast, with which he fell; and Fransisco Pazzi falling upon him, and multiplying many unnecessary wounds upon his body, was in so much fury that he struck himself into the thigh with his own stiletto, so that he could not rise. They who were to take the like care of Lorenzo (whereof one was a priest) assaulted him at the same time, with the same malice; but, whether by the advantage of the place he was in, or their furious unskilfulness who attacked him, he defended himself so well, that, though he received many blows, yet, by the help of his friends who were near him, he, with only one hurt in the throat, got into the Sacristy, and with his friends made the door so fast, that it could not easily be forced. The Archbishop Salviati gave not his orders so skilfully, or at least not to persons resolute enough; for though he appointed men to possess the gates, and not to suffer any to enter, yet upon the sudden confusion they were so terrified, that they forsook their security to shift for themselves. The Archbishop, with others of his party, went into the upper rooms, where the Signiory used to sit, and finding the Gonfaloniere de Giustitia there, he desired to speak with him, telling him he had many things to say to him from the Pope. They walked into the next room, but the

Arch-

CHAP. VI. Archbishop's countenance was so distracted, and his discourse so broken and confused, that the Gonfaloniere (who knew nothing of what had passed in the church) suddenly retired into the other room, where he saw persons who ought not to be there, and thereupon called the guard, who presently apprehended them; and the whole city being presently in arms, there was no expectation of a form of justice, but all the strangers, or men suspected to be of their party, were cut in pieces, and dragged about the streets. The Archbishop found no protection or privilege from his robe; but was, together with his brother, and others of the Salviati, and Giacobbo de Messer Poggio, (a man of great authority there,) hanged out of the windows of the palace, in the sight of all the people. The Cardinal fled to the altar, and by the interposition and strength of the clergy was preserved from present violence; and, when the fury was abated, conducted to prison. All the severity was used for three or four days and nights, to all the family of the Pazzi, that is agreeable to popular rage. Francisco, by reason of his wound, could get no farther than his own house; from whence he was dragged to the palace, and there hanged out of the window by the Archbishop. When the clamour of the people was a little suppressed, the court of justice proceeded with little less rigour; for all who were but suspected to be in the conspiracy were condemned; and many to whom sepulture was granted were by the people taken out of their graves, and after many insolences thrown into the river. Giovanni Baptist, by the order of justice, had his head taken off.

Proceed-
ings of the
Pope and

When the news of this miscarriage and disappointment came to Rome, the Pope expressed all manner
of

of discontent, and was not ashamed forthwith to raise an army, and to draw the King of Naples, who was an enemy to the Florentine, to join with him; publishing a declaration, that he had no quarrel to any citizen of Florence but only to Lorenzo de Medici, and only desired his banishment. This was generally looked upon as a very exorbitant act in the Vicar of Christ, that, (after he had with such odious circumstances contrived the murder of the two brothers,) because one of them had been wonderfully preserved from the assassination, he should declare a war against the commonwealth, and indeed kindle a war in Italy, only for his destruction. But the Pope alleged, (which was never before owned by any of his predecessors, though Bellarmine and some of his friends have since made use of the argument,) that it did appertain to the Pope, "*Spegnere la tyrannide, opprimere i cattivi, essultare i boni,*" which he was to take all opportunities to do; that it was not the duty of secular princes to hold Cardinals in prison, to hang Archbishops, to murder and torture and strangle Priests, and to put to death innocent and guiltless men, without justice and distinction; and therefore he excommunicated and interdicted the whole state of Florence, till they should satisfy him upon their miscarriages. They on the other side were not all dispirited, but declared, that the Pope "*s'era dimostro lupo e non Pastore;*" and that all Italy was concerned in his foul injustice towards them; setting forth his horrible impiety in encouraging traitors and parricides to commit an unparalleled treason in the church, in the middle of the divine service, and in the celebration of the sacrament; and because the success did not fully answer the

CHAP.
VI.

the republic
upon
this trans-
action.

CHAP. whole malice of the design, (which was to murder
VI. the citizens, and change the whole form of its government,) he had now laid his pontifical curse upon them, and interdicted the exercise of their religion; but that they were confident God would not be pleased with those proceedings of his Vicar, and that he would protect them from his violence, and in the mean time they cared not for his interdict, nor would yield any obedience thereunto, but compel their priests to celebrate all divine offices as they used to do. They then called a Council of all the Bishops within their whole government to assemble in Florence, in and before which they appealed for all the injuries done to them by the Pope to the next general Council; and having thus defended themselves by writing, they vigorously disposed themselves to raise an army for their defence, and sent ambassadors to all princes, even to those who they knew to be their enemies, and to be engaged by treaty with the Pope; presuming that when the Pope's proceeding should be made manifest unto them, all Christian princes would be ashamed to be esteemed and looked upon as his confederates.

Louis XI.
remon-
strates with
the Pope.

It is very true, most Christian Kings and Princes expressed a wonderful dislike, and even a detestation, of the Pope's prosecution; both the brothers, especially Lorenzo, being esteemed exceedingly by them for his great wisdom, and for many courtesies they usually received from him, insomuch as they frequently sent ambassadors to Florence rather to advise with Lorenzo de Medici upon their nearest concerns, than that they had any thing to do with the commonwealth. Lewis the Eleventh of France (who had carried himself with all wariness and subtlety

tlety towards the Pope, even to pretending that the Pragmatique should be abrogated) now called an assembly of all the Prelates of the kingdom, and the deputies of the University, to meet at Orleans, and consult what was to be done upon these the Pope's excesses; and from thence he sent a splendid embassy to Rome, and demanded that the Pope would take off the excommunication that he had pronounced against the Florentines, and that he would cause all those to be severely punished who had been guilty of that odious conspiracy; and the better to dispose him thereunto, the King sent him word that it would be most necessary to call a general Council: all which prevailed not with him in the least degree to abate or slacken his hostility against Florence, till the King of Naples, and the chief of his other confederates, abandoned him.

There cannot be a greater instance of the horror all men had of those transactions, than the magnanimous carriage of the great Turk himself. Barnardo Bandini, who had killed Julian, and in the general confusion, after he had killed another principal person of that party, and attempted to break open the door of the Sacristy upon Lorenzo, escaped out of Florence, and, finding that he was not like to be safe in any place in Italy, fled to Constantinople; but, as soon as he was known to be there, he was seized upon by the Emperor's order, and sent and delivered into the hands of Lorenzo de Medici; an action of an infidel, that might well have called the Christian blood into the face of the Pope, whose haughty humour disdained to be prevailed upon by any example, and thought his mere will and direc-

CHAP. VI.

 The Emperor of the Turks delivers up the murderer of Julian de Medici.

CHAP. tion to be argument enough to dispose all other
 VI. ——— princes to act according to his pleasure.

Conduct of
 Sixtus IV.
 in the wars
 of Venice
 and Ferrar-
 ra.

So, when he had encouraged and engaged the re-
 public of Venice to make war against Ferrara, upon
 large promises of what he would contribute there-
 unto, as soon as application was made to him, he
 sent to the Venetians to desist : but this they refused
 to do ; which put him into great choler, and, when
 he heard that Lodovic Sforza of Milan, whom he
 hoped to have incensed against the Venetians, had
 made a peace with them, in a high fit of rage and
 fury he expired ; by his death giving peace to Italy,
 which during his whole reign, that continued thir-
 teen years, he had obstinately kept in continual
 war.

Supremacy
 of Sixtus
 IV. not ac-
 knowledg-
 ed in Eng-
 land.

This Sixtus the Fourth outlived our King Edward
 the Fourth but one year, and had been Pope full
 twelve years in that King's reign, which was a time
 too full of trouble at home, and some contests and
 disputes with France, to entertain any controversies
 with the Pope. Nor do we find there were any.
 And the laws were more asleep than they had been in
 the precedent times, in the restraint of him from re-
 ceiving money out of England ; which being purely
 matter of permission, and founded upon the affec-
 tions of the princes, was more or less looked after
 and inhibited, as it was attended with other circum-
 stances that displeased either King or People. But
 we find, during the reign of this most Catholic King,
 many grants still upon record, which were made by
 the Abbots and Priors, without any licence or privity
 of the Pope, and in which they always gave the King
 this stile, "*Supremus Dominus noster Edvardus*

“ Quar-

“*Quartus Rex;*” which they could not have done if they had acknowledged any supremacy in the Pope. CHAP. VI.

Upon the death of Sixtus, Innocent the Eighth was Pope, of whom an approved Catholic Spanish writer saith; “*Aunque no tuve letras, no fue enemigo d’ellos, antes las favorecis siempre mucho.*” He brought an example of great scandal into the church, and which had never been before heard of, in making Juan de Medici (the son of Lorenzo, who had been so barbarously persecuted by his predecessor Sixtus, and who was afterwards Pope Leo the Tenth) a Cardinal when he was but thirteen years of age, as Machiavel positively affirms, though some other writers say he was eighteen. The Cardinal de Balue, who (as hath been said) was detained prisoner in the Bastile by Lewis the Eleventh eleven years, notwithstanding all the importunity and expostulation of the Pope, was set at liberty, a little before that King’s death, upon security that he would not stay in the kingdom, when indeed it was thought he could not live to go out of it, which was the only argument that prevailed with that King for his discharge; and the King was no sooner dead, but he prevailed with Innocent to be sent his Legate a Latere to the new King, Charles the Eighth, who was then in his minority. He entered into his Legation with that arrogance as if he meant to reproach the kingdom for having kept him in so long captivity; and made use of his faculties before he had the King’s consent, or had presented them to the Parliament to examine whether there was nothing contained in them contrary or derogatory to the right of the crown, or the liberties of the Gallican Church. Whereupon the Parliament, offended with this his

Innocent VIII. creates Juan de Medici a Cardinal at thirteen, and sends Cardinal Balue Legate to Charles VIII. of France.

CHAP. VI. presumption, sent to him, and forbade him to usurp the privileges of his Legature, or to exercise the power of it, till he had given satisfaction : but he had some friends in the young King's Council, who upon his submission, and producing his powers, prevailed so far that he was received in the quality he pretended to, and with all the accustomed honours ; and so he exercised all the functions of it during the few days he staid in France ; and in his return to Rome ; which he hastened beyond his purpose, having received no encouragement to make a longer stay in that kingdom, but the larger and more liberal present to hasten his departure. This Pope Innocent the Eighth was of an easy and quiet nature, and laboured more to compose and settle Italy in peace, than to trouble his neighbours ; soliciting them on all sides to be united together in some attempt against the Turks, who had so lately (upon the combustion that his predecessor had made between the princes of Italy) landed in the kingdom of Naples, and possessed themselves of Otranto, by which all Europe was alarmed and terrified ; though the death of Mahomet their Emperor, and the division between his sons, had determined that, and for the present any expedition.

Alexander
VI. Borgia.

In the place of Innocent the Eighth, to the universal amazement and scandal of Christianity, the Cardinal Borgia was elected, or declared Pope, with the most infamous circumstances of corruption that ever accompanied the most secular transaction, and was called Alexander the Sixth ; of whom I shall say the less, because his memory is the most odious, and the most blasted by the universal consent of all Catholic writers, who acknowledge him to be an eternal reproach to the holy chair. Monsieur Mezeray thinks
he

he hath sufficiently described him, by saying, that never any Mahometan prince was ever more vicious, more wicked, more infidel than he; and if any one ever surpassed him in all kind of abominations and crimes, it was his bastard son Cæsar Borgia. CHAP. VI.

It was in this Pope's time that Charles the Eighth of France made his memorable expedition, or rather progress into Italy; in which he made himself upon the matter master of the greatest part of it without the loss of a man, or striking one blow, except in depredations, plunderings, and all manner of licence in the countries and provinces through which he passed; so that it might be very reasonably looked upon as an immediate judgment from the hand of God upon that luxurious people; since it was neither prudently deliberated, nor conducted according to any rules of human wisdom, or of martial skill or order, by his instruments of it, as quickly appeared: for of an entire kingdom, of which they were possessed, and of several strong castles, and places of other provinces through which they passed, and in which they left strong garrisons, within the space of a year there remained not one considerable place in their possession, and of the army with which they entered, very few remained alive; and the French writers say, that they brought nothing back from thence but a disease, that was never before heard of in France, and that could never since be driven out of that kingdom. Charles VIII. of France invades Italy.

No man was in his heart more an enemy to the French than this Pope, who professed that he would himself die in the gate of Rome before that King should enter into the city. But Charles least considered his threats, and marched directly towards it Rome taken; and the Pope, besieged in the castle of St. Angelo, capitulates.

CHAP. with his army; which when the Pope discerned, he
 VI. besought the General of Naples (who was come with considerable forces to assist him, and to defend the town,) to retire with his troops, and shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo, and left the entrance free into the city, which the King entered as into an enemy's town, and disposed all his troops and artillery into those public places from whence they might secure it against foreign or intestine forces. The Pope, thus besieged, presently apprehended his being taken prisoner and deposed, as he well knew he deserved to be; and therefore sent to the King to capitulate with him. He was never in his life afraid of making any treaty, since he resolved at the same time never to observe it; and so he now consented to all that the King desired, promised to give him the investiture of Naples, and to put several strong places into his hands, to be kept till he should have no more need of them, and many other particulars; which being all agreed upon, he came out of the castle, and the King received him with all the demonstrations of respect and duty, kissed his feet, poured out water to him at mass, and took his place in the chapel after the Dean of the Cardinals; and all this without making the least apology for the force he had used, or the rudeness of his army. But as soon as the King was gone, though with wonderful expedition he entered Naples, the Pope disclaimed and renounced to perform any thing that he had promised, and stirred up all the princes of Italy, and Ferdinando of Spain, to enter into that solemn league, which quickly destroyed the French army.

Savonarola
 burnt for
 preaching

From this success he grew the more infamous in his life and manners; which grew so notorious, that

Savana-

Savarola, a Dominican friar in Florence, (who had for many years before foretold the judgments of God which would shortly fall upon Italy, and which they now saw accomplished by that expedition of the French,) preached publicly against the wicked life of the Pope, and of all his family; for which he was cited to appear at Rome, whither he positively refused to go; and when he was thereupon excommunicated, he neglected and contemned it, and continued to preach with the same liberty; and the people of all sorts heard him with approbation. This troubled the Pope so much, that he threatened the state to interdict them, if they would not presently give up that friar. After several expostulations, the magistrates were so terrified with the daily examples of the revenge which the Pope and his son Cæsar took of the most eminent persons with whom they were displeased, or of whose contradiction they were jealous, that they at last exposed him to his rage and jurisdiction; and so poor Savarola was burned alive, to the great trouble and even indignation of the people. Mariana says, that he was by many learned and pious men of that age looked upon as a martyr; and Mezeray says, that he was “*généreuse victime de la vérité et de la liberté.*”

I cannot here omit the mention of this Pope's exercise of his supreme jurisdiction in the case and on the behalf of Lewis the Twelfth of France; who, having had the experience of a very evil court under the dissimulation of Lewis the Eleventh, and of worse under the folly and licence of Charles the Eighth, (under which he had himself suffered a long imprisonment, and other oppressions,) wisely resolved in the first place to constitute his court of the

best

CHAP.
VI.
—
against the
Pope at
Florence.

Lewis XII.
of France.
His character and policy.

CHAP. best and the wisest men he could find ; and to em-
 VI. — ploy none but such who had experience and reputa-
 tion in martial or in civil affairs : the former class of
 men had been exceedingly wasted in the late impro-
 vidant and ill conducted war in Italy, which how-
 ever he resolved to prosecute with his utmost vigour ;
 both to recover the honour his nation had lost in the
 last expedition, and to support the title he had by
 his mother to the dutchy of Milan, which appeared
 to be the less difficult conquest by the odiousness of
 Lodovic Sforza, who had usurped it. In the alli-
 ances which he found necessary to make for the en-
 trance upon that war, he easily discerned how neces-
 sary the friendship of the Pope would be to him ;
 but then his vices were so notorious and infamous,
 and those of his children so beyond all limits prodi-
 gious, that he could with great difficulty bring him-
 self to the thought of it ; and it is generally believed,
 that if he had no other inclination to it than the suc-
 cess and carrying on that war, he would rather have
 protested against his person as unworthy to be Pope,
 and endured all the mischief he could have done him
 in Italy, than sought or accepted a conjunction with
 him.

His divorce
 and second
 marriage
 with Anne
 of Brittany.

But he had a secret corrupt design of his, the ac-
 complishment whereof doth always require and in-
 troduce corrupt ministers and assistance. Charles
 the Eighth had (as is remembered) married the
 daughter and heir of the Duke of Brittany ; and the
 advantage of annexing that dutchy to the crown was
 evident enough to all men, who had seen or under-
 stood the damage it had constantly undergone, whilst
 it was a distinct sovereignty from it, and the perpe-
 tual wars and devastations which had proceeded from
 the

the contest : so that the annexing it to the crown, (though with circumstances not very justifiable,) by Charles the Eighth, was generally looked upon as the wisest act ever performed by that King, and the most grateful to all his subjects. But that relation was now determined by the death of that King without issue ; and she was again entirely possessed of her dutchy, as well as of the title of Dowager of France. How to prevent this new schism was the careful labour of the present King, who had a wife of his own, a lady of great virtue, though of a very unbeautiful person, whom her father, Lewis the Eleventh, had therefore given to him and induced him to marry, that he might prevent his marriage of this very Queen Dowager, when her father was inclined to give her to him : and it is true enough that this Lewis (who was then Duke of Orleans) received her rather out of fear of the father, than of love towards the daughter, and because he durst not disobey him. However, the marriage was consummated, and he had children by her, and so great obligation to her kindness, that her diligence and dexterity alone purely saved his life. How to get free from this wife, before he could address himself to another, though she had been the first object of his first inclination, was his present work ; and upon which his heart was more set than upon the war of Italy ; and it was only to be compassed by the omnipotent power of the Pope ; and in this respect the worse man the Pope was, he was the better for his purpose ; though very few of them have ever been so good as to decline any opportunity to gratify those intemperate and unlawful desires of many persons below the condition of Kings.

CHAP.
VI.

CHAP.
VI.

Cæsar Bor-
gia created
Duke of
Valenti-
nois.

In order to this affair, this great and (in all other respects) virtuous prince found it absolutely necessary (how contrary soever to his royal nature) to implore the Pope's assistance; for the better procuring whereof he vouchsafed to court his bastard, Cæsar Borgia, made him Duke of Valentinois, and gave him a wife of a great family and fortune. Upon which Cæsar Borgia gave over his Cardinal's cap, and performed all other functions which might contribute to his greatness; being a man of those rare endowments of wit and wickedness, that Machiavel makes him a pattern and example to all men who desire to sacrifice their honour and their innocence to their lawless and unlimited ambition.

Grounds of
the divorce.

The Pope, for these high obligations, granted a commission to those Bishops who were nominated by Lewis for the examining all things relating to his marriage; and they, according to the King's inclinations, declared the marriage with Jane the daughter of Lewis the Eleventh to be void, for the force that had been used upon the King. Dispensations for consanguinity, or other ecclesiastical relations, had been formerly granted before the marriage; and it was notorious to all men, that there was no colour of force in the case; except that secret unwillingness, which probably might have been in the King at that time, to marry the unbeautiful daughter of the person whom he hated and feared of all men living; which allegation would dissolve the marriages of all men who are weary of their wives, if such a kind of force were allowed to be a just cause for it. It was well known that they had lived many years together afterwards with demonstration of a mutual affection, there appearing nothing in him of dissatisfaction; and

and by her were performed all the offices of affection and tenderness, which the best wife in the world could express; and in truth there were only two reasons which disposed France itself to admit and acquiesce in that dispensation, which was a privilege never before heard, and of a nature as odious as could be imagined; the first of which was, the memory of her father Lewis XI. a memory universally ingrateful to all Frenchmen, of a sovereign, the most unloved alive, and the most abominated dead, of all princes who had ever been; (a precedent sufficient to controul Machiavel's doctrine, that to be feared is greater security to a prince than to be loved:) the other was, that the Queen never opposed it; which if she had done, it was then believed it could never have been granted; but she, though she never consented to it, quietly retired into a monastery, where with great piety and devotion she ended her life: and God, to shew how little he favoured those stratagems to get children without his consent, blessed not that great King with any issue, but the crown in few years descended to a prince of another line. This unlucky precedent was afterwards the inducement to our Harry the Eighth to undertake the same enterprise, and the cause of all that indignation that attended it.

CHAP.
VI.

As this was the highest attempt that this ill Pope made towards the advancement of his ecclesiastical and spiritual monarchy, so we will not take our leave of him without mentioning his equal attempt towards the procuring to himself and successors a more temporal and universal jurisdiction, in his most liberal and bountiful grant of the Indies, West and East, to Ferdinando and Isabella; by his gracious Bull,

East and West Indies granted by Alexander VI. to Ferdinando and Isabella.

CHAP. Bull, bearing date ^athe fourth day of May, in the
 VI. year fourteen hundred ninety-three, in which for the
 punctuality of the boundaries, and that there might
 be no pretence to question the title, there are these
 words; “^b*Ut tanti negotiū provinciam Apostolicæ*
gratiæ largitate donati liberiùs et audaciùs assum-
tis, motu proprio, et non ad vestram vel alterius pro-
vobis instantiam, sed de nostrâ merâ liberalitate, et
ex certâ scientiâ, ac de Apostolicæ potestatis pleni-
tudine, omnes insulas et terras firmas, inventas, et
inveniendas, detectas, et detegendas, versùs Occiden-
tem et Meridiem fabricando et construendo unam li-
neam a polo arctico, scilicet Septentrione, ad polum
antarcticum, scilicet Meridiem sive terræ firmæ et in-
sulæ,” &c. a very great proportion of land, and
 which might make the church be looked upon as an
 ill mother for disinheriting her eldest son, in giving
 so much more to his younger brother than his por-
 tion amounted to: yet all this the Pope did, “*au-*
thoritate Omnipotentis Dei, nobis in beato Petro
concessâ, ac Vicariatùs Jesu Christi, quâ fungimur
in terris, cum omnibus illarum dominiis vobis hære-
dibusque, et successoribus vestris (Castillæ, et Le-
gionis Regibus) damus, concedimus,” &c. So that
 as soon as the line of Castile is spent, and Arragon
 with the other kingdoms and provinces are thereby
 become separated from Castile, that and Valencia
 and the other provinces have no more right or title
 to the Indies; and in the mean time, all those Kings
 of England, France, Portugal, and others, who have
 made any plantations, and thereby dispossessed the

^a Vide Magnum Bullarium Romanum, tom. i. pag. 467. Edit. Lugd. 1655.

^b Bullæ dictæ §. 6.

Spaniard of such ample territories within that circuit of land, granted so authentically by his Holiness to Spain, are wrong doers and disseisors, and stand *ipso facto* excommunicated for offering violence and infringing that omnipotent bull; which is all the title by which that crown pretends to all the silver and gold of the world, and which hath been shrewdly invaded by all those Catholic princes, notwithstanding that apostolical concession: by which it is manifest that they do not believe that the Pope hath so large territories to dispose of as he pretends to; though it cannot be denied, that from the time of that grant by Alexander the Sixth, and since the uniting all those several kingdoms and principalities under the monarchy of Spain, the crown of Spain hath paid another kind of submission and condescension to the Pope, than ever they had done when they were in subjection to their several small and emulous princes, or than any other Catholic princes in Europe do at present: and it is true, that they receive more immediate benefit from the Pope, and that the concessions and donations he gives to Spain are greater and more profitable, without any charge to him, than all other Catholic princes receive from Rome; so that there is very valuable consideration mutually paid to each other, for the mutual kindness that is between them, and for the Pope's esteeming them his best and most Catholic children.

² Upon the death of Alexander the Sixth, Cardinal Piccolomini, who was a nephew of Pius the Second, was chosen to succeed him, and assumed the name of Pius the Third. He was a devout and severe man; and qualified, if his age had not been so great, to have governed in that conjuncture, which was the

most

CHAP. most fit for a general and thorough reformation of
 VI. any that was before, or hath been since offered.

A reformation pressed by all princes, but resisted by the court of Rome.

Though reformation had been and was still much pressed by all princes, and the Popes themselves would have been glad to have compounded, by granting many alterations both in matter of doctrine, and restraining and limiting many excesses in the offices and members of their court, yet they feared the lessening or questioning at least the extent of their own power and jurisdiction, and the prescribing some limits to the exercise thereof; which limitation they looked upon as an eradication of it; and to put any bounds to it, would be to controul it. The late Popes had pretty well knocked off the shackles, and redeemed their sovereignty from the state which the Councils of Constance and Basil had left them in; and the Pope and the Cardinals had of late so well understood their own joint interest, that they could not be divided; but both equally resisted or eluded all overtures and approaches towards any kind of reformation: the emulations also between France and Spain had made both these powers less formidable than they would otherwise have been; and the restless activity and poverty of Maximilian, and the designs and artifices of Ferdinando of Arragon, with the unquiet ambition of France, made them all three solicitous for the friendship of the Pope, or very cautious in offending him. But now the eleven years monstrous reign of Alexander had not only rendered the Papacy itself odious to all Christian princes, but formidable to the city of Rome, and to the very college of the Cardinals; upon whom the scars and marks of his tyranny were as signal and conspicuous, as upon any other people whatsoever. It was manifest

fest to them, that if that unexpected sudden death had not seized upon the Pope at that time, the Papacy itself would shortly after have expired, by being kept in perpetual wardship under the base issue of that incestuous Pope. CHAP.
VI.

Cæsar Borgia, the bastard of the Pope, after he had dismissed his two bishoprics of Valencia and Pamplona, of both which he was possessed together, had renounced his Cardinal's cap; which, Mariana says, made all the world amazed; "*una cosa tan fea,*" that when the very last preceding Pope Innocent the Eighth would not suffer the Cardinal de Alteria to renounce his cap, that he might as a Friar retire into a monastery, this Cardinal should have liberty to dispose of his cap that he might marry: and from that time he had designed nothing else but to make himself so great a Prince, that when he had by his father's advice and concurrence made himself so powerful during his life, he might after his father's death make such a Pope as would be subordinate to him, and govern the ecclesiastical, whilst himself exercised the whole temporal jurisdiction; and he missed the attaining this point very narrowly. In order to this he had possessed himself of Perugia, Piombino, Urbino, Pesaro, and several other the most important places, by which he could either have an influence upon Rome, or gratify such other Princes as would in the proper season join or concur with him; all which places he either surprised by force or fraud, by murders assassinations or poisonings, without any other distinction of persons than as they were like to contribute to, or obstruct his designs: and so he caused many Cardinals to be killed, with whom he had held much friendship, as soon as he discovered

CHAP. vered that they could not be applied to his purposes :
VI. — and the last visit his father and he made to the Cardinal Adrian Cornett at his villa, whither the Pope had invited himself to supper, was with a purpose to poison him. In order to this, Cæsar Borgia had caused several bottles of wine to be sent thither, which could be only distinguished by the page who was entrusted with the design ; and they being both come to the villa before the Cardinal who was to treat them came thither, and the Pope being warm with the journey and the weather, called for wine, which being filled to him by another page, (he that was entrusted being out of the way,) he drank a whole glass of the pure poisoned wine ; which had so present an effect that he died the same hour : and Cæsar Borgia had perished at the same time with his father, but that, finding himself hotter, he had caused much water to be put into his wine, which allayed to some degree the operation of it : having so often practised that art of poisoning, he had been well instructed how to obviate the like attempts which might be made upon himself ; and so caused a great mule to be presently brought, and his belly to be ripped open, and himself to be enclosed in it, by which new remedy the malignity of the poison was dissipated or drawn out, so that after a very violent sickness he recovered ; but by that sudden sickness he was not able to pursue and give life to his other stratagems in the succeeding conclave, in which he would otherwise hardly have been disappointed : all which was well known to the conclave, and so terrified them, that they thought not so much of the greatness and power to which themselves might attain, as how to prevent the extravagant exercise

ercise of it in whomsoever should be placed in that chair; and therefore they chose a Pope, Pius the Third, like to prescribe a remedy for the future, by a severe inquisition into what was past. CHAP.
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But the great age of the Pope, which probably was a motive for his election, hindered him from advancing so far in the reformation as he intended to have done; for he lived not above six or seven and twenty days after his being Pope. The Cardinal de la Rovere was chosen in his place; and the rather, for his known disaffection to the family of Alexander, who had persecuted him to that degree that he durst not stay in Rome, but for many years sheltered himself in France, under the protection of that King. He called himself Julius the Second; and it is true he had all the animosity imaginable both against the person and the family of Alexander; but being a man of the greatest pride and passion, he had with it all the ambition of the other, (except with the prospect for his family,) and desired to raise the Papacy, and to depress all other princes, as much as any of his predecessors had done; and so he was contented to give Cæsar Borgia (whose sickness had not suffered him to fly, but kept him prisoner) his liberty, upon the delivery of those strong and fortified places near Rome into his hands; and then he had leave to transport himself into Spain. Nor did the Pope care farther to prosecute the memory of Alexander, but found it necessary to govern himself by many of his maxims. However, the foul artifices and corruptions in the election of Alexander had been so notorious, and had made that noise in the world, that he held it requisite for his honour to publish that notable bull that is entitled, “ *Damnatio simoniacæ electionis*

Death of
Pius III.
and election
of Julius II.

C-H.A.P. " *summi Pontificis Romani, cum pœnarum impositione*
 VI. " *in electum, eligentesque, et eorum complices,*" a bull
 Publishes the bull his successors have been more offended with, and
 " *Damnatio* which indeed hath brought a greater reproach upon
 " *simoniace* the Papacy, than the decrees of the Councils of Con-
 " *electionis* stance and Basil have done : for, besides that it hath
 " *summi* made the secret transactions in conclave to be more
 " *Pontificis* narrowly looked into and examined, it hath made the
 " *Romani.*" very being of any Pope doubtful, questionable, and
 uncertain ; for how can any man be obliged *de fide* to
 believe the present Pope to be the Vicar of Christ,
 which he may possibly not be, by any thing done
 against this bull in his election? And this I once
 heard urged at a public disputation in the Jesuit's
 College at Madrid, by a Friar of the Minims upon
 that occasion, whether all men were bound to believe
de fide that Innocent the Tenth was true Pope?
 which the Friar said could not be *de fide* ; since it
 might possibly be otherwise by any simony in his
 election, the contrary whereof no man could know :
 which being pressed with the warmth that is usual
 in those places and occasions, put the whole assem-
 bly, and especially the Professor, who was a learned
 man, into such passion, (the more it may be for
 my being present,) that he imposed silence on the
 disputant. That bull declares "*per simoniacam hæ-*
 "*resim, in dundo promittendo vel recipiendo, pecu-*
 "*nias, bona cujusque generis, castra, officia, vel bene-*
 "*ficia, seu promissiones et obligationes, per se vel*
 "*alium seu alios quomodocumque &c ;*" and that any
 Cardinal that is present at the election may refuse to
 submit to him as Pope, and the person so chosen is
 dismissed from his former Cardinalate, "*Nec hujus-*
 "*modi simoniaca electio per subsequentem ipsius in-*
 "*throniza-*

“ *thronizationem, seu temporis cursum, aut etiam omnium Cardinalium adorationem, seu obedientiam, ullo unquam tempore convalescat &c. Ad cujus quoque confusionem, possint Cardinales, qui præfate electioni se opponere voluerint, si presumpserit se regimini universalis ecclesiæ prætextu talis electionis ingerere, auxilium brachii secularis contra eum implorare &c.*” And it is well known that hereupon Philip the Second of Spain by his ambassador threatened a Pope that succeeded, shewing at the same time to him a promise under his hand, that he had made before he was chosen, which shall be mentioned more at large when we come to that time.

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Julius had a very hard task to comply with the several and distinct inclinations of the then powerful princes, and to advance his own designs, which he resolved to pursue even against them all. His obligations were greatest to Lewis the Twelfth, who had so many years protected him from the rage and fury of Alexander; but he could not endure that he should disturb the quiet of Italy, or be powerful there: and when he proceeded so far as the taking of Genoa, he made himself the most odious to him of any Prince alive, and used all the power he had to unite all the Princes of Italy against him, and yet then courted him most. His inclinations most disposed him to the Venetians, both because they might be most useful to him, and that they had some places in their possession which had belonged to the Church, and which he believed he could prevail with them to deliver, for his conjunction with them against the other Princes of Italy; to whom they were very ungracious, having taken advantage of the contests which had fallen out between their neighbours, and

Accedes to
the league
of Cam-
bray.

CHAP. VI. possessed themselves of many towns, forts, and castles, which lay convenient for themselves, and whereby they had disobliged all their neighbours. But when that republic had utterly refused to gratify him with the delivery of those few places which he desired, and he found that the Emperor, France, and Spain, were entering into a league against the Venetians, (who had yet the courage, when he had threatened them with excommunications if they still presumed to detain the land of the Church, to make their appeal to a future Council,) he likewise betook himself to that party; and he entered into that treaty, which was carried with so great secrecy, that Lewis the Twelfth was even upon their borders, with an army of forty thousand men, before they heard or suspected the conjunction. Then it was that the Pope thought it seasonable to publish his tragical bull, which is stiled, “ *Extensio constitutionis a Pio Secundo editæ, contrà appellantes à Romano Pontifici, ad futurum concilium, eorumque complices et fautores;*” wherein he recites, that the Duke and republic of Venice, when the Pope had required them to deliver up Ravenna, and several other cities which they unjustly detained from the Church, and had advised them to perform the same upon the penalty of excommunication; “ *ad prohibitum atque damnatum remedium confugientes, à requisitione, monitione, mandato &c. nullâ constitutionis Pii prædecessoris, hoc expressè vetantis habitâ ratione, ad futurum concilium temerè provocarunt &c;*” and thereupon he renewed his former excommunication, with many exalted expressions and bitter invectives, “ *decernentes et declarantes ultra pœnas impositas &c. ipsos et eorum quemlibet, pro veris et indubitatis*

“ *bitatis schismaticis, et inconsutilis tunicæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi violatoribus et dissipatoribus, ac de Catholicâ fide malè sentientibus, habendos et reputandos &c. et cum Dathan et Abiram partem et damnationem habere &c.*” But within a short time the Venetians became good Catholics again, and France as bad as they had been.

In less than two years this strong and mighty confederation between the Pope, the Emperor, France, and Spain, had so far prevailed against the Venetians by sea and land, that they lost a naval battle or two, and had so many of their towns taken, that they had little left but Venice itself, with the places within their own Gulph: notwithstanding which, when they had all those Princes upon them, and when all the other Princes of Italy either combined with their enemies for their destruction, or durst not administer any assistance to them, it ought to be remembered for their eternal honour, that when Bajazet, the Emperor of the Turks, upon no other motive but of a generous compassion, in this their perplexity offered to give them aid and assistance, they absolutely refused to receive it. In the mean time the Pope discerned he got nothing by all this mischief. Lewis of France (whom of all men living he most feared and least loved) was already in the quiet possession of Milan; and, by having Genoa likewise in his hands, was upon the matter able to give the law to Italy. Those places which he thought by his spiritual ordinance to have gotten from the Venetians, were in the hands of the Emperor Maximilian, or of Ferdinand of Spain, with all the other towns which had been taken from the Venetians; and the Emperor himself, with an army of forty thousand men, hoped first to straiten, and

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Venetian
war.

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then to take Venice itself. This wrought upon the Pope to believe the Venetians to be better Catholics than he had thought them to have been; and so, without so much as communicating his purpose with either of his confederates, and expressly against the letter of the treaty, and his oath for the observation of it, he enters into a strict alliance with Venice, and sends imperiously to all the other Princes to refrain from making farther war upon them, under the penalty of excommunication, which he would pronounce against them.

War between
France and
the Pope

The Pope had now other manner of men to deal with. Lewis, after he had endeavoured all the ways he could to reduce him to his former temper, and to comply with his obligations, withdrew all respect from him, and prosecuted the war against the Venetians with more fury than ever: and the Duke of Ferrara, who had been most at the Pope's disposal of all the Princes of Italy, and had been solely by his instance engaged in that war, took it so ill, that he joined his forces with France for the carrying the war with equal passion and indignation: whilst Julius as passionately declared both Lewis and the Duke of Ferrara schismatics and enemies to the Catholic Church, and absolved all their subjects from paying any obedience to them. When the King of France found that the war with the Pope would be unavoidable, he resolved to prosecute it to the purpose; and, that he might first dispose his own kingdom to a concurrence with him in it, he summoned an assembly of the Gallican Church to meet together at Tours, to be advised by them, upon a true state of the whole affair communicated to them, what his conscience might permit him to do in that condition.

The

The King proposed eight questions to them, which he desired them to consider and debate; and in conclusion upon the whole matter they gave him this answer; "That his arms were just, and that those of the Pope were unjust; and that he might lawfully take upon him the offensive part, in order the better to defend himself:" and upon this encouragement he forthwith declared and forbad all his subjects or any of them to repair to Rome upon any occasions, or to send for or receive any bulls or patents for any benefices, or other ecclesiastical preferments; and likewise, he positively inhibited and forbad that any money should be carried out or paid to the Court of Rome by any of his subjects: and the French Catholic writers impute it as a great oversight in that great and wise King, that he did not then prosecute that Pope to the utmost, and with that vigour that he could well have done for two years together: during which time, however, he expressly forbad Chaumont his General, and Governor of Milan, to attack or make any incursion upon the lands of the Church, and yet the Pope had both excommunicated that General and the Duke of Ferrara; all which was known to proceed from the superstition of the Queen, who used her utmost interest with the King her husband to comply with the Pope's unreasonable demands. But as he had secured himself from any domestic inconvenience by preparing his own Clergy in that manner, that they were not at all moved by the Pope's excommunication and interdiction, so he wisely foresaw that he must draw a greater consent of other Princes to his party before he could take a full vengeance upon Julius.

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VI.
Lewis XII.
prohibits all
intercourse
with Rome.

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VI.

Lewis XII.
and Maxi-
milian
summon
the Pope to
a general
Council at
Pisa and
Milan.

As long as Maximilian had hope to get more, or to keep what he had already got from the Venetians, he rather made a fair shew of joining with Lewis than apparently concurred with him against the Pope. Ferdinand was too well known to be trusted; and knew too well how to make use of the Pope's displeasure towards France to incur it himself, and had so great a power over his son-in-law, Harry the Eighth of England, that he would not separate himself from his interest; so that Lewis (except the concurrence, or rather good wishes, of some Princes of Italy, who by degrees likewise fell from him) stood upon his own legs singly, against the Pope's spiritual and temporal power. And the Pope had no sooner published and renewed his excommunication and interdiction against France, and all who should assist, favour, or join with him, but Ferdinand undertook and promised to the Pope that he would march with his army into France, and engage his son of England in the enterprise, who should thereby recover the Dutchy of Guienne to that crown. For the better facilitating this conquest, Ferdinand sends ambassadors to the King of Navarre, that he would give him leave to march with his army through his kingdom into France; and upon his deliberation, rather than refusal, he prevailed likewise with the Pope to excommunicate John King of Navarre, as a confederate and favourer of Lewis, and then he marched into Navarre, and quickly possessed that whole kingdom. This, and the loss of all the places he had in Italy, awakened Maximilian the Emperor, who then resolved by agreement with France to bring down the pride of Julius; and as Lewis had before appealed to the

the

the next general Council, so now the Emperor and he together declared that they would assemble a general Council for the reformation of the Church in its head, as well as members; and they appointed the place for the convention thereof to be in Pisa, whither they sent their ambassadors and Bishops, who met there; and many Cardinals likewise came thither and joined with them. For their better security they removed themselves to Milan, and there had several sessions; in which, after having several times summoned Julius, that if he did not like that place he would name another that should be free, and where he would be in person to justify himself against what was charged upon him, and he making no answer to their summons, they declared him to be suspended from the administration of the Pontificate, and forbad all persons to obey him.

All this subdued not the proud heart of Julius; but, being thus provoked, he, to get the more reputation and reverence to his spiritual, drew his temporal sword, and brandished it with his own arm, conducted his army himself, and in the depth of winter besieged the town of Miranda, a small but an important place, and under the protection of the French. He was not only present, but, in spite of the snow and frost, and without regard to his age, which was seventy years, or the dignity of his sacred office, he hastened the traversées, directed the batteries himself, encouraged and caressed the soldiers, and sometimes threatened them, and in less time than was expected reduced the town to an ordinary composition by the middle of March; and caused himself to be carried into it through a breach that he had made with his cannon.

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VI.

Julius II.
besieges
and takes
Miranda.

This

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VI.
Negotia-
tions for
peace.

This very courageous and unusual proceeding gave him great credit both at home and abroad, and as much lessened the reputation of France, and likewise of the Council of Pisa. The wary Ferdinand thought it a seasonable time to promote a treaty to all parties, by which he meant likewise to be a gainer in the end; and he prevailed with the Emperor and the King of France to accept it, and to send their ambassadors to Mantua, which was the place appointed for the treaty. The King of France sent the Bishop of Paris as his ambassador, and the Emperor the Bishop of Coire for his. The Pope, whose design was only to divide the Emperor from that conjunction, that he might satisfy his revenge upon Lewis, sent to the Bishop of Coire, who was a very learned man and of a general good fame, and desired him to come to him to Ravenna, to confer with him; which the Bishop absolutely refused to do, and at last obliged the Pope to meet him at Bologna; where the Pope first endeavoured to work upon him by the offer of a Cardinal's cap, which the Bishop slighted and rejected in that manner as if he thought it no addition to the character he had, and in all respects treated him without any condescension or appearance of inferiority; insomuch as when the Pope sat down, the Bishop likewise sat himself upon a seat that was equal unto his, and refused to treat with any body but with the Pope himself; leaving to his gentlemen that attended him to confer with those Cardinals that waited upon the Pope: so that when they saw that he insisted as much upon the interest of the King of France as upon that of the Emperor, with which he would have complied, the treaty proved to no purpose: and the Pope, that he might gain

gain as much glory to his spiritual sword as he had done to his temporal, called a Council to meet at Rome, in his palace of Lateran; which being much more numerous than that at Pisa, declared the Convocation of those at Pisa to be void and null, and cited their Cardinals, who had appeared there, to appear before them at a day assigned, and in failing thereof, that they should be degraded of their dignity, and deprived of all their benefices.

This raised again the spirit and courage of the Venetians, who every day recovered the towns they had lost, and drove the French out of their territories, and shortly after out of the Dutchy of Milan itself; which when the Emperor saw, according to his usual inconstancy, he declined the fortune of France, and owned the Council at Lateran; being induced to it by the crafty insinuations of Ferdinand, who had raised most profit to himself from all those jealousies and animosities between the other Princes. For as he had thereby possessed himself of almost the whole kingdom of Naples, contrary to his treaty with Lewis, (who was by express terms to have half with him,) and was become entirely master of the kingdom of Navarre, so he procured now a donation from the Pope and Council of that kingdom: for that John the King thereof was a confederate with Lewis who stood excommunicated, and was likewise a favourer of the Council of Pisa. And this donation, and the convenient situation thereof in respect of the other provinces of Spain, is all the title by which Navarre became united to the crown of Spain. When Ferdinand had done these great things for himself, he prevailed with Maximilian by assuring him that the Pope intended to confer the kingdom of France

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VI.

Council of
Lateran.

Navarre
granted by
the Pope to
Ferdinand.

CHAP. VI. France (of which he had deprived Lewis) upon the King of England; and it is confessed by the best writers of that time, that the Pope was so far transported with malice and animosity against Lewis, that he had caused a decree to be composed in the name of the Council for the transferring the kingdom of France, and the title of "*Très Chrétien*," to Harry the Eighth, King of England: and he had so far prevailed, that the Council was even ready to publish that decree, if God had not been so merciful as in that instant, for the good of Christendom, to have taken that Pope out of the world; who died out of pure anger that he could not induce the Venetians to an accommodation with the Emperor. "*Tant ses passions (says Mezeray) estoient furieuses, et plus convenables à un Sultan des Turcs, qu'au Pere commun des Chrétiens.*"

Remarks upon the grounds and effects of the Papal usurpations.

By this that hath been said, it is manifest enough what opinion of, or reverence for, the infallible chair at that Catholic time, Kings Princes and Bishops had, both for the ecclesiastical and temporal authority thereof; by their so frequent contemning all his spiritual censures, and their appealing to a future general Council. And there needs no other instance than the authority he usurped in the excommunication of so many sovereign Princes of all degrees; the absolving their subjects from their allegiance and obedience; his interdicting the exercise of their religion in all their dominions; and his conferring "*ex plenitudine potestatis*" their dominions and territories upon those he favoured more, or upon those who, without any colour of right, would by force invade the same; thereby opening a door to let in all the blood and rapine and devastation upon a peaceable Catholic

Catholic people that could be exercised by the most barbarous and savage enemies : and all this upon no other ground or pretence than that they did not wish well to Catholic religion, and were Schismatics and Heretics ; when none of them professed to know any other religion than that which he pretended to be of ; nor to be of any Church than the same of which he would be thought the head. I say, there needs no other evidence than the insolence actions and pretences of Julius the Second (whose pride and tyranny wiped out the memory of the impieties of Alexander the Sixth,) to convince all Kings Princes and States, how insecure their condition and government must be, and how indevoted and unfaithful their subjects may be to them, if the Pope hath such a power over them as he lays claim to, and hath exercised ; and that, by virtue of a right which by no intermission of the exercise thereof can be extinguished, even the legacy donation and investiture of our Saviour himself: and till that groundless and profane, if not blasphemous, pretence be renounced by themselves, or exploded and disclaimed by universal declaration and indignation of all Christian Princes, whose interest is the same, the discontinuance of any such enormous presumption by the modesty and wisdom of several Popes for an age together, or by the visible greatness and power of Kings, (which would quickly crush those impotent attempts,) can be nothing like a security for them. But there is sulphur enough stored up in the neglected mines of this very Pope, which have not been unvisited and unrepaired by some of his successors, to blow up all the prerogative and regalities of all the Kings and Emperors of the world, when any misfortunes by the strength
of

CHAP. of their neighbours, or by the defect of their own
 VI. subjects, shall befall them; upon which more shall be enlarged hereafter. And the very new doctrine that was published by that Pope, concerning the calling of Councils, in that bull for the convening that Council at Lateran, deserves to be read and considered by all princes; that they may clearly discern what portion the Bishops of Rome are willing to assign or allow to them in the government of the world.

Leo X. His character.

When the conclave was shut up to choose a Pope upon the death of Julius, Erasmus was then in Rome, and declared that no man who was then in the conclave would come out Pope; after which, the Cardinal of Medicis arrived, and entered the conclave, and was within very few days chosen Pope, and took the name of Leo the Tenth. He was then but thirty-six years of age, and yet the oldest Cardinal, having had the cap from the age of thirteen; and was now, by the vigour of his wit, parts, and experience, to reform all the vices and mischiefs which the passion and pettishness, and pride and covetousness, of so many aged predecessors had introduced; and he was the more like to do it, because he was without any of those vices by which they had been introduced. He was the son of the wisest father that age had produced, had the experience of the immoderate and impious outrages of Pope Sixtus the Fourth, and best knew how such ambition ought to be treated.

Takes off the interdict from France.

As soon as he was chosen Pope, he wisely cultivated those good inclinations which he discerned to be in the King of France; and willingly absolved him from all those censures which his predecessor had inflicted on him, after he had manifested, for six

or

or seven years, that he was a very good Catholic, and had kept all his subjects in that faith and exercise, notwithstanding the Pope's excommunication and interdiction of the kingdom. CHAP.
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This wise young Pope made all the haste he could to get friends, and forbore to provoke any enemies; and gained more by the gentleness and softness of his nature and manners than the pride and stubbornness of his predecessors could ever bring to pass. For he prevailed with Lewis the Twelfth to abrogate the Pragmatique, (which was such a fortress against all the Papal power,) and to accept the Concordat, as a valuable recompence; which latter cost the Pope nothing, and satisfied the King at other men's charges; and yet it produced so much opposition and contradiction from the University and the Parliament, as, notwithstanding that abolishment, sufficiently declares the Pope to have no other authority in France than what is given him by the crown, and of which the crown makes use as often as it thinks requisite. And though the same Pope prevailed likewise with Francis the First to confirm what his predecessor had done, and though the Council of Lateran caused it to be read at their last session, and confirmed it by their authority, yet all the Clergy of France, the Universities, the Parliaments, and (as Monsieur Mezeray says) all honest men, opposed it, making their complaints, remonstrances, protestations against it, and their appeals to a future Council, which they renew to this day upon any emergent occasion.

If Leo the Tenth was not himself learned, as his countrymen will not allow him to be, he was surely the greatest cherisher of learning and of learned men that age produced, and thereby induced the greatest

Restoration
of learning.

CHAP. alteration and improvement of all kind of good litera-
VI. — ture that hath in so short time sprung up in any age. The commonwealth of learning owes the vast increase of science, that it enjoys at this day, to the seeds which were sown in his time, and cultivated by his care and bounty. And as it is a record in most of the histories of that age, that the extreme ignorance of ecclesiastics, (many of them being scarce able to read,) the scandalous lives of priests, (who were usually the bastard sons of other priests,) and their drunkenness and great negligence, gave the first occasion opportunity and scandal to many persons to persuade the people, that that could not be the true religion which such men taught, who were so ignorant, and who gave so ill example in their lives; so it cannot be denied, but that there grew up in this Pope's time, and that he left behind him at his death, many as great divines, and men of as polite learning, as have flourished since.

We have reason to believe that he did really intend to have made a great reformation in the church, by the bull that he published in the very first year of his reign, intituled, "*Reformatio generalis Prælatorum ecclesiasticorum, eorumque officialium et familiarum;*" which is so very well worth the reading for the new stile, different from that which was used before, and the lively description of the ignorance and iniquity of that time: and afterwards, when Luther first appeared, in contradiction of some doctrines and customs taught and practised in the church, the Pope was moved by his arguments, and inclined to have prescribed remedies, and to have extinguished the clamour by suppressing the grounds of it. But the vice of the time was too strong for the virtue of any particular

Leo the
'Tenth's
bull in the
first year of
his reign,
"Reforma-
tio genera-
lis Præla-
torum
" &c."

particular man, and the conclave thought it good reason, that, though the complaints were known and confessed to be just, no reformation should be granted upon the advertisement of a simple monk; nor could the Pope himself obviate and reform that sottish and proud spirit.

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In this Pope's time, and within three or four years before his death, the whole face of Christendom was changed, by the departure of all those, who, having for so many years acted the chief parts, left the stage to fresh and younger actors. Lewis the Twelfth, who was much the youngest, and in regard of his virtue, justice and piety, as a Gentleman and a King, (for he had a rare love and tenderness for his subjects,) was worth both the other, first led the way of mortality: Ferdinand followed after, at the age of seventy-four years, without any other remorse for all his perjuries and breach of faith, and other tyrannical oppressions, than the solicitude that his successor might never restore or part with any thing that he had unjustly and impiously got. And the last was Maximilian, who was younger than Ferdinand, and whose memory consists more in the infinite [vexation] he got, and the miseries he brought upon his neighbours, than in any notable benefit or advantage that he procured for himself; and by his extraordinary and restless activity, he only left a monument of the poverty of the Emperor, when he contends with any other great Prince.

Deaths of
Lewis XII.
Ferdinand,
and Maxi-
milian.

These great Princes had successors at least equal to them, who were not like to suffer the world to enjoy more peace than they found it in. Francis succeeded in France, who may justly be called the first great King that nation ever had; and, if his great

Contempo-
rary reigns
of Francis
I. Charles
V. and
Hen. VIII.

CHAP. VI. virtues had not suffered an alloy of vices not inferior, he would have appeared to posterity in equal lustre with any who have succeeded him. Charles the Fifth filled the places of both his grandfathers; having the empire of the one, and all the dominions that ever the other had either in his own or his wife's right, or purchased by his sword or his wit; which made him a great Emperor indeed, greater, I think, than ever the West had. And that neither the power nor ambition of those two mighty princes might terrify and keep the world too much in awe, they found a rival upon the stage before them, our King Harry the Eighth, who could moderate their pretences, and turn the scale when it seemed most inclined to either of them. And with all these the Pope kept fair quarter, though he did not dissemble his desire to keep Italy from being made the seat of the war; and so entered into that league with the Emperor and Ferdinand, which was most like to keep the French King from invading it. And when the Emperor was dead, and Francis the First desired his assistance and interposition to the Electors, that he might be chosen Emperor, the Pope denied to contribute towards it; which Francis knew not how to take ill, when he discerned that he was not the less solicitous against the election of Charles, since he believed either of them to be too powerful to succeed in that charge. The wisdom of this Pope was most conspicuous in the follies of his successors; and they who were least satisfied with him, very much lamented his death, which fell out at the end of eight years, and before he was full five and forty years of age.

Charles

Charles the Fifth, as soon as his grandfather Ferdinand was dead, assumed the government of Spain, though he was but sixteen years of age, and though it was expressly contrary to the will and settlement made by his grandfather, and before he had a right to it. He quickly prevailed with Pope Leo to make a Cardinal of his tutor Adrian, an obscure Dutchman of Utrecht, who had read grammar to him, and had then no other title in the church but Dean of Louvain; and this man he sent into Spain, and joined in the government with those who had been deputed by Ferdinand; but he found it necessary to make haste after him himself. Whilst Charles was in Spain, and as yet but eighteen years of age, his other grandfather Maximilian likewise died; and notwithstanding his youth, and all the emulation of Francis the First, Charles was chosen Emperor. Upon which, finding it necessary to transport himself into Germany, he left the Cardinal Adrian in chief trust for the government of Spain; in the administration whereof he did not appear to be a man of any notable parts.

However, Pope Leo dying at that time, the reputation of the young Emperor was so great, that, after the conclave had been shut two months, they made choice of his tutor, with one only dissenting voice. But when the Cardinals went home, the people generally cursed them for having chosen a Pope whom nobody knew and few had heard of. He received the news of his promotion at Victoria, and would not change his name, but was called Adrian the Sixth. There is little more memory preserved of his person, than that he was a peevish, absurd, and an obstinate enemy of all poets, as well an

CHAP.
VI
Accession
of Charles
V.

Adrian VI.
elected
Pope.

CHAP. VI. cient as modern ; nor of the time in which he reigned, (which was but twenty months,) but that the island of Rhodes was then taken by the Turks.

Clement
VII. His
character.

Pope Adrian was succeeded by one who administered matter enough of talk to the world, the Cardinal of Medicis ; kinsman to Leo the Tenth, but neither a kin to his virtue, wisdom, or courage. He took the name of Clement the Seventh. He little advanced the Papacy, and left a lasting evidence how unfit he was, and his successors must be, to be trusted with a jurisdiction over the interest and lives of Kings and Princes. When he was first chosen, he seemed to prefer the friendship of the Emperor Charles the Fifth before any other ; and yet during that time used all the arts he could underhand to persuade the Marquis of Pescara to rebel against the Emperor, and to make himself King of Naples. Shortly after he turned from the Emperor, and made more than a peace with Francis the First, King of France ; and afterwards, almost every year during his life, altered and changed some important and declared resolution that he had taken. It will not be possible to take a clear view of the reputation the Papacy was in in that Catholic time, and the reverence that Catholic Princes then had for it, without the mention of many particular actions of this Pope ; what he did to others, and what others did to him ; by which it will enough appear, with how little veneration the world then looked upon him as the Vicar of Christ, and entrusted by his divine Majesty to teach mankind what would be acceptable or ingrateful to him ; and likewise how little his own actions were directed to the advancement of religion, or to any other end, than to the carrying on his
temporal

temporal designs, just or unjust, by the grossest rules of policy, and without any mixture of spiritual speculation. CHAP. VI.

When the Emperor Charles the Fifth undertook his expedition against Tunis, in the year fifteen hundred thirty-five, he was assisted with all the gallies of the Pope, this Clement the Seventh; when there was no pretence to plant Christian religion there, but the design only to displace and to chase from thence Ariadne Barbarossa, and to establish there Mule-Assen, another Mahometan: which he did, upon the payment of a small tribute, and which (though it gave great increase of honour and other conveniences to the Emperor) made it not less wondered at, that the Pope should at the same time use all his endeavours and faculties to disturb the peace of Christian princes by interdictions and excommunications, and by stirring up their subjects to rebel against them; whilst himself employed his forces to settle a Mahometan in his throne, purely to gratify the Emperor, and without any imagination of establishing Christian religion: so tender he was that any differences and divisions should arise amongst the Mahometans, and so solicitous he was to foment them amongst Christians.

This Turkish inclination was the true and real cause that the Christians were deprived of that most important island of Rhodes, (as hath been said,) by the inadvertency and impotency of Pope Adrian; after the Christians had sustained a siege of five months by an army of two hundred thousand men, whereof fifty thousand were killed upon the place, and had defended themselves as long as it had earth left to shelter themselves, or powder to offend their enemies;

Sends his gallies with Charles V. to settle a Mahometan in his throne at Tunis.

Consequences of the Pope's unsteady conduct.

CHAP.
VI.

enemies ; receiving better conditions from Soliman (out of the admiration of their virtue) for delivering up what they could not keep, than he would have given them the first day he came before it, and indeed as good as they could desire. And as this irreparable calamity befel Christendom (and at a time when the Kings and Princes thereof were much more powerful and able to relieve it, and to have repelled the force of those barbarous Infidels, than they had been in any age before,) only by the want of Christianity in the Popes, and by their kindling jealousies between those Princes, and incensing and inflaming them to prosecute their Christian subjects, for not submitting to that Papal authority ; so the same jealousies and animosities at that time, and afterwards, kept those Princes from uniting themselves to obstruct his farther progress. For the Emperor, though he acted his part towards the reparation of the damage sustained in the loss of Rhodes, by his liberal and magnificent donation of the island of Malta to the same fraternity, and under the same obligations, yet thought not fit to enter himself into any particular league against the Turk ; lest the King of France, who lived in great amity with the Grand Signior, and frequently engaged him in enterprises that advanced his service, might call him both into Italy and Germany, when he thought it necessary for his assistance. And when Clement the Seventh, upon his first exaltation to the Papacy, endeavoured, for his own security and the peace of Italy, to reconcile the Emperor, Francis the First, and Harry the Eighth of England, and to unite them in a war against the Infidels, whilst the wound was still bleeding from the loss of Rhodes ; the Emperor

peror possessed a willingness to be united in that war, provided that a firm peace might first be entered into between the three crowns; Francis indeed was content to make a truce for a few years, but not a peace, nor would in the mean time break his amity with the Turk; and Harry the Eighth refused both the peace and the engagement: all three of them (besides the jealousies and animosities they had of and against each other) being not without the just apprehension of the unsteady and irresolute nature of the Pope himself; and lest he might, according to the precedent of his late predecessor Alexander the Sixth, invite the Emperor Soliman (as the other had the Emperor Bajazet) to assist him, when he found his temporal designs like to be opposed by the Christian Princes.

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In what reverence this Pope was with his own natural subjects, and what opinion they had of his spiritual power, appears by the Cardinal Colonna's carriage towards him; who, having received many injuries and oppressions, made a war upon him, entered Rome with his army, and sacked a good part of the court. Then Clement left France again, and joined with the Emperor, and pardoned Cardinal Colonna, and made all other concessions to him which were desired; but repenting it again the next year, he excommunicated the Cardinal for the former offences, and prosecuted a sharp and destroying war against him and all his family. But they being under the Emperor's protection, he thereupon caused his army to march against the Pope; which entered and sacked Rome, besieged the Pope in his castle, and hanged a woman in the view of his window for having sent in a little victuals to him.

The

CHA P.
VI.
Behaviour
of Charles
V. to Fran-
cis I.

The French writers make themselves very merry at the carriage and behaviour of the Emperor, both upon the news of the battle of Pavia, and of this other, of the sacking of Rome and the taking the Pope prisoner by his army. Upon the first occasion, when the information of that great victory arrived, and of taking the King prisoner, preparations being made, according to custom, by the magistrates for making fires of joy, and other triumphant solemnities, the Emperor declared and forbade that any such fires or other demonstrations of joy should be made: he said, there ought rather to be a general mourning and lamentation for such a victory, as had cost the blood of so many Christians, and expressed no manner of contentment in the advantage he had gotten, but called his council together to advise what was to be done upon the occasion. This persuaded all men to believe that he meant to deal very generously with the prisoner, and his confessor declared his opinion, that he should without any treaty or condition immediately send order for the liberty and release of the King, that he might return into his kingdom; and he said, that that magnanimous way of proceeding would be a better foundation of a lasting peace than any treaty could be. But the Duke of Alva, who better knew the Emperor's inclinations, and was like to have a greater influence upon him, advised him to make the best use he could of the victory God had given him; that the bringing his enemy to an incapacity and disability to do him farther mischief was the only way to improve and establish his own greatness; and therefore that he was in no case to be set at liberty, until he had consented to such conditions as would advance his affairs, and the great designs he

he had. The Emperor thought the last the better counsel; and thereupon the King was brought into Spain, and, after above six months strict imprisonment, was never permitted to speak with or to see the Emperor, till that treaty was fully and with all solemnity concluded and signed; by which the King was set at liberty, in the same moment in which his two sons were delivered as hostages for the performance of the treaty.

They make the Emperor's carriage, upon hearing of the captivity, to be yet more artificial and comical. They say, that upon the first news of it, which came at a time when wonderful festivals of all kinds were preparing to celebrate the birth of the Prince and his christening, (who was afterwards Philip the Second,) all that solemnity was laid aside and suppressed; the whole court was put into mourning; and the most solemn processions were made, in which the Emperor himself was present with a taper in his hand, offering their devotions and supplications to God Almighty, for the liberty of the Pope; who remained after all this in very strict prison full six months, and could not be suffered to remove out of the castle of St. Angelo, (though the plague was known to be in it, and some who in their attendance were near the person of the Pope dying of it,) until he had consented to such conditions as the Emperor required from him: and, they say, that there was a purpose to have sent him prisoner into Spain; but that the Emperor found that it would be very ingrateful to many of the Bishops, and of the clergy, to have the Vicar of Christ so treated and vilified; and that they had some purpose and combination to

have

CHAP.
VI.

His beha-
viour to the
Pope.

CHAP. VI. have joined in an address to him to the contrary ;
 and that upon that clamour, and the scandal that he found it generally gave to Catholic princes, and the union that it was like to produce between them against him, the Emperor, when he had yielded to all that he required, gave order for his deliverance. Indeed it is very remarkable, that in the letter which he writ himself to Clement, to congratulate his being at liberty, he makes no kind of apology or excuse for what had been done, but says only, that he understood, by the way of France, that his Holiness was at liberty; and though he had received no account of it from his own ministers, yet he believed it to be true, because he had given them such command; and assured him that he took great pleasure in it; and that as he had been exceedingly grieved for his detention, the which had been without any fault of his, so the joy that possessed him now was the greater, in that he was set at liberty by his command, and by the hand of his ministers, for which he gave God thanks; and said that his Holiness might be secure, “*che es- sendomi come spero buon Padre et buon Pastore troverà in me opere da vero et humil figliuolo,*” and without any other ceremony, desires him to believe that he will always do any thing to please his Holiness, “*che io honestamente potrò:*” which letter, all writ with the Emperor’s own hand, was dated at Burgos the two and twentieth of November fifteen hundred twenty-seven, and may be seen in the first volume of those *Lettere di Principi*, that was printed in Venice in the year fifteen hundred seventy-three, and dedicated to Cardinal Borromeo; of the truth whereof nobody hath yet doubted: and it was very agree-

agreeable to the Emperor's behaviour afterwards in the interview that he had with the Pope at Bologna, where he never made the least mention of what had passed at Rome by his army.

When Francis the First had, after so long and unpleasant imprisonment, and with so much deliberation, consented to and signed that treaty, upon which he had his liberty; and in which, how large promises and concessions soever he made, there was nothing contained but what had been always required, and had been the subject matter of the war; and in which there was one article, that if the King should not within such a time limited perform and make good all that he was obliged to in that treaty, he should then return, and become a prisoner again as he had been; and when he had by this means recovered his liberty and was again returned into his own kingdom, the Pope very frankly absolved him from the performance of whatsoever he had promised by that treaty: by which there was a new stage erected, upon which so many tragedies were acted, and so much of the most precious blood of all Europe was spilt. Nor was that issue of blood stopped, till after [] years by the treaty of Cambray; when all the most important particulars were again confirmed, which had been first agreed upon at Madrid, and the observation whereof the Pope so conscientiously dispensed with, to the so great damage of Christendom. Sandonel, Bishop of Pampelona, (who by the command of Philip the Second writ the life of the Emperor his father, and was enabled to that purpose by the communication of the most secret councils and memorials,) says, that after the treaty was signed, the Emperor and Francis, riding

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VI.

The Pope absolves Francis I. from his oath to observe the treaty of Madrid.

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one day together to hunt, and in the chase being separated from all other company and finding themselves alone, the King said to him, My brother, you and I must agree together to humble the pride of this proud Priest, who hath so much abused us both; to which Charles, seeming not to hear it, made no answer: but there can be but little doubt made, that neither of those two great Catholic Princes believed that there was any divinity inherent in his person, or visible in his actions or determinations. And the Catholic writers, who have transmitted his life to us, have left us this character of him; that he had no friend, because he loved nobody, nor many enemies, because he did nobody any harm; and for the manifestation of his nature, they say, that of thirty caps, which he gave in his time, (which was eleven years,) there were not two which he had not been compelled to give either by the importunity of friends, who would not be denied, or by force of arms.

Divorce of
Hen. VIII.
and his separation
from the
Church of
Rome.

This was the man who thundered all those ecclesiastical censures against our King Harry the Eighth, and thereby separated that Catholic kingdom, and the dominions which belonged to it, from the correspondence and communion with the Church of Rome. Whether the original of that quarrel, that is, whether that great King, who at that time had as great reputation (that is, was as much esteemed by his friends and feared by his enemies,) as any Prince who then reigned, did well in desiring a divorce from so excellent a lady, with whom he had lived happily so many years, and by whom he had issue, is not my part to inquire: and I wish that the reverence which is due to the memory of Princes, and to the

the high station in which God hath put them, would restrain the licence of men, that they would not think themselves at liberty, upon the discovery of every error and vice in Princes, (of which it is very hard at their distance to receive a clear information and knowledge,) to asperse their memories, especially of their sovereigns, with those odious reproaches and contumelies, as do too much disfigure them to posterity; and which, by the rule of Christian charity, is not lawful towards persons of the meanest condition. The truth is, this disposition in the King, which was the rise and foundation of so many inconveniences and mischiefs, may properly enough be called rather the vice of the age in which he lived, than of his own person. It was no new thing for Kings and Princes, (yea, inferior men in that time,) merely out of hope of issue, and when they had lived long with barren wives, to procure divorces from those beds, to which they were too fast engaged to be capable of that liberty; and the Church of Rome, who had by a general though an unlawful consent, the sole vending of that commodity of dispensations, made too much merchandise of it.

This young King had too impatient desire of issue male, (which he could not naturally expect from his wife,) that his line, which had been established with so much blood, might not be determined with himself; and he thought providence might be assisted by those expedients which he had seen practised in his own time in other kingdoms. It was not many years before that Charles the eighth of France, who had joined the dutchy of Brittany to the crown by the marriage of the daughter and heir thereof, (who was contracted to another husband,) had died; and

Lewis

CHAP. Lewis the Twelfth succeeded him, who was then
VI. — married to a sister of the former King, a lady by whom he had children, and to whom (as hath been said before) he had other as great obligations, as the saving his life could amount to: and yet, for the conveniency of continuing the dutchy of Brittany in the crown of France, he had procured from the Pope a divorce from his lawful wife, that he might marry the Queen Dowager, which he did accordingly. It is no wonder, therefore, that our King Harry did believe the same proceeding might be as good divinity and as good law in his case, as it had been twenty years before in the other. And it is notoriously known, that when he proposed this business first at Rome, it found so good a reception with the Pope and the Cardinals, that, after the usual formalities, (which were necessary in cases of that importance, and wherein there was that opposition by one of the royal parties concerned,) the divorce was actually consented to; and, by the unhappy temper of that Pope's nature, it was stopped, and undelivered, upon the direct threats of Charles the Emperor; who afterwards (and after his army had entered and sacked Rome, and made the Pope prisoner, as I said before) met him at Bologna, and with a few fair and foul words prevailed with the Pope to issue out all those censures against King Henry the Eighth; with whom, in a short time after, the Emperor himself entered into a stricter alliance and friendship than he had done before. Can it then be wondered at, that the King of England should look upon Clement and his censures with no more reverence, than Lewis the Twelfth had done a few years before upon Julius the Second, and the same censures; and that he should

should expel that spiritual sovereignty out of his kingdom, and the hearts of his subjects, which had CHAP. VI. been first introduced by the consent and approbation of his royal progenitors, and by them often enlarged and restrained, as they found most agreeable to their own affairs, and the good of their subjects; and which could be no longer continued or permitted, without the destruction of himself, and leaving the temporal jurisdiction and authority to be disposed of by the spiritual? It was thereupon that he applied his own laws to the government of his own people; and this by consent of his Catholic clergy and Catholic people, who knew that therein they departed from nothing of Catholic religion. Nor was that great King less a Catholic, from that moment of the expulsion to the hour of his death, than he had been when he writ against Luther; nor did in the least degree favour any of those opinions which were afterwards called heretical, but prosecuted the favourers thereof with the same cruel severity, which his unhappy daughter Queen Mary was afterwards advised and prevailed with to exercise towards them, when she was entirely governed by the Pope.

What opinion the Christian world had at that Hen. VIII. very time of that extravagant act of that miserable excommu- Pope, was not then concealed. The King of France laboured with his utmost endeavours, by his letters and ambassadors, and even threats, to divert Clement from such a purpose; and afterwards prevailed with him to suppress and not to issue out and publish that prodigious excommunication, after he had concluded it, until Harry the Eighth (who likewise, upon the importunity of Francis, was willing to consent to reasonable conditions) was informed that the

CHAP. Pope had declared it in Consistory, which could be
VI.

no secret; and then he renounced all further negotiations, and considered only what he knew was due to his own dignity and his just indignation, and so proceeded accordingly. The Emperor the very next year (as hath been said before) renewed his treaty and alliance with Harry under more strict obligations of amity than before: nor was there one Catholic Prince in Europe who did not with the same warmth embrace and desire his friendship that they had done before; which they could not have done if they had believed the excommunication to be valid, or the expulsion of the Pope's authority to be a crime or offence against the essence of Catholic religion: nor did one of his Catholic subjects withdraw his allegiance from him, either clergy or laity, upon the stroke of that thunderbolt; but cheerfully concurred in the condemning and renouncing that unruly power, and the person who so lewdly had usurped it; which makes it manifest enough what that Catholic age thought of it.

Language
of the Bull
of Excom-
munica-
tion.

And it is very probable that those very Princes, who, out of envy to the power and greatness of that magnanimous King, were glad enough to see any cloud arise that would probably eclipse his brightness, found themselves equally concerned in the imperious, insolent, profane, and tyrannical expressions in that frantic Bull, which ought always to be presented and preserved in the view and memory of all Kings and Princes, of what faith or religion soever. “*Juxtà Prophetæ Jeremiæ vaticinium, (Ecce “ te constitui super gentes, et regna, ut evellas et “ destruas, ædifices, plantas, præcipuè super omnes “ Reges universæ terræ &c.) ut excessus et enormia;*”

“ et

“ *et scandalosa crimina, congruâ severitate coerceamus, et juxtâ Apostolum, in obedientiam ovium* — CHAP. VI.
 “ *promptius ulciscendo, illorum perpetratores debitâ*
 “ *correctione sic compescamus, quòd eos Dei iram pro-*
 “ *vocasse pœniteat &c. Cùm dictum Henricum Regem*
 “ *ita in profundum malorum descendisse, ut de ejus*
 “ *resipiscentiâ nulla penitùs videatur spes haberi pos-*
 “ *se, reppererimus, Nos attendentes veteri lege crimine*
 “ *adulteriù notatum lapidari mandatam, ac authores*
 “ *schismatis hiatu terræ absorptos eorumque sequaces*
 “ *cælesti igne consumptos, Elymanque Magum viis*
 “ *Domini resistentem per Apostolum eternâ severitate*
 “ *damnatum fuisse &c.”* And upon these pious mo-
 tives and unquestionable precedents in the Old and
 New Testament, (which have not the least relation
 or reference to the case in question,) this universal
 Bishop takes upon him to excommunicate one of the
 greatest Catholic Kings in the world; to deprive
 him of all his kingdoms and dominions, and to ab-
 solve all his subjects from paying any obedience to
 him, forbidding all other persons to have any com-
 munication or conversation with any who shall ad-
 here to him; “ *Neque emendo, vendendo, permutando*
 “ *aut quemcunque mercaturam seu negotium exercendo*
 “ *&c. aut vinum, gramen, sal, seu alia victualia, deferri*
 “ *aut conduci permittunt.”* And lest all this should
 not enough express and declare the immortal anger
 of this sacred Pastor, he declares, that when he shall
 die, or they who adhere to him, “ *ecclesiasticâ debere*
 “ *carere sepulturâ, autoritate et potestatis plenitudine*
 “ *prædictis decernimus, et declaramus; eosque ana-*
 “ *thematis, maledictionis, et damnationis æternæ mu-*
 “ *crone percutimus.”*

In what a miserable and low degree of subjection
 were all Kings and Princes, if God had put such a

CHAP. VI. sword of destruction into the hands of men of so vast a distance from them in their quality, of very vulgar extraction, and of as low an education! Men, who make themselves superior to Moses, and all the other Prophets, and, in truth, equal to God himself; who believe they are qualified and authorized to command and execute whatsoever he thought fit to do at any time by his Prophets or others, for some extraordinary manifestation of his power and glory, according to their illimited fancies and humours; and who, under the presumptuous stile of Vicar of Christ, assume an authority and jurisdiction totally disclaimed by himself. And though Christ declared, that his kingdom is not of this world, they make no doubt of their inherent right from him to dispose of the empires and kingdoms over nations in this world, as well as of the places and offices in the next: and that all men may know the arbitrary and illimited boundless power that they lay claim to, they will not be limited by any former rules and precedents, (though prescribed by the infallible chair itself,) nor by the old wariness and deliberation in the process, examination, and proceeding; nor will the old awful form of excommunication serve their turn, nor is it agreeable to their fervour and the haughtiness of their humour; but they devise new scurvy words, and “*ex plenitudine potestatis,*” make new naughty Latin, force the Scripture to contribute to their rage and fury, according to the spirit of malice and pride that possess their own hearts.

The ex-
communi-
cation dis-
regarded by
Hen. VIII.

Nevertheless, after the terrible and terrifying Bull, (which by its ridiculousness and the contempt of it might reasonably abate and mollify such ambitious attempts,) after all this thunder and lightning, these impotent throes and strugglings, by which they endeavoured

deavoured to discredit and disfigure, but did indeed beautify the subject of their malediction; this great unhurt King enjoyed a life of many years, in greater prosperity than before; with the amity, at least the application, of all his neighbour Catholic princes, with the love (or reverence and obedience, which served his turn as well) of all his subjects, he lived to see Clement, after a life neglected and contemned, buried in perpetual obloquy, and his memory detested by all grave and pious Catholics; he lived, unshaken by the same malice of his successors, and prosecuted and controlled the same insolence with the same contempt; these presumptions and excesses of theirs having made his excesses the less remembered, or the less censured: and when he died, his death was attended with the accustomed condolences of the greatest Princes; and, notwithstanding all the Bulls of Rome, his obsequies were, with all possible solemnities, observed in the cathedral church of Notre Dame in Paris, by the most Christian King and all his Court: which they would never have done, if they had not believed and esteemed him to have died a very good Catholic.

They who are of opinion that Kings and Princes may, upon the policy of their government, grant what privileges and immunities they think fit, and make what concessions they please to the Popes and their successors; but that they may not upon any experience, and for the good of the same government, revoke those privileges and retract those concessions, no more than a married man can, upon domestic inconveniences, cancel the obligations of matrimony; and who believe that whatever was the effect of piety and zeal to religion in former ages, must

CHAP.
VI.

Reason-
ableness of
revoking
privileges
granted to
the Pope
upon expe-
rience of
their mis-
chievous
effects.

CHAP. continue to be the same, if we profess the same reli-
 ——— VI. ——— gion ; I say, whoever is of that opinion, let him first persuade the Duke of Savoy and the Commonwealth of Genoa to restore all Liguria (that is, all that is now the river of Genoa) and Piedmont to the Pope ; because Arithpertus, King of the Lombards, gave the same to St. Peter, and the Bishops of Rome : let the Duke of Mantua and the other Princes of Italy restore Mantua, and all the other towns that belonged to the Exarchate ; because Pepin heretofore granted them to the Pope and his successors : let the most Catholic King put his kingdom of Corsica, and Sardinia, and even Sicily itself, into the Pope's possession ; because Ludovicus Pius granted and dedicated those kingdoms to the church : let our Catholic countrymen, and their neighbours of Germany and France, engage their persons and their fortunes in a war upon the Holy Land, as their ancestors used to do : and let the Catholics of this time make voyages to the Grand Signior and the Emperors of Persia to affront them, and to draw the honour of martyrdom upon themselves, as some of the primitive Christians did to the Heathen Emperors : let all this be done, or else let it be confessed, that the religion and piety of all ages is not obliged to produce the same fruit and effects ; and that we may very well retrench the privileges which our ancestors granted to churchmen, in a time when they were found to be the best props and supporters of the peace and security of kingdoms, and paid themselves and exacted from others, in point of conscience, the most entire and sincere obedience to the laws established, and were very rarely prosecuted, but for their signal piety and integrity. I say, that the wisdom of Christian States
 and

and Princes may now very justly revoke the privileges that were granted to those men in those times, upon their too sad experience, that the successors of those men do not retain the virtue and sincerity of their predecessors; but that, instead thereof, they disturb the quiet and peace of kingdoms, dispose the subjects to irreverence towards their Princes and their laws, and then to rebellion against them; and that, upon pretence of paying obedience to a foreign spiritual jurisdiction, they withdraw that submission to the temporal, without which the foundations of government must be dissolved.

CHAP.
VI

 CHAP. VII.

*Paul III. A. D. 1534. to Pius V. A. D. 1566.
From the calling, to the conclusion, of the Council
of Trent,*

Paul III.
Farnese.

HAVING done with Clement, we proceed in the disquisition of the reign of his successor Paul the Third.

We might indeed now discontinue the method we have hitherto pursued in the examination and survey of the lives of the successive Popes; since, as it doth appear, (by the instances given before,) that from the time of St. Peter to this last successor of his, there hath not been one half a century of years in which it hath not been sufficiently evinced, that the successors of St. Peter either did not challenge or assume to themselves that power and authority which is now claimed by divine right, and as established by Christ himself; or, that they were opposed and contradicted in the point by considerable parts of the Christian Church, which rejects it from being a Catholic verity; so also it will not be denied by any man, but that, since the time of Clement the Seventh, so many great kingdoms and dominions and nations have renounced that subjection, that (being added to those who had either never acknowledged or formerly withdrawn themselves from it) the Roman

man

man Church at present is deprived of the force of its common and vulgar argument, by which it prevails over too many, from the number and multitude of its communion, and doth not now contain or comprehend near the third part of the Christian Church. CHAP.
VII.

I shall choose however to prosecute the order that I observed before, in view of the several actions and attempts of those who have succeeded, and have still continued the same pretences; by which as great mischiefs have befallen the Christian world as heretofore. And it cannot but be convinced, by the experience it hath had since that time in the foul practice and proceedings in the conclaves, how little our Saviour hath to do in the election of his own Vicar, and how much the two crowns of France and Spain; for the power of all other Catholic Princes serves to no other purpose than to crown the triumphs of one of those factions. And as they are pleased to make it an argument of the presence of the Holy Ghost in those elections, because, at the entering into the conclave, (notwithstanding all the brigues and corrupt public interpositions,) nobody had yet ever named or foreseen who would come out Pope; so it is in truth a shrewd argument of the absence of the Holy Ghost from those conventions, because so many men are able to foresee and foretell who shall not be elected Popes; since no man hath yet, from the time we are speaking of, ever been chosen Pope who hath by name been excluded by either of the two crowns: so that if the Holy Ghost be not totally excluded, (as many believe it to be,) it is at least limited and restrained from its voluntary and free operation; of which it will be impossible to avoid saying more hereafter.

Paul

CHAP. VII. Paul the Third had been forty years Cardinal, and was sixty-six years of age, when he was chosen Pope; which, together with the opinion of his gravity, and austerity of his nature, contributed very much to his election. Besides which, the iniquity of that time, and the depraved manners of the Court of Rome, gave occasion to so universal a scandal, that both the Emperor and King of France, and all other Catholic Princes, had called loudly upon Clement for a General Council; and threatened, if he should defer the calling of it, (for he still promised to do it though he never meant it,) that they would call a National Council themselves in their own dominions; which those of the reformed religion (who were now very considerable both in Princes and people) more desired, as being more equal, and like to produce a more reasonable reformation. Cardinal Farnese (who was now Paul the Third) had also the skill in that time to express a great bitterness against the excesses and corruptions in the Church, and to declare, that nothing was so necessary for Christianity as a General Council. And as all those Princes continued as importunate for it with him upon his election as they had been before, so they had no doubt but that he would, to satisfy his own discretion and conscience, as well as to comply with their advice and desires, make haste to give that general satisfaction. And, in a short time after he was chosen, he issued out his letters of Convocation directed to the Emperor, to whom he much more inclined than to France, and appointed the Council to assemble in Trent.

Council of Trent called: but not assembled to any effectual purpose during his reign.

Paul had all the ambition and pride and passion of his predecessor Clement, with a stubbornness that was inflexible either by threats or importunity; and he

he easily discovered, that the true end of the Emperor's and King of France's desire of the meeting of the Council was not so much for the suppression of any heresy that was grown up in the Church, as to elevate and exalt their own power and authority, and to lessen and vilify the Papal; and therefore he used all the devices he could upon several pretences to keep the Council from meeting, and in three years after the first time appointed, they met not; and when he could no longer avoid it, by the Emperor's sending the Spanish and German Bishops to Trent, he likewise sent his Legates thither, that by their presence and authority they might delay and puzzle all proceedings there, which they did as well and as long as they could: and when he saw that would not serve his turn, he removed and adjourned the Council to Bologna, sent his Legates thither, and prevailed with France (that was very willing and ready to widen any breach between the Pope and the Emperor) to send their Bishops likewise to that place. In the mean time the German and Spanish Bishops, with the Emperor, protested against the Pope's power to remove the Council, refused to go to Bologna, and remained still at Trent in consultation how to reform the Church; and the clamour of the Princes was so great, that France fell from him; so that he was compelled in the end to consent that his Legates and all the Bishops should leave Bologna, and continue their meeting in Trent. However, by these devices he so much deferred and interrupted and diverted their consultations, that, during the whole fifteen years of his reign, the Council proceeded not effectually to any of the purposes for which it was convened.

The

CHAP. VII. The Emperor, who was every day more disquieted by the increase of the Lutheran party in Germany, was much displeas'd with the artifices the Pope us'd to avoid the Council; and, that he might see that he would not depend upon his good will and power for the suppressing or reforming any mischief or inconvenience that should spring up or arise in his own dominions, he issued out his writs for the calling the assembly at Worms, which was a National Council of Germany: and he did this without so much as imparting it to the Cardinal Farnese, who was the Pope's nephew, and at that time his Nuncio in the Imperial Court; whereupon he immediately departed without taking his leave, and made haste to Rome, that his uncle might take new measures for his future Councils. But that great Emperor thought too much upon all he did, and upon all he meant to do, to be shaken in his resolutions by any actions of other men, or accidents from abroad. For the better composing or quieting the distempers in Germany, (where the flame was brightest,) he granted the Interim to be observed and submitted to by all men, until a General Council should otherwise determine. This contained twenty-six Articles, in which all dissenting parties found somewhat to gratify their desires; and the Protestants had indulg'd to them two principal points, upon which their hearts were much set, "Liberty for their Priests to marry," and, "that they might take the Communion in both kinds."

The Pope's conduct.

This blow stunned the Pope, that he was even at his wit's end; to have new Articles of faith made without his knowledge or privity, to suspend the decrees of former Popes and the Canons of general Councils, and in favour and for the benefit of those whom he condemn'd

demned as heretics, and this to be done by a secular power; for he looked upon the act of the Emperor (as in truth it was) as such a confinement and enclosure of his universality, and such a contradiction and contempt of his infallibility, that he knew not how to redeem it, or to control the presumption. At last his passion, that was always predominant in him, administered new vigour to his spirit; and he writ to the Emperor such a letter of rebuke and menaces that shewed he resolved not to sit down by the affront; which letter we shall have occasion to mention and enlarge upon hereafter. At the same time, but of a later date, and by another messenger, (who was appointed to deliver this three days after the former letter should be delivered,) to soften and mollify the fury of the Emperor, which he believed would break out upon the reception of the other, he writ with wonderful application, and made all imaginable expressions of kindness and esteem of him, and passionate professions of his resolutions cordially to assist him against all his enemies; and it is true that, though he feared and hated the Emperor, he did more abhor the King of France, Harry the Second, who he knew provided to break the peace of Italy.

The Emperor observed his own method, and dispatched a courier with an answer to his first letter in a style agreeable to his dignity, and such as could not but wound the Pope deeper than before; and then, within the same distance of time, he answered the other with all the acknowledgments and concessions and acceptations that could be most grateful to him. The two first were forgotten, at least no more thought of on either side, and the professions of the two latter cultivated by the ministers of both Courts;

CHAP. VII. Courts ; till in the end that alliance was produced, that Octavio, the Pope's grandson, married the natural daughter of the Emperor, who had before been married to Alexander the First, Duke of Florence ; who was assassinated. Whether Paul himself had been first married, and had a son before he entered the Clergy, (as the Spanish and Italian writers affirm,) or whether Pierre Lewis, the father of Octavio, was his natural son, (as the French historiographer confidently avers,) I am not to determine.

Proceedings
of the Pope
and the
Emperor.

But this alliance produced no alteration in the affections or inclinations of either of the fathers : the Emperor continuing not less impatient or importunate that the Council should proceed, nor in the mean time suspending the Interim, and which, it may be, troubled the Pope more, making no haste to exalt his family : and the Pope remaining as obstinate and refractory to any proposition of the Emperor, being resolved to leave the Papacy at least in as high a degree of reputation as he found it ; and to raise his family to a station equal to any that any of his predecessors had done : whilst the other was as resolute to humble and abate the pride and ambition of the former, and to promote the latter, as he found most convenient and suitable to his other designs. This temper made a schism in the Pope's family, his son Pierre Lewis betaking himself to the party of France with the privity and advice of his father, and his grandson Octavio declaring himself at the Emperor's disposal in matters that most nearly related to the Pope.

Indeed the Emperor's power so much increased, that though the college of Cardinals, when they were all in Rome, was thought equally to be divided between

tween the Emperor and France, yet by the residence of so many of them in France the other party was so much superior in Rome, that it was proposed in the college that the Pope would declare the King of France to be the common enemy, and deprive him of the title of most Christian King, for the infamous league that he had lately entered into with the Turks. But the Pope (who in the transport of his anger was not only more inclined to France, but to the Turk himself) would not hearken to that overture. The Emperor, who was delighted with all the Pope's vexations and distempers, the more to expose him to reproach and neglect, made a Pragmatique or law, that no stranger should hold any benefice or pension in Spain; and that no man should pay them, though they owed any thing to them upon that account. This impoverished very many Italians, and other dependants upon the Pope, (many whereof had little else to live upon,) and vexed him more than any thing that had been done, the Interim only excepted; which yet in one respect was not so grievous, because, it being an assault and invasion upon religion, many Catholic Princes concurred with him in the resentment: but this other was a matter purely within the Emperor's temporal jurisdiction, and he knew was very grateful to a whole Catholic nation, that was more devoted than any other to the sacred chair.

Whilst he was struggling under those mortifications, much greater fell upon him. He had given the cities of Parma and Placentia to his son Pierre Lewis, and expected that, for young Octavio's sake, the Emperor would erect them into a dutchy; which

he

The Pope's son assassinated, and Placentia delivered up to the Emperor.

CHAP. he yet refused to do upon the discovery of the
 VII. son's correspondence and inclination to France. And Lewis, before he was a sovereign, took such sovereignty upon him, and did so many acts of tyranny, that three or four citizens of Placentia combined together, and, under pretence of making some petition or other address to him, obtained entrance into the castle or palace at noon-day, assassinated him, and one other of his principal servants and confidants; and upon a sign given, some other of the citizens, who were privy to the conspiracy, entered and possessed themselves of the castle, and then sent to Ferdinand de Gonzagua (who was the Emperor's governor of Milan) for assistance; and he presently sent a strong garrison that possessed and kept it for the Emperor. This was a wound to the Pope that bled inwards, and bereft him of all his courage; and, when he complained of the odious murder and rebellion, and required the redelivery of Placentia, the Emperor positively refused to restore it, and said that it belonged to his Dutchy of Milan; which made the Pope believe that he had likewise been privy to the assassination. He resolved now to take some revenge upon his grandson Octavio, and to annex Parma to the holy chair, which would be better able to dispute the title with the Emperor, who likewise made a claim to it, and had endeavoured to surprise it; and he sent his grandson word that he would make other provision for him: but Octavio positively refused to put Parma into his hands, and writ to his brother the Cardinal, that if the Pope should press it, he would sooner put it into the hands of Ferdinand de Gonzagua; which letter, when the Cardinal shewed

shewed it to the Pope, put him into so great choler, that his whole body trembled, and within three days he died, in the year fifteen hundred and forty-nine. CHAP.
VII.

The greatest and the most lasting monument that he left behind him to preserve his memory, was the foundation of the order of the Jesuits, instituted and confirmed by a very wonderful Bull, wherein he declared, “That they had forsaken and renounced all the temptations of the world, *ut eorum vitam perpetuo Domini nostri Jesu Christi, atque nostro et aliorum successorum nostrorum Romanorum Pontificum servitio dedicarent, et jam quàm pluribus annis laudabiliter in vineâ Domini se exercuerunt &c.*” and thereupon grants them many privileges, unheard of before to any other Religious persons. “*Quicumque in societate nostrâ, quam JESU nomine insigniri cupimus, vult sub crucis vexillo Deo militare, et soli Domino, atque Romano Pontifici ejus in terris vicario, servire &c.* he shall enjoy these, and these immunities &c.,” and they again on their part, the better to merit his transcendent favours, over and above the common vows entered into by other Religious communities, make another and more especial vow, “*Ita ut quicquid hodiernus et alii Romani Pontifices pro tempore existentes jusserint &c. sine ullâ tergiversatione aut excusatione exequi teneamur &c.*” And the same Pope, upon a short experience, found this kind of militia to be so very necessary for the guard of his person, and of all his pretences, that, within eight or nine years after, he amplified his former concessions by a new Bull; in which, after a great testimony of the society, “*Cujus specimen veluti ager fertilis in Domino multiplices atque uberes fructus animarum, ad summi Regis laudem et fidei*”

The order of
the Jesuits
founded.

CHAP. VII. “*incrementum attulit, et affert quotidie &c.*” And therefore he grants to the Generals, and the Superiors appointed by him, for themselves, and likewise for all the members of the society, who have taken the order of Priesthood, and have their faculty to the same purpose, liberty in all places wherein they remain or shall pass through, “*habere oratoria, et in eis ac quocunque alio honesto et congruenti loco in altari portatili, cum debitis reverentiâ et honore, etiam tempore interdicti &c. submissâ voce Missas et alia divina officia celebrare, ac ecclesiastica sacramenta recipere, et aliis ministrare, &c.*” And, lest all this might not be encouragement to sturdy men to enrol themselves in this warfare, he grants to all manner of persons, “*defectum natalium ex adulterio, sacrilego, incestu, et quovis alio nefario et illicito coitu provenientes patientibus, nec non iis qui irregulares fuerint postquam in ordine ipso vota emiserint, ut defectu et irregularitate hujusmodi non obstantibus ad quoscunque, etiam sacros et presbyterianos, ordines promoveri, et ad quascunque administrationes et officia dictæ societatis, eligi, recipi, et assumi valeant, concedimus et indulgemus &c.*” In this manner, and of this manner of men, did this good Pope compose and qualify this happy fraternity; and as it is no wonder that there hath been few Popes since who have not made new grants of privileges, or otherwise manifested their grace to this valuable band, (as shall be shortly observed hereafter,) so the reason is not enough understood why they are so precious to many Kings and Princes, to whom they have not made the least promise of fidelity or obedience.

Proceedings
in conclave
for the elec-

The unquiet and uneasy reign of Paul the Third to himself, and to all his neighbours, made all the world

world at gaze, and solicitous for a Pope of a more apostolical temper and inclination; and the Emperor, and Henry the Second of France, were very much awake and careful that Christ might have such a Vicar chosen for him that might love but one of them. The French thought themselves to have the disadvantage by the so sudden death of the Pope, whilst so many of their Cardinals were in France, that they feared the Holy Ghost might be too precipitate in the election of a successor that might not be for their purpose; to prevent which, the King of France bethought himself of a remedy that had not been so barefaced practised before. As soon as he received the news of the Pope's death, he dispatched an express to Monsieur d'Urfé, his ambassador at Rome, in which he desired that the election of the future Pope might not be so hasty, or so quickly dispatched, as that the Cardinals of those parts might not have time to come to Rome to assist in the conclave, as well as others; otherwise, in regard of the place that he held in Christendom, and the quality which he had of being eldest son of the Church, he neither would nor could admit of such an election, where his Cardinals, who represent the Gallican Church, should be despised or neglected. This letter bears date from Paris the eighteenth of November, fifteen hundred forty-nine; and the ambassador returned an answer to the King, dated the sixth of December following, in which he gave him an account what he had done thereupon. He told his Majesty, that he came to the door of the conclave, and that the six Deputies (Cardinals, whose names he mentions) came thither to speak with him; in the pre-

CHAP.
VII.
tion of his
successor.
The King
of France
sends to de-
lay the elec-
tion.

CHAP. sence of whom he declared, that the Cardinals of
VII. France were on the way, and would probably be there in few days, and therefore he desired the conclave to stay yet awhile, and suspend the election yet a week, in which time the French Cardinals might be there; and in case they would deny him that request, and frustrate the voices of his Majesty's Cardinals, he told them, he did protest on his Majesty's behalf, and according to the power that he had given him, a nullity of all that they did do, and not to approve of their election. They desired to see his power, which he presently delivered into the hands of Cardinal Tracy, who promised to communicate that, and all that he had said, to the whole conclave. Some time after they gave him this answer; that upon his words they had staid for the French Cardinals nine and twenty days since the death of the Pope, and that they could not possibly put off the election any longer; and that, as to what concerned the protestation which he had made, his Majesty was a Prince who was in word and deed a Christian; and that their election should be so just and sincere, that neither he, as first son of the Church, nor any other Prince of Christendom, should have occasion to be dissatisfied with it. The ambassador, in the close of the same letter, took notice of a later command that he had received from his Majesty, in which he was required not to make too much haste to salute the new Pope, if he should not be one according to his Majesty's desire, but to wait his farther orders, than which, he said, nothing could be more reasonable, for he was of opinion, that the less his Majesty did court and seek the Popes, the sooner he would find them;

them ; and he said he could not comprehend how it could be, that his Majesty could have more need of their help, than they had of his Majesty's.

There were at this time, besides some Spanish and German, twelve Neapolitan and Sicilian Bishops, and some other clergy, who remained still at Trent ; and the Emperor gave commission to the Cardinal of Trent, that if the election of the Pope succeeded not according to his mind, he should protest, that at present it only belonged to the Council to elect a Pope ; which he affirmed to be assembled at Trent, and in no other place. Is not the Catholic Church like to receive very righteous directions and determinations from an universal Pastor thus imposed upon it ? But whatever haste the conclave seemed to be in to make their election, they deferred it so long, that the King of France writ upon the sixth of February from Fontainebleau to the Cardinal de Guise, to press the Cardinals to come to an election, and to complain of the delay of the conclave ; and the King said that he did not only press it, but that he understood that the Emperor himself did much blame their delay ; and alleged that Germany, seeing the conclave in such combustions, (at which every body there laughed,) did increase its errors every day against religion ; and that for one Lutheran who was there before the vacation of the holy chair, there were now very many.

In the end, being all tired, and almost killed with the enclosure, rather because they could not agree upon any man they liked, than that they were pleased with their own choice, they elected the Cardinal de Monte, whom the French long excepted against, with bitter invectives against his person and his manners ; yet at last, by being divided amongst

CHAP. themselves, he was chosen, and took the name of Ju-
 VII. lius the Third.

Character
 of Julius
 III. and his
 motives for
 appointing
 the Council
 to meet at
 Trent.

Julius was a man of a pleasant and open nature, a free speaker, and less reserved, and therefore less suspected for dissimulation than men bred in that Court naturally used to be; which made both the Emperor and France the more inclined to believe the professions he made to both, and the more patiently to attend his deliberation concerning the reuniting the Council of Trent; which they both very importunately pressed him to do after his election, and which he had taken a formal oath to do, in pursuance of an act of the conclave to that purpose. But for his oath, he answered, that obliged him only for the convening the Council, which he resolved to do, but without any mention of the place, of which he would deliberate with himself. The first action of importance in his Pontificate was the making his page (a boy under twenty years of age) a Cardinal, to whom he gave many great benefices for his support, and called him Innocent de Monte; pretending that he was the son of his brother, though in all the time that he had served him before, (which had been many years, when he had been known to be much in his favour,) nobody had ever heard who was his father. The Pope declared that he looked upon him as the author and founder of his fortune; for the astrologers had upon the boy's nativity foretold, that he should become a man of great dignity and riches, which he said could never come to pass but by his being raised to the Pontificate. This brought a general reproach or censure upon the Pope, and gave men the more liberty to discourse, who might probably be his father. He saw no better way to divert

divert the licence of such discourses, and to repair his reputation, than by calling the Council, which was universally desired and expected. He himself, having been Legate in Trent during the last Pope's time, had been the principal adviser for the translation of the Council from thence to Bologna, upon a full discovery (as he informed the Pope) that the design and combination was not so much against the Pope as the Papacy; of which judgment he still was; and therefore to recall it now again to Trent was to condemn the former Council of the translation: besides, that it would very much reflect upon the memory of his predecessor Paul, who, though he underwent much prejudice by that act, would never be prevailed upon to retract it; and as he had been a creature of that Pope's, so he had been exalted to that chair by the sole credit and operation of Cardinal Farnese, and therefore it would not become him, by calling it back again to Trent, to wound the fame of him who had removed it from thence. On the other hand, he knew well that the not assembling it in Trent, where so many Spanish and German Bishops had so long continued, and still remained, would in the Emperor's judgment be looked upon as the refusal to have any Council at all; which was the only possible remedy, or the best expedient, towards the composing the distractions in Germany in matters of religion, and which every day exceedingly increased; and the Emperor the more impatiently longed for it, because there was no other way to put an end to the Interim; of the liberty whereof he himself was already weary, since he found it had lost him more of the affection of the Catholics, than it had gotten him good will amongst the Protestants. Upon all these

CHAP. VII. considerations, Julius (who always preferred present ease against the prospect of future inconvenience) published his revocation of the Council from Bologna, and appointed it to meet, at a day to come, at Trent; but without any other purpose that they should meet and proceed there, than his predecessor had, as appears by his adjournment of it afterwards for two years, notwithstanding the protestation of all the Spanish Bishops against it, who would not stir from the place.

The King of France prohibits all intercourse with Rome. A. D. 1551.

By this unsteady course in his proceeding, (which he thought served his turn better than his appearing to be still the same man would have done,) he lost the reverence of the Empire, France, and Spain, as much as Paul or Clement had done. France made the first discovery of its resentment. That King discerned, that, notwithstanding all professions and protestations, the Pope made greater condescensions to the Emperor than towards him, and had more dependance upon him; which his great spirit not being able to endure, he publicly declared, that by the ripe and serious deliberation of several Princes of the blood, as also by the advice of his Council, and of other prudent persons of his kingdom, he did forbid all sorts of persons of his kingdom, whether ecclesiastical, secular, or laics, of what estate or condition soever, that they be not so bold as to dare to go or send to the Court of Rome, or to any other place out of his kingdom, to procure or purchase benefices, or other grants or dispensations whatever; nor to carry or cause to be carried, or send to the said Court of Rome, (by letters of change or credit, or otherwise, directly or indirectly, by what way or means soever,) gold, silver, monies, or monies worth,
for

for to have or obtain letters patents, bulls, dispensations, grants, or any thing else whatsoever; under pain of incurring the crime of high treason: and in case that, after the publication and proclamation of this his declaration, any of his subjects, or others residing in his kingdom, should be found doing, or to have done the contrary, he did order that they should be proceeded against by his judges and officers in their several jurisdictions, as persons guilty of high treason. This bears date the seventh of September, fifteen hundred fifty-one, almost two years after the election of Julius. And within a month after, upon the foresight or advertisement that the Pope was like to do somewhat in resentment of this affront, and in vindication of his own authority, the King writ to the Keeper of the Seals, that he knew very well that, at his being lately at Paris, his Advocate and Attorney General came to make some remonstrances to him concerning two points, which they thought he ought to provide and give orders against, considering the time in which they now are: the first was, that he ought to provide from that very present, by way of appeal, (by means which they say were very well grounded,) how he might best prevent or withstand the censures or prohibitions which the Pope might publish against him; if he should perhaps come to that height, upon the account of his having forbid his subjects to carry gold or silver to Rome: the other point was, that he ought to take care, whilst the troubles lasted, that order be given concerning those appeals, which are made ordinarily by metropolitan Bishops, or other churches or colleges, who think themselves exempted from his government, and to be immediate subjects to the Church

CHAP. Church of Rome: these points, his Majesty said, VII. were of great consideration, and that it was much better in this to prevent than to be prevented; since he did not know yet how affairs might go between the Pope and him upon that account: and therefore he bade the Keeper of the Seals, whilst he was in those parts, to assemble and call together his Advocate and Attorney General, to communicate and confer with them upon the two points, and to take the quickest and the best resolution, according to which they might draw up those letters and writings, which might be necessary for the same; and to give him notice of all that they did in that affair. All which proceedings of this great King, and what his ambassador did to the conclave, appears at large in the Memoirs of Monsieur Ribier, in the second tome; and nobody can doubt that that Catholic Prince would ever have engaged himself in that contest, if he had not been very well satisfied that the Pope had no just pretence to any jurisdiction, temporal or spiritual, within his dominions.

Ferdinand,
King of the
Romans,
puts to
death Car-
dinal Gior-
gio.

It is observable, that though Julius talked very loud, and had probably drawn this affront upon himself by his expostulations and menaces, that if the King would not withdraw his countenance and assistance from Parma, (which belonged to the Church,) he would issue out his spiritual censures and excommunications against him; and notwithstanding that he and the King entered into a sharp war against each other upon that quarrel; yet after this declaration, and when his temporal sword prospered not, he did not think fit to draw and use his spiritual, for the blunting or abating the edge whereof he saw such provision made. Indeed his spiritual thunder pro-
cured

cured him little more reverence than that of his ca-
 non; for Ferdinand, King of the Romans, had pro-
 cured a Dominican Friar, who had performed many
 great services against the Turk in Hungary and Tran-
 sylvania, to be made a Cardinal, and thereupon made
 him general of his army, who was called Cardinal
 Giorgio, and obtained some signal victories after-
 wards; but the King, being sometime after fully in-
 formed that he had entered into a treaty with the
 Turk, and had promised, upon the payment of a great
 sum of money, to deliver up Transylvania, and some
 towns in Hungary, into the hands of the Infidels,
 (and which irreparable mischief he knew no way to
 prevent, but by the sudden death of the Cardinal,)
 appointed and sent some officers to visit him when
 he was gone to a country house for his pleasure, at
 a little distance from his army, and there to assassi-
 nate him; which they performed accordingly, and
 so disappointed the execution of that treason. Julius
 hereupon solemnly excommunicated Ferdinand, who
 would not take the least notice of it, or make the
 least application to him. But the conspiracy was so
 notorious, and the punishment generally believed to
 be so proportioned to it, that the Pope found it fit to
 absolve him, that there might be no more discourse
 of it.

However, no Pope spoke louder, that God had
 made him "*suo Vicario, Capo della Chiesa, et prin-*
cipale lucerna del mondo;" and that it did not be-
 come the dignity of the Apostolical chair, "*proce-*
dere con artifici et dissimulazioni ma parlar all'
aperta." So, when he saw there would be no way
 to hinder the Council from meeting, and proceeding,
 he published his Bull for the convening them, but
 drawn

The Pope's
 Bull for
 convening
 the Council
 of Trent.

CHAP. drawn in such a manner as was more like to keep
 VII. them from coming, than to bring them together.

It was so worded, that it took away all the security from the Protestants of coming and going; and declared, that he intended so to govern the debates, that he would not suffer any excesses to be run into. The Emperor, to whom the draught of the Bull was communicated before it was published, used all possible importunity by his ambassadors to persuade him to alter it; told him, that it would drive the Protestants into despair, who in regard of their strength ought to be tenderly and artificially handled; and that it would not less displease the Catholics, who would believe that they were restrained from that liberty in debate that was due to them. But the Pope was inexorable; and, after he had answered the ambassador with many sharp positive sayings, to prevent farther importunity, he gave present order, without the alteration of one word, to send out and publish the Bull.

The Em-
 peror grants
 his safe con-
 duct.

This displeased equally the Catholics and the Protestants, for the reasons which the Emperor had foreseen and urged; so that both of them resolved not to go to the Council. But the Emperor published his edict to encourage and require all persons to be present at the Council at the time appointed, that was, in May next; declared that he came "*Avvocato della Santa Chiesa, et defensor de Consiglj;*" that he would take care "*per l'autorità e potestà Imperiale,*" that all people should be secure in coming to the Council, and in staying, going, and returning, and in proposing whatsoever they thought necessary in their conscience to propose; and therefore he required all the Electors and Princes of the empire,

empire, and especially all ecclesiastical persons, to repair thither; and also those who had innovated any thing in religion, who could have no excuse to be absent, since he undertook for their security, and that all things should proceed in peace and order; *“ che si tratti e definisca ogni cosa pia e Christianamente conforme alla sacra Scrittura et dottrina de’ Padri;”* as Fra Paolo affirms, and Cardinal Palavicini doth not contradict.

The world was well pleased to find that the Emperor’s edict, or decree, was no other than an undermining and blowing up the Pope’s Bull; and that he undertook to see every thing performed in a way, and by rules directly contrary to what the other had determined. However, the Pope (notwithstanding that he felt the affront very sensibly) pursued his resolution in sending one Legate and two Nuncios to Trent, limited by such instructions as would prevent any sudden mischief; of which he should be sure to have notice time enough to apply any other remedy he should think fit to make use of. And so some decrees were made with much opposition, and the Council proceeded, until the war between the Emperor, and France, and the Pope, (who joined with the latter,) gave new interruption to it. And then Julius, having spent the five years of his reign (for he lived no longer) in perpetual contradicting, and being contradicted, left the stage to a new actor; without having added any reverence to the holy chair but what he found it before possessed of. Nor did his successors celebrate his memory, by considering or paying any obedience to his decrees or determinations. For though he published a bull, that there should never be two brothers Cardinals together,

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The Council of Trent meets and proceeds.

CHAP. ther, but that the brother of any Cardinal, during
 VII. the life of that Cardinal, should be incapable of that dignity ; “ *et ex nullâ quantumvis urgentissimâ causâ* “ *adversùs hoc decretum dispensare licere &c.* ;” no man hath since otherwise complied with it than as the stock of his kindred, or the extent of his affections or appetite, hath disposed him to do; and therefore, when themselves set so little value upon them, they are not to complain that strangers do no more regard their decretals.

Marcellus
 II. elected.
 His character.

The long conclave for the election of Julius made all men hope, that the vacancy would not continue so long, though the two factions were as obstinate as ever. The Cardinals entered the conclave sooner than they used to do, before the Cardinals who were at a distance could arrive ; whereby neither party was able to get such a man chosen as they desired, nor to exclude such as they had no mind to have ; and so for fear of another, against whom they might have more exceptions, they all concurred in the creation of the Cardinal of Santa Croce, who was chosen within eight or nine days after the entrance into the conclave, and about twenty days after the death of Julius. He was called Marcellus the Second, and would not change his own name, as his predecessors had long done upon their assumption to the Papacy. And when they proposed to him to take the oath, that every man had before taken in the conclave, for the observation of many articles, which had been there agreed upon to be executed by whomsoever should be elected, he said, he was the same man who had taken the oath so few days before ; and that they should quickly see he would perform it in deeds, without multiplication of words. And as he did

did not change his name, so he did not afterwards appear to have in any degree changed his nature, or his manners; but as his general reputation of gravity, piety, and a virtuous severity had produced an universal joy upon his promotion, so he seemed to retain all those good qualities for which he had been esteemed. He declared publicly, that he would proceed effectually in the Council for general reformation, which could be brought to pass no other way; and told his private friends, with whom he would discourse with all freedom, that the multitude of unnecessary people, as well as of officers, in the court of Rome, gave great offence to all men, in their numbers, as well as the looseness and corruption of their manners, and were an intolerable charge and burden to the Holy Chair, and could not so well be reformed by it as by a General Council. He said that his five last predecessors were deceived, by believing that a General Council would intend nothing so much as lessening the Papal authority; but, he said, he was of another opinion, and that the Pope could never arrive to his just power but by a General Council. All the hopes from this good temper and disposition of his were, nevertheless, quickly blasted by his death, which followed by an apoplexy, within two and twenty days after his being elected; so that he only left behind him evidence of being a good man, and of being like to be a good Pope.

The declared resolution and demeanor of **Marcel-** Paul IV. elected. His character.
lus made the Cardinals the more solicitous to put a man into the place of another temper, and not like to suffer himself and his high dignity to be lessened, upon what pretence or clamour soever. And so, without very long deliberation, they chose **Pedro de Caraffa,**

CHAP. Caraffa, who took the name of Paul the Fourth, to
VII. pay his gratitude to the memory of Paul the Third; by whom he had been raised. There seemed some act of providence in his promotion, for that the Emperor's party (which might easily have hindered it) contributed to it; though it was enōugh known that he was devoted to the service of France; which he found means in the conclave to disavow or excuse, and to get the credit that served his turn. Paul was some years above fourscore when he was chosen Pope; and had, in the time of Clement the Seventh, resigned the Archbishopric of Thieti, upon pretence that he would give over the world, and become a hermit, that he might only intend his devotions. And when he returned to Rome, and was made a Cardinal, he lived so retired, and came so little abroad, that there were many in Rome who had never seen him till he came out Pope. But he was known to be of a morose nature, and the proudest man living. He was of an ancient and noble family, in the kingdom of Naples; which should have devoted him to the Emperor, but his being disobliged by the governor there, (that is, denied some preferment in that kingdom that he had a mind to,) and his emulation and animosity against the family of Colonna, aliened all his affections, and directed them to France, whither his two nephews (who had both good commands in the Emperor's army) had retired themselves; which he pretended was without his consent. From the moment that he was Pope, he immediately changed his whole course of life, even in those particulars which his age would have required a strict observation of. He took more state and majesty upon him than any of his predecessors had had

had done; entertained more officers, and had a greater court; made greater feasts, and other jollities, and kept all the state, and made others keep the greatest distance that any prince in Europe could do. He called both his nephews to Rome; the elder he made his general within all the dominions of the church, and of whatever forces he should raise; and the younger, a Cardinal; though they were both much fitter to live in armies than in courts. No man, of what quality soever, had any interest or power with him, but his two nephews; and they had so much, that he denied nothing to them, but referred all things to them, to do whatever they thought fit; which involved him in very great inconveniences and troubles. In a word, he behaved himself in all things as if he had been in the full vigour of his age, and able to leave all that he possessed to his own heirs; which administered much occasion of discourse and wonder to all men; when they saw at the same time the most active Prince in the world, the Emperor, who had made so many expeditions by sea and by land, fought so many battles, resign all his dominions, and giving over all thoughts of the world, and at the age of five and fifty years retire into a monastery, to spend his remaining days in devotion, and in the mean time to have his coffin always in his presence, and sometimes to sleep in it; and a monk of above fourscore years of age, come then from an affected retirement into the world, with all the affectation of the pomp and glory of it. Towards those who had little to do with him, or who came only to perform the offices of ceremony, (which are the business of that court,) he was full of ceremony, cheerful in discourse, and very facetious, and dismissed them

CHAP. with much courtesy, and well satisfied with their re-
 VII. ception : towards all others he was morose and sour,
 and seldom granted any thing they desired ; espe-
 cially towards the Cardinals, with whom he never
 advised, otherwise than by telling them what he was
 resolved to do, from which he never receded or va-
 ried.

Seven addi-
 tional Car-
 dinals made
 by Paul IV.
 contrary to
 his oath.

There had been an oath framed in the conclave, which every Cardinal took, in regard to the multitude of Cardinals ; that whosoever should be chosen Pope, should not have power during his time to make above four Cardinals, without the consent of the College, if by any accident it should be found necessary to make more. The Pope was not pleased with the constitution of his Council, and thought there were more who depended upon others than upon him, and therefore resolved to add such a number to them of his own creatures as might turn the scale in any debate. When he had made a choice of such persons as pleased him, (who for the most part were men against whom a just exception could not be made,) he came to the Consistory ; and first declared, that he had a business to communicate to them of great importance, and therefore he would have no man speak to him of any other matter : and when one of the Cardinals desired to be heard, he forbade him to speak, with some unusual sharpness and commotion, which silenced all the rest : then he complained that there had been a discourse or report spread abroad, as if it were not in his power to make above four Cardinals, by reason of the oath he had taken in conclave, which was to limit the power and authority of the Pope, that was absolute ; that it was an article of faith, that the Pope could not be obliged, nor that he

he could oblige himself; and that to say otherwise was absolute heresy, of which he did for the present absolve them, because he did not believe that they had spoken it pertinaciously; but that whosoever should say so for the future, or any thing like it, to diminish the authority that God had given him, he would give order that the Inquisition should proceed against him: he told them he was resolved to make seven Cardinals, to which he would hear no reply, because he had need of them to balance the factions that were amongst them; and so he named the persons, and the Consistory arose.

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He did affect this haughty stile in his discourse no where so much as with ambassadors, or in such public places, that they could not but be informed of all he said to them; and upon such occasions he used to say, that he was above all Princes, and that he would not have them to be too familiar with him; that he could change kingdoms, and was successor to those who had deposed both Kings and Emperors; and he used often in Consistory, and at his table in public, when many noble and great persons were present, to say, that he would have no Prince for his companion, but they were all his subjects, and under his feet; and then he would stamp with his feet upon the ground; and he often said, that before he would do any low or base thing he would die, and ruin all things, and kindle a fire in all the quarters of the world; he said that the spiritual power without the temporal could do little, but being joined together, they could bring great things to pass.

He was inflamed with rage upon the peace of Augsburg, which the Emperor had made, and by which only he could restore a peace to Germany,

Peace of
Augsburgh.

CHAP. VII. and inveighed against it with all bitterness, and not without threats what he would do upon it, and said that he would have it broken, and would assist towards it himself, and would require all Catholic Princes to do the like; and when the Emperor's ambassador excused it to him by the strength of the Protestants, and the straits that the Emperor was reduced to, having been in great danger to be himself taken prisoner, and that both the Emperor and all the other Princes in Germany were sworn to observe it; the Pope replied, that as to the oath, he did not only discharge and absolve them from it, but likewise command them that they should not keep it; for the rest, that God did not proceed by human councils and measures, and had suffered the Emperor to fall into that danger as an effect of his anger, because he had not done all that he ought to have done to reduce Germany to its obedience to the Apostolical chair; and if he had behaved himself like a soldier of Christ, without fear or worldly respects, he would have obtained the victory, as the example of former times did enough demonstrate. Those outrages of Paul are very clearly set out and described by Fra Paolo; and, not being in the least contradicted by the Cardinal Palavicini, are by all men concluded to be true, and were of a piece with all the other actions of his pontificate.

Philip II. becomes King of Spain; and Ferdinand becomes Emperor.

Philip the Second was now possessed of all the Spanish dominions, and of whatever else had been settled by the Emperor his father upon that crown; and shortly after Paul came to the Papacy, the Emperor abdicated the empire to his brother Ferdinand, who had been many years before King of the Romans, and had thereby an unquestionable title to succeed

succeed when the empire should be void. The Pope CHAP. VII. refused to acknowledge the Emperor's abdication, or to declare or accept Ferdinand for Emperor; alleging, that though, as King of the Romans, he was to succeed in the empire when it was void by death, yet the Emperor could not resign without his consent; and that the King of the Romans could not pretend to a succession whilst he was living. But Ferdinand was Emperor with the approbation and general acceptance of the Electors, and all the other Princes, and cared not for his consent or allowance. Then the Pope would not consent that Charles had any power to transfer the dominions in Italy (which were feoffs of the church) upon his son; and his two nephews were so wholly devoted to France, that they did all they could to render their uncle most averse to Spain; and assured him, that they had discovered a conspiracy against his person, cherished and fomented by Philip, and that they had apprehended two persons, who, being put to the question, confessed that they were hired to assassinate him, for which they were both executed; and it is true, that there were two such men executed upon that allegation, the foulness of all which did afterwards appear.

But Paul then gave entire credit to all that his nephews said to him, and from thence grew to have an implacable hatred against the whole house of Austria, and secretly entered into a league offensive and defensive with the King of France; and offered to give him the investiture of the kingdom, and to assist him in the recovery of the dutchy; and as he reserved some considerable places of the kingdom of Naples to himself, so he offered others which lay most convenient to them, and even Ravenna itself, to the Republic of

Paul IV. enters into a league with the King of France.

CHAP. VII. Venice, to draw them into the association. But that wise Republic liked not the conjunction, and thought that the neighbourhood of the French in Italy could not be recompensed by any places which could be put into their hands. And though the King, upon the advice of the lords who were most favoured by him, and more by that of the ladies, with whose advice he most concurred, greedily entered into that alliance, and accepted all the conditions, yet his wisest counsellors, and all France in general, had and declared a wonderful aversion from that war and alliance: not only because their hands were full enough, and that they could not without great difficulty resist the Spaniard from Flanders, who daily got ground upon them, but out of dislike of all that the Pope did; who, having one leg in the grave already, could not live to give above a year's assistance to an enterprise that could have no limits of time prescribed to the finishing it; and they had paid too dear for affecting a war in Italy to be much in love with the like attempts.

The Duke
of Alva
marches
against the
Pope.

Philip at this time was a sour looker on; he knew all the intrigues which had with the greatest secrecy been entered into, from the very time of the Pope's being chosen, and the whole progress they made; of which he took no notice, but spoke frequently and publicly, that the Pope had not been canonically chosen; and that he meant to appeal against it to a General Council: and he had prevailed with a good number of Cardinals, who were willing to have assembled to have given a beginning to it; but when he saw all the Pope's designs to be now published, and his league offensive and defensive to be manifest and avowed, and that he had already
com-

committed the Cardinal Colonna to prison, and raised a great persecution against his whole family, (who were all under the protection of Spain,) he declined farther thought of that peaceable expedient, and betook himself to a rougher remedy, and more suitable and proportioned to the temper and spirit of the Pope. He sent orders to the Duke of Alva, his Vice-King of Naples, that he should assist and protect the family of Colonna the best he could; and restrain the Pope from giving him any disturbance in his dominions, if he discovered any inclination in him to break the peace thereof. The commission was not ingrateful to the Duke of Alva, who knew the constitution of the Pope, and much loved the family of Colonna, which he thought underwent some oppression for his sake. Therefore, as soon as he heard of troops gathering together in Rome, and in the dominions of the church, and that some French officers, who had been employed in the war of Sienna, were come to Rome, and made much of by the Pope, he began likewise to draw his forces together, and by easy marches led them towards Rome, and writ letters of expostulation and advice, mingled with menaces, to the Pope himself, to desist from farther provoking his Catholic Majesty.

There is a notable letter from that Duke (who was never suspected for inclination towards heretics) to the Pope, which bears date the one and twentieth of August fifteen hundred fifty-six, from Naples, (and may be found amongst those dispatches which are mentioned before, and were printed in Venice,) in which he took notice of his continual disaffection to the prosperity of the House of Austria, before and since his being Pope; that in the time of Paul the

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Letter of
the Duke
of Alva to
the Pope.
A. D. 1556.

CHAP. VII. Third (upon occasion of some insurrection in Naples) he had advised that Pope not to lose such an occasion, but presently to invade that kingdom; that since his own assumption to the Holy Chair he had favoured and given offices benefices and governments to such as he knew to be rebels to his Catholic Majesty, and gave secret entertainment to many others of his enemies, that they might be ready to disturb the peace of his dominions, when he thought the season ripe for such an enterprise: he put him in mind also, that he had imprisoned and oppressed many of his Catholic Majesty's servants, whose names he mentions: and that he had often and in public used many expressions in prejudice of the King his master, which were very indecent, and not agreeable to "*amor paternale del summo Pontifice,*" all which his Majesty had hitherto borne out of his respect to the Apostolical seat, and the public peace, and always expecting that his Holiness would recollect himself; never imagining that it could enter into his mind, that, to advance and make great his kindred, he would hinder the peace of Christendom, not without some danger to the Apostolical chair itself; especially in a time so full of heresies, which he ought rather to endeavour to correct or root out, than to apply his thoughts how he might without any cause or provocation offend and injure his Majesty: but since his Holiness had thought fit to proceed in a contrary way, and permitted his Fiscal of the Apostolical chamber to make in the Consistory, "*così ingiusta iniqua e temeraria instantia,*" and to demand, that the King his master might be deprived of his kingdoms, to which his Holiness gave his consent, saying, that he would provide for his own time; and

and had, in a monitory or decree that his Holiness had published against a servant of the King's, Ascanio della Corgna, declared his Catholic Majesty to be an enemy "*della santa Sedia,*" and likewise had to the Condé of St. Valentin in public said, "*parole brutissime,*" against the person of the King; upon all which provocations, since his Majesty had thought fit to raise arms for his defence, he (the Duke) being trusted with the government of his dominions in those parts, would provide for the defence of them, and would endeavour, by the help of God, to take away from his Holiness the power he had to offend his neighbours: then he again desires and advises his Holiness, that he will not for the making his family great endeavour to break the truce that was between the two Kings, by which Christendom enjoyed so happy peace, but that he would, "*come vero pastore deputato a pascere, non a lasciar divorare le pecore, che ha in governo,*" permit the Christian world, after having undergone so many miseries by war, to recover their spirits by the enjoyment of that peace which the truce that was between the two crowns had provided for them.

The Pope was not of a temper to be wrought upon by such addresses, but looked upon it as the highest indignity that he had yet undergone; and the Duke of Alva, who was of a temper the most equal and proportioned to the other that could be wished, when he saw no abatement in the pride and passion of the Pope, lost no more time in writing letters, but marched with a body of ten thousand men, with all expedition, to the very walls of Rome; which exceedingly surprised the Pope, and forced all his troops, which had been quartered on the confines of

SIEGE OF
ROME.

the

CHAP. VII. the kingdom of Naples, in great disorder to retire into the very city for the defence thereof.

Philip II. defeats the French at the battle of St. Quintin.

He now discerned how weak a support the friendship of France was upon such an occasion, and saw that all the Princes of Italy were well pleased to see him struggling under this mortification. Indeed France had about this time undergone a very terrible misadventure in the loss of the battle of St. Quintin, the greatest blow they had ever received, except by the English: so that, instead of assisting the Pope, they were enforced to send for their army out of Italy to redeem Paris itself from the consternation it was in; and as the sole friend the Pope had was hereby disabled to give him help, so the greatest enemy he had was equally exalted, having himself, to his great glory, commanded in that battle when he obtained so great a victory; for Philip, from the time of his father's resignation, had remained in Flanders, and went not into Spain till after he had won the battle of St. Quintin.

Submission of the Pope to the Duke of Alva.

In short, the Pope was not able longer to bear this shock. The Conservators and Deputies of the city of Rome presented a remonstrance to him of the condition the town was in, and how ill provided it was to sustain the siege, which already hindered all provisions from entering into it, and (which it may be troubled him more) they desired, if he yet resolved to defend it, that Alessandro de Colonna might have the command of the forces in the city, whom the Pope loved little better than he did the Duke of Alva, who commanded without: so that he was compelled to enter into a treaty, and therein to yield to whatsoever the Duke of Alva required. By this treaty the Pope disclaimed the league with France,

France, and remained neutral between the two crowns; he pardoned all persons, both ecclesiastical and secular, of what condition soever, and restored them to all dignities offices and benefices of which they had been deprived, and whatsoever had been taken from them was likewise returned again to them; he accepted and received his Catholic Majesty for his good son, "*e della santa sedia Apostolica,*" and admitted him to all the graces and favours with any other Prince; and, after all this, there could remain no scruple but the King would pay "*le debite sommissioni*" to his Holiness, to which he was always inclined; nor could the Duke of Alva refuse to ask pardon of the Pope, for what every body knew he would be as ready to do tomorrow: and in this calm manner this storm expired, after his Holiness had furnished the world with many merry stories of his behaviour, and tragical expressions against all who provoked him, whilst the fury still possessed him.

It is not unpleasant to consider what pretty balsam the court of Rome is always provided with, to cure the smart of all wounds and affronts it receives of this kind, and even to deface the scars which would remain; and how it persuades the world that it always triumphs over such attempts, and the persons who at any time have presumed to be engaged in them. Cardinal Pallavicini, in his eloquent and witty answer to the History of the Council of Trent, (after he hath enlarged upon the wonderful humble behaviour of the Duke of Alva to the Pope,) observes, that there is so great awe and reverence annexed to and inherent in the person of all Popes, that how weak soever, and without any other armour than the coat of Peter, they who oppose them are
still

CHAP. still confounded ; and, he concludes, that it cannot
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be denied, that over and above the infinite humility in words and ceremonies, with which the greatest monarch treats the Popes, the great jurisdiction which they permit him to have in their several dominions, the great sums of money which they suffer to issue from thence to his court, and the great respect they pay to all the dominions of the church, are clear arguments, “ *ch' essi venerano in lui una dignità più che umana*.” His Eminence it seems did not know, that amongst the swordsmen, he that hath broken another man's head doth very seldom refuse to acknowledge that he was to blame, if no other satisfaction be required ; nor doth he take notice that the respect and submission shewed to the Holy Chair is very different amongst Catholic Princes, and is always proportionable to the benefit and advantage they receive by it ; which is the reason that Spain pays so much more than France, because it receives more assistance from it, and which it could not receive without the Pope's donation.

Letter from
 Sultan Soli-
 man to
 the Pope,
 A. D. 1556.

It would be great pity to omit in this place the mention of a very memorable letter, which about this time passed from Soliman the Grand Signior to this Pope ; bearing date the last of the full moon of Rumbelachi, in the year of the Prophet nine hundred sixty-four ; which, according to the Christian computation, was the ninth of March in the year fifteen hundred fifty-six ; when the great league offensive and defensive was entered into between the Pope and France, and when France had sent to Soliman to assist him, by sending a fleet to do what he

should direct it in the Mediterranean, which Soliman did accordingly. The letter is preserved in those memorials which are mentioned before. It was a kind expostulation for some damage that some Jews had sustained who traded from the Porte, and were his subjects and tributaries in the territories belonging to the Pope, especially in Ancona, where their goods and merchandises had been seized on in his name: "*Perciò preghiamo la Santità vostra,*" that he would upon the receipt of that letter, which would be delivered to him by the Secretary, "*Cocciardo, huomo dell' altissimo e magnanimo Principe de Principi della detta generatione del Messia Gesu, la Maestà Christianissima del Re di Francia nostro cordialissimo amico,*" discharge his said subjects from prison, and cause their goods to be restored to them, to the end that they might be enabled to pay him the tribute that they owed him; upon which he should cause his subjects, and the other Christians who traded in his dominions, to be very kindly treated; and, believing that he would not deny to do what he desired, he would say no more "*alla Santità vostra, Salvo che l'onnipotente Iddio la prosperi molti anni;*" which being a very extraordinary stile, shews the good intelligence that was between them, and there can be no doubt made, but that the Pope gratified him in all that he desired.

There is no record of more than one action done by this Pope, that had any relation to religion, or to the exercise of his spiritual jurisdiction; and that is, his Bull, "*Contrà ambientes Papatum, aut Papá vènte, coque inconsultò, tractantes de eligendo futuro Pontifice, ac eorum complices et fautores.*" This probably proceeded from the question the King

The Bull
intituled
"Contrà
ambientes
"Papa-
"tum."

of

CHAP. of Spain had made of the canonicalness of his elec-
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 stood in, and in which there are many sensible ex-
 pressions; that when, according to the Apostle, no
 man ought to take any honour upon him, "*sed qui,*
" tanquam Aaron, vocatur à Deo," they must com-
 mit a grievous sin, "*qui ipsam denique B. Petri Se-*
" dem et Apostolicæ dignitatis culmen &c. diversis
" modis et mediis ambire et assequi, seu potius usur-
" pare præsumunt &c.;" that since all well establish-
 ed commonwealths, even before the coming of our
 Saviour, had been always careful to promulgate laws,
" de ambitu, et contrà ambitum," and that detestable
 sin had been grievously punished, "*jure divino, cum*
" Absalom, qui regnum genitoris sui adhuc viventis
" ambiebat, ex nullo cui insederat elevatus &c.;" there-
 fore he, desiring to root out that detestable vice, not
 only for his own time, but during the lives of his
 successors, "*volumus, et declarando statuimus, ordina-*
" nus et decernimus," that all persons of either sex,
 who shall by themselves or by others endeavour by
 words, or by writing, without the privity and con-
 sent of the Pope, whilst he is living, to have a future
 Pope chosen &c. "*Sunt ipso jure et facto, absque aliâ*
" sententiâ, excommunicati, excommunicatione majori,
" et maledictione aternâ damnati."

Death of
 Paul IV.
 and of
 Charles V.
 Henry II.
 of France,
 Queen Ma-
 ry of Eng-
 land, and
 two Kings
 of Den-
 mark.

In this perpetual agony, and jealousy of his own
 security, and in one continued fit of rage, this mise-
 rable Pope spent his whole reign; and at last disco-
 vered, that his greatest faults and misfortunes had
 proceeded from the wickedness of his own nephews,
 who had led him to proceed in that Bedlam manner
 against the whole House of Austria, by informations
 which he found to be false and malicious: for which

he

he began to take that vengeance upon his two ne-
 phews, (imprisoning the one, and banishing the
 other,) which his successor prosecuted to the ruin
 and destruction of them both : and so he died, when
 he was about fourscore and eight years old, and
 when he had been Pope very little above four years.
 As his former manner and course of life made the
 change that he affected in his Pontificate to be the
 more observed and discoursed of, so the accidents
 which preceded and attended his death, made that
 likewise the more talked of and remembered ; for in
 the same year died the Emperor Charles the Fifth,
 Harry the Second of France, Queen Mary of Eng-
 land, and two Kings of Denmark ; which was a very
 rare conjuncture of mortality, attended with prodi-
 gious changes almost in all the provinces of Europe,
 at least with some variety and alteration in all.

The reign of Paul had been too scandalous and
 troublesome to all manner of men, to have a succes-
 sor chosen without great deliberation : and therefore,
 when the Cardinals were entered into the conclave,
 before they would think upon any one subject, they
 prepared such articles as would probably prevent those
 mischiefs, which the passion of the last Pope had so
 dangerously exposed the church to ; for the observa-
 tion whereof every Cardinal was solemnly to swear :
 of which, the fourth article was, that the Pope should
 not make war against any Christian Prince, nor
 make a league with one of them against another, but
 should manifest a great equality to all, preserving a
 strict neutrality, except it should be upon very great
 and urgent reason, “ *approvata per la maggior parte*
 “ *de' Cardinali in pieno Consistorio.*” This and the rest
 being with all formality confirmed, and sworn unto
 by

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VII.

by all the Cardinals, they betook themselves to their usual intrigues and artifices, which were so intricate and mysterious, that they spent four months and seven days before they concurred in an election. Then the Cardinal Giovanni Angelo (who, for what reason I know not, was called de Medici, for he had no relation to that family) was chosen Pope, and was called Pius the Fourth. This election was principally effected by the power and contrivance of the faction of Caraffa, who thereby divided the French party, and gratified the Spaniard in the choice of one they most desired: and Pius thought himself so much obliged, that he did not only resolve himself to protect that family, but upon his first election used all endeavours to reconcile the King of Spain and the Austrian family to it; as if their breaking the French party, by the choice of him, was a sufficient reparation for and blotting out the memory of all their former demerit. But when he found that Philip thought not so, and considered much more what they had done formerly (which could indeed hardly be forgotten) than their late action, and likewise the implacable malice that all sorts of people expressed to the memory of Paul, (all manner of indignities being done to his statues and pictures during the sitting of the conclave,) he suffered himself likewise to be carried with that torrent; and in a short time after his creation, he committed both the Cardinal, and his brother, the Duke of Palliano, to prison; and after no long process, the Cardinal was strangled in prison, and the Duke had his head struck off upon a scaffold; the circumstances whereof, and what followed after in another Pope's time, not being necessary to the subject matter of this discourse,

discourse, may be with great pleasure read in the elegant History of the Council of Trent, written by the late Cardinal Pallavicini in the beginning of the transactions of Pius the Fourth. CHAP.
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This Pope was of a quite contrary temper and constitution to that of his predecessor, and desired to have every man his friend, and to anger no man; and therefore he staid not till the Emperor Ferdinand should send to him to congratulate, but sent to his minister, (who remained still in Rome, and whom the last Pope would not receive,) to let the Emperor know that he did both approve the resignation of Charles the Fifth, and likewise confirm the election of Ferdinand, and would live with all fatherly kindness towards him. He could not so much dissemble his affections, but that it was notorious enough that his inclinations were to Spain, and his great confidence in that King; yet he performed all demonstration of respect to France, and though he had no fear of that crown as an enemy, and like to disturb the peace of Italy, (as had been the case for above forty years with his predecessors, and which the factions in the kingdom would now prevent,) yet he had a greater fear, which terrified him much; that was, the growth of the power of the Huguenots in France, which had brought armies into the field, given battle to the King, and had committed many acts of outrages in the churches and religious houses, and upon the persons of ecclesiastical men. Character
of Pius IV.

During the reign of the last Pope there was no mention of a Council; his own head was too full of temporal designs to think of any thing that was spiritual, and all other men knew it would be to no purpose to speak to him. This Pope foresaw that it His expedients to
avoid a
Council.

CHAP. would be pressed on all sides, and quickly too ;
VII. — therefore his thoughts were directed only to the consideration, whether he should first speak of it himself, before any body else moved it to him, or expect till some Prince should press it, which he knew they all were resolved to do. For the matter itself, no man who had been before him abhorred the thought of it more than he, having not confidence enough in any one Catholic Prince that he would adhere firmly to that which he valued most, his own interest and the power of the pontifical chair, which he knew they all resolved to bring lower. If he spoke of it first himself, it would be evidence that he thought of it ; and so it would restrain others from importuning him to do a thing he intended to do ; and so he would have time to declare the time and place, which were the terrible circumstances to him. So he first discovered to those in whom he had most confidence, that he purposed to call a General Council ; and gave them order to let it fall amongst their friends. Then he spoke of it in Consistory, as a thing he found would be very necessary, and therefore wished that he could cause a general reformation of manners to precede the Council, especially in the clergy, which he said was an universal complaint. He spoke to the ambassadors of his resolution, who, by the joy they expressed in the knowing it, made it appear, that they had received orders to have required it ; but he told them, that the appointing the place took up many of his thoughts ; that he could quickly call it, as it had been three times before ; but the great business was, to provide that it might end as well as begin, which it had not yet done, it might be, for want of due deliberation. He said upon all occasions, that all places
were

were alike to him, but he believed that France would not like Trent, against which there were very many prejudices, besides the ill omen from the former miscarriages ; that there had been mention of Munster and Cologne, which the King of Spain would like probably better, in regard of the neighbourhood to the seventeen provinces, which begun to be infected with the new opinions. All this while his own drift was to have no Council, or to have it held in Italy ; and with those artifices, and by pretending to desire it, he avoided it some years.

In the mean time, in so general a clamour in all countries of the very loose and debauched lives of the Clergy, the Bull he thought fit to publish did not at all lessen that scandal ; and, as it was then of a new nature, though it hath been since renewed and reinforced in this late time, so it made their vices at that time to be more spoken of and believed. The Bull was entitled, “ *Inquisitorum hereticæ pravitatis facultas procedendi contrâ sacerdotes, qui mulieres pœnitentes in actu confessionis ad actus inhonestos provocare et allicere tentant :*” this bull is extant in the second volume of the Bullarium, which begins with Pius the Fourth. And it was the more wondered at, that, since the Pope was satisfied that there was such horrid iniquity practised, he provided no other way to discover it, nor any notable punishment for it, but left it to the Inquisitors, that they might take care to punish them, and to proceed, “ *juxtâ facultatem contrâ hereticos aut de hæresi quovismodo suspectos ac culpabiles repertos juxtâ excessuum suorum qualitatem, prout juris fuerit :*” all which served to publish a scandal, that had never yet been particularly insisted or publicly mentioned, without

CHAP. VII.
 Publication of the Bull entitled
 “ *Inquisitorum &c.*
 “ *facultas procedendi*
 “ *contrâ sacerdotes*
 “ *&c.*”

CHAP. VII. providing or inflicting a punishment equal to the horror of the crime, or the indignation that ought to accompany the very apprehension of it: which was many years after in some degree supplied, though not enough, by one of his successors.

A Council desired generally, except in Spain. Cruelties of Philip II.

After all the artifices and tergiversations he could use, the Pope was at last reduced to the necessity of calling a Council in earnest, to prevent worse effects than the Council could produce. He knew well both the interest and the dignity which the holy chair had lost in Germany by the assembly at Augsburgh, and the confession; and which yet made not the Catholics there less solicitous for a Council. In Spain indeed, Philip had, upon his first arrival there from the Low Countries, proceeded with that terrible rigour in the burning and torturing very many persons of both sexes, and of all qualities, for entertaining new opinions in religion, and denying the Pope's authority, and to that degree, that, without considering how deeply he wounded the memory of his father, (as Catholic an Emperor as ever had protected the Church,) he had caused the dead body of his Confessor, and in whose arms his father died, to be taken up and burned as an heretic. By this unheard of severity (which he himself had seemed to disapprove when in England) having terrified all men, he settled the Inquisition, which had been introduced in Spain for the prosecution of the Moors and Jews, and applied it to the rooting out of those opinions in religion which had grown up: and, to season them well in their most rigorous jurisdiction, he permitted them to seize upon the person of the Archbishop of Toledo, and to keep him in the strict prison of the Inquisition for many years, and without ever hearing him,

him, which he often desired and pressed: nor in truth was he in liberty to his death; for though they could not, after he had been in prison seventeen or eighteen years, refuse to send him to Rome upon the Pope's commands, yet he was sent thither in custody, and shortly after died in prison there: after his death he was declared innocent in the points of which he had been accused; but whether they were indeed satisfied of his innocence, or that they would not suffer the heretics to have the honour of having an Archbishop of Toledo of their fraternity, is uncertain.

It cannot be denied, that Philip by this means hath to this day preserved those his dominions from entertaining any thing that was not before known, or generally believed by them; but it is as true, that from that time, and only by the settling that terrible judicatory, (which admits not the mention of any thing that is new in any other science as well as divinity, nor the natural doubts or discourses which cannot but arise amongst learned men,) the acuteness and vigour of that nation is so totally decayed, and their spirits broken, and inclinations diverted to more pernicious licences, that too many of that class of men, who should preserve and improve knowledge, are upon the matter become illiterate: and that spirit and courage, which was natural to that people, and made them as eminent for many noble attempts and achievements as any other nation of the world, is much degenerated and broken. It is very probable, however, that since their pristine appetite of honour and glory is not like to be extinguished, they will at some time, when it shall please God to give them an active and enterprising King, shake off their modern sloth and luxury, and those

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The spirit of the Spanish nation broken, and its understanding darkened by the Inquisition.

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shackles with which the faculties of their mind are restrained and imprisoned, as well as their bodies in perpetual danger and captivity : and they will then discern, that the true safety and security of a Church and State consists in the wisdom knowledge and virtue of a people, that can discern and distinguish between truth and error, and suppress the one, or at least expel the poison of it, by the power of the other ; supported by laws constituted upon the foundation of prudence and justice, more than by a stupid resignation of the understanding to old dictates, and by a sottish affectation of ignorance in those things which are the proper objects for the disquisition of the soul of man.

The Duke
of Alva sent
into the
Low Coun-
tries.

Philip liked these remedies better than the arguments of learned men, and chose to administer them by a man who was the better liked by him, by his being of his own principles; and so he sent the Duke of Alva his governor into the Low Countries, who made a large experiment of austerity and terror ; till the King, finding that the wanton and cruel letting out the blood of those he called and made his enemies abated his own strength and lessened the power of his friends, was compelled to recal that fierce minister, without however declining in any degree his own fiercest resolution to settle the Inquisition in those parts, which Catholics, as well as they who were averse from them, equally disliked and opposed, and which cost him so many millions of men's lives, and in the end deprived him of all the subjects of many of those fruitful dominions, who had in all former times been esteemed the best subjects in the world.

State of
France.

The Pope exceedingly approved the method Philip used, and thought it the only remedy that was proportionable

portionable to the malady complained of, and used all the persuasions and importunities he could to procure that the same counsels should be pursued in France, and the Inquisition settled there; assuring the French ambassador, (who still pressed him for the calling a General Council,) that it would be a much more sovereign remedy for all their unquietness than the other would be. But the most furious Catholic in that kingdom had not the courage to propose so rough an application. The King himself was young, and of whose nature nobody could yet make any conjecture, except that it was evident that great care was taken that no man should be able to make a judgment, by any thing he said or did this day, what he would say or do to-morrow. The Queen, who had the regency, was thought to be a lady of great subtlety, and resolved to preserve and maintain her own greatness by all the arts and all the condescensions which she discerned most like to establish it; which made it hard for those to judge of what party she was, who were most concerned to know.

The factions which disturbed the peace of the kingdom were generally reputed and looked upon as divided into Roman Catholics, and those who called themselves of the reformed religion, and were called by their adversaries Huguenots; which appellation was not unacceptable to themselves, the rather, it may be, because nobody knew the reason of the term, and so it served for distinction without any rational reproach; when it was enough known that many and the chief of that party had always been esteemed good Catholics, and probably were still so, and only (at least at first) adhered to the others upon contentions and emulations in civil contests, and for satisfaction of

B b 4

their

CHAP. their own interest and ambition. This, and this only,
 VII. divided the Princes of the blood, that they might be
 Causes of the civil wars. able to give some controul or obstruction to the exorbitant greatness of the House of Guise, which had lately overshadowed them; and if it had not been for those strong supporters, upon those principles only, the faction for reformation of religion would never have had the power to shake the security of that crown, or much to have disturbed the peace of the kingdom: it being as notorious at the same time, that many principal persons of those who dissembled not a very hearty aversion from the Church of Rome, were never engaged in the war, nor held it lawful to take up arms against their King; but the secular interests and emulations made use of the passions and animosities which difference of opinion in matters of religion had kindled. This raised armies, and did fight battles, with those horrid circumstances of the foulest perjuries, the most brutish cruelties, in breaking all articles which were agreed on and sworn upon public capitulations, by robberies and massacres, that it is no wonder that God blessed neither party, but made them both instruments of each other's destruction.

Conduct of the Court.

The principles of the Court consisted in all manner of luxury riot and voluptuousness; and whatever obstructed or disturbed the career of those passions and appetites were equally ingrateful; which made the Queen (who had a rare talent in dissimulation) court the heads of both parties with professions agreeable to both, and within a short time do somewhat contrary and destructive to those professions. Thus when she had disposed the King to all the bitterness and virulence against those of the reformed religion, even to the resolution of extirpating them,

them, and had therein obtained notable successes in the field, by breaking and subduing their armies in battle, and reducing their towns to obedience; and when the same spirit still increased, and new armies were raised and old towns revolted again from their subjection; the Court could not bear this interruption of its delights, nor the Queen keep her mind bent to such fatigue; but some treaty was set on foot, and such concessions granted to the Huguenots of liberty of conscience, and other privileges, as they desired; which put them in a better state than they were before: and when any violation should be offered, (which from the same inconstancy shortly afterwards fell out,) it gave them a greater pretence in justice to defend that which they had not so lawfully obtained; and, as it usually happens in the management of such contradictions, the over-active and subtle Queen incurred the jealousies and censure of the zealous Catholics, and of the Pope himself, without gaining any belief or reputation with the Huguenots.

In these perplexities that France was in, and in one of those calms that a present cessation of arms had produced, the Queen called an assembly of the principal officers and persons of the kingdom, with many of the Bishops and Prelates, that they might consult what course was most probably to be taken to compose those distempers. The Bishop of Valence made a long discourse of the dissolute lives of the Clergy, who gave so great scandal, that from thence many good men contracted an aversion from the Church: he said that there was little hope of redress from a General Council, for that the Clergy were generally more dissolute in Rome than any where else; and he therefore proposed that the King would

The Queen resolves to assemble the States, and also a National Synod.

CHAP. VII. would send out his summons for the meeting of the States, who would best find what was to be done for the preservation and good of the kingdom; and that he would likewise call an assembly of the Clergy in a National Synod, which would best prescribe the way for the reformation of religion. The Archbishop of Vienne spoke much to the same purpose, and said there could not a better expedient be found. The Cardinal of Lorraine, and the Duke of Guise, and their whole party, were of another opinion, and proposed only the prosecution of the war, and fire and faggot to be applied for the conversion of the Huguenots. However, there were so many and so considerable persons of the contrary opinion, that the Queen seemed to incline to that, and appointed a select number of the Lords to consider of all preparations which were necessary, in order to the convocation of the States; and of the Bishops, to consult the same with reference to a national Council; and of the place for either; so that the expectation of both was spread over the whole kingdom, which seemed well pleased with it.

The Pope resolves to hold the Council of Trent.

The news of this (which the Nuncio dispatched away with all expedition, together with his account, that all which he could say against it could not prevail upon the King and Queen) removed all the difficulties and all the aversation which had occurred and affected the Pope against calling a General Council. He foresaw that a National Council in that great and distracted kingdom would probably produce most of the mischiefs he apprehended, that no good could result from it to his purposes, and that more inconveniences might proceed from it than a General Council could possibly bring forth. He was confirm-
ed

ed in this judgment by another accident that at the same time fell out in Savoy. They who in the mountains and valleys of Piedmont had for several hundreds of years enjoyed the liberty of their conscience, and the exercise of a religion very contrary to that of the Church of Rome, under privileges which had been granted to them by many successive Princes of those dominions, (whether those privileges and immunities were now invaded, or whether they were stirred up by the unquiet humour of their neighbours in France, and in hope to enlarge them,) had put themselves in arms; and in so great numbers and so good order, that the Duke of Savoy writ to the Pope to desire his advice; letting him know, that many of his Council were of opinion that he should enter into a treaty with them, and give them such conditions as they might be induced to accept; which vexed the Pope so much more than the disposition of France, as it was nearer to him, and was a propagation of heresy in Italy itself. He writ therefore to that Prince with great commotion; that he ought not to treat with them, or to give them any conditions or pardon; but to take this opportunity which God had sent him, totally to extirpate and root them out; in order to which he would give him any assistance he should desire. So upon those provocations he resolved, as the lesser evil, not only to call a Council, but that it should be at Trent; that he might thereby oblige the Princes of Germany, and the better be able to master and suppress that schism which the treaty of Augsburgh, with the consent of the Emperor, King of the Romans, and most of the Catholic Princes, had formerly enacted and made legitimate; and which was in the image thereof more terrible, by
those

CHAP. those ebullitions in France and Savoy, which pre-
 VII. sented a view to him of the crumbling away of his
 vast power and jurisdiction in a more formidable way
 than could be effected by any general concurrence in
 Council.

Meeting of
 the Council
 of Trent,
 A. D. 1562.

The Council met, though in a small number, in the month of April, in the year fifteen hundred sixty-two; few or none of the French Prelates being present: for France was much offended at the Bull which the Pope had issued out for the calling the Council, it being directed only to the Emperor by name, and to all other Kings and Princes in general; whereas the two former Bulls to the same purpose had mentioned the King of France together with the Emperor. Of this omission the French ambassador complained with that passion that is peculiar to his countrymen; and which at first so far moved the Pope, that he seemed not to understand it, or to know that there was any such thing. Afterwards, being pressed again to mend it, he excused it upon the inadvertency of his ministers, who were not enough instructed in the old forms; and, having wearied the ambassador with those delays as long as he could, he positively, in the end, refused to alter it, as a matter of no moment, which he wished had not been; but, being now public, the alteration would irritate other Kings to require the same; and this kept France from sending to the Council, till the change of their own affairs disposed them to it. The Pope applied him with all the condescensions imaginable that were like to contribute to his own ends, and only in such; in all other matters he depended entirely upon himself, and the steadiness of his own will, from which no importunity could divert him; and it was quickly evident that

that he rather promised himself a good opportunity to dissolve the Council, and before it should do any thing to his prejudice, than that he expected any benefit or a good conclusion of it. C H A P.
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There was nothing more puzzled the understanding of all men, than his sending the Abbot Martinengo to Queen Elizabeth, to invite her and persuade her to send her Bishops to the Council; and it is certain that the Abbot had instructions to offer her, that all her Bishops should be confirmed, that the Liturgy should be in the English tongue, that the Communion should be administered in both kinds, and that the Priests should have liberty to marry; all this upon condition that she would acknowledge the Pope's supremacy, and a subjection to the Bishops of Rome. And Cardinal Pallavicini confesses, that when he was resolved to call the Council, (and without any hope of good by it,) he declared freely, that he would leave all liberty to it; so that the integrity of the articles already defined, and the dignity of the Apostolical Seat being once secured, let it determine what they thought fit; and that if he ought to make restitution to any one (understanding, as it was believed, the authority of the Bishops) he was ready to do it. In the last place, as for the laical communion under both kinds, and the marriage of Priests, they might truly in themselves be granted, as dispensations of laws merely ecclesiastical; but that it seemed not convenient to him, that those ordinances, which had been confirmed in former Councils, should be cancelled without the authority of a new Council: and this was looked upon as great moderation, to court the Protestants in Germany; as his other invitation of Queen Elizabeth

The Pope sends Martinengo to invite Queen Elizabeth to send Bishops to the Council.

was

CHAP. was by many interpreted (as it might reasonably
 VII. be) as a censure at least, if not a revocation, of all the acts of his predecessors against that great Queen and all her Protestant subjects ; for if they were still in force, how could he invite her to send her Bishops to the Synod ? But the Queen had been too ill used by more than one of his predecessors, to make herself or her kingdoms in any degree, or for any consideration, subject to that jurisdiction : and so when the Abbot Martinengo came to Calais, he there received notice, that the Queen would not receive any overture letter or message from the Pope, and an absolute inhibition to him not to presume to come into England ; which put an end to all further application or correspondence between Rome and that Queen, and to all thoughts of moderation in Council, at least if there had been any before.

Proceedings
 and disposi-
 tion of the
 Council.

I shall find it necessary to the argument in hand hereafter to reflect upon the wonderful incongruities, the want of freedom, and the want of justice, in the whole proceedings of that Council, from the beginning to the end, and its disorderly and ungrave conclusion. But what I shall for the present observe shall have an authority so authentic that it cannot be doubted by any Roman Catholic, which is, the evidence of the Cardinal Pallavicini himself ; and in the relation I shall use no other words than his own, (as any one must confess who will take the pains to compare it with the original,) by which it will appear how impossible it was for that body of men to do any thing with integrity, that might compose the distempers of that age, or prevent the improvement of them to greater distractions. The Cardinal declares, (I think it is, for I have not the book

at

at present by me, in or very near page 700 of his second volume,) that he will without any dissimulation there set down the face of the Council, just as the Legates did represent it to the Cardinal Borromeo, who was the Pope's nephew, and to whom all the dispatches were made from all ministers in all places, of all matters of importance.

The Italians (he says) did esteem it as a thing both very becoming and advantageous to their nation to uphold the majesty and power of the ecclesiastical government, in the which Italy doth as much surmount other countries as it is inferior to them in the want of a temporal common and native King; so that, except a few, who either by weakness of mind or estate suffer themselves to be led by strangers, the Prelates of this country commonly aim at no other object than at the supporting and greatness of the Apostolical Seat; it appearing to them that upon that did equally depend the honour of their province, and the good of their Church; and therefore that they in so doing did at once perform the parts of good Italians and good Christians.

The Spanish Prelates and Bishops (as persons for the most part advanced either by the ampleness of their churches, or by the plenty of their rents; by the eminence of their family and learning, or by their veneration with the people) did very hardly suffer the great preeminence of the Cardinals, a preferment which few of them could hope for; and as ill could they endure the great subjection to the Pope's ministers, or to the tribunals of Rome; so that they were persuaded that the highest good of the Church would consist in the bringing the Cardinals into some rule and compass, and raising Bishops to their ancient rights: they proposed, that these might be incapable

CHAP.
VII.

The Italian
Prelates.

The Spa-
nish Pre-
lates.

of

CHAP. VII. of bishoprics, the best of which they at present possessed, which did much maintain them in authority and in riches; they being obliged to remain in Rome to take care of their titular churches, and to be the Pope's counsellors, without a possibility of quitting that place, excepting for some legations: they also demanded, that their entire power might be restored to the Bishops, by taking away the exemptions of persons and causes; by which they would become as Popes in their dioceses.

The French Prelates.

The French Prelates, as those who possess less ecclesiastical jurisdiction, (they being, according to the use of that kingdom, brought within the compass of the secular power,) did less approve of the diminution of the power of the Roman tribunals, and did less complain of the purple's overshadowing the mitre: but they were all inclined to the moderating of the Papal monarchy, according to the meaning of the modern Council of Basil, by them approved; because that, in such case, they would have had little reason to fear their prohibitions or punishments, as being able to blunt or suppress them by calling together or threatening a Council; in the which therefore they would have authority to be not only over the Pope, but full and as much in the Church.

The different Princes.

The Princes, or at least their statesmen, inclined more or less to satisfy the Prelates of their nation; of whose advancement they were not so jealous as of the greatness and power of the Pope; which was also accompanied with the abhorrence of some abuses which remained until that time in the Roman Court.

Let any man produce out of Soave, [Polano,^a] as the Cardinal calls him, so lively a description and

^a *Fra. Paolo*; sometimes called *Soave Polano*.

manifestation of the inequality, incompetency, and impossibility of the Council to determine any point of religion in controversy ; and we may justly say, that as we are beholden to Fra Paolo for the communicating, in so clear and excellent a style, the incomparable history of the dark intrigues and transactions of that Council ; so we are indebted in many thanks to the Cardinal, for giving us so excellent a confirmation and illustration of the most important parts of that history, and for imparting to us, out of the treasure of those originals, (with which he hath had the honour to be entrusted, and which another less generous man would have concealed or destroyed,) so many particulars of the highest moment, which add great beauty and ornament to what the other (for want of those exemplifications) could not so credibly have enlarged upon ; whilst his direct and positive contradictions of the veracity of the other, and the arguments which he doth urge to control the same, I mean in matters of weight, (for whether the exact number of the voices in any congregation, or the days of the week, are rightly computed, is nothing to the truth of the fact,) are so faint, and so weakly pressed, that he rather adds vigour to what he would confute, than weakens the credit of it ; of which we shall have occasion pertinently enough to insert some instances. In the mean time, we shall prosecute our observation upon the proceedings in the Council ; in all or most of which we shall make use of no other authority than the Cardinal's own, which we shall faithfully cite in his own words ; and by all which, as they who were in the Pope's displeasure, and whom he proposed to destroy, had no reason to acquiesce in their determinations, so it will

CHAP. VII. as plainly appear, that the Pope himself had great reason to have no mind to call them together, if he could have avoided it; and, when he could not avoid it, to apprehend many inconveniences and mischiefs by their continuance: and the mortification that himself underwent, during the whole time that their conferences lasted, was not inferior to what they suffered, who were most in his power to condemn. And upon the whole matter, nobody can wonder enough, though all men have wondered ever since, that such an obstinate spirit of disagreement contradiction and animosity should last without declension for so many months; and that, within five or six days, there should such a composure and harmony break out amongst them, that every one should appear to be pleased, and all to have obtained what they had always desired; which could have fallen out from no other cause, but that temper which the Cardinal described the Council to be instituted of, which was, to pay a ready obedience to those who sent them, and who best knew how to provide for the security of their own interest; the effect whereof must be more at large mentioned hereafter.

Contest for
precedence
between
France and
Spain.

The first trouble the Pope encountered, after the meeting of the Council, was the high contest between the crowns of France and Spain for precedence; which always had been enjoyed by France till the time of Charles the Fifth; who being Emperor so many years, and having in that capacity suppressed all disputes which might have risen concerning Spain, and then leaving the crown of Spain so much greater than he had found it, his son Philip (who loved not to lose any thing) insisted positively and passionately for the precedence. And probably this

this was the reason that the French Bishops appeared not yet at the Council, for this controversy depended at Rome, and was to be decided by the Pope himself. The Council made great haste in framing their decrees, and declared that they would stay no longer for the French divines; whereupon Lansac, the French ambassador, wrote to the Queen, desiring her Majesty to let him know whether her Prelates, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, could arrive there by the end of September, which would be above six months from the meeting of the Council; because if it were so, although the Legates had rejected his demand of deferring the session any longer, he doubted not but to obtain it, if by no other means, at least by protesting, that except they would stay for them, he would not esteem the acts of the Council authentic. The Cardinal says, that the Pope was willing to hold the dispute concerning the precedence in suspense; and that he had therefore a long time forbore to appear in the chapel; but upon Holy Thursday, it being usual for him to bless the people, he had disposed things so that there should not appear any first place among the ambassadors, alleging, that at this ceremony there was no order of place used to be observed; upon which Monsieur de Oizel, the French ambassador, had demanded leave to be gone, but he was detained with some promise of satisfying him in the chapel at Whitsuntide. This news no sooner arrived, but it made great noise in France; and the Queen told the Pope's Nuncio, that the King, though young, had said in his full Council, that he would not endure such a wrong; that the ambassador had done well in asking leave to be gone, but very ill in deferring his departure; that

CHAP. she would speak not only as mother of the King, but
 VII. as daughter of the Apostolic Seat; that the Pope hav-
 ing failed in his duty, she saw sulphur prepared, with
 which ill willers to the church would not fail to kin-
 dle anger and hatred enough in the King, to the
 ruin of religion. So far are the Cardinal's words,
 and he confesses, that upon the report that the Pope
 had given the precedence to France, the Spanish am-
 bassador was heard to threaten, "*ch'il Rè sene ris-*
 "*contrerebbe col armi;*" and the Pope thought not fit
 to run the hazard of it, but resolved to grant the pre-
 cedence to Spain, of which he informed the Legates
 of Trent; which, the Cardinal assures us, was done in
 these words, taken out of his own letters to them ;
 " Ever since We have been Pope, the ambassadors of
 " the Catholic King have insisted on nothing else
 " but their precedence, constantly saying, that his
 " Catholic Majesty had resolved to call away his am-
 " bassadors from Rome, and also from Trent, if they
 " were not granted the place that he desired ; where-
 " upon We, seeing the danger of losing so powerful
 " and so good a King for so little a matter, and, on
 " the contrary side, that the French have failed in
 " their duty to God, by that heretical peace which
 " they have made, by the edicts which they have
 " published, and by the preachers and heretical mi-
 " nisters which they send through the provinces in
 " despite of Catholics, as also by the alienation of
 " ecclesiastical lands, which they do against our will ;
 " moreover, We seeing that in all matters of debate
 " the French are they who not only openly oppose
 " both ours, and the authority of the Holy Seat, but
 " endeavour to unite all Princes against us, We have
 " been forced to come to that action which you have
 " seen,

“ seen, to the end that We might not remain naked, and deprived of every body.” To these worldly shifts was this infallible Vicar of Christ put to descend in the determination of a matter of right, that he might the better be enabled to constitute articles of faith. CHAP.
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But whatsoever his private resolution was, and how much soever he communicated it, he had not the courage to publish his decision ; the French ambassadors being ready, as Monsieur Mezeray affirms, to retire, and to make a protestation, not against the Legates, who depended upon the will and pleasure of the Pope, nor against the Council, that was not free, nor against the King of Spain or his ambassador, who did but support their pretension, but against one particular man, who carried himself as Pope, who had intruded himself into the chair of St. Peter by foul and unlawful tricks, and by corruption, of which they had indubitable proofs ready to produce. If the interposition of friends had not found a way to accommodate the dispute, this protestation in those very words had been delivered ; and it was thus near (upon a matter of state, separated from any theological verity) silencing any farther noise of this Council, and preventing the publication of that numerous body of new articles of faith, which have since so much disturbed the peace and quiet of Christendom.

Nor were the doctrinal points, which they would have believed to be matters of faith, debated in the Council with less passion, or with more freedom, or with any such consent as can give any credit to the decision. It was not only urged by the Emperor, but likewise by the Bavarian ambassador, in the Debates on doctrinal points ; respecting the communion in both species, and the marriage of Priests.

CHAP. Council, that the Communion under both species
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might be administered to the laity ; that the Marriage of priests might be permitted, and that there might be a reformation of the clergy ; which was as much pressed by the ambassadors of France. The Imperialists demanded that the cup might be granted, not only throughout Bohemia, but throughout Hungary, and other patrimonial states of the Emperor, with several reasons and public advantages, which induced them to make that demand ; every body declaring, (as the Cardinal himself confesses,) that the Council was assembled, not for the condemning, but for the giving satisfaction to the Heretics ; and that their conversion might be obtained by contenting those their contumacious appetites, which, it is true, the Cardinal there says, ought rather to be repressed. The Bishop of Five-Churches, who was a learned man, and of great authority, proposed, that what the Emperor proposed as to the cup might be granted ; and said, the only reason which he could oppose against it was, the danger of spilling the blood of Christ, which was to be avoided by the vigilance of the Prelates ; but in a word, if Christ looked upon all his blood as well spilt for the salvation of our souls, he could not think that any effusion, which should happen in this function by human infirmity, would be displeasing to him ; since that, by this means, salvation would be got to innumerable souls redeemed by him with the same blood. And the Archbishop of Palermo said, that all the present miseries of religion did proceed from hardness of heart, and want of complying towards the inflamed wills of minds weak in piety, but strong and active in revenge. It would be too long, and besides my
purpose,

purpose, to set down the arguments which were urged against it, which whoever takes the pain to read as they are set down by the Cardinal, will wonder at the weakness of them, and at none more than at what was alleged by Salmeron the Jesuit, (who without doubt was a learned man,) who said, that the not giving the cup to the laics must have necessarily continued from the age of the Apostles. Certain it is, that it was generally believed as well as desired by most Catholics, that it would have been granted; and how it came not to be, is not unpleasantly described by the Cardinal; for he says, that after long diligence and subtle examinations concerning granting the cup, the votes in the congregation amounted to the number of a hundred sixty-six; and they were found to be divided into eight opinions; fourteen were of opinion that the determination ought to be deferred, eight and thirty were for its repulse, nine and twenty were for its being granted, four and twenty for its being remitted to the Pope, one and thirty approved the first article but not the second, (that is to say, they agreed to its concession, but that the execution of it should not be left to the Bishops, but to the Pope,) one remained doubtful, ten inclined to the negative side, but yet remitted it to the Pope, and nineteen restrained the concession to Bohemia and Hungary. So that he confesses, that before this question was proposed it was scarce possible to have invented so many opinions as were actually found in the assembly; and I think I may reasonably say, that, as he hath delivered it, no man knows what the judgment of the Council was; and whether it desired that it should be granted or denied.

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Debates
respecting
the institu-
tion and
power of
Bishops.

The power of Bishops by divine right, and their institution, produced more passion, even to reproaches and ill words; of which we will make use of no other evidence than what the Cardinal furnishes us with; though it be much less than we have from a more credible author, Diego Lainez the Jesuit, (than whom no man was heard there with more attention and reverence,) who made a discourse concerning the institution of Bishops, that in any other assembly would have appeared very ridiculous. He affirmed, that the power of the episcopal order is from God immediately, in general; that is to say, in some, as in Peter and his successors, as also in all the Apostles, by a special privilege; in others, as in particular Bishops, it did proceed mediately from God, immediately from the Pope; because in him, whilst Pope, the jurisdiction is invariable, as it was in the Apostles; in the Bishops it may be varied and altered by the Pope; although not upon his mere will, but upon occasion. To the objection of the words of Christ, "*Pasci le mie pecorelle,*" (which, according to St. Basil and St. Ambrose, were not spoken to St. Peter alone, but to all the Apostles, and in them to all Bishops, so that they did immediately receive from Christ all jurisdiction employed in the power of feeding,) he answers, that the fore-mentioned words were spoken, "*a tutti gli Apostoli, sì; non però in tutti, ma in Pietro solo,*" who not being able to feed the whole flock alone, was to make use of the assistance of the other Apostles. I confess I am not able to translate his distinction into any sense in any language, and shall therefore leave it to others. The Spaniards objected, that unless Bishops had their power from God, they could not de-
fine

fine in the Council, and what they defined would not concern our faith: to which it was answered, that it was sufficient that they had it from the Pope; and hence it was, that no Council was legitimate without the Pope's concurrence, and that the decisions of Councils were the decisions of God, inasmuch as they were of the Pope, who was assisted by the Holy Spirit.

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It was affirmed by Avosmediano, Bishop of Guadix, that Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustin, and many others, had been Bishops not elected by the Pope; and that yet the Archbishop of Saltzburgh did make his four suffragans, without the Pope's having any part in them. To the end that this opinion might not take root, the Cardinal Simonetta interrupted him pleasantly, by saying, that he ought to know that the Archbishop did that by the authority and privilege of the Pope. Thereupon all begun to cry out against Guadix, and, from railing at him, fell to accusing the whole Spanish nation, and said, "*Abbiamo piu travagli da questi Spagnuoli i quali fanno i Catholici, che da medesimi eritici;*" and in this so great confusion, leave was hardly obtained for the Bishop to proceed in his discourse. The Cardinal of Lorrain, a little after this disorder, was heard to say, "*Se un tal caso fosse accaduto a qualche Francese, io presente mente harei appellato da questo congregatione, ad un Consilio piu libero;*" and if they should not have given him satisfaction, he would have returned presently into France: and that Cardinal was so exceedingly displeas'd with the proceedings of the Council, that he bade the Secretary Pagnano (who was going to Milan) to tell the Marquis of Pescara, that he could not only not expect any

CHAP. any good success from this Council, but also some
 VII. schism ; and that he and his French would be gone before long, and perhaps sooner than a new occasion of departure should be given them. This, and much more of the same nature, will be found in the second volume^a. The Cardinal found himself often in need of his sharpest wit and faculty of distinguishing to preserve the reputation of freedom to the Council, in the most gross invasions of it ; as when the Bishop of Gerona did formally protest against the decrees, and was most severely reprehended and threatened by the Legate. But the Cardinal confesses, that, just as they were about to propose the decrees, Arrias Cagliego, Bishop of Gerona, seemed as if he would enter his protestation ; upon which the Cardinal Morone, with harsh words, and a dire aspect, prevented him, by saying, that whatever particular person dared to say “ he looked upon that which should “ be approved by that sacred Council as nothing,” did deserve to be immediately driven out of it. This speech, the Cardinal confesses, was like thunder, which stunned and frightened Cagliego, and perhaps some others, from the like disposition, but was received with common applause, not as a restriction of liberty in giving their voices, but as a blunting of forwardness against what was voted. How rude must that force have been, that the wit of this man could not put into a softer dress ; it being no better answer than the Comte de Luna (the Spanish ambassador) received from the Legates themselves, when he complained that there were great murmurings at the private congregations which were held in their

^a From p. 520, almost to p. 600.

houses, calling together at the least twenty Italians for two Spaniards and as many French ; upon which the Legates answered, that it being their duty to facilitate difficulties and decide controversies, they could not do it without making use of the assistance and counsel of whom they thought fit ; and that it could not seem an unproportionable or unequal thing that in those assemblies the number of the Italians should be greater than of any others, considering that in the Council the Italians were one hundred and fifty, and they of the other provinces were in all but threescore and ten. A very good reason indeed to justify the integrity of their determinations, and to induce all the other provinces of Christendom to submit to them.

Notwithstanding all these advantages, the Pope took no delight in the proceedings of the Council, but promised himself much more pleasure in the dissolution of it, upon any occasion that might not too notoriously offend all the other Catholic Princes, who he knew had not all the same end or interest. That which the Pope's heart was only set upon was, to get his own authority vindicated ; which done, he cared not what they did. But the Cardinal says, that the Legates and ambassadors stood in doubt whether they should take upon them once for all to define *la maggioranza* of the Pope above the Council, which, if it were once declared by the Council itself, would for ever shut the gate against any schism in the church ; or whether they should rather avoid that encounter, for fear lest, whilst they should provide against schisms which might possibly happen, they might fall into a real one. And the Cardinal of Lorraine sent for Paleotto, and told him, that al-

though

CHAP. though he had endeavoured it with all diligence, yet
 VII. he could not persuade his Prelates nor Divines to admit of those words in one of the canons, viz. "that the Pope was equal to Peter in the authority of government;" because, said they, where the holiness is greater, there also greater is the authority; and that Peter could do some things which were denied to his successors, as the composing of canonical books. It is plain that the Legates, and all the Pope's party, besides their advantage that nothing should be debated but what was proposed by themselves, (a reservation that was never before heard of in any General or National Council, and inconsistent with the nature and freedom of either,) had enough to do to watch that no such expressions might slide into any decree or determination, whereby they might lessen or reflect upon the Pope's authority, without the courage to propose any thing that might enlarge it. The Republic and the Patriarch of Venice having desired that an end might be put to some things which they had proposed to the Council, the Legates, after having a while deliberated upon an answer, gave them this, that they had great reason to desire an end of those things, but that they could neither finish them, nor continue to propose the Council's finishing of them, without a special breve of the Pope, before whom those things had been discussed several times; because that this would be to shew that the Council was above the Pope, and that it could bring causes before itself before they were introduced by him. Considering all which instances alleged and confessed by the Cardinal, it is a wonderful thing, and worthy the confidence of the Pope's greatest champion, to affirm, as he does,

does^a, that it was the love of concord that prevailed so much in the Pope, that, although of ten parts, nine of them agreed to confirm the decree of the Florentine Synod, and to establish the *maggioranza* of the Pope above the Council, yet, because some few French, with yet a smaller train, did oppose it, and because the Cardinal of Lorraine had desired him that the repose might not be disturbed on that account, he would condescend to deprive himself of that advantage, that is, as to what did belong to the dogmas: for the confutation whereof no more need to be said, than what hath been alleged out of his own evidence; by which it appears, that they never had the confidence to propose it; and it is enough known that all the Spanish Bishops of that age (however their successors have been since converted by the powerful arguments of the Inquisition) were as much enemies to that pretence of the absolute power of the Pope as those of any other nation

Since the Cardinal hath kindly supplied us with the evidence much more particular than Fra Paolo had done, I cannot omit the observation of the wary and prudent proceeding of that Council (how compacted soever) with reference to Queen Elizabeth. For he says, that the Doctors of Louvain, and the Bishops of the kingdom of Spain, demanded some declaration in the Council against that Queen; and about the same time there arrived at Trent three Flemish Prelates, with as many Divines from Louvain, sent by the order of King Philip; and that the arrival of these Flemings had much warmed the Council in their purpose of proceeding against that

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Proceeding
with refer-
ence to
Queen Eli-
zabeth.

^a P. 1062.

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wicked Queen of neighbouring England; and that the Pope was inclined thereunto; that place seeming to him most fit for this business, where the lawfulness of the Bishops might be treated upon, and where sentence might be given, that those promoted by her were not lawful, and withal that she was both a schismatic and heretic; the which sentence being pronounced by an universal Council (as he hoped) would have inflamed Catholic Princes to assist with arms, to the utmost of their power, the persecuted and oppressed faithful. But the imperial ambassadors did represent to the Legates, what the Nuncio Delphino had before writ both to them and to the Pope, (viz.) that she, being exasperated by such a stroke, might perhaps put to death those few Bishops which remained in England; and moreover, that the heretical Princes in Germany, by the same reason, expecting the same condemnation, would league themselves together to prevent the offence; who, when they should be united in that design, would be powerful enough for any design. The Legates (who had first communicated this design to the Cardinal of Lorrain, and to all the ecclesiastical ambassadors, and had unanimously concluded to share in it with the Emperor and the Pope) answered to what was alleged by the Emperor, that they had writ anew to both the Princes, governing themselves according to the direction of the one, and the commissions of the other. The deliberation taken at Rome was, that they should not cut off a putrid member, whilst they saw that the taking it away would turn rather to the loss of the sound, than to the curing of the corrupted parts. And Pius, (as men of good sense use to do,) that he might draw as
great

great advantages as was possible from this deliberation, ordered his Legates to let the Emperor know, that the prudence and authority of the advice given by his Majesty had prevailed in his mind over that of an infinite number of others who persuaded him to the contrary; and he caused these words in general to be writ to the Legates, which, the Cardinal says, seems worthy to him to be registered for the honour of those two Princes; the words are, “In this, as in all other things which may concern the repose of Germany, and any other countries which may be in danger of any alteration as to religion, His Holiness will be glad to have them governed according to the judgment and Council of the Emperor; in whose judgment and goodness His Holiness hath reason to trust, knowing him to be most wise and full of Christian zeal:” and, he says afterwards, there arrived letters from the Cardinal de Granvile, who was in Flanders, who concerning Elizabeth advised the Legates the very same thing, both as his own, and as the most Catholic King’s opinion.

That the Pope should desire, for the reasons mentioned before, that so notorious and powerful an enemy to his church, as that Queen was declared to be, (whom two of his predecessors had with so much solemnity declared to be a schismatic and an heretic, and had absolved all her subjects of their fidelity, and, as much as in them lay, deprived her of all her dominions,) should be likewise condemned under the same declaration by an universal representative of the Christian Church, no man can wonder. He had no doubt very weighty reasons to desire it. But why the Council should deny, or make any scruple

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scruple to grant it, there can be but two reasons alleged or imagined; first, that the Council did not approve of what those two former Popes had done, and would not involve themselves in the same guilt, as being a matter in which they could not pretend, nor ever any Council had pretended any jurisdiction: and, secondly, that all Christian Princes, how much Catholic soever, upon the consideration of their own particular interest and security, concurred in too great an indignation to suffer their high calling, that depends on God alone, to be exposed to such a tribunal; and so would not suffer that odious attempt to be made. And I am confirmed that one or both those reasons diverted any farther prosecution of that frantic design, by another instance, with which the Cardinal supplies me: for, he says, the Pope acquainted the Legates, that he intended to proceed against the Queen of Navarre, that fierce persecutrix of the Catholic religion; but they dissuaded him from it, by telling him, that might occasion some strange motion in the Queen of England, and in the Protestant Princes of Germany; with whom the cause as well as the danger was common. The Cardinal of Lorraine also, having heard of the Pope's intentions, represented unto him by letter the disturbances which such a proceeding against the Queen might cause in Christendom: and the Pope, in the very same day he received the letter, answered it, thanking him very kindly for it; and, using the most honourable and civil words possible, told him, that he was returned from Civita Vecchia to Rome expressly to call a Council about his letter, and that he would answer the contents of it in due time. But that time never came, nor was there any more mention

tion of it. So much modester doth the very name of a General Council, how factiously soever assembled, make the members of it, in the estimate of their power and authority, than the Popes themselves are. CHAP.
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The mention of the Queen of Navarre obliges me to take notice of the solidity of the Cardinal's arguments, when he thinks himself concerned to confute some averment of his adversary. He says, that the Bishop of Arras (who managed all in Flanders under the Duchess, upon the death of Francis the Second, by the means of Conconeto his brother, who was Spanish ambassador in Paris) entered into a treaty with Anthony, King of Navarre, about the exchange of that kingdom for the island of Sardinia; and that the Nuncio Santa Croce, who about that time passed from Spain into France, gave the King of Navarre new assurance of the reality of Philip's intentions, which, he said, he had heard from his own mouth. The Cardinal takes notice, that there is a certain historian ill affected to the Catholic religion, and to its head, and therefore is followed in this by Soave, who says, that they proposed to Anthony King of Navarre to make a divorce between him and his heretical wife, and to join him in marriage with the widow of Francis the Second, Queen of Scots, who yet pretended a right to the English crown; and, with the assistance of France Spain and the Pope, to make him King of Great Britain; upon which he, having espoused this pompous chimera, began to manifest an aversion from his true consort. But this he assures you is a fable, for Famianus Strada, who protests to have seen all the letters which passed between the Bishop of Arras and his brother Conconeto concerning this treaty, says, he

Remarks on Pallavicini's account of the projected divorce between the King and Queen of Navarre.

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did not find therein the least sign of any such proposition, concerning any divorce of that bond; which, he says, as it is very well known, according to the decision of the church, is not possible after the matrimonial tie, although the woman be an heretic^a. Is not this a notable argument to contradict the affirmation of several authentic historians (whereof some are Catholics) in a point that must reasonably be presumed to be well known to them; that another Jesuit knew no such thing, though he had the perusal of all the letters which were writ between the two brothers? Whereas, by what the Cardinal himself suggests, it is most probable that the offer of that divorce and dispensation rather passed between the Nuncio Santa Croce and the King, (as matters of that scandalous nature do not use, especially before the final determination, to be communicated to more than are necessary to the effecting thereof,) than that it was known to the Bishop of Arras and his brother, who would contribute nothing thereunto. So that a man had need to have made all the vows which the Cardinal had done, if he gives any credit to him upon this affirmation. And for his other argument, from the decision of the church, he falls upon a rock, (according to his usual custom, for a present conveniencce,) which, if he were not supplied with an inexhaustible store of distinctions, would split the authority and jurisdiction of the sacred chair, as to many dispensations of that kind, which it will by no means suffer itself to be deprived of.

Sudden
agree
ment

The little good intelligence that was in that age between the Catholic Princes might probably be a

^a Pag. 176.

circumstance, amongst others, that might dispose the Pope at that time (how unwilling soever) to call that Council; upon a presumption that so many disjointed interests (some whereof had need of his assistance) would never be reconciled and united to his prejudice, though they all thought to lessen his authority. But he never could expect or hope that those dissensions and jealousies, which were so deep rooted in them, could ever facilitate and conspire together to contribute to his desires, and to bring that to pass which he could now only desire. And a less miracle than this could never have composed that tempest, which for so many months had raged in the Council, into such a calm, that (even in the minute when he was implacably angry with his Legates for not dissolving, in spite of all opposition or protestation, for fear of receiving a more incurable wound than that could give him) there should such a harmony appear on a sudden, that, within fourteen or fifteen days, there was an universal consent (or that which looked like universal) to be dissolved; and, to purchase his consent that they might be so, to make such haste in the passing those decrees which had produced so much anger and contradiction in all the former debates, that they hardly had patience to hear them read, but took their words who had formed them in their several congregations.

That this sudden and miraculous conjunction and conformity may not appear more wonderful than in truth it was, it is not impertinent or unnecessary to take a short view of those extraordinary causes, which were attended with those rare and prodigious effects. The Pope, from the beginning, had most

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courted the Emperor, as a Prince greatest in dignity, and who could propose least advantage to himself by impairing the Pope's authority, of which he had always use in Germany and Hungary to preserve his own. Ferdinand in his inclinations, and for his pretences, shewed more reverence towards the person of the Pope than either of the other Crowns did; yet he was a man of great steadiness, and could never be prevailed with to depart in the least degree from his right or his dignity; but in the representing and insisting on those, how positively soever, it was in words full of respect and condescension. So when the Pope, with great earnestness, laboured to obtain a decree for cancelling and annihilating all the pragmatiques and other constitutions of Princes against the immunity and exemption of ecclesiastical persons, and of their goods, (upon which his heart was more set than upon any thing but his own *maggioranza*, and which had drawn so peevish and absurd an answer from his predecessor to the ambassadors sent from Queen Mary with the tender of her obedience, and that of the kingdom of England,) the Emperor said, that such a decree would be intolerable to him, and perhaps to all other Princes; that for his own part he had never opposed, but, on the contrary, had always defended the ecclesiastical liberty; but that His Holiness ought to remember, that, besides laws which were common to all, every particular kingdom was governed by its own peculiar and ancient customs; besides which, even according to common sense, the immunity of ecclesiastics had its distinctions and limits; (a doctrine, how unquestionably true soever, never before preached so loudly in the Pope's own ears;) that he did believe that this would find

find great difficulty with all Princes ; and if, notwithstanding this, the Legates would proceed, and cause the decree to be approved of, his ambassadors should represent the great difficulty which, not the executing, but the mere accepting of it, would find in the empire. This rational discussion suppressed that design ; nor was the Pope so much moved by the advice of any man in any thing he affected, as by that of the Emperor : and the Cardinal doth confess, that it was a providence of God that the Emperor did oppose that hasty design of dismissing, rather than of ending, the Council, which the Pope had intended, and to the which he was inclined for fear of worse success^a.

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It is very probable that the Pope's knowledge of how much need the Emperor had of his kindness disposed him the more to value his councils, as proceeding from the integrity of his heart. There was nothing in the world that the Emperor desired equally to the seeing his son sure to succeed him in the empire ; and, though he was already elected King of the Romans, yet there were several reasons and arguments alleged against that election, beside the prejudice and exception to the person of Maximilian ; which was like enough to prevail, whatever the reasons were. It was alleged, that there were but two Electors who voted for him, and who could be looked upon as lawful ; because the three other were heretics, and the Archbishop of Cologne was not yet confirmed : besides which, it was pretended that the Electors could not choose a successor to the Emperor, yet alive, without the Pope's consent ; but could

Transactions between the Pope and Maximilian King of the Romans.

^a Pag. 866.

CHAP. only substitute him to the defunct one, or give a
VII. ————— coadjutor to the living one, as long as he should live; and that such coadjutor was in effect King of the Romans, before the pontifical confirmation; and that, in the present case, this had a greater place, because that his father the Emperor had not been crowned by the hands of the Pope; and lastly, they opposed Maximilian's having taken the crown of silver in Frankfort, and not in Acon, according to the designation Charles the Great always observed for his successors. Notwithstanding all this, the Pope had ordered Cardinal Morton not to be too obstinate in supplying all these defects, in case Maximilian would closely adhere to the Catholic party. But because the absence of the King deprived the Legate of all means of entering into a treaty, and moreover the Nuncio Delphino had told the Pope, that it was not fit to leave a business so ingrateful to Ferdinand and Maximilian in suspense, (who, seeing this acknowledgment denied to them by the Holy Seat, could not look upon him as propitious, and a well-wisher to their greatness,) therefore the Pope inclined to the confirming Maximilian's election; upon condition, that he would demand the supplement of those defects, that he would swear in favour of the faith, and of the Apostolical Seat, according to the form of a writing that he should send, and according to which several Emperors had sworn, and that he should send to Rome ambassadors of obedience, as other Potentates are used to do, and as his father Ferdinand had done. But Maximilian refused to demand his confirmation; and said, as for the oath which was proposed, it had never been known to be used. Whereupon the Imperial ambassador, on his own head, proposed another oath,

oath, which the Emperors had used to take when they received the crown actually from the Pope, and in which was expressed an obligation to maintain the Catholic faith, and with which the Pope contented himself: only Maximilian, in a letter writ unto him, declared, that by the Catholic faith mentioned in the oath he understood that which the Roman Popes did profess. This declaration, the Pope said, would serve to enlighten and confirm the minds of those Cardinals who were to consent to the acknowledgment that was to be made of Maximilian's being King of the Romans, and who were not yet purged from all suspicion by reason of those things which were past. Maximilian also denied to render obedience, alleging, that it had neither been done by Charles the Fifth, nor by his grandfather Maximilian.

In a letter in cipher from the Cardinal Borromeo, the Nuncio was ordered to put the Emperor in mind of the suspicion they had of his son; as well because he had not put away an heretical minister, whom he kept still about his person, as for other things of greater moment; for which the Emperor had often grieved with the Pope, by letters writ with his own hand, declaring that it was not in his power to hinder it; and that this was the reason why the Pope and Cardinals would not satisfy themselves with a general declaration, by which the King did promise to maintain the Catholic religion, but did search for words incapable of various interpretations, and made him express what he meant and understood by the name of Catholic religion; that by how much the degree that he held in Christendom was higher, by so much the more security was to be demanded, that he should administer that office to the honour of

CHAP. Christ; and that otherwise the Pope did not believe
 VII. that Maximilian had so much as three voices in the Consistory. Even the greatest favourers themselves of the Emperor believed the crown but weakly settled upon Maximilian's head, except it were fastened by the hands of the Pope. Amongst other things, in the oath taken by Maximilian at Francfort, there was this question put to him by the Archbishop that crowned him, "*Vuoi al Santissimo in Christo Padre Signore, il Signor Romano Pontifice ed alla Santa Romana Chiesa esibir riverentemente la debita soggezzione e fede;*" and the King answered, "*Voglio.*" After the letter of Maximilian to the Pope had been read in the Consistory, the Pope, by the counsel and with the consent of the Cardinals, confirmed the aforesaid election, and supplied all the defects; and after this it was decreed, that Maximilian's ambassador should be received as ambassador of the King of the Romans in the next Consistory. All these particulars (some whereof would not have been exposed to the public view, as contributing more to Suave's purpose than to his own, if the Cardinal's judgment had been proportionable to his eloquence) will be found in his second volume^a. It was generally then believed, that the Pope had dexterously cultivated the jealousies, which he well knew the Emperor and Maximilian had of the King of Spain; and that they believed that the difficulties which had been raised in the Court of Rome concerning his election (whereof some of the points had been stirred and insisted upon by Paul against the election of Ferdinand himself, and had been wisely declined,

^a P. 872, 873, 874, 876, and 877.

which

which was thought an overruling, by Pius upon his election) were fomented by Philip, out of design to get the Empire to himself when Ferdinand should be dead, who had ravished it from him; and that this apprehension had made Maximilian stoop to some concessions, which could not otherwise have been extorted from him.

Whether the Catholic King had any such design or no, (of which there appears no evidence from the time of his return into Spain upon the death of his father,) certain it is, that the Pope made no less benefit of the jealousy, which he knew Philip himself was infected with, upon this sudden and unexpected atonement of all disputes between the Pope, the Emperor and Maximilian. He doubted much that this good intelligence would be preserved at his charge, and that some of his dominions in Italy, larger than what were settled upon him by his father, would be sacrificed to the satisfaction of the one or the other, who had pretences upon them. Then his losing ground in the Low Countries by the bedlam humour of the Duke of Alva, (though the same had been according to his own pleasure and instructions,) and the increase of those of the religion in those parts, and (which troubled him at least as much) the prodigious growth and power of that sect in France, and the correspondence he discovered to be entered into between them, and the factions and divisions which he knew well to be between the Catholics of that kingdom, who equally wished the extirpation of the Huguenots; all these several considerations, with the difference of opinion which he discovered to be in those of his own Council concerning the prosecution of the war in Flanders, made him change the measures

CHAP.
VII.

Policy of
the King of
Spain, and
his conduct
towards the
Pope.

asures

CHAP. sures which he had formerly taken ; and he grew
 VII. less solicitous for the depression of his own rebels,
 than of those of his neighbour kingdom ; presuming
 that if he could for the present prevent the increase
 of those in the Low Countries, until they in France
 could be rooted out, (to which he believed the King
 and the Queen mother to be enough inclined,) the
 other would be able to give him little trouble ; where-
 as, if that party in France prevailed so far as to be
 able to compel the King to grant them such condi-
 tions as would amount to a liberty for the exercise of
 their religion, (which they pressed in plain terms when
 they had gotten any advantage, and insisted upon it
 with equal confidence when they were beaten,) they
 would contribute such supplies of men and money,
 and, which was preferable to both, such numbers of
 excellent commanders, that he should not be able to
 keep the little he had yet left ; the Catholics of those
 his dominions, who manifested great loyalty and af-
 fection to his person and government, no less detest-
 ing what he proposed to himself as his only security,
 (the introduction of the Inquisition,) than the oppo-
 site party did. All these reasons together made him
 resolve to enter into a firm friendship and league
 with the Pope ; and in order thereunto, and to a firm
 conjunction against the heretics, who were equally
 odious to them both, he presently sent orders to his
 ambassadors at Trent to mitigate and restrain that
 fervour in his Bishops there, which was so ingrateful
 to the Pope ; and knowing how grievous the Council
 itself was to his Holiness, and that he desired no-
 thing so much as to put an end to it.

He had before, for the more quiet proceeding
 in the Council, and when he desired the conti-
 nuance

nuance thereof, written a letter to the Marquis of Pescara, in which (after some expressions of joy, for the satisfaction that some Princes had received, and for the peaceful progress of the Council as to its continuation) he said, that seeing the great repugnancy of the Emperor and of the most Christian King, and the great troubles that such a declaration might occasion, that his ambassador should cease from demanding the precedence, and that it should suffice that no contrary act should be made: but now the Catholic King writ to the Pope with his own hand, and, amongst other things, he used these words; “ I am already resolved to send an ambassador to Venice according to the advice of your Holiness, and I am only searching for and thinking upon the person who will be most fit for this employ, neither will I at present stand upon precedency; because they who are obliged as I am ought not to regard such points of vanity which are of no account, but those which concern the service of our Lord, the good of the Church, and the authority of your Holiness.” This could not but be a sovereign cordial to the Pope, who now only wanted to moderate the unsteady spirit of the Cardinal of Lorraine, who had more affronted his Legates, and more opposed all his designs in the Council, than any other person had done; and, though he had made more condescensions and applications to win him than to all other persons, his nature was so imperious, and withal so irresolute, that nothing could be depended upon in all his promises: and in this conjuncture, when so many things succeeded even beyond his expectation, Providence seemed to provide an opportunity to overcome this evil.

The

CHAP.
VII.
Character
and con-
duct of the
Cardinal of
Lorraine.

The Cardinal of Lorraine was a man of very great wit and spirit, and had as absolute a government of the ecclesiastical affairs in France, as his brother the Duke of Guise had over the martial Catholics; and though he was the most bloody persecutor of those of the religion in that kingdom, he held a secret intelligence with the Protestant Princes in Germany, as if he wished them well. No man talked louder than he of the excess of the Pope's power to the prejudice of all Christian Princes, and he seemed to concur with those who advised the calling of a National Council, thereby to compel the Pope to call a General Council when he was most resolved against it. When he found that the Pope would no longer refuse so general a demand of all Catholic Princes, he raised all those disputes against the place, making France except positively against Trent; in which he gratified the Pope, who, next to have it no where, desired to assemble it in Italy. The Cardinal however desired not to please him, but that the Council might be convened in Cologne or in Francfort; and after all the delays, when Trent was the place resolved upon, he pretended that neither himself nor any of the French Prelates would be there; (nor did he or they go thither till many months after the Council met;) and yet he threatened that France should protest against all their decrees, as null, because of their absence. When he came thither, no man received the Pope's compliments with more negligence; no man treated his Legates with less reverence; and, by what hath been more enlarged upon before, he did not only lay hold on, but industriously sought out, all opportunities to vex him, by crossing whatsoever he desired; in which all the
French

French Bishops diligently concurred, and never swerved from his instructions. Of this the Pope complained to all men, and knew no remedy to apply but by dissolving the Council ; which he had done, but by the Emperor's advice he suspended his resolution.

In this conjuncture the Duke of Guise was assassinated before Orleans ; the news of which was no sooner arrived with the Cardinal, than his whole carriage and behaviour was changed. He now thought of nothing but himself and family, and of establishing their greatness, which now seemed to be totally undermined. He had two brothers of great reputation, but who had not yet been received into the secret of affairs, nor were fit for the conduct of them ; and his nephew, the son of the late Duke, was a boy at school ; so that the whole fate of his house seemed to depend upon him, and his interest ; and how that might be lessened, he had reason enough to apprehend. The Prince of Condé had already private meetings with the Queen ; and what those were like to produce, his own experience gave him cause to fear. Nothing could be applied to prevent these evils which were in view, but by his own presence and activity ; nor could he think it convenient or lawful for him to be absent from the Council without the Queen's leave, who probably would refuse to grant it if he should desire it. From these disquisitions he discerned nothing so much to conduce to his own purposes, as the dissolving the Council, which would set him at full liberty. But then the Pope would be at liberty too to take vengeance upon all the disobligations he had put upon him, and affairs might go so in France, that his friendship and

sup-

CHAP. support might be necessary even to his preservation.
 VII.

Upon the whole matter, he resolved to make a fast dependance upon the Pope, by concurring in the advancement of all that he desired, which profession he no sooner made to the Legates, and from them understood how grateful it was to the Pope, than he made a journey himself to Rome, was lodged as in the Pope's palace, and so caressed by him, that in a few days he returned again to Trent as fully instructed and intrusted as the Legates, and he thought more. Then the Cardinal wrote a letter to the Emperor, (towards whom he had never before made extraordinary application,) in which he told him, "that the Pope, desirous to end the Council, had proposed to him the doing it with the next approaching session, assuring to him moreover the legation of France, with a faculty and power of dispensing in ecclesiastical laws, as he should think fit for the good of that kingdom; the which his love to his native country advised him not to refuse, when it should be once approved by his Imperial Majesty."

Haste in passing the decrees of the Council.

These extraordinary and even miraculous contingencies falling out within the space of twenty days, or thereabouts, when the Pope was in utter despair of putting an end to the Council, otherwise than by breaking it, (which probably would be attended with some pernicious consequences,) so transported him, that he could not conceal his joy without some levity that was not natural to him; and, as if he doubted lest some new accidents might deprive him of the benefit of so happy a conjuncture, he was so impatient of the determination of it, that they at Trent (who well knew the pain he was in) made so great haste

haste in their dispatch, that it was not suitable to the gravity of the matter, or to the dignity of the persons : insomuch as many of those Bishops, upon the reading the decrees and propositions, declared that they could not possibly make any judgment of them, by reason of the shortness of the time, and therefore, as to what concerned them, they remitted themselves to the Pope and the Apostolical Seat; others simply answered, *Piace*; and when the Fathers were asked if it pleased them that the Council should be ended, and if the Legates should in their name ask of the Pope the confirmation of all their decrees, the Cardinal says there was only one, the Archbishop of Granada, (though there were many more who said the same,) who answered, “ *Piace che si finisca il Concilio, ma non chiedo la confirmazione,*” which he said, perhaps, (says the other,) because he looked upon the Council to be enough confirmed by the authority of the Legates sent thither by the Pope, and with instructions given to them concerning all matters to be decreed and confirmed. But he did not believe that to be his meaning, and therefore he is glad to add, that there were three rose up, and in opposition to Granada said, “ *Chiedo la confirmazione come necessaria,*” and that they were all three of his own nation. In truth, it could not have been any wonder if all the rest had answered “ *Piace,*” whatever they had thought, after they had seen the Bishop of Gerona so treated by the Cardinal Morone, when he offered to protest, as is before remembered. But the use and application which Cardinal Pallavicini makes of the expressions of joy that were made for the ending of the Council, which were begun by the Cardinal of Lorrain, as the mouth or voice of the Senate,

CHAP. Senate, to whom the Fathers answered as in quire,
 VII. is very pleasant ; for in them, he says, they prayed to God for happiness to Pius Quartus, who was then called by the Cardinal of Lorrain, “ *Pontifice della Santa ed universale chiesa;*” and so, says the other, it seemed, that that “ *maggioranza*” over the universal Church was attributed to the Pope, which had been disputed by him and the French ; to which he might have added, and which is still denied to him by the whole Gallican Church, as well as by many other Churches.

End of the
 Council of
 Trent.
 A. D. 1563.

In this disorder, and almost in the same confusion in which it had been continued, this famous Council of Trent, after it had sat for above the space of eighteen months in continual dissensions, ended in a visible harmony in the month of December, in the year fifteen hundred sixty-three, to the eternal honour of Pius the Fourth ; who, it cannot be denied, steered it with wonderful dexterity, and, by the bounty and good influence of his own stars, and the rare accidents which intervened, brought it to such a consistency as hath given more credit, and produced more unity to that Church, than could have been expected either from the debates or the conclusions. The articles were signed by four Legates, two other Cardinals, three Patriarchs, five and twenty Archbishops, a hundred sixty-eight Bishops, seven Abbots Benedictines, nine and thirty Proctors of the Prelates absent, and seven Generals of Orders ; so that the whole subscriptions were of two hundred and fifty-five hands ; and, considering the paucity of the number, besides the presumption of imposing rules and restraining privileges, contrary to the laws and customs of all œcumenical councils, it is no wonder that
 the

the same is not received in many Catholic as well as Protestant kingdoms; and still less that the Church of England rejects what the State never admitted, and hath more reverence for the decrees of its own Councils, (which always consist of much greater numbers,) than the subscribers to those articles of Trent amount unto: and if the parts and learning of the subscribers (for all the names of both are easily known) be considered, there will be more men of profound learning and confessed or eminent piety found in the Synod held in that time in our own country, and in all the Synods which have since been held there, than there were at any time in Trent; though it is not denied that there were many of great estimation in letters, and of lives very unblameable; and yet that kind of learning is much improved since that time, and even in that Church, which they will not deny.

I have been the longer in the reflection upon the transactions of that Council, both because it took up all that Pope's life, and administered more occasion of discourse and matter of consequence in all Christendom, than any other action or occurrence in that age; and especially because this Cardinal, who spent so many years of his long life in compiling a history that should convince the world it had been hitherto deceived in the relation of all that was done there, and should manifest the gravity justice equality and unanimity of the proceedings in that assembly, had supplied me abundantly with evidence to the contrary; and hath rendered it as guilty of all the incongruities and defects and tergiversations, as his adversary, against whom he writes with so much bitterness, had done; and hath made us very much be-

CHAP.
VII.

Observations upon Pallavicini's history of the Council.

CHAP. holden to him for his good and eloquent supplement
 VII. to that excellent history. And I have, upon the matter, confined myself to the single evidence which this Cardinal hath furnished me with. When I shall hereafter find it convenient to mention what succeeded at Rome after the dissolution of the Council, I shall take a greater latitude in the allegation of what was done there from the testimony of more, but as authentic, witnesses. I shall here only cite one particular more from the same Cardinal, that Il Ferriere, who was ambassador of the King of France at Venice, as soon as he heard that the Council was ended, writ a letter to his master; in the which he said, that his and his colleague's absence (for he had been ambassador at Trent) in the two last sessions was very advantageous; because by their presence they might have prejudiced the liberty and prerogative of the Gallican Church, and of the Crown; for he did consider that in the four and twentieth session, in the fifth the eighth and the twentieth heads; it was enacted, that the causes of Bishops should be brought to Rome against the privilege of France, which implied that those causes should never go out of the kingdom; that the Pope was denominated "*Vescovo della chiesa universale*," a title always contradicted by the King's ambassadors; and that there were other things enough, from whence it would necessarily follow that the Pope was above the Council, against the opinion of France and of the Sorbonne, which had always been there defended by them conjunctly with the Cardinal of Lorrain, the Bishops, and the French Divines^a.

^a P. 1037.

It may very well be wondered at, that the Pope was so much displeas'd (as it was then generally known he was) with his Legates upon the perusal of the decrees, when he had such a plenitude of power of his own to add to, or alter, or reverse whatsoever was done in the Council, and to give any thing to himself which he could not persuade them to do, as he did by his transcendant Bull for the confirmation and publication of the canons of that Council; which as they altered and added very many articles to the Christian faith, (so that very many are to be damn'd now for not believing many things which they might have been saved without believing before,) so, by his Bull, he hath created to himself quite another and a greater dependance upon himself, of the whole Catholic Clergy within the precincts of the Roman Church, and a less subjection to their own natural Kings and Princes, than they were ever subject to before; which how it comes to be suffered in those provinces where the Council itself hath never been admitted, I cannot comprehend; except it be that they know it to be invalid, and never distinguish in criminal cases in their proceedings between Clergy and Laity, but prosecute both by the same process; of all which somewhat more will be added anon.

But Pope Pius did yet supply himself with another weapon out of his own forge, upon which he more depended for the defence and propagation of his new faith, than upon his Bull or his canons. This was another omnipotent Bull, which he published during the sitting of that Council, and before its dissolution, whereby he provided that, "INQUISITORES *hæreticæ*
pravitatis, non teneantur publicare dicta testium
contrà schismaticos vel hæreticos examinatorum, ne
que

CHAP.
VII.

The two Bulls of Pope Pius IV. published during and after the Council of Trent, in support of the Inquisition, and for varying as well as confirming the decrees of the Council.

CHAP. VII. *“que rationem reddere de processibus alteri, quam*

*“Romano Pontifici aut supremis INQUISITORIBUS almæ
“urbis :”* and, that nobody may be terrified by the power and greatness of any heretics or schismatics from discovering or accusing, it secures them, that no men, *“qui schismaticos seu hæreticos hujus-
“modi revelaverint, seu contrà eos deposuerint, et tes-
“tificaverint,”* shall ever have their names known or revealed ; which is such a devastation and eradicating all the elements of justice and prudence, and with them of all the security and liberty that is due to mankind, that it is hitherto held too brutal to be received in any Catholic dominions, those only of the Pope himself, and of the King of Spain, excepted: and even those territories of theirs, where the same hath been admitted, have undergone that curse of leanness and barrenness, that they have yielded no one man of that eminence of parts, or acuteness of learning, (besides the deluge of ignorance, laziness, and want of courage that hath overwhelmed them,) with which those provinces heretofore plentifully supplied the schools and the armies of all other parts of Europe. And so we take our leave for the present of Pius, to take a short view of the actions of his successor.

RELIGION AND POLICY.



BY

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.



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RELIGION AND POLICY

AND THE

COUNTENANCE AND ASSISTANCE

EACH SHOULD GIVE TO THE OTHER.

WITH A SURVEY

OF THE

POWER AND JURISDICTION OF THE POPE

IN THE

DOMINIONS OF OTHER PRINCES.

BY

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CHAP. VIII.

*Pius V. A. D. 1566. to Gregory XV. A. D. 1621.—
Excommunication of Queen Elizabeth—Massacre
of St. Barthélemi—Wars of the League in France
—Excommunication of the Republic of Venice.*

UPON the death of Pius, and after a very long and a very factious conclave, the Cardinal Alessandro was chosen Pope; who, to shew the veneration he had for his predecessor, assumed his name, and was called Pius the Fifth; but quickly shewed that he had much more affection for the memory of Paul the Fourth than of Pius the Fourth, by reversing the memorable and just judgment pronounced by his predecessor himself in full consistory upon the two nephews of Paul the Fourth, for several the most horrid assassinations and murders, and other crimes and misdemeanors; which, with those circumstances, have been in all times and all countries capital; and for which they were both put to death; the Cardinal, by the privilege of his purple, having been strangled in prison, and the Duke publicly beheaded on a scaffold, with two of his nearest friends and kindred.

Election of
Pius V.
His cha-
racter.

CHAP. VIII. And now, near six years after, this new Pope caused the process to be re-examined, reversed the sentence, declared the family restored to its honour without blemish, and to inherit all the lands and goods which had been forfeited, and (which was a thing monstrous and unheard of) caused the Treasurer Pallantieri, a man of an unblemished reputation, to be beheaded for having deceived the late Pope, and having overcharged those miserable men in the drawing up and relation of their trial; when the whole process had been (as hath been said before) deliberately read and perused in consistory, and the sentence given by the Pope himself; which proceeding made all men observe that the temporal law did not less depend upon the determination of the Pope's private spirit, than the spiritual. Of the last of these he found that the so late Council of Trent had already so much need, that by a Bull, in which he declared, that "*ad Romanum spectat Pontificem suâ sollicitudine diligenter providere, ut sacrorum Conciliorum decreta, ita suæ declarationis adminiculo dilucidentur quod nulla desuper dubitandi occasio cuiquam relinquatur:*" and thereupon he made an interpretation upon the third chapter in the four and twentieth session, "*circà sponsalia vel matrimonia,*" manifestly contrary to the sense and purpose of the Council. Indeed this Pope scattered abroad his Bulls into all quarters of the world, as if he had been universal Monarch, as well as universal Bishop; nor doth he assume a less style to himself in his Bull, by which "*Cosmus Medices reipub. Florentinæ dux, ejusque successores magni duces Etruricæ creantur;*" in which he says, that "*Romanus Pontifex in excelso militantis ecclesiæ throno, dis-*
ponente

“*ponente Domino super gentes et regna constitu-* CHAP. VIII.
tus &c.” But the Princes of that time were so far
 from believing him, that not only men out of Italy,
 but the Princes in Italy of the age in which he lived,
 not one ever gave him that title, and many are of
 opinion that the wise Cosmus never had desired it
 from the Pope: but certain it is, that he did after-
 wards much endeavour to procure the Emperor to
 confirm it, which he always refused to do.

That he might give as great an instance of his
 power in pulling down, as he had done in building
 up, and that he might shew how much more power
 the Pope hath than a General Council pretends to
 have, he made no scruple of doing what that had so
 lately refused to do; and he issued out his Bull of
 excommunication against Queen Elizabeth, and all
 who adhered to her; with that horrible preamble, to
 the scandal and reproach of all the Kings and
 Princes of the earth; “*Regnans in excelsis, cui data*
est omnis in cælo, et in terra potestas, unam Sanc-
tam Catholicam et Apostolicam Ecclesiam, extrâ
quam nulla est salus, uni soli in terris, videlicet
Apostolorum Principi, Petro, Petrique successori
Romano Pontifici in potestatis plenitudine tradidit,
gubernandam; hunc unum super omnes gentes, et
omnia regna Principem constituit qui evellat, destruat,
dissipet, disperdat, plantet et ædificet &c. Illius ita-
que authoritate suffulti, qui Nos in hoc supremo jus-
titie throno, licet tanto oneri impares, voluit collo-
care, de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, declara-
mus prædictam Elizabeth hæreticam, et hæreticorum
fautricem, eique adhærentes in prædictis, anathema-
tis sententiam incurrisse, esseque a Christi corporis
unitate præcisos.” And so he proceeds to the ab-

Excommu-
 nicates
 Queen Eli-
 zabeth, and
 deprives
 her of her
 crown.

CHAP. solving all her subjects from the oaths of fidelity
 VIII. — which they had taken to her, deprives her of all her kingdoms and dominions, and condemns all who shall adhere to her, or submit to her government, under the same censure and excommunication. And can any body wonder that this great Queen (to whom all Christian Princes of the age paid more reverence than to any other King or Queen in the world) should comply with the just jealousy of her subjects, in providing the strictest laws against the emissaries of such a tyrannical usurper, and against all those who, submitting to his authority, were like to conspire with them against her person, and the peace of the kingdom ; of which they gave too frequent instances. This is the greatest monument that ungodly Pope raised and left to the world of his being Pope, and for which all good Catholics themselves detest his memory. Nor is there, over and above that frantic Bull mentioned before against the Queen and Kingdom of England, any other memorial of him, than that he was so poor and obscure a person in birth and fortune, that, fifteen years before he was chosen Pope, he came to Rome on foot for want of a beast to carry him ; and except the notable actions which have preserved the memory of the time of his six years reign, namely, the battle of Lepanto, the loss of the island of Cyprus, and the woful tragedy of the greatest Prince in Christendom put to death by his own father.

Gregory
 XIII.

Upon the death of Pius the Fifth, there was so great a consent in the conclave, that, within less than four and twenty hours after it met, all the Cardinals by adoration elected the Cardinal Buoncompagno, who took the style of Gregory the Thirteenth: which
 gives

gives us occasion properly in this place to observe (for after this time there is, I think, no difference in the account) the irreconcilable disagreement that is between the Catholic writers of the Pontifical history; for in some, this Gregory the Thirteenth is reckoned the two hundred fifty-fourth Pope from St. Peter, as by the Spaniards, I think all; whereas by others, both French and Italian, he is looked upon but as the two hundred and thirtieth; and this probably proceeds from the different concessions and acceptations of the several nations, which in the frequent schisms that have fallen out, have preserved the memory only of him who was by them received and acknowledged to be Pope. It is harder to find a reason how some come to be recorded as Popes when no schism hath been, who not only were never in that station, but want good evidence of having been in the state of nature; as of him who passed under the name of John the Eighth in some Pontificals, and who, they say, was an English woman, who is reckoned to have succeeded Leo the Fourth about the year eight hundred fifty-nine, and was succeeded by Benedict the Third; and there are between Leo the Fourth and that John, (who is generally accounted the Eighth,) three or four Popes. Be it true or false, (as I am inclined to think it to be a mere fable,) it owes its original to Catholic authority; the first mention of it being only to be found amongst them. However that, and the different account of the number, (as in this of Gregory the Thirteenth,) shews how hard a task they have to trace that authority they would have to reside in the Pope, in a direct line from St. Peter, when they do

CHAP.
VIII.

CHAP. not agree who have been his successors, or upon the
 VIII. number of them.

His cha-
 racter.

Gregory the Thirteenth was seventy years of age when he was chosen Pope, but had all the frantic passion of anger and rage that youth was ever possessed with, and outdid all the Gregories who had been before him in acts of blood and cruelty, and kindled that civil war in France which destroyed so many millions of men, and could not be quenched with the blood of the greatest Princes of Europe, and was inflamed by him till the whole royal family was consumed, which by his instigation had destroyed so many. And if the actions of this one Pope and his successor (though they did but tread in the footsteps of some of their predecessors) were but well weighed and considered by all Kings and Princes of the Christian faith, there would need no other argument to convince them how impossible it is that God should ever give the Bishop of Rome that power and authority which he impiously assumes and usurps as his deputy; and how insecure and miserable they must always be, (because in some time they may be so,) whilst those men do but imagine, and other men believe, they have a supreme power in what case soever over their persons subjects or dominions.

Massacre of
 St. Barthé-
 lemi.

He was chosen in that infamous year fifteen hundred seventy-two; and, as soon as he was chosen, very cheerfully, and without any of those pauses which naturally attend such transactions, he granted the dispensation for the Prince of Navarre (who was afterwards Harry the Fourth) to be married to the Princess Margaret; which no importunity could prevail with his predecessor to consent to; and his
 doing

doing so made it believed that he was privy to the end and purpose of that marriage. Notorious it is, that he had no sooner notice of that barbarous and inhuman Massacre of St. Barthélemi, than he went himself in the most solemn procession to the church of St. Lewis in Rome, to give God thanks for that happy victory; and shortly after sent an extraordinary Nuncio to that King to congratulate with him for his conquest over so many of his enemies, and to advise him to prosecute the same method of revenge and justice until he had rooted out all the heretics, and not left a single man to reproach him with it: a Massacre, in which, in the first night in Paris, where it begun, there were killed above five thousand men, of whom there were between six and seven hundred gentlemen of quality, whereof no one had his sword in his hand; and, within few days after, in Thoulouse, Bourdeaux, Lyons, Orleans, and two or three other towns, Monsieur Mezeray accounts there perished five and twenty thousand men women and children: (and this carnage was prosecuted throughout the kingdom for the space of near, if not full, a month; and for this butchery, this anti-christian Gregory makes a formal procession to give God thanks, and sends the *Nova buona* to the most Christian King:) a Massacre attended and accompanied with all the foul dissimulation and most horrid perjury that ever added to the deformity of any wickedness, that the authors and conductors of it were ashamed and forsworn in the very act of executing it; and the memory whereof is more preserved and propagated by the most exemplary vengeance that God inflicted upon the principal authors and contrivers of it, than by its cruelty; the whole fruitful

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race of that miserable Queen, who principally moulded the whole machine, being in few years extirpated from the earth, and the crown settled upon his head, and continued to his posterity, whose destruction and murder was the chief end of that monstrous design : a Massacre, that all pious Catholics, in the time in which it was committed, decried abominated and detested : nor hath any Protestant writer mentioned it with more bitterness and aversion, than those two judicious Catholic historiographers Thuanus and Mezeray have done ; whilst Gregory alone paid his devotions for it ; nor hath it been celebrated by any of that party, (how many soever cruelly concurred in it,) but some Jesuits, from whom he well deserved it.

Privileges
of the Je-
suits in-
creased.

And it was wisely done of that Pope, when he resolved to cherish and promote that kind of warfare, in taking care to advance and countenance a militia that was most proper for it. And therefore, as there was no Pope, or but one, (from the time of the first institution of that society by Paul the Third,) who had not given some new access and testimony of his grace and favour to it ; so Gregory the Thirteenth (who looked farther into the use of it) did not content himself with one single act of bounty to them, but poured out and even emptied his whole treasure of concessions and privileges, to enable them for any services they should dedicate themselves to by his appointment. That they may not be too intent upon, and tired with those devotions which other religious orders are liable to and exercised with, and that the other more ancient orders may not be taken notice of to precede them, he grants by a special Bull, that "*Religiosi et personæ societatis Jesu, ad publicas pro-
cessiones accedere non cogantur ;*" in which he
takes

takes notice, that “ *nonnulli locorum ordinarii, forsant* CHAP. VII. “ *Concilii Tridentini auctoritate et decreto moti,*” had compelled some Jesuits to attend such religious exercises, “ *non sine illorum functionum et ministeriorum retardatione;*” and therefore he did absolve them from all those and the like attendances. By another Bull he grants them liberty that “ *ubique ecclesie, et domus edificari possint,*” (notwithstanding any privileges granted, or to be granted, to other orders, “ *quod prope eorum loca nova monasteria construi nequeant,*) because he could not but take notice that his dearly beloved sons, “ *Presbyteri venerabilis societatis Jesu in vineâ Domini tanquam fructiferi palmites in toto fere orbe, optimum et uberrimum fructum attulerant &c.*” Then, lest their great revenues (they being founded in poverty, and by a special Bull of his predecessor, declared to be “ *verè de ordinibus mendicantibus*”) should be taken notice of, by which they might be liable to pay a little out of the much they receive, he grants them by another Bull an exemption “ *à solutione et præstatione decimarum, et aliorum onerum quorumcumque.*”

We of England had a more particular obligation to him, for his care and provision for our peace and quiet, by his erecting a college in Rome only for the maintenance and support of those “ *juvenes ex illo miserrimo regno huc profugientes qui, divino spiritu ducti,*” had left their country parents and estates, only to be brought up and instructed in the Catholic Religion; and, being so, that they may return into their native country, “ *ad alios, qui à viâ veritatis declinaverint, erudiendos:*” and there is a special clause in the Bull, that every scholar, after he

English college founded at Rome.

CHAP. is admitted, and hath betaken himself to his studies
 VIII. for some time, "*Juramentum præstet se vitam eccle-*
siasticam producturum, seque omni tempore ad jus-
sum superiorum in patriam revertendum, et ad ani-
mas quantum in Domino potuerit adjuvandas para-
tum fore ;" and, being thus disposed and resolved,
sacerdotali militiæ pro temporis vel loci necessitate
ascribere &c. promoveri possint extrà tempora et
absque ordinariorum literis dimissoriis, et sine titulo,
et non obstante defectu natalium :" so ready they
 are to dispense with the most ancient and most es-
 tablished canons of their own Church and Religion,
 and most generally received, that they may have an
 opportunity to disturb and betray their neighbours.

Special pri-
 vileges
 given to the
 Jesuits, con-
 trary to the
 decrees of
 the Council
 of Trent.

In order to this, it was a very signal provision that
 was made by this Pope by another Bull, by which
 "*usus altaris portatilis Religiosis societatis Jesu re-*
stituitur, non obstante Concilii Tridentini disposi-
tione." This had been granted to them by Paul
 the Third, in regard of their missions to the Indies,
 upon which they then seemed wholly intent; but by
 the Council of Trent expressly and universally for-
 bidden; but now, "*vobis eatenus restituimus, ut pres-*
byteri vestri (all the Jesuits) Missæ sacrificium licitè
valeant celebrare super hujusmodi altari ubique gen-
tium." It is worth the observation, that all this fa-
 therly care for our country, and those and other mul-
 tiplied concessions to those his sons, were granted in
 that time, when the great preparations were making
 in Spain for that invasion, and other designs were
 contriving against the life of Queen Elizabeth ; to all
 which this Pope was privy, as shall appear hereafter,
 though he died before it was ripe. But the two last
 signal Bulls, which he granted to them in the year
 fifteen

fifteen hundred eighty-four, (a little before his own death, and after his age of fourscore and three,) are the lasting monuments that this peaceable spirit left him not till his own sudden expiration. And the great use he made of those precious and faithful instruments must not be unmentioned; the one is, that which is called “*Approbatio tertia instituti et constitutionum Religionis clericorum regularium societatis Jesu &c.*” in which is that extraordinary and memorable and abominable preface; “*Ascendente Domino et Salvatore nostro in naviculam, ecce motus magnus factus est in mari, ipse autem à discipulis rogatus ventis imperavit, et facta est tranquillitas, quam Nos in Petri naviculá collocati turbinibus excitatis, &c. nostram intereà operam et laborem in frangendis procellosis fluctibus impendere non desistimus*: then he thanks God for his great providence for assisting him with those “*validos remiges*,” who are ready to perform all offices which he should require from them; and therefore it concerned him to cherish and protect “*et ab omni non modo injuriá, sed etiam calumniá tenemur intactos conservare*:” and to that purpose, to those who shall make the fourth vow, “*specialis Summo Pontifici obedientiæ circùm missiones præstandæ, ob certiore Spiritus Sancti in missionibus ipsis directionem ac majorem ipsorum mittendorum sedi Apostolicæ obedientiam, majoremque devotionem, humilitatem, mortificationem ac voluntariam abnegationem &c.*” he will not have them pretend to any preference or dignity, within or without the society; nor out of the society they shall not consent to any such election made in their favour, “*nisi coacti obedientiá ejus qui ab ipsis possit sub pœná peccati præcipere*:” and all this they may safely

CHAP. safely do, having good reason to be assured that their
 VIII. want of ambition shall, by the especial care and provision of the Master to whom alone they have dedicated all their obedience, not turn to their prejudice.

It would have required a very strong and fertile invention, after the multiplication of so many donatives graces and concessions by one Pope, added to the full heap of what had been before granted by so many of his predecessors, to have found any defect of power by which the Jesuits could be restrained from doing any mischief they were inclined or directed to do: but this careful Pope discerned, that men of such sagacity ought to be trusted to do whatsoever they thought would be agreeable to their great Master's will or wish; though some formalities were wanting in them, which to all other men of less pregnancy were even necessary qualifications; and without which they could not perform their offices: and therefore by his last Bull, very few months before his death, he granted "*quod religiosi societatis clericorum Regularium Jesu, etiam sacris ordinibus non initiati verbum Dei prædicare possint.*" Also, that there might no scruples arise amongst themselves in this point of their incompetency, "*Declaramus, ac etiam decernimus vestrum unicuique etiam ad sacros ordines non promoti, prædicationis munus in vim privilegii hujusmodi exercere posse &c. et valeant deinceps ipsum verbum Dei, ubique populo prædicare.*" Since it is no new tenet, and was the sole excuse or justification which a gentleman, who suffered in the Gunpowder Treason, made for himself in that infamous and odious conspiracy, "*Deus est Papa, et Papa est Deus;*" it may be no breach of charity,

charity, especially considering what this Pope did afterwards, (though he did not do half of that kind which he intended to have done,) to believe that this qualification he dispensed, “*ipsum Dei verbum prædicare,*” was in his own purpose and intention, and in theirs who were thus employed by him, to have no other measure of the “*verbum Dei,*” but as it was “*verbum Pontificis;*” and to proceed accordingly. However, as in the other courts of Princes, they who in the public view receive so great and so frequent promotions and benefits above all other men, are sure to undergo a greater measure and burden of envy and malice and jealousy, than others to whom graces are more moderately dispensed; so the good fathers of that society (which hath yielded, since the foundation of it in most parts of Europe, men of as signal and profound learning, and, no doubt, of as accomplished virtue and piety, as any other province of learning whatsoever) must not wonder if these plentiful showers of munificence, from those who claim a prerogative and sovereignty in the dominions of all Kings and Princes, makes them more than ordinarily jealous, at least less confident than ordinary, of that class of men, who have vowed their subjection to one only Monarch, and not to him to whom nature hath subjected them; which jealousy cannot but be much increased if they are versed in history, and know to what uses they were employed after this Pope had cultivated and prepared them by those bounties, to be proper instruments for all his commands.

When Charles the Ninth of France, who from that fatal night of St. Barthélemi (to the transactions whereof he had been too much an eye-witness) never enjoyed that tranquillity and serenity of mind which

Henry III.
King of
France.

CHAP. VIII. which he had formerly been master of, was dead, (and he had long before his death manifested an aversion from all those who had led him to that odious resolution, which all the Catholic historians believe to have hastened his death ; for they observe, that, after the Poland commissioners or deputies had presented his brother, the Duke of Anjou, with the act of their election of him, to be their King, and all the solemnities of his and their parts were passed in Paris with all magnificence, in the presence of Charles, all delays for his journey thither were sought for, and found by the Queen Mother, and by Harry himself ; so much to the dissatisfaction of the King of France, who before this time found the vigour of his body to decrease no less than the peace of his mind, that he appointed a day in which his brother should begin his journey, and, finding new delays to be interjected, told him plainly, that one of them two should go out of France by the day prefixed, and when the Queen could by this means no longer defer their parting, she accompanied him to the borders of Lorrain, and there, in the tempest of tears and sighs at parting, told him imprudently, (as Mezeray confesses,) that he should not be long absent;) I say, when Charles was dead, and Harry the Third became King, he quickly discovered the same temper of mind to be in him, that the dead King had manifested ; that is, to unite all his subjects, and to govern France in peace ; which neither his mother, nor any of those to whom he had too much adhered formerly, did desire.

Besides his own recollections and reflections, (which he had reason and time enough to make in that cold country, from which he had made all indecent

cent haste to rescue himself,) when he assumed his own shape again, and in his return was treated in all courts according to his dignity, he found that amongst Catholics, as well as Protestants, the dismal triumph of St. Barthélemi was mentioned with equal horror. And the Emperor, who had entertained him six or seven days at Vienna with all princely magnificence, at parting advised him, that, as soon as he returned, he would take the government into his hands, and make a peace with those of the reformed religion, as the only means to cast the odium of that infamous act from himself upon those who had counselled it. Whether those so reiterated animadversions, or the thoughts which could hardly not arise from his own heart, or whether his nature was more disposed to ease and luxury, than would consist with the fatigue of a war, that must be carried on with such incessant labour, certain it is, that he quickly manifested a greater desire of peace with the Huguenots, than a resolution to extirpate them, which was the only remedy that the Queen, and all who adhered to her, meant to apply.

No man was more startled with this unexpected change in the King than Pope Gregory, who promised himself new massacres in all places, till there should not be a Huguenot left in France. The contrary resolution, which he discovered to be in Charles, had made him withdraw his good opinion from that Prince, and as much to long for the establishment of Harry, as the Queen his mother did. But now, when he discovered himself to be deceived likewise in that expectation, he commanded his Nuncio to interpose for the prevention of all treaties towards peace, and to conspire diligently with the Queen Mother, the Duke of Guise, and all those who adhered to them in opposing

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VIII.

Conduct of
the Pope.

CHAP. VIII. posing it, or in breaking it when concluded. They made the King's inclination and propensity to peace to be a clear demonstration of his affection to the religion of the Huguenots, and persuaded the people that his affection to the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé, (with whom he desired to preserve a peaceable intelligence,) proceeded from his aversion to the Catholic religion. And no man fomented this opinion more in the hearts of the people than the Pope's Nuncio, when no man knew better than he the perfect hatred the King had against the religion of the Huguenots, and the persons of all who professed it, and that only the fear of that power which they were like to get by a war, and the fear of that power which the Duke of Guise had already got by advancing the war, were the chief causes of his desire of peace.

Wars of the
League in
France.

Whilst the Pope had, by all the means he could devise, inflamed the Queen Mother and the Duke of Guise to the prosecution of the war, and to the diverting all thoughts of peace, and had likewise disposed the King of Spain to offer the King his assistance towards so holy a work, (which was indeed doing his own work, by preventing a conjunction between his own rebels of the Low Countries with those of France,) he proceeded then to work upon the King by threats and menaces, how absolutely he would be deserted by all his Catholic allies, and by all his Catholic subjects, if he did not speedily wipe off the reproach of being affected to the Huguenots : and by these artifices the irresolute nature of the poor King was prevailed with to sign that League, which was contrived for his own destruction ; presuming that he should have more power by being the

the head of it, than by opposing it under the disadvantage of being thought to be no good Catholic; and now, when he had qualified all his most implacable enemies to be of his own fraternity, they quickly made it appear what their intention and purpose was, and how confident they were of the Holy Father's conjunction with them, in their utmost enterprises.

There cannot be a more lively description of the progress they made, and the lawful and righteous ends they proposed to themselves, than by their election of the emissary they sent to the Pope for the better receiving his advice and direction, who was Père Matthieu the Jesuit; nor of his transaction in this high trust, than by the account he gives of his negociation (after he had full conference with the Pope) to those by whom he was employed: and a more authentic evidence of which cannot be given, than out of so much of his own letters as are published in the Memoirs of the Duke of Nevers, to whom that letter of the eleventh of February, in the year fifteen hundred eighty five, was writ and directed, and signed Claude Matthieu Jesuit, which may be found in the 655th page of the first volume of those Memoirs. The good Father, after a short apology for not giving an earlier account, (which he knew his wisdom would excuse, since he knew that affairs of such importance cannot be done on the sudden, and that they are always done soon enough, when they are done well enough,) told him of the time of his arrival at Rome; that he had within three days audience of the Pope, to whom he gave his credential letters from him, Monsieur de Guise, Cardinal de Guise, and the rest whom he names;

CHAP. and that he then made him a large discourse con-
VIII. cerning the state of affairs, according to that memoir which he had seen before he left Paris ; that he did very easily make the Pope believe all that was contained in his instructions, for that he was already enough informed about it; so that he was before his arrival resolved publicly to declare the King of Navarre, and all the Princes of the blood, heretics, and incapable to succeed to the kingdom of France, if he had not been hindered by the remonstrance of some Cardinals, who told him, that it was by no means expedient for him to make that declaration, until the Catholics of the kingdom had their arms in their hands, to put the sentence of the Pope in execution : that the Pope questioned him very particularly concerning every article of his instructions, and having heard him very graciously, he said, this was an affair of very great consequence for the service of God, and of all Christendom ; and that he would address himself unto Almighty God; and that he would well and maturely consider of it, and have all that had been said given to him in writing: and the Pope commanded him to communicate all to the Reverend Father, the General of his order, to the end that, without saying why, he might commend the business to the prayers of the whole society; and that he (the General) as well as the Father should give their opinion of it.

Some days after, the Pope having with two Cardinals, Palleve and Cosmo, maturely considered all, and heard the General and him, resolved upon the answer he would make ; and he was called by the Cardinal Cosmo, Secretary to the Pope, who told him the Pope's resolution, which he writ word by word, and shewed it to the Cardinal, telling him
withal,

withal, that it was a thing of so great importance, for the satisfaction of the consciences of the most conscientious Princes, who had writ to his Holiness, that he should be glad to carry the answer and resolution in writing from the Pope, to the end that he might not say any word in this resolution which proceeded not from his Holiness's own mouth; which the Cardinal thought very reasonable: and the Father going the next day to the Pope, he presented to him what he had writ from the mouth of Cardinal Cosmo, which he had read, and said he would keep it two days by him, the better to consider upon it; after which he restored it to him in the following form, word by word; which is inserted in Italian in that letter from the Father to the Duke of Nevers. It said, that his Holiness, having well understood and much considered what had been proposed on the behalf of some Catholic Princes who had writ to his Holiness, and of others their confederates, was very glad of the good occasion that God had given them to bring that to pass, which they had resolved upon: that their first and principal intention being to take up arms against the heretics of that kingdom, and that they had means in all probability to render it effectual, "*Sua Santità consente, et lauda che lo faciano, et leva loro ogni scrupolo di coscienza che per tal conto potessero havere &c.*" He gave them this answer upon the sixteenth of November fifteen hundred eighty-four.

The Father proceeds farther, and says, that upon the eighteenth of November he proposed to the Pope, that it would be a great comfort to all those Princes who should be engaged in this enterprise, if he would give them a plenary indulgence in form of

CHAP. a jubilee, as also to all them who should assist them
 VIII. in so holy a work ; which he granted. He said the Cardinal de Cosmo was very zealous in this affair, and the Pope much more ; who told him often, that he feared lest the Catholics should be too slow in beginning, and that the Heretics would prevent them ; a thing he judged to be very dangerous, considering the disposition of the state of the kingdom, and of the neighbouring countries, as also of the King of Navarre's being so near to the crown, and so zealous for the Heretics ; so that he urged him to be gone, and to be with them as soon as was possible. He said, that as soon as they had begun, the Pope would declare the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé, incapable of succeeding to the crown, and he would not fail to favour the undertaking by all means imaginable ; and that he would send a Legate into those parts if there should be need ; and would do every thing which he thinks may serve for the justification of the cause before God, and before men.

The good Father gave a farther account to the Duke of what passed after his return from Rome ; he told him, that as he passed through Switzerland, Colonel Pfeiffer assured him, that if he were acquainted with the design a month or six weeks beforehand, he would bring from thence six thousand of the best men they had, and all Catholics ; provided that they returned to him thirty thousand livres to Lucerne to make the levy : he tells him that he was at last arrived at Mousson, where he received express command not to enter into France for fear lest they should have some suspicion of him : he said, that he had seen Monsieur de Lorraine, who told him, that the affairs were much more advanced than he imagined,
 and

and that they were ready to begin: he said, he had sent one of the Fathers, who had accompanied him in the journey, to Monsieur de Guise, and had writ to him all the negociation at large; upon which he had sent an express to him, and did urge him very earnestly to come to him to Joinville; he had nevertheless excused himself, as not being willing to give suspicion to any body. He tells him, moreover, that the Pope did not think fit that any attempt should be made upon the King's life, since that could not be done with a good conscience; but if they could seize upon his person, and remove from him those who are the cause of the kingdom's ruin, and put in their place some who might govern him, and give him good counsel, and make him put it in execution, that would be very well approved of; for under the pretence of his authority, they might make themselves masters of all the cities and provinces of the kingdom, and they might establish every thing as it ought to be, and so shun an infinite number of misfortunes, which would arrive if the King remain in the condition he then was, and if he should be so ill advised as to join with the Heretics against the Catholic Princes, as in all probability he would do. As there was danger also that he might be followed by a considerable party of Catholics, they might do well to take that point into deliberation, which in his opinion, he said, was the most important in all the enterprise, and yet it seemed no hard thing to him to be performed: they were upon the place, and could better judge of those means which ought to be observed in order to the execution of it than others. The good Father concluded, that if the Duke were satisfied in his conscience, and resolved to be of the

CHAP.
VIII.

party, he might be pleased to send some person to him, in whom he had a firm trust, and he would go along with him to the confines of Lorraine, to find Monsieur de Guise, to make the last resolution concerning the means, the day, and the persons, who should execute the aforesaid undertaking; and if the Duke thought fit, he might write whatsoever he pleased to command him in the cipher of the Scotch ambassador.

Dr. Parry
encouraged
by the
Pope to as-
sassinate
Queen Eli-
zabeth.

These are all the material points contained in that letter of Father Claude Matthieu, of the eleventh of February fifteen hundred eighty-five, of the truth of every part thereof no man can doubt, since it is published from the very original letter, which remained in the custody of the Duke of Nevers: and the divinity of the whole, and the care of the safety of the King's person was agreeable to that Pope's practice, in cases of the like nature: for when Dr. Parry, an Englishman who had studied and taken his degree in Physic at Padua, about the same time offered his service to the Pope's Nuncio, and proposed to him that he would kill Queen Elizabeth, and was willing to make a journey to Rome to make the same overture, the Nuncio (after he had informed the Pope of it) persuaded him not to lose so much time in a journey to Rome, but satisfied him that it was lawful to kill the Queen, provided that it was not out of malice, or for revenge, but only out of charity, and for the advancement of Catholic religion; and for the better convenience of his journey he gave him the Pope's own pass, which carried him into England; where, after few months, and upon evidence of his intention to kill the Queen, he was condemned and executed as a traitor. But as all Gregory's enter-
prises

prises and inventions upon England were by God's providence diverted and disappointed, so he lived not to finish half the mischief that he had carefully designed for France; though he had so well set all the wheels in motion, that the work was as well done as if he had lived. Within few months after the date of the Jesuit's letter, and upon a very short warning for a soul so ill prepared for the next world, he was killed by a quinsy very suddenly, and before any remedy could be applied; so that he was dead before any body in Rome knew that he was sick, and after he had reigned above twelve years, and lived above fourscore and three; which obliges us to examine how far the seeds which he had sown, and which prospered so plentifully, and rendered so prodigious a harvest in France, flourished likewise in Rome; and we shall there find how much better a casuist his successor was, and opposed and contradicted all the doctrine that had been preached by his predecessor, as to the dictates of the Spirit.

Upon the death of Gregory, though no conclave had been fuller of arts and faction, yet the heads of every faction quickly discerned that they should not be able to make either of those subjects they desired to be elected; and so they the sooner concurred in the election of a person that neither of them did desire: which he that writ the narrative of that conclave makes an argument of the sole power of the Holy Ghost in those elections, that when, at the entrance into the conclave, there was no man less in the opinion of men like to come out Pope than the Cardinal of Montalto, he within fourteen days should be elected both by adoration and scrutiny. He called himself Sixtus the Fifth.

CHAP.
VIII.

His character.

Few men of any condition have been more remarkable than this Pope was through the whole of his life. His birth and extraction could not be lower; for he was taken by a charitable Friar from keeping of pigs, which was his only livelihood about fifteen or sixteen years of age, and placed in a monastery of the Minor Conventuals of the order of St. Francis; where there quickly appeared in him a great acuteness of wit, and a wonderful pregnancy of parts, but withal such a pride and rancour of nature, such a malice and appetite of revenge, that he was loved by very few, and frequently removed from one house to another by his superiors, only for preservation of the peace of the convent. Yet the fame of his parts made a much greater noise than his ill nature and ambition; which was best, if not only, known to his own order, to which he was always odious, and where all who had ever offended him underwent some chastisement from him in the whole progress of his fortune; and when he was made General of his order (by the omnipotency of Pius the Fifth, and against the express consent of the Electors, who had chosen another) he took vengeance of all who had ever crossed or offended him in that great body.

The same Pope made him a Cardinal, when he assumed the title of Montalto, the place of his birth; and after that promotion, from an angry ambitious and active course of life, he wholly changed his nature, and his manners; no man more civil to all conditions of men, more humble, more retired from all business, which in a short time gets the reputation of devout: he built him a little house, in a bigger garden, where he lived with a small family with great frugality, and seldom went out so much as to congregations,
except

except he was deputed ; and seemed more to have abandoned the world, than when he was a poor Friar, and to be less exalted with his promotion. When Pius the Fifth was dead, he entered into the conclave with that simplicity and unactivity, that they who had known him formerly believed him to be totally decayed in his parts ; and they who had not known him thought he never had any. He gave his vote as he was directed by Cardinal Alessandrino, (who was nephew to his founder, the last Pope, and was glad to be instrumental in the election of Gregory the Thirteenth,) upon whom he had attended as an officer in his family, during the time of his being Legate in Spain ; and from whence the Legate (though he had much kindness for him) was compelled to dismiss him for the perpetual quarrels he had, and the dissension he made amongst all the other officers of his family ; and so sent him before his own return to Rome, after he had by his dexterity and learning got a good reputation in the court of Spain. As soon as the election of Gregory was over, with whom it was believed that he might have what degree of interest he would desire, he returned to his little house and garden, with the same narrow and contracted thoughts he had carried from thence ; and in all that active reign seldom appeared, except when any thing that concerned the greatness and sovereignty of the Papacy was upon any occasion brought into debate ; and then no man was more vigorous in the vindication and advancement of it above all earthly powers. In all other affairs and contests he was so totally unconcerned, and in preserving his dignity so negligent and careless, that he often walked (when he was thought scarce able to go) without a man, and farthest from the wall, that

he

CHAP. he might escape being jostled, and letting some part
 VIII. of his robe hang in the dirt, that the people generally believed him to be cracked in his understanding: yet he was known to be charitable, and as great a dispenser of alms, as could be administered from his small visible revenue. This condition of life, during the long reign of Gregory, made him so totally forgotten, that when he came out of the next conclave Pope, there were very many in Rome who had never seen him, though he had never been out of it.

His arti-
 fices in the
 conclave.

The art that made him chosen Pope hath never been made use of by any man since; at least hath never had success. To seem older than he was, and more infirm and broken in health, is a vulgar artifice, and naturally advances the pretence: but to appear weak, and almost a fool, and incompetent to conduct any affairs of moment, was the first expedient that ever a candidate for the greatest government in the world, and in the most active age, depended upon; and yet upon this was all his hope: though his age was well known to many not to exceed threescore and four, he seemed to be decrepit at the rate of fourscore; he supported himself in that manner upon his staff, that he looked always as if he would fall; and when any of the Cardinals spoke to him of the business of the conclave, he seemed not to understand it, nor to be capable of acting any part towards it; so that they who had not been formerly acquainted with him, wondered what was become of those abilities which had brought him thither. He visited the heads of the several factions with all humility, and promised every one of them his vote to be disposed of as he thought fit. When they had been long enough together to discover that any man
 whom

whom either of them should set his heart upon CHAP. VIII.
 would be excluded by the rest, some amongst the rest nominated Montalto, and found not that aversion from him that they expected. Alessandrino and Rusticucci (the former whereof was nephew to Pius the Fifth, who had raised Montalto, and was known to hate him) one evening went to his cell, and told him, that they believed that he would be chosen Pope: upon which he smiled, and said, that if he were chosen Pope, that they two must do all the business, for he was sure he could do none of it himself: and from that time both those Cardinals took all the ways underhand to advance his election; which they found the easier, by every man's believing that they had no such design, and so never entered into a combination to exclude him, which enough were ready to have done, if they had thought the intention to be real. They then found, upon conference with Cardinal Mandruccio, (the Cardinal of Austria being likewise then in the conclave,) that Montalto was one of those who would not be unacceptable to that King; whereupon they made haste to inform their friends, whilst some did not yet believe it, and others thought it too late to cross it, and so, when they came next to the chapel, they all concurred in the adoration. The good man, however, thought that not enough, but desired that the scrutiny might be called, and, whilst it was doing, he reckoned every Cardinal as he was named, until he had passed such a number as made the election sure; and then he threw away his staff, and walked as firmly to the altar, as ever he had been able to do in his life.

From this minute he was a new and another man; his manners, his gait, his words were of another nature, His change of behaviour.
 ture,

CHAP. VIII. ture, and fashion, and tune; and, that he might make haste to undeceive the world, he sent for half a dozen of the Cardinals to sup with him the first night, and amongst them the two Cardinals, Alessandrino and Rusticucci, and such of the rest as, from his professions, were like to promise themselves much interest in him; and they were no sooner sat at supper, than he entertained them with discourse of the greatness of the pontifical office, of the wisdom of God in conferring it upon St. Peter alone, "*Tibi dabo claves;*" and how much they had to answer, who, when they were trusted alone, assigned it to friends or favourites. In a word, from the hour of his Pontificate, he governed as if he had been born to govern, not only inferior people, but all the Kings and Princes of the world; and no man was ever thought to have interest or credit enough with him, to divert him from any resolution he had taken, or from any strong inclination.

His conference with the Duke de Nevers.

How far this Pope was from the judgment or conscience of his predecessor Gregory, cannot better appear than by his behaviour to the Duke de Nevers; nor can there be so good an account given of that as by that Duke himself, which he gives us very particularly in the first volume of his Memoirs. It seems that Duke (who was zealous in his religion, and weak enough to be imposed upon, and had therefore an implacable animosity against those of the reformed religion, and so had been amongst the first who had signed the Covenant, and had likewise signed the letter mentioned before to the last Pope, and likewise the instruction given to the Jesuit, Claude Matthieu) had still a purposed fidelity to the person of the King, and for the conservation of the royal authority

thority against all rebels whatsoever: and (as he says) as soon as he was a little descended from that height, whither zeal, and the sense of injuries done to his wife, had blindly carried him, it was no hard thing for him to discover great pride hid under the specious appearance of much piety; and that the good Cardinal of Bourbon was not so much the chief and head, as pretext, and as it were the stalking horse of his party; nevertheless, he would not openly declare his suspicions until he had a clearer knowledge of their cause; and, for fear he might appear too light and inconstant, he continued yet firm for some time in the resolution he had taken with the Cardinal and Duke of Guise; but he writ divers letters to them, to oblige them to make such evident and positive declarations to him of their intentions, that he might have wherewith to convince them of breach of promises, in case their actions should not prove conformable to their words and letters. He did not content himself in having done this, but thought himself obliged in conscience to go to Rome, and to consult the Pope in an affair of such consequence. He rid post to Rome, and had several audiences of His Holiness. It was Sixtus the Fifth, who had very lately mounted into St. Peter's chair, by the sudden death of Gregory the Thirteenth.

He found this new Pope of a temper much differing from that of his predecessor; he was a person who was steadfast, clear-sighted, and penetrating into affairs, and who would not be abused or deceived with the outward appearance of things. When the Duke had given him an account of the cause of his journey, of the love which he had for the church, of the fear he was in from the power of the Huguenots, and

His disap-
probation
of the
League.

of

CHAP.
VIII.

of the torments and disquiets which he suffered in his soul, as often as he thought of an heretic Prince's being the next heir to the first crown of Christendom; the Pope commended his zeal, and comforted his mind, (which was discomposed with such fears as were not unbecoming the most generous and heroic breast,) and made him clearly see, that those men were rash and ill advised, who dared to lay their hands on their swords; that God's arm was as strong as ever to protect his Church; and, more nearly observing the sincerity of this Prince, by the tender expressions which discovered the very bottom of his heart, he thought fit to remove that veil from before his eyes, which did hide the knowledge of affairs from him, and told him, that he would not treat him like others who were not so sincere and good Christians, as to what concerned the Church, as he was; that he did take him for an honest man, and a good subject of the King's, and under that notion he would endeavour to undeceive him: and thereupon he begun to relate unto him the birth and the progress of the League unto that very day, and broke out often into this exclamation, "Oh Gregory the Thirteenth! in designing to do well, you have indeed done very ill! Your soul doth answer at present before the throne of God for the desolation of France, and for all that effusion of blood which there hath or shall be spilt."

The Duke of Nevers was very much amazed at this exclamation, and, casting himself at the Pope's feet, asked him, with tears in his eyes, what he meant? and if it were possible that there should be any treason and villany hid under that so specious name of the Catholic League? Yes, (said the Pope,) that there

there is; and I dare assure you, by an oath, that there is nothing in it but envy, and jealousy, and ambition, and desire to reign, with a thousand other crimes of the like nature; they whom they call Leaguers have deceived Gregory the Thirteenth, and his principal ministers, as they have done you; and, being only the instruments of a power which fears nothing so much in France as a peace, they take a great deal of pleasure in cheating their very selves: he added unto this all that he knew concerning the designs of Spain, and of those other Princes who depend on that crown; and, after having explained at large all the mysteries of that cabal, he made the Duke acknowledge, that they who did compose the body of that party in which he was engaged were in general the enemies of the King and kingdom: he yet continued his discourse, and, smiling, said, ‘ I know very well that in this affair of yours the honour and interest of your family is somewhat concerned; I am not so great a stranger to the intrigues of the French court, as not to know (to my great regret) whatever doth pass, or is done in the King’s cabinet: I could wish, with all my heart, that he was more moderate in his affections, that he did not deprive himself (as it were) of his own thoughts, to enter into those of persons whom he loves, and that he did not give pretexts too great, and too small to complain of, and to blame his conduct. But what is there in all this which can stir up subjects to take arms against their King, and to make parties in his kingdom, to present requests, and to make declarations of an insolent nature to him, and force him (as it were) to cut off his left arm with his right, to make him take pains to depose himself, in naming a successor.’

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cessor.' The Pope then brake into tears, and said, 'Believe me, my son, I have great compassion for your miseries and your divisions, and would to God there were nothing wanting but the best of my blood to restore France to that flourishing estate in which she hath been in time past; I would give it with the love and joy of a true and tender father: but I fear that things are now come to that height, that France is no longer in a condition to suffer her evils, or their remedies.' As he had done speaking, the Duke kissed his feet, the tears being still in his eyes, and, finding himself quite another man from what he was before this discourse, he said, 'Give me your benediction, and, if you please, obtain for me that power which shall be necessary to the execution of what I now consider in my mind, and I will go from this place to the King my master; and, without the consideration of any other glory than that of doing my duty, I will consecrate to his service my estate, and my life, and rather die at his feet than fail in my fidelity, or the observation of that good advice which your Holiness hath intimated to me.' The Pope strengthened him in this good resolution, and heaped upon him blessings, giving him chaplets, and medals, and indulgences; and did so much more yet than this, that he permitted him to present him with the form and model of the Bull, according to which he would have it drawn, to let all France know what he had been to do with his Holiness, as also to uphold him with the testimonies of several Cardinals.

The Duke of Nevers being thus converted, he made what haste he could to undeceive his friends, who he thought had as good meaning as himself: he writ

writ to the Cardinal of Bourbon, whom he believed to be an honest man, and knew to be a weak man, and gave him an account of all that had passed between the Pope and him : he told him of the time that he arrived at Rome, and that he had alighted from his horse at Cardinal Pellive's house, (who was the chief confidant of the League,) who received him with great demonstrations of joy, and told him presently, that he was come too late ; that things were very much changed ; and that, since the election of the new Pope, the affairs of France were looked upon with an eye wholly different from that with which they were lately beheld ; that those who had been the most hot for the Catholic party were now become so cold, whenever any proposition was made to them of advancing their design, they now talked of nothing but of that obedience which subjects owe to their lawful Prince, and of the ill opinion which his, the Cardinal's, retreat from the court had given to all Italy : he left it to him to conjecture, whether he, the Duke, had not been much surprised with this news ; and if, knowing the sincerity of his, the Cardinal's, intentions as he did, he did not blame the lightness of the persons of that court : he told him then of the manner of the Pope's reception of him, and that, as he was about to speak to him, (after he had told him that he was glad to see him, and that he was a true Israelite,) the Pope interrupted him, and said, I make no question but that the intention of the Cardinal of Bourbon is good ; and I will believe that that of his confederates is the same ; and, above all, I have had so particular a declaration of the sincerity of your's, as I am persuaded that your conscience only is the rule of your actions, and that in the en-

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agement which you have with the Cardinal, and the other united Princes, you have no other end but the glory of God, and the conservation of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion; but, granting this to be so, in what school, I pray you, have you learned that men are obliged to make parties against the will of their lawful Princes? To which the Duke confesses, that he answered him with some warmth, and commotion; ‘Most holy Father, it is with the consent of the King that these things are done.’ Upon which the Pope made this reply: ‘I see you begin to be hot already; I thought you had come to me to hear the words of a father, to take his advice, and to conform yourself thereunto; and yet I see that the same spirit reigns in you which is in all those of your society; you cannot endure to be reprov’d, you agree to come to a justification of your proceedings, and then condemn every body’s opinion but your own. Undeceive yourself; if you will believe me, the King of France hath never consented in good earnest to your League, or to your arms; he looks upon them as attempts against his authority; and though the necessity of his affairs, and the fear of a greater mischief, force him to dissemble it, yet he holds you all to be his enemies; and that more terrible, and more cruel ones, than either the Huguenots of France, or any other Protestants whatsoever. I will go on farther, (said he,) and yet say nothing which the knowledge I have of the nature of Princes, and of yours in particular, will not warrant me to speak with certainty: I fear lest things will be driven on to that height, that at last the King of France (as Catholic a Prince as he is) will be compelled to call in the Heretics to his assistance, to deliver him from
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the tyranny of those of the Roman church.' He complained often of Gregory the Thirteenth, and of Cardinal Cosmo, and accused them of having kindled the fire, and spilt the blood, of all Christendom, by the consent and approbation with which they had fomented the League and the union of the French Catholics: and so, the Duke concluded, that they might both see how far they were from what they expected, and what hopes they had of those temporal and spiritual succours, which they sought in that place. The letter was dated at Rome, upon the last of July fifteen hundred eighty-five, and may be found in the 667th page of the first volume of that Duke's Memoirs.

Shortly after this discourse, the news came to Rome of the peace made by the King with the Huguenots, upon which the Duke of Nevers had another audience of the Pope, and of which he gave the Cardinal of Bourbon another relation, by a letter dated within twenty days after the other. He then told him, that things were looked on quite otherwise in Rome than they were in France; the reunion of all the Catholics under one head had seemed to them in France a sovereign remedy for the extirpation of heresy, and for the preservation of the Church; and yet that the Pope had but just then told him, that there was never any conspiracy formed which was more pernicious either for the Church or State, than that of the League; and that he doth praise God that it doth appear, as it were, stifled by the bounty of the King, and by the approbation which he seemed to have given to all that had been done; but if the pardon and reconciliation be not so sincere as they seemed to be, they should see in a short time

CHAP. the unhappy consequences which they would have.
 VIII.

‘ It will be necessary, said the Pope, with tears in his eyes, that the King of France treat the Catholics as his greatest enemies; that he draw forces out of Germany, England, and other Protestant countries, to make himself master in his own kingdom; that he make dishonourable conditions with the King of Navarre, and with the Prince of Condé; and that he overrun all France with Lutherans and Calvinists: behold (said he) the blessed effects of their union, and the happy issue of your taking up arms; believe me, and delight not in cheating yourselves. You are the uncle of a sovereign Prince, and although he be not King of France, yet he hath as noble thought as a King of France can have. Go to Mantua and consult him concerning what hath been lately done in France; ask him what he would do, if he were in the place of the most Christian King; and you shall find, that he doth not discourse as the Cardinal of Bourbon, nor as the Prince of Lorraine do: I look upon you as a Prince of great sincerity and without interest; I do not doubt but that you are a very devout and religious person, and that you do what you do from the instigation of a true zeal: this being so, you will do well to retire with a firm resolution not to abuse or violate that peace which the King had given them; reunite yourself with him in good earnest, and give him that advice you shall judge best for the extinguishing of heresy and factions in the state. I have some experience of things, and I think I see clear enough into the time to come to speak very boldly, but yet very truly, concerning one affair; and that is, that the Huguenots can never be ruined, except the League be also: upon this you
 may

may safely resolve, and do not stay till time do make you wise ; for it hath never made any person so who hath not bought his wisdom with his own overthrow. I will not weary you with the length of this discourse, (said he, in letting fall his voice,) but I confess to you, that my very heart doth bleed when I consider that the most glorious kingdom of the world, and as it were the flower of Christendom, is in extreme danger to become a prey to foreigners, like another Jerusalem, and to be destroyed by those very hands which ought to defend it.' And with this information, advice, and benediction, (and indeed prediction,) the Pope took his last leave of the Duke, who made haste to return to France.

Thus far we see the transcendent difference between the divinity and the policy of Sixtus V. and of that of Gregory XIII. and how, in a moment, the whole court of Rome became changed or converted. It cannot be believed that they both received their dictates from the Holy Ghost, and therefore it could not be enough wondered at, if there were not some inherent malignity in the office, that this Pope (after so rational and conscientious discourses of his own, without any the least alterations in the case, from the time of those discourses, except some successes of the League against the King) should so much change his opinion, that by degrees he exceeded Gregory in all the acts of injustice, outrage, and impiety ; and for the advancement of the Catholic, that is, the religion of Rome, pulled up Christianity by the roots. They of the League were so careful to publish in print their victories, and made them so much greater than they were, with new and old reproaches upon the King for his

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VIII.

Sixtus V. publishes a Bull against the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé.

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breach of faith, and for the ill spending his time, together with his underhand and secret treaty with the King of Navarre, (managed, as they said, by Du Plessy Mornay, who was known to have been in private with the King,) that the Pope believed all; not without apprehension that the Leaguers might be able to do all their mischief, without his help: and therefore, that he might have some share in it, he issued out his Bull of fulmination against the two Princes, in a style agreeable to his humour, and the contempt he naturally had of all Princes. He declared Henry, called King of Navarre, and Henry Prince of Condé, “*lesquels il appelloit, Génération “bustarde et détestable de l’illustre maison de Bour-
“bon, Hérétique srelapsés, Chefs fauteurs et protec-
“teurs de l’hérésie &c.;*” and, as such, fallen under the censure contained in the sacred canons; he deprived them of all their lands, signiories, and dignities, and pronounced them to be incapable to succeed in any principality, particularly to the crown of France; and absolved their subjects of any oath of fidelity they had taken to them; and forbade them to render any obedience to them, under the penalty of incurring the same excommunication.

Monsieur Mezeray observes, that this blow, which was thought would prove fatal to the Princes, was much more disadvantageous to the Holy Chair than to them; for it did not only exceedingly provoke and enrage the Huguenots, but many Catholics, who were most zealous for the defence of the truth, and of the liberties and privileges of the Gallican church, were the more curious and diligent to search the ground and the bottom of that authority, which the Pope assumed over the crown; and they could

not

not find that in the councils or canons which they at Rome imagined. The Princes themselves were so far from being disheartened by this excommunication, and their friends from forsaking them, that they found means to get a placart or writing to be set up and fastened in the most public and notorious places in Rome itself; in which they appealed from the sentence of the Pope, for whatsoever was temporal in it, to the Peers of France; and for the crime of heresy, to a future Council, before whom they cited the Pope to appear, and declared him to be Anti-Christ if he refused to appear before it. This Bull likewise awakened the King to an apprehension that it was an attempt made by which they might facilitate the way towards his own deposing; and therefore he published an Arrêt, straitly forbidding that that Bull should be published in France.

The Pope easily found that he had got no ground by this Bull, more than that it increased the confidence of the League in him; whereas they before looked upon him as an enemy; and it made it likewise necessary for him to enter into a closer correspondence with them: yet they could not prevail with him to do any act immediately against the King, or to send a Legate to reside amongst them, (both which they very importunately desired,) until after the killing of the Duke, and Cardinal of Guise at Blois; which, if ever any assassination was or can be lawful, could not be avoided with the retention of his own sovereignty; they being so strong and powerful, that though their guilt of high treason and rebellion was known to all the world, and manifest to the whole kingdom, yet he could not have justice upon them by the administration of any judicatory; all degrees

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Assassination of the Duke, and Cardinal of Guise at Blois.

CHAP. of men being so terrified with their power and au-
 VIII. thority ; and at that very time when they were cut
 off, they had conspired to compel him to transfer his
 regal power from himself to such persons as would
 be guided and governed by them.

Proceedings
 of the Pope
 upon this
 transaction.

The news of this was no sooner brought to Rome, than the Pope let himself loose to all the thoughts and resolutions that passion and revenge could suggest to him. When the news came first to Rome of the death of the Duke of Guise, (which was a day or two before that of the Cardinal's,) the Pope seemed neither surprised with it nor moved at it ; neither from his own conscience upon the intolerable insolence and provocation of that Duke towards the King, nor from the relation that he received from his Nuncio, who was well affected to the King, and gave an account of that action as a thing the King could not avoid consistently with his dignity or the security of his person. But when the next messenger arrived with the account of the death of the Cardinal, and that the Cardinal of Bourbon and the Archbishop of Lyons were generally believed to be in the same danger, being under the same Arrêt, the Pope, “ *qui faisoit gloire de marcher sur les têtes souveraines,*” (as Monsieur Mezeray says,) would not lose this occasion to shew his puissance and his courage. Though he himself used all the Cardinals with that insolence and contempt as if they had been his simple valets, and talked frequently when he was with any of them that he would unmake and degrade him ; and although he had lately caused a Bull to be read in the Consistory, by which he declared St. Bonaventure Doctor of the Church, and did not ask the opinion of the Cardinals thereupon ; for fear the company

pany should go against him, as the congregation of Cardinals which he had appointed for that affair had done; of which assembly there being one sent unto him, to tell him they were of the opinion that he ought not to make St. Bonaventure Doctor of the Church, he had answered, that he would do it nevertheless, for that the Holy Ghost was with him, and that it was to him, and not to the Cardinals, that the Holy Ghost was promised: yet as to all others, he raised the style and title of Cardinals much higher than they were before, and had equalled them to Kings by his Bull that he had published in the second year of his Pontificate; in which he declared, that they were “*verè sal terræ ac lucernæ positæ super candelabrum, ut inter sanguinem et sanguinem, causam et causam, lepram et lepram discernant &c.*” all Christians were to observe their precepts and directions as “*regulæ et normæ rectè vivendi;*” that their high quality and condition could not be doubted, when the Pope himself, being a member of that body, is chosen by and out of that number, “*qui tunc demùm publico bono Christiani populi optimus sine ullâ disputatione existet;*” and therefore, as the monarch of the world, he confers many privileges and immunities, even to the restraining and nullifying any thing that shall be done to the contrary by any of his successors as to the number; namely, not to exceed seventy, according to the example of Moses in the choice of seventy, and according to the number of the seventy disciples; which rule his successors, as to the number, have been contented to submit to, with a total rejection of all the other rules and orders prescribed in that Bull. So that, as if he sensibly felt that one of the limbs and members of his

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own body was cut off in the violent death of that Cardinal, he cast nothing but wildfire out of his mouth, and talked of nothing but doing justice upon the King, as if he had been one of his meanest subjects. Yet he paused so long as to send a positive command to the King, that he should immediately set the Cardinal of Bourbon and the Archbishop of Lyons at liberty; and as soon as he received excuses for the not doing thereof, upon the most substantial reasons of state, he presently issued out a monitory in this form: in the first place, he renewed his command for the liberty of the Cardinal and the Archbishop within ten days after the publication of the said monitory; in default whereof, he declared that the King had incurred the ecclesiastical censures, especially those which are contained in the Bull, "*In Cænâ Domini*," from which he could not be absolved but by the Pope himself, except in the hour of death, and upon caution to give satisfaction if he lived; and he required him farther personally to appear at Rome within threescore days, and revoked all those indulgences faculties and privileges which the Holy Chair might have granted to him, or to any of his predecessors, to the contrary.

The King's
conduct.

This rage, and the necessity of his affairs, kept up the King's spirits to that degree, that he prosecuted his resolution to join with the King of Navarre and the Huguenots; and preserved his dignity in withholding any kind of compliance with the Pope's usurpation. And therefore he writ to his ambassador at Rome, and to the Cardinal Joyeuse, who was then Protector of France in Rome, and in whose Memoirs, the truth whereof nobody hath questioned, it is recorded, that they should consult together, whether,

ther, in respect of the Cardinal, it would be necessary for his Majesty to have the absolution of his Holiness; advising them nevertheless, before they made any overtures thereupon, to carry themselves in such manner that nobody might pretend to attribute to themselves a greater power over the Kings of France than that which had been acknowledged in time past. He says, that, since the writing of that part of the letter, he had found a brief which his Holiness had sent him heretofore, by virtue of which the Doctors in Divinity had judged that he might be absolved from this by any Confessor whom he would please to choose; according to which resolution he had confessed before the Theologue of that city, a man very famous for learning, piety, and integrity of life, who had given him absolution, after which he had communicated and received the body of our Lord upon the first day of the year.

But the Pope was too strong to be bound by such weak obligations, and well understood the advantage he had by the irresolute nature of the King, and even from his conscience, which he knew to be wholly devoted to the Catholic Religion; and that mere necessity, which he had foreseen and foretold, had produced that conjunction with the King of Navarre: and therefore, without any consideration of all that he had said to the Duke of Nevers, and which he had often repeated to the Marquis of Pisavy, who was afterwards, and long before, ambassador from the most Christian King at Rome, (to whom he had frequently exclaimed in the same manner against Gregory the Thirteenth, and the treason falsehood and iniquity of the League, even at the time when he had received an agent from the Duke

of

CHAP. of Guise,) he now made haste to send a Legate,
 VIII. — which Gregory could never be prevailed with to do, to reside at Paris, and to assist the League in all their counsels, and to promise all possible assistance from his Holiness. And the Legate writ him word afterwards, that if he had not caused fifty thousand crowns to be delivered into the hands of those who were entrusted by the League, all strangers would have returned home, and that the principal persons of Paris would enter into a peace with the King; which very probably would have been the case in a short time, considering how strong the King's forces grew suddenly to be, (not only by the King of Navarre's joining all his Huguenot troops to those of the King, but by a great access and conflux of the Catholics, out of indignation to see their King treated in that manner by his rebellious subjects, under the pretence of Catholic Religion, and that they called in the aid of foreigners to subdue France,) so that he was able in a short time to bring his powerful army to the very gates of Paris, and to restrain provisions from entering into the city.

The Pope
 excommu-
 nicates
 Henry III.

But now the power of the Pope appeared, who had made himself so terrible to that nation, as if they really believed whatsoever he said to be the word of God. There was no other rhetoric used in the pulpits, but to defame the King, and to render him odious to the people; nor can there be a greater instance of the malignity and frenzy of that time, than the declaration and resolution then published, upon a solemn consultation by the college of Sorbonne, that the Frenchmen were absolved from their oath of fidelity, and from all duty and obedience to Henry of Valois; and that they might with a good conscience take

take arms against him; which I wish may be forgotten for their resolute determination of the contrary upon all occasions since that time, as their predecessors had always done before, in spite of all judgments pronounced by the Pope himself. But the divinity was current then; insomuch as a young melancholic Friar of the order of St. Dominick, of the age of five and twenty years, intoxicated with that doctrine, under pretence of delivering some secret message to the King from some of his party in Paris, stabbed him in the belly with a knife in such a manner that he died the next day. So quick an operation had the Pope's excommunication! For his monitory, after the days of notice were expired, was become so effectual an excommunication, that, being issued but in the beginning of May, it murdered the King on the second of August following.

CHAP.
VIII.

Assassination of
Henry III.

The news of this horrid parricide was no sooner brought to Rome than the Pope presently called a Consistory, that he might be the first reporter of it; when he made the relation of it in such a manner as made it evident that he was well enough content to be thought the author; and he even solemnized the memory of that accursed Friar for his unparalleled zeal and courage, in that infamous speech of his in the Consistory, of which there are too many records preserved to have it ever forgotten. Indeed Sixtus the Fifth had gone too far to retire; and, having brought this fate upon one King, whom he knew to be a Catholic, only upon his suspicion of favouring heretics, it cannot be wondered at that he prosecuted his blow with more resolution and fury against the heretic himself who succeeded him; and who he knew had a spirit as great as his own, if he were not quickly

The Pope
commends
the assassin.

CHAP.
VIII.

quickly suppressed, to take full revenge upon those who had so near destroyed him. They of the League persuaded him that they owed their deliverance from their late King (whom they loaded with all reproaches of perjured murderer and tyrant, and the like) to his monitory, which was not ingrateful to him, and made him believe that, with the continuance of his favour, they should be in a short time able to overthrow and ruin the new Pretender; so that he began to fancy that he should have a principal share in the choice and appointment of him who should be thought worthy to wear that crown. Yet he gave orders to the Cardinal Cajetan, his Legate, that he should use all his endeavours that France might be provided of a pious and a Catholic King, and one that would be agreeable to all good Frenchmen; that he should consult with the ambassadors of Spain and Savoy, and hear what propositions they would make; but to shew himself entirely disinterested, and not to engage himself on the behalf of any pretender, insomuch as he should as readily hearken to the King of Navarre himself, if he would give any such hope of being reconciled to the Church in such a manner as might consist with the honour and dignity of the Holy Chair. He did wish, and had many of the League concur with him, that the Cardinal of Bourbon might be declared King, who was by many called by the name of Charles the Tenth, and in Paris they coined money in his name and with his effigies; at which the King of Spain and all his party of the League were much offended.

Abandons
the League.

This made the Pope again withdraw his good opinion from the League, when he discovered that all their pretence of Religion was resolved into faction

for

for the Spaniard, and to set the crown upon his head who should be chosen or appointed by him; and the death of the Cardinal of Bourbon at that time in prison made them less reserved towards that inclination. But the Pope was so averse from any such thought, that he utterly refused to issue out or renew his excommunication against the new King, which he was with all importunity urged to do by the League, as well as by the ambassador of Spain: and when he saw the King, after he had been compelled, upon the assassination of the last, speedily and in disorder to withdraw his army from Paris, and in few days reduced unto so great straits that it was believed that he fled with a purpose to transport himself into England, and seemed to be deserted as well by the Huguenots as Catholics, (which information was by courier after courier transmitted to Rome;) I say, when he saw this King, by the vigour and activity of his own spirit, gather an army together, reconcile many of the principal Catholics to him, without so much as making a promise to change his religion; that he fought with his enemies and beat them; that he took towns, and had brought his army to besiege Paris itself; he grew to express an extraordinary high esteem of the King, and as much to undervalue the League, and to mention them with disapprobation and contempt. Nor was he at all reserved in publishing a particular hatred against the pride and ambition of the Spaniard, insomuch as, when it was known that he had amassed together five millions of gold in the castle of St. Angelo, and Philip the Second sent to him to furnish a sum of money for the advancement of the Catholic Religion and the extirpation of the heretics in France, he did not

CHAP. VIII. not only refuse it positively and absolutely, but in such a manner, and with that sharpness of words, as could not become any man who did not believe himself to be much superior to the other: all which made Harry the Fourth very much to lament his death, which fell out little more than one year after his coming to the crown.

Death and
character of
Sixtus V.

It cannot be doubted but that if Sixtus the Fifth had lived to that age, or the King had chosen to do that in his time which he did afterwards in the change of his religion, that Pope would have so entirely wedded his interest, that Spain would have felt it in all its dominions; for he was a man who did nothing by halves, and was without any fear of any earthly power. The truth is, he was an original, and in many respects a much greater Pope, than any who was before him, or any who hath succeeded him. He did, in the six years of his reign, more acts of magnificence in his glorious buildings in the city of Rome itself, (besides what he raised in other places,) than any three Popes who had been before him, or have come after him; and all for the benefit of the public: he left a greater treasure of money behind him in the public treasury than ever was before or since enclosed within the walls of the castle of St. Angelo: and in the impartial administration of justice (except where his own supreme jurisdiction and authority seemed to be contested, or circumscribed and limited) very exact and severe: indeed, in all matters that related to the other, he could endure no bounds, nor cared to transgress any. His greatest pride was (which was his predominant vice) to make it believed that all Kings and Princes were inferior to him, and stood in need of him, and that he had

no need of any of them, or the least dependance upon them. At the same time that he gave countenance to the League in France, by which he obliged that King to the utmost, he used no ceremony, nor shewed any regard, towards Spain; but when the first Hackney was presented to him at the usual time and with the usual formality, and when the Grandé, in great lustre, presented it in the name of his Catholic Majesty, and as his acknowledgment for the kingdom of Naples, the Pope made no other answer or ceremony to the ambassador, but that it was very small rent for so very large a farm, and presently turned away: and when he was shortly after informed that the King of Spain had restrained the building any more religious houses in Spain, and saw a Pragmatique that he had lately published against the Clergy's intermeddling in some affairs, he bitterly inveighed against the former, and said he had meddled with that he had nothing to do, and he would give order that he should not be obeyed therein; and for the Pragmatique, he said he would send it to the Congregation for the prohibition of books, with order that they should insert it in the next catalogue of prohibited books, with their censure, that the author of it might be looked upon as a Lutheran, and an enemy to the Catholic faith.

The Cardinal Joyeuse, in his letter of the fourth of November fifteen hundred eighty-six, to King Henry the Third, tells him, he did believe that the levies which had been lately so much spoken of between the Pope and the Duke of Savoy, for the enterprise of Genoa, had been made in expectation of what would be the success of that in England, (which was that design of Parry's upon the Queen of

His communication to Cardinal Joyeuse respecting Queen Elizabeth.

CHAP. VIII. England, which hath been mentioned before,) that they might be ready to make use of that occasion, in case it proved favourable, rather than really to execute that of Genoa; because they had seen, that as soon as that of England had been discovered, the forces which had been ordered to march with so great haste stopped on a sudden, and nobody at present spoke a word of Genoa. He said, the Pope spoke to him very earnestly to recommend to his Majesty the Queen of Scotland, who he heard was suspected to have some part in that conspiracy lately discovered against the Queen of England: and His Holiness said, that he could not choose but pity that poor Queen very much; and that, for his own part, he durst hardly speak of her, there not being wicked men wanting who would accuse him to have had a share in that enterprise against the Queen of England; and therefore he did desire his Majesty, who, he said, he knew could at that time do what he pleased with the Queen, to do his utmost to procure her liberty. The Pope confessed to the Cardinals, that he would not deny but that several persons had addressed themselves to him, offering to murder the Queen of England, but that he had always rejected them, as being an action which he did detest and abhor.

The Cardinal told the King, that the Pope said, that the Queen of England was an Infidel, deprived of her kingdom by apostolical censures; and that he was very sure, that, in conjunction with the King of Denmark, the Duke of Saxony, and the other Protestant Princes, she had sent to treat a league with the Turk, and to persuade him to make a league with the Persian, and then to turn his whole forces against the

the Emperor and the two Kings of Spain and France; and that she and her adherents would join themselves to and march with the Turks; and His Holiness assured him that the Turk began to hearken to that league, which the Queen of England and the other Protestant Princes proposed to him; and that he had sent them word, that as for the year fifteen hundred eighty seven, he could not possibly arm himself to undertake any great expedition whatsoever; but that if the same Princes did continue of the same mind, he did promise them, that, against the year eighty-eight, he would gather together the greatest armies, both by sea and land, that had ever been seen: so that seeing the danger that Christendom was like to run, His Holiness desired that the Catholic Princes would prepare betimes, to the end that they might not be taken unprovided; and that one of the principal means would be to gain the Queen of England, and convert her to be a Catholic, which he desired his Majesty would endeavour to do.

It is very probable that the Pope used those discourses of the correspondence between the Queen and the Turk (since it was not probable that he could believe or imagine any such thing) with a prospect toward the Spanish engagement for the year eighty-eight, with which he was well acquainted; and both to give some colour to those preparations, as if they were made only to resist and repel the Turks, and to induce all Catholic Princes to have arms ready against that conjuncture of time. Nor can it be presumed, because of the continual differences and animosities which were between the Pope and Philip the Second, that he was not entrusted with that affair; for though their great pride irre-

CHAP.
VIII.

conciled their persons to each other, yet their passions and rage were equal against the Protestants, and against the person of that Queen ; and there is abundant evidence that Sixtus was entirely trusted with that design, and was depended upon to prepare the Catholics of England to make the best use they could of that occasion and opportunity. It was a common saying of that Pope in his ordinary discourses, and the same Cardinal told the King that he said the same thing to him, that one ought to treat a Turk, who came to render himself Catholic, quite otherwise than a Heretic : that as for a person born an Infidel, he would go to meet him to embrace his good will ; but a perjured Christian he would stand still and expect his coming, and treat him (in order to his conversion) as the Church doth direct. After all this extravagancy, he did not dissemble the having a secret inward reverence for Queen Elizabeth ; and would often say, that there were but three Princes in Europe who knew how to govern, Elizabeth, Harry the Fourth, and Sixtus.

When I consider and weigh all his actions and behaviour, during his short reign, he seems to me really to have believed (which I think few others have done) that he was deputed by God Almighty as the universal monarch to govern and reform the whole world ; and that Kings were as much his subjects as any other class of men : and if Kings well examined and considered the acts of his and his predecessor Gregory's pontificate, they would be convinced how impossible it is that God hath assigned such a power and authority to the Bishops of Rome, and how impossible it is for them to live in any security, to have their subjects obedient to them,
and

and the laws observed, whilst they are suffered to imagine that the Popes have any such jurisdiction committed to them by God. CHAP.
VIII.

The three successors of Sixtus stayed not long enough upon the stage to afford us much matter for enlargement. Urban the Seventh, who was his immediate successor, reigned but thirteen days, and left little more memorable behind him, than his message to his kindred, that they should forbear to come to Rome, and should neither accept titles or preferment from him. How true he would have continued to that resolution may be doubted, by the inconstancy of some of his successors after as solemn a profession. As short as his reign was, he manifested so much prejudice and displeasure against the League, that the French writers would have it believed that both Sixtus and he were hastened away by the direction of Spain; though either of them, being above seventy years of age, seemed not to stand in need of any other poison for a vehicle than the number of their years. Urban VII.

Gregory the Fourteenth, who followed Urban, and was a Milanese, though he reigned but ten months, quickly made it appear whose subject he was; and wholly betook himself to the advancement of the interest of his own King; and presently issued out two monitories, the one addressed to the Prelates and Clergy of France, the other to the Nobility Magistrates and People: by the first, he excommunicated all those who did not retire from the obedience possessions or train of Henry of Bourbon within fifteen days, and at the expiration of those fifteen days they were to stand deprived of all their benefices; by the second, he exhorted them to do the same, if they Gregory
XIV. ex-
communi-
cates Hen-
ry IV.

CHAP. VIII. would not turn the good will of a father into the severity of a judge; and in both of them he declared Henry of Bourbon excommunicated, and deprived of all his kingdoms and dominions. The Duke of Maine understood his own condition too well to be pleased with these transactions, and did all he could to prevent the publishing them in the places and towns which held for the League, and which Landriane (the person employed by the Pope) caused speedily to be done: and France as quickly appeared less Catholic than it was thought to be at Rome.

Henry IV. assembles the Parliament, which condemns the Pope's Bulls.

The King had forbidden the Parliament to meet any more at Paris, and ordered them to assemble at Tours; and so many of them as were not united to the League, or had not his secret licence to remain there for his service, yielded obedience to his commands, and came to Tours; where they again divided themselves by his Majesty's orders; and part of them remained there, and the rest resided at Châlons. The Chamber at Châlons declared those Bulls of the Pope to be null scandalous and seditious, full of imposture, and contrary to the decrees and canons of the Councils and to the rights of the Gallican church; and ordained that they should be torn and burnt by the hand of the hangman; that Landriane should be apprehended, and ten thousand livres recompence should be given to him who should deliver him into the hands of justice; forbidding all the King's subjects to lodge or harbour him; and that nobody should go to Rome, or send money thither for any provisions or expeditions whatsoever; and ordered, that the Procureur Général should enter an appeal to the next Council lawfully called. The Chamber at Tours shewed yet more courage than that

that at Châlons, and declared Gregory to be an enemy to the peace and union of the Church; that he was an enemy to the King and to the State; that he adhered to the conjuration of Spain; that he was a favourer of rebels, and guilty of the parricide of Henry the Third. And that the Pope might see how far the King was from being thunderstruck, he reversed at the same time all those edicts which had been given against the Huguenots, and the judgments which had passed thereupon, and revived all the former edicts of pacification. It is true, that they who remained in the Parliament at Paris adhered still to the League, and pronounced those other Arrêts to be void and of no effect, being made by men who had no power, and who were schismatics and heretics, enemies to God and the church; and ordained that their Arrêts should be torn in pieces whilst the court sate; and that the several pieces should be burned upon the marble table by the executioner of justice.

The Clergy likewise assembled at Mantes, according to the King's order, and declared the Bulls to be void, unjust, and to be granted by the suggestions of the enemies to the state; but declared withal, that they would not depart from their obedience to the Holy Chair: and they then considered what order to establish for the provisions for benefices, since it was not lawful to repair to Rome. The Archbishop of Bourges made an overture, that a Patriarch might be created of France, but he was thought to have some design for himself, since, after the Archbishop of Lyons, (who was of the League,) his pretence was fairest. Others proposed, that the King should call a National Council; and the King was well pleased

The Clergy
assembled
at Mantes
also con-
demn the
Pope's
Bulls.

CHAP.
VIII.

Death of
Gregory
XIV. and
election of
Innocent
IX.

that these and other expedients should be proposed to terrify the Pope, but without any inclination to make use of either. But, during those high contests, this fiery Pope left the world, and he who succeeded him, Innocent the Ninth, lived only two months, without yielding us any matter of observation to our purpose.

The Papal
jurisdiction
not looked
upon by
the Galli-
can Church
as a funda-
mental part
of Catholic
religion.

Indeed we come next to a man and to a time that yield us argument enough of the illimited pretences and desires of the Pope, (who never could have more advantages to second them and carry them on,) and of the steadiness and contradiction of the whole Gallican Church against his authority : and I shall be the longer in the disquisition of the occurrences, because I think they yield abundant evidence that the Papal jurisdiction was not then looked upon by the Catholic Bishops and Clergy of France, as a Catholic verity, or a fundamental part of Catholic religion.

Violent
proceed-
ings in con-
clave upon
the death
of Innocent
IX.

Upon the death of Innocent the Ninth, after so short a reign, it was generally believed that the conclave would have been very short; since so many Cardinals were gone out of Rome, and it was enough known, by the late transactions in the election of the last Pope, to what party they who remained were severally inclined ; and none of the public ministers could have received instructions from their masters for the exclusion of any. At this time the Spanish faction thought themselves so much superior in number, that they declared that they were sure of as many voices as were requisite upon the scrutiny, and that there were not enough left to make an exclusion ; and so they were not reserved in publishing, before they entered into the conclave, that the Cardinal of Santa Severina should quickly come out Pope ;

of

of which they thought themselves so sure, that they intended to have gone to adoration within two hours after they entered the conclave. But they found themselves deceived; and that, even of those who had promised their votes, many withdrew out of envy to those who were thought the principal negociators, to whom all the obligations would be acknowledged, whilst they should be thought to have contributed little thereunto. The leaders however pursued their purpose so resolutely, that, after many days, Santa Severina was so much believed to be elected, that himself declared that he would assume the name of Clement, and his cell was, according to custom, pulled down and plundered. But the opposite party made so great a clamour, crying that the votes were mistaken, and that they would have them numbered again, and the confusion was so great, and even the violence, that the Cardinals laid hands on each other; and many declared, that they would protest against the election for want of freedom; inso-much as the gravest and the best reputed Cardinals, (even of those who desired Santa Severina to be Pope,) for the scandal, desired to put an end to the present disorders, and to defer the prosecution of the great affair till the next day. And so the poor Cardinal, whose person was generally thought worthy of the promotion, returned to the place where his cell had stood, without finding the least thing there for his accommodation; and from that time (though the party still opiniated his election for very many days, even till many of their friends were carried sick out of the conclave, and some of them died) they found their votes still decreased; notwithstanding all the promises and all the menaces they could make.

Where-

CHAP. VIII. Whereupon the Spaniards, finding they could not make him whom they desired most, yet that they could make one of their own faction, resolved that the Cardinal Aldobrandini, who was well known to their King, would be acceptable to him; and so unexpectedly they proposed him; and within half an hour there was so universal a concurrence, that he was elected, himself only resisting and refusing. The Spanish Pontifical says, that he did positively refuse to accept it, till the Cardinal of Santa Severina first released his right or pretence, and then he took the name of Clement the Eighth.

Clement
VIII. Aldo-
brandini.

Clement entered into the pontificate like a man chosen by Spain, and made his affection to the League quickly to appear, by renewing his instructions to the Legate to prosecute to the utmost their interest, and to do all he could in prejudice to the King, who was sorry for the death of Innocent, and resolved to endeavour to do all he could to divert Clement from giving himself wholly up to the interests of Spain.

Embassy
from Hen-
ry IV. to
the Pope
to declare
his conver-
sion to the
Roman re-
ligion.

As soon therefore as he heard of his election, and had likewise himself resolved to become Catholic, which he found to be necessary to his condition, he sent the Duke of Nevers (who had formerly known the Pope, and been much esteemed by him) to Rome, to assure His Holiness of the sincerity of his conversion to the Roman religion. But when the Pope knew that the Duke was in his journey, he sent Possevini the Jesuit, a man of great activity in those times and in those affairs, to meet him, and to let him know, that as a private person he should be very welcome to Rome; but as ambassador from the King of Navarre (for so he called him) he could not receive him, as not believing him

him to be a true Catholic. Notwithstanding any thing the Jesuit said, the Duke continued on his journey; and, being come to Rome, at his very first audience spake very passionately for the King his master, and as briskly against the League; and the Pope, being very much warmed at the confidence of his discourse, answered him thus: “Do not you tell me that your King is a Catholic; I will never believe that he is truly converted, unless an angel from heaven come to tell it me in my ear. As to what concerns those Catholics who follow his party, I do not look upon them as disobedient, or as deserters of their religion; but yet they are bastards, and sons of the servant: on the other side, they of the League are the true and legitimate children, and the props and faithful pillars of the Catholic Religion.” Of the truth of this conference we have the evidence of the Duke of Nevers himself^a. And when the Pope himself made a relation in the Consistory of what had passed between him and the Duke of Nevers, and that he had absolutely denied to give the King an absolution, or to acknowledge him for a Catholic, the first reason he assigned was, “*ratione impenitentiae*,” which, he said, was so manifest, that from the time that he had been declared “*inhabilis ad regni successionem à sanctâ sede*,” he was so far from relinquishing what he had possessed, that he continued making war against the Catholics, and had recovered by arms and usurped a great part of the kingdom of France, “*contrâ sedis Apostolicæ sententiam*,” and endeavoured to recover the rest; and therefore it abundantly appeared, “*quàm longè*

CHAP.
VIII.

^a In the second tome of his Memoirs, p. 414.

CHAP. VIII. "*infelix iste distet à veræ pœnitentiæ signis,*" upon this, and other as weighty reasons, "*absit à nobis ut in causâ Dei vacillemus,*" he will never consent to so irrational a request, or do any thing so unworthy the Holy Chair, nor give posterity cause to complain, that such a mischief hath been introduced by any Pope; "*quin potius parati sumus excoriari, lace-rari, ac martyrium subire.*" But how constant His Holiness remained, and how long he persisted in those haughty resolutions, must appear hereafter.

Henry IV.
declares
himself a
Catholic
in France.

Henry the Fourth satisfied himself with the light approach he had made, and cared not so much to appear a Catholic at Rome as in France, and resolved to do his business as much, and as well, by being reputed a good Frenchman as a good Catholic, which he declared his resolution to be to his own Bishops, and that he was willing to go to Mass. He complained of the stubbornness and incredulity of the Pope, who, notwithstanding his application and tender of his obedience, had obstinately denied to grant him absolution; which he imputed to his subjection and dependance upon the King of Spain, who, they all knew, fomented this bloody and destroying war only that he might obtain the sovereignty of France for his own daughter, against the fundamental laws of the kingdom: and he therefore desired them well to consider, since he was ready to do whatsoever was believed to be necessary for the good of France, whether it was in the Pope's power to deny peace to that miserable kingdom, and to keep it always under the exercise and mortification of fire and sword. Whilst he committed this province to the Bishops, he prosecuted the war with the utmost vigour; he fought and beat his enemies, obtained every day signal victories,

tories, recovered towns, and the Catholics of the greatest quality and interest made their peace with him, and returned to their obedience; and at last Paris itself opened its gates to him, and received him with public joy.

CHAP.
 VIII.

All these were powerful arguments with Clement; but notwithstanding all this, he would not desert the League; who, notwithstanding they were compelled to leave Paris, adhered still to the Pope, and had armies enough on foot, and places enough at their devotion, to give the King much trouble, until he could procure absolution, which the Pope resolved not to give, and had so much reserved to himself, that no other persons or Prelates had a faculty to absolve him. The truth is, the Pope, who was a wise man, was in great strait, and discerned that he lost all that ground which the King got, and thought himself obliged not only to maintain his own dignity, in making good all his professions and declarations, and to defend his own jurisdiction and authority entire from any invasion or neglect, but likewise to express his gratitude to the King of Spain, in adhering to his interest, and procuring all the prejudice he could to his enemies; and his ministers in Rome more importunately, because more publicly and warrantably, laboured against the Pope's granting the absolution, than any body durst solicit for it in Rome. The Spaniard, amongst their other threats and bravadoes, spoke aloud of a protestation that they had prepared to publish against the Pope, in case he should proceed to absolve the King; which was very well known to his Catholic Majesty, and that that King was too potent an enemy, and able to do too much mischief, to be provoked when he could handsomely avoid it;

and

The Pope
 refuses to
 grant him
 absolution.

CHAP. VIII. and therefore he was more intent in persuading him that he would never be prevailed upon to do it, than solicitous to give France any satisfaction in the hope of it; presuming (it is probable) that any necessity that might arrive to make him change his resolution would appear likewise with such evidence, as would carry an excuse with it for the doing it.

Henry IV. crowned and received into the church by the Bishops of France.

Whilst these perplexities and irresolutions were at Rome, there appeared in France great consent and unity amongst the Bishops of France; and they talked and inveighed little less against the usurpation and tyranny of the Pope, than against the rebellion and treason of the League. The King was crowned at Chartres, by the Bishop of that city, with the same ceremony, and it is believed with the same oil, that he should have been at Rheims. Eighteen Bishops had presumed to reconcile the King to the Church, and to pronounce him to be a good Catholic, which no man had the courage to contradict who was within the reach of justice: and all this triumph was at the charge of the Pope, whose authority was contemned in the public discourses of the Bishops, of which there be instances enough given in another place, and to another purpose.

The Pope better disposed towards Henry IV.

It was now time for Clement to look about him, in his own judgment. The Duke of Maine he knew still held out, and refused to submit to the King; but he knew as well that he despaired of any success against him, and insisted only on the punctilio of an oath that he had taken to himself, that he would never submit to the King, till he had first procured an absolution from his Holiness, which he did not think that any other power could have presumed to have given. How long this scruple was like to remain

main

main with him, in the midst of so many inconveniences, he was too good a casuist to be confident of; and therefore resolved to follow that maxim which he had learned in conclaves, and which is the highest mystery in those politics, that is, to give freely that which he can neither sell nor keep. And so, after he had, with great passion and indignation, pronounced that the absolution given to the King in France was void and invalid, and had threatened to proceed judicially against the Bishops, who had assumed a power for which they were not competent, and for which he would deprive them, and had appointed that they should be all summoned to appear at Rome, (which well satisfied the Spaniards that he was firm in his resolution, and that this proceeding would make the wound the wider,) he let fall some words in the hearing of those who he knew would lose no time in transmitting them; that he would be content to hear any thing that the King or the Bishops could allege in justification or excuse of that absolution, which he was sure should never be confirmed; and therefore the King had made himself in a worse condition than he was before.

Though the King was well satisfied in his own conscience of the validity of his absolution, and as resolved never to decline it, but to justify the authority and jurisdiction of his own Bishops, yet he was very glad to lay hold on this inclination of the Pope, and to cultivate it by all the ways he could; which was wondered at and imputed to him by many in that time, that when he had upon the matter done his business by his own Bishops, and in it vindicated the privileges and immunities of the Gallican Church, (which would be an eternal obligation upon that

Reasons inducing Henry IV. to desire absolution from the Pope.

Clergy

CHAP.
VIII.

Clergy to adhere to him,) he would then stoop to any such condescension, as to send to the Pope, who had rejected and treated him with so many indignities. But that great King understood his own business better than any of the standers-by, and resolved to part with no advantage he had got, but to get as many more as he could. He had underhand treaties with the Duke of Maine, and understood well the stubbornness of his resolution, and that he had a great party still amongst those who were discontented, and which was very numerous in the kingdom. He was glad that the number of the Bishops was so considerable that adhered to him, and which every day increased, either by the taking of the cities of their residence, or by their voluntary coming and concurring with their brethren; yet he knew there were many Bishops who were of another opinion, and who would not enter into any contest against the Pope's authority; and he discerned the sottishness of that time to be such, through the long continuance of the civil war, and the jealousy and animosity against the Huguenots, that less than an absolution by the Pope himself would not restore a general peace to France, the unity of which was absolutely necessary to his affairs. It was necessary towards the preservation of his own power and authority over his old friends the Huguenots, who were loudly offended and provoked by his conversion; and many of the principal of them did not think they were sufficiently rewarded, nor like to be, for the great service they had performed for him; and so were too well disposed to engage themselves in any new troubles and enterprise: and it was more necessary, in order to the expulsion of the Spaniard, and all his pretences,

pretences, out of France, and to the prosecution of the war against him in Flanders, and in all other parts of his dominions, upon which his heart was as much set as upon the procuring peace in his own kingdom; and the more upon the latter, that he might take full vengeance in the former, to which he had as great and as many provocations, as it is possible for one King to receive from another; and this great work could neither be entered upon, nor prosperously carried on, without a full confirmed and avowed peace and correspondence with Rome, which he could not reasonably expect; without its being ushered in by his receiving absolution from thence.

There was yet another reason that was more important, and, it may be, more prevalent with that great Prince at that time, than either of the other. The King had a thorn in his side, that could not be taken out but by the surgery of Rome, without making a wound as deep and dangerous as that which was to be cured. The history of Queen Margaret his wife, and the many sallies she made in her life, are too well known not to be taken notice of, or to be too much enlarged upon. And how to remove that incommodity, without which he saw, by his want of issue, he should probably leave France in as bad a condition as he found it, he could find but one way, at least one that he was willing to take; namely, the power and jurisdiction of the Pope. The doctrine of dispensations in common and ordinary marriages, upon the least relation in blood alliance or other pretence of consanguinity, had been so long acknowledged to be of the Pope's spiritual authority, that it was even become incorporated into the municipal and fundamental laws of France; and though it had

CHAP. been in some former ages declined and contested,
 VIII. — those contradictions had been attended with inconveniences and mischiefs, which were not prudently to be invited.

Further
 reasons.

Yet the King stood in need of more than such a dispensation: there was no new marriage to be made, but an old one to be dissolved and made void from the beginning, and upon the allegations and suggestions of what was not the true ground and reason of it; all which could never be brought to pass, but by such a plenitude of power as could never come to be disputed, and which would suffer itself to be no less conducted in the way than to the end. Notwithstanding all these invitations, which were strong enough to have induced any other man to a compliance with a power of which he stood so much in need, this great and wise King would not depart from his own dignity, nor give up any of his own or his kingdom's rights; and therefore, though he was well content to send the Bishop of Evereux (who was afterwards Cardinal Perron) to treat with the Pope, he limited him by very strict instructions, that he and Cardinal D'Ossat (who had been long entrusted by the King, and understood the court of Rome very well) should carry themselves in that affair with such wariness and circumspection, that, in asking the Pope's absolution, they should not discountenance or prejudice that other which his Majesty had already received from the Prelates of his own kingdom, to the end that, if His Holiness should refuse him his, (which his Majesty hoped he would not do,) his reception and incorporation into the Church, obtained and approved by the Bishops of France, might not be called into doubt, nor disputed.

And

And in order to this the King gave them two procurations; the one, to demand the Pope's absolution purely and simply; the other, to ask the strengthening the things which were past, insomuch as should be needful to add thereunto the absolution of His Holiness, for the greater assurance and satisfaction of his mind: but withal, that they were not to make use of, or to shew the first procuration, if they did not find that His Holiness was fully resolved to satisfy his Majesty.

How this transaction was carried, and the King's success therein, as to the manner, as well as to the matter, is so notorious, even to the creation of his two great ministers Cardinals by the Pope in the conclusion of the treaty, that it is to no purpose to enlarge upon it. From that time we may justly say, that Clement was as much French to the end of his reign, as he had been Spanish in the beginning; and as he had the skill to pacify Spain with the promise, that by having obliged France in that manner he should be able to make a peace between the two crowns; (than which Philip desired nothing more, and Henry nothing less;) so in all that concerned France, he suffered himself to be guided by the genius of that great King; and in matters which were in their nature of the most ecclesiastical cognizance, he willingly departed from the known common rules, and complied with the method proposed by the King, and never denied any thing that was positively insisted on by him. So he consented to the annulment and invalidating the King's marriage, with all the circumstances and formalities which were required, and which had never been used; and when he seemed to be averse to any thing that was desired;

Reconciliation of the Pope and Henry IV.

CHAP. he was told, that before the late disorders, and before
 VIII. the heresies which were now started, the court of Parliament and the great Council had determined many things otherwise than were held at Rome; and that the French Church had always had some pretensions above that which the Sacred Chair would hear or acknowledge, and that the Sorbonne at Paris had always defended several opinions, and held several maxims very disadvantageous to the Pope: which argumentations were always hearkened unto; the Pope being wisely resolved to have no more controversies with France, whilst so learned a Doctor sate in the chair.

Henry IV.
 refuses to
 publish the
 Council of
 Trent in
 France.

Nor did these condescensions in him ever prevail with the King to comply with any thing he desired, if it did in the least degree shock with the policy of the kingdom. So when the Pope with all imaginable importunity pressed the King for the publication of the Council of Trent, and said, he was the more earnest in it by reason of the disorders and extreme abuses, which, he understood, increased every day more and more in the French Church, by so many French Priests, who came at present to Rome upon the account of the Jubilee, and who were so defiled and infected with so many debaucheries and irregularities, that he was not only excited to a pity, but to a horror of them in his soul; and though the good Cardinal D'Ossat, in order to prevail with the King in that particular, writ, that though the Pope was not at that time well satisfied with the King, yet if he would but please to hasten the publishing the Council of Trent, he would appease and calm all his anger; (and in truth the expedient proposed by that Cardinal to induce his Majesty to consent to it, in his

his 172d letter, in the year fifteen hundred ninety-nine, is very worthy not to be forgotten; namely, that in the publishing might be added thereunto some certain salvos and cautions, under which any thing whatsoever might be comprehended, as the prerogatives and preeminences of the Crown, the authority of the King, the independencies and liberties of the French Church, the indulgences of the court of Parliament, the edicts of agreement, and whatsoever else you have a mind to except; by which we see what kind of reverence themselves have to the decrees of Councils, which they admit to be general, and how many ways they have to avoid their obligations;) yet all these arguments could not prevail with this King to satisfy the Pope herein, nor did he ever suffer that Council to be received in France.

When the Pope first spoke to the Cardinal D'Os-
sat concerning the peace between the two crowns, (which of all things in the world he desired to bring to pass,) and of the affairs of England; the Cardinal told him, as to what concerned the peace, the doubt which he had of it long before was increased lately; for that the King, who was always an exact observer of his word and promise, would have much ado to disengage himself from that alliance which he had lately renewed and confirmed by an oath. The Pope answered, that oath was made to an heretic, and that the King had made quite another oath to God and to him; and afterwards added, (what he had often before told him, and particularly in the audience before,) that Kings and sovereign Princes gave themselves the liberty to do any thing that might tend to their own advantage; and that it was come now to that height, that nobody imputed it to
Papal doctrine of not keeping faith with heretics, and of breaking oaths.

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VIII.

them for crime, nor thought the worse of them for so doing; and alleged on this occasion a saying of Franciscus Maria, Duke of Urbin, who used to say, that if a Gentleman or Lord not sovereign kept not his word, it would be a great dishonour and reproach to him; but Sovereign Princes, upon interest of state, could without any great blame make and break treaties at their pleasures, make alliances, and, as soon as that is done, quit them, lie, betray, and do any thing else. The honest Cardinal said, he had too much to reply upon this discourse; but he thought it not safe to stop in a place that was so slippery: however, the King might see that the hatred which the Pope bore to heretics did transport him to that degree, that he sometime let slip out of his mouth (though under the name of another) maxims very pernicious, and wholly unworthy of a man of honour or honesty. It would not be reasonable just or charitable to say, that the Church of Rome hath long retained and doth still retain those maxims, which very many learned and pious Catholics do every day disclaim, and by their writings with great vehemence dislike and controul; nor hath any other Catholic in these late years assumed the courage to support them, or to contradict the others for want of zeal to their religion. Yet it is nothing like a calumny to believe and say, that all those principles and maxims, so destructive to human society, and contradictory to all moral honesty, are as much the doctrine of the Court of Rome still, as they were in the time of Clement the Eighth, or of the worst of his predecessors; as is manifest, by the frequent Bulls which have been issued out by several Popes since his time, for the annulling several treaties and the

most

most solemn contracts, and dispensing with and ab-
 solving from all the oaths which have been taken for
 the punctual observation thereof, in the most im-
 portant matters that concern the peace of Christen-
 dom : of which, in the conclusion of this discourse,
 we shall think fit to annex some instances. But,
 God be thanked ! Catholic Princes, and indeed all
 good Catholics, look upon those scriptures as Apo-
 cryphal, and obey them accordingly. And here we
 shall for the present leave Clement the Eighth to his
 rest, and take a short view of his successor.

Clement the Eighth being dead, the Cardinal de
 Medicis was chosen, who assumed the title of Leo
 the Eleventh, and living but twenty-seven days after,
 yields us very little matter for observation. But the
 conclave in which his successor was chosen yields us
 so much and so full evidence of the evangelical pro-
 ceedings in those dark conventions, that being com-
 municated by so unquestionable authors as three
 great Cardinals, who were present in the conclave,
 Joyeuse, Perron, and D'Ossat, we should be very
 much failing to our work in hand, if we did not in-
 sert it, and in describing whereof we will use no
 other words but their own.

CHAP.
 VIII.

Leo XI.
 and the
 conclave
 for the elec-
 tion of a
 successor.

The Cardinal de Joyeuse, in his letter of the 19th
 of May, 1605, to King Henry the Fourth, makes this
 relation of it ; “ The Cardinal Aldobrandini and the
 “ Cardinal Montalto with all their creatures came to
 “ us, desiring us to join with them to make the Car-
 “ dinal Tosco Pope. After we had discoursed a great
 “ while of this business, we had much ado to resolve
 “ upon it ; because that Cardinal was looked upon as
 “ a man who lived a life not too exemplary, very apt
 “ to be choleric and angry, who had always in his
 “ mouth

Narrative of
 the Cardi-
 nal de Joy-
 cuse.

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VIII.

“ mouth unchaste and immodest words, and who was
 “ given to other customs unbecoming, not only the
 “ head of the Church, but any person whatever who
 “ had but the least advantage of an honest education.
 “ In a word, he was a man from whom we could not
 “ expect the least good for the Church ; the election
 “ of whom would go against the conscience of many
 “ pious persons of the college, and might perhaps
 “ gain us nothing but disgrace and reproach from all
 “ the assembly of Cardinals. Nevertheless, the little
 “ hopes we had of having a Pope to our mind, the
 “ fear of falling on one of those who were excluded
 “ by your Majesty, the desire of not displeasing the
 “ Cardinal Aldobrandini, and the opinion that we had
 “ that this man would be inclined to favour the affairs
 “ of your Majesty, made us resolve to assure Aldo-
 “ brandini that we gave our full consent to this elec-
 “ tion.” These are the very words in which that Car-
 dinal made that relation of the conclave to the King,
 and the other two differ not in any material expres-
 sion; and it is very notorious that Cardinal Tosco had
 been chosen Pope, if the learned Baronius (from the
 indignation of his soul, in a most pathetic discourse
 of the horror and odium that would attend such an
 election of a man so scandalous, whom he described
 as much to the life, as the Cardinal Joyeuse had
 done to the King) had not so wrought upon the con-
 science or the shame of very many of the Cardinals,
 when they were in the point of going to adoration,
 that they were diverted from that intention, and would
 have recompensed that Cardinal for their redemption
 with the election of himself for Pope, which he as
 magnanimously refused. And by this means, and
 after all these foul circumstances, the Cardinal Borg-
 hese

these came to be chosen Pope, and assumed the name of Paul the Fifth, and administered much matter to us of observation.

Paul the Fifth, from the time that he assumed the Pontificate, was in his nature as much inclined and resolved to extend the power and jurisdiction of the Papacy, as any of his predecessors ever had been. He had the activity and courage of his age, which did not exceed three and fifty years, and had a spirit as obstinate as his predecessor Sixtus the Fifth. He took counsel only of himself, and was not to be removed from what he once resolved by any suggestions from other men, or from his own reflections; and therefore was so much the more like to succeed from the strength of his own imagination and will, than the other was, by how much he had more friends and persons, who loved him and would be ready to second whatsoever he desired. But he had the misfortune to make a wrong choice and election of the object of his displeasure and emulation. Spain paid all the obedience to the Holy Chair it could expect or desire, as being well paid and recompensed for it, and received every benefit from its condescensions: France was so newly reconciled, and was in the hand of such a Prince as would not be drawn to any thing but what his own wisdom and convenience did invite to, and one whose courtesy was to be cherished and his power to be feared; both which would have established the authority of that Chair, and preserved the full reverence of his neighbours towards him, if he could have been contented to have enjoyed the greatness and power his predecessors were possessed of, though by means not very justifiable. And since his spirit could not acquiesce with that

portion,

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VIII.

portion, he could not satisfy his ambition better than to suffer it to transport him to provoke an adversary, that next to the two crowns was best able to contend with him, and least like to depart from their own rigour, to comply with his pretences or satisfy his humour. So he made choice of an enemy, from whom he could not afterwards disentangle himself, without (besides prostituting the dignity of his own person) exposing the Papacy itself to receive those wounds that it can never recover, and to be stript of all that divine authority which they lay claim to by the donative of St. Peter, by the full testimony and approbation of a sovereign body of Catholics, who, without ever giving countenance to or suffering any heretics to live amongst them, hath ever preserved the practice of the Catholic Religion with equal reputation and integrity with Rome itself. In the stating this difference there can be no partiality, since every particular of it was so notorious, that as it had called all the eyes of Christendom to behold it in a great calm after the peace between the two crowns, so it was published in all languages, and the matter of fact so fully agreed, that it would be inexcusable folly to endeavour to mislead any man by misinformation.

Dispute
with Ve-
nice.

The case then was this. The Republic of Venice had, during the Pontificate of Clement, enacted two laws; the one, to restrain ecclesiastical persons from taking certain lands into their hands, which belonged to their dignities or titles; and the other, that it should not be lawful for any person of what condition soever to erect or build any church monastery or religious house, without a licence first obtained from the Senate, upon very severe penalties, besides the forfeiture

feiture of the ground or land so given or assigned; and to these two there was a third added, (during the vacancy of the Chair, between the death of Clement and the election of Paul,) which made the two former laws, which before reached only to Venice, extend over all their dominions. It was generally believed, that Paul had brought with him some secret displeasure to that Republic in the moment that he was elevated to that Chair, and thought he could not propose an easier task to himself for the manifestation of his power, than the mortifying that Commonwealth, that so much overshadowed her neighbours. And if he had not entertained that prejudice, he could hardly so soon have published it; for, without expecting the ceremony of their ambassador of obedience, (which he was sure would speedily be sent,) he declared to their ambassador residing in Rome, that he would have that last act that had been made during the *sede vacante* to be immediately repealed and vacated. The ambassador gave the Senate notice of his demand, and from them returned this answer to the Pope; that the decree he disliked contained nothing in it that was contrary to the liberty ecclesiastic, but regarded only the secular state, over which the Republic had an absolute power; and that they had done nothing in this but what the Emperors Valentinian and Charlemain, the Kings of France, from St. Lewis to Harry the Third, King Edward the Third of England, the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and many other Christian Princes had done upon the like occasions. The Pope quickly declared that he was not satisfied with the answer; and that he had other matters to complain of, in which he expected speedy satisfaction. The Senate had lately put to death

CHAP. death a Canon for having ravished a girl of eleven
 VIII. years of age, and afterward cut her throat ; and there were at this time two ecclesiastic persons in prison, the one a Canon, the other an Abbot ; the first, for having committed a very enormous crime (that by the law was very penal) against a kinswoman of his, because she would not yield to his infamous desires ; the other was accused of having committed incest with his own sister, several assassinations and poisonings, robbing in the highways, and many other great crimes. Yet the Pope, without farther examination, and against the advice of those Cardinals with whom he thought fit to confer, sent two briefs to his Nuncio at Venice to be forthwith delivered to that Duke. By the one, he was required to set those two prisoners at liberty ; and by the other, to repeal those laws under pain of excommunication and interdict. But when those briefs came to Venice, the present Duke was very sick, and died within few days, so that the Nuncio could not deliver them till there was another Duke chosen : which was no sooner done, than the Senate returned the same answer they had formerly done ; that the Holy Chair had sustained no disrespect in what had been done, nor was concerned therein, their proceedings having been the effect of their sovereignty upon the temporal estate ; and at the same time they made choice of an extraordinary ambassador to satisfy the Pope in the grounds of their proceedings.

Conduct
 of France
 and Spain.

As soon as those growing differences could be taken notice of, the French ambassador, by the command of that King, performed all the offices he could towards softening the hot temper of the Pope, who spoke very loudly and scornfully of the Republic,
 and

and to persuade him not to precipitate his resolutions, which might produce mischiefs that would not be so easily remedied as prevented. On the contrary, the Spanish ambassador, who drew more of the Cardinals to a concurrence with him, did all he could to inflame the Pope; as in a business wherein Religion and the dignity of the Holy Chair was concerned, and which would be prostrated and exposed to contempt, if that proud Senate was not humbled upon this occasion. The Spanish ambassador had in his own particular received some disobligations from the Senate, and was glad of this opportunity to revenge himself, and thought it would not be unacceptable to the King his master, who was enough incensed against that Republic for some encroachments they had made upon his state of Milan, or had hindered him from encroaching upon their limits, (which was an equal offence;) and he could never have such a seasonable conjuncture to reform them, as now when he had nothing to do against France.

When the extraordinary ambassador from Venice arrived at Rome, he found that he had not made haste enough; for, notwithstanding all the reasons he could offer to satisfy the Pope, or to convince the Cardinals, he found within very few days after his being there, that there was a Bull published and fixed upon all the most notorious places in Rome, declaring that the Duke and Senate, by the attempts they had made against the authority of the Holy Chair, the rights of the Church and the privilege of ecclesiastical persons, had incurred the censures contained in the holy Canons, in the Councils and in the Constitutions of Popes; and therefore it ordained, that they should put the prisoners into the hands of his

Nuncio;

CHAP. Nuncio ; and declare their decrees to be null and
 VIII. void, and raze out of their records the memory of
 them : and all this to be done within four and
 twenty days ; and in failing therein, they were all
 declared to be excommunicated ; and after the ex-
 piration of the four and twenty days of the excom-
 munication, for the hardness of their hearts, the city
 and all the dominions thereof shall lie under the in-
 terdict. Hereupon the extraordinary and ordinary
 ambassadors retired from Rome without taking their
 leave of the Pope, and returned to their own country.

Resisted
 by the
 Republic.

The courage of the Senate was not at all abated
 by this rough proceeding at Rome, but made so good
 use of the time assigned for their obedience, and
 made so wholesome orders for the exacting obedience
 from their own subjects, that when the time came
 for the interdict to begin, the doors of all churches
 were as open, and the altars as well supplied, and all
 ecclesiastical functions performed in the same man-
 ner they were accustomed to be. The Senate had
 made a decree, that whosoever presumed not to com-
 ply with the obligation of their ordinary function,
 should immediately be apprehended by the chief
 magistrate of the place, and without farther process
 be hanged ; and there is no record of any one who
 suffered in the cause. There is only a pleasant men-
 tion of two, the one a Canon (as I remember) of Ve-
 nice, the other a Curate at Padua. The former,
 being told by the Podesta what decree the Senate
 had made, and being asked what he would do in the
 case, he answered, that he would do as his conscience
 should direct him : to which the Podesta replied,
 that he, the Canon, should do well ; and that for his
 part, he, the Podesta, would likewise do that which
 the

the conscience of the State had directed him to do, which was immediately to hang him if he refused it; which put the poor Canon into such a terrible fright and trembling, that he did not recover his voice and the other faculties of life in many days. The Curate of Padua had a more present understanding; and when the Podesta told him what judgment the Senate had passed, and asked him what he resolved to do, he without much pausing said, that for his part he had rather be excommunicated thirty years than be hanged a quarter of an hour; for he had always observed, that these differences between Princes were in short time usually ended, and then commonly all things were left in the same state in which they had been before: but he never heard that they who were hanged got any thing; and therefore he was resolved that he would say Mass.

The Senate observed, that all the religious orders of old institutions carried themselves with obedience and submission to the State; but those of the new foundation were refractory; as the Capuchins and the Jesuits; and that whilst the Senate took pains to satisfy the understandings of men of the justice of their cause, as well as to provide coercive laws to exact their obedience, the Jesuits were as solicitous and as active to seduce their subjects, and to incense them against the government. And therefore they presently expelled and banished both orders out of their dominions, and executed it with that wonderful expedition, that within very few days there was not one Capuchin or Jesuit to be found in any of the dominions belonging to the Republic. Yet in this their severity, they expressed much more displeasure against the latter, as a people of a more desperate

CHAP. VIII. perate malice, and better qualified to do mischief. And as they made it present death for any Jesuit to be found in any of their dominions upon what pretence soever, though it was as travelling to any other place; so they made it very penal for any Senator whatsoever, or the Duke himself, so much as to propose in the time to come the restoration of that pernicious society.

Answer to the Pope's Bull, and reply by Baronius and Bellarminus.

Having thus provided for their peace and concord amongst themselves, they proceeded in making such other preparations as they thought necessary for their reputation, or their security. They first published an answer and declaration against the Pope's Monitory and Bull, and complained against the injustice and incompetency of it, stated their case truly, and shewed that their whole proceeding had been always done by their predecessors, and that they owed no account to the Pope for the same, and that he had no authority to require it: and this they printed in the name and by the authority of the Senate, and sent it to all the Christian Princes their allies, with expressions sharp enough against the Pope and his no jurisdiction. The Pope inflicted a new censure upon this new presumption; and caused his two great Cardinals, Baronius and Bellarminus, to write two conscientious discourses to prove that the Pope had done nothing that he had not only lawful authority to do, but what he was obliged by his pastoral charge to perform; and to persuade the Senate that they were obliged in conscience to submit to his determination, and to give obedience to him in the particulars he required. The names of those learned Cardinals found little submission, but very much contradiction. Some of the Senators themselves, men of great learning, took upon

upon them to answer them ; and what they writ was published by order of the Senate. Antonio Quirino, a Senator of excellent parts, writ a book, which he called, " Advice to the Subjects of Venice ;" and shewed the nullity of the Pope's censures, which were therefore void, because they were inflicted where there was no crime ; and with extraordinary eloquence endeavoured to convince other Christian Princes, that their own interest obliged them to support the authority of the Senate against the usurpations of Churchmen ; and that the cause of the Senate was common with their own. And now that this war of the pen was entered into, every man took the liberty, divines and lawyers, all Catholics, to write their judgments upon the point in controversy ; in which they examined the foundations of the pretences on either side ; so that the Pope's authority received deeper wounds than could ever since be closed up.

That which troubled the Pope most was, the obedience that all the Bishops and Clergy of the Republic paid to the decrees of the Senate, notwithstanding the excommunication and interdict ; for the Senate had required them not only to perform all their public offices, but to satisfy and inform all who came to them in confession that they were obliged in conscience to prefer their obedience to the State before that to the Pope ; and there wanted only three votes to condemn a Jesuit to the gallows, for having advised his penitent in confession that he ought in conscience to submit to the interdict. And the famous Fra Paolo, and Fulgentio, with other religious men, had in their writings and in their sermons so much exposed the dignity and authority of the Pope

CHAP.
VIII.

The Pope
levies war
against
Venice.

CHAP. to the contempt of the common people, that nobody
VII. spoke of him but in mirth and derision. All which being quickly known in Rome, inflamed the college of Cardinals as much as the Pope; insomuch as many, who had been against the precipitation of those ecclesiastical censures, and thought the subject required more deliberation, were now so transported, that they advised the Pope, that not his personal reputation, but the duty of Religion, obliged him to vindicate the Holy Chair from the reproach it underwent, and to chastise with his temporal sword those rebellious children, who had so notoriously despised his spiritual. The Pope liked the counsel, and made his brother General of his forces both by sea and land, who prosecuted the levies of men with great diligence and much expence. It was a principal argument in the Consistory for taking this resolution, that the Republic would never have the courage to enter into a war with His Holiness, knowing well enough how odious they were to all the Princes of Italy, towards whom they were very ill neighbours; and therefore they should no sooner hear of forces raised against them by His Holiness, but they would be terrified, and immediately submit to all his ordinances. The contrary appeared quickly to him; and that the Republic had not deferred making preparations to resist him till he began to arm; but had, besides those of their own subjects, which they had drawn together to prevent any insurrections, agreed for a levy of eight thousand foot, and some horse; and that they had sent for the Count of Vaudemont, who had long a pension from them, under an engagement to serve them as their general when they should have occasion; and they had now sent for him into

Lor-

Lorrain, where he lived with the Duke his father. CHAP. VIII.
 These advertisements, with the expence he had already been at upon the small levies he had made, and the computation from thence what the charge of the war would amount unto in a short time, made him wish that the work was to begin again, and to reflect upon many things which he had not thought of before.

It is true, that, (as hath been said,) upon the first hasty discovery of his displeasure against the Republic, and the sturdy answer given to his demand by their ambassador Nani, (namely, that they governed their subjects by their own laws, and that if they should repeal any of those because the Pope was displeas'd with them, they had nothing to do but to send their book of statutes to him, that he might appoint which of them should be executed,) the Spanish ambassador used many arguments to incense His Holiness against them, and to extort obedience to his decrees by force, in which he was confident that he might depend upon his Master for his utmost assistance. But it was as true, that, from that time, (and though he had sent an express into Spain, to complain of the affront and contumacy which the State of Venice had shewed towards him, in vindication whereof he desired both counsel and assistance from the Catholic King,) full three months were passed without his having received any answer; nor could his Nuncio in Spain give him any account what that Court inclined to do. The King of France had indeed, upon the first appearance of the difference, sent an ambassador to Rome with great expressions of respect to the Sacred Chair, and to lament the appearance of any discord like to fall out between His Holiness and his dear ally the State of Venice;

CHAP. Venice ; for composing whereof his Majesty offered
 VIII.

his interposition and mediation, and he had already sent an ambassador thither, in order to dispose that Senate to what was fit, all which amounted but to a mediation, without any proffer of help and assistance if they should be refractory to what should by him be thought fit. Whereupon the Pope accepted the mediation, and permitted that the French ambassador in Venice should propose any thing he conceived reasonable towards the entering into a treaty ; intimating likewise by the ambassador who was at Rome, that he believed, if an ambassador were sent from Venice to desire it, His Holiness might be prevailed with to take off the ecclesiastical censures, and to grant his absolution in order to a treaty upon the whole matter : to this however Monsieur de Fresne, the French ambassador in Venice, gave for answer to Monsieur Alincourt, who resided in Rome, that the Senate thought they had no need of an absolution, nor required, nor would accept of any ; but if the Pope would first take off all his spiritual censures, they would then be ready to enter into a treaty with him.

Mediation
 of Spain.

This was the highest indignity they had yet treated him with ; to despise his absolution, and to propose the taking off the excommunication and interdict, without any sign of repentance, or so much as an acknowledgment of a crime. But it happened at the same time, that an express arrived from Spain with letters under the hand of that King to His Holiness, in which he gave him many thanks for his having communicated to him the dispute he had with the Republic, whereupon he had sent the Condé de Castro his extraordinary ambassador thither, to give
 the

the Senate good counsel, and to put them in mind of their duty to the Sacred Chair; which if it had that effect upon them as it ought to have, he would become a suitor on their behalf to His Holiness, that he would accept their submission, and restore them to his favour; but if they should continue obstinate, and adhere to the resolution they had taken, he assured the Pope that he would send all the armies he had to assist him, and likewise lead them in his own person, before Religion and the Church (which he and his predecessors had always defended) should submit to any affront. This came very seasonably to raise his drooping spirits; and he took care that it might not be concealed, but published it by all the ways he could, sent copies of it to all the Princes of Italy, and resumed his former courage for the prosecution of the war, and issued out all orders accordingly; in which he found such a universal concurrence, that all the Cardinals and city of Rome made voluntary subscriptions for the supply of very considerable sums of money towards the war: so that the Pope's General publicly declared, that there was money enough to raise an army of forty thousand foot and six thousand horse, and to maintain it for three years. Nor was the Republic untouched by the King of Spain's so unexpected declaration, but took pains to have it believed that his ambassador spoke quite another language at Venice, and made great protestations that he would faithfully observe the treaty that was between them, if he could not be so happy as to procure a reconciliation by his mediation. Certain it is, that the Spanish ambassador received nothing but great ceremony and acknowledgment of the King's bounty, in undertaking his

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mediation in so perplexed a condition as their commonwealth was then in; for which they rendered him infinite thanks. But when the ambassador pretended that his business was to understand and be a witness of their good disposition to peace, and then to continue his journey to Rome, to induce His Holiness to the same good inclination, and therefore it would be necessary for them to make such propositions on their part, that he might inform the Pope thereof, and give the best arguments he could to make them acceptable; he could draw no other answer from them, but that they had nothing to propose, being resolved to maintain and defend their laws, by which their government and sovereignty did subsist. At last, with great importunity, they informed him what they had offered to the French ambassador, beyond which they could make no advance; and of which, when he had sent information to Rome, there could be no other use made, than the conviction of those, who imagined that they had an enemy to deal with that would by any menaces be wrought upon to comply; which gave the Pope himself great thoughts of heart.

Mediation
of France.

Henry the Fourth of France looked from the beginning of this garboil as a man who resolved to have some part in it, to the composing or to the widening it; and therefore begun early his office of mediation: and, well knowing the Spaniards' intentions to make use of this opportunity to recover some places which belonged (they said) to the dutchy of Milan, and which were possessed by the Venetians as territories of the Republic, he did not intend they should choose their enemy in Italy. This made the Republic gladly embrace the mediation;

tion ; which the Pope durst not reject, who begun to discover that the late gaudy professions from Spain had somewhat hid under them, that which would cost him dearer than the affront he had yet received from the Venetians : and he found that they, the Princes of Italy, upon whom he most depended for their dislike of the greatness and power of the Republic, begun now to talk of the nature and ground of the quarrel ; that the books and discourses which had been written by them, and on their behalf, had made much deeper impression than those which had been printed at Rome ; that to compel a sovereign State to repeal the laws which they had thought fit to make for their own policy and good government, would no less trench upon their own interest, than upon that of Venice ; and then, for the privileges of ecclesiastical persons, which had been a doctrine most preached amongst them, and had met with least contradiction, the monstrousness of the crimes of which they were known to be guilty, produced that horror in all men, that whatever would obstruct the most speedy and the most severe course of justice was believed to be an enemy to it. It was evident enough that the Venetians would not be threatened out of their right, or their humour ; and that they would manage a war longer and better than he could do at his own charge, and by his own forces ; and that his calling in strangers to assist him (especially the Spaniards, who would be more easily called in than carried out) would inevitably irreconcile and incense all Italy against him. The Pope therefore, when those boutades were a little over, which the steady proceeding of the Senate, in their answers to the French ambassador, frequently put him into, still

CHAP. desired that interposition might not be discontinued:
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and his Nuncio at Paris desired the King, that he would prosecute it with a little more warmth and zeal on the behalf of the Sacred Chair, for the preservation of its dignity, and the reverence due to it. For there the King thought himself concerned to appear very tender; and, because the scene for action was like to be more at Rome than at Venice, he thought fit that the Cardinal Joyeuse should go thither; for which no excuse or pretence was to be made, since every Cardinal is thought to go home when he goes to Rome; and he was a person of whom the Pope was known to have a particular esteem. In his journey the Cardinal gave advertisement to the French ambassador at Venice, that, being to pass near the confines of that Republic in his way to Rome, if he found that his presence would not be unacceptable there, he would take their city in his way. He was well known at Venice, and esteemed as a good friend; so that his reception there was in all respects answerable to his quality. It was easy enough, by the introduction of the French ambassador, who was to observe his orders, to open a door to let himself into the treaty; and to make the Senate know, that, without any character, he knew well his master's mind; and that it was known at Rome that he did so. So that the Senate, and the Duke himself, who gave him always the hand, (which he used not to do to other Cardinals,) treated readily with him without reserve. He was well informed of all that had passed in the Court of Rome, and that the Pope was sensible that he had pulled a greater burden upon his shoulders than he was able to bear, and that he was glad to hear of his being there, and expected

pected some good overtures by him. He thought some expedients might be found to compose the two main points upon which the difference had first grown; but the acts which had followed after, (namely, the excommunication and interdict by the Pope, and the circular letter from the Senate to all their officers and clergy, to prevent the ill effect of those Bulls by their want of power and authority,) were not so easy to be reconciled; since the suppressing and recalling them would still leave the omnipotence of the Sacred Chair blemished, if not blasted; except they could be prevailed with to acknowledge some excess on their part, which he found impossible. Yet there was another point more to be despaired of than the other, and without which he thought his going to Rome must be to no purpose, which was, the revocation of the Jesuits; which the Pope could not in honour recede from, and which they would never consent to.

When he knew all that the ambassador could inform him of, and collected as much as he could from the discourses, with which those of the Senate, who had been deputed to confer with him, had entertained him, he told them, that his business was to Rome, but his coming to Venice had been a voluntary act of his own; though he knew it would be grateful to the King his master, as the most probable way, to have carried somewhat with him from thence, as must have made him welcome to the Pope; whereas his judgment had so much deceived him, that by coming out of his way he had disappointed himself of the end of his journey, and must return to Paris without going to Rome; since he could impart nothing to the Pope that would not make the breach wider;

Negociations of Cardinal Joyeuse at Venice.

CHAP. VIII. wider ; and he seemed resolute to give over the negotiation, and to return to France. The Senate, that looked for more from his dexterity and plain dealing at Rome than from any other minister who could be employed thither, was much troubled at his declaration ; and told him, that they had consented to much more upon his demand in the name of the King his master, than they could have been induced to by any other way ; nor would they consent to the same hereafter upon any other interposition : that, upon his desire, they were content to deliver up the two prisoners into the hands of such as his most Christian Majesty should appoint to receive them, and who might dispose of them in such manner as that King thought fit : that for the two laws that were complained of, they were likewise, for his Majesty's sake, content to suspend the execution thereof for some time, and till some other occasion should make it necessary for the Commonwealth to proceed in that way ; provided that both these concessions should in no degree reflect upon their sovereign power, nor imply that they had done any thing which they ought not to have done : and therefore that, before either of these was done, the excommunication and interdict should be repealed, and declared void : and when all should be done and executed that was mutually agreed upon, they would send an ambassador to Rome, to testify to the Pope the affection and respect they had always had for the Sacred Chair ; and that they desired the same favour and kindness from him that they had still received from his predecessors : and beyond this they could not yield to any thing, without dissolving or shaking the principles of their State and Government.

When

When the Cardinal discoursed of the reverence that was due to Religion and the Church, and that it was a thing unheard of, that those censures, once inflicted, should be taken off without repentance or acknowledgment, which was the ground of all absolutions; they answered, that they were not without notable records of their constant affection to Religion and the Church, by such ample testimony of the Popes themselves, that few other sovereign Princes had the like: that they had done nothing that could offend the present Pope, but what was necessary for the preservation of that government; which had at some times exceedingly obliged, if not preserved, the Sacred Chair from violence and rapine; and without which their sovereignty could not subsist: that they could not for that reason acknowledge that they had committed any offence; nor did they desire, nor would receive, any absolution. The Cardinal then put them in mind, that, after a controversy of so unusual a nature, prosecuted to the making a war, at least to the raising of armies, many crimes and offences must have been committed by both sides; and that they, whose zeal had transported them farthest on the behalf of those to whom they thought themselves most obliged, and to the prejudice of the other party, would be in ill case, if they were left liable to all those penalties and censures which the laws of the several governments would inflict upon them; and therefore, in all the like cases, an absolute act of oblivion and indemnity was, and must always be, the necessary foundation and support of any peace that can ensue: which being so known a truth, he desired them to consider, whether it were possible for His Holiness ever to consent to any peace with the Republic, without the Jesuits
being

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being restored to their primitive condition, of which they had been deprived only for steadily adhering to him, without the least charge or imagination of any other crime; and whether they imagined that the most Christian King (who had the greatest devotion to the Chair of St. Peter of any Prince living) could ever interpose or mediate in a matter so ungenerous and derogatory to the honour and dignity of the Vicar of Christ. All which they answered with silence, as a matter they were not qualified to speak in; only some of them said, that it was a transcendent evidence of the respect that the Senate had for his most Christian Majesty, that, upon his desire, they were content to restore the Capuchins, who had much provoked the State; but for the other, no man could, without his own ruin, so much as mention it, and therefore desired to be excused if they said no more upon that affair.

Proceedings
of Cardinal
Joyeuse at
Rome.

When the Cardinal found that there could be no farther concessions made by the Senate, he told them, that though he hoped little from the Pope, (and, it may be, he would not tell him that little they had proposed,) yet since he was so near Rome, he thought it would not become him to return into France without kissing the feet of His Holiness, and therefore he would begin his journey the next day; though he did defer it two or three days, to the end that the post might be there before him: and he caused the French ambassador to make a true relation of all that had passed, to that ambassador of Rome; because he knew the Spanish ambassador there would receive the same information from him at Venice, to whom the Senate had communicated it. But the Cardinal writ a letter himself to the Pope,
in

in which he informed him, that he should bring that with him that would put an end to all disputes. So that, whilst the two ambassadors appeared to all the Cardinals very melancholy, and to despair of peace, the Pope himself was very cheerful, and in good humour, and told those who were most intimate with him that the peace was concluded. When the Cardinal Joyeuse arrived, he alighted at the ambassador's house, and, pretending some indisposition, he excused seeing the Pope that night, who had great impatience to be possessed of the secret. But when he had the next morning, after an audience of above three hours, heard all the Cardinal had to say, he was exceedingly offended, and reproached him for having deceived and abused him. To which the Cardinal made no other answer, than that nobody he could send would be able to do more than he had done. However, he desired the Pope to appear well pleased in public, for he had many things more to acquaint him with; and he had a secret expedient yet, which if His Holiness approved of, would put a fair end to the business, but would by no means at this time let him know what the expedient was: and when he had left the Pope to the Cardinals, who were in the next room, he used all those expressions which might persuade them, that though all was not yet to be published, they might believe it to be concluded: so that though the Pope could not dissemble his dissatisfied looks, yet the report was current through the court and town, that the peace was concluded: and the Spanish ambassador complained how much his master had been contemned, that, having offered more to the Pope than all other Princes had done, his mediation had been rejected

CHAP. no less by the Pope than by the Venetians, who had
VIII. deluded his ambassador with false and vain relations, and granted all that the King of France had required.

The Pope was no better satisfied with the Cardinal's next audience, nor with his expedient. He gave a large relation of the distemper of the Senate, and of the great preparations they had made for war; that they desired not peace, but rather to reduce His Holiness to that lowness, that he might hereafter not be able to make a farther attempt upon their sovereignty; which seemed to him to be no less the desire of the clergy than of the laity; that it was very evident to him, that what His Holiness desired, and which he could only desire beyond what he had obtained, namely, the restoration of the Jesuits, would never be consented to, for that there was so universal a detestation of them, upon the discoveries which had been made of their machinations against the State before, and over and above what had happened in the last occasion, that they would never more be looked upon as subjects to the sovereignty of the Commonwealth; and that upon the whole matter he advised the Pope not longer to insist upon that point: which the Pope heard with great indignation, and angrily asked him, whether this were the expedient that he had so long reserved, and the care he had of his honour and dignity? The Cardinal answered him with some warmth again, that this was not the expedient, and that whilst he had so little care of his own condition, and of the peace of Italy, and put the state and condition of the Jesuits into an equal balance with the other, and with the Catholic religion itself, he would not find a concurrence
from

from many other Princes, nor was he capable of a rational expedient, which he would reserve to a fitter time. CHAP. VIII.

The Pope was as much dissatisfied with the Cardinal as was possible, and took it to heart, that he had at all infused into him any hope of a reasonable composition; and that he could have so little a sense of his honour, as to persuade him to so infamous a condescension. But that which troubled him most, and of which he could see no end, was the opinion that the Cardinal (who was generally esteemed a wise man, and more versed in business than any man of that age, and whom he had always looked upon as his friend) would never have proceeded in this manner, and at last fallen to that dejection of spirit in his advice, if he had not been fully instructed by his master in all the particulars. And that imagination was attended by such a train of other jealous thoughts, that he could find no place in which he could have rest; nor durst he communicate this to any body, nor seem to have less hope of the peace than he had professed to have, for fear of being thought a weak man, and easy to be cozened. The Cardinal continued to use the same dialect still in his conversation, that the peace was in the Pope's own power; and seemed to wish that it might be debated in Consistory, where the sole point would appear to be the comprehension of the Jesuits; which would be too envious a burden for them to bear, in the disappointment of a peace, the delight wherein every body had so digested in their own thoughts. When the Pope had suffered himself for some days to be overwhelmed with the agony of these distracted thoughts, he called again for the Cardinal Joyeuse, Further conferences between the Pope and Cardinal Joyeuse.

CHAP. VII. ease, and lamented that any of his friends should think that he ought to redeem his life at so infamous a price as the relinquishing a body of such true, and faithful, and learned friends, (who had with that courage adhered to him in a matter of conscience,) to be destroyed, and even worried by their implacable enemies; and desired him, that he would propose his expedient to him, if there were any hope that it might redeem him from the trouble he sustained. The Cardinal told him, that, next the pain his Holiness underwent, his was the most uneasy part in this great affair; that the King his master had made choice of him for this employment principally out of the knowledge he had of his entire duty to his Holiness, and his zeal for the dignity and authority of the Sacred Chair; and he was sure that that devotion alone prevailed with him cheerfully to undertake it: that he had too often passed the mountains before to take delight in those journies; and he had never intended to be present in any more conclaves; that he discerned now, to his great discomfort, that his being engaged in this unlucky business had drawn upon him the jealousy of His Holiness, which he had least suspected; and probably the ill success of it might be attended with the same dissatisfaction to the King his master, who (though he might blame his want of address) he believed would never doubt his sincerity, to the corruption whereof there was no temptation in view: he said, he had not represented the state of the whole affair to His Holiness with a worse aspect than in truth belonged to it; it might possibly hereafter appear with a better than it yet appeared to have, and he would not deny that he had some such presage within himself; for when he
consi-

considered that at his late being at Venice he had not any character or authority to oppose to the insolent demands and behaviour of the Senate; but his person being well known there, and the French Ambassador's declaring, that the King had sent him to Rome to dispose the Pope to an accommodation, but especially the hope the Senate had to receive assistance from his most Christian Majesty, had wrought so far upon them, that he must confess that they had shewed him as much respect, and used more freedom towards him, than they could have done if he had been under any qualification; for he did not only confer with those who were deputed to treat with the Ambassador, who they knew was to be wholly governed by him, the Cardinal, but he had liberty to speak with the Duke himself, or with any other Senator, when he had a mind to it: however, the method he had used, during his stay there, was only to draw from them the utmost they would consent to, upon his representation of the danger they lay under of a temporal war, (in which all Catholic Princes would look upon them as withdrawn from the Church,) as well as of the ecclesiastical censures; but that he had never taken upon him so much as to imagine what would be insisted upon by His Holiness; and the discourse he had held concerning the Jesuits had been an excursion of his own, as a point absolutely necessary to facilitate a treaty; and it was true, their demeanor then was such as he had represented it to be, and he feared was grounded upon as firm a resolution as could at that time be made.

This discourse wrought great attentiveness in the Pope, and appeared to have raised his spirits; so that as soon as the Cardinal made a little pause, yet

A secret authority given by the Pope to the Cardi-

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nal de Joy-
euse, to
make peace
with, and
absolve, the
Venetians.

with a purpose to have proceeded, the Pope told him, that he would gladly hear him all that he had to say ; but he would be the more beholden to him, if he would, as soon as he could, mention the expedient that might disentangle him from the labyrinth in which he was involved. The Cardinal replied, that he had wasted as little of his time as was possible, before he came to the expedient itself ; which was, that some person might be qualified at the same time to absolve the Republic, and take off the interdict, if they made themselves worthy of it, or immediately to shut the door upon them, and return without leaving farther hope of renewing any treaty ; and then he believed, when they found themselves reduced to that strait, and that they had it in their power to be quiet, they would not then be so desperate as to sustain the war, rather than retract the banishment of the Jesuits. The Pope acknowledged, that such an expedient might produce that effect if it were practicable, but he could not discern what he could contribute towards it ; since, whilst things continued in the present state, nobody qualified by him could repair to a people excommunicated and interdicted, nor could any man entrusted on their behalf have admission to his presence. The Cardinal said, that he had not been without a foresight of that difficulty ; yet thought the expedient that was then in his mind to be practicable without any of these objections, but that he could not say that he was as much now of the same opinion : and, making a little pause, whilst the Pope seemed to expect, he proceeded, and said, that, whilst he believed himself to be in the confidence of His Holiness, he could not object against reposing so much trust in him, as, when he returned

returned to France, (which he would now hasten, as being in despair of being instrumental towards any reconciliation,) he might again make Venice his way; and then if he were with all possible secrecy entrusted by His Holiness with a brief for a short number of days, as his Legate, to take off the interdict, and pronounce the absolution upon such concessions as he thought fit, there should be no notice taken of it; nor would he own such a power, till in such an article of time that he foresaw it would prove effectual; otherwise that the short time would expire of itself; and there would be no memory preserved that there had ever been any such power granted: and he added, that he might probably within such a time receive such directions from the King his master, that might have a better effect than he could hope for from his rhetoric. The mention of his master made more impression upon the Pope than all the other discourse. He never doubted but that he could bring the Venetians to any terms he thought fit; but he was not sure that the conveniences he proposed to himself might not be greater from the war, than from a peace. However, he much more relied upon the sincerity of France than of Spain; which he plainly discerned thought of nothing so much, now they were at peace with the other crown, as of a pretence for drawing troops into Italy; which he knew as well could not be done, without France's taking occasion likewise from thence to make an expedition thither with a greater army; for which neither of them could ever meet with so good an opportunity as this quarrel between him and the Republic would administer to them, if it were not suddenly composed. So that, without bringing the matter to a

CHAP. public debate, (in which he knew private passions
 VIII. would sway much, and that many of the Cardinals who abhorred the war would yet, upon pretence of honour, be very violent for the carrying it on, only upon an imagination that the vexation of it, which they saw already had made great impression upon him, would shorten his days,) he sent again for the Cardinal Joyeuse, and took leave of him, as upon his going to France, and gave him such a brief as he had proposed; and shortly after the Cardinal's coming to Venice, and without obtaining any thing more from the Senate than they had granted before his going to Rome, the peace was concluded, and the absolution pronounced, by a trick of the Cardinal's, without being desired or taken notice of; the Doctors of the canon law having resolved and declared an absolution to be valid when pronounced without the consent of the party; the Pope for some days professing wonderful dissatisfaction, and declaring that he had been betrayed by the Cardinal.

Reflections upon the preceding transactions.

I have collected this short relation as faithfully as I could, and without any partiality, out of the large account that is given in the letters of Monsieur de Fresne upon this subject, and in many other voluminous narrations which are made both in Italian and French, in print and in manuscript, and do conceive it to be as near the truth as can be made of a matter that passed so privately, as to the most material parts of it, between the Pope himself and the Cardinal de Joyeuse, whose own relations and commentaries of it are not so clear as in other transactions they use to be; and as if he were content rather to expose himself to some reproach, than to lay open the Pope's weakness and want of resolution, which

which yet (it may be) was wisdom in the conclusion, that was pride and rashness in the beginning: for it cannot be that this wise and expert Cardinal could so grossly have imposed upon the Pope's understanding, which was sharp sighted enough, to the procuring such absurd commissions from him; or that he could more grossly and so foully have broken a trust reposed in him, by consenting in his name to what was so expressly contrary to his will and pleasure, and in a case of religion that had so near a relation to the honour and dignity of the Sacred Chair; which if he had done, all the world must have heard of his infamous perjury and perfidiousness; and the King of France could not have refused to have delivered him up to be chastised by him whom he had so grievously offended and provoked: whereas there is not any record in any one relation of that whole transaction so much to his disadvantage, or so liable to imputation, as in that which he makes himself; but he continued in as high trust and favour with that King to his death. Nor after two or three days choleric expressions, when the news of the peace came thither without the conditions which they expected, was the Pope ever heard to speak with any reflection upon the Cardinal; but himself appeared abundantly pleased to be at rest and quiet, and reigned the remainder of his time (which was near, if not full, ten years after) with much more wariness and discretion than he had done before; and always assured the Jesuits, that though their restoration could not be made a condition of the peace, it would inevitably be a consequence of it; and was willing to have it believed, that the King of France had provided for it by some secret stipulation with the Senate. Upon

CHAP. VIII. the whole matter, we may reasonably conclude, that whatever Cardinal de Joyeuse did was by the Pope's privity direction and approbation ; who chose rather to trust him, that was to be absent from Rome, than any Italian Cardinal, who must know too much of his nature defects and oversights, and might presume to make other use of either than the other was like to do. And here I cannot but observe a wonderful sagacity in that Court, never to be convinced by their own records in any point that may be a contradiction or prejudice to any of their pretences ; for, in a matter so notoriously acted upon the stage of the world, and preserved by so many good authors from the authentic acts of state of that time, the record they have registered of that absolution makes a formal recital of all the application and submission and humility from the Republic that can be imagined ; and that thereby, and by the earnest mediation of the two Kings of France and Spain, and the instance of other Catholic Princes, His Holiness had been prevailed with to accept and receive them again into the communion of the Catholic Church, and to authorize the Cardinal de Joyeuse as his Legate to proceed, &c.

How far artifices of this nature may prevail with succeeding ages, cannot well be foreseen ; but with the present it can find no credit, whilst the true and particular transactions in all that affair are remembered with so much punctuality in all languages, and the last entry of the conclusion of the whole is so much of another nature in the archives of Venice. Nor would that wise people (even after the reconciliation) permit any thing to be done that might imply the least condescension of their part. And therefore,

fore, upon some advertisement that there were several books in the press at Rome ready to be published, containing a relation of all the proceedings which had been, and answers in justification of all that had been done by the Pope, the Senate sent to the Pope, that they had submitted upon the desire of Cardinal de Joyeuse, that all that had been writ on either side should be suppressed, and suffered no more to be sold; but if any thing should be published at Rome, or in any other place, to their disadvantage, they would take themselves to be absolved from the observation of that article, and would cause full answers to be made to whatsoever should come out of the same nature, and what had been published to be reprinted: whereupon there was strict order given at Rome for the suppressing of what was then in the press, and for the inhibiting any of the rest to be sold; and it was observed, that there was more diligence then used in Rome for the suppressing all that had been written on the Pope's behalf, than for the justification of the Senate: so much it was believed that the one had the advantage over the other in the reason and the style; and whosoever now reads both, cannot but acknowledge that there can be no comparison between them.

The wounds which the Papal Chair received in that conflict may be closed and bound up, but the scars thereof can never be wiped out. To have all his claims of a Supreme ecclesiastical dominion by arguments and places of Scripture refuted and retorted upon him; to have his Excommunication examined, and contradicted as invalid by the rules of law; and his Interdict resisted, and condemned as without ground; and all this by a Sovereign body of Catholics, is, and will

CHAP.
VIII. continue to posterity, an undeniable evidence, that those excesses and powers were not held of the essence of Catholic religion; and when such fulminations may pass without being felt, and are recalled without leaving smart or sign behind them, and without the least acknowledgment that they were so much as taken notice of, men cannot but believe that they have no terror in and from themselves, but from the stupidity of the persons who are affected by them; and whilst the memory of Paul the Fifth is preserved in the ecclesiastical annals, the distinction of spiritual and temporal persons in the administration of the sovereign justice of kingdoms will be neglected as ridiculous, and the Pope's excommunication of sovereign Princes will be held fit to be derided. Beyond this we shall not extend the consideration of any other of the particular actions of Paul the Fifth, during the whole fifteen years of the Pontificate.

 CHAP. IX.

From Gregory XV. A. D. 1621. to Clement X. A. D. 1670.—Change in the policy of the Court of Rome—Denial of the Pope's Supremacy by France, Spain, and Venice—Controversy between the Jesuits and Jansenists—Humiliation of the Pope by Lewis XIV.

UPON the death of Paul the Fifth, and after a long and factious conclave, the Cardinal Lodovico was elected Pope, and took the name of Gregory the Fifteenth: his short reign of two years has left us little matter of observation, except the stupendous value and revenue of that high administration, when in so short a time it enabled him to leave so vast a wealth to his heir, that his family remains still possessed of as great an estate as any that hath descended from any Pope.

And here it will not be unseasonable to observe, that the wariness of the Popes, from the time that the Christian Princes in Europe grew to have greater power and reputation, and consequently the Papacy to have less, within their dominions, hath left less information to posterity of their transactions, than their predecessors used to have done. For from the time

Gregory XV. Lodovico.

Change in the policy of the court of Rome.

CHAP. time, that France recovered its inward convulsions to
 IX. — which the League had brought it, and Harry the Fourth had restored it to its full vigour, to the same at least that Spain had enjoyed during the two long lives of Charles the Fifth and Philip the Second, being time enough, with such prosperous conjunctures, to raise it to an affectation of the universal monarchy; and that England was now become more formidable, by the union of Scotland, and reducing all the rebellious of Ireland under the obedience to one King; the Bishop of Rome likewise declined those rude enterprises upon their sovereignties which they had been accustomed to, and prescribed softer arts of policy to themselves to govern by, and which were much more natural to them to practise, and with more probable success.

Republica-
 tion of the
 Bullarium.

They did all they could to wipe out or efface the memory of all those their extravagant excursions in the late League, by leaving out, in their next impression of the Bullarium, all those Bulls which they had sent abroad in the time of Gregory the Thirteenth, Sixtus the Fifth, and Clement the Eighth, to the eternal reproach of the crown of France: that the presumption and malignity of them might be forgotten, and not be exposed to the continual view of posterity. Nor had they a less care in the suppressing all the like ebullitions upon the occasion of the late dispute with the Republic of Venice. So that the late editions of the Bullarium have communicated little to us, whereby we may make conjectures of the spirit of the time, or the humour of the Popes, since the time of Gregory the Thirteenth to this present; but have only informed us of their several Bulls for canonization of pious men to be saints,

saints, and the weighty inducements and reasons for the conferring those preferments, and of others for the foundation of religious houses, and some for the reformation and regulation of them, if it be possible ; as if the Sacred Chair had now abandoned all secular pretences, and was well contented to receive those assignations, and enjoy those prerogatives, which sovereign Princes assign to them in their dominions, and was only intent upon the exercise of their own power in their own territories, and extending their spiritual jurisdiction, as far as it would reach, in Italy.

The Court of Rome hath exceedingly reformed itself in its civil behaviour and good manners, and hath left the clamour and evil speaking to those who wear no shirts, and countenances no foul words towards those who, it is sure, will be damned ; and it is so excessively civil to heretics, that there is less danger in being thought a Lutheran, or a Calvinist, in Rome, than in most other good company ; and the Inquisition itself is grown so fine a gentleman, that they are as safe there as at Amsterdam. Nor is it many years since, that the host to a Dutchman in Rome was in great danger to be condemned to the gallies, for calling him (upon some difference in account) a heretic, that he was preserved only by the good nature and earnest sollicitation of his provoked guest. And it is not to be doubted, that they find themselves greater gainers by this courtship, than they did by their worse breeding ; and that they win more proselytes by their affability and good breeding, than by their divinity or miracles ; upon which they make themselves as merry with you as upon the Pope himself, until, by a communication of guilt, they persuade you that there is no salvation for
that

CHAP. that state, but in their Church. Probity is no where
 IX. so much contemned, nor impiety so much derided; their application being to the constitution of the patient, not to free him from the disease, but that he may live well with it. To quit and abandon a sin is too vulgar and uneasy a remedy; to have the pleasure and delight of practising it, and yet to be saved, is the only expedient that is bought and sold here.

The Bull
 "De Elec-
 "tione
 "Summi
 "Pontif-
 "cis."

Gregory the Fifteenth, who best knew the straits and difficulties through which he had mounted into that Chair, did intend, no doubt, to make the ascent thither more easy, and more innocent to his successor, by his Bull "*De Electione Summi Pontificis*:" where, according to the natural dialect of those instruments, (which, by the way, if faithfully collected by a discreet gatherer out of all the Bulls, from first to last, would amount to as pleasant, if not as profitable, a bulk of commentaries and glosses upon the Scriptures, as the Schoolmen themselves would yield,) after he had observed upon the wisdom and caution of our Saviour, and which he had never used in any other action, who, before he would commit "*Ovium suarum curam*" to St. Peter, asked him the same question three times, and would not receive less than a thrice repeated answer and profession of his faithful affection to him, (by which he had learned what great diligence and care should be used in the election of all Pastors, and especially in the choice of a successor to St. Peter himself, "*qui Orbis est Lumen, Doctor Gentium, et Pastor Pastorum,*") he ordains therefore that every Cardinal, at every scrutiny, *antequam schedula in calicem mittatur*, shall make this oath, *altâ et intelligibili voce*; "*Testor Christum Dominum, qui me judicaturus est, me eli-*
 "gere

“gere quem secundum Deum judico eligi debere, et quod idem in accessu præstabo:” then he prescribes to all the Cardinals such a form for their own behaviour, “ut omnino abstineant ab omnibus pactionibus, conventionibus, promissionibus, intendimentis, fœderibus, aliisque quibuscunque obligationibus &c. tam respectu inclusionis quàm exclusionis, tam unius personæ quam plurium &c.,” and “ex tunc” excommunicates all who are guilty in any of those cases. It is true, he adds a very comfortable clause in the same paragraph; “Tractatus tamen pro electione habendos, vetare, non intelligimus:” this it is doubted may, according to the latitude of many consciences, have dispensed with much of the precedent severity; which yet he supplies again by the next article; namely, that he shall be chosen by the suffrages of two parts of three of the whole number of the Cardinals who shall be present, “quasi per inspirationem, nullo præcedente de personâ speciali tractatu &c. per verbum ELIGO intelligibili voce prolatum &c.,” and if this be not observed, any election otherwise made, “electo nullum jus tribuit, quin imò—is non Apostolicus, sed Apostaticus sit &c.” And there can be no doubt, but as the Pope himself, who had passed the pikes, did intend that for the future there should be fairer play for the same prize, so it was a much stricter provision than had been made before; and the publication of it, according to all the vulgar interpretation of the words, persuaded all men to believe; that there was an end of all long conclaves, and that for the future the Holy Ghost would quickly have its operation upon all persons, who were so well prepared to be inspired. But the next conclave proved better grammarians, and made it appear that the

Bull,

CHAP. IX. Bull, or the Oath, had done no harm, and that Sovereign Princes still retained their prerogative of exclusion, and that the particular Cardinals could not be divested of those natural affections and inclinations, with which God and nature had invested them.

The Bull
 " *Contra*
 " *Hæreticos*
 " *eos &c.*"

This Pope, how little time soever he reigned, published some other notable Bulls, which found no better reception and obedience than that of the election did; and so much worse, as he lived not to see the violation of that, and might have the delight of imagining and believing that it might produce the wished effects after his death; but he lived to see the others neglected and contemned, upon the matter, in his own diocese; and when he had been so modest (contrary to the custom of his predecessors, and in a matter of as spiritual a nature as heresy itself) as to contract his jurisdiction within the limits of his Patriarchat. For such was his Bull "*Contra Hæreticos in locis Italiæ, et Insularum adjacentium quovis prætextu commorantes, eorumque fautores.*" He there ordained, that no heretic, though under the notion of a merchant, or any other traffic whatsoever, or under what pretence soever, should presume to take a house, or to live in any place of Italy, or the islands adjacent; but that they should be proceeded against in the forms prescribed. And when he found that he could not provide for the purity of that province, without the exposing the authority of his predecessors, and some orders of the established government, to reproach and contempt; and that there is no sure way to preserve the Catholic religion to be unhurt there, as by providing that it should not be known to them what heresy is; having

having observed (as he says) that the liberty to read prohibited books, "*magno esse sinceræ fidei cultoribus detrimento &c.*" and being informed that such licence did exceedingly increase, he did, by another Bull, revoke all liberty that had been given, to what persons soever, of reading, or having any prohibited books, and all licences which had been granted to that purpose, "*ab omnibus etiam Romanis Pontificibus concessarum ;*" which was a sign that he thought that Cardinal Bellarmine (who was then newly dead) had done them more harm than good, by his two great volumes of controversies. He lived also long enough to see, that not one English or Dutch factor was put out of any city or town in Italy, but enjoyed the same, or more liberty and privilege, than they had done before, in the places where they inhabited ; and which places well understood what profit they got by their company, finding it necessary to publish such concessions and edicts, as might give them security against any future apprehensions of that kind ; which could not be, without declaring that the Pope had nothing to do in those affairs. The Republic of Venice took from thence occasion to renew and publish such orders, as (together with the wise discourse set out with their privilege by Padre Paolo, the constant friend to the Pope's authority) gave as deep wounds to those pretences as any that Paul the Fifth had drawn upon himself. And for the revoking the liberty to read prohibited books, he saw likewise, (which hath been since more confirmed by experience,) that the only benefit that it received from the congregation for the prohibition of books, is in making the prices of those books dearer, by the curiosity of men to read them,

and

CHAP. IX. and thereupon to deride the authority that would suppress them ; it being very notorious, that religion doth not nor ever did suffer so much by those men who diligently read and examine what is written in books, as by those, who (without reading them) persuade others to believe that they contain somewhat that is not there, and so beget prejudice to the author, and (for his sake) to whatsoever he declares to be his opinion : as it is no unusual stile in that congregation to condemn all the books which are written by such a man, and all those which he shall hereafter write ; which must be the product of another foresight.

The Bull confirming the Bull of Pius IV.
 “ *Contrà Sacerdotes in Confessionibus Sacramentalibus penitentes ad turpia sollicitantes.*”

We shall mention only one Bull more of that Pope, (who left us nothing else to mention of him,) which he calls “ *Confirmatio et Ampliatio Constitutionis Pii Quarti editæ contrà Sacerdotes in Confessionibus Sacramentalibus penitentes ad turpia sollicitantes.*” It was observed before, in the time of Pius, that the publishing that Bull had brought great reproach and scandal upon the Catholic religion, by infusing into the minds of men, that there was so much wickedness amongst those who were looked upon as the Fathers of the Church, that, in the celebration of the most solemn sacrament of confession, they should solicit those penitents, who were at their feet, to disburden their consciences of their most grievous and most heinous sins, and to submit to such chastisement and penance as they should inflict upon their transgressions ; and that these supreme spiritual guides, directors, and judges, should make that diabolical use of the secrets they were intrusted with, as to solicit women, in the very act of their penitence, to renew the same sins with them,
 upon

upon the advantage of their confession. And al-
 though it is true, that this had been objected by
 some who had left their Church, as well as by others
 who had never been of it, and had therefore been
 looked upon, for the magnitude and incredibility of
 the wickedness, as the effect of the most transcendent
 and heretical malice; yet their veracity could be no
 longer doubted, when Pope Pius himself had given
 that testimony of it by his own Bull for the better
 discovery and punishment of it. And now that an-
 other Pope, near one hundred years after, upon evi-
 dence that the former Bull had not produced its hoped
 for effects, should renew and amplify it with several
 clauses for the better discovery and punishment of
 it, hath, no doubt, given many warrantable occasions
 to many good men to fear, that, as we see no con-
 spiracies or treasons discovered or prevented by it,
 so adultery fornication and other uncleanness may
 be propagated by this screen of confession, and
 therefore to wish that the compulsory custom of it
 were abolished; with what devotion soever it was
 first instituted, and with what piety soever it may be
 practised.

And so we finish our survey of the short reign of
 this Pope, with the character that a very eloquent
 Italian historiographer of that time, Procurator Nani,
 gives him; that, after he had for the space of about
 two years, or very little more, “*Sostenuto forse, piu
 ch’ esercitato il nome, e l’ autorità dell’ Apostolato,*”
 he left the fame of having had much zeal for reli-
 gion; on the other side, with reference to affairs, he
 was esteemed “*di genio rimesso e totalmente soggetto
 all’ arbitrio de’ Nepoti,*” who governed all things
 “*con tantu’ prepotenza,*” that in the short reign of

CHAP. their uncle they heaped up an incredible mass of
IX. wealth, and attained great honour and interest.

Urban
VIII.

Gregory the Fifteenth was succeeded by Urban the Eighth, who had not found less trouble and obstruction, nor received any benefit by the care and providence of his predecessor's Bull: and when he was elected, the same excellent writer of that time says, that nobody wondered more at it than they who had elected him; "*che si stuparono d'havere in-gannate le proprie Speranze;*" by having chosen a man who by his complexion and vigour might very well outlive the major part of those who had chosen him; as indeed he did, for he was not above five and fifty years of age at that time, and he reigned above twenty-one years. This long period of time affords us abundant matter for observation. And if we consulted no farther than the public transactions under him, which are communicated to us in the records of Rome, we should think that he had lived in the golden age of piety and virtue, by the multitude of saints canonized by him; most (if not all) of which had lived in his own time. But when we look into the more ingenuous and impartial account of that age, (and of which there is light enough that may be drawn out of Rome itself,) it will appear that he governed but in "*face Romuli.*"

His con-
duct and
character.

He had found such a general consent in the conclave to take no kind of notice of Gregory's Bull for the election, that he resolved (according to the practice he had learned from some of his predecessors) to begin his reign against the express injunction and determination of Sixtus the Fifth, and renewed and confirmed by another who succeeded, in not only making his two nephews Cardinals, (which was expressly

pressly inhibited to be done, and declared invalid and void if done,) but by adding his brother to the number; the sole Capuchin, I think, that hath ever been a Cardinal: so that there were together three, his brother and two nephews, who had votes in the Consistory; without considering how mortal a wound it must needs be to the pretended power of the Papacy, in the judgment of all uncorrupted persons, to declare or acknowledge that any decree whatsoever, let it relate to religion or church government, is reversible by another Pope as invalid, or to be made so by his single judgment. Urban was generally esteemed a scholar, and to take much delight in books, and in the softer study of poetry, (which of itself disposed him to ease,) as we may see by a volume of Latin poems which he hath left. And it was generally believed, that his nature inclined him to quiet, and that he resolved (though his long employment in France as Nuncio made him suspected to be of that party) to be neutral in all contests between the two Crowns. But he found himself, in the very entrance into the Pontificate, embarrassed by the weakness of his predecessor, and the strength of the Spaniard, to whom he had been most inclined, which had made the Holy Chair the depositary of some towns or forts upon the quarrel of the Valteline; in which France and the Republic had equally engaged themselves on one side, as Spain on the other; by reason whereof, the new Pope could not disentangle himself without offending one of them, whilst they both used all possible endeavours to draw him to their party, by making offer of the greatest marriages that were in either of their dominions to be made and solemnized with his nephews.

CHAP. IX. Though the Pope discerned that at last he should inevitably be compelled to declare himself for one, yet he resolved to defer it as long as he could, before any body should reasonably guess which side he would take. Nor did he despair that he might for some time be able to keep and observe a neutrality; for there was yet no immediate declared war between them, though their allies were engaged warmly, and either Crown sent their forces to assist their armies. Besides what concerned the business of the Grisons and the Valteline, in which France and the Republic were united, the war was likewise broke out between Savoy and the Duke of Mantua, and both Crowns were raising armies for the support of either; but, till they should be embarked upon a direct denunciation of war, the Pope still thought that an interposition to prevent it would best become him, until he could by their consent discharge himself of the depositary, by withdrawing his garrisons from the towns and places they were possessed of. France desired he should do this according to the trust, by first dismantling the fortifications; but the Spaniard would not permit it, insisting that they should either be delivered to them in the state they were, or so left, that they might possess them as soon as they were left. It is not doubted that the Pope loved France better, and as little that he feared Spain more; who could, from his kingdom of Naples and Duchy of Milan, do him more mischief in a month, than France could repair in a year, if it affected to do it. He sent first his nephew, Cardinal Francisco, his Legate into France, who was received with all the demonstrations of respect and magnificent presents that can be imagined, but prevailed not in any

Wars between France and Spain respecting the Valteline.

any

any one proposition that he made; which offended the Pope so much, that he no sooner returned to Rome, but he was presently sent in the same condition into Spain; where he was equally caressed, and was from that time always believed to be of the Spanish party; though without the least manifestation of his uncle's inclinations that way, he at the same time advising the Republic, (with whom he was in strict alliance,) that they would invite and procure France to send an army into Italy, as the only way to stop or give some check to the exorbitant power of the Spaniard. It is true, that the intestine divisions and troubles in France during the minority of the King, and the rebellions after he came to age, with the domestic differences and public breaches between him and the Queen his mother, had found that King business enough at home; so that he could not obstruct nor counterminne the progress that the other Crown had made in Italy, which was grown formidable: and at this present, besides the several forces under pretence of assisting the Emperor about the Valteline, the Duke of Feria, Governor of Milan, had an army consisting of forty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, under his command, ready to march upon the first orders of his Catholic Majesty; and therefore it is no wonder if the Pope, how well soever he wished to France, did heartily endeavour to preserve the friendship of Spain with all professions. And if he had not afterwards committed greater errors in respect of his own politic demeanor towards the Princes of Italy, relating to his own interests, than he did in his behaviour and carriage towards the two Crowns, he would have left the character behind him of a very prudent

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CHAP. IX. and dexterous Pope ; and would have enjoyed a life of much more ease and quiet, (which he did, next wealth, heartily affect,) and have died with much more fame and glory.

France and Spain governed by Richelieu and Olivarez.

The two Crowns were at this time entirely under the government of the two great Favourites ; France under Cardinal Richelieu, and Spain under the Duke of Olivarez ; whilst the two Kings themselves had no mind to do each other hurt, and as little to hinder any man who had a mind to do it.

Character of Cardinal Richelieu.

The first was looked upon, at a distance, as the greater Favourite, because he did the greater things, and only for that ; for he sailed always against a strong and violent wind, and did more towards making himself great than the King ; and was more the favourite of fortune than of the King ; and no man was ever more "*faber fortunæ suæ*;" and with a marvellous dexterity and address he applied all his faculties at the same time to the most contrary designs. He was always of some faction, and increased it, or got out of it, or composed it, as suited best with what he desired ; and rarely miscarried in what he proposed to himself. It seemed miraculous to all men, that, without ever being beloved by the King, he could make an implacable quarrel between him and his mother ; perpetual dissensions between his Majesty and the Queen his wife ; continual jealousies between him and his brother ; and totally irreconcilable him to all the Princes of the blood, and those to him : and yet, when he was in the highest degree of favour with the King his master, and the most in his confidence, the King loved very many men better, even some of the Cardinal's enemies, and would have been glad to have heard he had been dead any hour in

in the day. He was, without doubt, the immediate instrument to introduce more calamities upon France, and all the neighbour kingdoms; to raise and prosecute greater and longer wars; to shed more blood, and ruin more families, than any man in that or the former age had been: and, after all this, his enemies cannot deny him to have been qualified with those rare endowments, which have in all times preserved the memory of the most illustrious persons; nor can it be denied, but that the greatness and prosperity which France hath enjoyed since his time (a greater no nation under heaven hath enjoyed longer together in these last thousand years) was the product of his ministry; and which his successor, who through many hazards and difficulties cultivated his work, could never have established if he had been before him.

The other Favourite, the Condé Duke of Olivarez, was in many respects more potent at home, and in all the dominions subject to that monarchy, than the Cardinal could be esteemed to be in France; for he had no rival in his master's favour, who was as young as the other King, and as indisposed to business; but by so much the more constant in his affections, as he was more devoted to his pleasures: and though there could not but be in that haughty nation men enough who would have been glad to have been in the same post that he possessed, yet there was never any formed faction in the kingdom against him, nor scarce any particular man of note and value who had the courage to enter into a contestation with him. So that, in the long time of his ministry, which continued more years than that of the Cardinal, he found little uneasiness at home;

Character
of the Con-
dé Duke of
Olivarez.

CHAP. IX. whereas the Cardinal was still threatened by conspiracies, and frequently escaped by outfacing those enterprises which he knew were formed against his life; and sometimes when he was not sure that the King himself was not privy to them. Olivarez was a man of excellent parts and of good learning, having been designed, during the life of his elder brother, to the Church, and afterwards for the Court; and many years he lived in Rome, when his father was ambassador there, and a man of much trust and experience in the most secret affairs of that Crown, whilst the Duke of Lerma governed the affairs of Spain; and there he was well trained up in business by his father, and very fit for it, having, with very pregnant parts, industry equal to what he was to do; though by degrees he grew more lazy, and, it may be, for want of opposition and contradiction, (with which the other favourite was abundantly exercised,) less solicitous and vigilant for the public than he ought to have been; for great misfortunes befel the monarchy before his fall, which was a fall too as gentle as could be, though it could not have been borne by the other, nor (it may be) long sustained by him.

These two great favourites were equally ungracious in the Court of Rome, and equally indevoted to it; and it may be some evidence of the integrity of the Pope's behaviour towards both Crowns, that he was treated with equal rudeness by both; and, by the influence of both Favourites, received more affronts and contempts even in those particulars which, according to the Catholic sense, were merely spiritual, than the Sacred Chair had ever been accustomed to from its dearest children.

It

It was not then doubted (as hath been said) but that Urban was in himself most inclined to France ; yet he seemed, as to their public interest and private contestations, indifferent or neutral. It is true he first sent his nephew Legate into France, which in some respect seemed the less compliment, in that the legation being to procure a peace between the two Crowns, which he had endeavoured by his Nuncios in both Courts, it implied that France was the more unreasonable, and insisted upon terms which he must desist from before Spain was to be treated with. The disrespect that his nephew was treated with (I mean, as to consenting to any thing he desired) was notorious ; nor was the Pope reserved in owning the dissatisfaction he received in it ; and, as soon as he returned to Rome, the same Legate was sent to Spain with more lustre, and was entertained with better words, and returned with better presents by an abbey or two ; as the situation of the kingdom of Naples is more convenient to the Court of Rome than that of France. When the Pope saw the unkindness and jealousies between the Crowns increase, and that it would quickly break out into a war, (which yet it was not,) and then how difficult it would be for him to carry himself with that real indifferency as was requisite, and how impossible that it would be thought so, he divided himself between them ; that is, he permitted one Cardinal nephew to be taken notice of to adhere to the interest of Spain, and the other to the interest of France ; which was manifest in both their behaviours, yet with this difference, that the elder, Francisco, being a man of more phlegm, was more wary and reserved in what concerned Spain, as if he desired to be thought unbiassed ;

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IX.
The Pope's
neutrality
between
France and
Spain.

CHAP. IX. biassed; whereas the younger, Cardinal Antonio, so much affected and wedded whatever France was concerned in, as if he were well contented to be esteemed an enemy to Spain. It is true, that warmth (sometimes to indecency) drew such checks and reprehensions from his uncle, and even restraints and inhibitions, as he would not suffer him to receive the office of being Protector of France, to which that Crown desired to assign him; which made the Pope's affection the more suspected, and the jealousy and animosity between the two brothers the more taken notice of.

Cardinal Richelieu threatens to call a National Council, and choose a Patriarch for France.

Let us see now how this prudent Pope (for a prudent man he was) was treated by his two rival sons, which should express most veneration to him, and what provocations they had from him. When the King of France sent the Cardinal of Valette to be General of his army in Italy, the Pope sent a very severe reprehension to him, and threatened that, if he did not immediately withdraw himself from that employment, he would deprive him of his cap; and after he had refused to give obedience thereunto, and led the army into Germany, and there died, the Pope refused to celebrate mass for him, as he used always to do upon the death of all Cardinals, nor would permit the other Cardinals to perform those obsequies for him, which were of course in those cases. If he be a judge in any case, one would think he should be in this; in which, besides the ancient canons which were still in force, there had been some modern decrees, which made it more penal. But that Cardinal Richelieu should be herein so far provoked as to threaten the Pope with calling a National Council, and choosing a Patriarch in France, is
instance

instance enough that he had not that reverence for the authority of the Pope as many Cardinals pretend to have. CHAP. IX.

That the most Christian King should have great indignation for the affront that was offered to his ambassador in the Court of Rome, the Mareschal d'Estre, in the assassination of his Escuier, (by what accident or insolence brought upon himself,) cannot but be thought very just; (since Princes cannot be too jealous of the honour due to their own persons in any neglect of their representatives in the Courts of other Princes;) that admission and audience should be solemnly denied to a new and extraordinary Nuncio, because the Pope had denied, or rather delayed, to make Julio Mazarin a Cardinal upon that King's recommendation; that Chavigny (who had been the Cardinal's secretary, and was by him made Secretary of State, and still trusted by him as his own) should, in the *éclaircissement* he had with that extraordinary Nuncio, barefacedly own that exception, and reproach the Pope for using the King with so little respect in that affair of Monsieur Mazarin; that he should tell him of a Patriarch and a National Council to allay the Papal presumption; that there should be a strong guard set upon and about the Nuncio's lodging to observe all who went in and out, and restrain some from doing either; that there should be a positive prohibition published by the King, that no Prelate of the kingdom, or any of their Clergy, should repair to the Nuncio, or have any correspondence with him, or receive order or advice from him; that upon the death of the General of the Dominicans, and a difference in the chapter about a successor, (the French choosing the brother of Cardinal Mazarin,

Affronts put upon the Pope by France.

CHAP. Mazarin, and the Italians another, and the Pope, to
 IX. whom it belonged, deciding it for the last,) the King ordered that France should acknowledge only the brother of the Cardinal to be their General, and persisted in it until another preferment was given to him in the Pope's palace, by which he came at last to be a Cardinal too, though not in the time of Urban; I say, all these particulars, to which many more may be added, are manifestation that the Gallican Church hath not that reverence for, or veneration of, the Sacred Chair, but that they think they can live without it.

Spain threatens to call a General Council and choose a Patriarch.

Our next view must be of the most Catholic kingdom, under the direction and conduct of the other great Favourite, and the condescension that Crown paid to the person of that Pope, and the submission they shewed to his dictates and determinations; how often and how loudly he was reproached for his partiality and over-inclination to France, and threatened with the calling a General Council, and an inhibition to all men to resort to the Nuncio, and to submit to any judicatory of his, or to carry any cause before him. It was in the year 1632 or 1633 that the two Spanish ambassadors in Rome, whereof one was a Bishop, presented a memorial to him, which was afterwards printed, and remains still in the hands of many; in which they told him, that since he forgot to be a common Father, and shewed so much partiality to their enemy's crown, and so little justice to that of their master, he was not to wonder if his Catholic Majesty withdrew much of that respect from him, which he had always shewed to the Sacred Chair: that Spain well knew the great emoluments which His Holiness and his Court enjoyed in that
 king-

kingdom by the piety and licence of the Crown; and likewise what former Kings of that nation had done, when the Court of Rome had presumed to do some things which it ought not to have done; and annexed a large collection of those precedents in former times, (which was likewise printed at Madrid,) implying that this King could and would do the like, if the Pope continued to exercise the same disaffection and injustice towards him and his subjects as he had done: it talked of choosing a Patriarch, and contained many such expressions of questioning and contradicting the exercise of that illimited jurisdiction which he usurped, that any man who peruses them will swear that they who framed those memorials, and directed the presentation, did not in truth believe that the Pope was the Vicar of Christ; nor that Christ had ever given or left to his Vicar power or authority to exercise any such power as he assumed to himself.

It had been to be wished that the Pope, in his age and great decay of his faculties, had not so much departed from trusting his own understanding, and relinquished the conduct and management of the whole Papal power to his nephews, that he was thought worthy of all the disrespect he had received from the two Crowns, and from the ministers of both; and the councils and actions which, towards the conclusion of his reign, he affected and countenanced, were such as were contrary and most destructive to his own designs, and drew most of the Princes of Italy into a direct league against him, and for the limiting and restraining that exorbitancy of power which he knew not how to use with such modesty or moderation as would permit his neighbours to be Princes too in their own

CHAP. own dominions ; and by this excess he left his fa-
 IX. mily in a state approaching near to ruin.

His endea-
 vours to ag-
 grandise his
 family.

From the first hour of his Pontificate, he confined all his thoughts to Italy, as if he could be well contented that no other part of the world should be thought within his diocese ; but then he desired to extend his authority in Italy as far as it would reach, and to leave his family (upon the raising of which his whole heart was set) into the degree of Sovereign Princes. That they might not entirely depend upon the favour and bounty of the Church after his decease, he thought first to contrive some device whereby his nephews might appear to be in a higher station than other Cardinals ; and his first invention of the title of “ Eminence” was designed that it might be only given to, and assumed by, his two Cardinal nephews, and no other of the college: but he quickly found that would not be digested by the rest ; and therefore, knowing that it was in his own power sufficiently to distinguish them from others, he annexed the style of “ Eminence” to be the sole appellation to and of every Cardinal ; and ordered, that without it they should not accept or receive any address, or use any other style to each other; and hereby (which probably was in his second purpose, that, when he could not raise his nephews to be above other Cardinals, he might provide that none might be above them) he degraded all those who were called Prince Cardinals, and had been always treated with “ Al-
 “ tezze.” They took this levelling them to a common title so ill, that, since they could not procure redress by their expostulation, (which was likewise seconded by the ambassadors of the Sovereign Princes as an indignity to themselves,) they have forborne to
 reside

reside in Rome, and seldom come thither, but *sede vacante*, or in such conjuncture when they can best preserve their own quality. But this did rather whet than satisfy the Pope's appetite. He could, he saw, raise money enough, upon which he was throughly intent; but that mass would not invest his heir with the condition of a Sovereign Prince, which alone could preserve his other wealth to his family.

The last heir male of the Duchy of Urban was ex-Affair of
the Duchy
of Castro.pired, and so that principality fell to the Church, to which he was a feodary; and of that he had a great desire to give his heir the investiture; against which there were so many positive decrees, that he found it would be in vain to attempt it against so many votes that would oppose its alienation from the Church. His next design was to purchase the Duchy of Castro of the Duke of Parma, who, it was presumed, might be induced, in regard of his great debts, to part with it for more than it could be worth, which would willingly have been paid; and this the nephews found means to be proposed to him, by friends who were not ingrateful to him. But the young Duke, being a person of a haughty nature, and no friend to the Barberinis, received the overture with so much indignation, that he forbore not, without any reservation or caution, to inveigh loudly against the pride and insolence of the Pope and his nephews, with such other expressions as are seldom separable from those passions, and they quickly found equal resentments from the whole family, which had not usually met with such magisterial contradictions. The Duke of Parma was indebted to the Monte or bank in Rome a great sum of money, contracted by himself, but more by his ancestors; the interest whereof

CHAP. whereof had raised it to a vast proportion, which had
 IX. been secured upon the revenue of the Duchy of Castro; and the Duke hearing many whispers, after his having refused to gratify the Pope in that affair, of a strict inquiry into that debt, and that it was reported to amount to more than the Duchy upon which it was secured was worth, upon those rumours carefully raised and dispersed, he thought fit to make a journey himself to Rome; which did his business no good, but accelerated, if it did not produce, the mischief that shortly followed: for the Duke looked for a better reception than he found; yet the Pope himself, not privy (as was generally believed) to the design of his nephew, treated him with much kindness, gratified him with making some abatement of the interest of the money, and renewed likewise a former grant to him of some impositions, in which consisted the greatest part of the revenue of the Duchy of Castro.

In the mean time, Cardinal Francisco (who wedded this business of Castro, and was of a jealous nature, and how irresolute soever in himself, such an opiniâtre, that he never asked advice, or if he did, he still preferred his own opinion before whatever he received from others) caused the Duke still to be pressed to sell Castro. The Duke, easy to be transported with choler, not only rejected the motion, but revenged himself upon Cardinal Francisco with all the bitterness of language that his passions could supply him; and though he found persons of all degrees and qualities in Rome who concurred with him in a perfect detestation of the whole family, (for the Pope and all his nephews had rendered themselves very odious,) he was not without some apprehension of an affront, and therefore chose to leave

leave the city in the night, and returned to Parma without taking leave of the Pope, or of his nephews; presuming that the Pope, who was very infirm, would shortly die, and he knew he should then have no fear of his family. When His Holiness was informed of the Duke's departure in that manner, and of the revenge he threatened, he was so much affected that he wept; but his nephew Francisco, who had the greatest ascendant over him, and in truth governed absolutely both Church and State, quickly prevailed with him to abolish all other passions but the same that the Duke had carried with him, and to think of nothing but revenge; which he assured him he should easily inflict on him by the ordinary course of justice, and without putting himself to the trouble of any extraordinary proceedings.

The Pope being enough incensed and confirmed in his resolution, the Clerk of the Chamber was directed to issue out a monitory; whereby the Duke of Parma was required to appear in person, and to pay the debt that he owed to the Monte; and if he should not appear within thirty or forty days after notice, he was to stand excommunicated, and the revenue of the Duchy of Castro to be sequestered towards the payment of the debt: and, to make that the more difficult to be done, the Pope resumed the grant he had made to him of those impositions upon corn, and forbade the merchants to pay them; which abated the better part of that revenue. The Duke did not expect such a quick way of proceeding, and found himself perplexed what to resolve. To submit to the formal proceeding in justice, was to have it determined by his enemy; for he could not suppose that any of those judges durst displease the Cardinal. He

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IX.

Quarrel of
the Pope
with the
Duke of
Parma.

CHAP. resolved therefore to pray for and expect the Pope's
 IX death, and in the mean time to neglect his spiritual sword, and to provide against his temporal, which he believed would quickly be drawn to defend the other; and therefore, instead of appearing in justice, he raised some troops and erected some forts and fortifications about Castro, that it might not be liable to a surprise. This administered new matter of offence, and gave new advantage against the Duke. The lawyers determined, that the erecting of any new fortifications by any feodary upon the lands of the Church, without the Pope's express consent, is no less than rebellion against his Sovereign Prince, and amounts to "*crimen læsæ Majestatis*;" so that, whereas the quarrel before was depending in justice, and only concerned the recovery of a debt, for the payment whereof Castro was liable, now the Duke was a rebel, and had forfeited all his other dominions. Nor would his enemies lose any time in taking their advantage, but renewed all the censures which were before inflicted, and added a new Bull of excommunication and forfeiture of all his dominions, of which he was declared to be deprived as a rebel, schismatic, and heretic; with all those expressions of reproach which in the opinion of that people makes a deprivation most lawful, and absolves all his subjects from their oaths of fidelity, and forbids them, under the same penalties, to yield any further obedience to him. And that all this thunder and lightning might not appear without some execution, Cardinal Antonio is made General of the Church, and collects and brings together those troops which were already standing, and, joining others to them so soon, that, before the fortifications of Castro could be finished, he
 sur-

surprised that place, and drove the Duke's small gar- CHAP. IX.
 rison from thence, and fortified it better for the Pope.

The neighbour Princes had hitherto looked on, War between the Pope and the Duke of Parma. hoping that the vexation of these commotions, when they should come to the Pope's knowledge, and into which he had been betrayed by his nephews, (who believed likewise the work would with more ease and less expence be finished than they found it like to be,) would quickly contribute to the death of His Holiness, and that would put an end to all. But now, when they saw an army raised to execute all the sentences the Pope would inflict, and that he made no scruple in excommunicating a Sovereign Prince as an heretic and schismatic, only that he might deprive him whom they knew, and knew that the Pope knew, to be a good Catholic, and that all his fault was in defending himself and his dominions against the power and oppression of the nephews; and that, now Castro was taken, licence was demanded from the Duke of Modena, that Cardinal Antonio might march through his territories to prosecute the war against the Duke of Parma in his other dominions; they thought that their own interest was at stake, and that there was a fire kindled that might disperse itself into their quarters, and even burn their own palaces; to prevent which, they entered into a league to stop and resist this outrage against the Duke of Parma. The Republic of Venice, that neither loved nor feared Urban; the Duke of Tuscany, who hated him and all his family, (for that, being all born his subjects, they had shewed less respect towards him, and disobliged him more than any other Pope had done of that age;) and the Duke of Modena, (who had been too much hurt not to have

CHAP. some fear of him;) entered into a firm league together:
 IX. first, to endeavour by mediation; and, if that could not put an end to the difference, then to give the Duke of Parma assistance with arms. Nor were they without some assurance that France would put itself into the head of that League. Cardinal Richelieu was yet alive, and not the more reconciled to the Pope for having at last, and after many indecent pauses, made his friend Mazarin, Cardinal; and he was well pleased to hear that Cardinal Antonio was General of an army; which, though for the Church, (except it had been against infidels,) was as much against the canons as the presumption of the Cardinal of Valet had been, to whom the offices of the Church had been denied after his decease. Monsieur de Lionne, an active and a dexterous minister, brought up under the care and direction, and cultivated by the instructions of that Cardinal, was sent by the King of France to counsel and assist those Princes of the League, and to interpose with and to advise the Barberinis to disentangle themselves from that enterprise; and he made what haste he could, in January sixteen hundred forty-two, to consult with those Princes of the League who were in his way to Parma, and then thither; where it was difficult enough, in respect of the provocations that Prince had sustained, and his martial inclinations and resolutions of revenge, together with a great contempt of his enemy, to adjust those propositions which were to be offered and insisted upon at Rome.

Negocia-
 tions under
 the media-
 tion of
 France.

The Duke of Parma was not all this while inactive on his own behalf; but, having raised a good body of horse and foot under good officers, desired nothing so much as to be found with his enemy, over whom

he

he doubted not the victory ; and therefore deferred till then the attempt to recover Castro. But the Barberinis knew too well the consequence of losing the army they had, the raising and maintaining whereof cost them much of that money which they intended to disburse to better purposes, and the recruiting it would cost them much more ; and therefore they resolved to avoid a battle ; and, as the Duke advanced, the Cardinal retired, and retired with so much disorder, that the other got some advantages over him in light skirmishes, and pursued him into the lands of the Church ; which, together with the Cardinal's hasty retreat, raised a great consternation in Rome itself ; so that, when Monsieur de Lionne came thither, the Barberinis (for the Pope himself treated of nothing, nor meddled in any business, but signed what the Cardinal Francisco caused to be prepared for him) seemed very willing to enter into treaty for a reconciliation, and to desire nothing else but such a humiliation from the Duke as was necessary for the Pope's honour ; whilst the Duke pressed the redelivery of Castro in the first place, and to treat afterwards. After the Cardinal had endeavoured by all the offers and all the promises to prevail with Monsieur de Lionne, that the King of France would desist from prosecuting his mediation or giving any assistance to the Duke, and found that no good could be got that way, he seemed to be willing that Castro should be deposited in the hands of one of the Princes of the League, and to be restored to the Duke within such a time, and upon such conditions as should be agreed by the treaty. Cardinal Spada was appointed to treat on the behalf of the Pope, and went to Orvietto to meet with the deputies of the

CHAP. Princes of the League ; with whom Monsieur de
IX. Lionne was first to confer, and to prepare the Duke of Parma to such a temper in his condescensions as he thought convenient, and which he knew would be difficult enough. In the end, he adjusted all things so well, that he and the deputies of the League met Cardinal Spada, with whom they thought they had fully agreed upon all particulars. Castro was to be deposited in the hands of the Duke of Modena, and all other things so adjusted, that a short day was appointed for the mutual delivery of all the signatures, and for the execution of all matters agreed upon. When the day came, the Cardinal had not received the Pope's confirmation, and made (as he said, by new instructions) new demands, whereof some had never before been heard of, and others had been debated, and upon consent of all parties laid aside or declined ; which made the deputies suspect that there was never any sincere intention that the treaty should have a good effect ; of which they shortly after were supplied with abundant evidence, and knew that the officers in Cardinal Antonio's army had confidently declared, that the treaty would come to nothing, when the deputies believed it to be concluded : and a letter was intercepted from Cardinal Francisco to Cardinal Spada, in which he gave him thanks, and very much commended his sagacity in suspending the conclusion of that treaty according to their wish, for it was now winter, which was the season they expected to enable them to recover the reputation they had lost, and to reduce the Duke into such straits as should make him submit to more uneasy conditions. But the loud report that Monsieur de Lionne made of those foul tergiversations,
and

and the sense that France declared to have of the in-
 dignity that it sustained thereby, but especially the
 visible decay in the Pope, (hastened, as was supposed,
 by the dark information he got of those transactions,
 which with great care were concealed from him,)
 made them afterwards willing to renew that treaty,
 and to consent to more dishonourable conditions, if
 the Pope's death and the proud humour of his suc-
 cessor had not prevented the entire execution of it ;
 the defect wherein hath since given the succeeding
 Popes some trouble, and will give them more, when
 they have either need of France, or any other occa-
 sion shall invite them into Italy.

The blackest action, and surely the least aposto-
 lical, that unhappy Pope was guilty of, was, that
 when the victorious King of Sweden (of whom the
 world had scarce ever heard before) had covered
 all Germany with blood and slaughter, and by fire
 and sword wrought a greater devastation, almost to
 desolation, than hath ever been produced amongst
 Christians by a war between them ; this successor of
 St. Peter, whose office and peculiar obligation they
 pretend is to root out all heretics, and by right or
 wrong to remove all obstructions which hinder the
 growth or improvement of Catholic religion, refused
 to give the Emperor and Catholic party any assist-
 ance in money, of which he was known to have
 abundance, and the other to want nothing else.
 When the Cardinal Paskan was sent by the Em-
 peror as his ambassador to Rome, to make a lively
 representation of the extremity to which the Catho-
 lic interest in that province was reduced, by the fre-
 quent victories obtained by that King, and the gene-
 ral submission of the greatest cities and towns in his

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IX.

The Pope
refuses pe-
cuniary aid
to the Em-
peror and
to the
Princes of
Germany
against the
King of
Sweden.

CHAP. obedience, and thereupon to press for such a relief
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as in such a case might be expected from Christ's Vicar, to save himself from the ingrateful importunity of that representation ; the Pope positively refused to give him audience, or to receive him as ambassador, upon a suggestion, that no Cardinal could be an ambassador from any secular Prince. And when the ambassador urged the contrary practice, (which was notorious,) His Holiness made no other answer, than that no precedents were valid against his determination. The Cardinal replied, that he would not be restrained from representing the common calamity that had befallen Christendom by such an exception, but would (with his protestation against the violating of the laws of nations) attend the Emperor's farther direction ; and in the mean time, that he, as a Cardinal, would make his relation in the Consistory (from which they could not exclude him) of all that he had to say. This, however, prevailed not with the Pope, nor would he lessen his treasure upon this most important occasion,

Prohibits
the observ-
ance of
peace when
made.

All which doth not make up the blackness of his crime ; but that, when Germany was involved in that dismal ruin, all inclosures thrown up, and the whole country laid waste, when the plague and famine was broken in, and contended with the fire and the sword which should destroy most effectually, and should first kill, then the common Father, who would give no help, should do all he could, and take more pains (than, it may be, would have procured assistance for them) to hinder the miserable remainder that was left alive from preserving themselves ; that he should neither bear a part in the war, nor endure
that

that it should be extinguished by a peace; nay, after he had obstructed all treaties towards it, and crossed and diverted all probable expedients which might procure it; when the Christian prudence and compassion of all other Catholic Princes concurred to put an end to those outrages, and to avert those calamities which had almost extirpated the German nation, (besides the waste it had made of the nobility and gentry of all the nations in Europe,) and had effected it, by agreeing upon such a peace as could only establish it; that when all his temporal inventions could no longer serve to propagate destruction, he then should set his spiritual instruments on work, threaten and pronounce damnation against every one who should submit to or observe the peace, and absolve all men from the most deliberate and solemn oaths which they had entered into to perform the articles of it on their part; this indeed was such a transcendent part of impiety and inhumanity as might well convert mankind to believe, that the office he usurped was never instituted by Christ; nor so savage an appetite ever permitted by him, that must be maintained and cherished by continual draughts of human blood: and it may be reasonably hoped and presumed, that this barbarous exorbitancy in the exercise of them hath wrought that very good effect amongst very good Catholics, that they have neither opinion of, nor reverence for, that his power and authority; since it doth not appear that any one Catholic, of what quality soever, hath been terrified by that devouring Bull from yielding all obedience to, and performing of all the articles of that peace, which he is obliged to observe; which, considering

CHAP. IX. dering the stupidity of that people, may be looked upon as a miracle next to his presumption.

His numerous canonizations.

His canonizations were indeed very numerous, as if he believed that he had more power in heaven than upon earth; Philip Neri, Ignatius Loyola, and Xavier, owe their being saints to him; besides the materials which were laid in by his providence, which have contributed to the preferment of many others to the same degree by some of his successors. And though Francis Borgia, who from being Duke of Candia, and a Grandee of Spain, became a Jesuit, was not yet ripe for a canonization during his reign, yet he declared him to be beatified, and by a special Bull of indulgence he granted that upon the day of his death a mass and extraordinary office should be celebrated in all the houses of the Jesuits; which had been never prescribed nor permitted in the like case before.

Prohibits a public funeral for Fra Paolo at Venice, which nevertheless is solemnized, though he died excommunicated.

Whatever authority he might have in heaven, he left very few marks of any that he had upon earth, even in those cases that might seem to be most relative to his spiritual function. When he was informed that Fra Paolo was dead at Venice, and that the Senate made great preparations for the solemnity of his funeral, he wrote to his Nuncio to prohibit them to proceed therein, or to perform any obsequies, or other offices of respect to his memory, for that he died excommunicated; at which they laughed, and proceeded with the more formality and lustre in the celebration, and put such an inscription upon his tomb, that testifies to the world that they believe he was not in the worse state for the Pope's excommunication.

Upon

Upon the general scandal that was taken by pious Catholics for the absurd custom that was introduced for the painting, adorning, and beautifying the images of saints upon the days of their festivals, that Pope published a Bull, which he called, "*Constitutio circa formam et habitum sacrarum imaginum*;" in which he notices the offence that was taken at those excesses, and strictly forbids all persons whatsoever to presume to put any new colours or paint upon any images, "*aut vestire cum alio habitu et formâ quàm in catholicâ et apostolicâ ecclesiâ ab antiquo tempore consuevit.*" Notwithstanding which prohibition, there are very few eminent churches in any Catholic countries where all the she-saints are not upon the solemn days of their festivals adorned with the best clothes, and in the best fashion, that is used by the best women of that place; and the blessed Virgin is as carefully set out in a *guarda infanta* in Spain, as she is dressed in her hair and other ornaments in France; besides that, it is well known in many places from what original those pictures are copied; which if our Lady knew, she would not think that they had been very tender of her honour, who had brought her into such company.

This Pope, upon a formal complaint made to him by the Bishop and Dean and Chapter of Seville in Spain, that it was a custom there for people generally, and the clergy and religious persons as much as any, to take tobacco in the churches, "*ac quod referre pudet, etiam sacrosanctum missæ sacrificium celebrando sumere &c.*" thereupon declares all persons who shall presume to take tobacco in any churches, "*sive solidum, sive in frustra concisum, aut in pulverem reductum, ore vel naribus et aliàs quomodo li-*"

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Publishes a Bull against dressing out the images of saints on the days of their festival.

Publishes a Bull against taking tobacco and snuff in churches during mass.

"bet

CHAP. " *bet sumere, sub excommunicationis latæ sententiæ eo*
 IX. " *ipso absque aliquâ declaratione &c.*" which prohibi-
 tion hath been so far from producing any reformation, that it is more used than ever by Clergy and Laity of all conditions; insomuch as nothing is more usual throughout Spain than for religious persons in their pulpits, and during the time in which they preach, to turn aside and snuff tobacco for their refreshment, and to do the same two or three times in their sermons; and the practice is since introduced with the same obstinacy into other Catholic provinces. How then can any man believe that they who refuse to submit and yield obedience to such wholesome injunctions and prescriptions, do think that the Pope hath any power or authority from Christ to meddle with their religion, or their manners?

Society of
 the Jesuit-
 esses.

To conclude this observation of the impotency of this Pope throughout his long reign of twenty-one years, we shall do him the justice to give one instance in which he found himself obeyed, though not without some difficulty, at least without some delay, and for his constancy wherein the world is indebted to him. It was his Bull, styled, "*Annulatio et suppressio pretensæ Congregationis Jesuitissarum.*" There had for some years before been several women (virgins as they pretended, nor was there any reproach cast upon them) who assembled themselves together, and (without the countenance of any public authority, for aught appears) formed a society by the name of Jesuitesses. They chose superiors, erected houses, especially in Italy, and in the hither parts of the High Germany; they formed oaths and other vows, prescribed rules and orders to
 be

be strictly observed amongst them, assumed a particular habit to themselves, professed the education of young women and girls in their several societies according to the principles of Catholic religion and of virtue, without any inclosure, and preserving the liberty to go abroad whither they had a mind; and from thence they got the appellation of Galloping Nuns. They were generally looked upon as women of piety and devotion, and many of them of very great parts of discourse; whereof some of our countrywomen of good Catholic families, and without any blemish upon their honour, Bedingfield, Bapthorpe, Ward, and others, were very eminent; and they could never have subsisted without disreputation so many years without the secret countenance, as well as connivance, of some sovereign power. Their design was to divide the sexes, and to make themselves confessors to women; and they did not doubt to get liberty to give absolution, professing and declaring (according to the profitable example of the male society) an extraordinary submission and obedience to the Pope's authority and commands. They had, from their first declared purpose, applied themselves to some of the late Popes (who are naturally as slow in denying as in granting) to be qualified and incorporated by their authority; but, by their short reigns and long forms, in which transactions of such a nature use to pass, without effect; and likewise without the least reproach or discountenance, which they interpreted to be such a kind of warrant, as they might well proceed in their design; and without doubt many others thought so too, and therefore shewed the more favour to them. They had never more confidence of success than when this Pope was chosen,

CHAP. chosen, to whom they made an early address for his
 IX. protection and confirmation. The reputation of the devotion and virtue of many of them, and their conversation, (which appeared more than ordinary in discourse and manners,) had procured them many friends, who interposed on their behalf, and desired the Pope to grant what they desired. Nor did His Holiness reject it suddenly, but sent out many commissions, and appointed many deputies, to examine their actions, and to consider and certify their opinions upon their proposals, which spent many years; and those they lost not in propagating their designs and improving their interest.

Bull for
 their sup-
 pression.

Whether the common report from all countries, (which was not favourable to them,) or the discourses and advice of severe and sober men, (who thought it scandalous to Catholic religion,) or whether the society of the Jesuits (who were believed first to have inspired that people, and to have formed their design) grew jealous that they aspired to an authority that might too near rival theirs, whatsoever it was, the Pope grew very angry with them; and often reciting much of this that hath been said, and that he had resolved utterly to root up those mischievous weeds out of the fields of the Church, and had to that purpose given express order to his Nuncio in the lower parts of Germany, “*Verùm ille Dei timore ac nostro et sedis Apostolicæ respectu post habito &c.*” had forborne to execute his commands. He proceeds to say, “*plantas istas ecclesiæ Dei noxias ne ulterius se diffundant radicibus evellendas et extirpandas esse decrevimus;*” and so pronounces that pretended congregation of women “*seu virginum Jesuitissarum nuncupatarum, illarumque sectam et statum,*” to have

have been void and null from the beginning, and doth for ever suppress and extinguish them; and absolves them from the observation of any vows they had bound themselves, and all rules and orders they had obliged themselves to observe; and strictly charges and commands all those women, who had gathered themselves, or remained together in any pretended college or house, that they forthwith separate and continue no longer together; and that they presume no longer to wear that habit which they had made choice of, and been accustomed to wear; and never more to receive or admit any other woman to wear the same, or to be of the same pretended society: all which I have the more particularly set down, because though it be a transaction of so late a date as contains little more than forty years, and the Bull itself is extant in the fourth tome of the Bullarium, amongst those of Urban the Eighth, and of the year sixteen hundred and thirty; yet I have discoursed with many Catholics, who for the ridiculousness of it do not believe that there was ever any such real design, but that it is a calumny invented by Protestants to expose their religion to reproach. Nor yet did the power and passion of the Pope, vigorously pursued, quickly find obedience; for though it did hinder the propagation, many years passed before those congregations were dispersed; and when they did retire into private houses, they did for the most part persist in wearing the habit, and received more than ordinary respect from the people; whereof some of our countrywomen are yet (I am sure lately were) alive in Rome itself, and continued their habit: and therefore I say again, as I said before, that the world is beholden to Pope Urban for breaking
and

CHAP. and destroying that cockatrice egg, which might
 IX. have been hatched into millions of serpents; nor could any vigilance have prevented, or industry have extinguished, the fire that these female missionaries would by this time have cast in, or brought into, the most peaceable families of all nations.

Proceed-
 ings of the
 conclave
 wherein
 Innocent
 X. is elect-
 ed.

As the Bull of Gregory the Fifteenth produced neither unity nor integrity in the next conclave, as hath been observed in that time, so it could not be expected that it should have more virtue one and twenty years after. Such a long reign of Urban made it believed that his creatures would bestow the Papacy upon what subject they pleased; and without doubt they might have done so, if the two brothers had employed all their forces one way. But Cardinal Antonio was so loud a Frenchman, that with all his power he opposed every man who was proposed, or so much as wished by the Spaniard: whereas Francisco (who was always called Cardinal Barberini) desired not that any man should be chosen Pope who was grateful to France; and yet behaved himself with so much reservation, that the Spaniards trusted him not as of their party, but suspected all the visible discord between him and his brother to be the effect of dissimulation; nor could all their creatures in the conclave (who in number made a major part, and well enough discerned the mischief of the dissension) prevail with them to join both their interests upon one subject. Francisco was the more esteemed, but Antonio the more loved and followed; he did more harm to those whom he opposed, and made himself more odious to them, than his brother did good to those he wished well, or than he made himself grateful to. Cardinal Barberini was only

only solicitous for a Pope upon whose affection his family might entirely depend, and so contracted his thoughts upon very few ; but Antonio was only upon the exclusive part, that none might be chosen who would not be liked by France. The Cardinal's heart was equally set upon Cardinal Pamphili and Cardinal Sachetti, who were both creatures of his uncle, and both always professed much affection and gratitude to the family ; but they were no sooner entered the conclave than the Spaniards excluded the latter of them, by direction, as they pretended, of their King ; but was in truth upon the desire of Cardinal Medicis, who would not endure that another subject of his brother should succeed a man who had so much affronted their family ; and when the Cardinal proposed privately to them that Pamphili might have their approbation, who had been long Nuncio in Spain, and was universally known to be of that faction, they pretended not to approve him, and said, their King desired to have him his friend, but not to have him Pope ; and so they overreached Cardinal Barberini, and kept him from being proposed, because they thought it not yet time ; and they knew that Cardinal Antonio had order from France peremptorily to exclude him, and therefore would have the conclave more tired with being together than it yet was, before they would mention him, whom of all others they desired should be chosen. And Cardinal Bentivoglio, whom the French desired to promote, being carried out of the conclave, and dead ; after two months inclosure in the hot months of June and July, when all the old men despaired of living to see a Pope chosen, the Spanish Cardinals seemed content that Pamphili might be proposed,

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IX.

CHAP. and Cardinal Barberini, by importunity, threats and
 IX. promises, prevailed with his brother not to exclude
 him; whereby Cardinal Pamphili came to be chosen,
 who assumed the stile of Innocent the Tenth.

Innocent
 X. Pam-
 phili, per-
 secutes the
 Barberinis.

Though nothing was more manifest than that he was elected by the party and power of Cardinal Barberini, and the concurrence or silence of Cardinal Antonio, he had so deep a sense of the ill offices and malice that the latter had expressed and avowed towards him, that he scarce acknowledged or took notice of the obligations he had to the other, who made little noise in conferring them; so that the first resolution he took in his Pontificate seems to have been, that he would ruin the family of the Barberinis; of which Antonio's conscience gave him so early notice, and he so well knew that the licence of his former life had made him liable to many inquiries, that he was very little seen in Rome after the creation of Innocent, but within few days he fled in disguise with great expedition into France. Cardinal Barberini thought he had deserved a better return, and the Pope was willing that he should believe by Cardinal Panzirollo, who had the great ascendant over him, that the Pope thought so too. He was secure in the severity of his manners, and could have acquiesced in the plenty of his own acquisitions; but he found that he was no more exempt from the Pope's displeasure than his brother; and that there was a purpose to cast all the charge that had been expended upon that unreasonable war with the Duke of Parma and the Princes of Italy upon him, and to call him to account for all that had been taken out of the revenue or treasure of the Church, though by the warrant of the Pope; which would quickly de-

vour

your the whole fortune of the family, how prodigious soever it was grown to be. This discovery made him, within a short time after, put himself with all secrecy into a vessel that was bound for Genoa, and from thence to make what haste he could to overtake his brother, and to implore the protection of France.

Innocent was full seventy years of age when he was elected Pope; a man of a sour and severe nature, of very strong parts of body and mind, of long experience, good learning in the only learning of that court, the canon law, and generally looked upon as a wise man; and therefore there was throughout Christendom an expectation that he would have proved a good Pope, with reference to the Church, and a good Prince, in suppressing those gross impositions and exactions which had been raised by his predecessor; and which had brought so great an odium upon the family of the Barberinis, that they were thought worthy of any oppression, and to deserve no pity.

Character
of Innocent
X.

But the world quickly found itself undeceived in this expectation, by the Pope's immediate giving himself up into the disposal of an impetuous woman, Donna Olimpia, who had been wife to his elder brother, and was the mother of all the children who were of the family of Pamphili. This woman, from the time of his being Pope, (as she had done long before,) so absolutely governed him, that she disposed of all Bishoprics, Abbies, Canonries, and Benefices, and whatsoever depended upon the Pope, without controul or dispute; he did nothing but by her advice; and she did nothing but for money, and that in so public and scandalous a manner, that the price of all ecclesiastical promotions was as well

Governed
by Donna
Olimpia.

CHAP. known as of any other commodities in the market :
IX.

and all taxes and impositions in the State were so much raised, and the payment thereof exacted with so much severity and rigour, that the reign of Urban was looked upon as a golden age ; and the people became speedily so reconciled to the Barberinis, (who were so lately detested by them,) that they murmured openly at the oppression and persecution that they underwent. This woman industriously inflamed her captive Pope to the utter destruction of them, to which she had no other temptation than the malice of her nature, (for she had never received disobligation from them,) and the hope of getting the disposal of some of their large revenues and preferments.

Bull against
all Cardi-
nals going
out of the
dominions
of the
Church
without
the Pope's
leave.

As soon as it was discovered that they were both got out of reach, Innocent was exceedingly provoked, and published a very angry Bull against all Cardinals who presumed to go out of the lands and dominions of the Church (which had never before been believed to be unlawful) without the licence of the Pope, and against those who at present had absented themselves without his leave. He urged the indecency and odiousness of it, that any Cardinals, who are "*pars corporis et membra ipsius Pontificis, in partem sollicitudinis Apostolicæ vocati, ut personaliter assistant in regimine universalis Ecclesiæ &c.*" That these men should absent themselves from their high station was not to be endured ; and therefore, to prevent this evil for the future, he declares for the time to come, that what Cardinal soever should presume, without the licence of the Pope for the time being, to remove his person out of the temporal dominions of the Church, "*statim et eo ipso, absque aliquâ judi-*
" *cis*

“*cis vel alterius præcedente declaratione,*” he is to stand actually deprived of all immunities or privileges whatsoever : and for them who were at present guilty of this presumption, if they did not, within six months after the publication of this Bull, make their personal appearance in the court at Rome, they should, without any other declaration, “*incidere in pœnas interdicti ingressûs Ecclesiæ;*” and if they did not, after those six months were elapsed, return, they should stand deprived of all their offices and other revenues. And he was at least as good as his word ; for, before the expiration of the term, he caused the whole estate of both, that he could lay hold on, to be seized upon by his own authority, upon pretence of a great debt due from them to the Church, and moreover caused many processes to be formed against Dôn Tadeo, the brother of both the Cardinals, and whose children should inherit all that the family had, or should heap together, and therefore were to be involved in the general ruin.

France was now under the conduct, if not the government, of Cardinal Mazarin, who had no more reverence for Innocent than Cardinal Richelieu had had for Urban ; yet, upon the arrival of the Barberinis in that court, they both underwent an equal weight of mortification. The court of France looked upon the elder brother as a declared and avowed enemy, one who had been always powerful in the faction of Spain, and ought to have resorted thither for protection ; and upon Cardinal Antonio as a man who had broken his trust, for he had been expressly commanded to declare an exclusion of Cardinal Pamphili, at the first shutting up of the conclave, but was overwitted or corrupted by his brother ; so

Reception
of the Bar-
berinis in
France.

CHAP. IX. that they were equally offended with both. The two brothers staid long after their arrival in France before they could procure access to Cardinal Mazarin ; and then they received but very dry entertainment, which they submitted to for some years, that it might be the more evident, that their condition was desperate, if it were not relieved by the interposition and power of that crown ; for at Rome the Pope proceeded against them furiously, and seized upon their revenue, and whatsoever else could be discovered of theirs : all which served in the end to give lustre to the authority of Cardinal Mazarin, and to manifest how much he was the greater man.

Though interdicted by the Pope, they exercise their ecclesiastical functions in France.

And it is observable, that, notwithstanding their eclipse in France, and after the expiration of the term limited for their return, under the penalty mentioned before, they were so far from looking upon themselves as interdicted the Church, that they never failed to exercise their daily functions ; which shews how little reverence they had for his supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Cardinal Mazarin compels the Pope to reinstate the Barberinis.

At this period, when the Pope every day declared more and more his entire devotion to Spain, and his aversion from France, insomuch that the ambassador of that crown could seldom procure an audience, and only short and perfunctory answers, and was compelled to resort to Donna Olimpia for her favour to compass any thing he desired, which was the case indeed of all other ambassadors ; when the Pope, to shew how little he esteemed the power of Cardinal Mazarin, and of France itself, refused to make his brother (a Dominican Friar of no great eminency indeed) a Cardinal, though pressed to do it with all that importunity and impetuosity that is peculiar to that

that court; when He refused to receive an ambassador, or so much as a letter from the King of Portugal, with whom France was in a strict alliance, or to supply the vacant sees of Bishops in that kingdom, even though there was but one Bishop left alive there, as if he intended, and thought it to be in his power, to extinguish Christianity in a whole nation; in a word, when His pride and hypocrisy were so notorious that Spain only had veneration for him; (which nevertheless could not prevail with him to excommunicate their rebels either of Portugal or Catalonia, although, without doubt, the rebellion of the last at least, if not of the former, would at the first blast of it have been suppressed, so much his love to Spain gave place to his fear of France;) at this period, when all men thought that the best prognostic that could be made of the Pope's mind and of his manners, of his nature and of his intentions, was from his face, which was the most ungracious and ugly that ever disfigured a human visage; Cardinal Mazarin now thought it high time to rescue France and the Church itself from the tyranny of his government, and made a war upon him, upon all those points in which he had behaved himself most magisterially. He received it not as any gratification that the Pope had made his brother a Cardinal, (which he did the most against his affection, and the most against his understanding, that any action could be,) but assumed the defence and protection of the Barberini family, that he might abstain from which, the making his brother a Cardinal had been the particular bribe; he prosecuted him by all the reproaches imaginable, of want of justice, and of want of power to warrant his proceedings against the Cardinals Francisco and Anto-

CHAP. nio, as if the King would vindicate their innocence
 IX. by his army in Italy; and, in fine, he prevailed so far, that Cardinal Barberini had first liberty to return to Rome, and had all his estate restored to him; and, in a short time after, Donna Olimpia thought it so necessary for her own benefit, and even for the support and protection of the house of Pamphili, to make a firm friendship with the Barberinis, that she persuaded the Pope to make an alliance with it, and to depend upon Cardinal Barberini as a fast friend; upon which all was likewise remitted to Antonio, who returned to Rome in triumph: and their nephew, son of the elder brother, was likewise made a Cardinal; so that they had now as many voices in the Consistory as they had ever had in the time of Urban their uncle; and from that time to his death the Pope was most governed by the Barberinis.

Jurisdiction of the Pope questioned in France.

The reign of the Pope was so late, and the manifold scandalous things which were done in it were so notorious to all the world, and are yet retained so freshly in the memory of many, that I shall only mention one or two particulars, by which it will enough appear how worthily the Christian world was supplied with an Universal Bishop, and how much religion was advanced and secured by his definitions and determinations, and consequently what kind of understanding those men were of, who did believe that Christ had made choice of such a Vicar, who made choice of such a female deputy to perform the function for him.

Origin of the dispute between the Jansenists and Jesuits.

It was this Pope's misfortune, that there fell out a difference amongst the Roman Catholics, upon a point in religion which had been long debated in former

former ages ; and the Council of Trent had declined CHAP. IX. the giving any determination in it, and was rather contented, even whilst they sat, to have their resolution declared by either party to be on their side, than to offend either by a clear and plain decision ; but falling now to be taken up again by men of more warmth and noise, it much troubled the peace of the Church, especially in France and Flanders.

There had been one Jansenius, who, for his eminency in learning, and fame for piety, had been made Bishop of Ypres in Flanders, and in his life time had printed many books, in some of which he had handled those difficult points of grace and free will, which had been debated in so many ages before ; and his books had been much esteemed by the University of Louvain ; the opinions themselves had been generally maintained and defended by the Friars of St. Dominic in all places, and as generally contradicted and exploded by the other of St. Francis.

After the death of Jansenius, the Jesuits declared great dislike of his books, and first examined the grounds of his opinions in their schools and public exercises in divinity, and took upon them to inveigh against his doctrine with extraordinary bitterness ; and that again was defended with the same intemperance of spirit. The chief and most popular argument that was urged by the Jesuits was, that it was the doctrine of Calvin, and so ought to be condemned as heretical ; and the chief argument used by the Jansenists was, that it was the doctrine of St. Augustin, and therefore could not but be orthodox, and they who would condemn St. Austin might be justly looked upon as enemies to the Catholic religion. The presses were filled with the books of this argument,

The Dominicans support the Jansenists, and the Franciscans the Jesuits.

Calvinism charged upon the Jansenists, who defend their doctrine by St. Austin.

CHAP. argument, and all pulpits debated and handled no-
 IX. thing else; with so much revilings of the persons of
 each, as if modesty and charity had been exploded
 out of the number of Christian virtues. The Society
 of Jesuits to a man, in all nations, embarked and
 listed themselves in this war, and they wrote and
 preached with more eloquence than the other; but
 with such insolence as irreconciled more to them,
 than the strength of the other drew to their opinion:
 and both the University of Louvain, where Janse-
 nius had so long sat in the chair, seemed to adhere
 to his doctrine, and the College of the Sorbonne,
 between approving the opinions and disliking the
 temper and carriage of the Jesuits, were thought
 more inclined to the former; which provoked many
 of the Bishops of France, and many of the most
 learned and eminent of their Clergy, to declare them-
 selves enemies to the Jesuits, rather than friends to
 the others.

Appeal to
 the Pope.

This pen and pulpit war had an influence upon
 the quiet of the State, which was every day troubled
 with complaints and appeals from each other; and
 both seemed desirous, at least willing, to refer the
 decision to the Pope; and the Cardinals who under-
 stood not, nor cared, who was in the right, were very
 willing that the debate should be carried before him,
 who had (whilst it was depending at this distance)
 manifested a great regard of the Jesuits, and as much
 disrespect towards the College of the Sorbonne, with
 which they neither were, nor can ever be surprised:
 and they found both much increased when the scene
 was carried to Rome, where the society is thought as
 omnipotent as the Pope, he being most inspired by
 them; and the old champions of that controversy,
 the

the sons of St. Dominic, were so totally subdued in that climate by the prevalence of the Jesuits, that they only studied distinctions how they might appear neutral; which since that time hath much lessened their reputation in all places.

The University of Louvain, though the Jesuits had great power there and in that whole government, made choice of such deputies to attend the Pope as were most notoriously affected to the opinions of Jansenius, and some who had written in defence of them; the like choice was made at the Sorbonne of the most eminent Doctors thereof, who had most signally opposed and incensed the Jesuits; and they likewise (though they had least need) sent some of their members to prosecute their determinations. These representatives were never permitted to have one audience together from the Pope, nor from the Consistory, nor from any two Cardinals at once; the power of the Jesuits being so great in Rome, and the name of a Jansenist being so branded by them for Calvinists, that those of the Cardinals who were without any passion in their judgments, and had little favour for those of the Society, durst not trust any of their body so much as to confer of the argument together. The Jesuits talked loud and imperiously, and took and sought all opportunities to put neglects and scorns upon the persons of the others; who, with more modesty, behaved themselves with courage enough; and finding that they were more acceptable when they made their visits apart and single, than when they went two or three together, they observed that method, that they might find more freedom from those from whom they expected

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IX.

Proceed-
ings at
Rome.

CHAP. IX. pected justice, and good offices towards the procur-
ing it.

Conduct of
the Pope
and Car-
dinals.

The first business in that Court is always the performance of ceremonies, in the reception whereof they had no cause to complain; and therein the Pope himself was as gracious as they could wish, and dismissed them in such a manner, as if he very well understood their business, and in a very short time would put an end to it. Their next business was to get such a Congregation to be appointed as might hear the whole matter debated, and the arguments and allegations urged on either side; that they might make a full and clear report to the Pope and to the Consistory of the truth of the case of the matter of fact, and of the proofs that were made. There is so exact a relation of all that passed in the solicitation of that affair by Monsieur St. Amour, a learned doctor of the Sorbonne, employed then at Rome in it, that it administers great information and pleasure to the reader; and it is great pity that the good man (who is known to be a good Catholic, and so confessed to be, and the truth of his relation no where questioned) is discouraged or restrained from finishing his account. After the first or second visit, and when they began to enter upon their business, and to be importunate for a Congregation, they seemed to be very troublesome. There were few of the Cardinals who understood any thing of the controversy, or had faculties which made them capable of being informed. They who were prepared by the Jesuits, and seemed to have read Jansenius, entertained them with reproaches, and accused them of holding these and these monstrous opinions, which it was high time for

for the Pope to condemn, and to punish the authors and supporters of them; and when they disclaimed all those opinions, as neither contained in Jansenius, nor believed by any of them, and would have proceeded to the informing them of the truth, the Cardinals rescued themselves by giving them new ill words, as a people that ought not to be believed. The very few who did in truth understand the differences in question, or who did ingenuously desire to be informed, received them always very civilly, and lamented (if there were but one present) that the matter they came about was so little understood in Rome; and from thence they concluded, that they would receive little satisfaction by their prosecution. No man seemed to receive them with more candour and grace, or to hear them with more patience and attention, than Innocent himself; yet when they enlarged upon the point, and cited the words of St. Austin to this and that purpose, he appeared not to be at ease, and often said, “*Io non sono Teologo, Io non sono Teologo;*” and then dismissed them with a renewed promise that he would forthwith name a Congregation to hear them, which he never thought of afterwards.

The conclusion of this so great matter of faith was, that after they had solicited to be heard for the space of fifteen or sixteen months, with such importunity as made every body weary or ashamed of hearing them, they could never procure a Congregation; nor that their adversaries and they might be heard together in any place. Many of them left Rome for fear of being banished from thence, and returned into their own country; and others the more securely stayed there to see and observe the end of it; and truly

CHAP. truly the end of it was shortly after very notorious.

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The Pope, finding it much more easy to judge than to understand, or believing that the understanding of the Jesuits was sufficient for them and him too, without ever hearing the doctrine debated by the persons concerned, or in the Consistory, pronounced his definitive decree in the words and terms prepared by the Jesuits; in which he condemned the Five Propositions collected out of Jansenius (who had been then dead about twenty years) as false, scandalous, and heretical; and pronounced an anathema upon all who should maintain or defend them; and that he might be sure to restore peace to the Church by this Apostolical determination, he required by another act, (shortly after published by the same infallible authority,) that all Bishops should subscribe to the verity of those his new articles of faith, and require all their Clergy under their obedience to renounce the believing of any of those condemned heresies.

The Jansenists deny that the Propositions are in his works.

But now the world could hold out laughing no longer; and it fell out, as it usually doth upon all excesses of jurisdiction, when men will immoderately extend their power farther than it can possibly reach, persons most concerned and grieved usually make it less than in truth it is, or deny that of right they have any at all. The Pope's decision found little reverence and submission either to his person or his chair; and the foul circumstances which had attended upon his judicial spirit was discoursed of in all Catholic assemblies with a very Catholic licence and detestation; and the Jansenists, when they saw with how little gravity they had proceeded at Rome, gave over being serious too, and made themselves merry

merry with the Pope. They found no fault with the decree, nor complained of not being heard; possibly they believed that his spirit could as well discern without it as with it; but they said, that they were not at all concerned in the determination, and that those Propositions, which were under so many anathemas condemned by the Pope, were not to be found in Jansenius; and that he had never avowed any of them.

This evasion exceedingly provoked the Jesuits, who called them (with better warrant than formerly) heretics; and accused them of opposing and contradicting the Pope's judgment in matters of faith; and they with as much mettle replied, that they did not question his judgment in matters of faith, but in matters of fact, in the discerning whereof he was as fallible as other men, and depended upon what he was informed as much as others do; as appeared by this very sentence, wherein he had condemned Jansenius for having said and written what in truth he had neither written or said; which being matter of fact, ought to be proved, and could be known no otherwise to the Pope, than it was to other men.

The scene became now changed, and (as it commonly falls out between fierce and angry disputants) each maintains what he need not to maintain, and undertakes to prove a thousand absurdities impertinent to the matter in controversy, but excellent fuel to make the fire that was throughly kindled to flame out abundantly. The Jesuits, who had lately much laboured in producing many discourses of conscience, being now chafed with disputing, and believing themselves strong enough to remove any obstruction that was cast in their way, published a very confident discourse,

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And contend that the Pope, though supreme judge in matter of faith, is not so in matter of fact.

Prosecution of the controversy in books on both sides.

CHAPTER IX. course, in which they averred that the Pope was no less judge of matter of fact, than he is of faith, and therefore that all men were as much bound to believe that those propositions are contained in Janse-
 ninus, as they are to believe that they are heretical; since it must be presumed that he would never have condemned them to be the last, if he had not been very sure of the truth of the first. And Innocent was of their mind, and with notable obstinacy (which was his chief talent, and which he bequeathed as a legacy to his successor) renewed all his former decrees and declarations; and required, without farther delay, an entire submission and obedience to all his dictates. But this was a new case, and raised the spirit of the Sorbonne, who had no opinion in truth of his faculty in defining matters of faith, but would not endure that it should extend likewise to matters of fact; and thereupon they severely censured two or three of the Society who had preached or printed, or otherwise maintained, that authority to be in the Pope.

Pascal's
 Provincial
 Letters.

The Jansenists, upon these advantages, gave over the writing large volumes upon the original quarrel, which few men read but they who were intoxicated on the one side or the other; and they betook themselves to write little animadversions, by way of letter, that contained one or two sheets of paper, which every body read with delight; in which they described the nature and humour of the Jesuits, and published their opinions in matter of conscience; which produced answers from them in the same volumes, and with their natural insolence and averring the truth of what was objected, which they were not obliged to have done; and this again drew upon them such sharp replies, till the letters written
 against

against them amounted (being collected together, CHAP. IX. which all men had the curiosity to do) to a great volume in quarto, under the title of “the Provincial Letters;” which all read, and will always read, with great pleasure, who are delighted with the most natural wit and the greatest eloquence and propriety of words that is extant in the French, or, it may be, in any other language: and to how high a pitch soever the French language is ascended, it will not deny, but that those letters are a great ornament to it.

It is evident that they broke the heart of the Jesuits, who have visibly since hung down their heads, and had no other way to redeem themselves from the last contempt, than by procuring a positive order and command from the King, that neither they nor the other party should continue that way of writing any longer, under great penalties. Yet it discovered one secret, which probably troubles them as much as any other part of their sufferings; that whereas they are most unjustly accused of knowing the secrets of all private families, and of being the greatest and most skilful spies in the world, they never were able to find out who was the author of those Letters whilst he lived, and till his friends thought it injustice to his memory to conceal it; and then they knew, that, against all suggestions and insinuations that it was this or that advocate, or such a Bishop, or another whom they thought worthy to be their enemy, it was a private gentleman of no profession, but endowed with excellent learning, piety, and virtue; which made the wounds they had received to bleed afresh, and fester the more; so that, having found in what church he had been interred, (which, as I remember,

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member, was some leagues distant from Paris, where his estate lay,) they employed some agents to negotiate with the Curate of that parish, and who had often assisted him in his sickness, to declare that, before his death, he found infinite compunction, and passionately lamented the having been author of these Letters: but they easily discerned, that this credit and reputation was too strongly and substantially built to be demolished by such weak and impotent blasts.

The Sorbonne condemns the opinions of the Jesuits.

A great number of the most learned and eminent Bishops and Prelates of France (for in Flanders they were more subdued, the Archbishop of Mechlen and Bishop of Ghent being discountenanced to the highest degree, and threatened to be deprived) assumed the courage to refuse to subscribe to what was required, or to command their Clergy to do it; and made an address and remonstrance to the King and the Pope, to which they set their hands, and in which they gave many reasons why they ought not to be compelled to make any such subscription, and likewise inserted many such expressions as made it evident that they looked upon the Jesuits as the sole prosecutors of that affair. But the greatest part of the Curés of Paris spoke plainer language; and, as they spoke with freedom enough against the decree itself, and made all those exceptions, and others to it, which have been mentioned, so they made many bitter invectives against the Society, as the corrupters of Christianity, and the patrons of all licence and corruption in manners, and demanded justice against them and many of their doctrines, which were carefully collected into a schedule, with the names of the authors who had published them, and the chapter and the page where
the

the very words were contained. The publication of them in this manner produced the effect it desired, in exceedingly lessening the opinion that had been contracted of the Jesuits' piety and devotion, and the reverence that had been paid to them; and without doubt withdrew the respect of very many considerable persons from them. But it did not produce that public prosecution in justice as was expected, in the branding such enormous and monstrous conclusions; though some of them underwent the severe condemnation of the Sorbonne, and the Parliament had a very great inclination to have assumed the examination both of the doctrines and the persons; for though there was no one man of the Society disclaimed the opinions, they all said, they could not be charged upon the Society, but upon the particular persons who had published them; and yet all the books which contained those opinions were printed with all those formal licences, by the several Superiors, as are prescribed by their rules, and may justly be said to involve the whole Society. Innocent was not moved with all this, either to suspend the execution of his own decree, which he saw was every day more and more contemned, nor to examine or take notice of those scandalous doctrines, with the maintenance and defence whereof the Jesuits were charged, but continued the same animosity and fierceness against the Jansenists which he had before, even to his death. As this fell out before the execution of his decree, or any submission to his determination, we shall have occasion again to observe the farther prosecution of it in the reign of his successor; and at last it will appear, what jurisdiction and authority were found necessary rather to lay

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CHAP. IX. that unruly controversy asleep than to determine it ;
 ——— neither of which could be done by the Papal power, and yet was done principally to preserve the Society from farther disgrace.

The Pope forbids the observance of the peace of Germany.

The choler that Pope Urban had expressed against the peace of Germany was rather against the preliminaries towards it by the cessation ; which was therefore the more cruel, that he would not allow those who were faint with the loss of blood to take a little breath to refresh themselves. The final peace was not concluded till some years after the reign of Innocent ; who, imitating his predecessor in assigning or contributing nothing towards the maintenance of the war, but sending an extraordinary Nuncio by all artifices to prevent the peace, outdid him in his passion and rage, when he could no longer hinder the conclusion of it. He begins his Bull for the declaration of the nullity of it, with “ *Zelus Domini Dei animum nostrum assidue &c.*” according to the natural prefaces of that Court to all acts of blood and cruelty ; when, by some text of Scripture, or exalted expression of their love and zeal for his service, they make God himself to blow the trumpet towards the most impious wars, and for the propagation and countenance of the foulest actions, which he hath plainly declared himself to condemn and to abhor. Then he professes, with what grief and trouble of heart he hath been informed of the peace lately concluded at Osnaburgh and at Munster, (for the dissent of the French to have the Spanish interest comprehended had made the treaty to be held in two places,) against all the endeavours he could use, and against the protestation of his venerable brother Fabius, (who was his extraordinary Nuncio

Nuncio then there, and afterwards his successor in the Papacy,) who, he said, had declared the articles of that peace to be unjust and void, because it was “no-
 “ *tissimi juris quæcumque transactionem seu pactio-*
 “ *nem in rebus ecclesiasticis, sine præfatæ sedis au-*
 “ *thoritate factam, nullam, nulliusque roboris et mo-*
 “ *menti existere:*” which, if true, or if Catholic Princes believed it to be true, the Latin Church would undergo a much more insupportable slavery under His Holiness, than the Greek Church doth sustain under the tyranny of the Grand Signior. Then he proceeds, out of the tenderness of his conscience, “*pro*
 “ *commissi nobis ex alto pastoralis officii debito provi-*
 “ *dere volentes &c.*” to express his own indignation at that peace; and “*de Apostolicæ sedis plenitudine,*” he declares all those articles which had any reference to the ecclesiastical state, or to ecclesiastical persons, “*præjudicium etiam minimum afferunt, aut inferre*
 “ *quoquomodo dici vel censeri possent &c. ipso jure*
 “ *nulla, irrita, invalida, &c.;*” with that multitude of other words which their capriccios are accustomed to, and nobody thinks worth the considering, when all the ecclesiastical Princes and other Bishops, and (for aught appeared to the contrary) all the Clergy that was concerned, cheerfully gave their consent to what was agreed, and well knew that there could be no peace without those concessions; nor did they give any thing that they had not been long without, and secured the rest by releasing an irapotent claim of what they had no rational hope to recover, and were in evident danger to lose what they were yet in possession of: and so he positively requires and forbids all persons to observe the peace, and frankly absolves them from all the oaths they had taken for

CHAP. the observation thereof, to which not one Catholic
IX. — ever submitted.

Decision of
the Pope in
favour of
the Jesuits
against the
Bishop of
Angelopoli-
tana.

The last determination that ever he made in any thing relating to religion was in behalf of the Jesuits, against the Bishop of Angelopolitana in the West Indies, a learned and an eloquent man, who in his own behalf, and in the name of many other Bishops of that patriarchate, came to Rome to complain of the unrighteous proceedings of the Jesuits in those parts, their scandalous doctrines, and compounding with the native Pagans to become half Christians, and to remain Gentiles in the other part of their belief and practice; and that they will not receive any advice or order from the Bishops or Metropolitans, in cases which do exceed, or are not comprehended within the privileges which are granted to them. Innocent gravely advised the Bishop, without examining the truth of the allegation, “*ut* “*Christianaë mansuetudinis memor, erga societatem* “*Jesu, quæ laudabili suo instituto in ecclesiâ Dei tam* “*fructuosè laboravit, paterno se gerat affectu &c.*” and declares, that in any difference which should arise between them, upon the interpretation of their privileges, (as the Jesuits could not be without the wit to justify whatsoever they said or did under the protection of their privileges,) there should be no recourse to any Bishop or Metropolitan in the Indies, but that the appeal should be to the Pope himself; and, which is yet more admirable, he declares, “*Non* “*indigere patres societatis approbatione prævioque* “*examine Episcopi, seu licentiâ, sed solum benedic-* “*tione:*” so that the Bishops must ordain them Priests, whatever they believe of their learning or their manners, which is more than they can challenge

lenge yet in any Catholic province in Europe; and, after all, the poor Bishop was not suffered to return to the Indies, to give an account to his brethren of the honour that the Universal Bishop vouchsafed to confer upon them, but was removed to another Bishopric in the most desert parts of Spain, where he died shortly after, a sacrifice to the displeasure of the Society.

The kingdom of Portugal gave this miserable Pope more trouble; and he loved his ease so well, that he desired to be without the obligations of his function. There remained now in that whole kingdom but one Bishop alive; and the King of Spain would not endure that any new should be made; and Innocent had made a vow never to displease him, and had hitherto given himself some ease by obstinately refusing to acknowledge that King, or to receive any ambassador or other minister from him. But his own dear brother, Cardinal Mazarin, would not suffer him to enjoy the pleasure of that slumber; he prevailed with the most Christian King to put him in mind roundly of his duty, and to tell him that he took too much upon him to judge of the right and title and descent of Crowns, and to the government of nations, which could not belong to him, but was to be decided by the laws and constitutions of kingdoms; and that when all other Kings and Princes (only the single person who was a party excepted) acknowledged a Monarch, who was entirely possessed of all the dominions he pretended a right to, and received ambassadors from him, (which it could not be presumed they would have done, without being well informed of the title he justly laid claim by,) it must seem to them all that His Holiness refusing to con-

Cardinal
Mazarin
denies the
power of
the Pope to
judge of
titles to
Crowns.

CHAP. IX. cur with them could proceed from nothing but the assuming a jurisdiction to himself to determine the controversy, which too much concerned all other Princes and States to permit.

Remonstrance of the King of France against the Pope's conduct towards Portugal.

When this plain and good counsel could not awaken him out of his lethargy, the King of France commanded his ambassador to pursue him with continual and loud instances; and at last to present and publish a Remonstrance on the behalf of Portugal, in which they complained of his injustice and impiety, that (being a Catholic nation that had never cherished or endured a heresy to grow amongst them, but had been always dutiful children to the Sacred Chair, and all entirely in subjection to their natural King, who had only right to govern them, and his title to which they set out) he should refuse to acknowledge them as such; and that, by denying his Bull for the consecration of Bishops in the many vacant sees, he should threaten the suppression of the Catholic religion itself in that kingdom: after which, and many unanswerable arguments, very confidently urged and insisted on against his having any such power and authority as he pretended to, they told him, with the same confidence, that if he continued in this unfatherly resolution towards his children, they would likewise forget that they were his children, and would choose a Patriarch for the regulation and government of that Church that he had rejected or deserted. The Remonstrance is translated into all languages, and is well known and understood in all nations, without having ever had the least answer to it, and doth manifest enough how far the Catholics of all nations were from believing that the Pope's authority is a part of the Catholic faith.

When

When he had governed very little, and been go-
 verned very much, for the space of ten years, and
 was as weary of the world as the world was of him,
 he began to reflect, with great agony of mind, upon
 the no good and much hurt he had done in the ad-
 ministration of his Apostleship. Upon the repre-
 sentations of all the courts of Catholic Princes of the
 scandal which his government gave to all the world,
 and of the frequent lampoons which were cast abroad
 in all places, and not concealed from his own view,
 but especially upon Donna Olimpia's having prevail-
 ed upon him to create a boy of eighteen years of age
 (scarce of any quality, and of the most abject parts
 of understanding, and the most dissolute parts in
 manners) a Cardinal, to the reproach and infamy of
 the College; and for no other reason but being her
 nephew, and to manifest the extravagancy of her
 spiritual power, the instance whereof is still living
 as a monument of that Pope's madness, and of his
 contempt of religion. He had for some years before
 pretended to withdraw himself from the empire of
 Donna Olimpia, that is, that she should withdraw
 herself from the court; but this proved only a pre-
 tence; for his affection was too deeply rooted in him
 to live without her; so that it was only an absenting
 herself during those hours of the day which were
 subject to all men's observation, and repairing thi-
 ther in the evenings, which could be taken notice of
 only by those who durst not discourse of what they
 saw; but her interest was not lessened, nor the pro-
 fit she reaped by it abated. The credit and virtue of
 Cardinal Barberini, and the new alliance which she
 had made with him, gave her many advantages; for
 the Pope consulted most with him, and he was very
 just

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 —————
 Death of
 Innocent.

CHAP. just to her in the preservation of the old kindness to
 IX. her; and her diligence and attendance about him was so necessary, that she departed not from his chamber till the moment of the Pope's death, which she concealed as long as was possible, and till she had caused those things of value to be conveyed out of the Court, which she had suffered to remain there so long. So died Innocent, after the eightieth year of his age was expired, and left behind him the fame of a very weak and wilful man, who was neither fit to govern the Church nor the State, and lost all the reverence and esteem of Christian Princes, for the scandal he brought into and upon the government and religion, the latter of which he neither understood nor cared for; and if he were Christ's Vicar, he carried as ill an account with him to his Master, as most who had been deputed to that service before him.

Election of
 Alexander
 VII. Chigi.

There was not now a more universal expectation of a new Pope, than that there should be such an one as would vindicate the Sacred Chair from the foul blemishes and reproaches which the last man had brought upon it, and who would begin that vindication, by taking full vengeance upon the infamous Donna Olimpia, against whom there was no kind or species of transgression that could not have been justly charged and amply proved. Nor did this purpose or expectation more possess the people than it did the Conclave itself, which seemed to contain in it but two factions; the one for the choice of a Pope who would cause the ill actions of the last to be thoroughly examined, and the lewd woman to be destroyed; the other, that such a man might be elected, who would prevent the like enormity for the future, without exercising much rigour upon what

was

was past: but they of this spirit were thought to be of so small a number, that nobody doubted they would be suddenly so much overpowered, that the Conclave would be very short. The interposition of the Crowns was of no other signification, than the subject proposed was thought qualified for one of the purposes aforesaid; nor was either of them solicitous for the preservation of the family that they had never cared for, except it was attended with some other convenience. The Barberinis, of which there were three Cardinals in the Conclave, were very powerful; and the virtue of the eldest was so much revered, that it was generally believed Cardinal Francisco would have come out Pope, (for he had one day thirty-three voices,) if it had not been for his known affection to the house of Pamphili, which he would not be prevailed with to desert. When the Conclave had continued near four months without any appearance of union, the party that had most laboured for the preservation of Donna Olimpia began to incline to such a moderation, that if those might be excluded who were known to be at that defiance with her, that for revenge had vowed and laboured her destruction, they would no longer insist upon the election of such a one as was known to adhere to her interest, but would be well contented that such a one might be named, who in all probability would govern himself by the rules of justice, and ordinary prudence. This brought the Cardinal Chigi upon the stage, which pleased the Cardinal Barberini well; for he being a Cardinal created by Innocent, it was not probable that he would shew any sharpness against the family of his founder, which was not the custom of the Conclave; and the brutal behaviour at

present

CHAP. present of that Cardinal, whose want of merit and all
 IX. virtue had drawn that eternal odium upon Innocent, in all the foul language against his memory, and to the prejudice of his aunt, did her more good than harm; every man so much abhorring his person and his manners, that they thought it dishonourable to concur with him in any thing. On the other side, they who knew well the obligations that Cardinal Chigi had to Innocent, knew well likewise, that in the very time he had received them he never made the least acknowledgment for them to Donna Olimpia, nor could ever be persuaded to make her one visit, which he always excused by the uncourtliness of his nature, and his never having been bred in the conversation of women. So that both parties satisfied themselves that he was sufficiently qualified for both their purposes, and though both France and Spain had once resolved to exclude him, they were at last both contented to accept him; and so with an universal consent, and without any opposition, he was elected Pope, and took the name of Alexander the Seventh.

His character and his conduct towards his family.

Alexander was surely as acceptable at the time when he was chosen to all the Princes of Europe, and to all the people of Rome, as any man could have been that was within the inclosure of the Conclave. He was esteemed learned, and had the elegance of the Latin tongue in great perfection, and was a master of all polite learning, and excelled Pope Urban in poetry, and had good experience in the transaction of public affairs. They who knew him but little had very much esteem of him, as a man of wisdom and extraordinary civility, upon which account the Princes of Germany, who had known him

him during his Nunciature, were exceedingly pleased with his promotion ; and they who knew him better, and were not abundantly confident of the sincerity of his nature, thought him a wary man, and not like to commit any gross faults. In his entrance into the Pontificate he did two great actions, both which had as much of popularity in them, and raised his reputation as high, far and near, as any thing he could have done. The first was, his declaring publicly, and industriously, and affectedly, that he would never suffer any of his kindred to come to Rome ; that he loved them very well, and would do them good, that they might be the better for his promotion, but that they should not come to Rome ; which he confirmed with an oath or vow ; and took delight in professing, that he would banish nepotism from that court, which was a weed that had grown up lately, (that is, two hundred years,) and had brought so great scandal upon the Church. And of his full resolution to remain steady in this particular he gave a seasonable evidence ; for, as soon as his election was known, the Great Duke, whose subject he was, sent immediately to Sienna, (the city where his family had always resided in the quality of gentlemen of very moderate fortunes,) to congratulate with his brother, sisters, and sons, upon the advancement of his brother, and sent some presents to them all ; and the same respect they received from that city, and all the neighbours of quality. And Don Mario his brother, and his son, though they had received advertisement of the Pope's pleasure, believed their presence would quickly remove that prejudice ; and so made haste to put themselves in such an equipage as might be fit for their new greatness to make a visit

CHAP. visit to the Pope, and were accordingly attended by
 IX. the Magistrates and principal persons of Sienna
 some leagues on their journey; with which he being
 quickly informed, was so highly offended, that he
 sent a messenger to meet them in the middle of their
 way, and to command them in his name, without
 advancing farther, to return immediately to Sienna,
 and remain there: this they durst not but presently
 obey, and returned with as much privacy as they
 could to the place from whence they came so lately
 in such triumph; nor could any body have imagined
 that he would have given such a mortification to his
 own family, if he had not intended they should al-
 ways remain strangers to him.

Prosecutes
 Donna O-
 limpia.

His second popular action was, his discovery that
 he resolved strictly to examine the miscarriages
 which had been in the time of his predecessor, and
 especially to call Donna Olimpia to a severe account
 for the money she had received out of the treasure of
 the Church; and he appointed a committee of per-
 sons unloved by her, and well acquainted with her,
 to receive the complaints that should be brought
 against her, and the testimonies that should be
 brought of all her exactions and offences, of what
 kind soever; whereof some were of such a magni-
 tude, as were thought might reach her life. She was
 not without some friends, who desired to preserve
 the family from ruin, for she had contracted all the
 general odium against herself and the dead Pope:
 but her son, the Prince Pamphili, who had married
 the Princess Roxana, and two other noble Princes,
 who had upon her promises, or their own expecta-
 tions, married her daughters, were loved and pitied
 the more for the extreme ill nature that she had ex-
 pressed

pressed towards them all, during her whole reign ; she having prevailed with Innocent to banish her son from Rome for many years, that he might not be thought her rival in the Pope's favours, or in conferring his graces ; nor were the others permitted to have access to him : however, they were now equally, at least jointly, concerned in preserving the vast wealth she had heaped up for herself, and which she must leave behind her, from being a prey to others, who had deserved no better than themselves, against whom nothing could be objected. Cardinal Barberini was their fast friend, and had defaced the memory of all the oppression that he had sustained from Innocent and Donna Olimpia, in the beginning of his reign, with the sense and gratitude for the benefits he received from them both in the end of it, though they scarce repaired the damage of the former : but all this weighed little against the general clamour, and the implacable prejudice that was in the Pope's heart against her, whose name he could not hear mentioned without some commotion. She sent one day to him, by a person not unacceptable, to beseech him to admit her to an audience, when she was confident she should appear to be innocent from many of the aspersions which had been cast upon her ; to which the Pope answered presently, " That she had been too familiar with one Pope, for another to have any thing to do with her ;" and so turned away : and within few days after, that he might be free from those perpetual importunities, he sent an officer to command her within three days to go out of Rome, and to go to Orvieto, (thirty leagues from thence,) and not depart from thence without his leave first obtained : which sentence she made haste

CHAP. IX. haste to obey, and, stealing out of Rome in the night for fear of the people, whose rage she had great reason to apprehend, she lodged within two leagues of the city, and then prosecuted her journey to Orvieto; the preparing her process in Rome, and the examination of witnesses in order thereunto, being proceeded in with the same vigour.

His conduct towards the Emperor of Germany, and King of France.

The carriage of the Pope towards the two Crowns was with visible impartiality, nor did either of them except against it. It had been one of the popular discourses to which he had long accustomed himself, especially during the time of his Nunciature, that it was an abominable thing that all the Princes of Christendom did not unite to compel the two Crowns to a peace, and he seemed to think that the Pope himself did not enough do his duty towards it. He knew well the Pope had wished it much, and performed those offices which, if they had not an aversion, could not but dispose them to it; but that in such a case, where Christianity was so much concerned, and underwent so much reproach and scandal by it, he thought the Pope ought to speak plainer language, and even to threaten both Kings with the censure of the Church; and as soon as he was Pope he sent a Nuncio to each Crown, charged only with motives to the peace. In Germany he had talked aloud, how infamous a thing it was to all Christian Princes, that, after they had looked on and seen a great King murdered in the sight of the sun by his own subjects, and his posterity forced to seek their bread in foreign countries, (a case in which all the Monarchs of the world were concerned, and ought to revenge, till they had rooted out that cursed race of men from the earth,) they yet intended their own

unne-

unnecessary and impertinent quarrels, and, out of the gaiety of their humour, cared not for offending God or man. So that, when the news came of his being mounted into that Chair, many of the German Princes (the King being then at Cologne) sent to congratulate with his Majesty for his promotion, which they said would infallibly produce some notable advantage to his affairs. But his Nuncios did no more towards a peace than the former had done; nor after a little time was he warmer in it than his predecessor had been; and Cardinal Mazarin slighted more whatsoever was proposed by him. That Cardinal, during his retreat from France in the time of the troubles, had reposed himself at Cologne, and in a house of that Elector's near the city, and so had some conferences with the Nuncio, who, not being well satisfied with the Cardinal's discourse, did afterwards declare before many persons, that it was Cardinal Mazarin's fault that there was no peace, nor would there be any as long as he continued in that ministry; which discourse Mazarin never forgave him after he was Pope, and was the less moved by his interposition.

There was another great action that he attempted, and brought to pass, which was thought most difficult, and is an unparalleled instance of the great authority that the fame of his abilities had given him; which was, the reversal of that famous decree against the Jesuits by the Senate of Venice, which had been so often urged by several Popes, and as often rejected, without so much as suffering it to be proposed; yet he so ordered it, upon his first ascending the Chair, after two Popes who had not been so propitious to that Republic, that as nobody durst advise it, so nobody

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He obtains the reversal of the Venetian decree against the Jesuits, and condemns the Jansenists.

CHAP. IX. body would oppose it; and so it being pressed by his Nuncio, the decree was silently reversed. Whatsoever his care was of that Society, theirs was not the like of him; for, having the full ascendant over him, they prevailed with him to renew and confirm the decree that his predecessor Innocent had published against the Jansenists, (besides some new clauses, that required their immediate conformity,) and likewise to write to the King to require their obedience by his authority; which made the affront he underwent the more notorious, that the decree of two Popes successively *in cathedrâ*, and in matter of faith, could not gain belief amongst Catholics.

Invites his
relations to
Rome.

It began now to appear, that Alexander had not laid in a stock of constancy and virtue that would last above a year, and that he began to be weary of being so unlike other Popes; for that term was no sooner expired, but that he took all occasions to speak of his kindred as persons of merit, and to mention the respects which had been paid to them upon his elevation as somewhat with which he was well pleased, and gave order more publicly for returning good sums of money to them at Sienna, (which he had formerly done with reservation both in the manner and the proportion,) at which nobody was offended, but thought he did well. This gave occasion to many who would be good courtiers to administer some discourse of them; and to tell the Pope, that it was generally much wondered at that they came not to Rome, where they might be an ease and comfort to him, without any of those inconveniences which had in other times given occasion of offence; their own virtuous tempers and inclinations, in which they said they were eminent, together with the strict discipline

discipline observed in the court of His Holiness, with his example, and the indefatigable pains he took in his own person for the dispatch of all important affairs, would restrain them within the bounds which he thought fit to prescribe to them, and which their modesty would not exceed; but that the restraining them from coming to Rome, a place to which all the world had liberty to resort, was against the law of nature, and that common justice that ought to be the rule of all good men's actions; that he deprived himself of the greatest comfort that nature had provided for him, in making those of his nearest blood, who were so qualified that they might be great blessings to him, the only strangers to him; and deprived them of the benefit that nature had given them, to be in the presence and under the protection of their nearest parent; from both which severe and unusual proceedings the world must conclude one or two propositions, either that he was a person of a very hard and ill nature, and without any bowels to his own nearest relations, which was not a good character of the universal Father, nor agreeable to that excellent temper God had endowed him with for the good of Christianity; or that they were an infamous people, given up to the practice of all vice, that must render his relation to them uncomfortable and injurious, which must inevitably produce such dishonourable reflections upon their persons and their manners, as the most implacable enemies could raise; which could not but in a degree reflect likewise upon His Holiness, at least upon his misfortune, from which God had entirely preserved him, and, instead thereof, had conferred blessings upon him, which all other men would be

CHAP. IX. exalted with, and he rejected: and then they told him, that it was against all rules of justice, that his family only, which before had the liberty of all other men, to live where they had most mind to do, at least to go to what place they would, must be banished Rome because they had a brother and an uncle that was Pope; so that the greatest honour that any other family was capable of must be the greatest mortification that his could undergo.

Proceed-
ings to-
wards their
reception.

When these discourses had been often made to him by many of those Cardinals and others who best knew how to make their court, he could not deny but that he found that nature was more powerful in him than he conceived it could ever have been; that the very good report he heard from all hands of his brother, whom he always knew to be a man of honour and exemplary virtue, and the good education he had given his sons, who he heard were very hopeful, and without any notable vice, and the humility with which they had all submitted to his commands, though it could not but be very grievous to them, had so much affected him, that he confessed he had a good mind to see them, and enjoy their conversation in some private place out of Rome, though it were limited to three or four days; which yet he foresaw would raise much discourse, as if he had receded from his former resolution, which he had heard had been very grateful to all foreign Princes when it had been imparted to them, and therefore he had no intention to change that purpose. They who knew his mind best took care that he should not rest in those thoughts, which were so uneasy and unpleasant to him; and, for his better satisfaction, prevailed with some ambassadors to

move

move him plainly to the same purpose, and to assure him that the calling those of his family to Rome had been long expected, and would be very grateful to all Princes; that it was true, that his first declaration of that purpose was very agreeable to all men, both for the rarity of it, and upon the observation that before the Popes themselves understood well their own province, their nephews, who were utterly ignorant before, possessed themselves and engrossed all business, and introduced corruptions by their ignorance and covetousness, that could never be removed or reformed; and therefore that they were all pleased to hear that His Holiness would have nobody about him in that capacity or relation, but would govern his affairs entirely by his own prudence, and not suffer any body to pretend to understand them better than he did himself, which he had now made good by his unwearied pains, and so much made himself master of all business, that he could well govern his nephews, and could never be suspected to be governed by them, which was the cause of all the former mischiefs: and he having now attained his end, all men would be glad to see him draw his kindred to him, to whom they would bring ease and comfort, and could bring no incommodity to any body else under his prudent and pious government and direction. Nor were some ambassadors reserved in performing those offices, who well knew that their masters would be best pleased to see him do any thing that might draw reproach and contempt upon him. That which troubled him most was, the vow that he had made with the privity, if not the advice, of his Confessor, which was no secret, that he would not suffer his kindred to come to Rome, which his Confessor had

CHAP. published for his honour in a very voluminous book,
 IX. with such immense commendation of his piety and wisdom in the making that vow, that you may easily see that he was not without some pride in being thought to be the author of it; and this far was already printed before these new pauses appeared. But he had the same Confessor still, whom he had since made a Cardinal, and who was the ablest and the fittest man living to untie those knots, which he had tied himself, when they grew uneasy or unpleasant to the person that was bound; and so he extols him at the end of his book (his Answer to the History of the Council of Trent) for having done that which in the beginning he had magnified him for resolving so solemnly never to do.

The Pope evades his oath by going to Castel Gandolfo.

It may administer some cause of wonder, that, to disentangle himself from this obligation, by the same powerful antidote which he so willingly and frequently prescribes to others in the same distempers and inquietudes, he did not, out of the plenitude of his power, absolve himself from performing the rash promise he had made, and dispense with the observation of his unreasonable vow; which would have been a thousand times more agreeable to his dignity than the mean and the low evasion that he stooped to, which no casuists can allow. The vow and resolution that he had made, if the same was ever reduced into words, was, that his kindred and family should not come to him to Rome, and the evasion that was found out between him and his Confessor was, that, instead of their coming to him to Rome, he would go to them to Castel Gandolfo; and this only to comply with his natural affections, and not at all to depart from his politic declaration; for

for he would never permit them to come to Rome, where only they could do that mischief which he had been so careful to prevent: and so, in that season of the year wherein it was customary to refresh himself in that air, and for the same reason to reside there for many months, he was well content that his brother, and the rest of his family, should find themselves there, where they were sure to receive that respect from all men that they could wish; and they could not be without that civility and address to those Cardinals, and other persons of the highest and best condition, who every day resorted to that Court, that might make them acceptable: and when the delight the Pope took in them was so apparent, who would be so dull as not to discover some virtue or good quality in them, as might give them occasion to congratulate with the Pope for the great merit they found in all the several branches of his family, which must be so great a comfort to him? So that when the jolly season was over, and it was necessary to return to Rome, which gave the occasion of discourse of their return to Sienna, the whole Court put itself into a grateful mutiny; and they who knew well that they might assume the boldness, told the Pope, that he had done much better if he had never vouchsafed this honour to his family, than now to deprive them of it again; as if he had discovered such defects in them as rendered them unfit to remain in his presence; whereas, in truth, their extraordinary good qualities and qualifications had made so deep impressions upon the minds of all men, that the not permitting them now to go to Rome was not a greater affront to them than to his whole Court, and to the ambassadors, who had all

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CHAP. IX. expressed the wonderful satisfaction they had received in their parts and in their manners. But he said this would publish an inconstancy and mutability to be in his nature, which would make all his future actions to be suspected ; whereas he was sure he was still the same, and had the same firm resolutions for the public that he had at the beginning professed to have, and was as resolved that his kindred should not have any part in the managery of the public, or his own more private affairs. At last he suffered himself to be prevailed upon, that they might have the same liberty that all other persons of all other nations enjoyed to live in Rome, but they should not pretend to meddle in any business, they should not be admitted to come into his presence, or so much as to repair to the Court : and upon this new ridiculous declaration, the Court no sooner returned to Rome, than the family (with great modesty, as incognita, and with great care not to be discovered or taken notice of,) repaired to those private habitations which were provided for them.

Enriches
his family.

But this mask was too strait for the face, and kept all that air from it that it delighted in, and therefore it was quickly now pulled off. Such jewels were too bright to be longer concealed under a little rubbish ; it was no sooner known or whispered (for whispers sometimes make a great noise) that they were somewhere in Rome, at how great a distance soever from the Court, but their retreat was with some industry found out. The Ambassadors, the Cardinals, the Princes repaired to them with the same respect that had been always paid, and therefore now conceived to be due to the family of the Pope ; and the magistrates of the town repaired to them with the same adoration

adoration as if they had been received into the palace; and their refusal to receive those addresses served the more to set off their lustre. At last, since it could be no longer deferred, they came all solemnly to the Court, and the Pope received them with open arms. Don Mario, his brother, was forthwith Governor of Rome, one nephew made General of the Church, another Admiral of the Gallies; his most beloved nephew was created Cardinal Nepote, with all the advantages and perquisites that belonged thereunto. There was no single branch of the family that did not presently receive some testimony of the Pope's bounty, and whatsoever fell of all kinds within the donation of the Papacy, was divided or dispersed amongst the kindred; and there never appeared a keener appetite in any Pope to make his family great and rich, than did from this time in Alexander the Seventh. And they, like men who had been kept long fasting, resolved to make a full meal, and as soon as might be to recover the time they had lost; and, as if they had been kept only at Sienna that they might inform themselves of all the arts of the Court of Rome, before they came to practise them, they appeared the first day as learned and as dexterous in the science of rapine, as Donna Olimpia herself, and suffered nothing to escape them that they could lay their hands upon; and Alexander every day grew insensibly into as great a doting as Innocent had done, with so much more evidence, that he took all occasions to appear more sensible of any neglect that was offered to any of his kindred, and to resent any affront that their own insolence had drawn upon themselves. Donna Olimpia had by this time redeemed herself from farther vexation by dying, whilst

CHAP. IX. whilst she was confined to Orvieto, which, though it secured her person from farther prosecution, was believed would not have preserved her fortune from such a seizure or forfeiture, as the many witnesses who had been examined, and the foul actions which were proved, would make it liable to. But the Pope now discerned who might be hereafter concerned, if too rigorous an inquiry should be made into the estates which should be left to the heirs of Popes, and how the same were gotten; and so the prosecution upon that process proceeded no farther, and whatsoever had been grievous to the people under the griping hands of Donna Olimpia, or the more extended reach of the Barberinis, was now forgotten under the illimited government of the Chigis; whose empire was so much the more grievous and odious, by how much they added a greater insolence in their behaviour towards all men, and exercised their tyranny in oppressions and exactions with a greater *fasto* and ostentation than their predecessors had done.

Partiality
of the Pa-
pal Court
to Spain.

And now that impartial temper that seemed to be so equally divided between the two Crowns made itself appear more notable. The Spaniard, that does not naturally walk so fast and so steadily in the dark, as soon as he sees the candle lighted, commonly proves the best chapman; and it was scarce sooner known that there was a Cardinal Nepote, than that he was of the Spanish faction. The truth is, Cardinal Mazarin had provoked the Pope too unnecessarily, and a little too wantonly, for he had not only refused to allow him any part in the treaty of the peace, or so much as to have a minister there; but when it was concluded between him and Don Lewis,

Lewis, and the articles were prepared to be signed by both, and the hour appointed for the signature, the Cardinal entered into the room, with a countenance that seemed full of trouble and irresolution; which Don Lewis observing, and asking what the matter was, he answered, in a sad tone, that he was very sorry they had lost so much time, for that he must not, durst not sign the treaty. Don Lewis stood amazed, imagining that he had in that instant received some contrary orders from the French court, when the Cardinal proceeded, "Alas, Sir, (said he,) you and I are Catholics; and whatever you dare do, it can never become me, who am a Cardinal, to declare against the Pope's infallibility: he hath publicly professed and declared, that he knows that there will be no peace; and shall you make the Pope to be fallible? It must not be." Don Lewis was glad to find that there was no other obstacle, and the company was very merry at the obstruction, and the peace was signed. And when the news thereof was brought to Rome, the Pope laughed, and said, he knew the Cardinal too well to believe it possible. But when it was so much confirmed by the letters from all places that there remained no more room for doubt, and when he was informed of the pleasant humour of the Cardinal in the conclusion of it, at his charge, he could not conceal his indignation, nor hear the name of Cardinal Mazarin without some commotion, even to the hour of his death. But he was now dead, which it may be had disposed the Pope to hope better of the good correspondence of that Crown, which he could not but set the greater value upon, by the notorious declension of the puissance of the Spanish monarchy,
and

CHAP. and the probability of its falling lower by the age
 IX. and weakness of that King, and the infancy of his heir, with many other ill symptoms in that Court; and therefore it cannot be doubted, but that he much desired the protection of France against all contingencies, though his affection was stronger for Spain. But the good Cardinal, who understood that mystery to the bottom, had faithfully instructed his Master what kind of respect he was to pay to the Holy Chair, and what was the way to preserve his own dignity.

Duke of
 Créquy
 Ambassa-
 dor from
 France to
 Rome.

That the King might the better express the esteem he had for the Pope, he made choice of one of the greatest subjects he had, the Duke of Créquy, a Duke and Peer of France, (which is the highest qualification but that of Prince of the blood,) and sent him his Extraordinary Ambassador to Rome, with so great an éclat in attendance, equipage, and servants, that the like had not been seen before; and the Pope received him with as extraordinary a countenance of respect, and wrote his acknowledgment to the King for the honour he had done him in the quality and merit of his Ambassador. Many men were then of opinion, that it was a sign the King did not much care how his affairs succeeded in that Court, when he made choice of that Ambassador to cultivate them. For the Duke was known to be a man of little experience, and utterly unacquainted with civil transactions, and the forms of business; of a martial education, a rough nature, and the proudest man alive; jealous that respect enough was not paid to him, and obstinate in pursuing any disrespect he shewed to others, how unreasonably soever. So that a fitter Ambassador could not be chosen to send to a Court where

where a good intelligence was not desirable. However, the prudence and great wariness in the Pope's nature, whilst he was to treat only with himself, prevented all inconveniences which might have proceeded from the uneven temper of the Ambassador; and the Pope contented himself with denying, or not granting, what the other did most impetuously propose; but as soon as a Cardinal Nephew began to reign, the fire was quickly kindled.

The French Ambassador would not consider what all the other Ambassadors did; he would have no rules prescribed to him, but by his own Master; and thought it was due both to the quality of his own person, and to his character, that these new comers should perform the first visits. They, on the other hand, thought that there was not the less respect due to them, because they had not come a year sooner to the town to receive it; and believed that they might justly expect the same honour to be paid to them which they of the same relations to former Popes had received, and which all other Ambassadors at this time very willingly performed towards them; and the Pope thought so too, and did not conceal what he thought of the Duke of Créquy. Besides a Cardinal Nephew, who could put a stop to all business that had been begun before, there were brothers and sisters, and other nephews, who required the same applications; and all parties concerned talked aloud of their motives, and of the injuries they underwent, appealing to the company who were in the right: so that Rome, which is not naturally favourable to the favourite, was made the judge; and all the conflux of nations agitated and debated the quarrel according to their several inclinations; which so much exasperated

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IX.

Animosities between the Pope's family and the French Ambassador.

CHAP. IX. perated all, that, when the King of France determined the point, by ordering his Ambassador to perform all those ceremonies towards the Pope's kindred which had been usual, the visits were made on one side, and received and returned on the other side, with such a coldness and aversion, and such visible dislikes, as administered more arguments for discourse and matter of animosity than had been before. In the streets, as they passed by each other, in the places where they accidentally met, there were looks, and motions, and dumb shews, which in the Roman cipher signify all the reproaches, affronts, and indignities that any words can express. The servants of the house, and all the French nation, (which is very numerous always in Rome, and abounds in persons of quality,) when they met the train or associates of those of the family, by their negligent gestures towards each other, and the like aspects from the contrary party, gave manifest evidences that there was no good will between them, and that both desired a good opportunity to speak a plainer language.

Affray in
the streets
of Rome.

The several inclinations being a long time thus prepared and disposed, and the accidents of every day contributing somewhat to the bitterness; it happened one day that the Duchess of Créquy, who, according to the style of Italy, was called Madame l'Ambasciatrice, passed through the streets with her usual equipage and attendance, when some part of that troop of guards of the Pope, that is called the Corsican, (being soldiers levied out of the isle of Corsica,) were in the way, probably by design; and after some reviling words between them and the French lacqueys, (the usual prefaces amongst such people to whet

whet each other's courage,) they fell to blows, and the Corsican guards having the advantage of weapons, discharged their fire arms upon the other, hurt many, shot several bullets into and through the coach where the Duchess herself was, and killed one of her pages dead upon the place; and she, in the disorder she might very well be in, made what haste she could through that multitude of people, which upon those occasions usually flock together, to her own house. All the French about the town repaired thither to offer their service, and the Ambassador retained them there as a guard, shut up his doors, and seemed to fortify some places which might with more ease be forced, and prepared all things which a man could do that expected an assassination.

How well pleased soever others might be, there could be no doubt but that the Pope himself was exceedingly surprised with the accident, and confounded with the consequences that he foresaw might attend it. For prevention, he sent immediately the same evening the Cardinal Nephew in person to wait upon the Ambassador and Madame, to express the deep sense His Holiness as well as himself had of the barbarous outrage that had been committed, and to assure them that the strictest orders were given to discover and to apprehend the malefactors, who should speedily undergo the most exemplary punishment; with all such other expressions as the most injured persons could look for from an ordinary adversary. But the gates were shut, and neither this visit or excuse would be admitted; and the Ambassador's house stood to their arms that night, and he sent an express at the same time into France, to inform the King of the barbarous affront he had received. The

Pope

CHAP. IX. Pope (who well knew that the fierce and unpolished nature of the Ambassador was not like to make a more favourable representation than the matter deserved) lost no time, but dispatched likewise an express the same night to Paris to his Nuncio, with a letter to the King, and with as great submission of words as could be used from an inferior to a man whom he feared to offend: but his messenger made not so much haste as the other by two days. The night pacified not the Ambassador's rage, but the next morning he pursued the same care for the fortifying his house, provided a great stock of arms and ammunition, which he caused to be brought in hourly; he entertained and listed all such soldiers as offered themselves, and contracted with officers to make levies, and advanced money to them to that purpose; and there wanted not gentlemen of all nations then in Rome, for their pleasure or retreat, who made large offers what service they would do, and (which admits some degree of wonder, and may be thought a shrewd evidence that the government itself was not in a full adoration) many of the Roman Barons, and others under the highest qualifications, did not only repair to the Ambassador, and offer their service to him, but publicly in all places maintained his cause, and spoke with all bitterness of the nephews, as if they were the patrons of the assassination.

The Pope, afflicted and cast down when he heard of the levies made by the Ambassador, sent again to him, to let him know how much anguish of mind he sustained, to hear that he had entertained any apprehension or doubt of the security of his person or of his family, which were in as much safety in Rome as himself; and if he did conceive that he
stood

stood in need of any guard, he would send him such a one as he should approve; and doubted not that he had given his most Christian Majesty such an account of the misfortune, and so full an offer of all the satisfaction and reparation which himself would require, as would be acceptable to him. To all this the Ambassador made no answer, but within few days, with his whole family and train, left the town, and stayed no where till he arrived in the dominions of the Duke of Florence. And of all this, and what he had done to the Ambassador, with what he had offered to the most Christian King, the Pope made so full a relation in the Consistory, and with such expressions, that every body might discern the disturbance he was in, and desired the Cardinals that they would give him counsel what he should do more; whilst the Cardinal Nephew was not reserved in declaring that he had done too much.

The exact relation of this whole affair hath been so fully communicated to all the world, and the accident itself was so late, and the transactions upon it so generally known, that I should totally decline the mention of any particulars which are to my purpose, no otherwise than that all men, upon the observation thereof, may seriously consider whether it be possible that the proceeding hereupon (how proportionable soever to the affront and indignity that had been offered) could be prosecuted in that manner by a Prince and people who do in their hearts believe that the Pope is the Universal Bishop of their souls, and hath power from Christ to deprive them of heaven, or do indeed think him to have the least jurisdiction over them, be it temporal or spiritual.

CHAP. IX. As soon as the King received the first account from the Ambassador of the injury he had sustained, after a consultation with the Council, he sent the same day the Comte of Brienne to the Pope's Nuncio, (who, by the way, is Nuncio of the Apostolic See as well as of the present Pope, so that his office is not determined by the vacancy of the Chair,) to command him from the King that he should the next morning depart from Paris to Meaux, and not stir from thence until he should receive new orders. His Majesty sent him word that he had enjoined this for his safety, lest he should receive the same treatment that his Ambassador had received at Rome. The Nuncio understood nothing of it, and went the same night to St. Germain's, and conferred with the Secretary of State, and desired to be admitted to the presence of the King, which he could not obtain, but used many arguments of weight, that the King would vouchsafe to expect a more perfect account of what had passed at Rome, which he could not be long without, before he would resolve to put such a discountenance upon the Sacred Chair; and declared likewise, that he could not submit to such a relegation without the pleasure of His Holiness. The next morning he made a new attempt to procure an audience of the King, who positively refused to see him; and Monsieur le Tellier assured him that the King would not alter his mind, and expected a present obedience from him to his former orders. When the Nuncio rose the next morning, he found there was a troop of the King's guards of musketeers, that was placed at all the avenues that led to his lodging, and hindered all persons from repairing to him.

This

This unheard of treatment made him resolve to quit Paris; and yet, that he might seem to insist upon some privilege, instead of going to Meaux he went to St. Denys, where the guard likewise attended him. In this time the Pope's express arrived, and brought the relation of all that had then passed, with a letter from the Pope to the King, another to Monsieur de Lionne, (in whose friendship His Holiness had much confidence, having owed his promotion to the Pontificate to his kindness,) who was at that time Ambassador in Rome, and took upon him to have contributed very much to his election. The Nuncio, as soon as he received this packet, sent it to Monsieur de Lionne, who immediately presented it to the King, who, upon reading the Pope's brief or letter to him, seemed somewhat to recede from the passion he had been in; and His Holiness having offered to give him all the reparation he would please to demand, all men began to think there would be a fair composition of the contest. Then arrived the second express from the Ambassador, by a servant of his, who informed the King of many particulars which had passed, and that the Ambassador had found that he could not stay longer in Rome with any safety, and had therefore removed with his whole family to Quirino, a town within the dominions of the Great Duke, where he waited to receive the signification of his Majesty's farther pleasure.

This again made the King resume all the resentment and indignation which he had been inclined to restrain; and he presently sent to the Nuncio to require him the very next morning to begin his journey out of France, without staying or resting one day whilst he remained in the kingdom. The guard

The Nuncio sent out of France.

CHAP. of fifty musketeers attended him, five and twenty rid
IX. before his coach, and five and twenty after, who kept all persons from speaking with him; nor would they suffer him to make his journey in the common roads, or through the great towns, but carried him through by-ways, and made him travel ten leagues a day for ten days together; at the end whereof he found himself in Savoy, and there rested till he could send to Rome an account of his peregrination.

The King takes possession of Avignon.

The King pursued his point, and gave present orders for his troops which were nearest to prepare to march into Italy; and sent both to the King of Spain, and to the Duke of Savoy, for leave that his army might march through their territories into the Ecclesiastical State, which they both granted without any hesitation. He disposed the city of Avignon to put themselves into his protection, and to turn out the Vice-Legate and all the Italian garrison, and to depend on him for their security; who immediately seized upon that whole province, which had been of right longer in the possession of the Church than Languedoc, or Provence, or Dauphiné had been united to the Crown of France. In a word, he did all things which might make him terrible to the poor Pope. The first letter the King wrote to the Pope, after a short and passionate mention of the indignity offered to his person in the foul assassination that had been attempted against the Ambassador and his wife, he concluded in these words; “ I demand nothing of Your Holiness in this particular affair; for, for a long time you have assumed such a custom of denying me every thing I ask, and you have expressed so much aversion for every thing which regards my person and my Crown, that I think it
“ will

“ will be better to remit the resolutions upon this af- CHAP.
 “ fair to your prudence, upon which I will also take IX.
 “ and regulate mine ; wishing only that yours may
 “ be such, that they may oblige me to continue to
 “ pray to God that he will preserve Your Holiness
 “ in the government of his Church.” And, that the
 Pope might discern that his Majesty did resolve not
 to acquiesce in his judgment alone, and intended to
 stir up his own Court against him, he wrote several
 letters to the Cardinals, in which he made a short
 reflection upon the odious outrage that had been
 committed, and concluded in these words : “ If your
 “ good offices cannot work any thing, after having
 “ used my utmost diligence, as I have done, I shall
 “ not much care for those evil and bad consequences
 “ which this affair may draw after it, protesting that I
 “ ought to be fully excused before God and man for
 “ whatever may arrive hereupon.”

The Pope used all the ways he could devise, by Mediation
of the Duke
of Florence.
 the mediation of the Duke of Florence, and other in-
 stances, to soften the King’s displeasure; yet the dis-
 covery of the people’s affections in Rome upon that
 accident had been so notorious amongst persons of the
 first rank, that the Pope or his nephews gave order
 for the prosecution of many of those who had been so
 hardy, by the common rules of justice; whereupon
 some of them retired out of Rome, or with great care
 concealed themselves there. The King did not think
 that he ought to suffer those spirits to be dejected of
 which he might have farther need, and therefore em-
 ployed fit persons privately to let them know that he
 had been well informed of the kindness they had for
 him, and that they should never suffer by it; and
 his Majesty writ a letter with his own hand to the

CHAP. IX.

Duke of Cesarino, in which he told him that his Ambassador had given him a full account of the great expressions which he had made of affection to his Majesty, upon the occasion of that barbarous insult that had been made upon his Ambassador, of which he had so great a sense, that his Majesty assured him he would never forget ; and if any damage should befall him, from what power soever, for that manifestation of his affection, he should find his Majesty's care of him to be such, that he should be a gainer by it.

Letters of
Queen
Christina to
the King of
France.

During these transactions the Queen Christina of Sweden, who then resided at Rome, and naturally was disposed to have a hand in any business, had written a letter to the King, in which she condoled upon the late accident which had fallen out, with all the terms of aggravation that can be applied to make any outrageous action the more odious and infamous ; concluding only with the deep sense His Holiness had of it, as if she seemed to apprehend that it would break his heart ; and within few days after she wrote a second letter to him, for which the first seemed only to be an introduction, in which she advised him not to suffer himself to be so transported with a just indignation as to give himself leave to do any thing that might grieve the Holy Father, much less that might discredit Catholic Religion, and raise the spirits of the heretics, by their seeing the eldest son of the Church bring contempt and dishonour upon the Holy Chair. Upon the occasion of this letter, the King found an opportunity to express his sharp displeasure against the family of the Pope ; which he could not seasonably do before, other than in discourses, of which little was known at Rome :
and,

and, after he had answered to several other parts of her letter, he said, that he was certain her Majesty would acknowledge unto him, that if the Pope could have persisted until that time in that resolution, that gained him so great glory in the first year of his Pontificate, of abolishing and annihilating that which they call *Nepotismo* in this country, which sucks the purest blood of the subjects of the Ecclesiastical State, and the whole patrimony of St. Peter, to fatten one family alone, (which on this account is always odious to Catholics, and gives Heretics occasion to be scandalized at it,) they would not have attacked the person of his Ambassador; and he should not have been necessitated, as he was now, to revenge this affront upon the authors of it. If His Holiness had by his prudence and justice done him reason during the time that he himself governed his Pontificate, his Majesty said, it would not have been any difficult thing for them to have entertained a good correspondence together; but since he had called his kinsmen near him, drawing them out of that condition wherein God had placed them, to put into their hands the government and direction of all affairs, neither his Majesty, nor any other Prince, had any other subject than that of complaining of the evil proceedings of the Roman Court, where they had received nothing but displeasures, denials, and discontents. His Majesty asked the Queen, whether she could imagine that they, who governed at Rome under her Holy Father, who had scarce ever seen the light, and who are besotted and drunken with an empty and short lived authority, for which they were never born, did so much as know that there are other powers out of their country equal to theirs, and to the which they

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CHAP. IX. owe all sort of respect. The King concluded his letter with these words ; “ These thoughts and these effects of the Pope’s kindred do proceed from a low and pitiful birth and condition, which, having once got the command into its hand, disdains all persons of merit, and looks upon it as a small thing to put the whole world into confusion ;” and used some other expressions of displeasure, which enough declared, that he resolved to take revenge upon the persons who had been the authors of the affront with his sword.

Mediation
of the Duke
of Florence
ineffectual.

There did not appear, upon any examination that had been taken, or the least evidence that was alleged, that any of the Pope’s family had been accessory or privy to the insult made by the Corsican Guard ; and Don Mario had before this time given over the government of Rome to the Cardinal Imperiale, who then exercised it : yet the King wholly imputed it to them, and from thence took occasion always to mention them with the lowest contempt. So, in a relation that he caused to be published of the whole matter of fact, he said, that the Nephews of the Pope had wholly chased away all humility, and banished it from their dwellings, that they might introduce in its stead pride and haughtiness ; and, according to the ordinary custom of poor become rich, can by no means suffer any persons who will not submit to them : and this kind of bitterness affected and grieved the Pope more than all the King’s menaces and threats, for he knew not how to take notice of it, or to suffer any thing in their vindication without giving new offence and advantage to the King, as if he would support them against his Majesty. The Duke of Florence (who sufficiently manifested the sense he had

had

had of the villany that had been committed, and of the King's just cause of displeasure, yet had no desire to see a French army in Italy) prevailed that the King would appoint some person to treat upon the reparation he expected; and the King would appoint no man to debate the accommodation but him who had been first offended and provoked, the Duke of Créquy himself, who remained still at Quirino; and, though it seemed an ill augury towards peace, the Cardinal Chigi sent the Abbot Rospigliosi with a letter of credit to the Ambassador; in which he told him, that he was informed that his most Christian Majesty had, upon the interposition of the Ambassador of Florence, given his Excellence power to treat of the satisfaction that his Majesty expected, for the insult that had been made by the Corsican Guard; and to that purpose he had sent the Abbot Rospigliosi to confer with him, and to know what the King proposed, which he presumed would be what was agreeable to the affection of the eldest son of the Church, and suitable to the dignity of the Sacred Chair. When the Duke found that the Abbot had no other commission than the letter from the Cardinal, he wrote another letter to the Cardinal, under the same style of Excellence as he had received from him, and told him, that since the Abbot had brought no commission from the Pope, whereby he had authority to consent to what should be proposed by the King, he had nothing to say to him; and so the Duke prosecuted his journey to Paris, and the Abbot returned to Rome.

The Pope had sometimes a resolution, upon his observation that all the approaches he had made, and the condescensions he had offered towards the King, had

CHAP. had but drawn new contempt and reproaches upon
 IX. himself, that he would acquiesce in the tranquillity of his own innocence, and in the conscience of having performed all that was to be done on his part, and leave the King to prosecute his own passions in his own way; and presumed, that if they were contained within no bounds of moderation, not only all the Princes of Italy would, for their own sakes, stop any forces from entering Italy, but all other Catholic Princes would resent his proceedings; yet he found nobody of his mind but those who would not suffer themselves to appear to be so. The Cardinals in general seemed to be so full of the sense of the affront, indignity, and injury the King of France had sustained, that he could not complain too loudly of it, nor ask too great a reparation; and that His Holiness ought to consent to all that he demanded. Hereupon his spirits sunk again, and he resolved to send Monseigneur Rasponi, a man of the first rank under the Cardinals, and most trusted by him in his secret affairs, with a full commission to give the King satisfaction in all he required; and, for avoiding all delays, which the King complained of, and thought the Pope affected, he should go into France, and treat with any persons his Majesty should appoint; of all which notice was sent to the King, and that he would stay at Lyons to expect his commands; whereupon the Duke of Créquy was again dispatched to meet him, and with a light train in few days by post found himself at Lyons.

Negocia-
 tion be-
 tween Ras-
 ponia and
 the Duke of
 Créquy.

When the Duke arrived there, he found Monseigneur Rasponi in the garb and posture of Legate a Latere, and that he expected precedence, and very many other privileges, which the Duke would by no means yield

yield to him, nor would the magistrates of the town take notice of him under that character. The Duke told him, that it was a great incongruity that the Pope should imagine, that after an extraordinary Ambassador of his most Christian Majesty had been forced for his security, and after so unheard of an injury, to go out of Rome, and the dominions of the Church, (of which his Majesty had declared his resentment by sending the Nuncio under a guard out of France,) that, before any acknowledgment and reparation to his Majesty, His Holiness should presume, that a Minister from him, under any such qualification, would be received in that kingdom: therefore he would not enter into treaty with him, nor acknowledge him in any other capacity than of a private person sent from the Pope to offer reparation to the King for the injury that had been done to him. And, as soon as he had given an account of all this to the Court, he received approbation of what he had done, and order not to depart from it. Rasponi found that the Duke would not recede a tittle, and spoke of nothing but returning to Paris; and, knowing well the impatience his own Master had to lay this controversy asleep, proposed that he would send an express to Rome, and then he would depart out of France to some town on the confines of Savoy, where, being discharged of his function of Legate, they might proceed in the treaty. This was accepted, and the Duke went to the same place; and, when the Duke's stern nature could not be prevailed upon to waste the time in compliments, but pressed dispatch, as if he knew his Master was impatient to be doing, they fell into the business, and Rasponi made some propositions of giving such acknowledgment and satisfaction

CHAP. IX. — tisfaction to the King for the indignity he had sustained, and such reparation to the Ambassador and his Lady for the affront they had suffered, as sufficiently manifested that they would not boggle at making any farther condescensions of that nature that should be demanded. But then the Duke said, that he had instructions not to conclude those articles which related to the insult, before the Pope should first consent to the restoring Castro, and all that belonged thereunto, to the Duke of Parma, who was under the King's protection. Rasponi was surprised with this; and said, it could not be imagined that he could be armed with any commission to treat upon an affair that was of so foreign a nature to the matter of his negociation; that he was ready to offer or to submit to what satisfaction could be justly required by reason of that insolence which had been committed in Rome by the Corsican Guard, and which was criminal, and ought to be punished: whereas the other pretence concerning Castro was an old business that had no relation to it, and was of a civil nature, that must be determined by justice: that there had been many Popes since that matter had been debated, and could with no colour of reason be the subject of this treaty, nor had he authority so much as to speak of it. The Duke answered, that the antiquity of it was an argument that it ought the sooner to be made an end of; and the succession of so many Popes, without finishing it, made the injury the more insupportable; that it was agreed by Urban the Eighth, and sworn to by him in the treaty he made with the King, whose honour was engaged to cause it to be executed; and though Urban died before it was performed, the King had still demanded it

it

it from Innocent and the present Pope, who had both given their promise to see it done; and since they had both failed, and there was now a new occasion of making another treaty with His Holiness, it could not be fit to leave it without mention; and he had positive order to treat of nothing else, till that of Castro was first consented to: and with that declaration the Duke returned immediately to Paris, and Rasponi sent an express to Rome with an account what was become of the treaty, and moved himself toward Piedmont, where he expected further orders from the Pope.

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This advertisement put the Pope into the highest passion his constitution was capable of; he presently summoned a private Consistory of those Cardinals who were most trusted by him, complained pitifully of the King's proceedings with him, and declared to them, that he was resolved to sustain the war, let what would fall out; and then he sent for the two Ambassadors of Spain, and of the Republic of Venice, and informed them at large of all that had passed at Lyons and in Savoy; and that, when he was prepared, for the preservation of the peace of Italy, to descend to lower conditions than ought honestly to be demanded of him who had committed no offence, the King had refused now to admit of any proposition towards it till he should first consent to the restitution of Castro to the Duke of Parma, which had no relation to the matter in debate; and with this resolution his Plenipotentiary was returned to Paris: whereupon he declared to them with much vehemence, that before he would so much prostitute his honour, or consent to that which would be so prejudicial to the Church, to which Castro appertained,

The Pope
resolves
upon war.

CHAP. tained, he would undergo the damage and mischief
 IX. of the war, though it should be to the loss of Rome
 itself, with that of his life, and that other Princes
 should look to their own concerns in it: and it was
 generally believed that at that time he said no more
 than he resolved to do.

Venice and
 Spain re-
 fuse their
 support.

The truth is, that the Pope underwent all the de-
 grees of mortification that either his person or his
 function could be made liable to. When this busi-
 ness first broke out, he sent to the Republic of Ve-
 nice, which was of the greatest force and strength in
 Italy, represented to them the spirit and temper of
 the King of France, his ambition to bring all other
 Princes to comply and submit to his illimited designs,
 and proposed to them to enter into a League with
 him for the defence of Italy. They gravely advised
 him to consider well the greatness of that King, and
 rather to give him satisfaction for the injury done to
 him in the person of his Ambassador, which was, in
 the judgment of all men, an offence of the greatest
 magnitude, than to think of contending with him by
 arms. The Nuncio in Spain, with many wonderful
 flourishes of rhetoric, and as wonderful promises of
 the benefit and glory he should reap thereby, invited
 that King to make himself the protector of the Ca-
 tholic Church and Religion, to both which His Ho-
 liness would declare the King of France to be a pub-
 lic enemy and persecutor; whereupon, and his Ca-
 tholic Majesty's appearing in the head of that League,
 all the Princes of Italy would immediately enter into
 the same League, and all men would desert and for-
 sake the King of France; so that, without any trou-
 ble, expence, or hazard, all his designs would be
 broken, which must redound to the eternal glory of
 his

his Catholic Majesty: and for the licence that he had given to the French to march through his territories, the Nuncio said, that His Holiness would absolve his Majesty from the observation of that promise; since the same had been made to the prejudice of Religion, and that it would be for the good of Religion that it should not be observed. But the old King liked the peace too well, that he had bought so dear, to part with it for a state of war upon those specious pretences, which were better understood even in the Court of Spain than they had used to be; and therefore the King, instead of embracing the Pope's friendship upon those terms, magnified the power of France, and persuaded His Holiness to make his peace by any concessions his Majesty should impose. But that which troubled him more than all the rest was, that he plainly discerned, that in all Courts there appeared more inclination to the lessening and abasing the Papal power, than to the vindication of it from any dishonour or reproach that the French could inflict upon it: nor were any men less affected on his behalf, or more delighted with what was applied for his humiliation, than the people of all conditions in the city of Rome itself, and within all the lands of the Ecclesiastical State: and, whilst he was in this deep agony, he received certain advertisements that the French troops were already entered into the Duchy of Parma, who received them willingly, and prepared jointly for the enterprise upon Castro as soon as the season should permit.

All things seeming to be in this desperate condition, the Pope encountered a new inquietude within the walls of Rome that added to his uneasiness. The Cardinals who adhered to the interests of the several Crowns

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The Pope's
submission.

CHAP. Crowns repaired to him with one importunity, that
 IX. since all other particulars had been so well prepared by Rasponi, that there remained no other obstruction of the peace but the matter of Castro, which was not a thing of that moment or value as ought to deprive Italy of so great a blessing, that His Holiness would consent to that article likewise; and when the Cardinals had made this address, all the Ambassadors of Princes successively gave him the same advice. The Pope could hold out no longer, but found ways, through those secret hands which are never wanting in those cases, to make it known, that he was content to yield in the point of Castro, and that he made choice of Pisa in the Duchy of Florence for the Plenipotentiaries to meet in, and to debate and conclude the matter. The King approved the place, but said, he had been too much accustomed to the delays of the Court of Rome, and that he would not therefore send Plenipotentiaries to debate any more, but to conclude, which would be sooner and best done if the articles were first adjusted at Rome and at Paris, and then the Plenipotentiaries might quickly conclude at Pisa. The Pope submitted to this too; but, that he might obtain somewhat, he desired that the French troops might be recalled out of Italy before the treaty should be concluded; which he was told was so much against the King's honour, that no man durst propose it to him.

Treaty of
Pisa.

To say no more, all the articles were consented to by the Pope which were prescribed by the King; the principal of which were, 1st. That the Pope should cause Castro to be delivered, with all that belonged to it, and in the condition it then was, into the hands
 and

and possession of the Duke of Parma, who should pay the just debt, which he confessed to be justly owing by him to the Apostolical Chamber: 2. That the Corsican Guard should be for ever banished, not only out of the city of Rome, but likewise out of the whole ecclesiastical State; and that, for the time to come, there shall be no farther use made of the same nation, which should be declared incapable of ever exercising the same employment, which they had for so long time had at Rome, to wit, that of Serjeants; and that they amongst them who had committed the assassination against the person in the coach of the Ambassador's Lady, should be all condemned to be hanged, and that there should be all possible diligence used to take them; and, being taken, that they should be executed, or put into the hands of the Ministers of his most Christian Majesty, to be done with as they should judge convenient: 3. That, for a perpetual memory, there shall be erected a pillar in the city of Rome, in a public place near the place or the street where the coach of the Ambassador's Lady was set upon, or, at least, in the quarter where the Corsican Guard were lodged, with an inscription, to shew the resentment which was conceived for that crime, and the reparation that hath been made unto the King, which pillar shall never be demolished or taken from the place where it shall be planted; and in case any one shall attempt to take it from thence, he shall be convicted of the crime of *lesa Majestas*, and shall be punished as such, and the pillar put into the same place again with the same inscription: 4. That the Cardinal Imperiale shall be obliged to transport himself to Paris, not only to make there a personal reparation, and ask pardon of the King in

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 IX. jesty should so direct, but also to give an account of
 the assassination the Corsican Guard had committed,
 considering that he was then Governor of Rome ;
 and in the mean time he should be banished from
 the Ecclesiastical State, and reputed as such, and de-
 prived of all the charges he possessed, in which he
 should not be again established till his Majesty had
 written and given advice that he was fully satisfied
 with him ; and that he shall be obliged to acknow-
 ledge his return to Rome as a pure grace which his
 most Christian Majesty had done to him : 5. That
 the Cardinal Chigi, nephew of His Holiness, shall be
 declared Legate a Latere, with all the circumstances
 requisite to such a case, that he may be able to re-
 present the person of the Pope himself, and to trans-
 port himself to Paris in that quality, to make an ex-
 cuse to the King for the Apostolic See, and to de-
 clare that it was never the intention of the Pope to
 give offence unto his Majesty, and that, on the con-
 trary, he had been very much displeas'd with the
 enormity of that attempt ; and at the same time that
 the Legate did perform that compliment at Paris,
 the Duke of Créquy should return to Rome with the
 same character of Ambassador extraordinary that he
 had before, and that there should be paid unto him
 all the honours due to so public a person, and one
 who represented such a King ; that the Pope himself
 should make him reparation, and testify unto him
 the displeasure and regret he had for his leaving
 Rome upon the account of an accident of that nature,
 which he himself had disapproved and blamed from
 the beginning : 6. That the Pope may not mortify,
 under any pretence whatsoever, either directly or in-
 directly,

directly, any of those who had followed the party of France, either French or Italian; that if there be found any one who of his own accord was gone out of Rome, or had quitted any charge, not being able to behold the ill treatment of the French nation there, it should be permitted to him to return again without quitting his charge, and he should be reinstated in the honours that are due to him; and, in a word, that all the French, of what condition soever they be, shall have free liberty to dwell in Rome, paying unto the Holy See the respect that they owe it, His Holiness promising on his part, that his Ministers shall take greater care for the time to come not to commit any more the like fault.

There were many other articles, which I forbear to insert particularly, because they are of less importance than the foregoing, yet including as much of triumph to the French; such as the providing for the discharging of all process that had been made against the Duke of Cæsarino, for any thing he had said or done upon the occasion of the late outrage upon the Ambassador, and for the discharge and cancelling all the like decrees or actions against any of the Romans: they provided for the return of the Cardinal Maldachini to Rome, and to be restored to all his goods, benefices, and privileges; though the censures which had been inflicted upon him had not the least relation to the late affront, but were grounded upon his having departed Rome without the Pope's leave, and when he was prosecuted for several crimes and misdemeanors, all which were hereby discharged, pardoned, and released: provision was likewise made in what place one of the Pope's Nephews should meet the Duke of Créquy, when he returned Ambassador

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Further circumstances
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to Rome, and where his Nieces should meet the Ambassadress, and the ceremonies which were to be performed; and many such particulars, as would become the greatest and most powerful Prince to exact from the most abject enemy that could have offended him. It was plain that the Pope was so thoroughly broken that he was only solicitous to prevent that his brother Don Mario should not undergo any reproach, from which he preserved him with great difficulty, and that none of his Nephews might be looked upon as guilty of or privy to that assassination; and that being provided for, he cared not what he was condemned to do himself. All this, and somewhat more, was consented to on the Pope's part, for which all that was yielded to by the King was, that when this satisfaction should be given, which was done accordingly, his Majesty would appoint Avignon, and all that belonged thereunto, to be delivered again into the Pope's hand, and his Italian guard, and all his other officers to be received there; yet with this caution and provision, that no man who had contributed to the putting them out, or used them with any reproach, or did them any injury when they were put out, should in the least degree suffer for the same. And so Avignon is again under the Pope's obedience, and his subjects as ready to deliver it up again into the hands of the King of France, when he shall so require them to do.

Remarks upon the whole of this transaction, and the reparation required by the King of France.

It is not the purpose of this discourse to make the least reflection upon the justice of the proceedings of the King of France, as if he had exacted a greater reparation than the injury required; that for the accidental death of the Pages, without any foresight of malice, for aught appeared, the whole form and dignity

dignity of the government should be shaken, and upon the matter dissolved, to make an entire satisfaction; that for the offence of half a dozen or a dozen Corsicans, a whole nation should be deprived of a privilege they had enjoyed for many ages, and that no subject of the island of Corsica shall be for the time to come permitted to live, not only within the city of Rome, but within the whole Ecclesiastical State; (which is upon the matter a condemnation and judgment upon the most Catholic King, or upon the Republic of Genoa, to whichever of them the immediate subjection of that nation is due;) that the persons of lords and ladies should undergo punishments for the rudeness and barbarity committed by a lewd company of varlets and ruffians; I have none of those reflections: and I do not believe but that the wickedness of the action and attempt was of that magnitude, and so deep a wound to the royalty of a King, that it could not be inquired into or punished with too much severity; that it might reasonably be presumed, that such an outrage could not have been committed in the noon day, by a band of men listed, known by their names as well or better than any citizen of the town, and that not one of them should be apprehended, or their names be known, without the countenance and protection of the most powerful persons in Rome, or without some connivance from the Government itself. The carriage and behaviour of the Pope's kindred had been such before, that it might well be imagined they had contrived this affront, and they might be held worthy of some mortification, or to be required to perform some more civilities than their own natures disposed them to; in all these respects, a man who knows what is due to

CHAP. IX. the offended Majesty of a King, cannot believe there was any excess used in the vindication; nor can it be doubted, that if all Kings were equally sensible of the violation of their Majesty, and had proceeded in the same manner for the repairing it, infinite mischiefs, which have fallen out in the Church and State, would have been prevented.

The inconsistency of such reparation with an opinion of the Pope's supremacy.

The question only is, whether they who prosecute this kind of reparation, acknowledgment, and satisfaction, let the offence or provocation be what it will, have in their judgments or affection that reverence and veneration for the sacred person of the Pope, or for the Holy Chair, or the Apostolical Chair, which they seem to be offended with other men for being without: whether they do in truth believe him to have any authority to examine and censure the errors and offences of their consciences, or to have any spiritual jurisdiction for the reformation of their lives; indeed, whether they do think him to have a temporal or a spiritual sovereignty or supremacy, whose person they compelled to make penance, and to ask pardon for an offence that he had never in the judgment of any man been thought guilty of; for all that his Legate said or did was in the person of the Pope, and on his behalf, and was a more literal submission than was made by our Henry the Second for the death of Thomas à Becket, and for which our nation hath blushed so much; nor hath the Universal Bishop ever undergone such a personal reprehension since the time of Boniface the Eighth.

In the next place, and to conclude, (for the disquisition is equally reasonable,) is it credible that this Alexander did in his conscience believe that our Saviour had given him full power and authority to depose

depose Kings, and to deprive them of the fidelity and obedience of their subjects, and that they are all subject to his direction and jurisdiction? Is it possible that he could believe that his spiritual artillery, the thunder and lightning of his excommunications and interdictions, can kill at such a distance, and draw Princes upon their knees to him by the compulsion of their own subjects, and yet would not in his own defence (and to rescue that spiritual authority of binding and loosing, which he had from Christ himself, from being invaded by the arms of a secular and temporal Prince) emit so much as one monitory to cite the King of France to appear upon penalty of an excommunication? There cannot be a greater manifestation that this Pope had himself no such opinion of his own just power, which he would have all other men have; and if he had, he could not be excused in conscience for intermitting it in such an eminent distress upon any politic respect or apprehension; for if he did really think that God had given him that power for the defence and maintenance of his Church and religion, he did not discharge his trust in not applying it, and leaving the effect of it to God; who, if it were a remedy of his own compounding, could enable it to have done what execution he thought fit. But he knew well where the Supremacy remained, and that it was able to enjoin and exact obedience, and that he should gain more upon the generosity of that Prince, by submitting to him, than contesting with him; which he found to be true; for after the pillar had been erected with the very famous inscription, and stood long enough to be viewed by all the world, and can never be forgotten, he prevailed with the most Christian

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C H A P. IX. King, that that yoke of servitude, that lay so heavy upon the neck of the Pontificate, might be and was taken off before the death of himself who had put it on.

The Pope employs the rest of his Pontificate in enriching his family.

And the Pope in the end made himself no loser by all this; for, finding how unfit he was to grasp such an unwieldy power that he was not able to manage, as soon as he was off from this uneasy dispute, he affected no more the exercise of such dangerous negociations, but retired to the sole care of growing rich, that he might leave his family in a condition above ordinary oppression: and this more equal design he was so well qualified to manage and conduct, that, without doing any one action to adorn his memory in the few years he survived this troublesome affair, (which indeed he did not long survive, for the agony of it shortened his life,) he heaped so great a mass of wealth, that though he left the Church in a worse and lower condition than he found it, and his family very little more beloved than Donna Olimpia had been, yet he left it much more secure, and his Nephew in a reputation to stand upon his own feet, to live in great lustre, and to avow and own that implacable malice to France that a good Italian Prelate is obliged in conscience to profess towards those, from whom he conceives that he or his friends have undergone any injury or indignity.

Clement IX. Rospiglioso, his character.

Upon the death of Alexander, in a shorter conclave than, in the factions which were then notorious enough, could be expected, Cardinal Rospiglioso was chosen, and called Clement the Ninth; and was the man most wished, or with whose election very few were displeased. He was a grave man, very well versed in affairs, and of a temper that could not
make

make him enemies ; though he gratified nobody against his own judgment, by which he was wholly governed : for though he presently recalled his Nephew, the Abbot Rospiglioso, a young man of good parts, who had been sent by Alexander to be Inter-nuncio at Brussels, and, as soon as he returned, made him Cardinal, yet he kept all the affairs so in his own disposal, that he was not suspected to be swayed by any man. He had been bred up under the Barberinis, and was always grateful to that family. He was sent, by Innocent, Nuncio into Spain, where he had been formerly under him in principal trust during the time of his own Nunciature ; and when he came to exercise that function himself, no man had been there before him who received greater reverence from that Court, being a person most unblameable in his life, and of very conformable manners. In the beginning of Alexander's time he was made Cardinal and Secretary of State, and was most entirely trusted in all the secret affairs ; but from the time of calling the family to Rome, he became less trusted every day ; and though he kept still the title of Secretary of State, few men understood less of the business that passed than he ; and towards the end of his life, the Pope had a kind of an aversion from him ; yet his gratitude, and the custom of the court of Rome, kept him still to the party and faction of the Chigi ; so that though there were some Cardinals who would have been more grateful, yet when Chigi found all factions ready to concur in Rospiglioso, he thought himself safe in him, and so he was made Pope ; and during his reign he cherished and confirmed the interest of that family, and gave his own cap to a Nephew of that house.

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His policy
towards
France and
Spain.

Clement without doubt was in his heart more inclined to Spain than to France; yet he knew well the interest and reputation of that Crown to be so low, and the factions in that court to be so high, by the infancy of the King, that he believed he should be able to do more service to it by obtaining credit with France, than by being thought to be impotently addicted to Spain. Sure it is, that his nephew the Abbot, in his return from his Nunciature in Flanders, upon his uncle's promotion, stayed longer at Paris than is usual in those cases, when men make as much haste as they can to receive a preferment that expects them: he had many audiences of the King, and at parting had very great presents; and from that time there was never the least misunderstanding between the King and the Court of Rome; but the Pope gratified his Majesty in whatsoever he desired, and His Majesty professed to have a greater reverence for the person of the Pope than he had ever before for any of his predecessors.

Arrêt of the
King of
France,
prohibiting
all farther
disputes be-
tween the
Jansenists
and Jesuits.

Wherever the condescension was, it was at this time that the choleric disputes and animosities, which had been so long upon the stage between the Jansenists and the Jesuits, were almost in an instant silenced rather than composed; and what the successive decrees and definitions of two Popes, in matter of faith, could not determine or find submission to amongst Catholics, one single Arrêt from the King, in prohibiting either party either to preach, dispute, or mention either of those points, (which was a suspending, if not cancelling, both the Pontifical decrees,) suppressed finally any farther discourse upon that subject. Nor is there any question but that this proceeding of the King was either advised

or

or desired by the Pope, who had not any resignation to the Jesuits in matters of religion, and who did believe that it was a better expedient towards the quieting those unruly spirits, than the prosecution of any ecclesiastical censures would be that could be applied by him; and it was very worthy the observation, the moderation and meekness of the Jesuits, (who never forgave Clement, or his memory, for that discountenance,) that having, for so many years together, given up all the Jansenists to damnation, as the worst kind of Calvinists, they upon this Arrêt of the King declared, that it was only a litigation upon words, which was best to be determined this way.

No Pope ever gave less offence or umbrage to Christian Princes than this Clement did, or more intended the honour and reputation of the Church, which he endeavoured to improve and advance by mending the manners of the ecclesiastics, which he well knew brought insupportable scandal upon the religion they professed. He did avow to have great affection and kindness for his family, and resolved that they should be the better for him, but not at the Church's charge, which he resolved to dispose to the uses it was designed. When any offices, as abbies and other benefices, became vacant, he conferred them upon his Cardinal Nephew, and others of his family, that they might have such a decent support that they might not be liable to contempt; and all that he promoted them to during his whole reign did not raise them beyond that convenient proportion, without ever giving them opportunity or capacity to render themselves grievous to the people; from whom he took off all the taxes and impositions which had

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Moderation
of Clement
IX. towards
his own family.

CHAP. IX. had supplied the luxury of the former times, and continued none but what was necessary to the public, and really expended for the public. He had the happiness to have a brother, Don Camillo, a man of much virtue and severity of manners, who was the father of the Cardinal, and of most of the other branches of his family, and a severe inquisitor into the lives of them all; who were as careful to conceal all their excesses from him, as from the Pope himself: and if this reign had continued long, virtue and piety would have been brought into more request, and vice into more discredit, than it had been in many ages.

The Pope
relieves
Candia.

When he first came to the Pontificate, he found the island of Candia (which had been for so many years upon the matter possessed by the Infidels) reduced to so great straits, that there remained only the port, with a small neck of land, which was called the Canea, a fort strong and capable to be relieved, in the hands of the Christians, but besieged by an army of fifty thousand Turks, who had raised such fortifications about the town, that they were as strongly encamped without as the Christians were within; besides which, having the whole island at their devotion, they had thereby plenty of all things they could stand in need of; whereas the besieged had nothing but what was supplied to them by sea, at the sole charge of the Republic of Venice, to whom the dominion of that island appertained, and which had already (to their immortal honour) defended and maintained it against the whole power of the Grand Signior for five or six years, whilst they in vain implored and importuned the several Popes, and other Christian Princes, to assist them in so unequal

equal an enterprise, and in which Christianity was so much concerned. Innocent and Alexander were deaf to those clamours; the raising their families and enriching their kindred was their talent, and engrossed all their thoughts; but Clement came no sooner into the Chair, than he wedded this affair as that which his pastoral charge made incumbent on him, and to which he dedicated, and in truth sacrificed, whatsoever he could raise by or from the Papacy. He first repaired and fitted up all the galleys and other vessels which belonged to the Church, and which had lain so long useless and idle, and sent them under the command of one of his Nephews, who was a Knight of Malta, with all such provisions, and money, and men, which they most stood in need of, and to return to him with such an account of their necessities, the posture they were in for their defence, and the condition of the enemy, that he might be able to judge what would be the most effectual means to give them a full relief: and to that purpose he required the particular information and advice of the Senate, and to assure them of all the assistance his own ability could procure for them, and what by his interposition he could obtain from others, having already made very effectual instance with the most Christian King, to think it a work worthy of his title and greatness to redeem that people from the servitude of their barbarous and cruel persecutors: and if either of his predecessors had been possessed with his zeal, or if he had been Pope in that time when Alexander reigned, it cannot be doubted but that fruitful isle of Candia would at this time have remained a part of Christendom.

Upon

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Joint expedition of the French and Venetians for the farther relief of Candia.

Upon the return of the gallies from Candia, (after they had delivered the supplies and relief which they had been sent with, and thereby much raised the spirits of the besieged Christians,) the Pope found that the place was in much worse condition than he expected it to have been; that the town was so totally beaten down, and the houses demolished, by the cannon and grenados of the Turks, that they were of no more use to the inhabitants nor soldiers; and that, by the same means, there was not earth enough left for huts or other covering for the soldiers or officers of the garrison; and that if there were a thought of retaining and reestablishing the island, they must resolve once for all to send such a supply of arms, and men, and ships, as might make that impression upon several places of the island, that the garrison might no longer be confined or restrained within the narrow compass of ground of which they were now possessed: of all which when the Pope was informed, he renewed his instance with the King of France, and made it quickly appear how much credit and authority he had with that Prince; for, upon his advice and desire, that great King caused a noble fleet of his gallies and other vessels to be prepared and equipped, and an army of ten thousand men; the fleet under the command of the Duke de Beaufort, Admiral of France, and the land forces under the command of the Duke de Navailles, a commander of great courage and experience. These joined happily with the Pope's gallies, the furnishing and setting out whereof cost all the money he could draw together; and, though not at the precise time agreed upon, the Venetian forces met with them, and they all

all came in safety into the port at the Canea. Within the town and forts the Christians were commanded by Morosini, who, being a Senator of Venice, was to have no superior in command, though he had nothing of a soldier but the personal courage in which he abounded, with some extravagancies and licences, which render the greatest faculties of no effect; but he referred the whole ordering the militia, which consisted of all nations, which had been often changed and supplied since the beginning of the siege, to St. André Montbrun, a Frenchman of most eminent conduct, and inferior to none in the opinion of his own nation, if his religion of a Huguenot had not obstructed his having the highest offices in command amongst them. The King gave this man to them, and the Venetians assigned him to that command, which he discharged with an universal applause, and for which he was liberally rewarded by the Republic.

When all these forces were thus luckily assembled in the place they desired, it was generally known that they were to land in the night, all the landing places being under the command, or rather exposed to the cannon of the enemy; but whether or not for want of being well concerted with the officers who commanded within, and could best advise how any attempt was to be made, this work was performed with the greatest confusion imaginable, and they all landed into the town and fort; and at the head of them the Duke de Beaufort, who ought not to have left his ship; and in his presence the Duke de Navailles could not assume the command. The Duke de Beaufort, transported with vanity that he might have the honour to defeat the Turks, or led by his destiny,

CHAP. IX. destiny, would, as soon as he landed, and in the same darkness, presently conduct his troops to assault the enemy's trenches, without having seen the posture in which they lay, nor how near their trenches were to the other; nor could the Venetian General, or St. André Montbrun, prevail with him to defer it till the morning, though they assured him of the desperation that must attend the present enterprise: and this attempt was pursued in such confusion, that the Duke de Navailles protested afterwards, for his excuse and justification, that he never knew any thing of the council and resolution (being intent upon the safe disembarkation of those troops which were not come yet on shore, and upon their accommodation) till he heard that the Duke de Beaufort was engaged in the sally, for which he quickly paid dear; for he and most of those who followed him were cut off and destroyed, without doing any considerable damage to the enemy. And so the unparalleled rashness of one night, and, as is supposed, of one man, rendered the whole design, that had been prepared and conducted till then with great prudence and vast expence, fruitless, unfortunate, and dishonourable. The body of the Duke was never found or known, though many rumours were dispersed concerning it, that the Grand Vizier had caused his head to be cut off, and sent it to the Grand Signior, and such other stories. This so signal defeat defeated all other hopes of relieving or preserving Candia. The several fleets returned with what was left to their several stations, and the fort and garrison shortly after (though not sooner than was confessedly necessary) surrendered upon more honourable terms than they had reason to expect from so barbarous an enemy. The fatal
account

account of this expedition made so great an impression upon the spirits of the good Pope, weakened enough before by the weakness of his body and many infirmities, that he lived but a short time after, his whole reign having continued less than three years, in which time he did all the good he could to all men, and no harm to any, and is the only Pope of many ages whose death no man desired, and whose loss more men lamented; nor was any of his family reproached with his memory.

When Clement was dead, all the factions which had been united in the choice of him, and had been composed and laid to sleep during his reign, presently broke out, and appeared with more noise and bitterness than ever. Cardinal Chigi, by the countenance and favour he had received during the whole Pontificate of Clement, and there having so few of his uncle's creatures died in that time, was like to have more credit in the next Conclave than he had in the last, though it then appeared to be very great; and the very good life of Cardinal Barberini, and the universal esteem of his virtue and affection to the Church, was like to make as many votes to be at his disposal as at any man's; and all men knew that they two would never design the same person to the Chair; so that all prognosticated a very long and a very troublesome Conclave. And such it fell out to be. For Cardinal Chigi, having with too much vanity bragged that no man should be chosen Pope who was not amongst the creatures of his uncle, had been able to exclude all those who had been proposed; and they had likewise authority and power enough to exclude all those whom he desired to promote. After they had remained in the Conclave

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Clement X.
Altieri.

CHAP. IX. — five months by the affectation and obstinacy of Chigi, (who found he was much censured by all men for it,) he began to relent, and accept of such a Pope as was not notoriously believed to be an enemy; and so they at last even unanimously consented in the election of the youngest Cardinal, though the oldest man, and who was most like quickly to make room for a successor; and Cardinal Altieri was made Pope, who, out of reverence to his patron, assumed the name of Clement the Tenth.

His origin
and cha-
racter.

Æmilio Altieri had been, in the reign of Urban the Eighth, a man of great eminency, and by him made Nuncio in the kingdom of Naples, which office he exercised with a general good testimony many years, being a place of good profit, and independent upon the Vice-King, who is rather inferior, but pretends not to have any jurisdiction over him. He was then looked upon as of that class that was to come next to the purple; but Urban dying, and Innocent succeeding, he was presently recalled, not without some marks of disgrace. For Innocent had formerly been in the exercise of the same function, and well remembered the silent gains of it, and would therefore call Altieri to such an account as might dispose him to offer some composition; to which the other, though he was esteemed very rich, utterly refused to submit, and challenged his accusers; whereupon he was discountenanced, and set aside, lived as a private person in Rome, and during the reigns of Innocent and Alexander (which continued near twenty years) he was without any employment, unknown or unregarded. As soon as Clement was Pope, who had formerly known his abilities, and had great familiarity with him, (both being

ing then looked upon as of the same level,) he called him to the court, and made him Master of the Chamber, and, a few months before his death, created him Cardinal, the last of that creation, not without some presage that he would succeed him. Yet his best title was, that he was eighty-three years of age, and all the vigour of his faculties so much decayed and broken, that he did not remember in the morning what he had said or done the night before. So that he wanted only a Cardinal Hildebrand to persuade him to resign the Papacy, as his predecessor Calixtus the Fifth had done, for the like infirmity. But the poor man hath reigned already above three years, with the general reputation of a good and pious man, who gives his neighbours or his subjects little trouble, choosing rather to do nothing at all, than to run the hazard of doing any thing amiss; and if his successors shall be of the same rare temper, they will not be the worse spoken of.

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 CHAP. X

*Concluding Observations—upon the Pope's usurped
Supremacy—and the Duty of Catholic Subjects to
Protestant Sovereigns.*

Result of
this Inqui-
ry.

WE have now attended every Pope from their first institution in St. Peter, to the present Pope Clement the Tenth, who is now living, and reckoned upon the best account to be the two hundred and forty-third Pope from St Peter; and where there is any difference in the calculation, it is from those Pontifical histories which record some Anti-Popes, who were acknowledged for the true and lawful in those provinces, as it often fell out in all the schisms. And I conceive, that upon this short view there hath not been one half century of years in which it hath not appeared, that the successors of St. Peter either did not challenge or assume to themselves that power and authority that is now claimed by divine right, or that they were opposed and contradicted in the point by considerable parts of the Christian Church, which rejects it from a Catholic verity, and so cannot be reckoned amongst the Catholic doctrines.

It

It will be no unnatural addition and conclusion to this historical discourse, to make two observations, which may very well be verified out of it. CHAP. X.

The first is, the extreme scandal and damage religion hath sustained from this exorbitant affectation of superiority and sovereignty in the Pope; the greatest schisms and separations amongst Christians having flowed from that fountain; and from thence the greatest ruin to Kings and kingdoms, in the vast consumption of treasure and blood in unnatural wars and rebellions, having had their original.

Concluding observations.

I. The public mischief of the Pope's affectation of sovereignty.

The second is, that Catholic Princes themselves, who, for their own benefit and mutual exchange of conveniencies, do continue that correspondence with the Popes, and do themselves pay and enjoin their subjects to render that submission and obedience to him, have not that opinion of his divine right, nor do they look upon it as any part of their religion; so that in truth the obligation which is imposed upon the Catholic subjects of Protestant Princes is another religion, or at least consists of more articles of faith than the Catholic Princes and their subjects do profess to believe.

II. That Catholic Princes themselves have not that opinion of the Pope's divine right, nor look upon it as a part of their religion.

For the first of these, the original and progress of the differences and proceedings between the Popes, with and against the Eastern Church, will sufficiently manifest, that that irreparable damage to Christianity, and by which Turcism and Infidelity have gotten so much ground, proceeded solely from the unreasonable affectation of dominion and tyranny in the Bishops of Rome, and from their magisterial rejection of all reasonable overtures of compliance.

Historical proofs of the first observation.

What was the first scandal and offence that the kingdom of Bohemia took against the Church of Rome, Crusades granted by the Popes

CHAP. Rome, which grew afterwards into that great revolt
 X. under John Huss, but that exorbitant and impious
 against Christian Princes. act of John the Twenty-Third, in granting the crusade against Ladislaus King of Naples? upon preaching whereof in Prague, the people rose with a general indignation, saying, "that none but Anti-Christ
 "would grant a Crusade against Christians:" and what advantage Luther got afterwards by the preaching up the Indulgence, and how great a scandal it gave to the best Catholics of that time, may be manifested at large.

The spiritual sword of Excommunication employed for temporal ends.

That dreadful process of the Church, the spiritual sword, which cuts off enormous sinners by Excommunication, whilst it was applied only to the punishment of vice, and to separate those from the communion of Christians who led the lives of Infidels, was looked upon with reverence by the people, and even with veneration by Princes themselves, whilst those censures were issued to spiritual ends, and only for the salvation of souls; but when they grew to be the Pope's artillery, and applied only to the compassing his own temporal ends, Princes made no scruple of repelling that force by force, and raised Catholic armies to protect themselves against that uncatholic tyranny. The instances are too many in the imperial histories, and in the reigns of the Henries and Frederics, of great deluges of blood, and unnatural rebellions, from this usurpation. Gregory the Ninth first excommunicated, merely upon matter of right and title, the Emperor Frederic the Second, for detaining that which belonged to him by the laws of the empire; and when he was not terrified with that thunderbolt, he granted the Crusade (which had never before been used but to support a war with Infidels)

Infidels) against the most Christian Emperor. And Alexander the Fourth did the same against Manfrido King of Naples, who claimed that kingdom by descent from the Emperor Frederic his father. When Pedro King of Arragon made war against Charles King of Naples, Martin the Fourth would have dissuaded him from it, which when he could not do, he issued out his process of Excommunication against him ; and his successor, Pope Honorius the Fourth, (who, they say, was of so virtuous and excellent a disposition, that he never in his life did any thing to anger or grieve any body,) continued the same censures against Pedro, on the behalf of the King of Naples.

The case of the kingdom of Naples, with reference to the two Crowns of Spain and France, is too notorious, and hath cost the lives of too many thousands of the gallant persons that Europe had bred, not to be mentioned. Shortly after Pope Martin the Fifth came to Rome, upon the conclusion of the Council of Constance, Lewis Duke of Anjou came thither to him ; and there being at that time great differences between the Pope and Jane, Queen of Naples, and the Pope having a desire to make France his friend, he gave the investiture of Naples to the Duke of Anjou, and deprived the Queen of that crown. She presently applied herself to Alonso King of Arragon for aid ; and, the better to dispose him to her assistance, and having no children of her own, she adopted him for her son ; who thereupon raised an army, and undertook her quarrel, and therewith compelled Lewis to desist from the prosecution of his pretences : and so Alonso being now the stronger, the Pope concurred with the Queen, confirmed her adoption of

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X.

Deprivation
of sove-
reigns and
giving a-
way of
Crowns.
Case of the
kingdom of
Naples.

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him and his title to the kingdom of Naples after her decease. Yet he had no mind to have so powerful a neighbour in Italy; and therefore, the Queen in a short time after disagreeing with Alonso, she, with the formal consent and approbation of the Pope, (who confessed himself to have been ill informed,) revoked the adoption she had made of Alonso, and adopted her old enemy the Duke of Anjou for her son. This so incensed the King of Arragon, that he threatened the Pope with a Council, and first proposed the re-hearing of the case of Benedict the Thirteenth, and afterwards set up his Anti-Pope Clement, (as I have mentioned before,) until he reduced the Pope to reason, and to do him full justice; inso-much that he deprived Queen Jane of her crown, and likewise her adopted son Lewis, and gave the present investiture of Naples and Sicily to Alonso. And from hence had grown that bloody difference, and from the inconstancy and injustice of the Pope is the foundation of that quarrel, which had lasted now above two hundred years between the Crowns of Spain and France about the kingdom of Naples, and which hath wasted little less blood, and little less infested Italy, than the incursions of the Goths and Vandals did heretofore.

Case of the
kingdom
of Navarre.

The case of the kingdom of Navarre may in some considerations appear yet harder. When the quarrel was between Pope Julius the Second and Lewis the Twelfth of France, (which I mentioned before,) and when Lewis was thereupon excommunicated because he would not give over making war upon the Venetians, in which he was first engaged by the Pope, Ferdinand, King of Arragon, like a good son of the Church, would drive Lewis out of those domi-
nions

nions of which the Pope had deprived him, and so raised an army to invade France; for the facilitating whereof he desired leave of John, King of Navarre, to march through his country; which the King denied, both in respect of his alliance with the King of France, and the inconvenience and mischief that might attend the receiving an army, though of an ally, into his country. This Ferdinand called a disobedience to the commands of the Church, and an adhering to its enemies, and pressed the Pope to pronounce the same ecclesiastical censures against the King of Navarre, as he had done against Lewis; which the Pope accordingly did, and deprived him of his kingdom; and then Ferdinando, the champion of the Church, marches with his army into Navarre, drives the poor King out, and possesses himself entirely of his kingdom, without farther practising any acts of hostilities against France; and, upon this wonderful proceeding of the Pope, the kingdom of Navarre continues to this day in the possession of Spain, and the right heirs of that King remain disinherited.

Upon this occasion I could enlarge, and shew how little good Christians ought to think themselves concerned in that customary, uncharitable, and unreasonable reproach of heretics and schismatics; which is the usual appellation the Church of Rome and its followers give to all those who are not of their communion, because they will not submit to its jurisdiction; and which are angry words they have always given to the most Catholic persons, and in most Catholic times, with whom they have had any litigation; hoping by a fond inversion of logic, because the Church hath been thought the most proper judge

CHAP.
X.

Disobedience to the Pope's jurisdiction denominated Heresy, and made matter of spiritual jurisdiction.

of

CHAP. of spiritual offences, to persuade the world, that
 X. whatever they have a mind to judge and determine

is therefore spiritual. And as, without giving those ill names of heretics and schismatics to those persons (whether Princes or others) whom they have a mind to do wrong to, they cannot handsomely pretend to have any jurisdiction over them, those terms of art are become an essential part of the form of their process: so, (as hath been touched before,) to omit infinite other examples, when Pope John the Two and Twentieth was to oblige the French King, by disobliging the Emperor Ludovico, he cited him to appear at Avignon, whither he could not come without an army, it being in the dominion of his greatest enemy; and for not appearing within the time prescribed, (three months,) the Pope declared him Apostate, and a Rebel to the commands of his Holy Mother the Church, and thereupon deprived him of all his dominions, and anathematized as Rebels, Apostates, and Heretics, all persons who adhered to him, or gave him any title of dignity: by which we may judge how comprehensive a word Heresy is, when the Pope would hurt any body he is angry with; and it relates as well to doing or not doing according to his pleasure, as to impious opinions against the good will of God. And it is no unpleasant instance that Fra Paolo gives, in his History of the Inquisition, of the Bull published in the year thirteen hundred twenty-six, which declared all those who carried any merchandize to the Infidels to be Heretics; by which invention the Pope thought to have had all the trade of the Levant driven by his licence, all the merchants standing in need of absolution for every voyage they made; and the Pope did for a time

The Emperor Ludovico declared a Heretic for not appearing upon a citation to Avignon.

Merchants declared to be Heretics if trading with Infidels.

time get much money by it, till that Republic would not endure that matter of trade should fall under his jurisdiction. CHAP. X.

I would very willingly pass over two infamous actions done by Gregory the Thirteenth, if I did not find the memory of them preserved in their own histories, as instances of signal piety and magnanimity in that Pope, which I believe all good Christians will look upon as very unjustifiable. The first, his sending an express to give the *parabien* to Charles the Ninth of France, upon the massacre at Paris, in which so many thousand persons of all conditions, and both sexes, were cruelly murdered, without the least form of justice, or manifestation of guilt, according to the barbarous will and appetite of the persons employed in that execrable mission of blood, and which was attended with so many judgments upon the royal family, that was universally engaged in the support of it. The second, the same Pope's sending Dr. Parry to murder Queen Elizabeth; which is thus far manifest in the life of that Pope, (for except out of our own records I allege nothing,) that Dr. Parry was satisfied by the Nuncio at Milan that it was lawful for him to kill Queen Elizabeth, upon this supposition and concession, that the act was to be performed only out of Christian charity, and zeal to advance Catholic religion, not out of any personal animosity or revenge; and upon this grave decision of this casuist, the Doctor had the Pope's own pass to go through France, and so into England, where what became of him is well enough known; and this was the rise of all those laws which have drawn so much blood from Catholics; and from hence the Catholic religion was so discredited, as if it cancelled all the obligations of subjects,

Massacre of St. Barthélemi approved by Gregory XIII.

Dr. Parry sent by him to murder Queen Elizabeth.

CHAP. jects, and placed the security of Princes in the sup-
 X. ————— pression of that religion: and they who will not con-
 demn that theological determination must excuse
 those laws which endeavoured to pervert the effect
 thereof.

Cæsar
 d'Este ex-
 communi-
 cated as a
 Heretic for
 claiming
 the Duchy
 of Ferrara
 by gift
 from his
 father.

That Clement the Eighth should endeavour to re-
 cover the Duchy of Ferrara as a feudo of the Church,
 and to recover it by force of arms, though that issue
 was properly to be determined by a process in law,
 is no wonder, nor (it may be) blame-worthy; but
 that he should excommunicate Cæsar d'Este for
 making claim to it by a donation from his father,
 the last Duke, and excommunicate him as a Heretic
 and schismatic, who was never accused of any erro-
 neous opinion in religion; that he should use those
 tragical expressions, "that he would sell all the ves-
 sels of the altar to maintain his army, and would
 " himself die in the graff of the town with the bles-
 " sed sacrament in his hand," as if the attributes of
 God himself were to be vindicated by that action;
 cannot make any deep impression in the hearts of
 Christians, or dispose them to that reverence of his
 determination, as if they were dictated by the Holy
 Ghost.

Rebellions
 of the
 League in
 France sup-
 ported by
 the Popes.

Nor can the proceedings of that Pope, and three
 or four of his predecessors, in the support of the
 League in France, (which was the most barefaced re-
 bellion against two of their Kings,) be forgotten.
 And what was then written in defence of the Pope's
 power and proceedings cannot but have left jealous-
 ies in the hearts of the most Catholic Princes, who
 must discern how incongruous such an ecclesiastical
 sovereignty is, and how inconsistent with the tempo-
 ral in the same dominions; and it must much more
 awaken

awaken Protestant Kings and Princes, who can never be content that their subjects shall divide their affections between them and a foreign power, that hath published such maxims. CHAP. X.

Amongst these, the account the Cardinal d'Ossat gave the King his master must not be forgotten, when he advised him to declare to the Pope, that when he recovered the Marquisate of Saluzzo, he resolved to put in a Catholic Governor and garrison, lest the apprehension the Pope had of the increase of Heresy there might dispose him to adhere to the Duke of Savoy, and that he might keep it; for the Cardinal said, he did know that the Pope and all his court did hold, that to preserve Catholic religion in any country, and to keep it from Heresy, His Holiness can and ought to take it from the true Lord and possessor, and give it to any other that hath no right to it, provided that he can and will maintain the Catholic religion better in it. And therefore Protestant Princes are not to be blamed, if they are not willing that such casuists should have any jurisdiction over the consciences of their subjects, and desire that they, upon whose fidelity and obedience their security so much depends, may disclaim any consent to such odious conclusions.

I will conclude this consideration with a miserable instance, that is too fresh to be put out of our memories, of the prejudice brought upon Catholic Religion, and the peace of kingdoms, by this usurpation in the Pope; even the miseries of our own poor country, which hath been mentioned before; which, if they have not been brought upon us immediately by the rebellion in Ireland, would very easily have been prevented, or at least remedied, if that rebellion had not been a rebellion fomented, cherished, and Irish rebellion fomented by the Pope.

CHAP. and supported immediately by the Pope, with all the
 X. ——— circumstances of his power in Bulls, Benedictions, and presence of his Nuncio, who took upon him to be General of the army in rebellion against the King, and to exercise a full sovereign power in all things: and when, out of conscience, the representative body of the Catholics had resolved to return to their duty and obedience of their lawful King, and thereupon obtained from his Majesty such gracious and ample concessions as satisfied and pleased themselves, and had solemnly bound and obliged themselves to perform all the offices and duties of subjects in assisting his Majesty, the Pope's Nuncio absolved them from all those obligations, and excommunicated all persons whatsoever who should adhere to the peace then so solemnly made; by this means, and finding a supine obedience in that unhappy nation, deprived his Majesty of the assistance he should have had, and which probably might have preserved his life, and restored his dominions to peace; instead whereof, that whole nation, and the Catholics of the kingdom, have suffered intolerably, and have great reason to abhor that jurisdiction.

Papal jurisdiction not exercised for the prevention of wars or rebellions.

It were to be wished that the conveniences and benefits which flow from this illimited prerogative were in any degree notorious to the world; and that, in lieu of those many schisms and bloody wars it hath produced, we could find that it had ever composed the like distempers, and that by soft and charitable applications it had ever prevented those miseries. But I doubt there will be very few instances given where the spiritual sword hath been unsheathed purely to those spiritual ends. How many rebellions have we seen raised by Catholic subjects
 against

against Catholic Princes, and yet no interposition of that supreme judicatory over the consciences of men to punish or reform those enormous crimes? If there be such a jurisdiction over the consciences and actions of sovereign Princes, why is it not exercised and extended towards those who, out of unchristian ambition and animosity, make war upon each other, to that infinite prejudice and consumption of their subjects, and general disturbance of Christendom? Why doth not the Pope in those cases put Christian Princes in mind of their duty to God and man, and exact an obedience from them to those precepts which themselves confess to be prescribed by himself? If they think not fit to proceed in those high cases in any other method than by neglected and despised mediation, yet why do they not at least issue out their Excommunications against all Catholics who rebel against Catholic Princes? Why were not the Catholics of Catalonia excommunicated and interdicted for the rebellion against the King of Spain? Why was not the city of Paris interdicted when it shut its gates and refused to receive the King, and when it published an Arrêt to encourage and reward any man who would assassinate a Prince of the Church? It is morally certain, if these wholesome and extraordinary remedies had been or were applied in those cases, rebellion would be at an end; nor would the discontent or ambition of any particular persons be able to support it. And if they will not perform this Catholic office, and exercise this Catholic power, where their authority is confessed, and an obedience thereto enjoined by the municipal laws of the kingdom, what hope is there that it would do good, or what encouragement is there

CHAP. there to submit to it in other places where it is not
 X. acknowledged? And how hard a case is it that it
 must be a part of the Religion of the English Catholics?

Proofs of the second observation, by the different manner and extent in which the Papal jurisdiction is exercised in several Catholic kingdoms.

To draw then to a conclusion, and for the manifestation of the other proposition, "That Catholic Princes themselves, and their subjects who continue their correspondence with the Pope, and do pay that submission and obedience to him, do it not out of any opinion of the divinity of it, nor do look upon it as a vital part of their Religion," this is clear enough, by the different manner and extent of the jurisdiction which he doth exercise in several Catholic kingdoms; which would be the same in all if it were founded upon divine right, and he would have the same jurisdiction and privilege in the kingdom of France, that he hath in the kingdom of Spain.

Clement VII. made prisoner by the Emperor Charles V.

If the great Emperor Charles the Fifth had in truth believed the Church of Rome to be the mother and mistress of all other Churches, and that he did owe a true and entire obedience to the person of the Pope, as to the Vicar of Jesus Christ, it had not been possible he could have used the person of Clement the Seventh in that manner, or suffered him to have been made a prisoner, and prosecuted with those circumstances of contumely and reproach; but he would have taken vengeance of the General and officers of his army, as upon most sacrilegious wretches. Whereas, when he writ to them to set the Pope at liberty, he directed them to do it in such a manner, that of a friend he should not become an enemy; which was, that he should be so looked to, that it should not be in his power to do any harm; and when

when the Emperor afterwards did meet with the Pope, he never made the least apology for what had been done against him, but even then compelled him to that extravagancy against Henry the Eighth, with whom he himself presently after made a stricter friendship than before. CHAP.
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If the same Emperor had believed that the sovereign power, in determination of matters of faith, had resided in Pope Paul the Third, he would not have called the Diet at Spire, and referred the examination of those high points then in controversy to them; nor taken afterwards upon himself to have granted the Interim, by which it was lawful for the several Churches in Germany to profess those opinions, and exercise that Religion, until a General Council should be called, which the Pope had declared to be schismatical and heretical. Diet of
Spire, and
the Interim
granted by
Charles V.
in the time
of Paul III.

In the time of Julius the Third, and after the year fifteen hundred and fifty, Ferdinand King of the Romans, having clearly discovered that the Cardinal Georgio, who was employed and entrusted with the command of the army in Transilvania, had a secret treaty with Soliman the Grand Signior to deliver that province into his hands, and, knowing no other way to prevent that mischief but by the death of the Cardinal, sent chosen persons to kill him, who did it accordingly; upon which the Pope excommunicated Ferdinand, who neither took notice of it, nor made the least address to him thereupon: so that shortly after he found it necessary himself to revoke the Excommunication, and absolved the King without any application to him. And what opinion the Republic of Venice had of the Excommunication and Interdict issued against them by Paul the Fifth, hath Excommu-
nication of
Ferdinand
King of the
Romans by
Julius III.
and of the
Republic of
Venice by
Paul V.
disregarded
by each. been

CHAP. been mentioned at large, and few people are ignorant
 X. enough to need information of it.

The Spiritual Sovereignty of the Pope denied by the Gallican Church in the case of Henry IV.

What opinion the Gallican Church hath of that Spiritual Sovereignty, amongst a thousand other instances, their proceeding in the case of Henry the Fourth is evidence enough, that being a case of Heresy, which cannot be denied to be of ecclesiastical cognizance. And if the Bishop of Rome hath any jurisdiction out of his own diocese, he can reserve such a case to himself as Clement the Eighth did, publishing such his reservation, and inhibiting all other persons to meddle in it, with all the formalities which could be devised; and yet the Archbishop of Bourges and seventeen other Catholic Bishops joined together, and (notwithstanding the reservation of the Pope, and all his threats and commands to the contrary) proceeded in the absolution of the King, and received him into the Catholic Church; nor, when the Pope himself complied, could he ever afterwards prevail to satisfy the King that his former absolution should ever be acknowledged to be void, as hath been before observed.

Menaces of Spain to Urban VIII. and of France and Portugal to Innocent X.

Whosoever sees the expostulations which have been made, and the menaces which have been given, by the King of Spain to Pope Urban the Eighth, upon that Pope's violent inclination to France; or from the King of France and the Portuguese to Innocent the Tenth; must believe that all those Catholic kingdoms do not think the power and authority of the Pope to be greater in their respective dominions than they please to give him, nor by any other title than their own donation.

The Pope's claim of universal jurisdiction

Since then this unnecessary universal jurisdiction of the Pope, which affronts the supreme government of

of Kings Princes and States, and perplexes the faith of Catholics themselves, (there being scarce one national Church that hath the same notion of it,) hath no foundation in Scripture, where all articles of faith are to be found, nor was ever exercised or pretended to by St. Peter;—since for many hundred years no one of his successors demanded or assumed it, and, when it was first usurped, it always found manifest and public contradiction and opposition in the Church of Christ, and so it hath no foundation in antiquity as a Catholic verity, but in the most pure and sincere ages of the Church, it hath been reproached as an instance of Anti-Christian ambition and tyranny;—since it hath not yet been declared or instituted in any General Council that is acknowledged by Catholics themselves; the Council of Trent itself (which added so many new declarations and anathemas in Catholic Religion) pretending, that though they added nothing to the Catholic faith, it was necessary to enlarge upon and explain the old articles, that the Church's sense might be clearly known in all those tenets and opinions which they accused the heretics of that age to have set on foot, and yet that same Council not presuming to make one Canon to declare or establish the Pope's universal authority and jurisdiction, which was almost the only point in which all whom they called heretics agreed, and was more insisted on than any doctrinal point in controversy, and therefore needed more vindication;—since the kingdom of France admits it in a very small degree, and even controls it by some privileges of the Gallican Church, whenever it would exercise a jurisdiction not agreeable to the policy of the government, or the pleasure of the governors, nor is

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 ———
 jurisdiction being unscriptural—and denied by different Catholic nations, in different ages, and in various instances—it is unreasonable to require submission to it from the Catholic subjects of Protestant Princes.

CHAP. any determination or Bull of the Pope obligatory
 X. — there, until received and confirmed by the Crown; and till then, there is the same liberty in the arguing and debating the grounds and reasons of it, as if it were not determined there; as appears in the disquisition upon the five points with reference to the Jansenists by the University at Paris, and in many other particulars, and in the restraints and censures lately put upon the Society of the Jesuits by several Bishops in their synods, directly contrary to some Bulls granted by the Popes to that order;—since in the most Catholic kingdom of Spain, which is understood generally to depend more on the Pope, and to have his Supremacy more in veneration than all other Catholic kingdoms of the world, (though, in truth, it is but an exchange of mutual conveniences, the Crown receiving more real benefit and advantage by the Crusade, which is a vast revenue entirely given him by the Pope, than it returns by all the concessions it gives him in Spain,) yet, that it may not be thought, whatever it is, to be of the Religion of Spain, but purely of the policy, it is as penal there as it was in England in the Catholic times to publish any Bull, or other act of the Court of Rome, without the licence and approbation of the Crown; and since the very Inquisition itself was erected by the civil power and authority of the Crown, nor is any direction or order to it from the Pope admitted without the express direction of the King; and since no Bull from Rome is received, of how spiritual a nature soever, that doth in the least degree concern the government, or even the appetite and the humour of the nation; so that, notwithstanding the Bull which Pius the Fifth published against the *Toros* in Spain, forbidding

bidding any religious or ecclesiastical person to be present at those exercises, and none to have Christian burial who lose their lives in them, (which in truth is no more than Christian temper and discretion should enjoin,) yet the Clergy are formally and in a body present at those entertainments, and the Pope's Bull is no more considered, than if it were an injunction from the Archbishop of Paris, or the Gallican Church; and so, that since the year sixteen hundred and thirty, in the time of Pope Urban the Eighth, upon the dislike of the Pope's too violent inclinations to France, the Spanish Ambassador expostulated very briskly upon that inequality of his temper; and, for want of the satisfaction that was expected, the whole Papal jurisdiction was suspended in Spain, and no subject suffered to appeal to the Nuncio in any case whatsoever:—in a word, since neither Germany, Spain, France, nor Italy itself, admits or receives it in the same degree, nor otherwise than as it is established by the municipal laws of the several dominions; and it is less revered in Italy than almost in any other Catholic country; witness the deportment of the Republic of Venice towards it upon all occasions, and the privileges challenged and assumed in Sicily and Milan, in the last whereof the Missal of St. Ambrose is continued notwithstanding the Pope's Bull, and so, in a matter merely spiritual, it differs from all other Churches in the communion of the Catholic Church;—it is therefore, upon all these grounds, very unreasonable to put a yoke upon the necks of the Catholics who live under Protestant Princes, (who must be acknowledged to owe the same allegiance to their sovereigns which is paid by Catholics to their Kings and Governors,) by obliging

CHAP. X. them, to contend with the laws of their country, under which they are born, in things merely temporal ; and to distinguish themselves from their fellow subjects, by acknowledging but half that obedience to their Prince which the other pays, and in that part which relates merely and purely to the peace and security of their common country, and not at all to the exercise of their religion ; and thereby to force and compel their Sovereign Princes, who should be common fathers to all their subjects, to give but a half protection to them who will pay but half obedience ; and to make the strictest laws to disenable those from doing hurt by their depraved affections to their King and country, who will not secure their King and country of their good affections to them, by taking those lawful oaths which are the common bonds of all subjects within the same dominions, and which have as well to do with the illimited fancies of the brain, as the dutiful affections of the heart ; and though men cannot reasonably be tied to think what others think, they may be ready to do what others do. For no Prince nor State can be secured of the dutiful actions of those who do subject themselves to opinions which control those actions, and dispose the persons not to perform them ; as when the Pope excommunicates all those whom he calls Heretics, and absolves all those who are in subjection to those excommunicated persons from any oaths they have taken to them, and from all duty that they are understood to owe to them. And when Princes see that accordingly their subjects depart from their duty and obedience, have they not great reason to make themselves as sure as may be, that those subjects, to whom they allow the protection of their laws, shall not submit to such authority,

thority, nor in their opinions consent to such doctrine? And if they shall refuse to make any such declarations, have they not great reason to provide for their own security by other restrictions? CHAP.
X.

I may, after all this, reasonably wish and advise all my countrymen the Roman Catholics, who are his Majesty's subjects, and live within his Majesty's dominions, and under his protection, (towards many of which I have always performed all offices of friendship, and towards none whereof I have ever shewed prejudice for their opinions,) that they will seriously consider, whether they do not highly offend God Almighty in refusing to give that security to the King for their duty and allegiance towards him as the laws require from them, and which contain no other obligations than Catholic subjects stand bound in to their Catholic Kings; and whether, by adding somewhat to their religion which is not religion, they do not deservedly bring those penalties and forfeitures upon themselves, which they sustain in the very exercise of their religion; and whether the Crown can be without a reasonable and just jealousy of their affection, until they renounce all kind of subjection to, and all kind of dependence upon, the Bishop of Rome, who doth desire all opportunities by which the peace of the kingdom may be disturbed.

It is no more excuse for them, than it is security for the King, that they say that they do not acknowledge any temporal authority to be in the Pope, so that he cannot disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that, if himself came to invade the kingdom, they would themselves oppose and resist him with the same courage as they would fight against the Turk. Spiritual authority hath done too much mischief to

CHAP.
X.

be undervalued, or to be believed to have less mind to do mischief than it hath had; nor do they who talk of resisting it know to what degree they would resist, or to what degree they would not assist it, if there were occasion. No man yet knows what themselves mean by that spiritual authority which they own to be in the Pope, and which they would before this time have carefully explained, if they thought it so innocent that no harm could be apprehended from it; and, till they do clearly define what it is, they must not take it ill, if we conceive that they mean enough by it to compass any thing the Pope thinks reasonable to apply it to. So that the attributing any power to him, or acknowledging any to be in him, of how spiritual a nature soever it is thought to be, shall be enough to give law to the temporal, when a spiritual end shall so direct it: and all Kings have reason to believe, that every Pope thinks that he hath the same authority over them which any of his predecessors have ever exercised over any of their predecessors, and as much as Bellarmine, Mariana, or any other Jesuit hath assigned to them. For though it may be presumed that every Pope doth not approve what many of his predecessors have done, (and it is not reasonable or just to charge the Catholic Church with those opinions which particular Catholic writers have published,) yet, since the succeeding Popes have not in the least degree disclaimed or renounced the highest act of power which any of their predecessors have ever exercised, (though they have not found it seasonable or safe for them to attempt the same usurpation,) nor hath the Catholic Church condemned or disapproved those opinions published by Jesuits and other writers, which have been published

lished by public authority, we may reasonably and without breach of charity believe, that it is only want of opportunity, and despair of success, that restrains them from those excesses, and not any reformation in their judgments, or opinion that their jurisdiction is not in truth as large and illimited as any of their predecessors ever presumed to infest the Christian world with.

And I know very well, that, since the King's happy restoration, the Catholics, finding themselves at so much ease that they received no disturbance nor underwent any penalty for the exercise of their religion, and well discerning the reproach his Majesty underwent for his indulgence to them, as if he were not without some inclination to their religion, as well as charity towards their persons, which they easily foresaw would turn to their disadvantage, and that the Parliament would be induced to complain of the licence they enjoyed; and finding also, that, since they refused to take those oaths which the laws enjoined them to take, it concerned them to think of such other security, by way of oath or protestation, as the King might accept as of equal security; some principal persons of that religion desired that there might be a meeting between the superiors and others of the several orders of the Clergy, that they might discourse and agree together upon an oath or subscription, that all Catholics might take or subscribe, to give the King and the State satisfaction of their fidelity. The meeting was at Arundel house, there being, besides ecclesiastical persons, some of the nobility, and other persons of quality of that Religion; where several propositions were made for the disclaiming any authority of the Pope in temporal affairs, to which

CHAP.
X.

The meeting at Arundel, after the Restoration, to agree upon an oath that might give satisfaction to the King.

when

CHAPTER. when the company seemed generally to agree, a Je-
 X. suit desired them to consider better of what they
 were about, and enlarged very much that they could
 not with a good conscience deny the Pope to have
 authority even in temporal affairs within the king-
 dom ; which he endeavoured to prove by many argu-
 ments, upon which the company broke up without
 any conclusion, and met no more upon the debate ;
 many much disliking the Jesuit's positive discourse ;
 others thinking it not safe for them to be present at
 such argumentations.

Necessity
 for the
 Priests as
 well as the
 Laity to re-
 nounce
 the Pope's
 authority in
 ecclesiasti-
 cal affairs
 as well as
 in tempo-
 ral.

Nor will the secular and regular Clergy ever agree
 upon any expression for the excluding the Pope's au-
 thority. If they were discoursed with by those in
 authority severally, that is, the superiors of the
 Clergy and of the several orders, some would yield
 much farther than others ; and, it may be, some of
 them, if they might have any reasonable presump-
 tion that they should not be exposed to a foreign ju-
 risdiction abroad for denying it at home, would ea-
 sily be induced utterly to abjure any kind of submis-
 sion to the authority of the Popes, towards whom, in
 truth, all those who follow Jansenius (of which there
 are very many of the Seculars, and some of the Regu-
 lars) have very little reverence, and would have less,
 if they might safely disclaim the having any : which
 courage would be much advanced if they saw a dis-
 tinction made, and those who avow the more sturdy
 principles, and own a dependence upon the Papal au-
 thority, made examples of and utterly banished the
 kingdom ; which will not be a severity ingrateful to
 the Catholics of the best quality and most peaceable
 tempers in the kingdom, who undergo much trouble
 and many inconveniences by the froward and impe-
 rious

rious humour of those fire-brands. And the principal care must be of those spiritual persons, the ghostly fathers; and if they be suffered to govern over the consciences of their penitents, without entering into any kind of obligation themselves for their fidelity to the Crown, (as none of them do,) it is no matter what oaths are administered to or taken by the laity; nor can less than an entire and absolute renouncing any kind of submission to the Pope, as well in ecclesiastical as temporal affairs, be in any degree a reasonable assurance of their dutiful and peaceable behaviour.

There is no authority or power that the Pope more affects, or more owns and avows, or doth more exercise, than that, to absolve men from all obligations by the oaths they have taken, and to dispense with them for violating them. And surely he can challenge nor usurp no power that ought to be more odious and formidable to all Princes. And therefore they cannot be too jealous that their subjects may not be corrupted with that doctrine, or too inquisitive that they may discover those who are; which can be no other way, than by their renouncing his having any such power and authority: and if they refuse to declare their judgments in that particular, their fidelity can be no longer depended upon than the Pope will permit them to be loyal; which is a very loose and insecure title for Kings to the duty and loyalty of their subjects. And yet this is all or the greatest objection they can make against their taking those oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which the laws require them to take. They say they are willing to take any oaths, that they will be always faithful to the King, and that they will continue so, notwithstanding

CHAP.
X.

Undefined
extent of
the Pope's
Spiritual
authority.

CHAP. withstanding any dispensation or injunction that the
 X. Pope shall publish or grant ; but that they dare not take upon them to define or limit the Pope's power or jurisdiction, and so determine what he can or cannot do ; as if they can warrantably declare that they will not obey him, if they once believe that he hath a just and warrantable power to command them.

All Protestants still considered as excommunicated heretics.

They speak as much and no more to the purpose than, that (God be thanked) there is no danger of any such unjust injunctions ; that it is now above or near a hundred years since any Pope hath manifested any such disaffection, or issued out any excommunication or other instrument to the prejudice of the Crown ; but, on the contrary, that all the late Popes have manifested all possible respect to the King, his father, and his grandfather, and wish and advise that all their subjects should be dutiful and obedient to them. If this were true, as it is notoriously the contrary, as appears by Innocent the Tenth sending Rinuccini his Nuncio into Ireland in the late rebellion there, (as hath been mentioned before,) with as full and absolute power and authority, or a greater, than he gives to his Legates at Bologna or Ferrara, or to his General in the dominions of the Church, and who absolved all his subjects not only from their allegiance, but from the oath they had lately taken, upon the pacification, of future obedience upon the King's pardon of their past transgressions ; I say, if this interruption had not been of their pretended modesty and peaceable dispositions, yet we all know that they all look upon the Crown, and all Protestants of his Majesty's dominions, as under the excommunication of Gregory the Thirteenth

teenth and Sixtus Quintus, as if the same had been renewed and thundered out again by the Urbans and the Innocents, and the Clements, who have succeeded; that they look upon them all as the same Heretics they were when those Excommunications were first issued out, and that they renounce all commerce and correspondence with all Protestant Princes and States, by sending or receiving Ambassadors. This declares and avows a perpetual hostility with them, which, if it were generally resented by those Princes, and a war were declared by them all against that Prince and all his subjects, (as by the law of nations might be done,) I much doubt, or rather believe, that no Catholic Prince would find himself concerned in the quarrel to support an insolence so contrary to their joint practice; and which alone prevents and obstructs that Christian unity which ought to be, and would be, amongst all Christian Princes against Pagans and Infidels, and which can only hinder them from making Christendom a prey to the barbarous enemies of Christ.

It is very true, that, since it hath pleased God to bless the Protestant Religion to that degree, that it subsists without the protection, and against all the malice of its enemies; and that the Catholic Princes, notwithstanding all the absolutions excommunications and interdictions from Rome, are well contented to make and observe leagues and treaties of alliance and commerce with them, and to entertain the strictest amity together, to that degree as to enter into leagues offensive and defensive with them, even against Catholic Princes and States; many learned and worthy persons of that Religion have thought fit to renounce and disclaim that odious and horrible

CHAP.
X.

The Church of Rome never disclaimed the tenet, "that faith is not to be kept with heretics."

CHAP. horrible doctrine, “ that faith is not to be kept with
 X. “ Heretics ;” an opinion only of angry and passionate particular men, contrary to the truth and integrity of Catholic Religion ; and even the most angry men have in this last age declined the urging and insisting upon that envious and detested proposition. Yet we must say, that this renouncing and disclaiming is but the act of particular men ; for the Faculty of the Sorbonne (which hath piously and honestly contradicted, and, as much as in them lies, condemned it) is but so many particular men, as to the pronouncing a Catholic verity. The Church of Rome hath in no degree deposited this weapon by disavowing it, and no half age passes without avowing and assuming it; and if the dictates of the Popes themselves be of authority enough to establish a Catholic doctrine, the tenet and assertion will have no less credit to support it.

Discourse
 of Clement
 VIII. with
 Cardinal
 D'Ossat.

It was but in the reign of Henry the Fourth of France, (as hath been touched upon before,) that Clement the Eighth, then Pope, speaking with Cardinal D'Ossat of a peace between the Crowns of France and Spain, and that they should both join in a war against England, (Queen Elizabeth being then alive,) the Cardinal answered him ; that the King, who was always an exact observer of his word and promise, would have much ado to disengage himself from that alliance which he had lately renewed and confirmed by an oath : but the Pope answered him, that that oath was made to an heretic, and that the King had made quite another oath to God, and to him ; and afterwards added, (what he had often said to him before,) that Kings and Sovereign Princes gave themselves the liberty to do any thing that
 might

might tend to their advantage ; and that it was come now to that height, that nobody imputed it to them as a crime, nor thought the worse of them for so doing ; and alleged a saying of Francis Maria, Duke of Urbin, who used to say, “ If a gentleman or a lord, not a sovereign, kept not his word, it would be a great dishonour and reproach to him ; but Sovereign Princes, upon interests of state, could, without any great blame, make and break treaties at their pleasure ; make alliances, and, as soon as that is done, quit them, lie, betray, and do any thing else :” upon which the good Cardinal observed to the King, that the hatred the Pope bore to Heretics transported him so far, that he let slip out of his mouth sometimes, though under the name of another, maxims very pernicious, and wholly unworthy of a man of honour or honesty. And no question, this opinion of the keeping no faith with Heretics is as much the doctrine of the Court of Rome now as it was then ; and it was the ground of the two Bulls mentioned before, and issued out by Urban and Innocent, one against the peace of Germany, and the other against that of Spain with the Low Countries, after those seas of blood which had been let out in both those wars.

It cannot therefore be wondered at, if Protestant Princes cannot be confident of the affection and fidelity of their Roman Catholic subjects, who refuse to disclaim that power to be in the Pope which he will be sure to use to their destruction when he finds it convenient ; and which power they have no obligation from their Religion to believe ; for if they had, the College of Sorbonne would not so often have presumed to declare against it ; and it is no longer since

than

CHAP.
X.

Papal Supremacy denied in France by the Sorbonne and the Gallican Church.

CHAP. than the year sixteen hundred and thirty-three, that
 X. it thought fit, upon a new occasion, to renew the same
 declaration, “ *quòd subditi fidem et obedientiam Regi*
 “ *Christianissimo ita debent ut ab iis nullo prætextu*
 “ *dispensari possint;*” which is as much as is re-
 quired of those to whom the oaths of allegiance and
 supremacy are administered. Whoever hath read the
 many determinations of the Sorbonne upon this sub-
 ject of the Pope’s authority, or the considerations of the
 learned Gerson, Chancellor of France, must confess,
 that all the little reverence the Gallican Church hath
 for the Pope proceeds only from the narrow conces-
 sions that Crown hath made to him, not from the
 conscience of what he claims as the Vicar of Christ.
 And Petrus de Aliaco, Bishop of Cambray, and a
 Cardinal, says clearly in his treatise “ *de Autoritate*
 “ *Ecclesie,*” that those words of our Saviour, “ *Petre,*
 “ *rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua,*” was not
 spoken of the personal faith of Peter, “ *sed de fide ec-*
 “ *clesiæ;*” and of that only it was said, that the gates
 of hell “ *non prævalebunt adversùs eam, not adversùs*
 “ *te;*” which was the universal opinion of that age,
 and is not different from the present; as may fur-
 ther appear by the censure of the Faculty of Paris
 upon the book written within these very few years
 by Jaques Vernant, who endeavoured to raise the
 Pope’s authority to the highest extent of the Jesuits;
 which censure and declaration against the proposi-
 tions of Vernant was by this King’s command, after
 it was registered in the Parliament of Paris, sent to
 be entered in all the Parliaments within the several
 provinces of France. And if any doubt can remain
 of the opinion of the Gallican Church in this parti-
 cular, it will be cleared by reading the excellent book
 of

of the late Bishop of Paris, Petrus de Marca, "*De* CHAP. X.
Concordiâ Sacerdotii et Imperii."

But let the Gallican Church say what it will, and the College of Sorbonne define and determine what it thinks reasonable, and the Crown of France do what it pleases to manifest its power and authority, there can be no question but that the Church and the Court of Rome adhere still to their old most rigid maxims; and, however their civility and manners in conversation are more refined, their bitterness animosity and malice against all those of the reformed Religion are not in any degree inferior to what they were when Luther first provoked them; and all the extravagant and execrable expressions they then used against those of that Religion, and against those Princes who countenanced them, or against those Princes who would not or could not prosecute them with the same fury and blood-thirstiness as they wished and advised, (in which the Emperor himself, as well as the King of France, or other Catholic Princes, underwent a full measure of reproaches;) I say, the same spirit still reigns, and the same pride and acrimony will be expressed, when they shall find a conjuncture which they believe will be favourable to them.

And of this there needs no other manifestation than the many virulent expressions and invectives throughout the two great volumes published by the late Cardinal Pallavicini against all of that Religion, in his answer to the unanswerable History of the Council of Trent, (even whilst the pillar was standing in Rome as the monument of the supremacy of the King of France, Lewis the Fourteenth, over Alexander the Seventh, Bishop of Rome,) and his so carefully publishing the authentic letter sent from Paul

Unaltered spirit of the Church and Court of Rome.

The publication of Pallavicini's Answer to the Council of Trent.

CHAP. the Third to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, upon
 X. — his convocation of the German States to Worms and the edict there, after that great Prince had enough declared the esteem and reverence he had for the Sacred Chair, by his sacking of Rome, and imprisonment and contumelious usage of the person of Clement the Seventh, upon his odious dissimulation and reiterated breach of faith: yet the next successor of that very Pope presumed, upon the occasion of that Prince's convening that assembly, (in which that edict was made for the Interim, until the differences in religion could be settled by a General Council,) to write that letter to him, in which he declared that he had nothing to do to interpose or give rules concerning religion, though in his own dominions, but that the same depended wholly upon him as the Vicar of Christ; and, besides the misapplying several texts of Scripture, as if his authority over the Emperor had been fully established there, he puts him in mind of the proceedings of his predecessors, the Popes, against the Harries and the Frederics, the predecessors of the Emperor, for their disobedience to the Holy Chair; and mentions the wicked effects of those treasons and conspiracies of those Popes as the punishment of God upon that disobedience in the Emperors; and does upon the matter menace him with the like, if he doth not retract that edict, upon the observation whereof the peace of Germany did entirely depend. And it may very reasonably be believed, that the chief end and reason of publishing that book (which, by the formality of the licence, and the Pope's own grant for the sole impression of it, may be justly received as the doctrine of the Catholic Church) was only to revive all those angry propositions and bitter expressions against those of the

Pro-

Protestant Religion; and that they may be looked upon as such heretics as the Church can have no peace with or charity for, how different soever their common stile is now from that which was used towards them in that age; and that they may see that they have the same opinion of them, and kindness towards them, as Sixtus the Fifth had, when he told Cardinal Joyeuse that Queen Elizabeth was an infidel deprived of her kingdom by Apostolical censures, and that he would treat the Turk with much more kindness and condescension than he would do any heretic.

And if the Pope be allowed to exercise any authority in another Prince's dominions (how limited soever the same may seem to be) under the stile of spiritual, or any other restraint, it shall, by the artifice and comments of his emissaries the Priests, be extended to such a magnitude in the hearts and affections of the subjects, as shall be strong enough to disturb and shake all the temporality, when it shall be applied to that purpose; and therefore, any pretence to the whole must be renounced, and those oaths taken by the Clergy, and by all Priests who shall be suffered to abide within the kingdom, as well as by the Laity, whose obedience can never be ascertained whilst their consciences are governed or directed by men who are not under the same obligations.

Next the so stupid resignation to, or introduction of the supreme authority of the Bishop of Rome into so many provinces of the Latin Church, (for they do not pretend that any of the Greek Church, which was still much the more numerous, ever paid subjection to them till within few years, and what con-

CHAP.
X.

Necessity of
the Clergy
taking the
same oaths
as the Laity.

Papal Supremacy
the great
cause of
uncharitable
disunion
between
Christians.

CHAP. cessions they made for that unprofitable subjection is
 X. as well known,) nothing is more wonderful, than that
 it hath not been rejected by more; since it is every
 day more and more understood, not only by the
 learned scholars in all Catholic kingdoms, but by the
 great Princes and Statesmen of that Church, that it
 is no essential part of their religion; and that it is
 the greatest, if not the only cause of the uncharitable
 disunion and separation between Christians; I say
 uncharitable, for disunion and separation there may
 be without uncharitableness.

Impossibi-
 lity of the
 Church of
 Rome con-
 senting to
 any recon-
 ciliation of
 the Roman
 Catholic
 and Pro-
 testant
 Churches.

The temper of considering how all good Christians
 may become so far united as to pray for and with
 one another, (which is an expedient piously to be
 longed for,) hath persuaded many devout men of the
 Roman, as well as of the Protestant party, to believe
 as well as wish, that a way may be found out to re-
 concile both Churches; and that one and the other,
 parting with somewhat that may piously be parted
 with, both may be reconciled to a charitable and re-
 ligious communion together; and, it may be, the
 opinion of the easiness and probability of this, if
 the consultation were entered upon, hath prevented
 much of that reformation which would before this
 time have been made in both Churches by them-
 selves, if they had not deferred it out of an opinion
 that it would be better done together. For neither
 of the Churches believe that there is no doctrine in
 either which may not be better explained, and that
 there are not many other particulars, both in disci-
 pline and practice, which may not be altered or de-
 parted from, for the satisfaction of such a considera-
 ble body of good Christians as would thereby be re-
 conciled to one congregation and one communion.

And

And this would easily be done, if Sovereign Princes would vindicate their own authority and supreme jurisdiction, and by National Councils take care for the settling all matters pertaining to the Church in their own dominions, which, by correspondence with the like National Councils under the neighbour Princes, will without any difficulty sever what is of the essence of religion from what may in the practice of it be permitted, in respect of the government nature and customs of several nations; so that all Christians would but submit to the present customs of the devotions and religious rites established in the several Churches where they come; as St. Ambrose told St. Austin, that he found great ease in himself (and therefore commended that temper to him) in conforming to the practice of the Church of Rome whilst he was at Rome, and by observing the customs of the Church of Milan whilst he was at Milan: and they would find argument enough in the devotions of every Christian Church to communicate together, (though there were many opinions, if they were examined, in which they did not concur,) whereby the visible and uncharitable outward schism would be prevented, which alone keeps the different opinions from being reconciled, by keeping them from being understood. But to imagine that this blessed reformation and pacification can ever be made by or with the consent of the Pope, or without the demolishing his Supremacy, and excluding him from any power in the territories of other Princes or over their subjects, is not worthy of the experience or the wisdom of the present age. It is lawful and reasonable for us to judge by their constant practice, and what they have always done from the time they

C H A P.
X.

CHAP. have grasped the power in their own hands, what
 X. — they will do for the future ; and we may be sharp-
 sighted enough to discern what they ought in wis-
 dom not to do, if they hope to preserve that power
 still in their hands.

Opinions
 which have
 restrained
 Catholic
 and-Pro-
 testant
 Princes
 from re-
 forming
 the Papal
 Usurpa-
 tion.

There are indeed two particular opinions, or rather
 imaginations, which have restrained, and (it may be)
 still restrain both Catholic and Protestant Princes
 from pursuing this expedient, and have been enter-
 tained by many very pious and learned men of the one
 and the other profession, as like to produce that which
 is so desirable ; but which can less reasonably enter-
 tain us longer, than when they first entered into the
 minds of men. The first is, a belief, that the observa-
 tion which the Popes of this last age cannot but have
 made, how offensive and neglected many of their
 usurpations grow every day to Catholic Princes and
 States, no less than to Protestants, (who live towards
 each other with the same fidelity and punctuality as
 either of them observes towards the Holy Chair it-
 self,) will induce them to consent in time to such a
 reformation or concession as may satisfy all parties ;
 rather than run the hazard in some sturdy conflict,
 that may arise by very many accidents, (which may
 naturally be supposed to occur,) to have more extorted
 from them, when they are less at ease to contend.
 The second is, that the growth and multiplication of
 erroneous opinions in matter of religion, or from
 matter of religion, (which, without being heretical
 by any rule that is yet declared, may prove as trou-
 blesome to the peace and unity of kingdoms, as well
 Catholic as others, as if they were heretical,) may
 dispose all Catholic Princes to oblige the Popes to
 consent to the calling a General Council, with such
 circum-

circumstances with reference to liberties of all kinds, as may prepare all men to come with that temper and ingenuity as shall engage them in the investigation of truth, without inclining to faction or interest: and men are the more in love with this remedy, and think it like to be the more effectual, if they have any other reason beside, because all Popes have most unwillingly ever been drawn to submit to it, or to call any Council; except it be held in a place subject to their government, and by persons like to be at their own disposal. But, I say, either of these expectations is not worthy of that sagacity that all men of experience and observation in the great transactions of the world are endued with, of what opinion soever, and who know of how little prevalence the sincere and abstracted love of religion is in all those transactions.

The ground of the first error hath proceeded from the familiar, and, it may be, innocent conversation between persons of different judgments, though both of confessed learning, who, finding that those differences did not produce any aversion from each other, did really believe that the same temper would work the same effect in all other men; especially in those who in all politic respects seemed to them to have most reason to wish a reconciliation. And from hence either side makes conclusions according to the narrowness of their own understandings, and unskillfulness in their conjectures; whilst one of them concludes, that the Church of Rome would make more concessions than it can ever be induced to make; and the other as unwarrantably thinking, that such, or it may be fewer condescensions, would satisfy all the Protestant Princes or Churches, of which kind of

Improbability of the Pope's consenting to any reformation or concession.

CHAP. satisfaction they have no manner of comprehension ;
 X. and, by having a good opinion of each other's manners and sincerity, think that the differences between them are rather verbal, than real and substantial, (which in some particulars is true enough,) and that there wants nothing towards a perfect reconciliation but unbiassed and dispassioned persons to negotiate it ; without considering how few such dispassioned persons there are in the world, and that none such ever had, or ever will have, power to contribute to it. Though there may be, as I said, men of good learning and much honesty, who, dissenting in their judgments, have the same fancy, and do heartily wish the same thing, and what they say, yet the little experience I have had of those persons hath made me observe, that the Catholics have always had great advantage by the want of ingenuity, and by giving themselves leave to say what they wished, rather than what they knew or believed.

Before the troubles which broke out in the year sixteen hundred and forty, when the Church of England was thought to be in no danger of oppression, it was a common bait laid out by many learned Catholics, that the differences were so small between the Church of England and that of Rome, that they were easy to be reconciled ; towards which Mr. Davenport *, a Franciscan Friar of good learning, made his approach, in a book wherein he calls himself Franciscus à Sanctâ Clarâ ; and the which I the rather believe to be well intended, because it was suppressed by

* [*Christopher Davenport, born at Coventry 1598.—entered into the Franciscan Order by the name of Franciscus à Sanctâ Clarâ ; Provincial of his Order in England, and one of the Chief Chaplains to the Queen of King Charles II. See Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, second edit, vol. ii. p. 652.*]

the Inquisition. And it was in those days commonly said by a Benedictine Monk of the most eminent learning, who went by the name of Father Leander, "that if any member of the Church of England would, in the way of confession, assure him, that for all his opinions in religion he would very willingly submit them to, and stand to the judgment of a General Council, when it should be called lawfully, he for his part would immediately give him absolution, and reconcile him to the Church;" and I am not sure that this profession from a man who was well thought of, and known to have very little reverence for the Pope, did not make impression upon some men of good parts; when he could not but know, that upon such a general profession and confession, or without an absolute abjuration of the Church of England, he could give him no absolution; or if he did, that, by the rules to which he was subject, both the absolution and reconciliation are void, and of no effect. Alas! those, and the men of that class, know little of the Pope's constitution, and how little he is to be moved by overtures of reconciliation.

It is equally unreasonable to expect that the Pope will willingly depart from any of those prerogatives, with which his predecessors have been invested, or of which they have been possessed for some hundred of years. He sees all his neighbour Princes not only positive in enjoying what their ancestors have left to them, without inquiring by what right or title they came to it, but solicitous to increase their power, and to enlarge their dominions; and so he easily satisfies himself with retaining the authority he finds himself in possession of, whether he be sure that Christ left it him or no. And as other Princes think themselves rather

CHAP. rather obliged to provide for their own greatness,
 X. — and the plenty and happiness of their own dominions, than to contribute out of their own to make their neighbours more at ease, so he looks upon himself as trusted to support the Papacy to the full height at which he received it, and not in the least degree to diminish the state, and revenue, and dependence which belongs to himself, to increase and establish the peace and security of all the Christian world besides. How independent and infallible and supreme soever the person of the Pope is, and how uncontrollable soever his authority is, yet it is a Catholic doctrine, that he may be deposed if he become heretic; and therefore he is obliged, for his own security, never to be suspected to incline to those who have withdrawn their obedience from the Church, for what reason soever. He knows very well, that consenting to any alteration in opinion or practice, to comply with the consciences of other men, will encourage others to make more unreasonable demands. That a palpable error and mischief ought not to be removed to comply with the presumption of a poor Friar, was reason enough to restrain Leo the Tenth from satisfying Luther in some particulars which were agreeable enough to his own judgment and discretion. There is nothing more manifest (both by the instructions to the several Ambassadors, and by the frequent declarations and importunities of the Bishops of France and Spain, as well as of Germany) than that those kingdoms did desire that the Sacrament might be delivered in both kinds; and France as well as Germany did heartily wish that the growing and spreading schisms in both nations might be composed, by permitting marriage to the Clergy,

Clergy, as well as the cup to the Laity ; so that neither of those points were then looked upon by those Catholic countries as contradictions to Catholic religion, nor could the Pope then have avoided consenting to those and other reformations, if he had not eluded their importunity by seeming to concur with them in opinion of the convenience and benefit of what they proposed, and in his inclination to grant that himself, out of the plenitude of his own power, which would endure long contest, and take up very much time in the Council ; by which pretence, and the jealousy which he kindled between those Princes upon their other pretences and different interests, he prevailed with them all that those particulars should be referred by the Council to the determination of His Holiness, and thereupon consent that the Council should be dissolved : after which he would never endure either of the particulars to be proposed to him ; declaring upon all occasions, in season and out of season, in earnest and in jest, that the Council itself would have gratified those Princes and nations in what they desired, if they had not known that it was not consistent with Catholic religion. And now both of them, the single life of the Clergy, (with what scandal or wickedness soever accompanied,) and the receiving of the Communion in one kind, (how contrary soever to Christian institution,) are looked upon as main pillars of the Catholic faith, and no proposition in Calvin is less consistent with the Roman religion, than the violation of either of those particles.

The other expedient towards reconciliation, by a General Council, administers less of hope, because a impossibility of calling a General Council
it

CHAP. it is in a degree impossible. For the proof whereof,
 X. before we shall make use of other arguments that are
 to any ef- demonstrative, we may urge the judgment of a late
 fectual pur- Pope himself; for his own approbation and licensing
 pose. makes what is so approved and licensed to be his own.

Not for
 Cardinal
 Pallavici-
 ni's rea-
 sons.

Cardinal Pallavicini hopes (which may be well called the judgment of Pope Alexander the Seventh) that the reading his History of the Council of Trent, granting it should produce no other fruit, will yet remove a scandal common enough among zealous but inexperienced persons in civil affairs, which is, why in this age Popes do not assemble Councils as they used formerly to do, as the canons do enjoin, and as the restoration of our decaying and sinking discipline seems to require. "Without doubt," says he, (for I use no other words than his own,) "whoever reads the successes of this last Council, even in those things wherein Suave and I do not disagree, will find, that in the mystical heaven of the Church there is no conjunction harder to be made, or, being once made, of a more dangerous influence, than a General Synod; so that, as long as the course of the world shall go on as it does," (this was said not above a dozen years since, and there appears no alteration since that time,) "an attempting it in extreme necessity would be a perfect tempting of God, and such an assembly would make the Church run an evident risk of having its flock scattered;" and so, according to his usual unwariness, he proceeds to the use of other arguments, the strength whereof chiefly implies, that it would be very inconvenient and mischievous to the Pope that there should be any General Council convened; which,

which, as I said before, is the best, if not the only argument, which prevails with most men to believe that it would produce much good. CHAP.
X.

But, whatever other men may think or say, it must seem very strange, especially to Catholics, who are persuaded to think that their religion and Church itself is founded very deep in the authority and antiquity of General Councils, which destroyed and rooted up all those thorns and briars, the heresies and impieties which were like in its infancy to have choked religion, and to have rendered it utterly unfruitful, and which have given and preserved all that vigour which hath sustained it ever since; it must, I say, seem strange to all such Catholics, to hear it said by a Pope, or a Cardinal with the Pope's approbation, "that the attempting to call a General Council, as long as the course of the world goes as it now does, would be a perfect tempting of God;" and "that such an assembly would make the Church run an evident risk of having its flock scattered." If this appears scandalous to the ordinary rank of Catholics, how much deeper impression must it make upon all those (who, we may reasonably conceive, will amount to a major part of the Roman communion) who do really believe that a General Council is the only representative of the Church, and hath the supreme jurisdiction to depose the Pope? And whosoever submits to the Councils of Constance and Basil do so believe. And will not all these men be apt to think, that those men, who will have no General Synods, would have no other Church than what is comprehended within the sole person of the Pope, and would rather be without the promise made by our Saviour to his Church, than that it should be under-

CHAP. understood to be made to any other representa-
 X. tive?

Other reasons for its impossibility.

However, (though not for the Cardinal's reasons,) I do with some confidence conceive that it is demonstrable to be utterly impossible that a General Council can ever be lawfully called, or assemble to any purpose; unless it were possible that a Council could first meet to determine what another Council should or could do, or what submission should be paid to it when it is assembled.

It is not because no single person doth or can assume, or indeed pretends to the power of calling it, in such a manner and quality as those Emperors confessedly had, who summoned those four first Œcumenical Councils, which are received, and I think submitted to, by all Christians, and who were the Sovereigns of all those Prelates who were convened to meet, and could therefore compel them to meet, and could likewise compel all Christians (for all Christians were their subjects too) to submit, and yield obedience to their decrees; whereas no Emperor, nor the Pope himself, (who claims absurdly the sole power to call and to dissolve all Councils,) doth presume or pretend to call the Prelates who are subjects to other Princes to attend in those Councils against, or without their own Sovereigns' consent; so that those meetings must be (whatever the stile of the summons is, as that of the Council of Trent was an original) by a general consent of Sovereign Princes, before they do any thing; and then, when they have done all they can, there must be another consent and approbation and reception, by the same Sovereign Princes, before any of their subjects are bound to yield obedience to the decrees.

I do

I do not state the impossibility of the meeting in a General Council from hence, how great soever the difficulties appear to be ; for it is possible, and but possible, that all Christian Princes, even when all the world is Christian, may agree and consent to send their several Prelates, or so many of them as are fit, to represent their national Churches, to be present in a General Council ; for we may lawfully expect in that conjuncture, when all the world is Christian, that there will be another spirit of meekness and charity in all of them, than is yet discovered to be in many of them. But the impossibility will consist in not finding a place where this General Council can hope to meet, and from thence return to give an account to their Princes and their People, who sent them, of what hath been determined.

It must be a convenient place, where all who are Christians at present, (which, God knows, is but a very little part of the world,) and all who we are to believe will be Christians, may meet ; that is, all mankind that inhabits the world ; of the magnitude whereof we have no rational rules to judge by ; and our experience leads us into despair of ever having any knowledge of it, by the very little that any of those have attained who have spent their whole lives in the inquiry, and going from province to province, and from kingdom to kingdom ; most whereof have never returned to let their friends know what they have seen ; and they who have given the largest account have seen so little of any of the four quarters of the world, that we have received very little information from them, otherwise than for the satisfaction of a lawful and innocent curiosity,

CHAP. riosity, of which there is no end or satiety. And if
 X. there were no other argument than this to convince
 and confute the illimited and extravagant ambition
 of the Pope, it would be enough to make the impos-
 sibility manifest, that our Saviour could leave any
 such single person for the administration of so large
 a jurisdiction, of which he can receive neither ac-
 count or information in the whole current of his life,
 though it should be much longer than any of those
 Vicars have lived.

Result of
 the histo-
 ries of the
 Council of
 Trent by
 Fra Paolo
 and Cardi-
 nal Pallavi-
 cini.

Indeed, if we shall confine our General Council
 only to the Prelates of the Latin Church, (which
 would be an ill argument to prove the divine institu-
 tion of the Universal Bishop,) we may then resort to
 the Cardinal's authority, and, from the reading the
 History of the Council of Trent, and from the other
 as authentic records of that convention, conclude,
 that if there be not a simple and direct, there is a
 presumptive and rational impossibility, that any such
 Council as, even with that restriction, can be called
 General, will ever meet; and if it should, that it
 would ever be effectual towards the peace and union
 of the Church. We may all know, if we will take
 the pains, how much all Catholic Princes did desire
 and resolve to reform the exorbitancies and corrup-
 tions of the Court of Rome, and to abridge the ex-
 cessive personal power of the Pope himself, when for
 so many years they called for, and at last even com-
 pelled him to consent to, a General Council; which
 was by a thousand artifices eluded, corrupted, and
 made ineffectual, as soon as it was convened at
 Trent; and which, by the proceedings and discove-
 ries then made, hath convinced the world, 1st, that
 it is impossible that even that part of the Christian
 Church

Church can reasonably hope to meet in any General Council ; 2dly, that in any assemblies of that kind, the Pope presiding, (except it be with such limitations as he will never consent unto,) he will sacrifice the peace, and happiness, and piety of all particular kingdoms and nations to his own private interest, ambition, and tyranny ; 3dly, that the faction and emulation between the Catholic Princes will never suffer those assemblies to contribute to the lessening and restraining the Pope's authority, how grievous soever it is to themselves, and how much soever they resolve to controul it by their own acts of power in their own dominions, or any where else, and how much soever they contemn it with reference to conscience and religion ; because it would look like a public compliance with the Protestants. And these three conclusions are notorious and manifest in that excellent history written by Fra Paolo, the Venetian, of the proceedings in that Council, and no less in the bitter, virulent, and voluminous answer which the Cardinal Pallavicini hath published against that history ; and in which latter Work (besides the refutations and contradictions which are in the most minute and frivolous particulars, as the days of the month when the congregations were held, and the number of the persons present, or opposing each other, and the like) the artifices and uningenuity of the Court of Rome, and the unalterable principles of the policy thereof, with their imposing upon the Bishops who are their subjects, and their palpable corrupting and buying the votes of others who are the subjects of other states, the corrupt designs and intrigues of all the Catholic Princes to compass some design of their own, and their absolute command over the con-

CHAP. sciences of their own Bishops and Clergy, and lastly;
 X. the liberty which all Princes reserve to themselves to receive or reject, according to their own will and pleasure, all that shall be resolved and concluded in those Councils, are as evident and apparent as in the other. So that in truth the long labours of that Cardinal (though he confesses he hath built upon another man's foundation) have rather furnished us with an addition and supplement of many useful records and memorials which were wanting to the other, than weakened the faith or credit of the other, in whatsoever of importance that was delivered by him.

Catholic rule laid down by the Council of Trent for excluding all persons who hold opinions condemned by the Pope.

Not to speak of the factions artifices and sinister contrivances which are unavoidable in all popular assemblies, and of which some of the Fathers complained that there was too much even in some of those which are acknowledged by all to be Œcumenical, it is morally impossible that there can ever be expected a General Council to be assembled together, that shall be equal and indifferent for the decision and determination of all points in controversy, which already are, or hereafter may grow, in matters of religion. Let there be such an agreement in the calling it that it shall meet and come together, the first great controversy that must be determined must be the preeminence and power which the Bishop of Rome assumes and would usurp over the rest; and that point is like to find a very righteous decision by the impudent, absurd, and unnatural exclusion of whole Christian kingdoms and states from being present, and having places and votes in those Councils which are to argue judge and determine from whence the true cause of the schism and separation hath

hath proceeded, and where the greatest errors in doctrine or practice are received and countenanced. CHAP. X.
 Whereas, in those primitive Councils in which any heresies have been examined considered and condemned, as the Arian, Eutychian, and the rest, those Bishops who were known to be Arians, or tainted with the other heresies, were all present, and had their places in those Councils with the other Bishops, and argued, debated, and so defended their own assertions, and gave their own free votes in the scrutiny, when by the major part their opinions were condemned. But the Council of Trent hath left it as a Catholic rule, that no person, who holds any opinions which have been condemned by the Pope, shall have any place in the Council: so that all appeal to future Councils, which hath been the uncontrolled liberty and practice in all the ages of the Church, is at once taken away or eluded, and the only use of Councils declared impertinent; since all their wisdom and authority is vested in the Pope. Upon this ground all the Lutherans, and the rest of the reformed religion, were excluded, and had no other place offered or allowed to them in that Council, but as criminals; and had liberty rather to defend their persons, and answer for their lives, than to maintain or justify their doctrine or opinion: and Virgerius, the Bishop of Capo d'Istria, though he had been Nuncio for the Pope in Germany, and came to that Council as a member of it, because he was known to be of Luther's judgment in some points, could not be admitted to sit there by the Legates, unless he would first go to Rome, and justify himself to the Pope; and the Cardinal Pallavicini thinks he hath answered it very substantially, when

CHAP. he says, "*Venne al Concilio esser ammesso fra giudici*

X.

"*di quella fede; dalla quale errava*." "He came to the Council to be admitted amongst the judges of that religion which he contradicted;" as if it were a reasonable thing to oblige a man, who hath a controversy for his inheritance, to refer the decision to a person who makes claim to the same inheritance: and so the poor Bishop (to prevent the being sent to Rome) was compelled to make his escape into the country of the Grisons, amongst whom he spent the remainder of his life, and published his work in defence of his opinions. According to this method they proceeded likewise against Ermande, Elector and Archbishop of Cologne, without suffering him to take his place in the Council as a member of it. So that nobody can wonder that no Protestant kingdom, or province, or person, can look upon that little convention (which in many sessions, wherein they pronounced Canons of faith in points of controversy, did not exceed the number of forty) as a General Council of the Catholic Church, of which it had none of the marks essentially necessary to it.

Dissatisfaction of the Court of Rome with the canons made by the Council of Trent.

Enough hath been said before of the proceedings in this Council; and therefore I shall only add a word upon what passed after the conclusion of it; by which the Pope's tergiversation was yet more notorious and scandalous after the Council was dissolved, and the decrees which were passed were to be confirmed by him. Though the Crowns were eluded in all things which they were contented should be referred to the Holy Chair, upon the assurance they had of satisfaction; and though the

^a Pars I. lib. vii pag. 590.

Bishops had been likewise prevailed upon to leave their *jus divinum*, and their residency, (upon which they had with so much reason and obstinacy insisted,) to the same determination, upon the same promises; yet there were many Canons passed by the Council itself for the reformation of several corruptions in the Court of Rome, of which the Princes and the Prelates had complained so loudly, and the Popes themselves had, in their several Bulls for calling the Council, confessed to need reformation; and therefore the Council could not avoid consenting thereunto. The Reformation cut off many fees and emoluments from the Datary, and all other offices of the Court, and abridged much of the power of those officers; so that they who had bought their offices at a vast expence of money found that by these new Canons half or more of their annual profits, according to their usual computation, were absolutely taken away and remitted; which put the whole Court into such an uproar, that the Pope was petitioned, that he would by no means confirm those canons, which very many of the College of Cardinals thought it very unjust for him to do, and the Pope himself declared a marvellous aversion thereunto, and exceedingly blamed and inveighed against his Legates for having consented, and thereby exposed him to so great a reproach, as the consenting or not consenting must inevitably bring upon him. So that the Legates, who, during the whole time that the Council sat, sustained the burden of all the complaints and reproaches which the Ambassadors of the Princes and States and the Bishops every day laid upon them, and had with admirable dexterity and address declared all things which might seem to trench upon

CHAP. the supreme authority of His Holiness, were now
 X. put to undergo a new mortification at Rome, when
 and where they expected all imaginable applause and
 reward. A Consistory was called, where the Pope
 himself declared his dislike of what had been yielded
 to in the Council, and that he was resolved never to
 confirm all that was there done; and thereupon he
 appointed a congregation of the Cardinals, who were
 possessed with his own prejudice, to peruse and con-
 sider all the Canons which had been made in the
 Council, and to select those which were fit for his
 confirmation; and the rest should remain uncon-
 firmed; which was the best expedient that they
 could think of to satisfy the Roman Court, as well as
 the Christian Church.

Confirma-
 tion of the
 canons by
 the Pope,
 and for
 what rea-
 sons.

After much time spent in this consultation, Cardi-
 nal [Morone^a], who had been one of the Legates, de-
 sired His Holiness well to weigh the consequence of
 the resolution he seemed to be inclined to;—that he
 would remember the importunity which the Chris-
 tian world had used for many years that a General
 Council might be called, not more for the extin-
 guishing the heresies, which were grown up in the
 Church by Luther in Germany, and Zuinglius
 amongst the Swiss, than for the reforming many
 abuses which had slipt into the Court of Rome;—
 that Clement the Seventh, though he called not the
 Council, acknowledged publicly those abuses to be
 so great and so scandalous, that he was resolved to
 begin with the reformation of those before he would
 call a Council, and appointed a congregation of Car-

^a [Morone. See *Historia del Concilio Tridentino* di P. Souve, p. 798. edit.
 fol. Lond. 1619.]

dinals to consider and prepare what was necessary towards that reformation ;—that the two Popes succeeding, and also His Holiness in whose time the Council was convened and sat, had by their Bulls taken notice how absolutely necessary it was to proceed in that reformation, as well as in the doctrine that concerned the Heretics ;—that the importunity used in that Council, by the Ambassadors of Princes for that reformation, was at least equal to the concernment they seemed to have in the spreading of the heresies ;—that His Holiness would call to mind the trouble and perplexity he was often in, out of the apprehension of several particulars, pressed with great passion by the Prelates of Spain and Portugal, as well as of those of Germany and France, that the right and authority of the Sacred Chair would be invaded ;—and how solicitous and impatient he had been that an end might be put to the Council, since there was too much cause to fear that there would be want of moderation in it ;—that by God's blessing, and their punctual observation of his wise instructions, they had put an end to all his fears and apprehensions, with the consent of the Emperor, Kings, and Princes, and the general approbation of the Christian world, which expected to receive the fruit and benefit of so many years consultation in the peace and tranquillity they should enjoy in the Church ; and all this without the least prejudice to, or diminution of, his Apostolical power and jurisdiction ;—and that if after all this, and when all men were prepared to submit, and to be obedient to what the Council had determined, His Holiness should now make such a distinction between the Acts and Canons of the Council, as to confirm some, and reject others, he would

CHAP. himself minister occasion to revive the controversy
X. — upon the power of General Councils, which there had been a great inclination in the Council to have vindicated, and which they had with much trouble and dexterity declined and diverted; and, by rejecting some of the Canons, he would make the validity of the rest, which he should confirm, doubtful, and liable to be disputed; of which the Heretics would make great benefit and mirth, whilst the Emperor, Kings, and Princes, would be so much unsatisfied and scandalized, that he must expect a new and joint importunity from them all, that he would call a new Council, both to interpret the Acts of this, and supply the defects of it; all which might be prevented by his confirmation of all the Acts which had been transacted there, without distinction, or seeming unsatisfied in any particular: and this could not but give ample contentment to all kingdoms and countries abroad, which would be abundantly pleased, when they should see all the Canons of the Council now made valid by his final decree and confirmation, and published to the world; nor could it produce the least prejudice or inconvenience to the Court of Rome, or the officers thereof, who thought themselves most concerned; for, he said, that there had been care taken in the penning those Canons which related to reformation in such ambiguous terms, and with those doubtful expressions, that they would always want an interpretation; and they who were in the sense they conceived it to receive a benefit by the same, were no more competent interpreters of that sense than they were who were to undergo the damage: so that in all cases the appeal must still be to His Holiness, who would give such an interpretation

tion as should be just and equitable; whereby, he said, in a very short time all things would be as they were. The Pope easily comprehended the reason and consequence of what had been said, and immediately called for all the Canons, and confirmed them without farther hesitation; and it fell out as had been foretold by the Cardinal, and, after some few short contests, and interpretation given, all things remained as they were, and there was never any fruit or benefit from any of those Canons of reformation.

CHAP.
X.

By all that hath been said, it may appear to any dispassioned man, how impossible it is that there can ever any such Council meet in the future, that can with any reason be looked upon as General, for all the Christians of the world; and if such a one could meet, how impossible it would be to agree upon such a practice of religion as all parts should submit to in all particulars; that is, it would never be thought fit that the same thing should be observed in all places, by reason of the different customs in several nations; and therefore every kingdom and distinct dominion must provide for its own peace and uniformity, by such National Councils as the sovereign power shall think fit; in which it will have an equal care to provide against any submission to a foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction, how limited and restrained soever, as against an invasion by a powerful army of his greatest enemy; and as these National Councils have, through the several ages of the Church, been the best conservators of Christian religion, and sometime preserved the purity thereof from the corruption of more general assemblies, (as in the Arian Heresy,) so the discontinuance and intermission of them may reasonably be thought a principal cause

National
Councils
the best
conserva-
tors of
Christian
religion.

CHAP. cause of some schisms, which have thereby crept
 X. into the Church, and hath contributed more than any thing else to the extravagant pretences and illimited power of the Pope; which will easily be reduced by renewing the convention of National Synods, and is not like so peaceably to be done any other way. This the Court of Rome knows very well, and is equally solicitous to prevent such assemblies, as not to be any more importuned for a General Council, which, by the laws they have prescribed to it, it is sure never to be, by any who contradicts its authority. It was the terror of those frequent assemblies in Germany, and the apprehension of the like in France, which produced that meeting in Trent, which the Popes so long opposed, and were so hardly brought to consent to at last; and which by the artifice of the Popes, upon the jealousy between the Crowns of France and Spain, and the equal jealousy of the Emperor towards all three, was concluded without doing any thing which was expected it would have done. Nor was the Pope in a small agony, after the determination thereof, whilst the conference was held at Poissy in France, out of pure fear that those of the reformed religion should obtain any grace from the King, in the straits he was then in; towards the satisfaction of whom, or of those in Germany, he never adjudged any other expedient than the fire and the faggot, and the utmost prosecution and massacre by arms, which shut all doors of hope for any moderation from thence.

For more moderate Councils can never proceed from the Court of Rome, or be prosecuted with any effect, whilst the emissaries thereof, the Jesuits, are admitted into those countries where any moderation

Necessity
 of the banishment
 of the Jesuits.

is intended to be exercised ; nor doth the one or the other, in truth, desire or wish (whatever they pretend) that Protestant Princes should use more lenity to their Catholic subjects, or abate any of the rigour that is or hath been used towards them ; but rather that they would extend their severity to the utmost. They do not think them Catholics enough who live peaceably and civilly with Protestants, and submit to their government ; they are in great apprehension that their conversation and civil offices, and eminent piety and justice in their lives, together with the benefit and advantage that may redound from their conformity, may at some time work upon them to their conversion, and to their conviction that they cannot be good Christians without being good subjects ; and therefore they had rather that all the penalties inflicted by the law upon their lives and estates were executed with the utmost severity, hoping that that would drive them into some bold attempt against the state, which they foolishly believe, if once set on foot, would find such countenance and support from Catholic Princes, that they may be able either to root out the Protestant religion, or at least so provide for the indemnity of their own, that they shall live with equal freedom in the exercise of their religion. And this was the specious imagination that led the poor Irish into rebellion, and to forfeit a condition in all respects as easy and as pleasant as any Catholic subjects enjoy in any part of Europe ; that is, they enjoyed the practice of their religion without controul, and paid less imposition for the support of their government than any Catholic subjects in the world at this day are liable to, and compelled to pay.

When

CHAP.

X.

Pope Alexander VII. refused to assist Charles II. in his exile, unless he would become Catholic.

When the King was abroad in exile, under those straits and perplexities which all the world hath heard of, (during which time his Roman Catholic subjects, two or three persons of honour only excepted, shewed very little affection to him, but applied themselves to Cromwell, and those in power, that they might live quietly under that government, which they were willing to submit to, and to give any security for their obedience,) some Catholic Princes had so good an opinion of the then Pope Alexander the Seventh, that they believed, though he could not raise armies or provide fleets for an invasion of England on the King's behalf, he would out of generosity assist a young Prince, driven into such exigence, with an annual supply for his assistance, till the two Crowns, by a peace between themselves, might be united for the greater work; and they were induced the rather to this opinion by the discourses which he was known to have had during his Nunciature in Cologne, which are mentioned before; and hereupon he was moved by a Catholic Prince, who had himself heard those discourses, that His Holiness would oblige this young King to such a degree as the opulency of his own condition did well enable him to do, which would be a lasting obligation upon him to think well of Catholics, and dispose him to be gracious to those of his own subjects, when God should restore him to his dominions. The Pope answered, that he could not dispose of the patrimony and goods of the Church to the support of heretics; and asked, what good he would do to Catholic religion? It was answered, that if by his bounty, and the assistance of Catholic Princes, his Majesty should be restored to his kingdom,

dom, he would infallibly cause those severe laws which are against Catholics to be repealed, or at least restrain the execution thereof. The Pope asked, whether the King would become Catholic? slighting all other overtures that were or could be made. And it is a known truth, that the Jesuits and the Court of Rome feared nothing more upon the King's happy and blessed restoration, than that his Majesty's gentle and gracious disposition might incline him to consent to the repeal of all those sanguinary laws which are in force against the Priests; and therefore did use all their dexterity to divert that grace which they knew would lessen the reverence that was paid to them, and make it notorious to the world that they are not under so sharp a persecution as they would be thought to be. Nor will any indulgence be grateful to them without an entire conversion of the nation to them, and a submission to the Papal tyranny, which they do assuredly promise to themselves. And this confidence can no other way be abated than by an absolute indispensable banishment of the Jesuits, who industriously plant other opinions in the hearts of their proselytes than what pertain to Catholic religion, and such a resignation to and dependence upon the Papal power, as is inconsistent with their duty and obedience to the King. Whereas other ecclesiastical orders, at least particular persons of the secular and regular Clergy, (the Jesuits excepted,) may be easily found out, who are of peaceable and quiet dispositions, who will give that security to the State for their obedience which can be desired, and renounce any other dependence upon any superior, but such as the King shall appoint to govern over them. This would quickly induce

CHA P. duce such a temper into the hearts of all the Roman
 X. Catholics who shall inhabit in his Majesty's domi-
 nions, that there will be little cause to doubt any de-
 fection from them, after they have so solemnly re-
 nounced all foreign dependence and subjection.

Reasons for
 requiring
 all the Eng-
 lish Ro-
 man Ca-
 tholics to
 renounce
 the Pope's
 Suprema-
 cy.

How long soever the indulgence of Princes, and a
 mistaken charity, from the present professions of the
 Roman Catholics, and their peaceable behaviour,
 shall defer the exacting this security, so long there
 shall remain distrusts and jealousies between the
 King and that party of his subjects; the Crown not
 being able long to defend itself from the importunity
 of the rest of his subjects, that the laws in force may
 be put in execution against those who confess such a
 dependence upon a foreign power, that they may not
 give the same security for their fidelity to their na-
 tural Prince, which all their other fellow subjects
 do; or from their jealousy of his affection for his not
 complying with them in their so just and necessary
 a demand. And the Roman Catholics themselves,
 who are for the present without those pressures, will
 consider, that the indulgence under which they en-
 joy their present ease is founded only upon the gen-
 tle and unjealous temper of the King, which may be
 shaken and changed by several accidents which may
 fall out; and will, for their better security, use all
 the artifices which occur to them to gain protection
 from those who seem most like to be able to disturb
 them, by mingling with some discontented party,
 without farther design, at first, than to save them-
 selves harmless, and to make the protection of the
 King the more available to them; yet in short time
 will they give real jealousy to that power which can
 only protect them; and then this sovereign remedy
 must

must be applied with rougher circumstances, than in a calm and a quiet conjuncture it might be. Where-
as if it were in such a season positively and resolutely pressed, and no other expedient allowed to dissolve the Roman Catholics from the many penalties which are already in force, and provided for them, than by their absolutely renouncing all manner of authority or power in the Church of Rome, or in the Pope, to lay any commands upon them, and all kind of obedience from them to such commands within the King's dominions; and that, upon their giving that security of their allegiance and fidelity, all other penalties might be for the present suspended; it is more than probable, that the most considerable part of the Roman Catholics would find, that no kind of dependence upon or relation unto the Bishop of Rome is of the essence of Catholic religion, or embraced by any other Catholics in any other manner than as they are directed by the laws of the kingdom or country in which they live to be subject unto, and therefore they would gladly redeem themselves from so many disadvantages, by giving that earnest of their faith, as all other subjects do: and they would find enough of their best Clergy to concur with them in the practice, and support them in their resolution. And it is then as probable, that the State, upon the observation of the truth of their professions, would by degrees repeal those severe and rigid penalties, and reserve only some such distinction of them from other subjects as might only retain them to their practice, without prejudice and reproach to them. For if that subjection to the Pope were once disclaimed and rooted out, their other errors are not dangerous to the State; and would
sooner

CHAP.
X.
If the Catholics will abjure the Pope, then may the State repeal the penalties against them.

CHAP. sooner be discovered and reformed by themselves, if
 X. they were out of that captivity which deprives them
 of the use of their own senses, and divests them of
 the faculties of their own understandings; and the
 world would quickly discover that, if the Papal ty-
 ranny were universally shaken off.

When fo-
 reign juris-
 diction is
 excluded,
 those who
 differ from
 the esta-
 blished re-
 ligion of
 the State
 may be
 safely ad-
 mitted to
 the com-
 mon privi-
 leges of
 subjects.

If the authority of sovereign Princes were thus vindicated within their several dominions, and no foreign jurisdiction admitted to exercise any power over their subjects, nor any subjects suffered to have the least dependence or recourse to any foreign power; and if their own persons and power were thus secured by a mutual alliance and defence of each other, Princes would then easily agree what indulgence they would allow to such other subjects, who are of a contrary religion to what is established by their laws, when they might grant such an indulgence without any danger to the peace of their dominions. For it is neither agreeable to policy nor to piety, to wish or imagine that Christians will live without the exercise of their religion, how penal soever it is to them; or that they should be permitted to live any where, where they may not likewise be permitted to do whatsoever their religion obliges them to do; and it would then easily and quickly appear, how many scruples they now entertain, in all professions of religion, which are no parts of their religion, by their then casting them out. We have seen how, under the disadvantages of so many laws, many Roman Catholics, of the Clergy as well as the Laity, have taken the oath of allegiance, and written in defence of it, to the great offence and jealousy of the Court of Rome: and it may be reasonably presumed that very many more would have been convinced in
 this

this point, if they had found that a proportionable CHAP. favour of the State had attended that ingenuity and X. submission. But the law having made no distinction between Catholics, (they who would take the oaths being as punishable for going to mass, as they who refused the oaths,) it is no wonder, that they would not expose themselves to the reproach of many Catholics, and the censures of their own ecclesiastics, when they found not the more protection from Protestants; and when Priests themselves were at the same time excommunicated for taking the oath of allegiance, and condemned to greater penalties for the discharge of their function in saying mass.

When the State, upon their making themselves entirely subjects, by giving that security for their loyalty and allegiance which other subjects do, shall likewise receive them as subjects in all other respects, and give them the same protection and privileges that all others enjoy, it may also be reasonably hoped, that they will study their religion better, than to want the full protection of their natural sovereign for paying half obedience to another sovereign, upon whom by the laws of God they have no dependence, and to whom by the laws of the kingdom they are to disclaim any subjection. In order to which, the State shall do well to take care that they be provided with ecclesiastical teachers, of the mildest and most peaceable dispositions, by the admission of the sovereign power, without leaving them to be supplied by a foreign mission; which will always supply such men who shall be more solicitous to advance that interest than the peace of their country, because they have a greater dependence upon it. Whereas, if a competent number of such persons were with some

Ecclesiastical teachers should be provided for the Catholics by the admission of the sovereign power, without leaving them to be supplied by a foreign mission.

3 A

formality

CHAP. ^{X.} formality admitted by the State upon due examination of their principles, and such encouragement thereupon, that they should not find themselves in danger of being exposed to that power they shall once renounce; it is probable there would be many found of great fidelity to their country, and who would not be shaken therein by any censures whatsoever; and the State would thereby be sure to know all who should presume to come into the country without leave, and to exclude those who are of turbulent and unpeaceable dispositions. And if Catholic Princes were induced to make this prudent provision for their own security, they would clearly understand the humour and nature of all their subjects; and Catholics who live in the dominions of Protestant Princes would depart from those tenets which the essence and purity of their religion do not oblige them to maintain, and which are as inconvenient to themselves as to the States wherein they live; and such Protestants as live in the dominions and under the protection of Catholic Princes would be easily induced to reform such parts of their reformation, as the conscience or interests of several powerful instruments, who contributed to the reformation, (and without whose assistance they could not have vindicated those necessary truths,) obliged them to admit into their constitutions; and who, by the abatement of those passions with which their predecessors were unreasonably transported, and by the improvement of very good and useful learning, wherein many of them abound, and the conversation with learned, and prudent, and pious persons, who are of another persuasion, (and who did heretofore more industriously avoid the company or acquaintance

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ance with each other, than the diseases or dangers which would most inevitably accompany their contentions,) do now discern, that whatsoever is absolutely necessary to the service of God, and to the satisfaction of any sincere and well informed conscience, may be still retained; without many of those affected excesses, which give most offence and scandal to the lawful government under which they live, and as much to many of their neighbours, who have more effectually concurred with them in all particulars of a solid reformation; and which in truth do but serve to excuse and assist their adversaries in charging them with many too just reproaches.

This would be the way, and the only way, to make the practice of religion flourish amongst Christians, without any violation of Christian charity; and, the uncharitableness of all faction being removed, there would remain such an innocence and integrity in the heart, as would make our religion acceptable to God; and when no mischievous action doth necessarily result from our opinions, how erroneous soever, we should be no more offended with each other for those differences, than for the distinct colour of our eyes, or hair.

MOULINS,
12th *February* 167 $\frac{1}{4}$.



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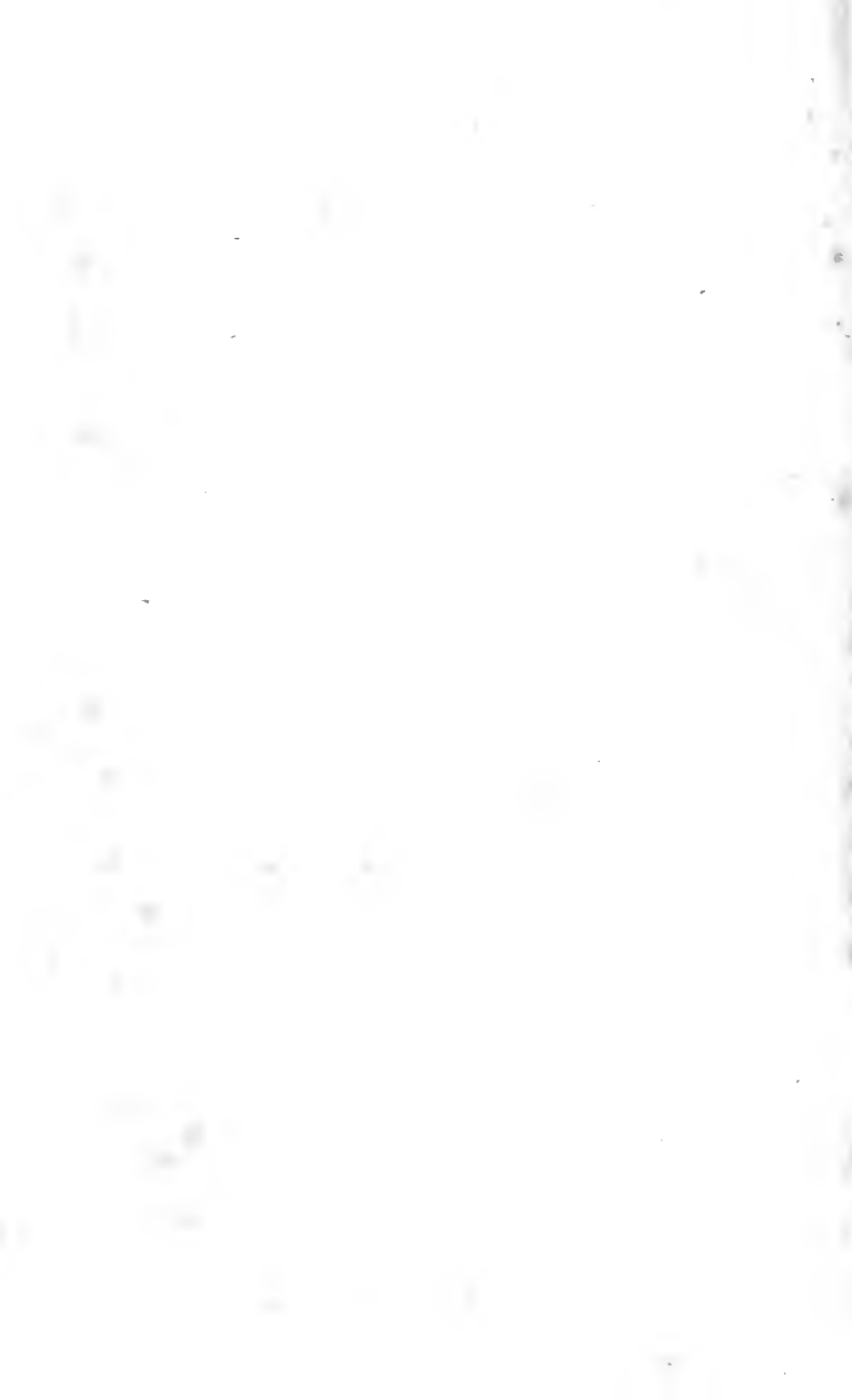
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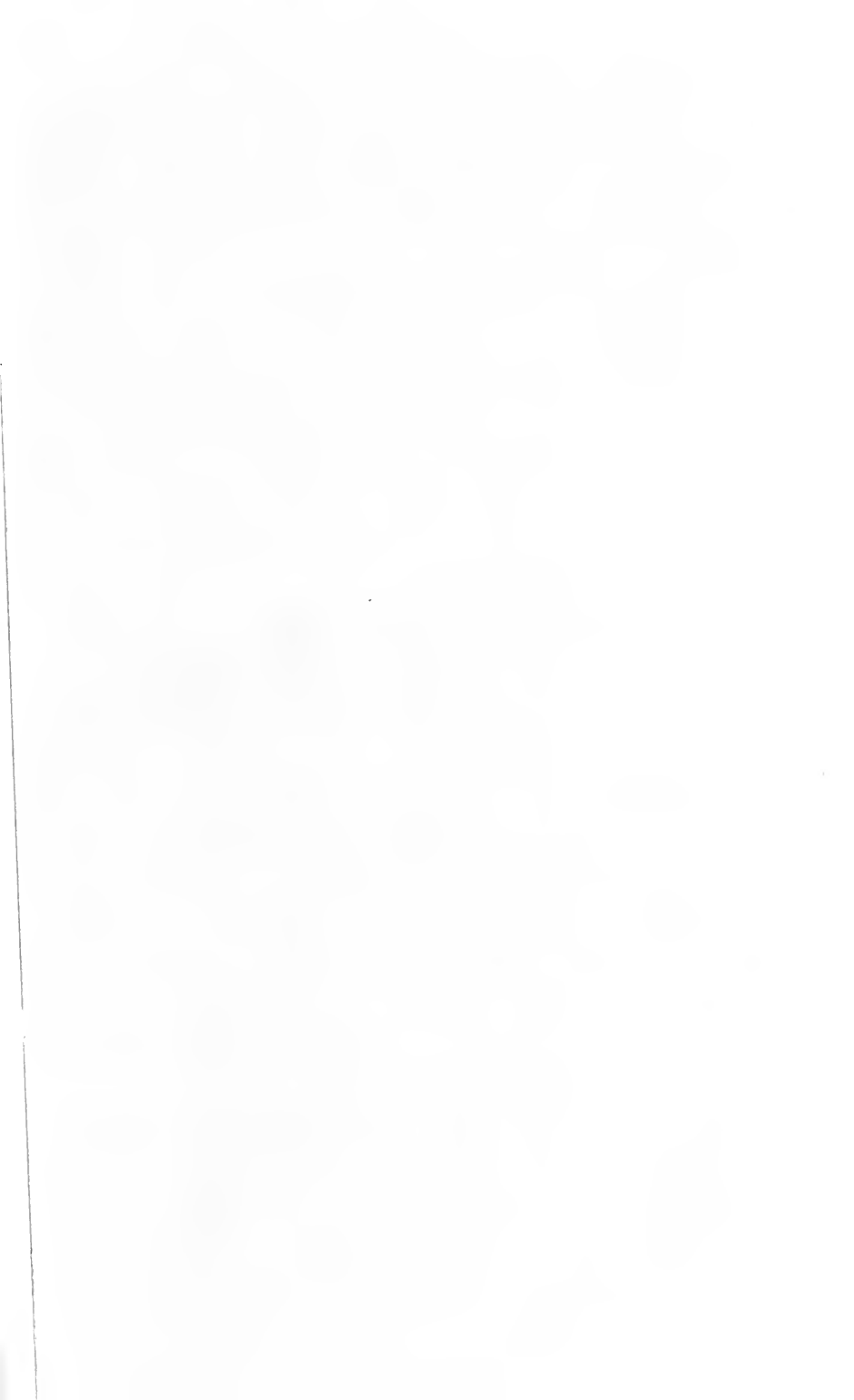
The following Errata, affecting the sense of some of the passages quoted, should be thus corrected.

P. 129. l. 13. for *panto* read *punto*—p. 175. l. 2. for *saltura* read *soltura*; l. 3. for *ellevava* read *llevava*—p. 196. l. 27. for *ordenes* read *orden es*—p. 197. l. 27. read *cuyo decreto y sentencia prevaleció*—p. 277. l. 6. for *favorecis* read *favoreció*.









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