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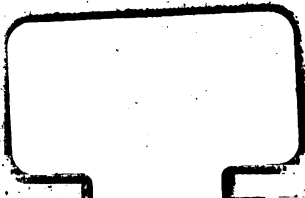
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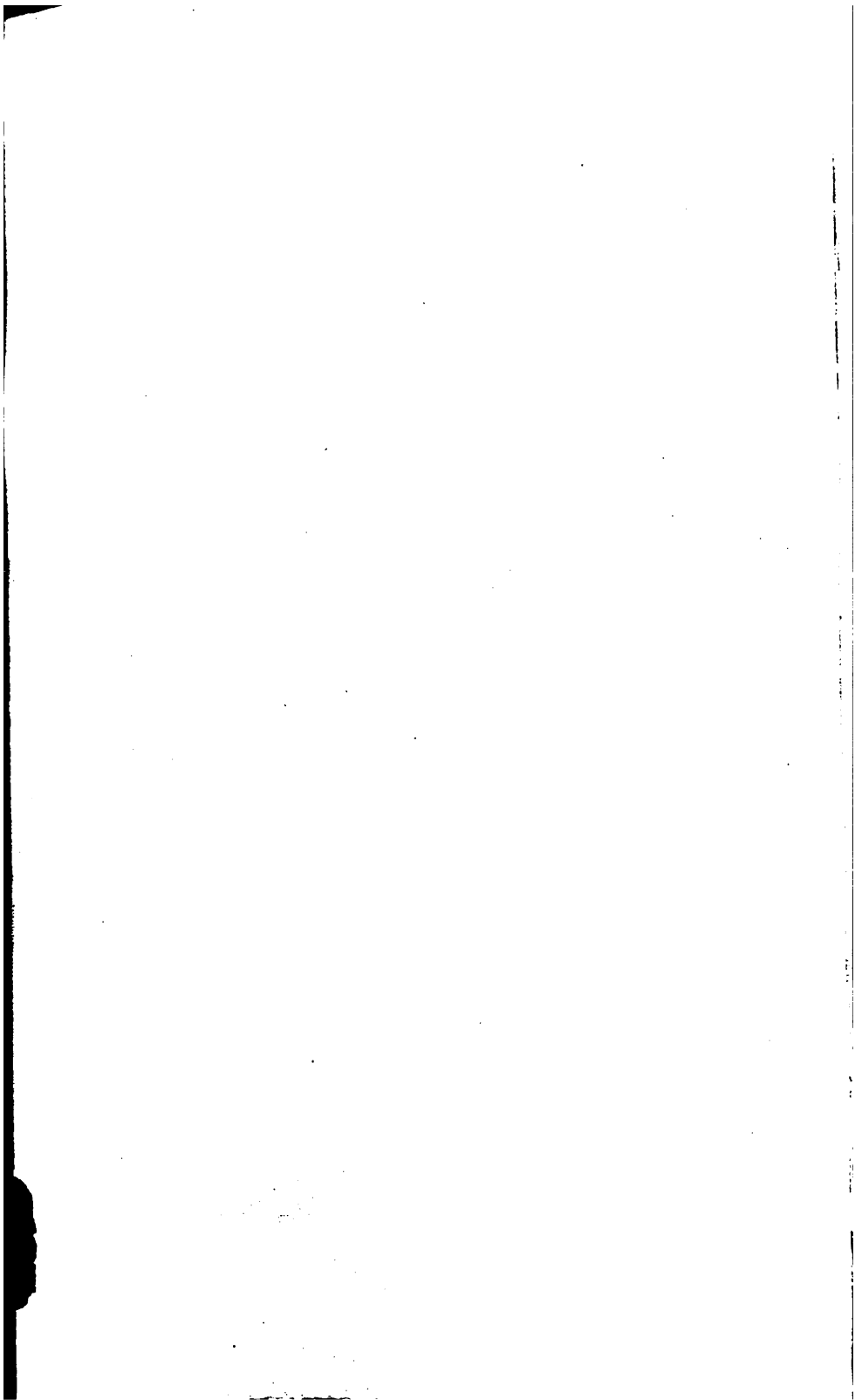
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# THE PAPAL DRAMA

A Historical Essay

BY

THOMAS H. GILL

AUTHOR OF 'THE ANNIVERSARIES'

Fontana di dolore, albergo d'ira,  
Scuola d'errori, e tempio d'eresia,  
Già Roma, or Babilonia falsa, e ria;  
Per cui tanto si piagne, e si sospira;  
O fucina d'inganni, o prigion dira;  
Ove 'l ben muore, e 'l mal si nutre, e cria;  
Di vivi inferno; un gran miracol fia,  
Se Cristo teco al fine non s'adira

PETRARCA, *Sonetto 107*

Well-spring of misery, abode of wrath,  
Temple of heresy and school of errors,  
Once Rome, now Babylon faithless and fell,  
Through whom men weep so sore and groan so deep;  
O forge of frauds, O dreadful prison-house,  
Where dies all good, where evil is born and bred,  
Thou hell on earth! a marvel huge 't would be  
If Christ at last pour not His wrath on thee

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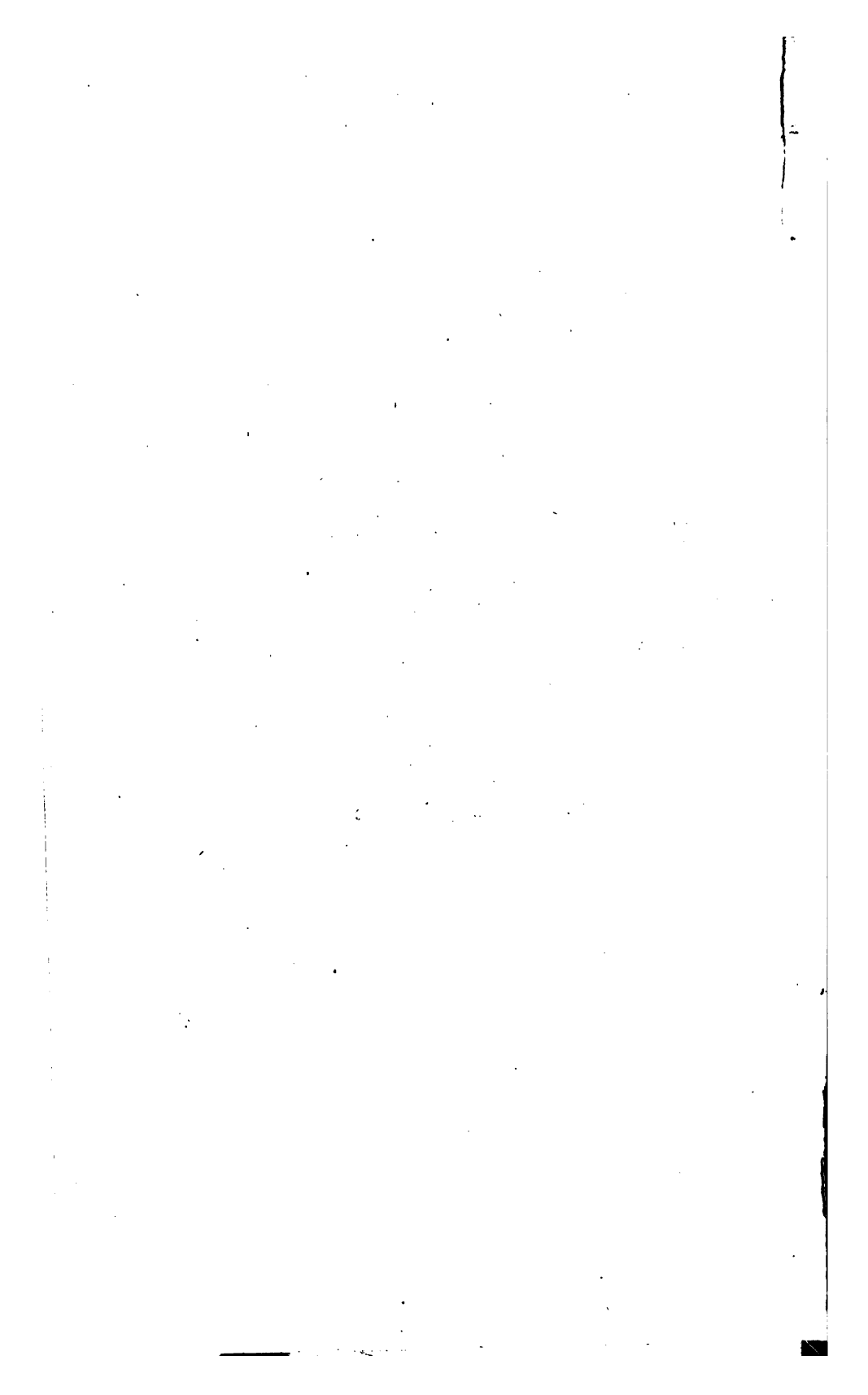
*This Book*

NOT A LITTLE INDEBTED TO HIS VARIED ERUDITION

AND SPIRITUAL INSIGHT

IS

*Most Affectionately Dedicated*



## PREFACE.

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THE TITLE selected for this book pretty exactly, I trust, expresses its character and defines its limits. I do not profess to write the history of the Roman Church; I do not profess to write a minute and detailed history of the popes: but I do profess to tell with some fullness and comprehensiveness the story of the popedom, to follow it from its origin to the present time through all its changes, revolutions, triumphs and disasters, to linger over its most striking personages and its most important passages, to set it forth in its twofold character as a spiritual and a secular power, and to consider its relations to other powers, its place in history, and its part in the great drama of human affairs.

While striving after strict accuracy in the statement of facts and perfect fairness in the estimate of character, I lay no claim to the impartiality of religious indifference. While in no wise blind, I trust, to intellectual greatness or moral worth in a pope, I look upon the popedom as the supreme corruption of Christianity. Disbelievers in the divine origin and the divine authority of the Christian religion may regard the papacy with feelings of mingled complacency and dislike, as an institution serviceable and beneficent in ages past though worn out and pernicious now. But every earnest believer in Christianity as the full and final revelation of God, must look upon the popedom either as the perfection or as the nethermost

degradation thereof. It was more at home in those dark ages of which it was the creature; it may have done less harm then, it may have put forth some social restraint and held brute force in some check. But it was as much a spiritual corruption in the eleventh as in the sixteenth or the nineteenth century. Circumstances have rendered it more or less formidable, more or less pernicious; but it has remained throughout the supreme corruption of Christianity; and as such I deal with it throughout this volume.

The Italian events of 1859 and 1860 concentrated around the popedom those historical studies which form the chief employment and delight of my life. A disquisition on the Italian aspects of the papal history gradually expanded into the present volume, which, commenced at the beginning of 1860, was finished at the end of 1862. Subsequent events have required the addition of a few sentences to two or three of the chapters. I have as much as possible gone to the original and contemporaneous, especially the Roman Catholic sources of information; and I have to thank the authorities of the Bodleian Library for the months of delightful research which I enjoyed there.

The present somewhat heedless and relaxed mood of English Protestantism, as well as the deadly peril of Italian Popery, has stirred me to the production of this volume. I put it forth with the earnest hope and prayer that Italy may be rid ere long of that papacy which has wrought her such shame and evil, and that England may ever cleave to that Protestantism which has ministered so mightily to her greatness and glory, to her freedom and felicity.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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HISTORY, so abounding in wonders, so full of strange sights and extraordinary changes, perhaps presents its master-marvel and its most singular transformation in the story here to be briefly told, the story of the papacy. That a minister of the kingdom not of this world should have seated himself among and above all the kings of this world; that a servant of the Prince whom imperial Rome put to death, and an officer of the Church which heathen Rome persecuted should have sat in the place of the Cæsars and ruled over the earth from Rome much in the spirit and with more than the might of heathen and imperial Rome; that one of the ministers appointed to proclaim and defend the Christian faith should have become its arch-concealer and its arch-corrupter; and that in the name and at the bidding of this professed servant of Christ more Christian blood should have been shed than all the professed foes of Christianity put together have poured forth; this surely is a sight of sights and a wonder of wonders. The story of the popedom has all manner of interest as a story of various fortunes and vast projects, of great perils and narrow escapes, of signal triumphs and signal reverses, of enormous mistakes and enormous sins. These things so striking wheresoever, howsoever and to whomsoever they happen have sevenfold impressiveness in the infallible guides of human faith, and in the consecrated keepers of Heaven's keys. The intensity of its worldly ambition, the profundity of its worldly policy, the magnitude of its worldly successes and its worldly reverses, of its worldly mistakes and its worldly transgressions, distinguishes the dynasty of the popes from all undisguised secular dynasties. Supreme and concentrated worldliness stands forth as the one great characteristic of the Roman See, of the kingdom of this world that calls itself a kingdom not of this world. The series of elderly single men who took new and high-sounding names when they began to reign, and who professed to manage the

affairs of Heaven here below, exhibited every tendency and experienced every vicissitude incident to the most vulgar royal race. The papal dynasty has had its full share of interregnums, disputed successions, insurrections, depositions and executions. The papal dynasty has yielded an average crop of good and bad, of weak and vigorous rulers, of men of worth and master-spirits, of fools, profligates, tyrants and monsters. Now and then in private life and personal character a Gregory, an Urban, a Clement, an Innocent, a Boniface, a Benedict, a Pius and a Celestine have been not unmeetly named; but as a body these loftily designated sovereigns of the Roman Church have by no means transcended in mercy, beneficence and godliness the Henries, Edwards, Charleses and Fredericks of this world. There has been no dearth of reckless Gregories, brawling Urbans, ruthless Clements, harmful Innocents, and Benedicts of anything but blessed memory; there has been more than one malefactor Boniface, more than one ungodly Pius and more than one earthly-minded Celestine.<sup>1</sup> This pretension to transcend, and this failure to reach ordinary human virtue, form the great peculiarity of the papal dynasty, and the chief strangeness of the papal story. The contemplation throughout its whole career of a power of such long duration and such various fortunes, of such pretensions and such performances, may serve to bring out the romance and unfold the philosophy of History, to widen intellectual vision and deepen spiritual conviction.

<sup>1</sup> This contrast between papal names and papal character is very obvious; though I am not aware that it has been so exhaustively drawn out elsewhere. Theodoric à Niëm the historian of the Western Schism perpetually nicknames Urban VI. (1378-89) than whom a more bitter brawler never troubled the world, Turbanus or brawler, a piece I fear of scarcely lawful Latin, but a nickname applied by more than one historian to more than one Urban. Illyricus of Magdeburg in his treatise *de Primatu Papæ* speaks of 'malefici Bonifacii.' On the other hand papal panegyrists have often congratulated popes on the happy expression of their character by their name. Gunther in his poem, *de Gestis Frederici Ænobardi*, speaks of Innocent II. (1130-43) as a pontiff who 'fetches a glorious name from an innocent life:'

'Nomen ab innocua ducit laudabile vita.'

Caspar Gebhardt in his *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum*, p. 418, thus apostrophises Innocent X. (1644-55) who offered his mediation to put an end to the Thirty Years' War and sent a legate to the congress of Münster, though he afterwards withdrew him, and had no part in the peace of Westphalia: 'Quis nocentia humano generi totque Divorum templis atque aris arma, stillantesque consanguineo cruore gladios condat, præter Innocentium?'

# THE PAPAL DRAMA.



## BOOK I.

### THE BEGINNINGS OF THE POPEDOM.

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Popery is a double thing to deal with, and claims a twofold power, ecclesiastical and political, both usurped, and the one supporting the other.

MILTON, *On True Religion, Heresy, Schism, and Toleration.*

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THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH and the Roman Empire had their birth about the same time, and have borne throughout a singular relation to each other, whether of antagonism or alliance. The Son of God took the flesh to work out His Father's will on earth, when the heir of the first Cæsar had fully established the system of Julius, and gathered every civilised nation under one dominion. Every secular capacity, all the strength and splendour of this world—material enjoyment, despotic ambition, democratic aspiration—had summed themselves up in imperialism, just when every lofty longing and noble faculty of the soul found a divine quickening, a full expression and satisfaction in Christianity. The kingdom not of this world was set up in the world just as the kingdom of this world had attained its fullest, widest, and most glaring manifestation. The two great powers soon discovered and displayed their natural antagonism. The Roman Empire—the unwitting helper and unfolder of the Christian Church by the destruction of Jerusalem and the overthrow of the Hebrew polity—erelong recognised an adversary in that world-renouncing and self-immolating society, and singled it out for destruction. After a combat of three centuries, the mightier power prevailed; the Empire held out its hand to the Church; imperialism accepted Christianity. When the two foes became friends, each had somewhat degenerated. The kingdom of this world was waxing weak; the kingdom not

of this world was losing power. The Church, enfeebled as a divine ministrant, was becoming stronger as a secular society, and friendly connection with the Empire served to render the Church still more imperial. While her doctrines and worship lost much of their purity and simplicity, her rulers grew more lordly, and her system of government grew more Roman. The weakness of the falling Empire added to her worldly strength. Too feeble and corrupt to maintain itself in life, it had strength to impart its peculiarities to its nobler intimate. The dying Empire clung close to the Church and wrought transformingly upon her. Pagan Rome did not perish without imparting an idolatrous tincture to her vanquisher. Imperial Rome did not fall without bequeathing her spirit and power, her method and organisation, to her ally; and both at length reappeared with remarkable exactitude in papal Rome.

The dignity of the imperial city gave some prominence to the head of the Christian community there; and the fall of the Western Empire (476) left the Roman bishop the greatest personage in the chief city of the world. The barbarians beheld in the somewhat secularised Church the representative of the faith which most of them professed, and the representative of the empire for which they retained some reverence even while subverting it. She impressed them at once with a sense of her earthly majesty, with a feeling of her spiritual power. Of this twofold impression the Roman bishop had the chief benefit. The foremost dweller in the city of the Cæsars, he grew every day greater and more awful in the eyes of that shaken, smitten, and reeling world, of that dwindling and darkening Christendom. Both without and within the Church the gloom was thickening. The light of living genius and learning was altogether withholden; the light of ancient genius and learning was fast becoming hidden. The Word of God was getting more and more a sealed book. The Church was sinking from a company of faithful men into a body of priests. The Christian people were losing their right of choosing their pastors and reading the Scriptures, and the separation between them and the Christian ministry grew sharper and more glaring. As the clergy were becoming priests, the bishops were becoming lords. The soul had its direct access to God blocked up by a throng of mediators and a multitude of ceremonies. Worship was dwindling down into a pageant and performance. Fable was overlaying the doctrines



and legend obscuring the history of Christianity. Idolatry was invading the Church; saints and relics were hiding Christ and purloining prayer. The great feast of thankful commemoration and brotherly fellowship was sinking into an idolatrous service and a sacerdotal triumph. Priests on earth and saints in heaven were usurping the saving work and mediatorial office of the Son of God, while the bishop of Rome was usurping His kingly place. Around this crowning corruption all these other corruptions naturally gathered themselves together, as subjects around their sovereign or soldiers around their chief, duteously waited upon it, and assiduously advanced it. There is nothing in all history more sad and solemn, more striking and instructive, than this concurrence and co-operation of these manifold corruptions and their consummation in the papacy. About the same time and by the same process the Christian Church became a kingdom of this world, its doctrines a mass of mingled truths and fables, its worship a heap of ceremonies, its table an altar, its ministry a sacrificing priesthood, its bishops prelates, and the bishop of Rome sovereign pontiff.

It is not the smallest singularity about this process, how little this exaltation of the Roman bishopric was aided by any transcendent virtues, eminent abilities, or personal prominence on the part of the Roman bishops. They scarcely furnish forth one among the great names of the early Church. Among the Fathers there is almost a total dearth of Roman bishops; of those great teachers whose genius has inspired the thought and guided the faith of generations, very few were Romans, scarcely one held the office of a Roman pastor. The genius and sanctity of the early Church had but faint manifestation at Rome; her greatest names were connected with the inferior cities rather than with the metropolis of the world. Polycarp sanctified Smyrna; Irenæus adorned Lyons; Africa produced Tertullian; Cyprian illustrated Carthage; Alexandria gloried in Clement, Origen, and Athanasius; Constantinople rejoiced in Chrysostom; the light of Jerome mainly illumines Palestine; the obscurity of Nyssa, Nazianzen, and Cæsarea has been uplifted by the fame of the two Gregories, of Eusebius, and of Basil; the insignificance of Hippo has been gathered up into the immortality of Augustine. How comparatively barren has Rome been! The presence of Peter is very doubtful, and his presidency altogether untenable. The utter silence of Scripture

about this matter has sevenfold more weight and virtue than the buzz of tradition. It is surely inconceivable that the chief business of so eminent an apostle should find no place among the Acts of the Apostles—that the book so full of Peter's life and work in Judæa should give no hint about his life and work at Rome—that the book which so minutely sets forth how Paul got to Rome, and tells how he spent the two years that he lived there, should not contain a single detail about the twenty-five years that Peter is made to have stayed there, nor even mention that he ever went thither—that the two glorious letters wherein the great apostle poured forth his tender and holy soul to the Christians scattered through Asia Minor should make no allusion to his long presidency over the Church at Rome, and no allusion to his residence there, unless Babylon mean Rome.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή, 'The fellow-elect one in Babylon salutes you,' 1 Pet. v. 13. Whether this fellow-elect one is a church or a woman is very uncertain, but matters not much to us here. Whether Babylon is the plain Asiatic Babylon or the mystic Rome will never be settled. The plainness and directness of epistolary writing seem to demand that Babylon should mean Babylon. The New Testament is just as favourable to the residence of Peter at Babylon as for his stay at Rome, since, save in this place, it says nothing about either; while the direction of the letter to Christians scattered through provinces not far from Babylon supports a Babylonian residence (1 Pet. i. 1). In no apostolical epistle has a city a metaphorical name, except in Paul's allegory (Gal. iv.), and, even though professing himself an allegorist, he takes care to explain that Hagar or Mount Sinai answers to Jerusalem that now is (ver. 25); so that in all likelihood Babylon is Babylon here. With the prophets it is different. They often speak of Jerusalem as Sedom or as Gomorrah. That Babylon means Rome in so highly figurative a prophecy as the Apocalypse (xiv. 8, xvii. 5, xix. 2) does not at all hinder Babylon from meaning Babylon in a greeting at the end of a familiar epistle. But Peter's Babylon may be twisted into Rome without any profit to the papal power. The strongest foe of the popedom may allow that Peter went to Rome and died at Rome, while no one who asserts that Babylon is Rome in the epistle can deny her to be Rome in the prophecy. Bellarmine runs the risk, and maintains Peter's Babylon to be Rome (*De Summo Pontifice*, lib. ii. c. 2, in which book that most accomplished disputant does the best for the residence and primacy of Peter and his self-styled successors, lib. ii. passim, *Opera*, vol. i. pp. 717-844); but, learned and ingenious as he is, he is no match for the mighty Calvin, who deals with the sovereignty claimed by the pope and thrust upon Peter in his own broad, deep, searching, and overwhelming fashion (*Institutio*, lib. iv. c. 6), where, besides other weighty strokes, he smites the papacy with the lively stones of Peter (1 Pet. ii. 5, 6), and with Paul's magnificent picture of church unity (Eph. iv.), and finely asks: 'Cur in illâ commendatione unitatis, postquam dixerat unum corpus, unum Spiritum, unam spem vocationis, unum Deum, unam fidem, unum baptisma, non etiam continuo addidit, unum summum pontificem qui ecclesiam in unitate contineat?' (sec. 10.) See also the very lively, amusing, and conclusive discussion of this matter by Illyricus, a Protestant pastor at Magdeburg, *Contra commentitium Primitium Papæ*, Basileæ, 1554. See also the overwhelming arguments of Velenus against the presence of Peter at Rome, apud *Monarchiam Sacram* Melchioris Goldasti, vol. ii. pp. 1-16 (Frankfort, 1621), with whom referring to the omission of Peter's

The spiritual popedom fetches its origin from a residence and a presidency of which there is not the slightest contemporary evidence. The see of Peter leads on the long array of fictions and assumptions which the Church of Rome has drawn around her—the long array of her offences against historical as well as against divine truth. St. Peter, too, is a fellow-sufferer with History and Religion. Never has any one been so wronged and metamorphosed as has the great apostle been by this exaltation. His personal and apostolical greatness, the might and majesty of his soul and of his work, were lost in the ecclesiastical omnipotence and worldly power which the pontiffs and princes who called themselves his successors flung back upon the fisherman. The real and scriptural Peter disappeared beneath the traditional, legendary, and papal Peter. ‘The pilot of the Galilean lake,’ the earnest, eager, forward, tender, trembling, fainting, back-sliding, penitent, forgiven, and rejoicing lover of his Lord, the speaker in the upper room, the preacher on the day of Pentecost, the confronter of the Jewish priests and pontiff, the welcomer of the Roman soldier into the kingdom, the prisoner of Herod, the apostle of the circumcision and yet the champion of Christian liberty at the council of Jerusalem, the patient taker of Paul’s deserved rebuke, the writer of those two most loving, lowly, unworldly, patience-breathing letters, was translated into the lord of the world, the wielder of the two swords civil and ecclesiastical, into a prince-pontiff, and into the founder of a dynasty of prince-pontiffs. That little boat in which he plied his craft upon the little lovely lake, which he left at the voice or lent for the needs of his Divine Master, vanished before that ark of Peter, that papal argosy so gorgeously fitted out, so direly freighted, and so conspicuous on the ocean of history. The apostle who silver and gold had none, whose letters are fuller of the glory of patience and the joy of sorrow than all the apostolical writings, has been endowed with an Italian principality, and been made to cry out in bulls innumerable for nations to unsheath the sword in defence of St. Peter’s patrimony.<sup>2</sup>

name among the fellow-labourers and fellow-prisoners at Rome whom Paul commemorates, we may well exclaim, ‘O wretched Peter, if he had been then at Rome and shrunk from Paul in this most glorious work!’ ‘O infelicem Petrum, si tum Romæ fuerat, et Paulum in hoc honestissimo destituit negotio!’ (p. 7).

<sup>2</sup> See especially that most amazing epistle of Stephen II. (Baronius, an. 755, n. 21–29) wherein St. Peter is made to summon the Franks to smite the Lombards. Not one of the apostles has been so strangely disfigured as St. Peter, unless it be St. James the Elder. Sacerdotal ambition translated one Galilean

The Reformation in deposing Pope Peter restored the true Peter and righted History while it purified Religion. Spiritual falsehood brings with it historical falsehood. Believers in a religious lie must needs grossly misconceive both men and events. Corrupt Religion led perverted History in her train of captives and put upon her the work of a slave. The purifying of the one was the emancipation of the other.

Among the humble and holy men assumed to be the earlier successors of that Peter who almost certainly never set foot in Rome, and so amusingly dubbed popes, Clement alone is at all memorable; and he, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, does not profess himself the head of the Christian community at Rome, whereof he was simply an influential member;<sup>3</sup> and for centuries the list of Roman pastors contains not one name which stirs the heart and imagination, or which holds a great place in the memory of men, save that of good Sylvester, unpleasantly memorable without any fault of his, the guiltless hero of a pious fraud, the famous recipient of a fabulous donation, the unconscious beneficiary of the unconscious Constantine, who founded Constantinople out of pure love for the greatness of the Roman See, who withdrew from Rome to enthrone Sylvester there, and who, not satisfied with this bestowal of the metropolis, included Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Britain in the mighty gift.<sup>4</sup> The

fisherman into a prince and a pontiff; superstition and chivalry have made a knight of the other. Spain has appropriated and metamorphosed St. James. As the victim of Herod Agrippa was too undeniably killed in Jerusalem to be put to death in Spain, his body was miraculously conveyed thither. He became the champion of Spain and the patron of her chief order of knighthood, went forth mounted on a white steed before her hosts, and led them on to more than one victory over the Moors. St. Paul and St. John escaped metamorphosis better than the other apostles. Craft and superstition have least overlaid with fables the apostle whose life was most fraught with mighty deeds, and the apostle whose life was most hidden and contemplative.

<sup>3</sup> The letter does not mention either the name or the office of Clement, but gives prominence to the Church, not to any individual member thereof. It begins, 'The Church of God sojourning at Rome to the Church of God sojourning at Corinth,' ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροίκουσα Ῥώμην, κ. τ. λ. Jacobson, *Patres Apostolici*, vol. i. p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> This amazing fabrication could not of course live when learning lived again, and found a most vigorous demolisher in Laurence Valla, the secretary of Pope Eugenius IV., born 1415, died 1465, and whose tractate on this matter, *In Donationem Constantini Declamatio* (*Opera*, Basileæ, 1540, pp. 761-795), is a potent piece of argumentation, as well as a most lively piece of declamation. It is especially well worth reading at this time; never has the temporal popedom been more fiercely assailed than by this papal secretary, who puts into the mouth of the Romans of his day words exactly such as the Romans of our day address to their priest-king: 'Tu gubernare invitos vis, quasi pupilli simus, qui te ipsum forsitan sapientius gubernare possemus. Adde huc injurias quæ aut abs te aut a tuis magistratibus huic civitati frequentissime infe-

donation of Constantine, though not a more unsupported invention, is a more easily refuted and a more audacious and glaring fabrication than the see of Peter. The papacy built its spiritual dominion upon a fable, and its worldly dominion upon a forgery. The most conspicuous apostle was bound to be the first pope; the first Christian emperor was bound to make the pope a prince. History endured another and still more monstrous wrong for the profit of the Roman See; both Sylvester and Constantine suffered utter disfigurement. The worthy Christian pastor became a great prince; the mighty conqueror and ambitious sovereign became a lowly renouncer of empire.

The insignificant series of Roman bishops was broken only by Leo I. (440–461), not unworthily entitled Great, at once personally noble and historically memorable; mighty as a pillar both of church and state; a faithful subject of the empire, and a true pastor; a master of theological lore, and a master of the human heart; influential in Christian councils, and potent in barbarian camps; who guided the deliberations of the fathers of Chalcedon, and pleaded not in vain for helpless and trembling Rome before Attila and Genseric; who turned away the wrath of the Hun and softened the fury of the Vandal; and who bequeathed a noble name to posterity, and a worthy inspiration to the genius of Raphael.<sup>5</sup>

But not only were the Roman bishops effaced among the saints and luminaries of the Church by Ambrose and Augustine, by Chrysostom and Jerome; they were not less completely overshadowed by the mighty men of the Roman and Teutonic world, by the sages who adorned, by the statesmen and heroes who delayed, by the warriors who effected

runtur. Deum testamur, injuria cogit nos rebellare. . . . Nec in tuum caput ultorem stringimus gladium, sed te abdicato atque summoto alterum patrem dominumve adoptabimus. Tu vero, quæ sacerdotis opera sunt, cura' (pp. 793–4). 'Nec amplius horrenda vox audiatur: "Partes contra ecclesiam, ecclesia contra Perusinos pugnat, contra Bononienses"' (p. 795)—witness the storming of Perugia in 1859.

<sup>5</sup> Of the bishops between Sylvester and Leo, the least obscure were Damasus, who won the Roman See after a fierce fight between his partisans and those of his competitor Ursicinus, in which many persons perished (Platina, *de Vitis Pontificum*, p. 50, ed. 1626; Baronius, an. 366); and Zosimus, Boniface, and Celestine, who supported a profligate African priest who, deposed by his bishop, had appealed to the Roman bishop against the Sixth Council of Carthage, about 420, at which Augustine assisted, and who vainly endeavoured to establish the necessity of appeals to Rome by the help of a forged copy of the Nicæan canons (Illyricus, *de Certamine inter Pontifices et Sextam Carthaginensem Synodum*, Basileæ, 1554). For Leo I. see Platina, pp. 59, 60; Baronius, an. 440–61 passim.

the ruin of the Western Empire. It is mainly his conference with the awful Attila that has made Leo memorable. No bishop of Rome withdraws for a moment our gaze from her last great sovereign, the noble Theodosius; from her first Teutonic captor, the valiant Alaric; from her last illustrious champion, the patrician Ætius; from her great Gothic ruler, the mighty and magnanimous Theodoric; from his illustrious victim and her latest luminary, the accomplished Boethius; from her last Gothic captor, the heroic and merciful Totila; and from her famous deliverers Belisarius and the eunuch Narses. But the obscure Roman pastors were not unwise in their generation, were not unhelpful of the greatness of their bishopric; events fought for them, and they did not throw away the service of events. Under the Arian Ostrogoths they gradually grew into the leading representatives both of the subject race and of the orthodox faith. Bishop John (523-526) drove the Arians from their church at Rome, and otherwise provoked the wrath of his Gothic and Arian sovereign, the tolerant Theodoric, who at last cast him into prison, where he died.<sup>6</sup> The contemporary and fellow-sufferer of Boethius, the Roman bishop is forgotten, while the Roman philosopher has comforted and delighted the ages; and the fair fame of the benignant and enlightened Theodoric has rightly taken its single stain, not from the deserved restraint of an intolerant priest, but from the execution of an illustrious sage. The Goths, overthrown by Belisarius and Narses, who won back Rome and Italy to the Eastern Empire, were immediately replaced as conquerors and possessors of Northern Italy by the Lombards (569). This swift succession of barbarian invaders, this instability of barbarian conquerors, and the absence from Rome of her sovereign, the Eastern emperor, helped to advance the power and prominence of the Roman bishops. Shaken Christendom leaned more and more upon a Roman centre; benighted Christendom groped more helplessly after a Roman guide.

At length, in Gregory the Great (590-604), a man of no mean might and no ordinary gifts sate in the Roman chair. For the first time the bishopric of the imperial city was holden by the foremost man in the world. A mightier man, it is true, was living, but not yet manifested; at the accession of Gregory, Mohammed was looking after Khadijah's merchandise, and

<sup>6</sup> Platina, p. 67. Baronius, an. 523-6.

at his death the Arab trader had not yet proclaimed himself the Apostle of God. Among the conspicuous and memorable personages of that time, the Roman pastor stands forth by far the greatest and most worthy of remembrance, as, indeed, he has been the best remembered, far overtopping and outshining the Emperor Maurice, King Recared of Spain, King Ethelbert of England, and the two terrible women who desolated France, Brunehild and Fredegonde. That dark, rude, and afflicted age yielded no writer superior to Gregory, no luminary so benignant, and no spirit so commanding. The breadth of his sympathy, the width of his public care, the extent and variety of his correspondence, greatly heightened the tendency of Christendom towards Rome. He wrote to bishops, if not quite in the tone of an equal, certainly not in the tone of an absolute master and infallible guide; with great spiritual ardour he had no worldly ambition and no extravagant pontifical ambition; he did not seek or design the secular glory or ecclesiastical omnipotence of his own see.<sup>7</sup> Yet its greatness was not a little advanced by his virtues, ability, and energy. Not without him did the Spanish Goths formally renounce Arianism; through his zealous instrumentality the English began to forsake heathenism. It was given Gregory to rejoice over the orthodox Recared, and over the Christian Ethelbert. An earnest Protestant Englishman will recognise in the sender-forth of Augustine, in the dispenser even of an imperfect Christianity to his country, a national benefactor, and will make the famous or infamous puns in which Gregory's zeal for English souls broke forth, welcome to their immortality.<sup>8</sup> The gift, though coming from Rome, was by no means purely papal. Gregory claimed to be nothing more than what he was, the most prominent bishop of a degenerate though not yet utterly corrupted church, and the faithful and obedient subject of the Eastern Empire. His prompt obedience to the civil power had a somewhat unseemly manifestation in the obsequious eagerness with which he

<sup>7</sup> *Gregorii Magni Epistola*, lib. iv. ep. 31-34, lib. vi. ep. 30; *Opera*, Paris, 1571, vol. ii. pp. 544-47, 613. He takes pains to brand his successors, and anticipates their Protestant denouncers. 'Ego fidenter dico, quia quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit, quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit' (lib. vi. ep. 30).

<sup>8</sup> Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, an. 595. Beda, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, lib. i. cap. 23 et seq. *Gregorii Vita*, apud *Opera*, lib. i. cap. 21, where it is told how the handsome English slaves brought out the papal punster, who beheld future angels in the beautiful Angles, and yearned to rescue their native province Deira from the ire of God (de ira Dei) and to hear their king Ella sing Hallelujah.

transferred his allegiance from the rigorous but upright and magnanimous Maurice to his murderer the centurion Phocas, and in the strain of unworthy adulation in which he congratulated the accession, proclaimed the virtues, and anticipated the long, happy, and benignant reign of that foul and blood-stained usurper.<sup>9</sup>

But this ill-bestowed flattery, however misbecoming the noble character of Gregory, was profitable to the Roman See. There are not many more painful and pathetic scenes in history, scenes where savage cruelty is encountered by sublime resignation, than the slaughter of the Emperor Maurice and his five sons at Chalcedon (602), followed a few years after by the slaughter of his widow Constantina and her three daughters on the same spot.<sup>10</sup> Among royal and imperial monsters there has scarcely appeared one at once more horrible and contemptible than their murderer Phocas. This meet successor of Caligula, Nero, and Heliogabalus, is memorable not only as a monster, but as a benefactor of the Roman See, and holds a somewhat conspicuous place in ecclesiastical history as a helper and hastener of the papal supremacy. In gratitude for the obsequiousness of Gregory, and for the devotion of Boniface III., Phocas conferred upon the latter the title of supreme and universal bishop so fiercely branded by the former, and formally declared the Roman See the head of Christendom (606). The bounty of such a patron has been slighted and slurred over by Roman Catholic writers, while Protestant writers have loudly magnified and keenly enjoyed it.<sup>11</sup> An impartial historian, however, must needs acknowledge in this concession of Phocas at once a recognition of prominence and a bestowal of dignity, a gratification and a provocation of ambition, the first clear, distinct, and formal step in the conversion of the Roman bishopric into the papal monarchy. The donation of Constantine is far more respectable, but far less authentic, than the concession of Phocas; in the infamous centurion the papacy may claim an undoubted befrienders, and the Roman Church must needs make the best of her earliest imperial paramour.

<sup>9</sup> *Gregorii Epistola*, lib. xi. ep. 1, 36: 'Lætentur cœli et exultet terra, et de vestris benignis actibus universæ reipublicæ populus nuncusque vehementer afflictus hilarescat,' &c.

<sup>10</sup> Baronius, an. 602, n. 27; an. 607, n. 3.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* an. 606, passim. Platina, *de Bonifacio III.* p. 79, ed. 1626. Beda, *de Ratione Temporum. Ecclesiastica Historia per Centuriatores*, cent. 7, tom. iv. p. 228. Illyricus, *de Primatu Papæ*, p. 74.



The very season, signalised by this exaltation of Rome, witnessed a signal and terrible chastisement of corrupt Christendom. This inward ill came upon the Church on the eve of a great outward calamity. While Gregory was fawning upon Phocas, Mohammed was entertaining the angel Gabriel in the cave of Hera; when Boniface won from the detestable Cæsar this aggrandisement of the Roman See, the Arabian apostle was nursing the vision of a world won back to the unity of God and filled with his own name. The vision soon became a reality. Twenty-five years afterwards, in 632, Mohammed died, master of Arabia, and the next year the Arabs, uplifted by their prophet from a race of idolaters and robbers into a nation of believers, enthusiasts, and heroes, rushed forth from their wilderness upon the astonished world in the reign of the Emperor Heraclius, the avenger of Maurice and the destroyer of Phocas, outstripped the pace of all conquerors that have ever been, and got together in seventy years an empire vaster than that which had cost the Romans the incessant efforts of seven centuries. Christendom—taken by surprise and absorbed in mean matters, rigidly punctilious about petty points and fiercely stirred by small quarrels—was easily overcome and rapidly dismembered; in seventy years a third of its domain was overrun and appropriated by Islam; in Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain, the crescent replaced the cross. But the Roman See grew and threw upon this great woe of the Church. Christendom, already half pagan and half imperial, variously corrupted and deeply idolatrous, almost incapable of enjoying her invisible heavenly King, and half oblivious of her one great end, that of making men like Him, already too well inclined to bow before a visible earthly head, and to pervert the power of the Church into the very end and object of her existence, found, in the rise of Islam, another source of attraction towards Rome. Dismemberment recommended outward unity; foreign invasion increased the desire and enhanced the importance of a central power.

The Roman bishops of the seventh century were personally insignificant, and remain unmemorable. That dreary age had its meanness broken by the marvels of victorious Islam, and its spiritual darkness relieved by the gracious light that streamed from Iona. It drew its glory from the Arab heroes who overran the world, and from the Scottish saints and evangelists who brought learning and godliness into England and kept them

alive in Europe. Not a single pontiff occupies the human memory, while Omar and Ali, Khaled and Amrou fill the imagination, and while Columban, Aidan, Colman, and Aidan's convert and friend the holy and valiant King Oswald of Northumberland, still uplift and gladden the souls of men.<sup>12</sup> The singular reputation of Pope Honorius (626-638), whom the sixth general council of the Church reckoned among the heretics, has not rendered him interesting to posterity; nor have the sufferings of Martin I. (649-655), who was slowly done to death by the manifold cruelties of the Greek Emperor Constans, won him a conspicuous rank in the army of martyrs.<sup>13</sup> But neither the dubious theology of Honorius nor the ignominious treatment of Martin stayed the very slow but steady progress of the Roman See towards the papal monarchy. The thick intellectual darkness of the time, and the utter bewilderment of Christendom, helped more and more to raise the Roman bishops into spiritual and ecclesiastical dictators. Councils and churches, though far from acknowledging their infallibility, more frequently consulted and deferred to their opinions. Theological disputes were settled more and more by their authority and for their advantage. The chief luminaries and benefactors of that age, the saints of Iona, brought from Ireland into Scotland, and from Scotland into England, a Christianity not derived from Rome, and differed from the Roman Church on many points, especially on the time for observing Easter. Evangelists of Northern England, they came into collision with the successors and disciples of Augustine, who had converted Southern England from Rome. The Scotch evangelists and the Roman missionaries discussed their differences at the Council of Whitby (664), in presence of Oswald's brother and successor, Oswy, King of Northumberland, whom the

<sup>12</sup> Bede (l. iii. c. 1-6), who, though not in love with the anti-Roman peculiarities of the Iona saints, heartily enjoys their holiness and learning, and lingers over the gifts and graces of their pupil Oswald, the best and greatest Englishman during the Heptarchy.

<sup>13</sup> Baronius, an. 633, n. 34 et seq.; an. 650, n. 15 et seq.; an. 651, n. 1 et seq.; an. 654, n. 1 et seq.; an. 681, n. 16 et seq. From a letter of Honorius to their leader, Sergius of Alexandria, the Monothelites reckoned the Roman bishop as one of those who allowed but one will to Christ. Baronius and Bellarmine (*de Summo Pontifice*, lib. iv. cap. 11) find it somewhat hard work to vindicate the orthodoxy of Honorius. The two cardinals, however, vigorously bestir themselves; Baronius is angry alike with the heretical Monothelites who claimed a papal convert, and with the orthodox fathers who allowed the claim and branded the convert. In this small matter papal infallibility is at stake, and Bellarmine is very ingenious and very audacious, but breaks down before contemporary and unimpeachable documents.

superior vehemence and audacity of the Roman champions brought over to their side. Colman and the Scots withdrew from England, and the pure light of Iona paled before the worldly glare of Rome.<sup>14</sup>

The warlike Lombards ever ravaging the neighbourhood and threatening the city of Rome, and the Greek exarchs of Ravenna often in conflict with the Roman bishops, did not impair their spiritual allurements. Oppressed by the fierce familiarity of their Lombard neighbours, they rejoiced in the reverence of the distant Franks, and in the still devouter veneration of the yet remoter Saxons. Many monarchs came on pilgrimage from the far West, and more than one English king received baptism or assumed the cowl at Rome.<sup>15</sup>

As the Roman bishops had taken no harm from the curtailment of Christendom by the Arabs towards the East and South, they drew direct and signal benefit from its extension towards the North. The conversion of nations became more and more advantageous to them. In attempting the conversion of England, Gregory the Great mainly sought a spiritual conquest. In the conversion of Germany, more than a century later, Gregory II. and Gregory III. welcomed a papal acquisition. The Italian Augustine and his companions, who landed in Kent in 596, were missionaries from Rome. The English Winifred or Boniface and his countrymen who about 720 began to preach in Germany, must, notwithstanding many high endowments and much spiritual fervour, be regarded as emissaries of Rome. From Rome Boniface sought his commission; at Rome he swore subjection to Pope Gregory and his successors; more than once he renewed the vow, and thrust upon others the submission professed by himself. He took the style and title of a legate of the Roman See, and combined the life of a missionary and the death of a martyr with the part of a

<sup>14</sup> Beda, l. iv. c. 25. The Roman champion Wilfred, a great and troublesome churchman of that time, boldly invoked the authority of Peter in favour of the Roman view of points which the apostle had never considered. As both Wilfred and his opponent Colman agreed that Christ had given the keys of the kingdom of heaven to Peter, King Oswy took a personal and prudential view of the matter, and professed himself unwilling to offend the doorkeeper of heaven. A man of great energy and ability, though beneath his brother Oswald in virtue, Oswy perhaps hoped that this act of personal deference for St. Peter might induce oblivion of a great crime which had given him an earthly kingdom—the murder of Oswin, king of Deira.

<sup>15</sup> The fierce warrior Ceadwalla and the wise lawgiver Ina, both kings of Wessex (Beda, l. v. c. 7).

Roman champion. The conquests of the Franks in Germany greatly furthered his work. He followed in the track of Charles Martel, Carloman, and Pepin, and subjected the regions opened by their victorious arms. Rome waxed stronger for these combined labours of the Frankish conquerors and the English missionaries.<sup>16</sup> Boniface holds at once a lofty and an ignoble place in ecclesiastical history; the apostle of Germany stands forth as a great and pernicious innovator in Christendom. By him for the first time obedience to the Roman bishop was preached as a solemn duty and doctrine as essential as obedience to Christ. He first carried about with the Gospel the novelty of the papal supremacy—a novelty by no means at once or even readily admitted in theory or established in practice, but which slowly made way and grew at last into the papal monarchy. Singularly enough, Germany, which first put on the papal yoke, was the first to throw it off. The land which bowed before Boniface produced Luther and originated the Reformation, just as the land which gave birth to Boniface gave birth to Wycliffe and finally accepted the Reformation. While Italy, France, Spain, and Ireland, which received Christianity independently of Rome, stubbornly clung to the Papacy, England converted from Rome, and Germany converted for Rome, eagerly renounced the popedom and faithfully upheld the Reformation.<sup>17</sup>

At the very time that the Roman See took this huge stride towards spiritual supremacy, it also made a great advance towards political independence and power. The conversion of Germany was contemporaneous with its revolt against the Eastern emperors, its alliance with the kings of France, and its earliest territorial acquisitions. Gregory II. and Gregory III., the senders-forth and patrons of Boniface, are chiefly famous as champions of image-worship and as successful rebels against the imperial iconoclasts of Constantinople. While defending one corruption they introduced another; idolatrous pontiffs became secular princes. Degenerate Christianity was preyed upon by a swarm of corruptions; its degeneracy into idolatry hastened its degeneracy into a kingdom of this world. The

<sup>16</sup> *Epistolæ S. Bonifacii*, Moguntizæ, 1605, pp. 163 et seq. Baronius, an. 719, n. 1 et seq.; an. 723, n. 1 et seq.; an. 731, n. 8-19; an. 741, n. 30 et seq.; an. 751, n. 5 et seq.; an. 755, n. 37-57. Wilibaldus, *de S. Bonifacio*, apud *Epistolæ*.

<sup>17</sup> Baronius (an. 723, n. 19; an. 731, n. 19) touchingly bewails the Reformation as a piece of special ingratitude no less than of impiety, and upbraids the Germans of his day with the enormity of their revolt against that papacy which converted their forefathers.

mighty protest of Mohammedanism against idolatry, the irresistible valour and marvellous triumphs of the image-hating and image-breaking Arabs, had not failed to impress the simpler and selecter souls of Christendom. They beheld in these victories of the idol-breaking misbelievers the judgment of God upon the reappearance of idolatry in His Church, turned with wrath and abhorrence from that image-worship which He so utterly abhorred and had so solemnly forbidden, and burned to put away the sin and to arrest the chastisement of Christendom. These convictions strongly possessed the soul of a simple and earnest mountaineer, a peasant of Isauria, and a valiant soldier, Leo, whom courage, conduct, and good fortune raised from dignity to dignity until they set him upon the imperial throne of Constantinople (716). The same valour, wisdom, and earnestness which he brought to the rescue of the sinking empire, rent by civil war and overwhelmed by Mohammedan invasion, he afterwards brought to the purification of the polluted Church from the stain of idol-worship. The repulse and rout of the Saracen host which had beleaguered Constantinople for three years (715-718), deepened his convictions and confirmed his resolution. To him, the sworn foe of idolatry, it had been given to inflict their first great defeat upon the Mohammedan conquerors; he set himself strenuously to cleanse the faith which God had protected by his hand. In 726 he began the warfare against images, first banished them from the churches, and then had them broken and burned, and after a fierce struggle with the monks and the mob, for whom the darkness of the time had made image-worship the dearest and most important part of religion, enforced their destruction in Constantinople and throughout the East.

But in Italy the devotion to images was still stronger, and the imperial authority was far weaker. A man of vigour and ability occupied the Roman chair. In Gregory II. the popular passion found a powerful exponent, and the imperial iconoclast encountered a formidable champion of idolatry. Gregory upbraided and resisted Leo, and at last defied and disowned his unbending sovereign, withheld the tribute, and withdrew the allegiance of Italy, 728.<sup>18</sup> The Romans clave to their bishop and

<sup>18</sup> *Vite et Epistola Gregorii II. et III.*, apud *Conciliorum* tomum xvii., Paris, 1644. Baronius, an. 726, n. 1 et seq. The two long letters which Gregory II. inflicted upon his sovereign are striking specimens of pontifical objurgation (an. 726, n. 30). Paulus Diaconus (*Historia Miscella*, l. xxi.) raves against Leo and Constantine.

their idols; Rome became practically independent, with her bishop for her real if not her recognised ruler; while Leo and his still more zealous son, Constantine Copronymus, baffled in the West, were fain to satisfy themselves with breaking images and vanquishing rebellious image-worshippers in the East. Alone in the long dull series of Byzantine Cæsars, these Isaurian iconoclasts retain any lively hold upon the memory and affections of men. Assertors of a sublime and immortal spiritual principle, opponents of a deep-rooted and potent popular passion, they have lived alike in the love and hatred of posterity. Upholders of a cause unpopular in their own day, but which, more than seven centuries afterwards, won a wide and signal triumph, they have, if overwhelmed with obloquy by the darkness of their own time, secured the applause of a distant and enlightened age. The Reformation raised up mightier iconoclasts, and furnished the Byzantine image-breakers with admirers and panegyrist no less zealous than their Romish detractors and assailants. Their deeds have been outdone; the term of reproach which distinguished them has grown into a title of honour, and Milton uttered the mind of his fellow-Protestants when he mingled scorn and abhorrence of the rebellious and idolatrous popes with pride and joy in the imperial iconoclasts.<sup>19</sup>

With this political triumph over the Byzantine Cæsars, and this spiritual triumph which Boniface won for it in Germany, the first period of the papacy came to an end, the first act of the papal drama may be said to have closed. Aggrandised by the fall of the Western Empire and the invasion of the Teutons, the bishopric of Rome put forth a distinctly papal character about the beginning of the seventh century at the death of Gregory the Great, who was the last true Roman pastor. The grant of Phocas, without being in the least exaggerated, may be fairly taken as the starting-point in the history of the pope-dom (606).

The whole period from the sixth to the middle of the eighth century, from the destruction of the Western Empire to the severance from the Eastern Empire, ministered to the aggrandisement of the Roman See, and to the growth of nothing else save and except Islam. It found civilisation sinking, and left it submerged; it found the light of intellect feeble and flickering, and left the world in almost total darkness; it found Chris-

<sup>19</sup> *Eikonoklastes*, preface.

tianity somewhat degenerate and left it intensely corrupt; it found Paganism prostrate and left Mohammedanism triumphant; it found the Roman bishop an obedient subject of the Roman Empire and a simple officer of the Christian Church, and left him politically independent and spiritually supreme, almost a prince and very much of a pontiff.

## BOOK II.

## THE EARLY STRUGGLES AND EXCESSES OF THE POPEDOM.

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Di voi pastor s' accorse 'l Vanglista,  
Quando colei, che siede sovra l' acque,  
Puttaneggiar co' regi a lui fu vista.

DANTE, *Inferno*, xix. 106-8.

'You pastors the Evangelist had in mind,  
When she who on the many waters sits  
Full in his sight defiled herself with kings.'

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AMONG the Teutonic tribes which overran and divided the Western Empire, the Franks held the highest and most conspicuous place, through the extent of their conquests, the permanence of their possession, and the perpetual renovation of their national vigour. The Burgundians soon became their subjects, as the Lombards afterwards did. The Ostrogoth conquerors of Italy were soon overthrown by the Eastern emperors, and replaced by the Lombards; the Visigoth masters of Spain ere long fell before the Arabs. Neither Italy nor Spain became Gothland; but Gaul became Frankenland, or France, as Britain became England.

The French monarchy was older than the papacy. Clovis led his Franks into Gaul about 480, a few years after the Western Empire came to an end, and established his kingdom there, while the Roman bishops were obedient subjects of Theodoric the Great. His descendants, the long-haired Merovingians, gradually degenerated, and at the beginning of the eighth century sank into utter impotence. But his people did not partake the degeneracy of his house. A race of heroes arose to lead the Franks forth to battle, and to govern in the name of their powerless kings. As mayors of the palace, Pepin of Heristal, his son Charles Martel, and the son of Charles, Pepin the Short, utterly effaced their sovereigns, and were the mighty men of Western Christendom, from which they beat back the onrushing tide of Islam. In 732 Charles Martel smote



and scattered, at Tours, the Mohammedan conquerors of Spain, who had overrun half France, and drove them back over the Pyrenees. He and his sons, Carloman and Pepin, made great conquests in Germany, and furthered much the spiritual conquests of Boniface. But these heroic Franks were not the only great men of their time. The eighth century, though in truth a dark age, had somewhat less gloom and deadness than its immediate predecessor and successor. It was thronged by mighty events, and yielded some mighty men.

The Carolingian heroes of the West had for their contemporaries in the East those great Isaurian Cæsars, Leo and Constantine, who reinvigorated the State and sought to purify the Church, those bafflers of Islam and breakers of images. At the very time that Charles Martel became chief of the Franks (715), Leo became emperor of the East (716); and as the Saracens were for the first time put to shame before the Isaurian iconoclast under the walls of Constantinople (718), so they endured their second great defeat when they were smitten and crushed beneath the mighty Hammer of the Franks on the field of Tours (732). Two great kings, Luitprand and Astolf, uplifted the Lombards in Italy, while England furnished the spiritual potentate of the time in Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, the great saint and martyr of the eighth century. Earnest and energetic pontiffs, Gregory II., Gregory III., Zachary, Stephen II., exalted the Roman See. And imperial iconoclasts, chiefs of France, Lombard kings, and English missionaries, had all dealings, friendly or unfriendly, with these popes, were connected with each other through their connection with the Roman See, which rebelled against Leo and Constantine, went to war with Luitprand and Astolf, courted Pepin, and employed Boniface.

The popes were now predominant in Christendom and supreme in Rome; but Rome had dangerous neighbours in the Lombards, whose hostility became more formidable after the breach with the East, and who threatened the capture of the city separated from the empire, and the subjection of the bishop in conflict with his sovereign. The popes employed their power over Christendom for the preservation of their authority in Rome; their spiritual influence upheld and enlarged their temporal dominion. King Astolf took Ravenna from the Eastern emperor, and then led his Lombards against the rebellious Roman bishop. The pontiffs looked across the Alps, invoked

the sword of the Franks to break the sword of the Lombards, and as audaciously tested the credulity, as they were earnestly bent upon testing the valour, of that warlike race.<sup>1</sup>

Then began that singular connection between Rome and France which has endured through eleven centuries, and is as conspicuous in the nineteenth as it was in the eighth century. The Franks consulted the pontiff as to the disposal of their crown; the pontiff besought the aid of the Franks for the maintenance of his power. Pope Zachary approved of the transfer of their throne from its nominal occupant, the powerless Childeric, the last of the long-haired Merovingians, to its substantial possessor, the wise and valiant Pepin (751), and Pope Stephen II. crossed the Alps to crown and anoint the new monarch (753). The grateful Carolingian king crossed the Alps for the rescue of Rome and her bishop, vanquished the Lombards, and bestowed upon Stephen much of the territory comprised in the late States of the Church (755). Thus the second French dynasty was enthroned to the double advantage of the Roman bishops, who got as much by giving as by receiving—they received a principality and conferred a crown; they became at once kings and king-makers.<sup>2</sup>

Another Roman pontiff fell out with another Lombard king; again the Franks poured down from the Alps; the kingdom of the Lombards fell before the mighty son of Pepin, and Charles the Great and Adrian I. made their triumphant entry into Rome together in 774. Twenty-six years after, the conqueror of so

<sup>1</sup> *Epistola Stephani II.*, apud *Concilia*, tom. xvii. A most extraordinary invocation is that begging letter (ep. v. p. 559), despatched to Pepin and his warriors by Pope Stephen II. when besieged in Rome by Astolf, a composition not unworthy of the elaborate irony of Gibbon (ch. xlix.). St. Peter himself takes up the pen, and bestows a familiar epistle upon the Frankish princes. His anxiety is intense, his importunity is passionate. He feels especial hatred against the wicked Lombards, and takes especial delight in the pious Franks. He refers the victories of the latter to his active intervention in their behalf, and has still greater benefits in store for them if they will only rush to his rescue, and hints at woes and plagues if they won't. To the Protestants who look upon the papacy as an almost unmixed blessing during the dark ages, this letter is a sufficient answer. If it may have done some social and political good, it was then, as it is now, a flagrant spiritual corruption. This astonishing epistle, though prevalent with Pepin, did not take with all the Franks, whose extreme reluctance to rescue St. Peter, mentioned by Eginhard (cap. 6), may have in a measure arisen from their sense of the effrontery of the invitation.

<sup>2</sup> Baronius, an. 751, n. 1-9; an. 753, n. 16, 17; an. 755, passim. *Annales Rerum Francarum*, apud Eginhardum, an. 749-56. Eginhardus, *Vita Karoli Magni*, c. 1, who has set before us by a few masterly and memorable strokes the last Merovingian do-nothing.

many nations, the lord of the West, again descended into Italy, and marched into Rome as the avenger and restorer of another pontiff, Leo III., accused of enormous crimes by personal enemies, deposed at the instigation of a rival, and wounded in the fury of a sedition. The Romans bowed before the will of the mighty conqueror; the maimed and slandered pope took oath of his innocence before his illustrious protector; and on Christmas-day, 800, Leo III. placed the imperial crown on the head of Charles the Great, and hailed him Emperor of the Romans.<sup>3</sup> The Western Empire reappeared. The pontiff and the Cæsar stood side by side, most strangely and confusedly bound together, each depending upon the other, each at once the master and the servant of the other, the pope a subject of the emperor whom he had made, the emperor the sovereign of his own creator. The Roman bishop rebelled against his Byzantine master, and made himself a Teutonic master, professed to transfer all the rights, powers, and dignities of the emperor of the Romans, including sovereignty over himself, from the direct successor of Julius Cæsar, that dwelt at Constantinople, to a German king; took into his own hands the bestowal of that Roman Empire which came into being about the same time as that Christian Church into the topmost place whereof he had thrust himself, and professed to consecrate the dignity which he transferred. That power, loosely and incorrectly known as the German Empire, but officially and correctly designated as the Holy Roman Empire—that power which lasted more than a thousand years, from 800 to 1806, which held the foremost place in mediæval Europe, and which maintained the highest conventional and official rank to a period within the memory of men now living, of which Napoleon I. made an end, and of which Francis II. of Austria was the last head—this power claimed to represent and continue the old heathen Roman Empire, and of this power the popes claimed to have the disposal and consecration, reckoned this coronation of Charlemagne among the great expressions and title-deeds of their supremacy, and held up this transfer of the Roman Empire as their own peculiar

<sup>3</sup> Baronius, an. 773-4, 799, 800, passim. *Annales Rerum Francarum*, an. 773-4, 799, 800. Eginhard gives no prominence to his dealings with the Roman See, and only incidentally mentions the imperial coronation. A personal as well as a political tie bound Charlemagne to Pope Adrian, at whose death, according to the exceeding tenderness of his mighty heart, he wept as for a brother or son (Eginhardus, cap. 19, 28).

deed and glory. This transfer has been gainsayed by over-hasty and short-sighted Protestants, who in their eagerness to take down the papacy ever so little, to deny a single assumption and to extenuate a single deed, have done their best to dwarf the bigness of its spiritual perversity and corruption, to impair the awfulness of the papal drama, to spoil one of the most striking scenes and enfeeble one of the most striking lessons of history, to offend against its truest romance and its deepest philosophy.<sup>4</sup> It was meet and right for the usurper of Christ's throne to become a giver and taker of earthly thrones, to covet and to confer the kingdoms of this world, with all the power and glory of them, to yield to the allurements and assume the prerogatives of that very tempter whom the heavenly King, whose vicar he professed himself, overcame in the wilderness. It well seemed the chief of corrupted and secularised Christendom to become the intimate of the Roman Empire, to confer sanctity upon the great secular power of the world, and to claim the disposal thereof. It was essential to heighten and perfect the worldliness of the kingdom which called itself not of this world, that it should confer the imperial crown and receive an Italian principality. An overseer of Christ's flock claimed at once to represent Christ and to create Cæsar, to be a great spiritual prince and a small earthly prince, to be a king and a king-maker. 'The kingdom of our God and of His Christ hath become a kingdom of this world, and it shall last for so long.' The Christmas-day of 800 is in truth a memorable day in ecclesiastical history.

The man with whom the Roman Church had these dealings,

<sup>4</sup> Flacius Illyricus of Magdeburg, a most elaborate and copious Protestant controversialist, and the chief author of the *Centurie Magdeburgenses*, the earliest of modern church histories, in his learned treatise *de Translatione Imperii Romani ad Germanos*, Basileæ, 1566, fails in his attempt to prove that this transfer was in no sense a papal work, and herein must yield the victory to Bellarmine, who in his treatise *de Translatione Imperii (Opera)*, l. i. pp. 1100-1240, Ingolstadt, 1571), though he enormously exaggerates the papal power at that time, yet clearly shows that not without the Roman See was the Holy Roman Empire made over to a Teutonic prince. It is very certain that Charlemagne became lord of the West through his own wisdom and valour and the wisdom and valour of his forefathers; but it is equally certain that he would not have become emperor of the Romans without the aid of Leo III. Eginhard (c. 28), who makes very little of the whole business, ascribes to his hero a great reluctance to accept the imperial dignity. Charles the Great won for himself the dominion of the West; Pope Leo called this dominion the Holy Roman Empire, and professed to invest the conquests of the mighty Teuton with the dignity and reverence which still surrounded the old Roman Empire, as well as with the reverence derived from its later connection with the Christian Church.

to whom she gave and of whom she took a crown, was a man of no mean might and no small nobleness. Charles the Great was in truth the mighty monarch and the mighty man of the middle ages. The greatness before which all his contemporaries bowed haunted the imagination of after ages, and has cleaved inseparably to the name of Charlemagne. The Germans who overthrew the Roman Empire and allied themselves with the Roman Church produced in him their supreme and most glorious personage. He gathered all the Teutonic nations, either by inheritance or conquest, under his dominion, and welded the West into one vast empire. Hereditary king of the Franks, conqueror of the Lombards, subjugator of the Saxons and the Moors, master of France, Germany, Italy, and Hungary, potent in Spain, and influential in England, he was in very deed and truth the lord of Western Christendom. A great conqueror, he was not a mere vulgar conqueror, but uplifted the nations whom he subdued, and carried along with him in his victorious march such civilisation and Christianity as the age was capable of. A valiant warrior, an open-eyed and wide-minded statesman and large-hearted man, a true German prince and patriot, a sincere but not a fanatical Christian, eloquent in utterance as well as great in action, a lover of learning and learned men, he represented and commanded his age; overtopped, subjected, or attracted all its mighty men; participated, appropriated, and furthered all its chief feelings, influences, and movements. He vanquished and brought under the yoke Saxon chieftains, Lombard dukes, Avar chagans, and Arab emirs. He had Offa of Mercia for his subordinate ally and Egbert of Wessex for his guest and nurseling; protected the Roman pontiffs, and had friendly dealings with the Khalifs of Bagdad; held Adrian I. personally dear as well as politically near, and exchanged presents and good offices with Haroun al Rashid. He secured the respect and alliance, in spite of the jealousy, of those Byzantine Cæsars whose imperial honours he divided, and held in check the fierce and restless Northmen. He gathered around him the chief intellects of the time; was the pupil of Alcuin and the patron of Eginhard. He loved German songs, respected classical antiquity, and built handsome churches. He enjoyed the Fathers of the Church, especially Augustine.<sup>5</sup> His personal greatness transcended his widespread sway; nor is the great-

<sup>5</sup> Eginhardus, *Vita Karoli Magni*, passim.

ness of his work to be measured by the permanence of his empire or the endurance of his dynasty. His dominion ere long fell into pieces in the hands of his degenerate descendants, who at the end of a century and a half disappeared from the high places of the world. The Empire of the West which Charlemagne in reality revived, and over which he in truth ruled, scarcely outlived him. It was the happy portion of Western Christendom to unfold itself not under a single sceptre, but as a company of states. But the nations which Charles the Great subdued and brought together bore permanent witness to the dominion of their mighty master; they parted company not without gifts from their great uniter, and not without furtherance from their short-lived union; each nation, France, Germany, Italy, held the memory of Charlemagne in grateful veneration, and claimed a part and lot in his greatness and glory. The national hero both of France and Germany, he has become a hero of romance. Happy in a most loving and yet most discerning biographer, the great German warrior, statesman, monarch, patriot, and Christian, whom his friend Eginhard has so vividly set forth and so faithfully preserved, was singularly enough appropriated and metamorphosed by the mediæval poets and romancers.<sup>6</sup> Allured by the dim prominence of Charlemagne in the memory of mankind, they flung around the great Teuton king the ideas and fancies of their own age, the thoughts and feelings of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, made him the morning star of knighthood and the central figure of Western romance, just as his contemporary and friend, the Khalif Haroun al Rashid, became the central figure of Eastern romance, and still walks and glitters through the marvels of the Arabian Nights.

But monks as well as romancers laid hold on Charlemagne. He became a saint as well as a knight. Just as the glories of chivalry were laid upon a very practical statesman, so a sincere but by no means world-renouncing or flesh-defying Christian was steeped in the odour of sanctity. The first Holy Roman Emperor must needs take rank as an imperial saint. The politic

<sup>6</sup> It is difficult to overpraise the masterpiece of Eginhard, a work admirable in any age and marvellous for the dark ages, a work wherein the biographer shows himself at once a tender friend, a statesman, a scholar, and a master of composition. He wields the Latin tongue well and vigorously, knows what to leave out and what to bring in, and can paint a picture by a few strokes. Eginhard excels all mediæval biographers just as Charlemagne transcends all mediæval sovereigns. If not very detailed, the work is most complete, and may well keep company with the *Agricola* of Tacitus.

protector of the popes passed for a papal devotee. His relics attained considerable sacredness, and hymns were written in honour of St. Charles. He has won the inferior honour of beatification, and the name of Charlemagne occupies a second-rate place in the Romish heaven.<sup>7</sup> His place and portion in ecclesiastical history are very memorable, though, without much fault of his own, not very enviable. He contributed to the degeneracy of the Christian Church into a secular power, and assisted at one of the great crises and transformations of the popedom by exchanging with it worldly gifts and services, by confirming to it an Italian principality, and by receiving from it an imperial crown. Charlemagne helped to make the bishop of Rome an Italian prince, and the bishop of Rome crowned the Teuton king Holy Roman Emperor. That Italian principality which Pepin bestowed and which Charlemagne confirmed, which the popes so eagerly caught at and so passionately clung to, though they did not secure its complete possession and immediate sovereignty till seven centuries afterwards, is now falling away from them under the eye, if not by the very hand, of another French monarch. The Holy Roman Empire, set up in his behalf, remained for centuries a name not without power, and had a nominal existence of a thousand years.

In these dealings with the Papacy, Charles the Great unconsciously sinned against true Christianity, and innocently assisted the worldly development of the kingdom not of this world. By his territorial grant he meant to honour the Church which he helped to corrupt. Far from coveting the imperial crown, he rather recoiled from the papal gift, and, in common with his contemporaries, set little store upon it. Charlemagne was in nowise a dependant of the papacy. The principality which he rebestowed was the grant of a sovereign to a subject; he was

<sup>7</sup> *Hymnus de Sancto Carolo*, apud Eginhardum, ed. 1845. Charlemagne did in fact obtain the highest rank there, but was considered to have got it unlawfully. Frederick Redbeard, eager for the honour of that Holy Roman Empire wherein he was an earnest believer and whereof he was the mightiest wielder, wished for a heavenly patron and intercessor in the first Holy Roman Emperor, and procured the canonisation of Charlemagne from the antipope Pascal. The legitimate popes neither cancelled nor confirmed the appointment; and uncancelled, unconfirmed canonisation is allowed to pass for beatification (Pagi, *Critica in Baronium*, an. 1166; Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, Jan. 28). Knight, saint, mighty king, and first Holy Roman Emperor, Charlemagne has been indeed a power among men; he still grandly abides in the memory of mankind, and still glorifies that noble cathedral of Aachen, of which he was the builder, in which is the tomb so simply yet so greatly inscribed 'Carolo Magno,' and the chair wherein his crumbling frame rested for ages.

the real ruler of Rome, and the veritable master of the priest who had crowned him Cæsar. He brooked no independent power in the vast dominion which his genius and valour had gathered together; he did not even render to the pontiff absolute spiritual obedience. He and his Franks shrank from the idolatry patronised by the popes and restored in the East by his contemporary Irene, the monstrous mother who dethroned, blinded, and did to death her only son Constantine Porphyrogenitus, but whose crime was forgotten and forgiven in the champion of images.<sup>8</sup> The second council of Nicæa, whereof Irene was the convener and the heroine, undid the work of the great Isaurian iconoclasts, and reestablished image-worship (787); while the council of Frankfort, holden by the authority of Charlemagne, forbade the adoration, while tolerating the presence, of images.<sup>9</sup> This great German prince, with that earnest zeal for furthering the spiritual and intellectual welfare of his people, so characteristic of the Teutonic mind, and so manifest in that most illustrious of Teutonic kings, our own Alfred, set the most learned and accomplished of his clergy to prepare works for the religious instruction of his subjects, without reference to Rome or authority therefrom.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Paulus Diaconus in his general history (l. xxiii.) rejoices over 'piissima Irene.' The lust of reigning has too often sundered very close ties even in the heart of woman; but scarcely ever, except in the restorer of image-worship, has it quenched that strongest of all instincts, maternal love. Legend makes Semiramis the murderess of her husband Ninus, Clytemnestra the murderess of her husband Agamemnon, the wife of Candaules the murderess of her husband, and Tullia a rejoicing accessory to the murder of her father Servius Tullius. Athaliah, the Baal-worshipper, was unnaturally bloody, but, unlike this later idolatress, killed not the fruit of her own womb. 'When Athaliah the mother of Ahaziah saw that her son was dead, she arose and destroyed all the seed royal' (2 Kings xi. 1). Agrippina poisoned her husband Claudius, to make room on the throne of the world for her son Nero, who rewarded her with assassination. Cwendred, to get the kingdom of Mercia, had her little brother king Kenelm taken off at Clent. Elfrida had her step-son Edward the Martyr murdered at Corfe Castle, that her own son Ethelred might reign in his stead. The ambitious adulteress, Isabella of France, compassed the dethronement and assassination of her consort Edward II., but seated their son Edward III. on the throne. Joanna of Naples and Mary Queen of Scots were almost certainly privy to the murder of their husbands, Andrew of Hungary and Henry Darnley. Catherine II. effected the destruction of her consort Peter III., but spared her son Paul. The son-destroying Irene has no fellow in crime except Drahomira, the heathen princess of Bohemia, who got one son Boleslas to murder another son, Duke and Saint Wenceslas, on account of his zeal for Christianity (938). It is pleasant to know that the monstrous mother was hurled by an ungrateful favourite from the throne so horribly acquired, and died in exile and indigence.

<sup>9</sup> *Annales Francorum*, an. 794.

<sup>10</sup> *Annals of Alfred the Great*, p. 105.



But, notwithstanding these isolated manifestations of independence, the spiritual power of the popes advanced, and was greatly furthered by that supreme of pious frauds and forgeries, the Pseudo-Decretals of Isidore, which appeared early in the ninth century. This collection, falsely ascribed to the famous bishop of Seville, and consisting of decrees falsely ascribed to the early bishops of Rome, loudly proclaimed the power of the priesthood, and elaborately asserted the monarchy of the popes. Enormous assumptions were thrust into the mouths of venerable saints, simple pastors were made to prate about pontifical omnipotence, and the companion of St. Paul was made to talk like the crowner of Charlemagne. The forgery was clumsy and stupid as it was audacious, amusingly defied history, recklessly set at nought chronology, and unblushingly garbled and misquoted Scripture; <sup>11</sup> but it came out in a congenial time; though not altogether unchallenged and unassailed, it prevailed with the darkness and grossness of the age, and accomplished its purpose of aggrandising the papacy. This production, in admirable harmony with the presidency of Peter and the donation of Constantine, completed the fortification of falsehood and forgery in which the popedom had intrenched itself, drawing its temporal power from a donation never made, grounding its spiritual power on a presidency never exercised, and supporting the same by decrees whereof their alleged authors were altogether innocent, and their alleged collector utterly unconscious.

The practice of Charlemagne was not according to the theory of the Decretals. He dealt with the popes as with personal friends, political instruments, princely subjects, and influential spiritual directors, not as with independent princes or absolute spiritual lords. The imperial coronation, while it wrought no change in his dealings and demeanour towards the pontiffs, yet rendered him the direct and legitimate sovereign of the Roman bishops, whose protector he had heretofore been. Throughout

<sup>11</sup> Clement is made to tell a huge lie, and to put one into St. Peter's mouth, when he says (*Decretales*, Paris, 1609, p. 7): 'Omnes principes terræ et homines cunctis episcopis obedire beatus Petrus præcipiebat'—'Blessed Peter commanded all princes of the earth and all men to be obedient to all bishops'—that very Peter who especially proclaimed the priesthood of all believers (1 Pet. ii. 4, 5, 9), and who earnestly enjoined obedience to heathen rulers (ver. 13-17). Stephen I. and Sixtus I. talk glibly about papal authority and appeals. Sixtus describes himself as 'universalis apostolicæ ecclesiæ papam,' and claims the headship of the Church: 'Memor sum me sub illius nomine ecclesiæ præsidere, ejus a domino Jesu Christo est glorificata confessio (*Epistola Decretales veterum Pontificum Romanorum*).

the half-century (768-814) during which Charlemagne was the foremost man in the world, the popes, like the other conspicuous persons therein, must be reckoned among his dependants. On the death of the mighty monarch in 814, the dominion of the West passed to the feeble and impairing grasp of his son Louis, known at once as Louis the Kindly and Louis the Pious, whose kindness degenerated into heedless facility, and his piety into superstitious weakness. The indulger and the victim of his wife, his children, and his priests, he was more than once delivered from their oppression and reinstated on the throne through the reverence of his people for the memory of his father, and their respectful pity for his own amiable and devout helplessness. Under such a sovereign the pontiffs meddled with much vigour and some effect, now upheld the parent against the children, now stirred up the children against the parent, and contributed not a little to the disorder of the empire of their own hallowing.<sup>12</sup> The dominion of the West, got together and so firmly grasped by his mighty father, but so feebly and loosely holden by himself, fell to pieces in the hands of his sons, of whom Louis became king of Germany, and Charles the Bald became king of France, while Italy and the dignity of Roman emperor remained with Lothaire, the eldest, and passed on to his son Louis II., and other members of the race of Charlemagne. The relations of the popedom with the empire still exhibited the same singular mixture of subjection and supremacy, with a predominance of the former, even under these degenerate descendants of Charles the Great. As no one was held to be a proper and perfect emperor until crowned by the pope, so no one was held to be a proper and perfect pope until approved by the emperor.<sup>13</sup> An energetic emperor asserted the imperial supremacy, an energetic pope asserted the papal supremacy. Cæsar Louis II., the great-grandson of Charlemagne, vigorously bestirred himself to enlarge his authority over the

<sup>12</sup> Baronius, tom. x. an. 819, p. 492; an. 829-40, pp. 577-611.

<sup>13</sup> On the election of Sergius II. without his leave (844), Cæsar Lothaire sent his son with an army against Rome, compelled the Romans to swear fidelity, and confirmed Sergius after due submission. The Romans with great trepidation had Leo IV. consecrated without the imperial confirmation on account of the neighbourhood of the Saracens (847). The coronation of Benedict III. (855) was postponed for the approbation of Louis II., who at first supported another candidate, but at last confirmed Benedict through his ambassadors, and in person ordered the consecration of Nicholas I. (858) ('présente et jubente Cæsare Ludovico'), and allowed the election of Adrian II. (867). Luitprandus, *de Pont. Rom. Vitis (Opera)*, ed. 1640, Antwerp, pp. 270-281.

Roman city and the Roman bishop ; Pope Nicholas I. (858-867) dealt in a lordly fashion with the State, and maintained the absolute power of the papacy over the Church. He made ample use of the forged Decretals, and sought to hasten their theory of the papal monarchy into a fact. He bowed reluctant monarchs and recalcitrant prelates to his will, forced Lothaire, king of Lorraine, and brother of Cæsar Louis II., to take back, for a while at least, the wife whom he had put away, and to repudiate the mistress whom he had married, and constrained Hinkmar, archbishop of Rheims, the first writer, the most powerful churchman, and the master spirit of the age, to restore a bishop whom he had got deposed.<sup>14</sup>

But Nicholas was not ambitious and encroaching only in the West ; he assumed a lordly tone towards the Byzantine Cæsars, and sought to establish his supremacy over the Greek Church. The Christian Church in the East and the Christian Church in the West were early distinguished from each other. Not only did the Greek language utter the worship of the one, and the Latin language the worship of the other ; but the speculative and aspiring genius of Greece pervaded the former, while the more formal and unbending intellect of the Latins possessed the latter. When Byzantium became Constantinople, when a Greek city became the capital of the Eastern Empire, while Rome sank from the metropolis of the world into the metropolis of the West, Eastern and Western Christianity became still more distinct. The distinction was heightened by the fall of the Western Empire, the dealings of the Germans with the Western Church, and the prominence which the leading bishop of that Church got thereby. But while the Roman bishop was the subject now of the barbarians and now of the Byzantine Cæsars, his growing spiritual influence did not become a power in the East, proud of the imperial city, and illustrated by the great assemblies which had fixed the faith of the Church. In spite of Gregory the Great, the patriarch of Constantinople claimed to be chief dignitary and universal bishop of the Christian Church. Phocas conferred that dignity upon the Roman bishop, and the latter waxed stronger and stronger ; but he had not become the absolute spiritual lord even of the West, when in the beginning of the eighth century the warfare of the Isaurian emperors against images drove him into rebellion

<sup>14</sup> Baronius, an. 862 et seq. ; an. 864, cap. 12-20. *Epistolæ Nicolai I.* apud *Concilia*, tom. xxii. ep. 22, 23, 28-40, 48-53. .

against the Eastern empire, and broke his communion with the Eastern Church, purified from idol-worship by the imperial iconoclasts, Leo and Constantine. There was spiritual and political separation between the Greek and Latin Churches. Irene restored image-worship in the East, and removed one main doctrinal severance;<sup>15</sup> but the political separation continued. At that very period the popes transferred their allegiance to the French monarchy, which they converted into the Roman Empire, to the indignation of their old masters the Byzantine Cæsars, who claimed to be the only true and lawful Roman emperors. But the doctrinal difference soon revived. Another imperial iconoclast appeared in another valiant and earnest soldier; in 813, Leo the Armenian renewed the warfare of Leo the Isaurian, and again dethroned images in the Greek Church. Cast out for nearly thirty years, they found another restorer in another female devotee and another empress-regent, Theodora, widow of Cæsar Theophilus, and mother of Cæsar Michael (840). Unlike her image-loving pattern and precedent Irene, a devoted wife and a tender mother, but a still more savage zealot, she diligently oppressed the iconoclasts, and ruthlessly slaughtered the Paulicians, those Protestant Gnostics who dwelt in Armenia and Pontus, the borderland between Islam and Christendom, who, curiously enough, combined the simplicity of the Gospel with certain Oriental fancies, denied transubstantiation, abhorred relics, images, saint-invocation, and a worldly hierarchy, while asserting the eternity of matter and gainsaying the authority of the Old Testament; who took their name and borrowed much of their theology from St. Paul, singled out the transcendent apostle for their especial affection, and upheld his influence and spirit so singularly smothered during the middle ages and so mightily reawakened at the Reformation; who after two centuries of persecution were at last provoked into rebellion by the surpassing cruelty of Theodora, fought with the desperate and irresistible valour peculiar to tormented religionists, forestalled the deeds of the Bohemian Hussites and the English Puritans, vanquished over and over again the armies of the Eastern empire, and at length extorted toleration from the Byzantine Cæsars, and were by them transported into Europe, where they diffused their abhorrence of the superstitions common to the Greeks and

<sup>15</sup> The procession of the Holy Ghost, according to the Greeks from the Father only, according to the Latins from the Father and the Son, set the two Churches at variance during the eighth century, and still divides them.

Latins, aroused the bitter hatred and shook the authority of the Roman Church, reappeared in the less warlike and heroic Albigenses, kept alive hostility to Rome throughout the middle ages, and finally triumphed as far as they deserved to triumph at the Reformation.<sup>16</sup>

The suppression of the iconoclasts and the persecution of the Paulicians endeared Theodora to the Roman Church; but her son Cæsar Michael II. fell out with Pope Nicholas I. The devout Ignatius and the learned Photius—the former deposed and the latter enthroned, for political reasons, by Michael and his guardian Bardas—disputed as rival patriarchs the see of Constantinople (857). The Greek Church, while acknowledging the official precedency, had never recognised the spiritual headship of the Roman bishop. Michael and Photius, however, sought to overcome the stubborn resistance of Ignatius by laying the affair before the pope. Nicholas I., an upright man, and a conscientious and ambitious pontiff, gladly interposed, took the side of Ignatius, exchanged bitter words with the vehement Cæsar, and held grave disputations with the accomplished patriarch, who rebuked the lofty pretensions of the pontiff by a vigorous vindication of Greek freedom.

In 867, Nicholas died, and Michael was assassinated by his colleague Basil the Macedonian, who cast out Photius and brought back Ignatius, to the satisfaction of Rome. On the death of Ignatius, however (878), Photius was restored, not without the papal sanction, but without the sacrifice of Eastern independence.<sup>17</sup> This business had no immediately decisive result, but it aroused in the Greek priests and people the spirit of national and ecclesiastical independence, and hastened that hostile separation between the Greek and Latin Churches into which their slight and clouded connection ere long grew—a separation which, in spite of three or four unions got up by Byzantine Cæsars solicitous of succour from the West, and by Roman pontiffs eager for the enlargement of their sway, has lasted to this time. The ambition of uniting the Greeks who would not be united, so deeply seated in the papal bosom, and so perpetually baffled

<sup>16</sup> Gibbon devotes one of his most admirable and fascinating chapters to the Paulicians (*Decline and Fall*, ch. liv.). *Constantini Porphyrogeniti Continuator*, lib. iv. c. 19, 23.

<sup>17</sup> *Vita et Epistolæ Nicolai I.* apud *Concilia*, Paris, 1644, tom. xxii. ep. 1–16. In ep. 6 ad Photium, he makes much of the Decretals, which he presses into the service of the Roman supremacy.

and confounded, has supplied the most ludicrous and amusing passages of papal story. Throughout the ages the Roman Church has been confronted by a great anti-papal Church, which withstood the popedom in its day of omnipotence over Western Christendom—a communion glorified by the language of the New Testament, by the most illustrious early teachers and the most famous assemblies of Christendom; fortified and exalted by its connection of a thousand years with that strangely vital Eastern Empire; and, on the fall of its partner before the Turks, again uplifted and dignified in these latter ages by the growing might and majesty of the Empire of all the Russias.

Not long after the death of the aspiring and enterprising Nicholas, the popedom fell into a plight by no means favourable to aggression either in the East or in the West. The imperial fabric reared by Charles the Great began to fall into pieces soon after the departure of the architect; and the papacy, instead of at once profiting by the weakness and disorder of the empire, found its feebleness and confusion contagious. As it had grown with the growth and waxed strong with the strength of the Carolingian dynasty, so it waned in company therewith. As the Roman pontiffs had partaken of the glory and greatness of Pepin and Charles the Great, so they partook of the degeneracy and degradation of Charles the Bald, Charles the Fat, Charles the Simple, Louis the Stammerer, Louis the Sluggard, and Louis the Outlander. Few periods in history have been darker and more dreary than the 170 years which witnessed the decline of the posterity of Charlemagne (814-987). A general faintness and looseness fell upon the age; nothing held together. The empire got split up into kingdoms, each kingdom got split up into principalities, and each principality got split up into small fiefs. The wretchedness equalled the weakness. From North, East, and South, the Danes, the Hungarians, and the Saracens pressed upon nerveless and helpless Christendom, and wasted Europe from end to end. The papacy fully sympathised with the age, and exactly reflected its misery and debasement; nay, Rome exhibited a corruption and degradation unknown elsewhere. Every plague of the sickly time preyed upon the popedom. The Saracens threatened and insulted Rome. Leo IV., who received the visit of the boy Alfred in 854, had done good service to Italy and Christendom, and won the fame of a hero, by his victory over the Saracen pirates at the gates of Rome (849); but in 877 John VIII. paid tribute to these same

Arab corsairs.<sup>18</sup> But vassalage to the misbelievers was the smallest debasement of the Roman See.

This was the age of Pope Joan—the age which inspired that grand joke, if it did not produce that notable personage—the age to which early tradition and orthodox chroniclers assigned as successor of Leo IV. (855) an unchaste woman, Johanna, who passed with the world for a man and a priest, who sat in the papal chair between two and three years, and whose sex was publicly revealed by the pangs of child-birth, the consequence of an intrigue with a domestic, which came upon her in a sacred procession through the streets of Rome, and of which she died then and there. The Roman Church has more vehemently disclaimed this woman-pope than all the papal monsters and pope-creating wantons who defiled that period, and who may have suggested Pope Joan to the imagination of mankind, if, as seems most likely, the popess is indeed an invention; and yet a disguised female pontiff is less incredible than many of the marvels in which Rome rejoices, while an unchaste woman on the papal throne is less intolerable than the horrible men who certainly filled it and the horrible women who certainly gave it away. Pope Joan, if she is not a real personage, must pass for a potent parable and a grim joke—a parable not propounded and a jest not started by the spiritual adversaries of the Roman Church. Obedient sons of hers first told and repeated the story.<sup>19</sup> Pope

<sup>18</sup> Anastasius, *de Vitis Pontificum*. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, tom. iii. pp. 237, 238. Baronius, an. 849, c. 8–16; an. 877, c. 27.

<sup>19</sup> There is no contemporary evidence for the existence of Pope Joan. Marianus Scotus, a devout monk of the eleventh century, first mentions her and says, ‘After him (Leo IV.) came a woman, Joan, for two years, five months, and four days’—‘Huic successit Johanna mulier, annis duobus, mensibus quinque, diebus quatuor’ (ed. Basileæ, 1559, p. 407). Martinus Polonus, an orthodox chronicler of the thirteenth century, tells the tale at length (ed. Basileæ, 1559, p. 150). Platina, the respectful biographer of the popes, makes room for Joan, while his annotator Onuphrius Panvinus denies her existence (Platina, ed. Paris, 1624). The two great cardinals, Bellarmine (*de Summo Pontifice*, lib. iii. cap. 24; *Opera*, tom. i. pp. 949–56, ed. Ingolstadt) and Baronius (an. 853, n. 79–95), are very elaborate, vehement, and upon the whole, I think, not unsuccessful, in demolishing the woman-pope. All that can be said for her personality has been admirably said by Frederick Spanheim, in his erudite and ingenious treatise, *De Papa Fœmina* (Lugduni Bataavorum, 1691), where he subverts the moral argument of Bellarmine against Pope Joan—an argument assuming the divineness of the papacy, viz. that God would not have borne with a wanton on the papal throne—in a fine strain of argumentative rhetoric, and gathers together the many more enormous marvels of the Roman Church, and the many more horrible members of the papal dynasty. ‘But God bore with the three-headed church and its three right hideous monsters’—‘Tulit Deus tricripitem ecclesiam, et tria teterrima monstra,’ &c. (c. xxxi. xxxii.).

Joan must be reckoned as the unconscious testimony of the human heart and imagination to the spiritual defilement of the Roman Church; she is the Great Whore incarnate; mankind has put forth its great jest against the papal power in this introduction of a wanton among a company of elderly single men, and this connection of pontifical offices and Romish rites with things which they profess most rigidly to exclude. Protestants found the story ready-made to their hands, and, if they see cause to give up the lady-pope as a real personage, must needs expound the parable and enjoy the joke, may well gather an attestation to their convictions and a contribution to their mirth from the story of Pope Joan.<sup>20</sup>

But though the papal throne may not have been occupied by an improper female, it erelong underwent still deeper defilement, was bestowed by infamous women upon infamous men. According to that strange and mysterious sympathy of fortune between the popedom and the empire, so constantly manifested throughout the middle ages, the fall of the Carolingian empire in Italy, about 888, weakened the papacy and threw it into the hands of the petty princes who started up everywhere. Tuscan barons and Roman nobles set popes up and pulled popes down. Robbery and murder, lust and incest, were enthroned in the papal chair. One vicar of Christ inflicted every outrage and indignity upon another. Pope Stephen VI. dug up and mutilated the body of Pope Formosus (897), and was himself imprisoned and strangled (900). Pope John IX., a comparatively decent personage, fought with the Romans and wrought much iniquity (901-904). Pope Christopher cast out and incarcerated Pope Leo V. (907), to meet with the same fate a few months later at the hands of Pope Sergius, the creature of Tuscan barons and Roman strumpets, and a begetter as well as deposer of pontiffs.<sup>21</sup> Profligate women now thrust their paramours and bastards into

<sup>20</sup> Few personages, either of history or of fiction, have made more mirth than the lady-pontiff. The Protestant, most hearty in his contempt and dislike of cards, superior to whist, and disdainful of loo, may condescend to one game, and may mingle a deeper mirth with the merriment of the laughing children who may have lured him to sit down with them to Pope Joan.

<sup>21</sup> Luitprandus, *de Rebus Regum et Imperatorum*, lib. i. c. 5. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, tom. iii. part ii. pp. 316-322. Platina, p. 237 et seq., ed. 1624. Baronius, an. 897, n. 6; an. 907, n. 1; an. 908, c. 2. Luitprand (lib. i. c. 5) imputes the outrages upon Formosus to Sergius, the paramour of Marozia, while Baronius fastens them upon Stephen VI. (an. 897). Luitprand, bishop of Cremona, a subject and admirer of Otho the Great, has left the liveliest and most faithful picture of this dark period, where the horrible popes keep company with Saracen corsairs and Hungarian devastators.



the papal chair. For half a century three highborn wantons, Theodora and her two daughters Marozia and Theodora, held sway in Rome, and had the popedom in their gift and under their direction. Theodora not only turned a paramour of hers into Pope John X., but bestowed the popedom for the direct furtherance of her passions.<sup>22</sup> Marozia and countess Matilda are the two most famous women in the story of the papacy, whereof the former was the absolute mistress and the latter the devoted handmaid: the harlot used the popedom for her lust; the popedom used the devotee for its ambition. Marozia had a papal paramour and a papal posterity. The bastard whom she bore to Pope Sergius became Pope John XI. (931-35), and her grandson Octavian, the son of another bastard by another paramour, became Pope John XII. (956-62). Both son and grandson were worthy of her; the latter, a mere boy at his accession, was the first pontiff who changed his name when he received the pontificate. This device at once became a papal fashion, and the juvening monster bequeathed to his successors the practice of assuming virtue and sanctity by the assumption of a new name.<sup>23</sup>

During this evil time—during most of the ninth and most of the tenth century—Christendom seemed utterly helpless and hopeless. The popes found every furtherance for degrading and defiling the Church. The Hungarians wasted Germany and Italy for a while with perfect impunity, while the Northmen desolated France at their ease. The descendants of Charles the Great, who died out in Germany and Italy about 912, but who languished in France till 987, witnessed in base and despairing impotence the ruin of their many realms. Weakness and misery reigned unrelieved throughout Christendom, save in England, where Alfred (872-901) blended the glory of a hero, sage, and saint, vanquished the Northmen, upheld the freedom of his country, and uplifted the souls of his people; and where, under him and his immediate descendants, the Anglo-Saxon monarchy enjoyed its brief day of power and splendour. Our peerless king, his son the valiant Edward, his grandsons the mighty Athelstan and the noble Edmund, and his great-grandson the accomplished and magnificent Edgar, were the

<sup>22</sup> Luitprand, lib. ii. c. 3. John X. was strangled.

<sup>23</sup> Luitprand (lib. iii. c. 2) breaks out into vehement verse against the monstrous Marozia, who varied her enormities by an incestuous marriage with Hugh, king of Italy. Baronius, an. 931; an. 955, c. 1-5.

contemporaries of these sorry emperors and these horrible popes. But though a general debasement overspread the age, there lingered some remains of sanctity everywhere except at Rome. Here and there a true saint held a bishopric or adorned a monastery, like Ratherius of Verona and Nilus of Calabria; now and then, too, there arose a priest of the higher Romish fashion, an austere and ambitious churchman, like Dunstan of Canterbury. But the Roman pontiffs, the chief priests of Christendom, stood forth flagrant and frightful sinners. There can be no more striking demonstration of the spiritual gloom and moral obtuseness of this truly dark age than the fact that Christendom did not shrink in horror from such monstrous chiefs and cast away their authority—that these pontifical enormities engendered no spiritual revolt and no ecclesiastical revolution. The inferior offences of the Avignon popes, the lesser scandals of the Western Schism, shook England and estranged Bohemia, stirred up Wycliffe and raised up Huss. The scarcely superior atrocities of Alexander VI. had much to do with producing Luther and hastening the Reformation. But the fullness of time was not yet come; men were in the dark ages. The partial revolt of the fourteenth century took place amidst some intellectual light; the victorious uprising of the sixteenth century came to pass in the full blaze of intellectual day. But the mind of the tenth century was in darkness and fetters; and this bondage of its intellect darkened its conscience and disabled its soul. The intellect has been sometimes slandered by the votaries of that moral sense and that spiritual truth whereof it is the cordial ally and mighty helper. Not without awakened mind can the moral sense rise up in its strength, or spiritual truth and freedom win their victories. The ninth and tenth centuries were dark with an exceeding darkness. The enormity of papal performances failed to disclose to the dull-eyed age the enormity of papal pretensions; gross-hearted Christendom put up with its contemptible and horrible chiefs; its conscience and its soul shared the slumber of its intellect.<sup>24</sup>

The tenth century, however, though utterly incapable of clear vision and adequate indignation, was not quite insensible to these Roman horrors and ignominies; these pontifical monsters were despised and abhorred by the high hearts and holy souls

<sup>24</sup> Baronius, an. 1000, beholds in this obtuseness to papal enormities not the shame of Christendom, but the glory of the Roman Church.

of the age, called forth episcopal rebukers, and provoked imperial chastisers. The Holy Roman Empire, which had fallen very low under the descendants of Charlemagne, became a power again under its great Saxon chiefs, and, singularly enough, undertook the reform of the papacy which had hallowed it. The last Carolingian Cæsar, Charles the Fat, king of France, Germany, and Italy, was cast out of his many realms by the contempt of his subjects, and sank into sore and sordid need, about 888; whereupon sundry Lombard princes called themselves Roman emperors, and intrigued and quarrelled with the profligate popes who crowned them, while the Magyars carried fire and sword throughout Italy and Germany, and exacted tribute alike from Lombards and Teutons. The East Franks, Saxons, Suabians, and other German tribes whom Charles the Great had gathered together under one sceptre, at the end of the ninth century and on the decay of his race parted company with the West Franks. These last for a while endured his feeble descendants, soon lost their Teutonic tongue, and became the French nation; while the Germans gathered round a mighty man and a noble race. Henry the Fowler, whom they made king in 919, ranks high as a national and a Christian hero, vanquished the heathen Hungarians at Meersburg, knit Germany together into a great state, and uplifted it above every other power of Christendom. His work was mightily advanced by his son, Otho the Great, before whom the Magyar invaders were utterly discomfited at Augsburg (955), and were finally driven within the borders of Hungary. The wandering horde of heathen devastators ere long settled down under St. Stephen into a Christian nation, and from the scourge became the bulwark of Christendom, but have ever remained a race of warriors and freemen. The Hungarians have ever upholden their long-descended freedom with singular steadfastness, and have in our day inspired admiration as lively as the terror which their forefathers inspired. A like transformation was wrought upon still more terrible heathens. The Northmen who so hideously desolated France during the ninth century, and for deliverance from whose wrath the French Church offered up a special prayer, found a dwelling-place in France and received the Christian religion under Rollo at the beginning of the tenth century, and in their new land of Normandy became the most devout believers, while they remained the most valiant warriors of the age. The Danish conquerors of Northern and Eastern England

about the same time subsided into Christians and Englishmen, though their heathen countrymen from Scandinavia ere long renewed their inroads. Some years before other Northmen under Rurik passed over from Sweden into Russia (862), and drew together the Slavonian tribes into that Russian nation which in the next century received Christianity from Constantinople, which, though smitten by the Tartars and tempted by the popes, still clung to its national life and anti-papal traditions, which in these latter ages has expanded into one of the great powers of the world, and which, on August 25, 1862, celebrated with no unbecoming pride and no unmeaning pomp its thousandth birthday.<sup>25</sup> The Poles took for themselves a chief in Piast, and became a nation about 900. Most of the present nations of Europe began their separate existence about this time.

Under its wise and valiant Henry, under its great and glorious Otho, Germany towered above them all. The Germans felt that to their nation belonged that Holy Roman Empire established by that mightiest of all Germans, Charles the Great, and that to their king appertained the sovereignty of Italy and the nomination of the popes. Petty Italian princes and noble Roman strumpets had taken upon themselves to nominate pontiffs, and had nominated monsters. Otho the Great undertook to uplift the fallen Roman empire and to purify the polluted Roman pontificate—to reform the latter for the honour and service of the former. The pontiff himself, John XII., the infamous grandson of Marozia, invited him into Italy, by no means as a reformer of the popedom, but as a helper against hostile neighbours and subjects. In 962 Otho descended from the Alps, put down the petty tyrants of Italy, received the imperial crown from the pope, and bound the Roman clergy and people not to elect a bishop without the emperor's leave. After some experience of the vices and perfidy of this pontifical monster, Otho drove him from Rome and convened a council there, which, after hearing grievous accusations against John, solemnly deposed him, put Leo VIII. in his place, and dealt in no tender or respectful fashion with the papal monarchy. In fact, Otho

<sup>25</sup> Many states and nations have lived a thousand years and more. The French monarchy may fairly count from Clovis, about 1380 years. The English nation may begin from the Heptarchy, and reckon 1300 years; Venice claimed 1300; the papacy, apart from the bishopric of Rome, has lived 1100. But the only states which have consciously remembered their age, and solemnly kept their thousandth birthday, are Russia and heathen Rome, which in the reign of Philip, on April 21, A. D. 247, did what Russia has just done.

thoroughly subjected to the empire that papacy which he sought to reform; set popes up and pulled popes down at his good pleasure; drove one pontiff to die in exile, and carried off another to die in a German prison; while his nominee Pope Leo forbade the election of a pontiff without the imperial permission, made over the papal states to Otho, and laid both the spiritual and temporal popedom at the feet of his imperial patron.<sup>26</sup> In obedience to that strange law which bound together the fortunes of Cæsar and pontiff, the renewed and reinvigorated empire took in hand the cleansing of the popedom from some of its personal filth, and found the business long, hard, and troublesome. The Holy Roman Empire sought to return the hallowing which it had received from the papacy. But it was easier to call the empire holy than to make the popedom clean. Under the three Saxon Othos, their kinsman Henry, and the early Franconian Cæsars (962-1050), the pontiffs led a very evil, a very stormy, and a very humiliating life. They did very ill; they fared very ill at the hands of the emperors, of the Romans, and of each other; disputed successions, depositions, expulsions, executions, and enormous vices abounded.<sup>27</sup> A popular leader arose at Rome (985); Crescentius sought to revive the Roman republic, took the title of consul, made himself master of the city, and gaoler and tormentor of the pontiffs. Between the renewed republic and the reinvigorated empire the popedom came in for much trouble and contumely. Consul Crescentius had a pope of his own; Cæsar Otho III. had a pope of his own. The consul drove out the pontiff of the emperor, who in return hanged Crescentius and yielded up his pontiff to the tender mercies of a mutilating and murderous multitude, and was himself poisoned by the widow of his consular victim.<sup>28</sup> The same Otho raised to the papal throne his preceptor Gerbert, the supreme intellect and most accomplished scholar of the age, in the eyes of contemporary superstition a wizard of portentous power, but most remarkable and abominable in the eyes of papal champions as a vehement assailant of that very pontifical

<sup>26</sup> Luitprand, lib. vi. c. 6-14. Amalricus, apud Muratori, tom. iii. part ii. pp. 322-30. Baronius, an. 962, n. 3, 4, 5. The worthy bishop of Cremona, who took part in deposing John, sets forth the enormities of the papal monster as earnestly as he sets forth the virtues of the imperial reformer (Luitprand, lib. vi. c. 6).

<sup>27</sup> Boniface VII. strangled Benedict VI. (974), was driven out by Benedict VII., came back, and had John XV. stoned to death in 986. Baronius, an. 974-986. Muratori, tom. iii. part ii. pp. 330-656.

<sup>28</sup> Baronius, an. 996.

chair into which he was afterwards thrust as Sylvester II. (998–1002). At the council of Rheims he and other French bishops fell upon the polluted popedom. Arnulph of Orleans denounced the crimes and denied the spiritual omnipotence of the pontiffs, and proclaimed a pope robed in gold and purple, but without love and lowliness, to be Antichrist sitting in the temple of God;<sup>29</sup> while Gerbert, created by that assembly archbishop of Rheims in defiance of the Roman See, upheld the liberties of the French Church, and disputed the supremacy of that papal throne which he afterwards mounted to the exceeding indignation of papal advocates, who with reason deem that throne less unworthily occupied by reckless robbers and loathsome sinners.<sup>30</sup>

In the thick darkness and deep degradation amidst which the tenth century was drawing towards its end, a glorious vision for a moment broke upon dull-eyed Christendom; a sublime expectation for a moment uplifted the grovelling Church. The thousand years which had almost passed since the Lord took the flesh were strangely mistaken for the millennium of the Apocalypse; the exceeding grimness and foulness of the time were regarded as the prelude to the loosing of Satan for a final struggle, and the reappearing of the Redeemer for His final victory. As the hope that the Lord was at hand burned in the longing heart and beamed in the uplifted eye of the early Church; as it lent a fuller fire to the faith and shed a more contagious glory upon the holiness of the first century; as ages later it strengthened and kindled the Hussites of Bohemia in their fierce fight with the Roman Church; as it heightened the souls and magnified the deeds of the English Puritans—so the same hope put forth its ennobling power upon the mean and melancholy tenth century, and breathed a momentary glory upon the corrupt and idolatrous christianity of the age. Preachers of peace stayed for a while the incessant warfare of fierce princes and barons; the truce of God was loudly proclaimed, and not ill observed. The valiant and devout Norman at home in his new land, and zealous for his new faith, foresaw not the wide

<sup>29</sup> 'Quid hunc, reverendissimi Patres, in sublimi solio residentem, veste purpurata et auro radiantem, quid hunc, inquam, esse censetis? Nimirum si charitate destituitur, solaque scientia inflatur et extollitur, Antichristus est sedens in templo Dei, et se ostendens tanquam sit Deus.'—Baronius, an. 991.

<sup>30</sup> 'Tanta sede ut libere fatear indignissimus, cujus et hostis extiterit infensissimus.'—*Ibid.* an. 1002.

career of earthly conquest upon which he was about to enter, but awaited in humble awe the coming of the Heavenly King, and perhaps asked himself if in the army of the Divine Conqueror there would be room for his fiery zeal and his formidable lance. The Frenchman slightly regarded the fall of the second and the rise of the third dynasty, cared little for the vanished royalty of the race of Charlemagne and the exaltation of Hugh Capet to the throne of France (987), a throne which his posterity was to hold for more than 800 years, in the full assurance that all earthly thrones would soon fall before the Heavenly Throne, and that the French monarchy would speedily be lost in the universal and everlasting monarchy of the Son of David and the Son of God. The Spaniard slackened in his conflict with the Moors, nor anticipated that a work of five centuries remained to be done ere the fatherland would be all won back from the Mohammedans, as he looked for the Lord to descend for the utter overthrow of the misbelievers, to subvert the throne of Cordova, and break the sword of Almansor. The English less valiantly withstood the onslaught of the heathen Danes, and better brooked the backwardness of Ethelred the Unready, as they listened for the chariot-wheels of the Invincible Prince who would make haste to avenge His people upon their enemies. And the higher and holier souls of Christendom less bitterly chafed beneath the enormities of papal monsters as they watched for the first far-off shining of the advent of that Almighty King who would Himself uplift and purify His fallen and polluted Church, and chastise and replace His unworthy vicars.<sup>31</sup>

This series of profligate pontiffs reached far into the eleventh century, notwithstanding the earnest efforts and sometimes the saintly example of imperial reformers. While these vicars of Christ, disdainful of common vices, wallowed in unutterable and inconceivable filth, contemporary kings and Cæsars soared above vulgar virtues in quest of superhuman sanctity. The emperor Henry II. (1002-1024), too holy for ordinary wedlock, lived with his congenial consort Cunegunda as brother with sister, just as another monarch of that age, our own Edward the Confessor, lived with the lovely, learned, and saintly Edith.<sup>32</sup> The Roman pontiffs, however, did not learn from these royal and imperial

<sup>31</sup> Abbo, *adversus Arnulphum* (*Codex Canonum*, pp. 401, 402, Paris, 1687), who wrote against the expectation, bears witness to its universal prevalence. 'Fama pene totum mundum impleverat.'

<sup>32</sup> Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, July 15, October 13.

saints. In 1033, a boy of twelve years became the recognised head of Christendom, under the name of Benedict IX. As the boy grew up into a profligate man, Sylvester III. was set up against him, and drove him out of Rome. Benedict, however, by the help of powerful connections, came back and drove out Sylvester; but finding the papal chair a somewhat troublesome and dangerous seat, he sold the sovereignty of Christendom to Gregory VI., and retired into the private practice of all vice. Ambition returned, and he sought again to indulge his lusts on the pontifical throne; so that three successors of St. Peter were in the field together.<sup>33</sup> In this nethermost deep of shame there arose another imperial reformer. On the death of the last Saxon Cæsar, the saintly Henry II. (1024), the empire passed to Conrad of Franconia, an energetic and successful prince; and Conrad's still more vigorous and victorious son, Henry III., undertook the cleansing of the polluted papacy. In 1046 he crossed the Alps, deposed the three rival pontiffs, exacted an oath from the Roman clergy and people that they would not choose a pope without the imperial leave, put in succession into the papal chair three or four short-lived occupants personally pure and upright, and set up for the absolute master as well as the cleanser of the Roman See.<sup>34</sup> As wielded by Henry III., the Holy Roman Empire put forth its utmost might and majesty, a might and majesty that would have gladdened and satisfied Dante; the purified papacy was its humble handmaiden.

But this position of the papacy in nowise delighted its best friends. Henry III. had two parties in the Church against him; the reformer was unwelcome to the loose and pleasure-loving clergy, strong and numerous under so long a succession of profligate pontiffs; while the master was no less unwelcome to the stricter and more aspiring members of the priesthood. These last abhorred the scandals of the time, the simony which pervaded the Church, and the profligacy which polluted the papal throne, not only as spiritual abominations, but as ecclesiastical disadvantages, not only as sins against God, but as hindrances to the greatness of the Church, as obstacles to the establishment of the papal monarchy. They held the bestowal of an ecclesiastical office to be the unforgivable transgression in a layman,

<sup>33</sup> Muratori, tom. iii. pt. ii. pp. 340-44. Baronius, an. 1033, n. 1 et seq.; an. 1044, n. 1 et seq.

<sup>34</sup> Otho Frisingensis, *Chronicon*, lib. vi. c. 32, 33. Muratori, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 340. Baronius, an. 1046-49, passim.



and the purchase or even the acceptance of the same to be the sin unto death in a priest. A married priest, however, was not less abominable than a simoniacal priest; and they recoiled with no less horror from matrimony among the clergy than from portentous profligacy in the vicar of Christ.<sup>35</sup> They welcomed the imperial cleanser, but chafed beneath the imperial master. They wanted the papacy purified that it might become not a handmaiden but a mistress. They used the empire to cleanse the popedom, and then wielded the purified popedom for the subjugation of the empire. They took the rigid and unstained popes of Henry's appointing, and sought to mould them into ambitious and enterprising sovereigns of the Church. They set about converting imperial nominees into papal monarchs. On the death of Damasus II. (1049), the Roman clergy and people awaited the will of their German master, who sent them a strict and devout German bishop, Leo IX. On his journey to Rome Leo stopped at the French monastery of Cluny, where, more than a century afterwards, Abelard prayed and died; here he fell in with a young Italian sojourner, Hildebrand, who persuaded him to undo as far as he could the imperial nomination by doffing the robes of sovereignty, by entering Rome as a pilgrim and not as a pope, and resuming them after his election there. Leo followed the advice, took the adviser with him to Rome, and straightway promoted Hildebrand.<sup>36</sup>

A great man was now in his right place: Hildebrand now began his great work. No man ever more clearly knew what he wanted, no man more unswervingly pursued his object, and few men more completely attained it, than did this marvellous aggrandiser of the Roman See. To rule, and it may be to regenerate, the world through the papal power—to make the pope absolute over the Church, and the Church absolute over the State, to revive imperial Rome in papal Rome—to bring about this, he devoted an inflexible will, an ample genius, a

<sup>35</sup> St. Bruno, in his life of Pope Leo IX. (Muratori, tom. iii. pt. ii. pp. 348-54), in enumerating the scandals of the time, ends with the anti-climax of clerical wedlock: 'The whole world lay in wickedness, or in the wicked one (*mundus totus in maligno positus erat*); there was an utter dearth of holiness, righteousness was no more, and truth was in the tomb; iniquity was supreme, avarice held sway; Simon Magus lorded it over the Church; bishops and priests were given over to pleasure and whoredom; priests did not blush to take wives openly; they got wedded, they formed unholy marriages' (pp. 346-7).

<sup>36</sup> *Vita Sancti Leonis*, Muratori, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 349. Baronius, an. 1069, no. 1, 2, 3.

wonderful power over the minds of men, and the incessant labours of thirty-five years. He may have had lofty spiritual ends, but they were merged in his ecclesiastical objects. He may have combined the love of souls with the pursuit of pontifical domination; but the evangelist was swallowed up in the pontifical champion. The Roman Church recognised him as her guide long before he became her head. Pope after pope was chosen by his influence, filled with his spirit and led by his counsels. A vigorous warfare was waged against simony and clerical matrimony; imperial interference in the making of pontiffs and bishops was at first covertly and then openly resisted. The work was greatly furthered by the death of Henry III. in 1056, the most potent of all the German Cæsars and the most absolute master that the Roman See has ever known except Marozia and Philip the Fair of France. A true man of might, he might have baffled even Hildebrand; a true Cæsar, he might have kept the papacy in bondage; but his widow Agnes and his infant son Henry IV. were no meet opponents of the mighty Roman champion, who made the most of the opportunity. In 1059, he got from Stephen II. a solemn declaration of the incompatibility of marriage with the priesthood, got the papal election regulated to the disadvantage of the empire, and at last, in 1061, got Alexander II. chosen pope without any imperial intervention.<sup>37</sup>

But Rome was not the only scene of Hildebrand's activity; priests and pontiffs were not his only creatures and instruments. The eleventh century far surpassed its immediate predecessors in life and productive energy, intellectual and political. Its mighty men the Normans, busy and victorious everywhere, subjugators of Southern Italy and Sicily, conquerors of England, and vanquishers of the Eastern and the Western emperors, combined with their irresistible valour and military skill fervent devotion and a lively love of learning. William the Conqueror was not more undeniably the greatest prince of the age than the Lombard Lanfranc, whom he made archbishop of Canterbury, was its greatest scholar. If England found that Norman yoke, under which she fell in this century, harsh and oppressive, she found it in the end invigorating and renewing. If France, under the new dynasty of the Capets, did not at once become a powerful monarchy, if she remained during this age politically

<sup>37</sup> Baronius, an. 1059, n. 24, 37; an. 1061, passim.

weak, she waxed intellectually and socially strong ; her feudalism was potent and contagious ; her mind was active and communicative. The Normans bore her language, her customs, and her intellectual tendencies, across the Alps and over the Channel. Berenger, the chief theologian of the time, was a Frenchman ; and the controversy about transubstantiation, whereof he was the foremost impugner and Lanfranc the foremost champion, was mainly a French controversy. In this century, too, the Spaniards, under the Cid and king Alphonso VI. of Castile, got for the first time clearly and decidedly the better of their Mohammedan conquerors, and became sure of that victory which it took yet four centuries to win. And this age, so full of great men and so thronged with great events, bowed before Hildebrand as before its master-spirit. Everywhere he schemed and wrought for the glory of the Roman See ; he pressed all sorts of men into the service. His energy pervaded Christendom and subjected alike the chief thinkers and the chief rulers of the age—Lanfranc and Berenger, Robert the Wizard and William the Bastard. Not without his intervention was the victory secured to transubstantiation ; not without his interference were kingdoms lost and won. At the beginning of his career the great military power of the age had formed a close alliance with the Roman See. The exploits of the Normans were the marvels of the time. Conquerors of Southern Italy with wonderful rapidity and against tremendous odds, they aroused the fear and hate of all their neighbours by their astonishing valour and extraordinary rapacity. A confederacy was formed against them with Pope Leo IX. at its head. In 1053 the pontiff went forth to battle against them, saw his numerous army utterly discomfited by a little band of these matchless warriors at Civitella, and won from his defeat and captivity honours and advantages such as the most splendid victories seldom bring. The victorious Normans knelt in shame and sorrow before their vanquished captive, accepted their own conquests as papal fiefs, and became tributaries of the defeated Roman See, which thus strangely acquired the sovereignty of Naples and Sicily.<sup>38</sup> The vicar of Christ was not only a king and a king-maker, but became a feudal lord. Thirteen years afterwards another and a still more memorable victory of the Normans brought scarcely

<sup>38</sup> *Sancti Leonis Vita*, Muratori, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 350. Gaufridi Malaterræ *Historia Sicula*, Muratori, tom. v. p. 553. William of Apulia, in his poem, *De Rebus Normannorum*, strikingly describes the battle of Civitella (Muratori, tom. v. pp. 259-61).

less gain and glory to the popedom than did this fortunate overthrow. Whilst the Normans fought at Civitella against the papal standard and beneath the papal curse, on the more famous field of Hastings the banner of Rome waved over their army, and the curse of Rome lay upon the English host. The Norman conquest was a victory of the popedom, and in no small measure the work of Hildebrand. He at once lent himself to the ambition of William and the proposals of Lanfranc, eagerly seized this opportunity of taking away and giving kingdoms, doomed an unoffending nation to subjection for the honour and profit of the Roman See, procured for the Normans a papal banner and a papal bull, hallowed a most unrighteous invasion, and enjoyed a most ruthless conquest.<sup>39</sup>

At last the master-spirit of the age won the foremost place in Christendom. In 1073 Hildebrand became Gregory VII. The guide of the papacy during twenty-five years became pope. The chief upholder of the papal monarchy became the monarch. At the head of a host at once obedient and enthusiastic, severely disciplined and intensely inspired, the captain of an army of priests filled with one spirit and set upon one object, purified from all soft and shameful vices, delivered from the enervation of simony and the distraction of wedlock, Gregory advanced to the conquest of the world, to the humiliation of all thrones beneath the pontifical throne, and to the establishment of another Roman empire, which he fondly believed would be universal and everlasting.

The second act of the papal drama may be said to have closed here; the second period of the popedom came to an end—a period of about three hundred years, from the middle of the eighth to the latter portion of the eleventh century (750–1073), from the close of its connection with the Greek empire to the beginning of its conflict with the German empire—a period which found the pope an influential personage and left him a temporal sovereign; which found him predominant and left him monarch in the Church; which found his spiritual sovereignty vigorously asserted, and left his infallibility all but unquestioned—a period for the most part of general violence, suffering, darkness, confusion, and almost of dissolution—a period of manifold debasement for the popedom, of defilement by monsters, and of subjection to princes—a period

<sup>39</sup> Baronius, an. 1066, n. 3–6.

bitterly bemoaned by the devotees, and not unenjoyed by the foes, of the Roman Church—but yet a period of decided growth, though of very slow, gradual, and often-hindered growth, for the papacy. Amidst the general darkness the popedom glared more broadly; the wildness and confusion everywhere were favourable to the advance of a power in real harmony with the evil time while pretending to be above it. The spiritual authority of the papal chair steadily grew while that chair was in the occupation of depraved boys and monstrous men.

But the papacy was to exhaust the whole experience of an earthly polity, to be visited by every change, to know all the weal and all the woe, all the ignominy and all the glory whereof a kingdom of this world is capable. The period of comparative weakness and utter shame was to be succeeded by a season of marvellous might and majesty. From being at once horrible and contemptible, the popedom was to become awful and terrible. The vicars of Christ, after having outsinned the monarchs of this world in grovelling lusts and personal profligacy, were to leave them far behind in width of sway and absoluteness of dominion, in sternness of pride and fierceness of wrath.

## BOOK III.

## THE TRIUMPHS OF THE POPEDOM.

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Great mistress of her art was that false dame,  
The false Duessa, clokéd with Fidessa's name.  
*Faerie Queen*, i. vii. 1.

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THE Cæsar and the Pontiff stand forth the two central and most conspicuous figures of the Middle Ages. For some two or three centuries the Holy Roman Empire and the Holy Roman Church were the chief powers of the world. The utterly secularised Christian Church, and the nominally consecrated Roman Empire, that strange pair brought together so strangely and in such complete defiance of the birth and original nature of each, stood side by side at the head of Christendom. The age approved their connection and admitted their joint supremacy, assigning to the empire the chief place in the temporal region, and to the papacy the chief place in the spiritual region.<sup>1</sup> This seemed a simple and symmetrical arrangement, but it was

<sup>1</sup> Dante associates, crowns, and consummates his theory of life with this joint and harmonious sovereignty of pope and emperor. In his treatise *De Monarchia*, he thus speaks: 'Two ends has the unalterable providence of God set before man to be striven after, to wit, the blessedness of this life which lies in the exercise of his own virtue (quæ in operatione propriæ virtutis consistit), and the blessedness of the life everlasting which lies in the enjoyment of the sight of God (quæ consistit in fruitione divini aspectus), and to which man's own virtue cannot climb unless holpen by light from heaven. . . . Wherefore there was need of a twofold guidance in accordance with this twofold end, to wit, of the sovereign pontiff, who in accordance with revelation (secundum revelata) should lead mankind onward to life everlasting; and of the emperor, who in accordance with philosophy should guide mankind toward temporal happiness' (Dante, *de Monarchia*, apud Johannem Oporinum, Basileæ, 1659, pp. 176-7). The imperial theory is well and briefly put by the greatest of the emperors, Frederick Redbeard, in a letter referring to the contest between the rival popes, Alexander III. and Victor II.: 'Whereas during His passion Christ said of the two swords that they were enough (quod in passione sua Christus duobus gladiis contentus fuit), we believe that in His wonderful foresight He made this declaration with reference to the Roman Church and the empire, inasmuch as these two heads and leading powers of mankind have the direction of the whole world in divine as well as in human things' (Radevicus, *de Gestis Frederici*, l. ii. c. 50).

spoiled by the double nature of the Roman Church. The two powers, while fully recognising each other's legitimacy, could not agree to reign together, but each sought to reign over the other; or rather, the empire held to the theory of joint sovereignty, while the popedom, as became the kingdom of this world calling itself a kingdom not of this world, sought to realise the theory of its own sole sovereignty. The Cæsars allowed the spiritual and doctrinal supremacy of the pontiffs, were willing to leave the souls and consciences of men under their dominion; but they demanded their obedience in matters temporal, and demanded it as the successors of those old Roman Cæsars to whom in all such matters the first Christians had yielded entire submission—claimed them as subjects in all affairs of this world, while acknowledging them as masters in affairs of faith.

But this spiritual mastery in nowise satisfied the pontiffs. By very reason of this supremacy over souls, they claimed supremacy over states. Recognising the empire as the chief among merely temporal powers, the popedom pretended to be above it even in matters of this world. If the early Church had rendered absolute obedience to the Roman empire in all secular matters, the papacy had made the empire over to the Germans, had sanctified it, and had the rights of a new creator over its creature. The papal theory was altogether incompatible with the imperial theory. The Cæsar required obedience in temporal matters from his papal subject; the pontiff demanded submission in all things from his imperial creature. The two great powers of the Middle Ages, the two chiefs of Christendom, so closely connected with each other, so curiously dependent on each other, fell out, and fought to ascertain which of the two really and practically was master of the other.

This conflict between the empire and the papacy was inevitable. It arose about bishop-making; it arose in consequence of the twofold character which the Church had assumed as a spiritual and worldly kingdom. The bishops were at once pastors and barons, pillars of the Church and pillars of the State; advancement to a bishopric was advancement to a barony. The emperor claimed the chief share in promoting his subjects; the pope claimed the chief share in promoting his. The Christian people had long lost their original right of choosing their pastors. A man once invested with the ring and the staff was deemed a proper bishop; Cæsar and pontiff fell

out as to which of the two should confer this investiture.<sup>2</sup> But the quarrel did not stop here ; it broadened and deepened into an all-pervading and mortal enmity. The question whether bishop-making was a papal or imperial function grew into the question whether the civil or ecclesiastical power should have the mastery in all things ; the contest between pope and emperor for supremacy in the secularised Church was aggravated into a struggle for supremacy in the world, for universal dominion.

This conflict covers almost exactly the whole period of papal greatness, from the accession of Gregory VII. to the death of Boniface VIII. (1073-1303), and stands out as its most signal and glaring fact, as the great business of the Middle Ages. It lasted about two centuries, and had every characteristic of a deadly struggle between two powers of this world, aggravated and embittered by the spiritual pretensions of one of the combatants. It employed large armies, involved fierce battles and long sieges, shed torrents of blood, and was signalised by enormous crimes. It was carried on with peculiar stubbornness and inveteracy. Pontiff after pontiff passed away, yet still the papacy maintained the fight ; Cæsar after Cæsar was gathered to his fathers, yet still the empire continued the struggle. The pope stirred up civil war in the empire, and the emperor stirred up civil war in the Church. The pontiff seduced the family as well as the subjects of the Cæsar, wrung his heart as well as shook his throne ; the son was set up against the sire, and the bonds of nature were torn asunder, to secure the triumph of the Roman Church. The pope bestowed the imperial crown upon a rebellious subject or son of the emperor ; the emperor conferred the pontifical crown upon a discontented and aspiring cardinal. So great were the interests at stake, and so strong the passions in conflict, that a papal candidate for the empire, when once on the imperial throne, became a strenuous upholder of its dignity ; while an episcopal partisan of the Cæsars, when once seated on the pontifical throne, became a vehement assertor of its claims. Yet this was through-

<sup>2</sup> Melchior Goldastus, the great imperial jurist, has, in his huge collections of imperial tractates, *Monarchia Romani Imperii, Sacra Monarchia, Apologia pro Henrico IV.* (Hanau, 1612, 1620), gathered together much literature *de Investitura Episcoporum*. Donizzo, in his curious versified life of Countess Matilda, thus rudely but exactly states the matter by the mouth of Cæsar Henry V. :

‘ Annulus et fustis per me detur volo cunctis  
Præsulibus nostri regni, ceu mos fuit olim ’—

‘ It is my will that ring and staff by me conferrèd be  
On all the prelates of our realm, as was done formerly.’



out a contest for dominion, not a warfare of destruction. The Cæsars fully acknowledged that papacy which they so steadfastly strove to resist; the pontiffs amply recognised that empire which they so mightily laboured to subdue, even when they combined with this contest for the subjection of the imperial throne a war of extermination against a particular imperial house. This tremendous warfare raged almost continuously for two centuries, with now and then a lull from exhaustion, and with now and then a brief truce, as the strife slackened in the hands of some less capable and tenacious emperor, of some less vigorous and grasping pope. The warfare called forth consummate genius and intense devotion on both sides; mighty Cæsars were encountered by mighty pontiffs; the popedom and the empire, the Church and the State, had each its gifted lovers and champion, its self-immolating heroes and martyrs,<sup>3</sup> and had

<sup>3</sup> Curiously enough, while the papal cause drew to itself warriors not less valiant than did the imperial cause, the imperial theory had far more attractions for subtle thinkers and powerful intellects than had the papal theory. No intellectual champion of the popedom can be compared for a moment with Occam or Marsilius of Padua—without bringing in the unapproachable might and majesty of the transcendent imperialist, Dante. It is difficult for a modern mind to understand the enthusiasm with which the Holy Roman Empire inspired so many gifted intellects. Witness the multitudinous treatises which Melchior Goldastus has thronged into his huge folios. The writers thereof are vehemently in love with the cause that they defend. Jordanus, in his treatise *de Translatione Imperii*, apud *Monarchiam* Melchioris Goldasti, tom. ii. p. 1466, dilates on the exceeding honourableness of the Roman Empire, and shows how it was especially honoured by Christ. In the masterly tractate *de Monarchia*, which Dante consecrated to the glory of the empire, and wherein the great schoolman and the great poet are equally visible, he shows that the Roman people rightly acquired the dominion of the world, that their dominion passed to the Cæsars and came down to the present German princes, that the Roman emperor has no maker and master but God, confutes certain allegorical perversions of Scripture urged by the papists, such as the two lights and the two swords, and rejoices in the glory which Christ put upon the empire by coming into this world as its subject and on occasion of an imperial census, by recognising its coinage and enjoining obedience to Cæsar, and by accepting death from the doom of its officer and at the hands of its soldiers. He indignantly exclaims: 'Let those, therefore, who pretend to be sons of the Church, leave off reviling the Roman Empire, since they see how her bridegroom Christ put such honour upon it at each term of His warfare (cum videant Christum sponsum illud sic in utroque termino suæ militiæ comprobasse). O happy Roman people, O thou glorious Italy, if either that weakener (the pope) of thy empire (infirmator ille tui imperii) had never arisen, or if his pious intention had never deceived him!' (c. 2, in fine). Dante will not allow the Church the least authority over the empire, but logically demolishes the claim. 'That power which has no being or no vigour while another is in possession of its full vigour is not the cause of that vigour (Illud, quo non existente aut quo non virtuante aliud habet totam suam virtutem, non est causa illius virtutis). But when the Church had no being or no vigour, the empire was in all its vigour; therefore the Church is not the cause of the vigour of the empire, nor consequently

each its allies in great events, in potent principles and passions. Other matters were drawn into the struggle; other principles mingled in the fray between the papal and the imperial power. Contemporaneous events interfered somewhat with the conflict; the Crusades, for instance, now mitigated and now inflamed it. The battle of Italian freedom got blended with the battle between papacy and imperialism; and the peril and the victory of Italian liberty were more than once the peril and the victory of papal power. The Guelfs were sometimes democratic as well as pontifical partisans; the Ghibelins were sometimes champions of an aristocracy not less than of the empire. While the mere Papist will certainly be a Guelf, and the mere Protestant will probably be a Ghibelin, the sympathy of a wide-minded large-hearted man will not be always and altogether on one side. Political predilections will be mainly with the Italian republics which, in alliance with the popedom, resisted the empire, with the heroism of Milan and with the glory of Florence; while personal feelings, whether of pity or admiration, will be chiefly stirred by emperors and imperial champions—by Henry IV., dethroned by his son, brought almost to beggary, and bereft of burial through the immortal malice of the papacy; by Frederick II., bearing up for twenty-five years beneath the anathemas which pope after pope heaped upon him, and against the hosts of enemies which pontiff after pontiff raised up against him; or by Dante invoking a regenerated empire to the rescue of divided Italy and for the punishment of ungrateful Florence, or turning from the broken wing and dimmed eye of the imperial eagle on earth, to behold the beloved bird renewed and glorified in heaven, to rejoice beneath its burning eye and discourse with its immortal youth among the blessed.

The two beginners of this long and mighty fray were Hildebrand, enthroned in 1073 as Pope Gregory VII., and Henry IV. of Franconia, king of Germany, and son of Cæsar Henry III., that reformer and master of the papacy. Never were an-

of its authority, since its vigour and authority are one and the same thing' (p. 168). Throughout the *Divina Commedia* Dante follows the empire with no less affection, invokes the imperial presence in Italy, rebukes sluggish and careless Cæsars, places the murderers of Julius Cæsar in the nethermost deep of hell (*Inferno*, xxxiv. 64), gives the imperial lawgiver Justinian a high rank among the inhabitants of Heaven (*Paradiso*, v.-vi.), and by one of his boldest flights throws a portion of the heavenly host into the form of the imperial eagle, to which he lends utterance, and with which he holds conference (*Paradiso*, xviii.-xix.).

tagonists more unequally matched. Against the master-spirit of the age, a veteran ecclesiastic filled with a grand ambition, endowed with a potent genius and an inflexible will, immovable himself but mighty to move others, fanatically intent upon the fulfilment of one design, and exercised from his youth up by successful conflicts for its accomplishment, was set a young, wayward, wilful, irresolute prince, more alive to pleasure than to ambition, fond of his own way, but with no fixedness of purpose, valiant and energetic by fits and starts, but with no commanding ability, the creature of circumstances and the slave of impulse, now an utter craven and now almost a hero. Gregory beheld in the imperial power the main obstacle to papal aggrandisement, and in the imperial court the chief opponents of his designs, bishops of the emperor's making and patrons of a married clergy. He began by excommunicating some of Henry's counsellors and favourites, and, with the help of some discontented German princes, frightened the young monarch into dismissing them. Soon afterwards, however, Henry defeated his rebels, recalled his counsellors, and made more bishops; whereupon the pontiff summoned him as a criminal to Rome, and threatened excommunication in case of disobedience. The Cæsar replied through an assembly of bishops at Worms, which proclaimed Gregory an evil man and an unworthy pontiff. The pope answered by a council at Rome, at which he anathematized and deposed the emperor, put forth the most extravagant pretensions of the papacy, and gave the first clear and distinct utterance to some of them, such as spiritual infallibility and temporal supremacy, the right to set doctrines up and pull princes down.<sup>4</sup> The curse of Rome inflamed the discontent of Germany; and a congress of rebellious nobles undertook to carry out the sentence of Gregory and dethrone the Cæsar. A paroxysm of terror seized upon Henry; he rushed across Germany, hurried over the Alps, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Lombard bishops and barons, who detested Gregory and his church system, hastened to the feet of the pontiff, who was sojourning with his devotee and slave, Matilda countess of Tuscany, at her castle of Canossa, and there enacted one of the famous scenes of history—a scene which has bestowed upon his name an immortality of contempt,

<sup>4</sup> Baronius, an. 1075, n. 8-13, 17, 22, 23; an. 1076, n. 1-7, 9 et seq. Othbertus Leodiensis, *de Vita Henrici IV.* apud *Apologias* Melchioris Goldasti, pp. 208, 209. *Concilium Romanum* iii. apud *Concilia*, tom. xxvi. pp. 573-577.

and which has lent the remarkable age of Hildebrand and the strange story of the popedom their proudest and most triumphant incident (January 1077). In the outer court, separated from his train, and stripped of his royal apparel, barefooted and fasting, during three days and nights of a grim winter, a young and fiery prince, the emperor of the Romans, the greatest monarch in the world, waited for leave to throw himself at the feet of an aged priest. On the fourth day leave was granted; the prostration was performed, and the imperial penitent was loosed from the papal curse, on condition, however, that he should submit to trial before a German diet, retain or resign his crown according to the sentence of Gregory, and wear no royal ornaments till his doom was pronounced.<sup>5</sup> Away from the scene of his degradation and the sight of his foe, and among his indignant and reproachful Italian partisans, Henry became a new man; the paroxysm of fear which had goaded him to the feet of Gregory was succeeded by a more lasting paroxysm of shame and wrath. He shrank from the fulfilment of the shameful compact; the pontiff insisted; and the quarrel soon passed into open war. Again Gregory laid Henry under the papal curse, again stirred up rebellion in Germany, and set up two rival Cæsars in succession against him. In return Henry had Gregory solemnly condemned and formally deposed by a synod of bishops, set up an anti-pope, brought him in triumph to Rome, had him inaugurated there as Clement III., and received the imperial crown from his hands; besieged Gregory in Castle St. Angelo, and drove him into exile. Italy sided with the Cæsar rather than with the pontiff; bishops, barons, and burghers rallied around Henry; the married clergy, whose battle he was fighting, whose relentless persecutor was his mortal foe, zealously upheld his cause. But Christendom for the most part remained faithful to Gregory; the swords of the invincible Normans were drawn in his behalf; the valiant Robert Guiscard hastened to his rescue from Greece to Italy, to repeat over Henry the victory he had just won over Alexius Comnenus, and to drive the emperor of the West, as he had driven the emperor of the East, before him.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Baronius, an. 1077, passim. *Vita et Epistolæ Gregorii VII.* apud *Concilia*, tom. xxvi. l. iv. ep. xiii. Otbertus, p. 209. Donizzo, *de Vita Comitissæ Mathildæ*, lib. ii. c. 1 (Muratori, tom. v.)

<sup>6</sup> Baronius, an. 1077-1085, passim. *Concilium Romanum* v., vi., vii., apud *Concilia*, tom. xxvi. Otho Frisingensis, *De Gestis Frederici I.* lib. i. c. 1-7. Donizzo, lib. ii. c. 1, 2. Otbertus, pp. 212, 213. Gaufridi *Sicula Historia*, lib. iii. c. 33, 37.

But Gregory found his chief consolation and support in the devotion of Countess Matilda—that type and pattern of female votaries and pious benefactresses, who lavished upon him her wealth, her company, and her services of every kind; who clung to his side in weal and woe; who enjoyed the office of his constant ministrant, and won the reputation of his mistress, and who mingled passionate attachment to the pope with fanatical regard for the popedom; who testified her tenderness for the Roman Church by taking in advanced age one of its youthful champions for her third husband, and still more strongly excited its gratitude by the bequest of her ample domains.<sup>7</sup> Her kinsman Henry found Matilda a most unscrupulous and formidable opponent, the invader of his household, and the seducer of his children. There is no reason to suspect her connection with Gregory of being anything more than the most famous instance of the attachment of a devout woman towards her spiritual guide—an attachment made more tender, but not impure, by the influence of sex.<sup>8</sup> She outlived the god of her idolatry for many years, and continued faithful to the popedom to the day of her death (1115). Hildebrand died an exile in the dominions of his Norman friend and vassal, Robert Guiscard (1085), while Henry and his pope held possession of Rome. In the midst of the terrible conflict which he had provoked, the mighty pontiff passed away. But that tremendous struggle did not absorb his energy; the subjugation of the empire did not exhaust his ambition. He attempted the conquest of Christendom, and sought to fashion all the monarchs of Europe into vassals of Rome. He was ever threatening and rebuking Philip I. of France. He forced upon Alphonso VI. of Castile, a warrior and a statesman, the Roman church-service to which he was not accustomed, and a wife for whom he did not care. He laid Bohemia under tribute, while he withheld from her, in spite of her earnest entreaty, worship and the Word in the Bohemian

<sup>7</sup> Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, tom. v. pp. 320–471, gives two lives of the countess, one in prose by an anonymous writer, and one in verse by Donizzo, who, in spite of his rude versification, is minute and not uninteresting. In his letters to his devotee, Gregory is at once tender and authoritative, commendatory and exacting. He rejoices over her piety and invites her to Rome (*Ep.* lib. i. ep. 40, 41), recommends frequent communion, enjoins especial devotion towards the Virgin, and forbids intercourse with the kinsman whom she had taken for her second husband (lib. i. ep. 47; lib. ii. ep. 36).

<sup>8</sup> Donizzo, *de Vita Mathildæ*, lib. ii. c. 8–11. Cardinal Benno thrusts no scandal about Matilda among the scandals which he throngs into his life of Hildebrand (Benno, *de Vita Hildebrandi*, apud *Apologias pro Henrico IV.* pp. 1–27).

tongue. He assumed airs of sovereignty towards the greatest heroes and rulers of the age—the mighty Norman who conquered England and the mighty Norman who conquered Naples. William the Bastard refused the homage which Gregory required, but admitted his pecuniary exactions, defended the independence of his crown better than the estates of his subjects; while in Robert the Wizard the pontiff secured a liegeman, a tributary, and a champion.<sup>9</sup> Hildebrand has the fullest right to be reputed the hero of the papacy and the architect of the papal power. He found the popedom weak and contemptible; he left it strong and terrible. He found it the creature of the empire, and he left it on the high-road to mastery not only over the empire but over Christendom. He developed its ultimate tendencies and fixed its final character. He unfolded in all the height and depth, in all the length and breadth of its pretensions, aspirations and endeavours, the kingdom of this world which called itself not of this world, and he arrogated for it secular lordship over princes by virtue of the spiritual lordship which he arrogated for it over souls. He strove to make the papacy absolute in the Church and to make the Church absolute over the State; he sought to bring the whole of life—social, political, and spiritual—beneath the papal power; he ministered to all the corruptions of the Roman Church; he brought out the full antichristian character of the popedom. The papal ideal was altogether the conception of Hildebrand, and its realisation was in great measure his work. He did not less skilfully devise the means than steadfastly pursue the end. He made war upon clerical matrimony as a source of clerical weakness, and built up papal omnipotence upon priestly celibacy. He assisted at the triumph of transubstantiation. He set the papacy in a path wherein it really walked for some time, and wherein it has affected to walk ever since. No man ever conceived a vaster or more daring design, or laboured more earnestly or successfully for its accomplishment. The great architect of papal power, the perfecter of the arch-corruption of God's truth, must needs fill a very high, though a very unenviable, place among the master-spirits of the world.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Baronius, an. 1074, n. 9-38; an. 1079, n. 16-19; an. 1080, n. 1, 50-57; an. 1084, n. 6. *Vita et Epistolæ Gregorii VII.*, apud *Concilia*, tom. xxvi. pp. 425, 426, where are given the oath and investiture of Robert.

<sup>10</sup> The greatness of Gregory is as clear to Protestants, who deem it pernicious, as to Papists, who esteem it beneficent. His personal goodness is more questionable. It is

Congenial successors pursued the work of Gregory and fiercely maintained the conflict with the empire. Urban II. (1087-97), a man of kindred spirit, carried on the war with Cæsar Henry no less stubbornly and ruthlessly, though not always prosperously. It was when cast forth from Rome by the rival pontiff, Clement, that he listened in shame and sorrow as Peter the Hermit, fresh from the Holy Land, told the tale of the Lord's persecuted people and insulted sepulchre. It was in exile that the pontiff imparted the enthusiasm that he had imbibed, stirred up the representatives of Christendom to the rescue of the Holy Land, and won from the impassioned throng assembled at Clermont the mighty and memorable cry, 'God wills it! God wills it!'<sup>11</sup> It was in the midst of a deadly struggle with its chief potentate that Urban sent forth the hosts of Christendom to smite the Mohammedans. The first rush against misbelieving Asia was contemporaneous with a terrible civil war in Christian Europe. The first crusade signalled the opening of the conflict between the Holy Roman Empire and the Holy Roman Church, just as the last crusade fell out about its close. The captain of the crusading host, the noble Godfrey of Bouillon, the subject and friend of the emperor while an affectionate son of the Church, may have more cheerfully undertaken the task which withdrew him from the scene of conflict between the master whom he loved and the pontiff whom he revered, and more heartily flung himself into the war against the misbelievers which kept him out of the strife that sundered Christendom, wherein priest fought against priest and son against father. After having set up many competitors against Henry in vain, the pope at last, with the help of the unscrupulous Matilda, turned his son Conrad into a rebel and a rival.<sup>12</sup> Conrad soon died, and Urban did not long outlive him. The same spirit dwelt in Urban's successor, Pascal II., and Henry had another son to be seduced. Henry IV. was dethroned by Henry V.: the pontiff struck down the father by the hand of the child.

amusing to compare Benno's abuse of Hildebrand (apud *Apologias pro Henrico IV.* pp. 1-27) and Othert's praises of Henry (*ibid.* pp. 204-24) with Donizzo's glorification of the pope and reviling of the emperor (*Vita Comitissæ Mathildæ*, l. i. c. 1; l. ii. c. 1-10). Othert's Latin is very tolerable for the age; the prose of the emperor's panegyrist is far more poetical than the verse of the pope's encomiast.

<sup>11</sup> Baronius, an. 1095, n. 30-40. Amalricus, *de Urbano II.* (Muratori, tom. iii. part ii. pp. 301-2). Otho Frisingensis, *Chronicon*, l. vii. c. 2-5, ed. Basilee, 1564.

<sup>12</sup> Baronius, an. 1093, c. 2; an. 1095, c. 8. Donizzo, lib. ii. c. 11-20. Othbertus, pp. 214-23.

This last blow was too much for the stricken Cæsar; his throne was gone; his heart was broken; he died in sore need and utter misery at Liege (1106). But Rome pursued her victim after death; she refused his body the refuge of the grave; and papal vengeance rejoiced at once over the unburied corpse of the excommunicated emperor and over the disinterred remains of the anti-pope Clement.<sup>13</sup> Whatever may have been the weaknesses and vices of Henry, they have been forgotten in his exceeding sorrows. The human heart which the Roman Church so ruthlessly outraged in him has taken him under its protection and avenged her victim upon her. Though vanquished in his own day, he has won the victory with posterity. Pity has made him her own, and he abides in the compassionate memory of the ages as a preeminent sufferer, as one of the world's chief stricken deer.<sup>14</sup>

An emperor had been brought low; but the empire would not yield, and still defied the popedom. Henry V. trod in the steps of the father whom he had deposed. On the imperial throne the creature of the pontiff stood forth the champion of the empire. The rebel son avenged his father's wrongs upon his pontifical tempter, marched to Rome, laid hands on Pascal, wrung from him assent to the practice of imperial bishop-making, and in many other matters vindicated the supremacy of the State over the Church (1111).<sup>15</sup> A pope had failed the popedom, but it found no lack of clerical champions who branded the weakness of Pascal as a close approach to heresy, and declared the imperial victor worthy of excommunication. The pontiff repented and recanted before a council at the Lateran (1116), and died in conflict with the excommunicated Cæsar, who, after the usual expedient of an anti-pope and the infliction of exile upon more than one pontiff, came to a compromise with Callixtus II. (1122), whereby he relinquished the right of episcopal investiture, but secured the distinct and separate be-

<sup>13</sup> Baronius, an. 1105-6, passim. Otho Frisingensis, *Chronicon*, l. vii. c. 8-12. Otbertus, pp. 214-23.

<sup>14</sup> His letter to his rebel son has an awful pathos about it, is full of deep, sharp misery (Baronius, an. 1106). Otbert thus tenderly ends his life of Henry: 'Here you have all about the exploits, the charities, the fortune, and the death of the emperor Henry—a tale which as I without tears was not able to write, so without tears you will not be able to read'—'Hic habes de gestis, de expensis in pauperes, de fortuna, de obitu Imperatoris Henrici, quæ, sicut non poterant absque lacrymis a me scribi, sic non poterunt absque lacrymis a te legi' (p. 223).

<sup>15</sup> Baronius, an. 1110-12, passim. Donizzo, l. ii. c. 19. Amalricus, *de Paschali II.* Muratori, tom. iii. part ii. pp. 363-6. Otho, *Chronicon*, l. vii. c. 14.



stowal of the temporalities, giving up the chief, but retaining a subordinate, part in the making of bishops, and thus leaving to the Roman Church a decided advantage, though not a complete victory.<sup>16</sup> Another conflict about the same matter with another Henry ended in much the same manner. In her strife with Henry Beauclerc, the wise and valiant king of England, the undegenerate son of the mighty Conqueror, and the father-in-law of the German Henry, Rome came off somewhat the victor, owing mainly to the noble champion with whom she was blessed, the high-souled and holy Anselm, the successor of Lanfranc in the see of Canterbury, and hardly inferior in learning, while superior in spiritual lore and spiritual life, to that great scholar and theologian.<sup>17</sup>

There was now a lull in the fierce fight between the Holy Roman Empire and the Holy Roman Church. Henry V. died in 1125, and with him expired the male line of the house of Franconia. His nephews Frederick and Conrad of Hohenstaufen, dukes of Suabia, who inherited the anti-papal spirit of the race to which their mother belonged, did not at once attain to the imperial throne. The empire dwindled in the hands of a papal partisan, Lothaire of Saxony (1126-37).<sup>18</sup> The popedom suffered from the violence of Roman tumults and ecclesiastical factions. Schisms were not only imperial expedients, nor anti-popes only imperial nominees. The command of Christendom was disputed for eight years (1130-38) by two competitors, both canonically elected and both strongly supported. Anacletus II. found favour with the people and clergy of Rome, with the sovereigns and cities of Italy, and died master of the pontifical city and occupant of the papal palace. The outcast Innocent II. fled to France, but found favour with the master-spirit, the greatest preacher and most popular saint of the age. St. Bernard carried his pope; he won over the sovereigns of Europe and converted the cities of Italy to the cause of Innocent, who, on the death of Anacletus, was admitted to reside, though scarcely to reign, at Rome. The spirit of liberty was once more astir in the hearts of the Romans, who reestablished the Senate in defiance of Innocent, embittered his last days (1143), assailed Pope Lucius II., whom they mutilated and did to death (1145),

<sup>16</sup> Baronius, an. 1116, 1117, 1122. Amalricus, *de Callisto II.* pp. 364-5. Otho Frisingensis, l. vii. c. 16.

<sup>17</sup> Baronius, an. 1107.

<sup>18</sup> Otho, *Chronicon*, l. vii. c. 17, 18.

and drove his successor Eugenius III., a pupil and creature of Bernard, to take refuge in France.<sup>19</sup>

The abbot of Clairvaux showed his power over the age not only by making popes, but also by getting up crusades. The Mohammedans of Western Asia soon recovered from the surprise of the first crusade, and, alarmed and stimulated rather than depressed or weakened thereby, were rapidly undoing the work of Godfrey and his companions, and were pressing hard upon the new kingdom of Jerusalem. Edessa fell, 1142; the Christians of Palestine cried out for help to their Western brethren, and the great preacher of the time was called upon to stir up Christendom. Bernard asked leave of the pontiff of his making. The Crusades were especially papal enterprises. Gregory VII. vainly aspired not only to witness but to conduct an expedition to the Holy Land.<sup>20</sup> Urban II. sent forth the First Crusade. The pontiffs had both a spiritual and a political interest in these wars, which not merely extended Christendom and magnified the pontiff to the detriment of the Khalif, but introduced papal authority among the independent churches of the East. The first crusade gave the popes new and important subjects in the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch, whom they were unwilling to lose. Eugenius III., then an exile in France, cheerfully empowered his mighty master to arouse Christendom. Bernard did the business with his wonted might and his wonted success. Christendom listened and arose; a mighty host gathered around the emperor Conrad III. and Louis VII. of France, and marched into Asia, after having precluded their exploits against the Saracens by the slaughter of the Jews, to the sorrow and indignation of the large-hearted abbot of Clairvaux. Counts and dukes were the leaders of the first crusade; the second had kings and Cæsars for its chiefs. But this was its only preeminence. Conrad and Louis led their armies to discomfiture and destruction, and left the kingdom of Jerusalem still more weakened and imperilled, and the misbelievers strengthened and elated. The second crusade was the great failure, the great woe of the age. Christendom took it deeply to heart. Pope Eugenius did his best to comfort the defeated emperor, and Bernard mourned over the mighty host which his eloquence had sent forth to destruction, and be-

<sup>19</sup> Baronius, an. 1130-45, passim. Otho, l. vii. c. 18. Amalricus, *de Innocentio II.* (Muratori, tom. iii. part ii. p. 368).

<sup>20</sup> *Gregorii VII. Epistolæ*, apud *Concilia*, tom. xxvi. ep. xxxi. pp. 156, 157.

wailed his own might and mastery over the age thus sadly signalised.<sup>21</sup>

But there were other mighty men alive and busy besides Bernard, though scarcely of kindred spirit with the great maker of popes and preacher of crusades. In that twelfth century, the noblest, most hopeful, most aspiring, and most fruitful of all the middle ages, except in England, where the greatness of their Norman monarchs and the might of their Norman masters, both bishops and barons, have served to hide the shame and forlornness of the vanquished and downtrodden English people,—in that age of manifold life on the Continent, many things were growing and becoming powers besides the papacy, and among them were powers indirectly or directly hostile to the popedom. The crusades made not the only or hardly the chief business of that potent century. Europe teemed with life and energy. The cities of Italy were fast growing into powerful republics. The spirit of liberty was astir throughout the Peninsula, and was especially strong at Rome, where it vehemently assailed the popes and invoked at once the name of the Roman people and the might of the Roman emperor against the pretensions of the Roman pontiff-prince.<sup>22</sup> A manuscript of the Pandects came to light at Amalfi in 1131, and the study of the Roman law engaged the Italian mind, and might help the imperial claims.<sup>23</sup> The intellectual life of the age showed much variety and vigour. The Langue d'Oc, the language of the south of France, was yielding a graceful literature beneath the handling of the Troubadours. But it was also wielded for other than mere literary purposes. The doctrines of the Paulicians, those Oriental Protestants, who held a scriptural and anti-sacerdotal faith tinged, it seems, with some Gnostic notions, had reached Southern France, and was over-spreading the whole region. Further east Peter des Bruys, Henry, and somewhat later Peter Waldo, were preaching a still simpler gospel; and the purer Christianity, never quite eradicated from some Alpine valleys, was taking deeper root

<sup>21</sup> Otho Frisingensis, *de Rebus Gestis Frederici I.* l. i. c. 34–45, 58–61. He ascribes the encouragement of the second crusade by Eugenius to the ambitious motive assigned in the text (c. 34), and apologises for the hapless enterprise in which he had taken part (c. 60).

<sup>22</sup> See a remarkable letter to this effect from the Roman Senate to the emperor Conrad, written in 1144, probably under the inspiration of Arnold of Brescia. Otho Frisingensis, *de Rebus Gestis Frederici I.* l. i. c. 17, 25.

<sup>23</sup> Giannone, l. xi. c. 2.

therein.<sup>24</sup> In Northern France, Gilbert, bishop of Poitiers, alarmed his brethren of the French Church by the boldness of his speculations,<sup>25</sup> and in dealing with them the bishops and abbots of France, with Bernard at their head, put forth a declaration of their faith, to the jealous indignation of the Roman cardinals, who denounced all such expositions of the faith as encroachments upon the prerogatives of the Roman See; and the great abbot of Clairvaux, that maker and unmaker of popes, that preacher of crusades, that renewer of monasticism, may be reckoned among the assertors of the liberties of the Gallican Church.<sup>26</sup> This noblest churchman of the middle ages held sway over Christendom purely through the strength of his soul, and in nowise through the greatness of his place. Alone among the great mediæval ecclesiastics, he had no worldly ends, no ambition to gratify, no office to aggrandise. His ends and his power were purely spiritual, and yet he ruled the living world around him as absolutely and almost as directly as the most powerful prelate or pontiff. A simple abbot was the doctor and dictator of Christendom. Kings, Cæsars, and popes were his servants and his creatures. He overtopped all the mighty men of the first half of the twelfth century; he towered above Henry Beauclerc; he employed Cæsar Conrad and king Louis; he made pope Innocent II. and pope Eugenius III.; he overcame and humbled Abelard.

In the schools of Paris and Northern France, freedom of thought was illustriously vindicated by the greatest and most accomplished intellect of the age. The boldness of the doctrinal speculations in which Abelard indulged, and the brilliant gifts which he devoted to their promulgation, begot equal admiration and alarm, astonished and ravished the ardent youth, amazed and terrified the strict ecclesiastics of the time.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Baronius, an. 1126, 1147.

<sup>25</sup> Gilbert forestalled the Reformers in asserting the sole and exclusive merits of Christ. Among other charges it was alleged, 'quod meritum humanum attenuando nullum mereri diceret præter Christum' (Otho, *de Rebus Frederici I.* l. i. c. 46).

<sup>26</sup> Otho, l. i. c. 56.

<sup>27</sup> In his autobiographical letter, Abelard understates rather than exaggerates the envy and admiration which he inspired (*Epistolæ Abelardi et Heloissæ*, ep. 1, ed. Rawlinson, 1718). His lively, intelligent, and tolerably wide-minded contemporary, Otho bishop of Frisingen, puts into the mouth of Abelard's clerical foes this description of the marvellous logician: 'Peter Abelard strives to empty the Christian faith of its distinctive worth (*fidei Christianæ meritum evacuare nititur*) when he aspires to grasp by human reason the whole being of God. He climbs up to the very sky and dives down into the very deeps. There is nothing into which he does not pry, whether in

His theological peculiarities aroused the mighty bark of the great watchdog of the Church, St. Bernard, who at once sprang upon the suspected innovator, and after a sharp struggle brought him to the ground. The subtle intellect of the transcendent logician bowed before the deeper convictions, overpowering energy, and higher soul of the dictator of Christendom, at whose instigation mainly Abelard was condemned by a council at Rome (1140), had his book on the Trinity burned, made a kind of recantation, and died a quiet and humble recluse in the monastery of Cluny.<sup>28</sup> His own age looked upon him as a marvel of genius and learning, as its intellectual hero, as its consummate production in the realm of thought. With after ages he has shrunk into a hapless lover, into the hero of a melancholy love-tale. Posterity has forgotten his intellectual combats and his theological and philosophical disquisitions, to linger over his connection with that Heloisa who, in her self-renouncing idolatry, would have deemed this prominence of herself a cruel insult to the memory of the glorious creature who had stooped to love her, just as she shrank from marriage with the object of her adoring love, as from a clog upon his energy and a hindrance of his glory—that glory for which she was so dearly and sublimely jealous.<sup>29</sup>

The Roman Church had its chief quarrel with Abelard, not

the nethermost hell or the highest heaven' (l. i. c. 48). Otho reports this characteristic explanation or illustration of the Trinity: 'As major premise, minor premise, and conclusion are one and the same syllogism, so Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are one and the same essence'—'Sicut eadem ratio est propositio, assumptio, et conclusio, ita eadem essentia est Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus' (c. 47).

<sup>28</sup> See the tender and touching letter of Abbot Peter, wherein he tells Heloisa how godly and graciously her beloved one had closed his days (*Epistolæ Abelardi et Heloissæ*, pp. 229-35).

<sup>29</sup> See Heloisa (ep. i. pp. 49, 50). How fanatically, yet how heroically, does she exclaim, 'Deum testem invoco, si me Augustus, universo præsidens mundo, matrimonii honore dignaretur, totumque mihi orbem confirmaret in perpetuo præsidendum, carius mihi et dignius videretur tua dici meretrix quam illius imperatrix.' How feebly does Pope, so seldom feeble, render this aspiration!—

'Not Cæsar's empress would I deign to prove:  
O make me mistress of the man I love.'

Would not Heloisa like this rendering better?—

'Not Cæsar's empress would I deign to shine:  
O sweeter, nobler name!—thy harlot, thine.'

When has self-abasing human love more magnificently overflowed than in the sublime direction of her first letter to Abelard? 'Domino suo imo patri, conjugi suo imo fratri; ancilla sua imo filia, ipsius uxor imo soror; Abelardo Heloisa'—'To the master from the handmaid; to the father from the daughter; to the husband from the wife; to the brother from the sister; to Abelard from Heloisa' (*Epistolæ*, p. 45).

as the promulgator of heretical speculations, but as the master of Arnold of Brescia. The master and the pupil were arraigned at the same council and were anathematised in the same bull;<sup>30</sup> but they lived a very different life and died a very different death. In that great Italian patriot and reformer, Arnold, Bernard assailed a dire heresiarch, and the papacy encountered a formidable foe—the most earnest and formidable foe that Italy ever produced—its spiritual as well as its political opponent—a singularly happy representative of the present anti-papal feeling of Italy, ennobled by some measure of the spirit of the Reformation. Dante and the great Italian Ghibelins quarrelled with the popedom for its encroachments upon the empire; Rienzi sought the regeneration of Rome either with or without papal cooperation; Savonarola assailed the abuses of the Church apart from this its central corruption. But Arnold went right against this central corruption, and denounced the great spiritual evil of the papacy as the secularisation of the kingdom of Christ; he abhorred it as at once oppressing the State and degrading the Church, and looked to its overthrow for the renewal of Christendom not less than for the regeneration of Rome. He came forth from the school of Abelard full of ancient lore and Christian zeal, high of heart, pure in life, and eager to do something towards bringing back the glory of the old commonwealth and the purity of the early Church. He began his warfare with the clergy as the tyrants of Church and State in his native Brescia.<sup>31</sup> Denounced by the bishop

<sup>30</sup> Baronius, an. 1140.

<sup>31</sup> Otho of Frisingen gives a bad report of Arnold, as a rebel and a heretic, and hints that he disliked other things in the Roman Church besides the popedom. 'Præter hæc de sacramento altaris, baptismo parvulorum non sane dicitur sensisse' (*De Rebus Gestis Frederici I. l. ii. c. 20*). But the most minute account of Arnold is furnished by another historian of Frederick I., Gunther, a Ligurian bard, who devotes some 370 bitter hexameters to the career of the anti-papal champion, whose personal virtue he is, however, constrained to acknowledge. Gunther's poem, *de Gestis Frederici Enobarbi*, is printed in the Basle edition of Otho's works, 1569, and is also given by Muratori. The reformer is thus characterised:

'Plebis adulator, gaudens popularibus auris,  
Pontifices ipsumque gravi corrodere lingua  
Audebat papam, scelerataque dogmata vulgo  
Diffundens variis implebat vocibus aures:  
Nil proprium cleri, fundos et prædia nullo  
Jure sequi monachos, nulli fiscalia jura  
Pontificum.  
Omnia principibus terrenis subdita tantum,  
Committenda viris popularibus atque regenda.

thereof, and condemned in company with Abelard by a papal council (1140), he crossed the Alps, visited his old master, and took up his abode at Zurich, where he assailed the worldliness of prelates and pontiffs with exceeding power and abiding effect. Pursued thither by the denunciations of Bernard and a legate of the pope, he turned upon his foes, became the assailant, and in 1144 transferred the warfare to Rome, of late rent by discord between people and pontiff; and there Arnold attacked the kingdom of the priests in its very metropolis.<sup>32</sup> For a while he seemed to have breathed his own heroic and Christian spirit into the degenerate Romans, to have put a glory upon their fickleness, and given a dignity to their insubordination. Under his inspiration they looked and spoke like ancient republicans and freemen of Christ. The temporal popedom was overthrown; the spiritual popedom was set at nought; the pontiffs were driven forth in the name of the Roman commonwealth and of Christ's true kingdom; the senate and consuls resumed their functions; the Christian people regained their rights.<sup>33</sup> For ten years (1144-54) Rome followed more or less faithfully the lofty leading of Arnold; and St. Peter, on the hypothesis of his pretended presidency, had for once a successor not utterly unlike himself in spirit and doctrine. But the fickle Romans ere long grew weary of their inspirer and uplifter: a faction drove Arnold out and brought Pope Adrian IV. in, the English peasant-born

*Illicitosque jocos lascivaque gaudia cleri,  
Pontificum fastus, abbatum denique laxos  
Damnabat penitus mores, monachosque superbos;  
Veraque multa quidem, nisi tempora nostra fideles  
Respuerent monitus, falsis admixta monebat.'*

<sup>32</sup> Bernard is amusingly savage: 'Arnaldus de Brixia, cujus conversatio mel et doctrina venenum, cui caput columbæ et cauda scorpionis est, quem Brixia evomuit, Roma exhorruit, Francia repulit, Germania abominata est, et Italia non vult recipere!' —Baronius, an. 1140.

<sup>33</sup> 'Quinetiam titulos urbis revocare vetustos,  
Patricios recreare viros, priscosque Quirites,  
Nomine plebeio secernere nomen equestre,  
Jura tribanorum, sanctum reparare senatum.

*Consiliis armisque suis moderamina summa  
Arbitrio tractare suo; nil juris in hac re  
Pontifici summo, modicum concedere regi,  
Suadebat populo!'*

This very sound and constitutional course which Arnold recommended to the Romans is the very course being taken by the Italians of to-day, bent as they are upon pulling down the political popedom and setting up a limited monarchy.

monk Nicholas Breakspear, who alone of his countrymen, and strangely enough amidst the deepest depression of the English race, mounted the papal throne. In the same year (1155) Frederick Redbeard, the nephew and successor of Conrad the Crusader, the second Cæsar of the House of Hohenstaufen, and the greatest of all the German Cæsars, appeared in Italy to assert imperial rights and to receive the imperial crown from the pontiff. Adrian denounced Arnold to the emperor as the common enemy of popedom and empire; and Frederick, in his hurry for the crown, required the reformer from an imperial vassal with whom Arnold had taken refuge, and delivered the champion of the true Church and the true State to the pontifical foe of both. Arnold was burned at Rome, and his ashes were thrown into the Tiber lest his followers should gather them together and make a saint of him.<sup>34</sup> But papal vengeance has amply hallowed him, and raised him to no mean rank in the noble army of martyrs. The Italy of to-day reveres in this assailant of the political popedom the fighter of its special fight; the Christian people of all ages must needs venerate in this assailant of the spiritual popedom, in this opponent of priestly pretensions, the champion of their rights; and Truth and Freedom combine to glorify their common martyr in this illustrious victim of the papacy.

That greatest of the emperors, Frederick Redbeard, did much and suffered somewhat; but his chief misdeed, mistake, and misfortune lay in the surrender of Arnold. Never was wrongdoing more fully and exactly requited than his delivery of this natural ally, this common champion of prince and people, of true Church and true State, to the vengeance of that papacy which embittered the life and exterminated the descendants of

<sup>34</sup> The sacerdotal versifier thus takes leave of the reformer :

‘*Judicio cleri, nostro sub principe victus,  
Appensusque cruci, flammaque cremante solutus  
In cineres, Tiberine, tuas est sparsus in undas,  
Ne stolidæ plebis, quem fecerat, improbus error  
Martyris ossa novo cineresve foveret honore.*’

These crabbed but informing lines are perhaps worth this rough rendering :

‘The priests condemned the vanquished wight; our prince confirmed the doom;  
They hung him on a cross, and then bade fire his form consume  
To ashes which well scatterèd in Tiber found a tomb,  
For fear the foolish people for a martyr should mistake  
The heretic, and of his bones a bran-new idol make.’

Baronius, an. 1154-5, passim.



Frederick. The magnificent Cæsar, a mighty monarch and true hero, found in the English peasant who crowned him an arrogant and exacting father, who troubled him with insolent embassies and haughty epistles, and who spoke and acted as donor and master of the empire. Redbeard resented the proud words and resisted the overbearing claims, maintained the imperial rights and asserted the imperial supremacy. Pontiff and Cæsar were not ill-matched. The English peasant, personally disinterested and not without lofty qualities, warmly cherished the papal ideal and steadily advanced the papal monarchy.<sup>35</sup> Frederick, no vulgar despot, no mere lover of arbitrary sway, but a very Cæsar after Dante's own heart, cherished an imperial ideal, and beheld in the renewed might and majesty of the empire the peace and union of Italy, the gain and glory of Christendom. On the plain of Roncaglia he stood as the redressor of wrongs, the reconciler of foes, and the claimant of dominion over nobles and free towns. For a moment the Lombard cities yielded, and Milan set the imperial eagle on the bell-tower of her cathedral. But the Lombards soon retracted their submission, and drew near to the pontiff, whose quarrel with the emperor grew more bitter every day. In 1159 death removed the English peasant from the throne of Christendom, the pope who in the plenitude of his authority over peoples and kingdoms made over to his native sovereign, Henry II. of England, the independent nation of Ireland, in revenge for the occasionally imperfect obedience of the Irish Church, and thereby perpetrated an act disastrous alike to giver, receiver, and donation—a piece of tyranny curiously avenged upon the popedom, unaware that it was consigning a nation of devoted liegemen to the protracted domination of stubborn heretics.<sup>36</sup>

The death of Adrian only aggravated the strife between papacy and empire. Violence attended the new election: two pontiffs were chosen, Alexander III. and Victor III. Each excommunicated the other; both courted Frederick, who, eager to turn the schism to the profit of the empire, summoned the

<sup>35</sup> Otho Frisingensis, *de Rebus Frederici I.* l. ii. c. 12, 13, 21, 22. Radevicus, *de Gestis Frederici*, l. i. c. 8-10, 15, 16, 22, 23-42; l. ii. c. 15. There is something very pathetic in the earnestness with which Adrian mourned the weight of the popedom, and yearned towards his humble cell. See John of Salisbury, in Baronius, an. 1155.

<sup>36</sup> Baronius, an. 1159, tom. xi. p. 270. Alexander III. formally repeated the donation of his predecessor (*ibid.* an. 1171).

rivals to appear before a council of bishops which he had convened at Pavia, and to submit their claims to its decision. In a strain of grave and stately eloquence he portrayed the imperial ideal of Christendom, bewailed the divided Church, and asserted the imperial prerogative of assembling synods and healing schisms.<sup>37</sup> Alexander, in every sense the true and legitimate pope, not only as chosen by the majority of the cardinals, but as filled with the papal ambition and heir of the papal policy, kept away, while Victor appeared at the council, and was acknowledged by the synod and the emperor as lawful pope; Alexander was driven from Rome and Italy, where Red-beard and his pontiff ruled and triumphed. But the idea of legitimacy fought for the exile, and Christendom gradually drew near to Alexander. The kings of France and England, Louis VII. and Henry II., the scrupulous and devout Capet, the potent and ambitious Plantagenet, the feeble suzerain and the mighty vassal, so mutually jealous and so perpetually at variance, joined to acknowledge and revere the outcast.<sup>38</sup>

But Alexander had a still more powerful ally than the combined monarchs of France and England. The league of Lombard cities took his side; the spirit of Italian freedom fought in behalf of the papacy, and clad its confederate in its own glory. In his endeavour to establish the imperial authority throughout Italy, Frederick came into conflict with the rising wealth, growing strength, and free spirit of the Italian cities, especially those of Lombardy. Some few sided with Frederick, and the strife between Guelfs and Ghibelins began. These two famous cries were first uttered during the contest for the imperial crown (1137) in which Welf, duke of Bavaria, a papal partisan and representative of those Saxon chiefs whom Gregory VII. had stirred up against Henry IV., was worsted by Conrad of Hohenstaufen, duke of Suabia, and lord of the castle of Wibelung the cradle of his race, grandson of Henry IV., heir of the Franconian house and representative of the imperial policy, uncle and predecessor of Frederick; and they were now transferred to Italy. The battle-cries of two German houses became the battle-cries of two Italian factions, of two great principles.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Radevicus, l. ii. c. 43, 50-56.

<sup>38</sup> Baronius, an. 1160-2, *passim*.

<sup>39</sup> How widely have the German Guelfs of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries departed from the Guelfs of the twelfth and thirteenth! The great papal house of the middle ages has become the great Protestant house of modern times. The chiefs and warriors of the papal party in Christendom yielded that line of Brunswick

Imperial power, as understood by a lofty soul and wielded by a mighty hand, maintained the fight against ecclesiastical power intent on worldly sway, and in alliance with civic freedom intolerant of a strict central supremacy, and with Italian patriotism impatient of foreign domination. In accordance with its indifference as to means and its inflexibility as to ends, the same papacy which made over England and Ireland to ruthless invaders took part with Italy against her foreign rulers. The same power which encouraged the Norman Conquest, upheld the Lombard League, and found its profit in each course—

Intent on power, the dreadful sentence spoke  
Which doomed a nation to the tyrant's yoke,  
Or smiled on Freedom with approving eye,  
And lent her cause auxiliar sanctity.

What Countess Matilda was to Gregory VII. in his strife with Henry IV., the Lombard League was to Alexander III. in his conflict with Henry's great grandson. But if the heroic Redbeard was a far more formidable foe than his wayward and wilful ancestor, Italian freedom proved a far nobler and mightier helper than the female devotee who clung so closely to Gregory. The fight lasted long and was bravely fought on both sides. Time after time did Frederick descend from the Alps, now for triumph and now for disaster. In 1162 Milan fell after a long siege; her walls were pulled down, her people were scattered, and the Lombard League seemed broken up. But ere long her walls rose again, her people came back, the Lombards knit themselves more closely together, and in the fortress of Alexandria, which they raised as a bulwark of their liberties, which they called after their pontifical ally, and which their imperial antagonist vainly beleaguered, they erected a monument of the alliance between Italian freedom and the Roman Church. That alliance has long come to an end, and is now turned into bitter hostility; but the stronghold still abides a bulwark of Italian freedom, as the chief fortress of that Piedmont which has, to the exceeding wrath of the pope-dom, so wonderfully expanded into the kingdom of Italy.<sup>40</sup>

advanced by the Protestant Succession to the first throne in the world; and the Guelfs wear the crown of Great Britain, on condition of keeping aloof from that Roman Church of which their ancestors were the foremost champions.

<sup>40</sup> Otho de Sancto Blasio, *Chronicon* (Muratori, tom. vi. l. i. c. 14-23). Baronius, an. 1160-1175. Amalricus (*de Alexandro III.*, Muratori, tom. iii. part ii. p. 37) thus speaks of the foundation of Alexandria: 'Mediolanenses et Placentini in despectionem

The conflict raged throughout the peninsula. Ancona was stubbornly besieged by the Germans and successfully defended by the Italians. Rome now welcomed and now withstood Frederick, now took in and now cast out the pontiffs of his making. City after city was beleaguered, and pope after pope was set up against Alexander. But this confederacy of the Church and the nation, this combination of Italy in the youthful vigour of her freedom and the papacy in the fulness of its strength, proved more than a match even for the greatest of the German Cæsars. The legitimate pontiff and the Lombard League waxed stronger and stronger; the emperor's nominees sank into disrepute; his troops were worsted by the Italians at Legnano (1175); and Frederick yielded in no craven fear, in no heart-broken despair, but with the wisdom and dignity of a hero and statesman, overmastered but not degraded. In 1177 he repaired to Venice, where Alexander was staying, the honoured guest of the devoted republic; the mighty Cæsar knelt before the aged priest, and in the church of St. Mark, under the eyes of a vast assembly, renounced the schism and made his peace with the Church.<sup>41</sup> Soon after he granted liberal terms to the Lombard confederates; and Italian freedom partook the triumph of the popedom over the empire, just as it has now achieved a triumph over the popedom in alliance with the Austrian empire. The defeat of Frederick was signal, but not ignominious. Just a hundred years before (1077), his great grandfather, Henry IV., grovelled before Gregory VII. The scene at Venice had not the personal debasement of the scene at Canossa, but it expressed a greater papal victory: in the one a craven crouched, in the other a hero yielded; in the one an emperor was put to shame, in the other the empire was brought low. Frederick outlived this scene thirteen years, wielding the empire with might and majesty, potent in Germany, not powerless in Italy, and honoured throughout Christendom. His end was that of a mediæval hero; death surprised him on a crusade

et oppressionem Frederici, et in amorem et reverentiam ipsius Alexandri papæ, unam magnam et pulchram civitatem papalem atque fortem, cum suo palatio ædificatam fecerunt, cui in honorem dicti Alexandri Alexandriam nomine suo imposuerunt.'

<sup>41</sup> Otho de Sancto Blasio, l. i. c. 20, 23. Baronius, an. 1177, passim.

'The Suabian sued, and now the Austrian reigns:  
An emperor triumphs where an emperor knelt.'

*Childe Harold*, iv. 12.

In a very few years the Austrian will no longer, it may be, reign at Venice, and Francis Joseph be as powerless there as was Frederick Redbeard.

in 1190, and he was drowned on his victorious march through Asia Minor to wrest Jerusalem from its recent captor, the valiant Sultan Saladin.<sup>42</sup>

The scene at Venice was succeeded by a somewhat long lull in the conflict between the Holy Roman Empire and the Holy Roman Church. The son and successor of Frederick, Henry the Stern, is memorable not as the opponent of the popes, but as the conqueror of Naples and the gaoler of Richard Lionheart. As king of Naples and Sicily, he became the vassal of the papacy, and dying early, in 1196, bequeathed his infant son Frederick to its guardianship. Like almost every one of his doomed race, however, he came in for a papal anathema; but for once the bolt was disinterestedly and deservedly hurled: pope Celestine launched it not against the foe of Rome, but against the wronger of the hero of Christendom, so basely detained and sordidly put to ransom by the emperor.<sup>43</sup> During Henry's reign, as during the last years of his father's, the strife between popedom and empire was suspended; but it had not come to an end. Thus far the victory was with the papacy; but it was not complete. The empire was worsted, but not utterly disabled or laid prostrate.

In the midst of the conflict with Frederick Redbeard, another signal triumph was won for the papal power. Six years before the mighty Cæsar knelt at the feet of the aged priest with whom he had been so long at war, Henry II. of England, the potent and imperious Plantagenet, knelt in penitent prayer and received bodily chastisement at the tomb of another priest with whom he had lived in fierce conflict, and whom his courtiers had slain.<sup>44</sup> The Roman Church found more help in one dead

<sup>42</sup> Otho de S. Blasio, l. i. c. 30-35. Saladin took Jerusalem in 1187. This third crusade was still more illustriously commanded than the second, which had an emperor and a king for its chiefs. In this third holy war, Cæsar Frederick was followed to the East by two kings, Richard of England and Philip of France. But the noblest crusader was Redbeard's own son, Frederick of Suabia, who died before Acre, the martyr of chastity, preferring death to the incontinence which the physicians assured him could alone save his life.

<sup>43</sup> Otho de S. Blasio, l. i. c. 37-45. Baronius, an. 1193-5. The letter which Queen Eleanor wrote to Celestine in behalf of her son, wherein she styles herself Queen by the wrath of God ('in ira Dei'), has a singular passion and power about it (Baronius, an. 1193). The glorious part which Frederick Redbeard took in the third crusade, and the death that he met therein, aggravated the infamy of his son in wronging the hero of the Holy War. Henry's baseness towards the English king was fully matched by the savage cruelty with which he oppressed the Normans of Naples. He possessed the energy, but altogether lacked the nobleness, of his race.

<sup>44</sup> Frederick of Hohenstaufen and Henry Plantagenet were very exact contemporaries, the former beginning to reign in 1152 and the latter in 1154, the former dying in

English priest than in the whole force of the Lombard League—drew more strength and glory from the tomb of the murdered Becket than from the car encompassed by the warriors of Milan. The scene at Canterbury was not less helpful to the papacy than the scene at Venice. No event ever so aggrandised and uplifted the Church as the murder of her minister beside the altar. No king was ever so ill-served as Henry was by the overzealous servants who caught up his hasty words and rid him of his foe. Never did the State receive a heavier blow than from the swords that struck down the champion of the Church. Mightily as the living champion had served her, Becket became armed with sevenfold might as her glorified martyr. The outcast grew into the most popular and potent saint of the middle ages; the traitor won the homage of kings and the worship of nations; the sepulchre of the murdered priest became the temple of a divinity, thronged with pilgrims and glutted with gifts, whereto Christendom brought her prayers and tears, whereon she lavished her gold and jewels. The papacy throve marvellously upon the martyr of Canterbury. Pope Alexander, who, in order to keep Henry proof against the blandishments of the emperor and the allurements of the anti-pope, had feebly supported and almost disowned the champion of the priesthood during his life, made haste to improve his death and appropriate his honours. Rome ‘pursued the triumph and partook the gale.’ She stood forth awful with the awe of his death and mighty with the might of his relics; she wielded the terrors, she wore the glories of his tomb.

As the greatness of the saint was contemporaneous with the greatness of the papacy, so their power and glory in England passed away together. When Henry VIII. renounced the pontiff and vindicated the rights of the State, he did not forget their chief

1190 and the latter in 1189. Both were capable and gifted men, the greatest monarchs of their age; but Frederick was much the better man, had a far higher and more heroic nature, never yielded to the furious rage, the ungovernable lust, and the frantic grief which darkened and debased our first Plantagenet. Both were in conflict with the Church, Frederick mainly on political, Henry mainly on personal grounds, the former in defence of fixed principles of government, and from a high conception of duty; the latter not without regard to the interests of his kingdom and the dignity of his crown, but too much at the bidding of an arbitrary temper and an uncontrolled will. Though both in conflict with the Church at the same time, they gave each other no help. Henry upheld the pope whom Frederick opposed, and married his daughter to Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, the hereditary foe of the emperor, the head of the house of Guelf and the papal party in Germany.

English gainsayer, whose memory was branded after a solemn trial, and his shrine destroyed with elaborate thoroughness. When the pope became a foreign usurper, St. Thomas of Canterbury sank into the traitor Becket. The rifled shrine and the scattered relics of the great sacerdotal champion were not unmeet accompaniments of those statutes which broke the papal yoke and struck down the power of the priesthood in England.

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## BOOK IV.

## THE POPEDOM IN FULL STRENGTH AND SPLENDOUR.

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Raptores orbis . . . . auferre, trucidare, rapere falsis nominibus imperium.

TACITUS, *Agricola*, cap. xxx.

'Usurpers of the world, they practise spoliation, they perpetrate massacre, they grasp at empire under false pretences.'

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It was in a season of mingled glory and peril for the popedom that the papal throne received its mightiest occupant in Innocent III. (1198).<sup>1</sup> It was just the period to try a master-spirit. Circumstances were at once full of promise and full of threatening—were not so purely auspicious as to need no effort, nor so utterly unfavourable as to defy all endeavour. The papacy had grown, but hostile powers had grown by its side—its triumphs had been manifold and marvellous, but formidable trials were awaiting it. The time offered great helps and set great hindrances in its path, and Innocent was the very man to make the most of the former and to sweep away the latter. The empire lay not in his way; the lull in the strife between the papal power and the imperial power, since the humiliation of Frederick Redbeard, still continued. The heir of the House of Hohenstaufen, the grandson and namesake of Frederick, the son of Henry the Stern and Constance the Norman, Frederick king of Sicily, was the infant ward and vassal of the pontiff. There was, it is true, a contest for the imperial crown between a Guelf candidate, Otho of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion, and a Ghibelin candidate, Philip of Suabia, son of Redbeard; but this was a battle of houses rather than of principles, and both competitors solicited papal support.

<sup>1</sup> Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, an. 1198, n. 7 et seq. The great papal annalist, Cardinal Cæsar Baronius, who pursued his laborious undertaking amidst the stir of the conflict between the Roman Church and the Reformation—a conflict wherein he and his brother Cardinal Bellarmine were the most illustrious intellectual combatants on the Roman side—brought his work as far as the accession of Innocent III., and has found a congenial continuer in Ordericus Raynaldus.



The papacy, of course, sided with the house of Guelf; but Innocent mingled in the fray as an auxiliary rather than as a principal, and spoke and demeaned himself throughout as the patron rather than the opponent of imperial power.<sup>2</sup> A statesman and a soldier sate on the throne of France; a dastard and a tyrant had just replaced the hero and ideal man of the age upon the throne of England.<sup>3</sup> Philip Augustus was no longer confronted by Richard Lionheart, but by John Lackland; and both capable Capet and recreant Plantagenet were to be encountered and overcome by Innocent III. The crusading spirit, which was in some measure the creature and handmaid of the papacy, and which rewarded the encouragement of the pontiffs by making the chief business of Christendom one on which they had to be consulted and over which they in a manner presided, though extinguished in royalty by the departure of the lionhearted antagonist of Saladin, still dwelt strong and active among the princes and barons of Europe, and offered rich material for the ambition and genius of Innocent to work upon.<sup>4</sup>

But there was another spirit, potent and prevailing, which threatened the existence, instead of feeding the power, of the popedom. The spirit of religious and intellectual life, which so stirred and brightened the twelfth century, had triumphs to record and trophies to show at its close, possessed a realm, wielded a language, and inspired a literature. Throughout that age of manifold light and life, spiritual teachers of all kinds, disciples of Abelard and descendants of the Paulicians, refined speculators and simple believers, followers of Peter des Bruys and followers of Peter Waldo, were at work in the south and south-east of France, and were all more or less at work against the priesthood and the popedom. St. Bernard had watched and warned, but to very little purpose; quarrels with the Romans and contests with the Empire half-blinded the papal eye to the peril across the Alps, and slackened the papal arm when raised to put it down. While the Lombard League was combating for Alexander III. against Frederick Redbeard, while Becket was fighting the battle of the Roman Church against

<sup>2</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1199, n. 28-38; an. 1200, n. 35; an. 1201, n. 1 et seq. Otho de S. Blasio, lib. i. cap. 64-8.

<sup>3</sup> Innocent spoke somewhat imperiously to Richard, who was killed in the second year of his pontificate (*Epistolæ*, lib. i. pp. 134, 150).

<sup>4</sup> *Innocentii Epistolæ*, lib. i. pp. 180, 211, 217.

Henry II., foes more formidable than the greatest of the Cæsars, than the first and not the least of the Plantagenets, quickeners of the mind and masters of the heart, skilful logicians, lively poets, and earnest preachers, were busy and successful in alienating from the Church of Rome the princes and the people of Southern France. The whole religious life of the age, however, had not broken into revolt against the papacy; everywhere there were teachers, preachers, and enthusiasts, some without any doctrinal or political opposition to the popedom, but many the open foes of the Romish faith and the papal monarchy.

Of this heaving, impatient, aspiring, and insurgent Christendom, Innocent III. manifested himself indeed the master. He took the whole age into his ken, and sought to hold it in his grasp. He forgot nothing; he overlooked nothing; he appeared everywhere; he attempted everything; he thoroughly mastered the age. He crushed or conciliated its hostile powers, he magnified and multiplied its friendly influences. He took in hand rival emperors and contending kings, vigorous monarchs and weak tyrants, crusaders and reformers, religious enthusiasts and religious teachers, and converted them all into instruments or victims of the papal power. Set upon bringing the whole of life—personal, national, political, and spiritual, home, court, camp, and council-board—under the papal domination, upon making the Roman See omnipotent everywhere, over everything and everybody, he was intolerant of all dissent, divergence and disobedience in smallest as in greatest things; he let no deviation from its ways go unrebuked, no defiance of its authority pass unpunished. He was as severely watchful over the matrimonial engagements of monarchs as over the faith of nations, and was as prompt to annul an uncanonical marriage as to root out a flagrant heresy. He trampled upon the hearts of kings as ruthlessly as upon the souls of their subjects, and violated the sanctuary of love no less ruthlessly than that of conscience.<sup>5</sup> No pontiff more frequently or so effectually hurled the thunderbolts of the Church. The excommunication of his uttering was in truth a curse. The interdict of his inflicting was indeed a calamity. The love-affairs of her king brought this

<sup>5</sup> Alphonso of Leon, Pedro II. of Aragon, a king of Bohemia, and many others, as well as Philip of France, were called to account in matters matrimonial by Innocent, who, on more than one occasion, stood forth as the defender of a defenceless wife and the vindicator of the moral law, though too often the champion of mere canonical restriction. Raynaldus, an. 1199, n. 40-42.

calamity upon France for some months; the quarrel of her king with the court of Rome about episcopal appointments laid England beneath this plague for six years. Philip Augustus repudiated his wife, Ingeburga of Denmark, to whom he took a violent dislike on the wedding-day, and married Agnes of Meran. Innocent declared himself the champion of Ingeburga. Philip would not take her back, and France was smitten with an interdict. By way of punishment for the matrimonial irregularities of the monarch, matrimony was forbidden to the people; the churches were closed, public prayer and praise came to an end, the dead were left unburied. The nation shuddered; the sovereign yielded; the greatest of the early French kings, the doubler of the realm and the magnifier of the monarchy, found his master in the pontiff, put away the beloved Agnes, and nominally took again the detested Ingeburga.<sup>6</sup> The resistance of the English king was fiercer and more protracted, but his defeat was far more signal and degrading.

John refused to receive Stephen Langton, whom the pope and the monks of St. Augustine between them had made archbishop of Canterbury without his consent (1207). Innocent visited this refusal of the king by an interdict on the kingdom (1208). John retorted the interdict upon the goods and persons of the clergy who observed it. Innocent replied next year by excommunication, thus smiting king as well as kingdom.<sup>7</sup> For six years (1208-1214) England lay apart from Christendom, a land of shut-up churches, of silenced prayer and praise, of unsolemnised weddings and funerals. John stood forth a monster in the eye and a stench in the nostril of his age, an impious wretch, stricken and forsaken of Heaven. The accursed of the Church happened to be the abhorred of his people; the foe of Rome was the most cruel of oppressors and a craven no less than a tyrant; his resistance to papal encroachments flowed from no national feelings, from no enlightened political convictions, but from mere love of arbitrary power. It was the resistance not of a mighty English monarch, nor of a high-hearted English patriot, but of a weak and violent tyrant. As became such a personage, at first he chafed and raved, but in the end crouched and grovelled

<sup>6</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1198, n. 29-32; an. 1199, n. 42-44; an. 1200, n. 9-13. *Innocentii III. Epistolæ*, lib. i. pp. 102, 219, 220.

<sup>7</sup> Matthew Paris, *Historia*, pp. 296 et seq., ed. 1571. I quote from an edition itself quite a monument of the Elizabethan age and an utterance of the Protestant spirit, garnished by a curious anti-papal preface, and expressly sent forth to deepen the anti-papal feeling of recently emancipated England.

beneath the papal sentence. In 1212, Innocent went on to depose the excommunicated king, and to release his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and summoned Philip Augustus of France to execute the sentence and receive the reward, to despoil the accursed king, and appropriate the stricken kingdom. A great French host lay along the Channel, ready to embark; a papal legate was in the French camp; discontent and hatred dwelt in the English army. John trembled, and saw no refuge from invasion and insurrection save in submission to Innocent.

In accordance with the mean malignity of his nature, he preferred vengeance on his subjects, and the degradation of his crown, to the hearts of his people and the independence of his realm. He at once made up his mind to oppress England with the help of Rome, rather than to resist the papacy in conjunction with the nation. Accordingly he invited the legate Pandulph across the Channel, and yielded everything to the pontiff, even his very kingdom. Ascension-day of 1213 was signalised by the greatest degradation ever put upon England, and one of the greatest triumphs ever won by Rome—the day whereon John resigned his crown into the hands of Pandulph, and took it back as the vassal and tributary of Innocent. This submission at once endeared and consecrated the king in the sight of the pontiff. The object of Innocent's especial abhorrence became the object of his especial care; the flagrant sinner and frightful oppressor was forgotten and forgiven in the liegeman and tributary of the popedom. Invasion and insurrection, just before the holiest of duties, became all on a sudden the most horrible of sins. The French monarch and the English barons were forbidden to assail the vassal of Rome under pain of excommunication. Philip murmured and obeyed; the barons pursued the work and incurred the penalty; they wrung the Great Charter from their reluctant tyrant in direct defiance of Innocent, who branded and annulled the precious document. The wrath of the exterminator of the Albigenses was vainly poured upon Magna Charta, and the curse of Rome confirms and consecrates the liberty of England. But the immediate triumph of the papacy in this business of John was signal. Innocent dealt with the vile king of England as with a wretched slave to be chastised and protected, and with the wise and valiant king of France as with an instrument to be wielded and laid aside according to his own good pleasure.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Matthew Paris, pp. 210-262.

Rival emperors found him no less lordly and oppressive. The contest for the imperial crown, in the beginning unfavourable to the papacy, ended in its exaltation. Otho of Brunswick, the papal candidate, was worsted by Philip of Suabia, the anti-papal candidate. The detested House of Hohenstaufen prevailed over the favoured House of Guelf. The assassination of Philip (1208) made room for Otho, and Innocent placed the imperial crown on the head of his nominee. But the possession of that crown soon converted the pontifical nominee into an imperial champion. The pontiff and the Cæsar ere long fell out about the respective rights of the papacy and the empire. Innocent bitterly resented the independence of Otho, and at once proceeded to uncrown the monarch of his choice, and undo the work of his own hands. He transferred his favour from the cherished blood of Guelf to the tainted blood of Hohenstaufen. The pontiff set up the head of the Ghibelins against the chief of the Guelfs. He invited his ward and vassal, Frederick, king of Sicily, the hereditary foe of the papacy, the hereditary champion of the empire, the grandson of Frederick Redbeard, the descendant of Henry IV., the heir of an excommunicated race, to avenge the wrongs and execute the sentence of the popedom upon the representative of the papal cause, upon the heir of a race devoted for generations to the Roman See. Frederick obeyed and triumphed; Otho lost his crown, and Innocent enjoyed the satisfaction of a 'setter-up and puller-down of kings.' The papacy achieved a great immediate success, though the proscription of a faithful house and the exaltation of a hostile family were bold experiments, perilous in appearance and hardly justified by the event—in fact, among the very few mistakes ever made by Innocent III.<sup>9</sup> Another signal triumph was won for the popedom, almost against the will of the pope. The chiefs of the fourth crusade (1204) turned their arms against the Greeks instead of the Saracens, besieged and captured Constantinople instead of Jerusalem, replaced the Greek Empire by a Latin Empire, and subjected the Greek Church to the Roman Church. Innocent disapproved and forbade this strange perversion of the crusading spirit, but accepted its ecclesiastical consequences. Rome ruled for a brief while in the East. The patriarch of Constantinople sank into the vassal and attended the councils of the Roman

<sup>9</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1209, n. 9-21; an. 1210, n. 1-3; an. 1211, n. 1-4; an. 1212, n. 1-3; an. 1214, c. 21. Matthew Paris, p. 306.

pontiff.<sup>10</sup> But there was another crusade, another perversion of the crusading spirit, which Rome directly commanded and by which she more largely and permanently profited—the most signal triumph of the Roman See, and the most horrible event in the middle ages—the especial work and the especial crime of Innocent III.

The south of France had greatly outgrown the rest of Europe in every ingredient of prosperity and civilisation, had become a land of extensive commerce, of large municipal freedom, of much intellectual cultivation—had become the home of poetry, of free thought, and of earnest and anti-Roman faith. There swarmed throughout that fair and favoured region men who denied the characteristic doctrines of the Roman Church, such as transubstantiation and image-worship, especially the temporal and spiritual authority of the popedom, and held many of the leading doctrines of the Reformation, tinged more or less with some Gnostic notions derived from those Paulicians who, more than three centuries before, underwent such persecutions and performed such exploits in Asia Minor.<sup>11</sup> They were variously denominated Albigenses, from Albi, a town in Southern France where they abounded, Paterini and Catharini or Puritans, from the rigidity of their morals, the name of a kindred but a mightier race, and a designation in both cases bestowed by the affected contempt of adversaries. The flourishing cities of Southern France swarmed with these early Puritans; its graceful and melodious tongue, the Langue d'Oc, was wielded by the foes of Rome; its enlightened princes connived at them; its nobles were their patrons or their proselytes, and not a few of its Troubadours sang at once the praises of the ladies and the sins of priests and pontiff. During the twelfth century Rome, though somewhat slack and heedless, had not quite overlooked this tainted region. Now and then a pope had denounced and a council had condemned the spreading heresy, missionaries had

<sup>10</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1203, n. 1 et seq.; an. 1204, n. 1 et seq. *Epistole Innocentii III.* apud Duchesne, *Historiæ Francorum Scriptores*, tom. v. pp. 749 et seq., 794 et seq., 282, 283.

<sup>11</sup> Sismondi (*Histoire des Français*, tom. vi. c. 24) has given the best history of the crusade against the Albigenses that I know of, lucid, lively and impressive, sufficiently detailed, and steeped in that moral indignation that so nobly suffuses all his works—a far more precious quality in a historian than that philosophic optimism which regards a great crime as a necessity of the age, or that picturesque impartiality which welcomes a horrible massacre as a fine subject for description. *Historia Albigensium*, Petrus Vallensis, apud Duchesne, tom. v. c. 2.

been now and then sent into the infected land, heretics had now and then been burned. This spiritual revolt had, in fact, received a stimulating and strengthening persecution.

A very different treatment was adopted by Innocent III. He looked the heresy steadfastly in the face, and at once set about its extirpation. He took the fierce earnestness of the Spaniard Dominic into the service of the Roman See, as somewhat later he accepted and organised the tender enthusiasm of Francis of Assisi, made him the head of a new order of preaching friars, and sent him and others (1206) into the devoted land to preach down heresy, while the princes and nobles of Southern France were commanded to burn it out of their dominions.<sup>12</sup> But the pontiff soon rejected this mixture of conversion and destruction as a slow and lingering process, and exchanged it for pure extermination, to be effected by means of that favourite occupation of the age, a crusade. He summoned the warriors of Christendom to take the Cross against other Christians, to smite the heretics who dwelt among them instead of the Saracens who dwelt afar, set before them the allurements of a march across the borders, so much less perilous and so far more profitable than the weary and disastrous march into Asia, endowed the slayers of the heretics with all the spiritual privileges of the slayers of the Moslem, and proclaimed the extermination of the enemies of the popedom a full atonement for all sins, past, present, and to come. He invited especially the warriors of Northern France to slaughter their neighbours of Southern France. The Crusade was vigorously preached by the Cistercian monks and eagerly embraced by the French chivalry, the most formidable warriors of Christendom, the heroes of the Third and Fourth Crusades, the companions of Richard Lionheart and Henry Dandolo.<sup>13</sup> The people against whom they marched were their betters in everything save in valour and military discipline. The armed assault of a dominant hierarchy upon its opponents has often called forth the most heroic resistance, and encountered the most signal defeat. No combatants have fought so valiantly and prevailed so mightily as

<sup>12</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1204, n. 57; an. 1206, n. 27-30. Petrus Vallensis, c. 5, 6, 7. Gulielmus, *de Podio Laurentii*, c. 1-10.

<sup>13</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1208, n. 15-24. Petrus Vallensis, c. 14. This contemporary and congenial chronicler of the extirpation of the Albigenses thoroughly enjoys the business. How he exults in de Montfort's singular fitness 'to conduct this sacred business of Jesus Christ against the pestilent heretics (*sacrosancti negotii Jesus Christi*).'

earnest believers driven to extremity. More than three centuries before, the Paulicians of the East smote more strongly than they were smitten, and obtained a marvellous series of triumphs over the armies of the persecuting Byzantine emperors. Two centuries later, the Bohemian Hussites defied the combined strength of empire and popedom, and marched from victory to victory. The English Puritans never met their match on the battle-field. But the Albigenses were altogether over-matched and uniformly vanquished. They lacked that without which a great religious revolution has been never wrought—a quickening and kindling truth, such as the doctrine of Justification by Faith, which bore on the Reformers to victory. Their strength lay in the denial of falsehood and the abhorrence of corruption, rather than in the possession of some great truth, whereby alone falsehood and corruption are ever overcome. They likewise lacked that without which no cause has ever succeeded—a great man, a chief combining enthusiasm with capacity, devotion to their principles with practical genius. Unlike the Paulicians, the Hussites and the Puritans, they had no Carbeas, no Ziska and no Cromwell.

On the other hand, Innocent was most happy in his instruments, both soldiers and chiefs, in the legate who accompanied and stimulated the exterminating host—Arnold Amalric, abbot of Citeaux—almost as much a warrior and a worldling as a priest, savage against the heretics, and consumed by a zeal for the interest of the Roman Church almost as hot as the zeal with which he pursued his own interests; and in Simon de Montfort, the captain of the host, almost as much a priest as a warrior and a worldling, the most sincere and ruthless of fanatics, the bravest of soldiers, the ablest of leaders, the most greedy and unscrupulous of spoilers and conquerors. Thus guided, the crusaders burst upon the helpless land in 1209, ravaging, burning, and slaughtering. Beziers was stormed and laid in ashes, and not a human being left alive within its walls. For several years a fresh swarm of crusaders annually invaded the unhappy region, and steadfastly pursued the work of destruction. No crusade was so bloody and so successful. The heretics fared far worse than the Mohammedans. The massacres of Jerusalem and Acre were isolated acts; but the crusade against the Albigenses was a series of massacres. Godfrey of Bouillon failed to restrain, and Richard Lionheart partook, the fury of their companions; but Count Simon enjoyed and heightened the savageness of his



followers ; and the spirit of the whole enterprise found a most happy expression in the bidding of abbot Arnold to the captors of Beziers, inquiring how they were to distinguish the true believers from the heretics : ' Slay, slay them all ! the Lord doth know his own ; ' a bidding very exactly fulfilled.<sup>14</sup> The bloodiness of the crusade was equalled only by its success. Scarcely a check was experienced by the invaders ; scarcely a stronghold held out effectually against them. In a few years a land was desolated, a church was extirpated, a nation was extinguished, a language was degraded, a literature was destroyed. Innocent III. was indeed well served ; never was a piece of work so thoroughly done.

As masters in the art of extermination the Tartars of Zingis and Timoor alone have come up to the Romish crusaders. But in this crusade Rome almost surpassed herself. The extirpation of the Reformation in Italy and Spain was as complete ; but then the work was far less difficult : there were comparatively few to be extirpated. Her dealings with the Netherlanders and Huguenots, though quite as sanguinary, were far less successful ; and her annihilation of the nation and church of Bohemia by the hand of Ferdinand II. (1620-30), though as great a success, was not quite so bloody a business. But admirably well as her crusaders had executed her commands, the Roman Church did not deem the work fully done when their destroying swords had made an end of the open and avowed heretics. There might be secret heretics ; there were certainly many suspected of the heretical taint ; to deal with them the Inquisition was devised. In 1228, twelve years after the death of Innocent, his work was crowned and consummated by the establishment of that tremendous tribunal at Toulouse. Inquisitors were appointed to keep incessant watch over the tender faith of the reclaimed region, to preserve the people from the corrupting reading of the Scriptures, to seek evidence and to suborn witnesses against all suspected bearers of the heretical taint, to hunt lurking heretics into their hiding places, to break up their secret meetings, and pull down their temples and their houses.

<sup>14</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1209, n. 21-27 ; an. 1210, n. 13-18 ; an. 1211, n. 24-26 ; an. 1212, n. 10-15 ; an. 1213, n. 26-64. The papal annalist, at the distance of nearly 500 years, speaks of the massacre of Beziers, &c., as glorious exploits (' egregia facinora '), and participates in the delight with which Innocent listened to the glad tidings (' nunciis ingenti voluptate delibutus'). *Ibid.* an. 1209, n. 27. Petrus Vallensis, c. 15, 16, 18, 19, 82.

In this business of the Albigenses, persecution put forth all its inventive genius and produced its master-work.<sup>15</sup>

The extirpation of these Christians of Southern France formed the chief exploit and glory of Innocent's busy and triumphant pontificate; a pontificate appropriately closed by a general council at the Lateran in 1215, when Rome was thronged with patriarchs, princes, prelates, and ambassadors, from the West and from the East, and when the whole might and majesty of the world seemed gathered together and laid at the feet of the sovereign pontiff. In the decrees of that council Innocent had the manifold triumphs of his reign and acquisitions of the Church carefully summed up and solemnly recorded. There auricular confession was prescribed as an essential duty. There transubstantiation was authoritatively propounded as an essential dogma.<sup>16</sup> The corruption of Christian faith kept time with the corruption of ecclesiastical government. The full triumph of transubstantiation was contemporaneous with the full triumph of the popedom. The supper of the Lord became the commanded worship of an idol, at the very time that a minister of the Christian Church became king of kings and lord of lords. Innocent did not long survive this gorgeous scene. In 1216, soon after the death of his English vassal John, the greatest of the popes passed from the world which he had moved so mightily, and wherein he had reigned so absolutely. No statesman and no conqueror ever made fewer mistakes or achieved greater things than did Innocent III. There never was a more capable and successful sovereign; there never was a more splendid reign. As a manifestation of political ability, as an unbroken series of worldly triumphs, this reign of Innocent III., this palmy hour of the popedom, has scarcely a parallel in history; but as the culmination of the Christian Church, as the fulfilment of the blessed work begun twelve hundred years before in Judæa, at the perfection of the kingdom not of this world, it was hardly so successful. Of a truth, Innocent III. was the greatest of the popes; of a truth, his reign forms the most glorious period of the Roman Church. To acknowledge these very plain facts is to affirm the whole case against the popedom, is to brand it as the supreme and concentrated corruption of Christianity.

<sup>15</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1228, n. 27, 28. Gulielmus, *de Podio Laurentii*, apud Duchesne, tom. v. c. 40, 43.

<sup>16</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1215, n. 1 et seq. *Concilium Lateranense*, c. 1-21, apud *Concilia Generalia*, tom. iv. pp. 43-50, ed. Romæ, 1612. Matthew Paris, pp. 397 et seq.

Although into no single pontificate were there thronged so many successes and glories as into that of Innocent III., yet the might and majesty of the papal throne did not depart with the withdrawal of its greatest occupant; the period of papal supremacy was prolonged through the reigns of not a few congenial successors. Another triumph lay in store for the popedom, more stubbornly disputed and longer delayed, but scarcely less signal and complete than the victory over the Albigenses. The Roman See indulged and prevailed in another war of extermination. The suspended fight with the empire was fought out and won. The imperial House of Hohenstaufen was hunted down and rooted out. The thirteenth century, so mournfully signalised in its beginning by the prostration of free thought and unfettered faith, had yet to witness the sorest humiliation of the civil power beneath the papal tyranny. Frederick II., king of Sicily and emperor of Germany, a prince of many realms and rich endowments, voluptuous, heroic, intellectual, all-accomplished, and magnanimous, holding some conspicuous frailties in union with some lofty qualities, brought new splendour to the most illustrious throne of Christendom, and filled as large a space in the mind of the thirteenth century as another great German prince, another mighty Frederick II., occupied in the thoughts of the eighteenth century. Born of an anti-papal race, the heir of the Hohenstaufens, yet a ward and vassal of the papacy, helped to the throne of Germany by Innocent III., and encircled with the imperial crown by Honorius III., the vanquisher and dethroner of the Guelf emperor Otho, with the help of the pontiff, Frederick seemed born to reconcile the two irreconcilable powers, and bring the long strife between popedom and empire to an amicable end. But far otherwise was it to be. The imperial crown which had changed the Guelf Otho into a Ghibelin and the patronising pontiff into an adversary, was not likely to lose its anti-papal virtue with the blood of Hohenstaufen and the hereditary champion of imperial rights. The papacy dealt hardly and soon fell out with its imperial nurseling, exacting everything and conceding nothing. Pope Honorius charged Frederick with making bishops, oppressing the Church, and breaking his crusader's vow. The latter, who had taken the cross, remembered that he was an emperor as well as a crusader, and that he had duties at home as well as in Palestine, and deferred his expedition under the pressure once of State affairs and then of

bodily illness. The pontiff imputed the growing peril of the Holy Land to the delays of the emperor, and at last (in 1228) Gregory IX. excommunicated the tardy crusader.<sup>17</sup> Frederick replied to the anathema by fulfilling his vow and sailing to Palestine, and the pope, who had excommunicated the emperor for not going, excommunicated him afresh for going. This expedition, though attended by the papal curse, was the only crusade except the first that met with any success. The excommunicated crusader recovered for Christendom the Holy City and much of the Holy Land, and alone of crusading chiefs, since Godfrey of Bouillon, entered Jerusalem in triumph. These advantages over the Moslem sorely wounded and bitterly incensed the sovereign pontiff, who invaded and ravaged the territories of the absent and victorious champion of the cross, and wrung money from almost every nation in Christendom to carry on this enormous warfare. These unnatural hostilities shortened Frederick's stay in Syria, and brought him home (1229) to the defence of his dominions against the pontifical invader, whom his vigorous preparations for war and his importunate demands for peace forced and shamed into a treaty.<sup>18</sup> But Gregory, though apparently appeased, was in reality implacable. The emperor and the republics of Lombardy, with Milan at their head, fell out. The pope, who undertook to bring about a reconciliation, did everything in his power to encourage the confederates and embarrass the Cæsar; and at length (in 1239) openly declared against Frederick, excommunicated and deposed him.<sup>19</sup> Again imperial power was encountered by Italian patriotism in alliance with the papacy. Another emperor Frederick struggled against another Roman pontiff and a revived Lombard League. But the strife had degenerated; the cause on both sides was less noble and far less nobly maintained; the warfare was far more savage. The second Frederick had not the loftiness of the first; and his lieutenant, Eccelino de Romano, was one of those grand monsters and awful tyrants, the peculiar growth of Italy and the fit tenants of Dante's 'Inferno.'<sup>20</sup> The Lombard League had forsaken its first love and lost its early glory; Italian free-

<sup>17</sup> Matthew Paris, pp. 431-4, 461-7. Raynaldus, an. 1221, n. 2-7, 17-21, 32, 33; an. 1223, n. 14-19; an. 1225, n. 1-7; an. 1226, n. 1 et seq.; an. 1227, n. 21-47; an. 1228, n. 1-4.

<sup>18</sup> Matthew Paris, pp. 469, 470, 472, 473, 476-86, 490. Raynaldus, an. 1229, n. 42-3; an. 1230, n. 3-13.

<sup>19</sup> Matthew Paris, pp. 574, 579-81, 599, 609, 634, 649, 651-3.

<sup>20</sup> *Inferno*, xiii. 109.

dom had fewer grievances and more stains ; and the papacy, as wielded by Gregory IX., Innocent IV., and their immediate successors, threw into the conflict a recklessness, a ruthlessness, and a personal malignity which it had not manifested under Alexander III. Ecclesiastics have not been the worst of haters, but the hatred with which successive pontiffs pursued Frederick II. far surpassed the common measure of ecclesiastical or even pontifical animosity. Belligerents, satisfied with wasting each other's territories or destroying each other's subjects, generally spare each other's characters. But the chiefs of Christendom showed no such forbearance. They assailed the emperor no less vehemently, and far more effectually, with slander than with the sword. They lavished, they exhausted defamation upon the heretic, the infidel, the monster, Herod, Pilate, the red dragon. The irregularities of his private life were aggravated into unnatural vices ; his very accomplishments were converted into enormities ; his vigorous and inquiring intellect won him the imputation of unbelief and blasphemy. Slander was vigorously sustained by ecclesiastical censures. He was excommunicated over and over again both by Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. They heaped upon him curse after curse of portentous length and horrible malignity.<sup>21</sup> But they by no means confined themselves to the warfare of the tongue and the pen ; they wielded every carnal weapon against their foe. They oppressed and impoverished Christendom in order to ruin its most conspicuous sovereign ; they perpetrated every kind of fraud, exaction, and extortion for his undoing ; they fed and kept alive against him the flame of Italian patriotism ; they set up pretender after pretender to the imperial throne ; they stirred up rebellion in his states ; they spread treason in his household ; they encouraged attempts against his life, and sought his ruin with an inveterate and implacable hatred which shocked the royal crusader, St. Louis, and the monastic historian, Matthew Paris.<sup>22</sup>

Frederick returned the hatred warmly, but still inadequately, and maintained the conflict valiantly and sometimes fiercely.

<sup>21</sup> Matthew Paris, pp. 646, 667-9, 677-85, 812-884, 898-901, 904-10, 1011-14.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 691, 693, 698, 702 et seq., 838 et seq. Frederick more than once earnestly sought reconciliation, and offered great concessions. St. Louis urged their acceptance on Innocent IV., and pleaded the example of Christ with his vicar. 'When the lord pope had rejected all this with haughty and unbending stiff-neckedness ('*erecta et rejecta cervice*'), the king of the French departed, angry and indignant that the humility which he had hoped for in the servant of the servants of God he had in nowise found' (pp. 925-6).

He let loose bands of Saracen warriors upon the papal territories ; he drove more than one pontiff into exile ; he vanquished more than one pretender to the imperial crown.<sup>23</sup> But, like his grandfather and namesake, Redbeard, he found the Italian Republics his most formidable adversaries. Milan, Bologna, Brescia, Parma, and Genoa held out as bravely against the Suabian as in our day they have struggled against the Austrian. The papacy had many aiders and abettors, but was far most powerfully helped by that very spirit of Italian freedom which now threatens its temporalities and incurs its malediction ; though the turbulent and divided Italian patriotism of the middle ages will bear no comparison with the exalted and unselfish yearning for unity and freedom which inspires the Italy of to-day ; just as the claims of the tottering Austrian domination, fitly represented by Francis Joseph, will bear no comparison with the rights of the Roman Empire, whereof Frederick was the recognised and not unworthy head, and whereof the Italian Republics acknowledged themselves members. The papacy has changed its foe and its friend ; in the thirteenth century it stood with Italy against a German sovereign, while in the nineteenth century it stands with a German sovereign against Italy, and bestows its hostility and malediction as freely upon Italian liberty as it did upon imperial power. But it has now sunk into a very feeble foe, and the anathemas with which it indirectly assails Victor Emmanuel lack all the efficacy and a little of the virulence of the curses which it heaped upon Frederick II.

It was the spirit of the age which lent such efficacy to these

<sup>23</sup> Matthew Paris, pp. 935 et seq., 995 et seq. There is something intensely sad in the bitterness of soul with which Frederick bewailed his lot on occasion of the attempt to poison him, which he imputed to the pope and his own chief counsellor and confidant, Pietro della Vigne (Matthew Paris, pp. 1015-16). 'Woe is me ! mine own flesh and blood fight against me (Væ mihi, contra quem propria pugnans viscera !). This Peter, whom I held as a rock of defence, and the half of my soul, has laid a deadly snare for me. Lo ! the pope whom the empire, under my glorious predecessors, raised from nothing and enriched, labours for the subversion thereof, and devises the destruction of myself, the ruler of that tottering empire. In whom can I trust ? what safety, what cheer remains for me ?' Pietro, who forestalled the vengeance of his master by suicide, found a vindicator of his innocence in Dante, with whom he conferred in hell.

' I swear to you that never I broke faith  
Unto my lord, so worthy of all honour.'

' Vi giuro che giammai non ruppi fede  
Al mio signor che fu d' onor si degno.'

*Inferno*, xiii. 31-76.

papal curses ; it was the spirit of the age which fought against Frederick II. The mind of the thirteenth century was thoroughly bowed beneath the papal power. Innocent III. had to do with an aspiring, inquiring, intellectual, and insurgent age ; and he utterly mastered and crushed it. The extirpation of the Albigenses was not only the destruction of a church, a nation, and a literature ; it was the prostration of free thought throughout Christendom. No bold theological inquirers, no earnest scriptural teachers, like Abelard and Gilbert of Poitiers, like Peter des Bruys and Peter Waldo, so mighty and conspicuous during the twelfth century, illumined the thirteenth. There were deep thinkers and great schoolmen ; but they exercised their powers in exact conformity with the ecclesiastical spirit and in strict obedience to the papal power. The supreme intellect of the thirteenth century, the speculator who charmed and astonished the age, who ruled most powerfully the minds of his contemporaries, Thomas Aquinas, was at once a born subject of Frederick II., and a faithful servant of the Roman Church. The emperor found antagonism everywhere, in every tendency of the time, in every power of the age, in its crusading spirit, its monastic revival, its elaborate scholasticism, its triumphant Realism. Illustrious monarchs sate on more than one throne of Christendom ; but Frederick found no helper among them ; most of them shrank from the accursed of the papacy ; and all of them yielded more or less to the ecclesiastical influences which beset them. The spirit of the age had by far its noblest representative in Louis IX., that true saint who glorified the crown of France, and whom canonisation itself could not unsanctify. Louis, who transcended the contemporary popes as much as he surpassed their imperial foe in moral greatness and Christian graces, would neither assail Frederick at the request of Innocent IV., nor would help the Cæsar against his papal persecutors ; he detested the pride and implacableness of the servant of God's servants ; but he somewhat recoiled from the oft-branded emperor. He vainly sought to reconcile the combatants, and turned away from the unseemly strife to the glory of the hidden life and the toils of his Egyptian crusade. Far from being a mere papal thrall, he resisted papal encroachments in his kingdom by means of a Pragmatic Sanction. Yet he suffered Frederick to be excommunicated throughout his realm ; and it was his brother Charles who, at the papal bidding, and without opposition from Louis, despoiled and destroyed

the descendants of the Cæsar. In Spain another canonised personage, Ferdinand III., more of a warrior, but less of a true saint than Louis IX., reigned over Castile. The battle which laid Islam low in Spain, the most sanguinary and decisive victory ever won by Christians over Mohammedans, the battle of Navas de Tolosa, fought in 1212, had gladdened the heart and glorified the pontificate of Innocent III. Ferdinand the Saint vigorously pursued this victory of Alphonso the Noble, smote the misbelievers with repeated strokes, reft from them province after province, and pent them up within the confines of Granada; and though, like St. Louis, no bondslave of Rome, he sufficiently pleased her to get enrolled among her saints. His contemporary, James I. of Aragon, whose father, Pedro II., fell fighting for the Albigenses against Simon de Montfort in 1213, put forth his valour in a way more agreeable to the Roman Church, and won the surname of Conqueror (*El Conquistador*), from his conquests of Valencia and Majorca from the Moors. In Portugal the pope had much to do with pulling down Sancho II. and setting up Alphonso III. (1246).

The royal crusaders of Spain, the papal victim and the papal nominee of Portugal, were in different ways possessed and mastered by that ecclesiastical spirit against which Frederick strove. That spirit wielded at will the weakminded spendthrift and extortioner, Henry III. of England, whose long reign was a perpetual cry of need and demand of money, and amidst the trouble and confusion of whose long reign the Norman barons and the Saxon yeomen and burghers grew into the English nation, and English freedom obtained the guardianship of the English House of Commons. Emboldened by the degradation of John before Innocent III., the pontiffs of the thirteenth century treated England as a tributary realm and an inexhaustible treasure-house. Henry seemed rather to enjoy this position, of a papal liegeman; though his sister Isabella was Frederick's wife, he allowed free circulation throughout his realm to the bulls which anathematised and deposed his brother-in-law, and assisted the papal extortioners in plundering and impoverishing his subjects in order to carry out the contest with the emperor. England murmured and chafed, detested her pontifical predator, and resisted her royal rifer. She found in a foreigner, Simon de Montfort, son of the destroyer of the Albigenses, the champion of her liberties and the founder of her House of Commons. The father fell before the walls of Toulouse (1217) with



the blessing of that papacy whose foes he was beleaguering; the son fell on the field of Evesham with the papal curse on his head for defending the liberties of England. She possessed in Robert Grosteste, bishop of Lincoln, a high-souled Christian and patriot, who rebuked the pontifical depredator with amazing boldness, and branded Innocent IV. as Antichrist.<sup>24</sup> But notwithstanding these wrongs and this resentment, England brought no help to Frederick. She detested the pope; but she feared and revered the popedom. The awe of the papacy and the terror of the Tartars lay heavy upon Christendom. Zingis Khan, who led the Mongols forth from easternmost Asia on their wide career of conquest and destruction, died in 1227; his sons and grandsons pursued his work, conquered Asia, subjugated Russia, overran Poland and Hungary, and invaded Germany (1242). The Tartars soon withdrew from Western Europe, but held fast to Russia, which vainly implored the aid of Latin Christendom. The Russians would not surrender their spiritual independence; Greek Christianity would not acknowledge the supremacy of Rome even in that hour of national prostration and papal exaltation; and Western Christendom left the stubborn schismatics in the gripe of the heathen Mongols.<sup>25</sup>

The same spirit which withheld succour from the Russian gainsayers of the popedom set the mind of Christendom against the imperial antagonist of the pope. An awe of the papacy oppressed the thirteenth century, far deeper, more benumbing, and more widely pervading than any feeling of the same kind experienced during the two preceding centuries. Frederick II. had to fight against a feeling of far greater strength and intensity than that reverence for the papacy which his ancestor Henry IV., and his grandfather Frederick I., had to encounter. Those princes, though worsted in the end, had wide-spread convictions, had formidable powers on their side. Their descendant had no such supports and allies. The age kept aloof from him; and though conventionally and personally the foremost and most illustrious monarch of Christendom, he really fought against tremendous odds. The oppressive awe of the popedom not only deprived him of confederates, but kept him from wielding weapons of offence unsparingly wielded by his predecessors. Henry IV., Henry V., and Frederick Redbeard

<sup>24</sup> Matthew Paris, pp. 1160-62, 1196.

<sup>25</sup> Matthew Paris has much about the Tartars, pp. 699, 731, 746-52.

had set up anti-popes against their papal adversaries, exercised the imperial prerogative of pontiff-making, and professed to be fighting for the lawful pope against a pretender, and to be protecting the Church against a usurping head. Frederick II. did not venture upon the expedient of an anti-pope; though pursued by the popes with an implacable and unscrupulous hatred of which Henry V. and Frederick I. had no experience; though deposed as well as excommunicated, he did not retaliate; he raised up no rival against any of his three relentless foes, Honorius III., Gregory IX., and Innocent IV. These pontiffs showed no such forbearance. Not only did they set up rival Cæsars against him, but they made his deposition the business of a general council. The spirit of the age allowed the pope-dominion to pervert this ultimate resource and chief solemnity of Christendom into a weapon of offence against the emperor. An outcast from Rome, Innocent in 1245 gathered together at Lyons, a city then nominally subject to the emperor; a great ecclesiastical assembly, mainly for the ruin of Frederick; and the solemn dethronement of the first potentate of Christendom signalled the council of Lyons just as the settlement of the Christian faith signalled the four great assemblies of Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon.<sup>26</sup> The age recognised as valid this dethronement of its most high-placed personage; and the first monarch of the Christian world was in truth its outcast. But Frederick did not forsake himself. He would fain have appeased the pope and conciliated the age; but finding both irreconcilable, he resisted and defied them to the uttermost. He smote the papal league with the scimitar of his Saracen vassals; he arrested and imprisoned prelates on their way to the council of Lyons. At the tidings that the synod had uncrowned him, he recrowned himself with his own hand.<sup>27</sup> He fought at greater disadvantage and with no greater success than his ancestors, but he underwent no personal humiliation; he never humbled himself before the papal foe, like Henry IV. at Canossa, and Frederick I. at Venice; to the last he strove stoutly and smote strongly. Frederick died in 1250, while the fight was raging, a richly endowed, fiercely hated, much erring and much enduring man. The splendour of his gifts and the greatness of his fortune were only equalled by the sharpness of his trials and sorrows, while the bitterness of his foes far exceeded the grievous-

<sup>26</sup> Matthew Paris, pp. 886-7, 896, 920.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 753-56, 928.

ness of his sins. The nurseling and ward of the papacy, he came in for its deadliest hatred—a hatred such as it has borne to no other individual except perhaps his son Manfred. The most high-placed and illustrious person of his time was in sore conflict with it; the chief sovereign of Christendom passed for a heretic or an unbeliever. The Roman Church made him a bed of thorns in this life and doomed him to a couch of fire in the life to come. His own and the succeeding generation acquiesced in the doom.<sup>28</sup> But more distant ages have been more just and generous. The extravagant hatred and unbounded slander of his papal foes have won him favour with posterity; and history, while finding much to condemn, finds still more to admire and compassionate in the emperor Frederick II.

With him departed the might and majesty of the Holy Roman Empire, but not the relentless hate of the popes, who pursued his race as fiercely and implacably as they had persecuted him. The empire ceased to be formidable, and felt itself vanquished; powerless competitors enfeebled and degraded it for many years, from the death of Frederick to the accession of Rudolf of Hapsburg (1250-73). It no longer defied the popedom; it no longer lay in the way of the popes. But the House of Hohenstaufen had still crowns to lose; its spoliation and extirpation formed the chief business of the papacy for nearly twenty years. Conrad IV. succeeded his father Frederick in the empire and the kingdom of Sicily, as likewise in the implacable hatred of Innocent IV., who plagued him with slanders, smote him with anathemas, helped to break his heart, rejoiced over his early death (1254), and despoiled his infant son Conradin of the Sicilian realm, which was overrun by the papal army.<sup>29</sup> This spoliation was followed closely by the death of the spoiler, one of the most terrible among the pontiffs, one of the most pernicious of the Innocents, not less ambitious and ruthless, and far more extortionate and personally malignant than Innocent III., possessed by a rapacity and implacableness which estranged the hearts and haunted the imagination of his contemporaries, who, bowed down as they were beneath the awe of the popedom, detested the pontiff while on earth, and assigned him a place in hell.<sup>30</sup> If he did not transmit all his vices to

<sup>28</sup> Dante, imperialist as he was, places Frederick among the heretics and unbelievers in the tombs of fire (*Inferno*, x. 119).

<sup>29</sup> Matthew Paris, pp. 1191-2.

<sup>30</sup> It was Innocent IV. to whom Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, the most anti-

his successor, he bequeathed his abhorrence of the House of Hohenstaufen, now become a papal passion inseparable from the papal throne. Manfred, the natural son of Frederick, whom he not a little resembled, drove the pontifical invaders from the two Sicilies, sate upon his father's throne, reproduced his father's good and bad qualities, and came in for the enmity of his father's foes. Pontiff after pontiff, Alexander IV., Urban IV., Clement IV. (1254-66), loaded him with curses, published crusades against him, gave away his crown now to this and then to that prince, and compassed Europe in search of a despoiler and destroyer.

They first thrust that office upon Henry III. of England, and pressed Manfred's crown upon his second son Edmund, founder of the first house of Lancaster, wielded at will the grasping feebleness of that reckless spendthrift and unblushing bond-slave of Rome, emptied his treasury, impoverished his realm, and provoked his subjects, who at last withheld supplies, and constrained father and son to forego Sicilian crusade and Sicilian crown.<sup>31</sup> But papal hatred would not forego its object; it turned from the Plantagenets to the Capets; disappointed in the royal family of England, it sought a destroyer of the Hohenstaufens in the royal family of France, and found an exact instrument in the brother of St. Louis, Charles of Anjou, Count of Provence, a man signalled by that union of fanaticism, ambition, ability, rapacity and ruthlessness, which has characterised all the eminent servants of the Roman See, from Simon de Montfort, the exterminator of the Albigenses, downward. Charles, as perfect a papal champion as his brother was good Christian and true Saint, passed into Italy with a host of French warriors, received from Clement the Sicilian crown and the pontifical blessing, and executed in full the sentence of pontifical wrath upon Manfred, who was vanquished and slain at the battle of Benevento (1266). Papal vengeance, not satisfied with the

papal Englishman of his time, addressed the boldest and sternest rebuke ever received by sovereign pontiff from subject prelate (Matthew Paris, pp. 1160-62); whose misdeeds darkened the last hours and drew forth the dying denunciations of the bishop (pp. 1165-68); who, according to popular rumour, received a threatening visit from the departed spirit and a deadly stroke from the pastoral staff of that unresting smiter of the Roman court ('*Romanorum malleus*,' p. 1178); and whom, according to another tradition, one of his own cardinals beheld in vision before the Judgment-seat of God, accused by the Church as her oppressor, corruptor and extortioner, and borne away to punishment (pp. 1196-7).

<sup>31</sup> Matthew Paris, pp. 1190, 1196, 1208, 1209, 1216, 1217, 1219, 1220, 1241, 1242, 1246, 1247, 1264, 1265, 1289, 1290, 1309.

ravished realm and reft life, vented itself on the dishonoured corpse of the not unheroic monarch, whose tremendous isolation as the outcast of Christendom and the accursed of the Church filled his contemporaries with awe, and whose valiant deeds and hapless doom have won the pity and admiration of posterity, a pity and admiration which still live in the deathless strain of Dante.<sup>32</sup>

But papal hate of the House of Hohenstaufen was to find a full and exquisite satisfaction in the blood of an innocent and still nobler victim, in the extirpation of the whole race. Conradin, son of Conrad and grandson of Frederick II., a gallant boy of sixteen, left his German home and his foreboding mother, and marched through Italy at the head of a devoted band of Ghibelin warriors, to reclaim the kingdom of Sicily from the French usurper whom the papacy had enthroned, and whom he encountered at Tagliacozza (1268). A stratagem snatched the victory from the grasp of the young hero, and made him the captive of Charles of Anjou. The Greeks and Romans too often stained their victories by the execution of the captured generals of the defeated host.<sup>33</sup> Christianity and chivalry, how-

<sup>32</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1262, n. 20; an. 1264, n. 2 et seq.; an. 1265, n. 11 et seq.; an. 1266, n. 1 et seq. Giovanni Villani, *Istoria*, lib. vi. c. 90-92. Giannone, *Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli*, lib. xviii. c. 54; lib. xix. c. 1-30. It is somewhat singular that Dante, who with all his imperial predilections hearkened so far to the voice of the Roman Church as to place Frederick in hell, relented towards his still more deeply branded son, whom he 'met in the milder shades of Purgatory.' How tenderly does he make Manfred allude to the outrages lavished by priests and pontiff upon his unburied corpse, and rejoice in their powerlessness to bereave his soul of the divine mercy!

'No curse of theirs can such perdition work,  
That everlasting love may not return  
While hope still keeps her greenness and her bloom.'

'Per lor maladizion si non si perde  
Che non possa tornar l' eterno amore  
Mentre che la speranza ha fior del verde.'

*Purgatorio*, iii. 103-105.

<sup>33</sup> The Syracusans disgraced their triumph over the great Athenian expedition by the execution of its two commanders, Nicias and Demosthenes. After the victory of Ægospotami, which decided the Peloponnesian war, Lysander put Philocles and other Athenian admirals to death. The Romans sullied their final triumph over the Samnites by the execution of the Samnite hero, C. Pontius, who captured their army at the Caudine Forks; they were equally ruthless towards very inferior captives, Perseus and Jugurtha, the vanquished kings of Macedonia and Numidia. But this ferocity was not usual in mediæval warfare. The papal champion might have learned mercy from his Mohammedan contemporaries, who spared his brother St. Louis when defeated and taken in Egypt, just as the noble Saladin eighty years before dealt generously with Guy de Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, whom he had vanquished and captured at the battle of Tiberias (1187).

ever, had somewhat mitigated the horrors of war; and it was not the custom of the middle ages for the victor to put to death the captain of the beaten army, unless he happened to be a rebellious subject. But Charles of Anjou had a very hard heart, and was a thorough papal champion. Conradin had fought beneath the curse of Rome; the papal anathema sanctified the natural ruthlessness of Charles, and made of no account the princely birth, noble qualities, and tender years of Conradin. The kinsmen and courtiers of the victor pleaded hard for mercy to the imperial boy. The conqueror consulted his papal patron as to the fate of the youthful captive; Clement approved, if he did not advise, the bloody course which Charles desired; the ruthless sanction of the Vicar of Christ prevailed over the merciful importunity of knights and barons, and decided the doom of Conradin; and in the public place of Naples the headsman spilled the blood of the heroic boy, the last male of the most illustrious house in Europe (1268).<sup>34</sup>

The world has beheld many memorable scaffolds, has wondered and wept over the decapitation of many princely personages—Lady Jane Grey, Mary Stuart, Charles I., Louis XVI.; has bewailed the violent end of many royal boys—Arthur Plantagenet of Brittany, the victim of his uncle John, Edmund of York murdered after Wakefield fight, Edward of Lancaster slain after Tewkesbury fight, Edward V. and his brother smothered in the Tower, the little dauphin Louis done to death by the Jacobins. But no princely scaffold, no hapless end of highborn youth concentrates such various pathos or wrings so deep a groan from the human heart as the scaffold of Conradin, unless it be that of Lady Jane Grey, whose doom bore a striking and manifold likeness to that of the last of the Hohenstaufens. Each of the princely victims fell beneath the headsman's stroke at the age of sixteen, 'in the prime of earliest youth.' Each fell in a contest for a crown, with this difference, that she was the momentary and reluctant occupant of a throne not rightly her own, while he was seeking to regain his rightful and ancestral realm. Each was a most choice and noble creature. The English girl com-

<sup>34</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1268, n. 1-35. G. Villani, c. 7, 23-29. According to some historians, Clement, when consulted by Charles, compressed his advice into a very brief and very grim apophthegm: 'Vita Conradini, mors Caroli; mors Conradini, vita Caroli'—'Lives Conradin, dies Charles; dies Conradin, lives Charles' (Giannone, lib. xix. c. 4). Raynaldus denies the bloody apophthegm, while the contemporary Guelf Villani hopes that the advice was not given, but dares not gainsay it.

bined all feminine charms with the endowments of a sage and the graces of a saint; the German boy gave promise of all knightly gifts and heroic qualities. Each died nobly; the lady calmly and sweetly, as became a holy soul, an early seeker of the Lord, and the lively partaker of an immortal hope; the youth bravely and steadfastly, as became his imperial birth and knightly breeding. Each was immolated by a fanatical champion of the Roman See; each was in some measure a victim of the papacy. Lady Jane has come to be reckoned among the saints and martyrs of Protestantism; her blood swells the long account of Bloody Mary and ruthless Rome. Conradin has taken rank among those stricken deer whom the human heart canonises and consecrates; his blood casts upon the blotted memory of Charles of Anjou its most damning and indelible stain, and leaves another spot upon the thick-stained garments of the popedom. If her sex gathers a deeper sadness around the scaffold of the English lady, the extinction of a mighty line, the defeat of a great cause, and the consummation of a long-pursued vengeance, wrap in deeper awe the scaffold of the last of the Hohenstaufens.

This ruthless deed must be reckoned among the signal triumphs of the popedom. The conflict which had raged for two centuries between the empire and the papacy was at last brought to an end, not only by the prostration of the imperial power, but also by the extirpation of the imperial house. The race which had for generations sate on the chief throne of Christendom, in which genius and heroism were hereditary, and which had manifested its great qualities mainly in the protracted struggle with the popes, was exterminated by the creature and at the bidding of the Roman pontiff. The last descendant of Henry IV., of Frederick I., of Frederick II., perished on a scaffold. Nor was the decapitation of the heroic boy a single and isolated victory: it formed the crown and consummation of a series of papal triumphs. The conflict signalised by the shameful scene at Canossa and the humbling scene at Venice, was closed by the heart-rending scene at Naples. The contest forms a drama in three acts; the first act commencing with the degradation of Henry IV. before Gregory VII. (1077), and ending with the compromise between Henry V. and Callixtus II. (1122); the second beginning soon after the accession of Frederick Redbeard (1152), and closing with his humiliation before Alexander III. (1177); the third

opening with the quarrel between Otho IV. and Innocent III. (1211), and concluding with the execution of Conradin with the approbation of Clement IV. (1268). In this tremendous strife the worldly power, which pretended to be not of this world, showed itself far more ambitious and grasping, far more reckless and ruthless, than the avowed power of this world; it prevailed by reason of its twofold character and action. A secular power with spiritual pretensions, it appealed to mightier passions and wielded mightier forces than its simply secular adversary; it prevailed likewise through a capital error of that adversary. The empire acknowledged the spiritual claims of the papacy, and thereby acknowledged its own inferiority, confessed that it was fighting against a superior power, and thus fought at a great disadvantage. Defeat has almost always befallen those combatants of the popedom who have recognised its spiritual claims. France alone has combined successful resistance to papal encroachments with acknowledgment of papal authority. The empire vigorously strove, but miserably failed, against the secular aggressions of the power whose encroachments upon the soul and conscience it allowed. England, degraded by the baseness of John into a feudatory realm and treasure-house of the Roman See, stricken, debased, wrung out and emptied by papal oppression and extortion during the long impotence of Henry III., ever murmuring and groaning beneath the burden, ever chafing and striving against the yoke, never effectually strove and entirely prevailed until she renounced the spiritual sway of the foreign oppressor, and broke the ecclesiastical yoke of the Roman extortioner. Spiritual revolts have not always been victories; but the only complete victories won over Rome have been spiritual victories. The Roman Church has generally been too strong for the State, when the strength of the State has not been upholden by the strength of the soul. In the contest for superiority between the closely related, mutually recognising, and mutually dependent powers so prominent in the Middle Ages, the victory must needs remain with the combatant of wider resources, loftier pretensions, and more unscrupulous character. It is no wonder that the Roman Church got the better in the struggle with its intimate and its creature, the Holy Roman Empire.

Pope Clement IV., who prompted, witnessed, and enjoyed the extirpation of the Hohenstaufens, was replaced in 1271 by Gregory X., by far the best and most Christian-hearted of all the



medieval popes, than whom no better man ever underwent the papal dignity, except perhaps Clement XIV., better known as Ganganelli, the suppressor of the Jesuits. The intimate friend of Edward I. of England, he laboured with that last of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, welcomed to Italy that great prince on his return from that bootless enterprise to the wise and vigorous administration of his own realm, and extolled the valour and devoutness of his fellow-crusader before the general council which met at Lyons in 1275.<sup>35</sup> But though personally attached to Edward Longshanks, he showed no unjust and tyrannical favouritism, sought out no mere instruments, and singled out no enemies among the monarchs of Christendom. He disliked and discountenanced the ruthless ambition of the papal champion, Charles of Anjou, would know neither Guelf nor Ghibelin, and laboured for peace on earth and good will amongst men with an earnestness and singleness of aim very rare among Roman pontiffs. In achieving one apparent work of peace, he achieved one apparent papal gain; he reconciled the irreconcilable Greeks; he was the hero of one of those vainest of all papal enterprises, he won one of those idlest of all papal triumphs, a union of the Greek Church. The Greek emperor, Michael Palæologus, by the capture of Constantinople in 1261, overthrew the Latin empire and the Latin Church which the French and Venetians of the fourth crusade had established there. Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily, the destroyer of the Hohenstaufens, the chief champion of the Roman Church, the most ambitious and energetic monarch of Western Christendom, threatened to undo the work of Palæologus, and undertook to reenthroned in Constantinople a French emperor and the Roman pontiff. Michael, determined to disarm the papal champion by conciliating the papacy, bribed and frightened a few Greek bishops into betraying their church, sent ambassadors to the council of Lyons over which Gregory presided, and recognised the supremacy of the Roman Church (1275).<sup>36</sup> The pope rejoiced over an utter nullity, and the Church of Rome made much of a solemn mockery. The union came to nothing: in spite of imperial recreant and episcopal traitors, the Greek Church and nation set at nought the bargain; the Greeks would

<sup>35</sup> Matthæus Westmonasteriensis, *Historia*, lib. ii. pp. 352, 353, 355, ed. London, 1570. The two friends became—one pope and the other king—when crusaders, and left the Holy Land, Gregory in 1271, and Edward in 1272, each to assume his crown.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 355-362.

not be united. Pope Eugenius IV. had to unite them again at the council of Florence in 1438, with precisely the same effect; and they still await the manipulation of another pontifical uniter. Gregory X. brought a large and generous heart to the administration of the papacy, and shed a sort of grace over the absolute authority of the popedom. But the influence of his personal character over the papacy was as transient and delusive as his union of the Greek Church. His pontificate was brief (1271-76); he has retained no place in the heart of posterity, and is most prominent and best remembered in ecclesiastical history as the regulator of the present mode of papal election.

The spirit of Gregory X. was not the spirit of the Roman See. Uncongenial successors oppressively wielded its oppressive supremacy. The power of the popedom was indeed at its topmost height. The empire was brought low; the imperial house was rooted out. The papacy had combined the complete triumph of its ambition with the full satisfaction of its wrath; it seemed to have at last realised its ideal—to have gotten the government of the world into its hands. Kings and princes seemed at the feet of the sovereign pontiff; impotent aspirants, like Richard of England and Alphonso of Castile, contended for the tarnished crown of the fallen empire. An exchange of services bound the popedom and the house of France together. The kingdom of England passed for a vassal realm of Rome. Souls and nations were alike in bondage; she claimed the dominion of both worlds, and had her claim allowed. But this omnipotence was but momentary. The popedom only reached this topmost height of power to be straightway hurled from it. Retribution was at hand; defeat and shame were not far off. But before the great stroke, the great humiliation, fell upon her, she had to witness the chastisement of her chief satellite, Charles of Anjou, and the partial undoing of her latest exploit in the way of giving and taking away crowns; she did not remain unsmitten by the memorable vengeance of the Sicilian Vespers, which burst upon the butcher of Conradin and the tyrant of Naples and Sicily. The slaughter of the heroic boy and their rightful sovereign dwelt in the memory of the Sicilians. Fourteen years of heavy and manifold oppression on the part of Charles and his French instruments added ten thousand bitter recollections to that dark remembrance; and on Easter Tuesday, 1282, on the infliction of a new outrage, and at the sound of the vesper bell, the Sicilians rose upon their French oppressors,

slaughtered eight thousand of them throughout the island, and made it over to Pedro III. of Aragon, the son-in-law of Manfred, the heir and avenger of the Hohenstaufens.<sup>37</sup> Sicily was plucked for ever from the hard grasp of Charles of Anjou and his race. A papal donation was annulled; a crown taken away and given by the popedom was taken away and given in spite and in defiance of the popedom.

This insurrection of Sicily 600 years ago has been strikingly though more nobly reproduced in that Sicilian uprising which so lately astonished Europe and delighted England. Each was directed against a prince of the French race, a scion of the House of Capet in close alliance with the Roman pontiff. The papal curse rested upon the earlier enterprise and its chiefs, as the papal hate now rests upon the later business and the heroes thereof. But the old liberation was far inferior to the present deliverance—more sanguinary and savage, not so loftily conceived, not so speedily or wonderfully achieved, less fruitful and far-reaching. The liberator of the thirteenth century cannot bear comparison with the deliverer of the nineteenth. Garibaldi leaves John di Procida far behind, and Victor Emmanuel represents more potent ideas and a nobler cause than did Pedro of Aragon. The Sicilian deliverance of 1282 stands out by itself an isolated triumph, without contagious power, without mighty consequences. But the Sicilian deliverance of 1860 was a great step in a mighty march, a noble book of a majestic epic, a deed connected with the progress and essential to the completeness of Italian freedom and unity. The latest and most glorious of the many expeditions to Sicily which history records has already had vaster consequences than all of them taken together.<sup>38</sup> The stroke which laid low the Bourbons in

<sup>37</sup> G. Villani, lib. vii. c. 57-61. Giannone, lib. xx. c. 5.

<sup>38</sup> Not the huge armament with which Carthage invaded Sicily, when Xerxes invaded Greece, and which was overthrown by Gelon at Himera, on the very day whereon the Persians were vanquished at Salamis (B.C. 480); not that mighty and splendid Athenian expedition which failed so utterly before Syracuse, and the ruin whereof brought Athens low (B.C. 413-12); not that other great Carthaginian invasion in which Agrigentum was destroyed, Syracuse besieged, and Dionysius pressed hard (B.C. 409, 395); not even that beneficent enterprise of the heroic Timoleon, which delivered Sicily from domestic tyrants and foreign foes (B.C. 344); not the hasty expedition of the restless Pyrrhus (B.C. 278-7); not the entrance of the Romans followed by the first Punic war (B.C. 265-41); not their final conquest of the island under Marcellus, signalled by the fall of Syracuse and the death of Archimedes (B.C. 212); not the advent of the Arab corsairs who brought Islam into the island which they wrested from the Eastern Empire (A.D. 827-78); not the exploits of the band of Normans who, under the wise and valiant Count Roger, wrested Sicily from the Saracens

Sicily struck them down in Naples, and reached on to their ally, the pontiff. The uprising of 1282, while it drove the Capets from Sicily, left them Naples, and came upon the papacy as a provocation and defiance rather than as a stunning blow and deadly wound.

The Sicilian Vespers avenged Conradin, broke the heart of Charles of Anjou, and enraged his papal patrons, who went on heaping crowns and graces on the House of France and launching curses and crusades against the patriots of Sicily and the princes of Aragon. But the great mediæval woe of the papacy was nigh at hand—a stroke from which it never wholly recovered. The bitterness of the stroke was enhanced by the birth of the inflictor. It came not from Sicilian patriot or German Cæsar, but from the head of the beloved house of France. The Hohenstaufens were avenged by the kinsman of their despoiler and destroyer; the empire was vindicated, the civil power was victoriously asserted by the chief of that royal race which had most profited by the exaltation of the papal power. The popedom was shamed, smitten, and led captive by its ally and darling, the grandson of St. Louis, the great-nephew of Charles of Anjou, the son of Philip III., who died on an errand of the Roman See, an ignominious and disastrous crusade against Pedro of Aragon. Philip the Fair, king of France, was chosen to trample on the pontiff, to degrade the priesthood, and to bring to an end the period of papal splendour.

Seldom have antagonists been better matched than King Philip the Fair and Pope Boniface VIII. Both were under the sway of vehement passions, overbearing pride, towering ambition, and implacable resentment; but there dwelt in the ambition of the king a calm and settled energy and a harmony with the spirit of the age to which that of the wild and violent pontiff was a stranger. Philip, one of the very few eminently handsome men, not less renowned for ability and success, the most powerful and

(1060-90); not the subjugation of the Sicilian Normans by Henry the Stern and his Germans (1195); not the cruel conquest of Charles of Anjou (1266); not the expedition of Pedro of Aragon, which completed the work of the Sicilian Vespers (1282); not the Austrian conquest (1707); not the attempt of Spain to win back the island, an attempt defeated by the English navy (1718); not the successful invasion of the Spaniards in 1734; not one of these enterprises can vie with the enterprise of Garibaldi for combined nobleness of motive, boldness of execution, rapidity of success, smallness of means, and greatness of results. The expedition of Timoleon was as nobly inspired, as bravely and victoriously executed; in truth the character and exploits of the lofty Greek bear a strong likeness to those of the high-souled Italian; but his means were greater, and his success was less rapid and fruitful.

absolute of the French monarchs during the middle ages, and the most formidable antagonist that the papacy ever encountered within its own communion, brought to the conflict with Boniface a fixedness of purpose, a clearness of judgment, and a fertility of expedients very seldom surpassed. No warrior and no hero, the unresting and implacable Philip succeeded where each magnanimous Frederick had failed. The dark, cold, stern Capet humbled and vanquished the power which had prevailed against the heroic Hohenstaufens.<sup>39</sup>

Boniface VIII. exhibited an arrogance, ambition, and worldliness in striking contrast with the unwonted saintliness of his immediate predecessor, not unmeetly named Celestine V., who became pope in 1294. For once a pontiff felt too heavenly-minded for his office; for once a pope resigned the popedom. Celestine V. became again Peter Morone; and the holy hermit rejoicingly returned to the cell amidst the mountains which he had reluctantly forsaken a few months before for the throne of Christendom amidst the scorn of stern and active, amidst the reverence and admiration of tender and contemplative spirits.<sup>39</sup> Boniface VIII., the chief adviser of this famous resignation, which led to his own election, distrusted and persecuted the sanctity by which he had so profited. Fearful of a man who had been pope, and might wish to be pope again, he dragged the aged hermit from his just-regained cell, and Celestine died in the dungeon of his suspicious and ungrateful successor.<sup>40</sup> Himself destined to an end still more bitter and ignominious, Boniface breathed a very different spirit and lived a very different life. He keenly enjoyed his elevation, rejoicingly wore that crown upon which his arrogance bestowed its triple shape, sate in the papal chair as on the throne of the world, and looked down upon all kings and princes as upon so many subjects and servants. He domineered over the emperor Adolphus of Nassau; denounced and humbled his destroyer and successor, Albert of

<sup>39</sup> Bacon, in his *Essay on Beauty*, remarks, that generally very beautiful persons are not of great spirit, and goes on to say, 'But this holds not always; for Augustus Cæsar, Titus Vespasianus, Philippe le Bel of France, Edward IV. of England, Alcibiades of Athens, Ismael the Sufi of Persia, were all high and great spirits, and yet the most beautiful men of their time.'

<sup>40</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1294, n. 3-22; an. 1295, n. 11-15. G. Villani, lib. viii. c. 5. *Matthæus Westmonasteriensis*, lib. ii. pp. 393-4. The monk of Westminster reveres the pope 'who chose with Mary the better part of the contemplative life,' while the vehement high-hearted Dante places the shade of him 'who made through baseness the great abdication (che fece per viltate il gran rifiuto)' among the wretched crew 'hateful to God and to His enemies' (*Inferno*, iii. 55-62).

Austria; governed Charles II., king of Naples; proscribed Frederick, king of Sicily, and lectured Edward I. of England and Philip IV. of France; gave his orders to the mighty conqueror of Wales and Scotland; claimed as a dependency of the Roman See that Scottish realm which Wallace was defending against the English invader; and spoke as a master to the stern and terrible ruler of France.<sup>41</sup> In his zealous championship of ecclesiastical liberties and immunities, he forbade the clergy to pay tax or subsidy to the State without leave of the Roman See. Philip the Fair, ever in need of money, and jealous of the prerogatives of his crown, took especial offence at this bull as a wrong to his treasury and an encroachment on his authority, and answered it in kind by a decree which forbade gold or jewels to be sent out of the kingdom. This cruel thrust against the papal exchequer was resented by Boniface in a vehement and impassioned bull, wherein he rebuked the oppressions and exactions of the king against the church; reproached him with the piety of his ancestors and the favours of the Roman See towards himself and his house; denounced his measures and reviled his advisers; threatened him with his own wrath, and prophesied the vengeance of Heaven. After this endeavour to impoverish each other, prince and pontiff paused awhile: each had much business and many enemies on his hands; each made some concessions to the other.<sup>42</sup> Philip went on aggrieving his neighbours and oppressing his subjects: while Boniface fell upon his cardinals; turned his wrath against the family of Colonna, for whose especial destruction he actually proclaimed a crusade; canonised Philip's grandfather, Louis IX.; and held the famous jubilee of 1300, when myriads of pilgrims purchased the entire forgiveness of their sins—past, present, and to come—by a journey to Rome and a happy mixture of devotion and liberality at the tombs of the apostles.<sup>43</sup> The mighty confluence of devotees replenished the coffers and uplifted the proud heart of Boniface: he saw Christendom prostrate before him, and felt himself more than a match for her most powerful monarchs. Certain feudal rights and worldly possessions were in dispute

<sup>41</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1295, n. 16-20, 43-46; an. 1296, n. 13-15; an. 1299, n. 14-25; an. 1301, n. 1-9.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* an. 1296, n. 22-32, 43-50; an. 1297, n. 36-42, 58-62. *Histoire particulière du grand Différend entre le Pape Boniface VIII. et Philippe le Bel*, par Pierre du Puy, in vol. vii. of Buckley's edition of De Thou, 1733.

<sup>43</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1297, n. 26-42, 58-66; an. 1300, n. 1-9. G. Villani, lib. viii. c. 36.

between Philip the Fair and some of the French bishops. Boniface sternly interposed, and commanded the pastors of the Church to hold fast to every worldly advantage against the monarch of this world. The king pursued his claims, arrested and brought to trial a papal agent whose impetuous mediation had made matters worse. The pontiff forbade this trial of a priest by laymen; summoned an assembly of the French clergy at Rome; hinted at excommunication; and set forth the king's transgressions in the famous bull, 'Ausculta, fili.' Philip and the lawyers who surrounded him at once boldly and wisely widened the dispute. He stood forward as the champion of the laity against the priesthood, of the nation against a foreign usurper. He appealed to the people as no other French monarch had ventured to do, and convened the Estates General of the Realm—barons, bishops, and burghers—to vindicate the national dignity and independence against the Roman See. In their ears the pontiff was fiercely denounced; in their presence the obnoxious bull was burned. France and Rome, so long in close alliance, now stood in open hostility to each other. Philip laid hands upon the persons and property of the prelates who attempted to obey the papal summons to Rome. Boniface multiplied lofty pretensions and fierce threats, and declared the king excommunicated in company with his obsequious lawyers. They replied by accusing the pope of usurpation, simony, and heresy before an assembly of French bishops and barons, and by recommending his arrest and deposition.<sup>44</sup> Boniface brandished his thunderbolts, and prepared to smite the king with a sentence of special excommunication and dethronement. But Philip smote more swiftly and more strongly. On the very day before the papal bolt was to be hurled—on September 7, 1303, a day destined to be especially disastrous to the popedom—a band of armed men, hired by William de Nogaret, the devoted agent of Philip and the public accuser of Boniface, and headed by Sciarra Colonna, the deadly enemy of the pontiff, marched into Anagni, a little town not far from Rome, the birthplace, favourite residence and summer retreat of the pope, with cries of 'Death to Boniface: long live the king of France,' broke into the papal palace, plundered the papal treasury, and heaped insult and outrage upon the captive pontiff.<sup>45</sup> Boniface con-

<sup>44</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1301, n. 26-32; an. 1302, n. 11-16. Giovanni Villani, lib. viii. c. 62. *Histoire du Différend*, pp. 65-71.

<sup>45</sup> Four times has September 7 been signalised by a papal disaster. On September 7,

fronted his captors in all the splendour of pontifical apparel, and with all the courage of his dauntless heart, exclaiming, 'I am betrayed like Jesus Christ, but I will die pope.' For three days he remained in the hands of his enemies; on the fourth day the people of Anagni rose, put to flight the captors, and delivered the captive. But Philip's work was effectually done. The victim bore back to Rome a shaken frame and a broken heart. Wrath, shame, and wounded pride threw him into a fever, which carried him off just a month after the outrage, October 11, 1303.<sup>46</sup>

The terrible scene at Anagni closes the third act of the papal drama, brings to an ignominious end the period of papal splendour and omnipotence so strikingly opened more than two centuries before by the strange scene at Canossa, the abasement of the emperor Henry IV. before Gregory VII. The kingdom of this world which professed itself a kingdom not of this world, received its full development and attained its perfect consummation, marched on from triumph to triumph, vanquished every foe, subjugated every power, perpetrated every crime. Every tendency of the time either ministered to the papacy or was mastered by it; every event fought for it. The crusades, which almost exactly covered the period of its supremacy, not a little contributed thereto.<sup>47</sup> The mighty men of the time were either its servants or its victims. Robert Guiscard, William the Conqueror, Lanfranc, Anselm, Bernard, Becket, Simon de Montfort the elder, and Charles of Anjou did battle for the Roman Church and prevailed. Henry IV., Abelard, Arnold of Brescia, Frederick Redbeard, and Frederick II., resisted her and were crushed. The papacy trampled on everything that stood in its way, whether public power or individual passion. Imperial might and national spirit, the strength of princes and the heart of man, genius, valour, love, subtle thought and earnest faith, all went down before the Roman Church. Her greatness may not have been an unmitigated curse; her supremacy may have kept other forms of evil under; but the worldly omnipotence of a great

1303, Boniface VIII. was arrested; on September 7, 1533, our own Elizabeth was born; on September 7, 1631, Gustavus Adolphus won the battle of Leipzig; on September 7, 1860, Garibaldi entered Naples in triumph.

<sup>46</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1303, n. 33-43. Giovanni Villani, lib. viii. c. 63, 64. *Histoire du Différend*, pp. 71-73. Matthew of Westminster, lib. ii. pp. 442, 443, ed. 1570.

<sup>47</sup> The crusade, contemplated by Gregory VII., was first proclaimed by Urban (1095), in the midst of the conflict with Henry IV. Jerusalem was taken in 1099; and Acre, the last stronghold of the Christians in the Holy Land, was stormed by the Mamelukes in 1291, twelve years before the scene at Anagni.



spiritual corruption has in it something very mournful and terrible. Happily this omnipotence was very shortlived. Humiliation came upon the papacy more suddenly and not less signally than exaltation. Only thirty-five years after the last of the Hohenstaufens perished on a scaffold at Naples, by the order of a French prince and with the approbation of a pope, a sovereign pontiff was done to death at Anagni, at the bidding of another French prince, the near kinsman of the former. The power that had trampled on heroes, sages, and saints, was humbled by one stern despot and a band of unscrupulous lawyers. The wrongs of the Hohenstaufens, the wrongs of the Albigenses, the wrongs of the trampled State, of the tortured heart, of the stricken conscience, found an avenger in Philip the Fair. Through his triumph over the long triumphant popedom this unheroic and unwarlike king of France rises into historic greatness, and takes rank among the mighty men and master spirits of the world. He smote the papacy in the fulness of its strength; he humbled it in the noontide of its splendour. Strangely, too, this daring and terrible blow was struck with perfect impunity. The outrage at Anagni was deeply abhorred and fiercely execrated; but it remained unavenged; it provoked no resistance, no reaction. The horror which it aroused still breathes and burns in the sublime execration of Dante:—

‘I see the lily in Anagni enter,  
 And in His vicar Christ new captive led,  
 I see him sore bemocked a second time  
 (The vinegar and gall again outpoured),  
 And among living robbers done to death.  
 I see the other Pilate too fell-souled  
 For this to glut him; but he reaches forth  
 Within the temple his lawless, greedy grasp.  
 O my Lord God, when shall I be made glad  
 With sight of that dear vengeance which Thy wrath  
 Stores up delighted in Thy hiding-place?’<sup>48</sup>

\* *Purgatorio*, xx. 86-96:

‘Veggio in Alagna entrar lo fiordaliso,  
 E nel vicario suo Cristo esser catto.  
 Veggio un’ altra volta esser deriso;  
 Veggio rinnovellar l’ aceto e ’l fele,  
 E tra vivi ladroni essere anciso.  
 Veggio ’l nuovo Pilato sì crudele  
 Che ciò nol sazia, ma senza decreto  
 Porta nel tempio le cupide vele.  
 O Signor mio, quando sarò io lieto  
 A veder la vendetta che nascosa  
 Fa dolce l’ ira tua nel tuo segreto?’

But no vengeance lighted upon the new Pilate save the immortal curse of the wrathful Florentine. The mighty poet, driven from Florence by Philip's brother, Charles of Valois, whom Boniface himself, in his old love of the house of France, had called into Italy to smite the Ghibelins and to command the Guelfs; the woful wanderer, who, a born Guelf, had partaken that tenderness of Boniface for the Capets, and who, now stricken like the pontiff by that beloved race, felt towards it that deepest and fiercest of all hates—the hate that has once been love—fed his sick, angry heart with the hope of that delicious vengeance which never came, and was doomed to behold the unbroken triumphs and heightened prosperity of that Philip whom he so abhorred.

The blow struck at Anagni not only remained unavenged and unreturned, but was altogether successful. It brought the papacy low, not only for a while but for ever; it was indeed a mighty stroke, from which the papacy never wholly recovered. The popedom has survived the outrage at Anagni five centuries and a half; but those centuries have been ages of degeneracy and decline, diversified by vehement revivals and violent relapses. Since then the Roman Church has put forth great energy, has won victories, has possessed considerable power; but weakness and disaster have been still more her portion; she has never since ruled the world. The omnipotence, temporal and spiritual, arrogated by Gregory VII. and exercised by Innocent III., fell with Boniface VIII. Never again, even for a brief while, has she realised her ideal, but has indulged in magnificent pretensions, more or less painfully belied by facts, and has clung to a theoretical position in unwelcome contrast with her actual

This furious malediction comes in during an enumeration of the misdeeds of the Capets. Bitter indeed must have been Dante's hatred towards Philip and his race to win from him words of reverence for that Boniface over whose crimes he dilates elsewhere, and for whom he provided a very unpleasant abode in hell with other evil pontiffs (*Inferno*, xix. 52–82; xxvii. 70–111). His tenderness for the popedom when stricken by Philip, is quite consistent with his wrath against the popedom when assailing the empire. In this passage Dante may have taken a hint from pope Benedict XI., the successor of Boniface, who, in a sermon preached the year after the outrage at Anagni, described it as an outrage upon Christ: 'Ipsum Christum a militibus Pilati spoliari asserens, captum, damnandum et tanquam remortuum planxit in carcere, velut in sepulchro, triduo a militibus custoditum' (Matthew Westm. lib. ii. p. 444). Philip is not the only French sovereign whose dealings with the papacy have won for him, with papal advocates or personal foes, a place beside Pontius Pilate. The uncle and nephew who enthroned and reenthroned the house of Bonaparte have had this fellowship with a Capet; and a French bishop, in 1861, drew out in Napoleon III. the likeness which Dante glanced at in Philip the Fair.

plight. The age of absolute power over flesh and spirit, over states and souls, over consciences and kings; the age of overwhelming excommunications and blighting interdicts; the age of boundless usurpations always triumphant, and of huge extortions always successful; the age wherein crowns were given and taken away, and nations made over to an enslaver or an exterminator at the good pleasure of the Roman See; the age which lives over again so vividly in the sombre and minute painting of the contemporary monk Matthew Paris; the age which the devotees of the papacy call its golden age, which they fondly linger over, and which they passionately wish back; the age which the foes of the popedom no less admit to be its golden age; this age passed away never to return. This glory and greatness, unseemly and repulsive as the ideal of an earthly polity, as the perfection of a kingdom of this world, but so utterly amazing and enormous as the ideal of the Church of Christ, as the culmination and consummation here below of the kingdom not of this world, went, and went for ever. The debasement and diminution of the leading personage closed the third act but in no way impaired the interest of the papal drama; varied scenes and striking incidents fill the two remaining acts into which the Reformation divides the story of the declining popedom.

## BOOK V.

## THE DEGRADATION OF THE POPEDOM.

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The wretched woman, whose unhappy hour  
 Hath now made thrall to your commandement,  
 Before that angry heavens list to lour  
 And fortune false betrayed me to your power,  
 Was (O what now availeth that I was!)  
 Born the sole daughter of an emperor;  
 He that the wide West under his rule has,  
 And high hath set his throne where Tiberis doth pass.

*Faerie Queen*, i. ii. 22.

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PHILIP THE FAIR had outraged the papacy in the person of Boniface; he went on to catch and tame it. The violence of Anagni was not enough of itself to make him master of the Roman See; but he followed it up with extraordinary vigour, perseverance and good fortune. Upon the death of Boniface, the Cardinals hastened to give him a successor in one of his most devoted partisans, who took the name of Benedict XI. The new pontiff, however eager to avenge his outraged benefactor, and vindicate the insulted dignity of the Roman See, felt at first too much terror-stricken at the enormity of Anagni to resent it, and undertake a struggle with its unscrupulous deviser. After a few months, however, he gathered courage to excommunicate its perpetrators and directors. Scarcely had he hurled his bolt when he himself was mortally stricken, dying suddenly and most suspiciously, from poison as it was supposed, conveyed in a basket of figs by a female emissary of the French king<sup>1</sup> (1304). No voice was raised; no inquiry was made; the Roman Church, but just before so dauntless and all-defying, trembled before this terrible adversary; and in fear and trepidation the Cardinals came together at Perugia to elect a pontiff.

<sup>1</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1304, passim. The papal annalist hints at the crime, but does not insist upon it; in fact, hurries over all the dealings of Philip with the papacy, evidently a most unwelcome subject. Matthew of Westminster (lib. ii. p. 444) makes Benedict poisoned by his butler.

But they could come to no election ; Philip had been unsparing of gold as of violence, and his partisans in the conclave counter-balanced the creatures of Boniface. Months rolled away, but no pontiff emerged. At length it was agreed that the friends of Boniface should nominate three Cardinals, from whom the French faction should choose a pope within forty days. Philip was straightway apprised that the papacy was in the gift of his partisans, and was counselled to make terms with one of the three nominees, Bertrand de Got, archbishop of Bordeaux, indirectly his own subject, though the immediate subject of Edward I. of England, as Duke of Aquitaine. Philip, the last man in the world to neglect such an opportunity, at once invited the archbishop to a conference. In a wood near St. Jean d'Angely, half-way between Paris and Bordeaux, the king and the priest met, and there concluded a compact which brought the priesthood low and inflicted on the popedom seventy years of vassalage to the French monarchy. Philip showed the archbishop that the papal chair was in his gift, and offered it to him on six conditions : his own full reconciliation with the Church, the absolution of the captors and the condemnation of the memory of Boniface, the restoration of the Cardinals Colonna to all their honours, the tithes of the French clergy for five years, and a sixth favour, unnamed as yet, but to be granted as soon as asked. The eager archbishop promised everything and to insure performance, the wary king exacted an oath upon the consecrated bread, and hostages from among the near kindred of de Got. The grateful prelate at once complied. The king's friends in the conclave were forthwith instructed to proceed to the election, and within thirty-five days from the conclusion of the agreement, the sworn servant of Philip became pope under the name of Clement V. The sovereign pontiff reigned by the grace of the king of France.<sup>2</sup>

Philip made the most of his bargain and improved his triumph to the utmost. He completely subjected the pope ; he unscrupulously used the popedom. He degraded the papacy, so lately the master, the oppressor, and the destroyer, into the tool of his policy, and the minister of his passions. Never was there a more exacting and imperious master than the French monarch ; never was there a more humble and devoted servant than the sovereign pontiff. Philip was very ambitious, very covetous, and very implacable, and Clement lent himself and the whole power

<sup>2</sup> G. Villani, lib. viii. c. 80. *Histoire du Différend*, pp. 76, 77.

of the Roman Church to gratify every craving of that eager ambition, that insatiable cupidity, and that sleepless revenge. He enriched the king at the expense of the clergy, of whom he was the head. He replenished the coffers, aggrandised the family, absolved the agents, cursed the enemies, and anathematised the victims of his patron.<sup>3</sup> Most men cease to hate a foe when once out of the way, and often relent towards an adversary dead and gone. But Philip hated Boniface with a peculiar and immortal hate. He had not forgiven the man whom he had arrested and done to death. To justify the outrage at Anagni before Christendom, and perhaps to ease his own conscience, he had to make his victim out to be a usurper and a monster. Accordingly, he formally accused him of every imaginable vice and crime, and required Clement to declare his pontificate an usurpation and his memory infamous, to annul his acts and disinter his bones.

The hapless Clement, loth to dishonour his old master and to disoblige his new master, loth to condemn the man who had made him cardinal and to incense the man who had made him pope, loth to disorganise the Church by annulling all the acts and blotting out the pontificate of Boniface, and to imperil himself by provoking the wrath of Philip, gave solemn hearing to the horrible charges brought against his predecessor, instituted a trial, examined witnesses, listened to prosecution and defence, but shrank from giving sentence.<sup>4</sup> This grand scandal—this warfare waged against the memory of the Father of the Faithful by his eldest son—was at last closed by a compromise, in the shape of a bull, which, while it saved the memory and recognised the pontificate of Boniface, proclaimed the innocence and magnified the motives of Philip, declared him to be a true son of the Church and the people of France an elect people, cancelled every act of the Roman See to the prejudice of the king and kingdom during the quarrel with Boniface, and directed every expression hostile or offensive to him to be obliterated from every document in the pontifical archives.<sup>5</sup>

Philip might well have been contented with such a compromise; but he more readily relinquished the full satisfaction of

<sup>3</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1305, n. 24; an. 1306, n. 1-10; an. 1307, n. 1-9; an. 1307, n. 15, 22. Baluzius, *Vitæ Papatum Avenionensium*, tom. i. pp. 3, 6.

<sup>4</sup> G. Villani, lib. viii. c. 91. Raynaldus, an. 1307, n. 10, 11; an. 1309, n. 4; an. 1310, n. 37, 38.

<sup>5</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1311, c. 25-51. *Histoire du Différend*, pp. 77-82.

his hatred against Boniface, as Clement completely gratified another animosity. The compliant pontiff sacrificed the Knights of the Temple to the cupidity or inexplicable hate of the French king, admitted the monstrous charges made against them, sanctioned the horrible cruelties inflicted upon them, and finally suppressed the famous order at the Council of Vienne (1311); the selectest champions of Christendom perished amidst torments ordained by the Eldest Son and approved by the Head of the Church.<sup>6</sup>

But the sovereign pontiff was the captive as well as the servant of the French monarch. To insure a more prompt and exact obedience, Philip kept him within reach, detained him in France, withheld the Roman bishop from the Roman See, and reduced the chief of Christendom into a French vassal. After passing from French town to French town, Clement, in 1309, settled at Avignon, a city not then included in the kingdom of France, but close upon its borders, and in the dominions of a French prince, the Count of Provence and King of Naples. Here he lived ingloriously for four years, seeking, under the oppressive requirements of a hard master, somewhat questionable consolation in the embraces of an exacting mistress. So closely associated in life, Philip and Clement were not long divided by death. According to popular tradition, Jacques de Molay, the last Grand Master of the Temple, ere he was caught by the flames, summoned his two destroyers, the pope and the king, to follow him ere long before the judgment-seat of God. They followed their victim in the same year (1314). The servant went first, to be rejoined in a few months by his terrible master.<sup>7</sup> The tamer and tyrant of the papacy, the most uniformly successful of French monarchs, the moving and master spirit of the age, and one of the most potent personages in all history, passed to his account.

The age of Philip the Fair was a very remarkable age, signalised by great events, and illustrated by mighty men; some of them more personally interesting, more truly and abidingly glorious, more delightful to the heart and imagination, than the dread King of France. Rudolf of Hapsburg founded the greatness of the house of Austria. William Tell shot his immortal shaft, and Switzerland was born (1308). The

<sup>6</sup> G. Villani, lib. viii. c. 92. Raynaldus, an. 1307, n. 12, 13; an. 1308, n. 1-9; an. 1311, n. 1-10. Baluzius, tom. i. pp. 8-10; tom. ii. pp. 97-116.

<sup>7</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1309, n. 11. G. Villani, lib. ix. c. 58.

Flemings victoriously upheld their freedom against the invading forces of Philip himself on the bloody field of Courtrai, and the 600 pairs of golden spurs hung up in Courtrai Cathedral long remained a trophy of the triumph of civic freedom over royal and baronial oppression.<sup>8</sup> The wise and valiant Edward Longshanks mightily ruled England, utterly subdued Wales, and often overran Scotland, while that ever-invaded but still unconquered realm found a heroic defender in Wallace, and a victorious champion in Bruce. But none of these performed so marvellous a feat, wrought so great a revolution, so powerfully ruled the age, or so deeply and widely affected the future, as this great tamer, chief degrader, and most absolute master of the papacy. The age of Philip the Fair enjoys one singular felicity, has been at once more minutely and magnificently reproduced than any other. One of the greatest among the sons of men surveyed and set it forth, suffered in it and sang about it. Never before, never since, has genius so exalted, so directly taken up the utterance of its own time. The life of Dante includes the whole reign and the whole life of Philip the Fair. Born in 1265, three years before, he died in 1321, seven years after, the king of France. But they were more than contemporaries; there existed between them a close and painful connection, of which the monarch was unconscious, but to which the poet was keenly and wrathfully alive. Towards that Philip whose brother had driven him forth from Florence and made him a miserable outcast and wanderer for the rest of his days, whose influence had mocked his darling aspirations and sorely wounded his most cherished convictions, who had spoiled the whole of life for him, he felt the attraction of an intense personal and political hatred. He looked for a united Italy and a regenerated world through the action of a restored and reinvigorated empire assisted by a subordinate, harmonious, and spiritual papacy; and he saw instead this terrible king of France obscuring and supplanting the Holy Roman Empire, degrading, displacing, and oppressing the Holy Roman Pontificate. Detesting the popedom as the antagonist of imperial power and the usurper of imperial rights, he accepted its spiritual sovereignty, and longed to contemplate it as the handmaid of the renewed empire, and he beheld it the tool, the prey, and the captive of the foreign potentate to whom he owed the loss of

<sup>8</sup> G. Villani, lib. viii. c. 54-58.



his country and the exceeding bitterness of his life.<sup>9</sup> Unalive to the spiritual evil of the papacy, he could only curse its captor and degrader; with all his depth of thought and fulness of vision, he could not see the need of Philip's appearance or the providential character of Philip's work: but he fully felt the presence which he abhorred; he fully acknowledged the power against which he chafed; he recognised in the object of his intense hatred the master-spirit of the age.

But Philip the Fair does not overtop the mighty men of his own time alone. History presents us with few more potent personages than this stern, close, dark despot; records few more strange and striking exploits than his defeat and humiliation of the popedom in the very fulness of its worldly strength and pride, in the utmost width and absoluteness of its spiritual dominion. Never in its long career has the papacy met with so dire and deadly a foe. It has often been as triumphantly defied, it has often been more nobly vanquished, by many a great Reformer, by many a Protestant sovereign and Protestant people. But it has never been so caught and tamed and tormented; it has never been so degraded and befouled, save and except by itself. Napoleon I. himself was not so formidable an adversary. He laid hands on the pope, he coerced the popedom, but he did not so entirely use and utterly debase it. It may, however, be reserved for another French sovereign to emulate the work of Philip the Fair. It may be reserved for Napoleon III., in this present depth of papal ignominy, in this extremity of papal distress, again to reduce the popedom into a mere tool and vassal of France; to make himself not less completely master of it; to put it upon services not less degrading; to lead it into a captivity more shameful than the captivity of Avignon, and to lay upon it a yoke more heavy than the yoke of Philip the Fair.

<sup>9</sup> He concludes the treatise *de Monarchia* with an aspiration for the harmonious action of empire and popedom: 'May Cæsar show that reverence towards Peter which a first-born son is bound to show towards his father; so that, irradiated by the light of his father's love, he may more potently illumine the world (*virtuosius orbem terræ irradiet*), over which he is set by Him alone who is supreme over all things spiritual and temporal' (*apud Oporinum, lib. iii. p. 179, ed. Basle, 1559*). Never was an aspiration more cruelly mocked by the state of things around him. Cæsar was nobody and nowhere. There was, however, an eldest son basking in the beams of the holy father's favour, and waxing stronger thereby; but that eldest son was the hated Philip, that holy father was the despised Clement, and those beams of love were compliances and concessions which drove Dante almost mad.

The successors of Philip did not inherit his energy and strength of purpose; the popes who immediately followed Clement V. were not marked by his extreme feebleness, fearfulness, and docility: but the work of Philip endured; the pontificate was permanently weakened and degraded, and for nearly a century remained in more or less decently-disguised dependence upon the French crown. French intervention was required to quicken the dilatory and discordant cardinals, who suffered two years to pass away without giving a successor to Clement. Another Philip, son of the pontiff-tamer, and establisher of the Salic Law, afterwards Philip V., shut up the divided electors at Lyons, until, in 1316, another French partisan was raised to the popedom under the name of John XXII. who fixed his court at Avignon.<sup>10</sup> Over the sojourn of the papacy in France—not unhappily denominated the seventy years' captivity—papal annalists and enthusiasts have wrung their hands, and not without good reason.<sup>11</sup> It was a period of deep decline—the prelude and preparation for still deeper and more decided declension. The papacy dwindled in every way—in worldly might, in spiritual power, as the dictator of kings and as the dictator of consciences. Every year it sank in the fear and estimation of monarchs, in the love and reverence of nations. It grew at once less terrible and less venerable. Away from its proper seat, afar from that awful and imperial Rome wherewith the might and majesty of the popedom were indissolubly bound up, the Roman Pontiff grew slight and small in the sight of Christendom. The papal claims sounded ridiculous on the lips of the captive at Avignon; the papal thunderbolts fell weak and harmless from the hands of the vassal of France. John XXII., not the least remarkable wearer of the triple crown, combined with a passionate love of money lofty ideas of papal power and an earnest desire to aggrandise the papal throne; a strong will and restless activity. Arrogant, ambitious and rapacious as the mightiest among his predecessors, he was after all a mere meddler, busybody, and hoarder.<sup>12</sup> He was to the Gregories

<sup>10</sup> G. Villani, lib. ix. c. 79. Raynaldus, an. 1316, n. 1-5. Baluzius, tom. i. p. 113-16.

<sup>11</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1305, n. 1. Platina, in *Clementem V.* Baluze, as good a Frenchman as a catholic, makes the best of the papal sojourn in France, and was too skilful a flatterer of Louis XIV., to whom he dedicated his book, not to look upon the protection of a French king as something of a blessing even to the Holy Roman Church (Præfatio).

<sup>12</sup> G. Villani, lib. xi. c. 20.

and Innocents of a past age what an elaborate and servile imitator is to a great original genius. He got up a conflict with the emperor Louis of Bavaria, and went through correctly enough all the old practices and proceedings incident to contests between Cæsar and pontiff. He dealt freely in excommunications and interdicts; he stirred up rebellion in Germany and commotion in Italy, while his imperial opponent occupied Rome and ravaged the States of the Church. John supported a rival Cæsar; Louis set up an anti-pope. But the struggle, though bitter and prolonged, was petty and unimportant, signalled by no remarkable action and leading to no great result. The dwindling popedom fought with the dwindling empire. Both pontiff and Cæsar made a great noise, but did not hit very hard. John excommunicated to little purpose, and laid on interdicts which did little harm. Louis appeared in Italy with very little glory, and bestirred himself there with very little effect. The contest languished through three pontificates; Louis died excommunicated and unconquered (1348). His death made way for the papal nominee, Charles, king of Bohemia, son of that blind king John who fell fighting for France at Crecy, and from whom the Black Prince took the ostrich feather and the famous motto.<sup>13</sup> Throughout this conflict protracted for thirty years, almost through the whole reign of Louis (1314-48), that emperor was heartily upholden by the national and religious feeling of Germany. Her free cities—Strasburg, Frankfort, Liege, Aachen: her most valiant warriors, such as Frederick of Hohenzollern, burgrave of Nuremberg and ancestor of the kings of Prussia, took the side of Louis, gave him the victory over Frederick of Austria, whom the papacy supported against him in the beginning of his reign; and strengthened him against Charles of Bohemia, whom the papacy raised up against him in his closing years, and who was a vanquished fugitive when the death of Louis enthroned him. The free cities of Germany set at nought the papal power and made light of the papal interdict. The higher souls of Germany took the same side. Among the partisans of Louis was John Tauler, the great preacher and the soaring saint in whom Luther so delighted, and who has now a more abiding place in the memory of mankind than the emperors, popes, anti-popes, princes, and legates who directed this conflict.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> G. Villani, lib. ix. c. 227, 265, 275; lib. x. c. 17-20, 67-79, 148; lib. xii. c. 59, 106.

<sup>14</sup> Vaughan, *Hours with the Mystics*, book vi.

Pope John XXII. had in fact all the lofty spirits of the age against him. A loose liver and a thorough worldling, he felt a natural antipathy towards godly souls and soaring saints. Over-active everywhere, he was especially a theological busy-body. Intolerant of curious speculations in others, he showed himself very self-indulgent in this respect. He fought the battle of Realism against Nominalism, and pressed hard upon the great English Nominalist, William Occam. With a consistency somewhat commendable in so great a lover and amasser of money, he kept no peace with the champions of evangelic poverty; and to the disappointment of most believers, he insisted upon postponing the enjoyment of the Beatific Vision. Certain fervent spirits of the Franciscan order, including the General thereof, Michael of Cesena, put forth some extravagances on the poverty that became Christians, and denied that they had any property in the bread which they ate. Pope John waxed very wroth at these innocent extravagances, and branded the propounders as heretics—an epithet freely flung back by the Franciscans upon the pontiff.<sup>15</sup>

It had generally been believed that the Blessed, as soon as they were parted from the flesh, would have the joy of beholding their Lord face to face. In an evil hour Pope John set his heart upon postponing the Beatific Vision till after the day of judgment, and would not promote those priests who would not agree to the postponement. This sublime hope of gazing upon the face of the Lord of Glory, the divinest consolation and dearest delight of lowly love and aspiring faith, became degraded into a matter of fierce controversy, of worldly gain and loss. The University of Paris denounced this papal fancy as a dire heresy; the French king, Philip of Valois, the antagonist of Edward III., took the immediate enjoyment of the Blessed under his patronage. The pontiff got alarmed, and recanted on his death-bed.<sup>16</sup>

But there lay in store for the diminished papacy perils far more serious than the theories of enthusiastic monks, or the fancies of a dogmatising pontiff; than the fanaticism of the shepherds, herdsmen, and other country-folk who, under the name of Pastoureaux, aspired to deliver the Holy Land, but merely overran and alarmed France, and against whom John XXII. hurled the papal bolts and directed the civil sword; or than the

<sup>15</sup> Baluzius, tom. i. pp. 118, 119, 139, 140.

<sup>16</sup> G. Villani, lib. x. c. 23; lib. xi. c. 19.

darker frenzy of the Flagellants, who, mastered by the gloomy horror of the great plague of 1348, went about from town to town, scourging themselves in the most public places, and who were denounced and put down by Clement VI. (1353).<sup>17</sup> The doctors, whose speculations Pope John condemned, took refuge with the emperor, whose title he denied, lent their speculative ability to the service of Louis of Bavaria, put forth propositions and constructed theories decidedly anti-papal. Michael of Cesena joined the championship of the civil power to that of evangelic poverty; and William Occam fought for the empire against the popedom not less zealously than he fought for Nominalism against Realism. But the chief doctor of the anti-papal school, the chief mediæval assailant of the papacy, apart from the other doctrines of the Roman church, was Marsilius of Padua, who denied the supremacy of Peter over the other apostles, maintained the subjection of the church to the State in matters temporal, the equality of her ministers, her incapacity for inflicting punishments that require force, and the right of the emperor to set up and pull down the pope.<sup>18</sup> Louis was supported by a band of jurists and theologians not less formidable in their way than the great Ghibelin captains of Italy, the Della Scala of Verona, the Visconti of Milan, and Castruccio Castrucani of Lucca, who slighted the thunders and vanquished the legates of the pontiff. In papal eyes Louis appeared a heresiarch as well as an unlawful emperor; and his fight with the popedom, though far less grand, striking, terrible, and momentous than that of the Hohenstaufens, had an intellectual aspect wholly wanting to the earlier struggle, an aspect which bespoke a more enlightened age.<sup>19</sup>

But the papacy had to do with foes more formidable even than Ghibelin captains and imperialist doctors. Besides the theologians who assailed the Roman See apart from the other doctrines of the Roman church, there arose theologians who

<sup>17</sup> Baluzius, tom. i. pp. 128-30; Raynaldus, an. 1349, n. 18-22. G. Villani, lib. x. c. 19.

<sup>18</sup> In his work dedicated to Louis, 'Defensorem Pacis' (ed. 1522), he says, part ii. c. 22: 'Caput enim ecclesiæ simpliciter et fidei fundamentum Dei ordinatione immediata secundum scripturam sive veritatem unicam est Christus ipse, non aliquis apostolus, episcopus aut sacerdos.' In c. 23, he sets forth the political and spiritual results of the omnipotence claimed by the popes, who thereby 'have stained and, we may say, defiled the whole mystical body of Christ (Christi corpus omne mysticum infecerunt, et si dicere liceat inquinaverunt).'

<sup>19</sup> G. Villani, lib. x., xi., passim.

fell upon the popedom in company with these doctrines and as their culmination. The growing intellectual life of the age revived theological enquiry, and enquiry led to much estrangement and manifold revolts from the Roman church, an alienation heightened by the vices and impotence of the Avignon pontiffs, especially by the lewdness and worldliness of Clement V. and Clement VI.; by the avarice and worldliness of John XXII. A spirit of religious enthusiasm went hand in hand with the spirit of enquiry, and broke forth in the many isolated uprisings against the Roman church which thronged the fourteenth century. The Apostolicals who made some stir in Italy about the beginning of the century, who under their valiant chief Dulcino held out on Mount Zebello against the legions of the hostile Church and State, and who lingered in corners of the land after the burning of their leader and the slaughter of the main body of his followers, sought refuge from the exceeding worldliness and oppressive bondage of the church in apostolical simplicity of life and in the dispensation of the Spirit, and found consolation under the persecution of the Roman See in the denunciations of prophecy and the visions of the Apocalypse. They proclaimed that the Spirit had superseded the church, and that the last times were come. Recognising the papal power in Babylon, they welcomed the debasement and disasters that had just fallen upon it, and looked for its immediate overthrow. They enjoyed the outrage at Anagni and the captivity of Avignon, but mistook the beginning for the end, mistook incipient decline for final downfall.<sup>20</sup>

Alike enamoured of evangelical poverty and apostolical simplicity, alike impatient of ecclesiastical bondage, and alike votaries of the emancipating Spirit, the Beghards and Beguines spread over Flanders, Holland, and Germany. The Albigenses faintly stirred again in their old haunts. The fire of anti-Roman faith, so fiercely trodden out a hundred years before by Innocent III. and Simon de Montfort, seemed now and then not quite extinguished. The Waldenses went forth from their Alpine valleys in direct defiance of their pontifical neighbour, invaded Dauphiné and Provence, and did not spare the sacred region of Avignon. Bohemia, converted about 840 by Greek evangelists, and never thoroughly indoctrinated by Rome, ever impatient of worship in an unknown tongue, and of communion

<sup>20</sup> Baluzius, tom. i. pp. 26, 27, 117, 118; tom. ii. p. 67. Raynaldus, an. 1305, n. 17, 18; an. 1308, n. 9; an. 1317, n. 57-61.

in one kind, grew during the fourteenth century more restive under the papal yoke, and found in the priest Milicz of Prague a powerful preacher of reform both in life and doctrine, a preacher whom Gregory XI. branded as a heretic and recommended to the secular arm.<sup>21</sup> For the first time a spirit of religious renewal and ecclesiastical reform was astir throughout Europe, Latin, Teutonic and Slavonian.

The spirit which moved the continent shook England. There the papal power provoked the bitterest hostility; there arose the mightiest adversary that Rome had yet encountered. Wycliffe indeed manifested a thorough and comprehensive hostility. A vehement combatant of the papal power, he did not single it out for attack, but assailed it in company with its subordinate corruptions, with every dependent doctrine and every congenial practice, transubstantiation, masses and prayers for the dead, the sacerdotal character and worldly eminence of the clergy, and worship and the Word in a strange tongue. If this assault had only partial and temporary success, it was, perhaps, that Wycliffe was too exclusively an assailant, or rather that he assailed Rome by denial rather than by affirmation; that he did not set in the front of the battle some one quickening, kindling, and overcoming truth, long hidden and smothered. But the popedom, though not overthrown in England, was rudely shaken. Wycliffe was a power and remained a power after his death. The abhorrence of Romish doctrines was heightened by the detestation in which Englishmen had long holden the extortions and usurpations of the Roman court; and the subserviency of the Avignon pontiffs to her French foes deepened the impression of their vices upon the England of Edward III. and the Black Prince. The victor of Crecy more than once fell out with that French partisan, Pope Clement VI.; and his son John of Ghent is less memorable as the founder of the house of Lancaster than as the protector of Wycliffe.<sup>22</sup> England won and wore her mediæval glory as she has won and worn her later glory—in defiance and to the detriment of the papacy. Her parliaments passed anti-papal statutes. Her magnificent king, her heroic prince, her great

<sup>21</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1332, n. 31; an. 1335, n. 53; an. 1344, n. 9; an. 1373, n. 20.

<sup>22</sup> Walsingham, *Historia Anglorum*, tom. i. pp. 324, 325, 346-62. Raynaldus, an. 1337, n. 19, 20, 57-62; an. 1342, n. 9; an. 1343, n. 89; an. 1344, n. 54, 55; an. 1552, n. 17. Edward, too, was an ally of Cæsar Louis of Bavaria, whom the Avignon pontiffs so hated, and who made the English king vicar of the empire.

poet, her great spiritual teacher, were none of them servants and helpers, were some of them enemies and assailants, of the Roman See. And these mighty men of hers were the mightiest men of their time, had no fellows in Christendom. No monarch of that age approached Edward III. in wisdom and valour; among knights and captains the Black Prince had no peer; Chaucer outsang every contemporary poet; and no master in Israel had the earnestness and power of Wycliffe.

But though England was preeminently anti-papal, the spirit of the age went against the popedom everywhere. The story of the time has a very manifold and lively interest, but that interest is very slightly ecclesiastical. The age is happy in a most minute and vivacious chronicler: but Froissart, unlike the great historian of the preceding century, takes but little heed of Church affairs; while the popes are so terribly prominent in the pages of the monk of St. Albans, the canon of Valenciennes has scarcely anything to say about them.<sup>23</sup> The personages conspicuous in Froissart, as well as those overlooked by him but precious to posterity, are not popes or priests. Neither among the mighty men, nor even among the distinguished men, of that time is there to be found a single pontiff, and scarcely a single churchman. As in England, so was it on the Continent. Petrarch, supreme over the heart and intellect of that age, has not lost all power with succeeding ages; men still care for Boccaccio; Italian patriots still rejoice in Rienzi; and the glory of the last of the Roman Tribunes remains a costly possession for souls in love with genius and liberty. Lovers of freedom still hold dear the memory of the two Flemish patriots and statesmen, the two champions of the people in the struggle against feudal oppression—the great brewer of Ghent and his still greater son, James and Philip van Arteveld, the one the victim and the other the martyr of the people; linger over Philip with especial delight; partake the wonder and joy of his amazing victory over the Count of Flanders at Bruges, and tenderly follow him to his not inglorious defeat and death at Rosbecque.<sup>24</sup> The century was ennobled throughout by the victorious conflict of Switzerland with the House of Austria; and the self-devotion of Arnold

<sup>23</sup> He shows us Innocent VI. trembling in Avignon before the Free Companies, who paid one of their unpleasant visits in 1361 (tom. i. c. 215, ed. 1578, Paris), relates the return of Gregory XI. to Rome (tom. ii. c. 12), throws his wonted vivacity into the election of the rival popes, and rehearses some of the troubles of the Great Schism.

<sup>24</sup> Froissart, tom. i. c. 116; tom. ii. c. 94-125.



von Winkelried, who opened a way for the Switzers into the midst of the Austrian phalanx by running upon the hostile spears, has made the knight of Unterwald immortal, and has set and sanctified the field of Sempach above almost every other battle-field. French patriotism has not forgotten Bertrand du Guesclin, whose wary valour first stayed the victorious progress of the English invaders. Statesmen and generals are still astonished at the consummate ability whereby Castruccio Castrucani, prince of Lucca, bestowed momentary greatness upon a petty state and brilliant success upon a depressed cause. The hereditary genius and energy, the hereditary perfidy and cruelty, through which generations of the Visconti knit and kept together a powerful Italian state, have made those princes of Milan still memorable and terrible. Men still feel an appalling interest in the horrible life and horrible death of Pedro the Cruel of Castile, the butcher of his subjects and his kindred, and slain by a brother's hand; and they like to find, in the transcendent beauty, murdered husband, many marriages, and miserable end of Joanna Queen of Naples, a very exact parallel to the fate of Mary Queen of Scots.<sup>25</sup>

But the Avignon pontiffs altogether failed to command their age or to interest posterity. A great man indeed then dwelt at Avignon, but he was not numbered among the popes. A potential voice spoke from the city of the pontiffs, but not in bulls or decretals. Petrarch has done more for the consecration of this temporary metropolis of corrupt Christendom than have its nine pontifical residents. The renowned poet, the famous lover, the great scholar, the restorer of ancient learning, the intellectual monarch of his time, he not only held sway over the thoughts and feelings of men, but he had an authority with princes and republics, he wielded a direct and visible power in which no mere man of letters had preceded him, and in which he has had but few successors. Emperors, popes, princes, nobles, chief magistrates of commonwealths, Charles IV., Urban V., Gregory XI., more than one Visconti, more than one Colonna, Venetian doges and Roman tribunes, felt honoured by his correspondence, enjoyed his praises, and endured his rebukes.<sup>26</sup> The first of those intellectual potentates, of those dictators of the

<sup>25</sup> Coxe's *House of Austria*, lib. ix. G. Villani, lib. viii.-xii., passim; Matteo Villani, *Cronica*, passim. Mariana, *de Rebus Hispania*, lib. xix. c. 19. Froissart, tom. i. c. 243.

<sup>26</sup> *Epistola*, passim. Petrarchi *Opera*, fol. Basilee, 1554.

republic of letters, generally acknowledged and obeyed in their own day and more mighty then than with posterity, the first of an order to which Erasmus and Grotius belonged, and of which Voltaire perhaps was the last, Petrarch may be said in a very real manner to have ruled the age from Avignon.

A mighty man too bore sway at Rome, but he was not a pope. About the middle of the fourteenth century the sovereignty of Rome was asserted at Rome; but not that of papal Rome, and not by a papal voice. In 1347, to the astonishment of Italy and Christendom, Rienzi revived for a moment the Roman republic. The might and majesty of old Rome reappeared for a moment in the words and deeds of the Last of the Roman Tribunes. He brought back law, order, and liberty into the seat of anarchy and oppression. The fierce barons of Rome trembled and obeyed, and the degraded populace seemed uplifted into the Roman people. The world was dazzled by the transformation, and bowed before the wonder-worker; princes and republics solicited his mediation and alliance. The pope, whom he so magnificently effaced, at first recognised and supported his rule. The relations of Rienzi with the papacy were intimate and various. In 1342 he had gone with a deputation to Avignon to persuade the Roman bishop back to his see, delighted Petrarch and Clement VI. by his eloquence, and returned to Rome a papal official. He effected the revolution, and established the Good Estate in connection with a papal legate. But his endeavours for the exaltation of the Roman people above pontiff and Cæsar—his aspirations for a spiritualised papacy and a confederate Italy with Rome for its metropolis—soon converted the pope into an enemy of the Tribune, and, together, perhaps, with his religious enthusiasm, brought down upon him the thunders of the Church. Excommunicated by the pontiff, and forsaken by the fickle multitude, Rienzi was driven out of Rome by the barons and the legate (1347). After some years of wandering he was brought to Avignon as a captive, and languished in a papal prison, whence he went forth a papal emissary, accompanied Cardinal Alborno on an expedition to recover the States of the Church, reentered Rome in triumph, and ruled there as a senator of the pope's appointing, till he was murdered by the populace for having ventured to tax them for their own defence, October, 1554.<sup>27</sup> He fell just 200 years after that other great

<sup>27</sup> G. Villani, lib. xii. c. 89, 104. M. Villani, lib. iv. c. 26. *Petrarchi Opera*, pp. 595-600, 750. Raynaldus, an. 1342, n. 20; an. 1347, n. 13-22; an. 1554, n. 2.

deliverer of whom Rome was not worthy, Arnold of Brescia, perished at the stake in that city which he had vainly sought to ennoble. Unlike Arnold, Rienzi was neither the special foe nor victim of the popedom. His end was to glorify Rome with or without the papacy. Though an intense enthusiast, a Knight of the Holy Ghost, and waiting for that dispensation of the Spirit after which so many souls were then yearning, he bore the popedom no doctrinal or spiritual grudge, but sought to bring it into subjection to that Roman republic whereof he was so enamoured. Like every aspirant for Italian unity and freedom—like every independent religious enthusiast—like almost every great soul that has endeavoured to advance and better mankind, Rienzi has not failed to win the hate and to wear the curse of the papacy. His glory, which at once affronted and obscured the contemporary pontiffs, has continued to overshadow them; if Clement VI. and Innocent VI. are at all remembered, it is mainly through their connection with Rienzi, and the insignificance of these Avignon popes remains attached to the immortality of the Last of the Roman Tribunes.

In forsaking the imperial city, the pontiffs, in fact, renounced the empire of the world. The withdrawal to Avignon was an abdication of papal omnipotence—a retreat from the front of the battle—a descent from the throne of the world. The exchange of the imperial city for a provincial town was an exchange of supremacy for subordination—an exchange of turbulent activity and stormy greatness for pleasant retirement and inglorious ease. In their agreeable residence beside the Rhone, the popes grew slack and effeminate—lost the habit of victory and command. They dwindled in everything—became petty pontiffs, petty potentates, petty persecutors, and petty sinners. Dependents of the French monarchy, they were dependants of a prostrate power—a power humbled and broken by English invasion. In taking service with Philip the Fair, the popedom had taken service with the first monarch in Europe, and the master-spirit of the age; but in lending itself to the policy of his successors—of Philip of Valois and his son John, the vanquished of Crecy and the captive of Poitiers—the papacy became the servant of weak and unfortunate masters.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> M. Villani, lib. iii. c. 43. 'Costui (Clement VI.) fatto papa non restò di fare quanto il detto re (Philip of Valois) seppe dimandare; e molto scopertamente nella guerra che ebbe col re d' Inghilterra prese la parte del re di Francia, e assai vi consumò del tesoro di santa chiesa.'

As makers and unmakers of kings they had little practice, and less success. Robert Bruce delivered and reigned over Scotland in spite of papal thunders; and their enemy, Louis of Bavaria, died master of Germany and emperor of the Romans. Though not unmindful of their duty as persecutors, they performed that duty with more zeal than efficiency. They had heretics burned here and there, but failed to get up a searching and sufficient persecution anywhere. There was a descent even in sin. The characteristic vices of the Roman pontiffs—worldliness, rapacity, and ruthlessness—had been for the last two centuries the ministers of a mighty and awful ambition; their greed of gain had been subordinate to their lust of power. Papal sins had been the sins of unscrupulous statesmen and terrible conquerors. At Avignon this grand guilt sank into soft vice—the extortion was practised in the service of ease and luxury; the worldliness was that of sensualists and men of pleasure. Lewdness, which had long ceased to be a prominent papal sin, again polluted the papal chair in the persons of Clement V., John XXII., and Clement VI. Even when the popes like Benedict XII. and Innocent VI. were personally respectable, the cardinals maintained the reputation of the pontifical court as the most immoral in Europe.<sup>29</sup> Enjoyment, sometimes associated with taste, and dignified by intellect, was the great business of life at Avignon. The city of the popes passed for the most agreeable, luxurious and vicious residence in Christendom, while the presence of Petrarch lent it a nobler charm.

Avignon had one attraction not unworthy of the metropolis of Christendom; it enjoyed the blessing of peace—peace in the midst of strife. In no age has war been more widespread, seldom has it been more dreadful, than throughout the fourteenth century. Many of the world's great battles signalised its course. For sixty years the utmost plagues and horrors of war were continuously poured forth upon France; every province was wasted by the English invaders or the Free Companies. The battles of Crecy and Poitiers, the sieges of Aiguillon and Calais, stood out

<sup>29</sup> Petrarchi *Epistolæ*, liber sine titulo, passim. *Rerum Senilium* lib. x. ep. 2. Among his many dark pictures of the Gallic Babylon, the following is not the blackest: 'Truth passes there for folly, innocence for stupidity (*rusticitas*), purity for something quite disgraceful (*probrum ingens*); in fine, free indulgence in sin for a noble liberty and greatness of soul. The fouler a man is, the more distinction he gets; the greater his guilt, the greater is his glory. Here you have, as far as a few words can give it, the exact condition of this holy city (*illius sacræ urbis expressum statum*).' G. Villani, lib. ix. c. 45. M. Villani, tom. ii. lib. iii. c. 45.

from among the innumerable battles and sieges which distinguished the warfare. England was more than once the seat of civil commotion and revolution, and had two kings—Edward II. and Richard II.—deposed and murdered. This century, too, was saddened by the fierce conflict between England and Scotland. The former was more than once invaded; the latter was perpetually overrun. The Scots prevailed at Bannockburn; the English triumphed at Halidon Hill and Neville's Cross. Spain was often desolated by civil war, especially by that most horrible one between Pedro the Cruel and his brother Enrique of Trastamara, which yielded that third great victory of the Black Prince—that bootless and unhappy triumph of English valour on behalf of a tyrant cast out by his people—the bloody fight of Najara. Portugal had to vindicate her independence against Castile on the marvellous field of Aljubarrota. The counts and citizens of Flanders were throughout in conflict—a conflict signalised by the battles of Courtrai, Bruges, and Rosbecque. This century witnessed the unbroken and triumphant struggle of the Swiss Confederation with the House of Hapsburg, and its famous victories of Morgarten, Laupen, and Sempach. In Germany, Louis of Bavaria fought for the imperial crown, first with Frederick of Austria whom he vanquished at Muhlendorf, and then with Charles of Bohemia. War was the perpetual portion of Italy—war between pope and Cæsar, war between Guelf and Ghibelin, war between city and city, war between prince and prince, war between prince and commonwealth, between Naples and Sicily, between Neapolitan pretenders, between Florence and Pisa, between Venice and Genoa, between the Visconti of Milan and the Florentines, between the Florentines and the pope—war, excepting the naval contest between the Genoese and the Venetians, marked by no great battles, and carried on mainly by foreign hirelings and Free Companies, under chiefs like the Provençal Walter de Montreal, and the Englishman Sir John Hawkswood.<sup>30</sup>

With war everywhere around, Avignon enjoyed an almost unbroken peace. Once, in 1361, the Free Companies approached the papal residence, fluttered the papal court, and extorted money from the great papal extortioner.<sup>31</sup> Close spectators of the incessant strife which desolated France, disturbed Germany,

<sup>30</sup> Froissart, tom. i. c. 242; tom. ii. c. 145. G. Villani, lib. ix. c. 74; lib. xii. c. 57, 105. M. Villani, *passim*.

<sup>31</sup> Froissart, tom. i. c. 215.

convulsed Italy, and distracted Spain, the pontiffs naturally clung to the wellnigh unruffled tranquillity of Avignon. Nor were they altogether unwilling to diffuse the blessing which they enjoyed. The chief merit of the popedom has been its advocacy of peace when its own interests did not require war. Scarcely ever has the pontifical throne been hallowed by so true a lover of peace as Gregory X. (1271-76); who would have no foes or favourites among Christian princes and commonwealths, but earnestly strove to reconcile the nations and keep Christendom at peace. But many popes, though implacable towards kings and peoples whom they declared to be enemies of the Church, have laboured to preserve concord among her friends. The Avignon pontiffs especially endeavoured to reconcile England and France. Papal legates interposed between the mighty French host and the little English band on the field of Poitiers; went from camp to camp, and, but for the pride and confidence of the French king in his apparently overwhelming superiority of numbers, would have preserved his army from discomfiture and himself from captivity.<sup>32</sup>

But this preaching of peace was extremely partial. Powerless to restore concord between France and England, the Avignon popes were incessantly and successfully employed in stirring up strife in Italy. They had dwindled as Italian princes not less than as pontiffs. Their absence from Rome left them scarcely nominal sovereigns of that turbulent city, and bestowed complete independence on the petty principalities and small republics which mainly made up the States of the Church. But though enamoured of the tranquillity of Avignon, the popes were not less enamoured of the sovereignty of Rome. Delighting in their distance from the fierce barons and the savage populace of their proper seat, and resisting the frequent importunity of the Romans for a sight of their absentee bishop, they clung passionately to their principality, and kept Italy in confusion and bloodshed in order to recover it. For this end spiritual and carnal weapons were vigorously wielded. Church thunders broke vainly on the obdurate lords of Central Italy, who held fast their prey notwithstanding; while the terrible Visconti, the great Ghibelin chiefs of Northern Italy, flung back papal defiances, and waxed mighty beneath papal anathemas. Carnal weapons were employed with various success. For the most

<sup>32</sup> Froissart, tom. i. c. 161.

part the Italian Ghibelins wielded them more effectually, and the pontiff of the fourteenth like the pontiff of the nineteenth century remained an earthly king without a kingdom; but occasionally a vigorous legate like Cardinal Albornoz deposed the petty princes, subjugated the petty republics, and restored for a brief while the States of the Church to the papal allegiance.<sup>33</sup>

But the rapacity and tyranny of legates and cardinals soon estranged the recovered cities and inspired regret for the fallen tyrants. The legate of Bologna combined oppression of the subjects with a perfidious attack upon the most faithful ally of the popedom, the republic of Florence. The Florentines declared war against that papacy for which they had so often fought, marched into the pontifical territories and called the people to revolt in the name of Italian liberty (1375). Then followed a conflict marvellously and minutely like the conflict which has lately taken place in the same region. In 1375 as in 1859 and 1860, the people almost everywhere rose against the ecclesiastical government, and town after town opened its gates to the liberating army. Then as now the papal power relied on mercenaries and massacre. As in 1860, adventurers from all countries fought the papal battle under a French general; so in 1375, cutthroats from all nations followed the papal banner under a French priest. As in the nineteenth century the pope's foreign hirelings led by General Schmidt plundered and butchered the people of Perugia, so in the fourteenth century the pope's foreign hirelings inflicted still more fearful pillage and slaughter upon the inhabitants of Cesena at the bidding of their leader Cardinal Robert of Geneva, afterwards pope Clement VII. In both conflicts the cause of liberty and justice prevailed. The capacity of General Lamoricière did not less miserably fail a few years ago than did the incapacity of the papal legates five centuries before. But the earlier struggle was arrested by the Great Schism which broke out in 1378, and the election of an Italian pope whose cause engaged the interests and affections of all Italians against his French rival, the hero of the massacre at Cesena.<sup>34</sup>

This sojourn at Avignon on the part of the prince and the

<sup>33</sup> G. Villani, lib. ix.-xii. passim. M. Villani, passim; for the exploits of Albornoz, see lib. iii. and iv. Raynaldus, an. 1317-78.

<sup>34</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1375-78, passim. Theodoricus à Niëm, *de Schismate*, lib. ii. c. 1-3.

bishop of Rome is the most remarkable and flagrant instance of non-residence on record. The sovereign hankered after the lordship and revenue of states which he felt unable and unwilling personally to govern; the pastor would fain draw power and profit from the flock of which he was loth to take charge. The jubilee celebrated by Boniface VIII. at Rome in 1300 was to recur every hundred years. Clement VI., eager to reopen so teeming a source of gain, halved the term of intervening years, appointed a jubilee for 1350, hastened the visit of the faithful to the holy city which he so carefully avoided, and pressed upon Christendom the privilege which he declined to enjoy.<sup>35</sup> It must be confessed that the fickle and turbulent flock was almost worthy of the selfish and grasping absentee pastor. The Romans, ever at variance with their bishop when among them, ever wished him back again when away. Intolerant of the resident, they were not less intolerant of the absentee. They missed the papal court; they missed the pilgrim multitude; they mourned the tyranny of the barons; they mourned their own turbulence, and were ever importuning their bishop to return to his flock. The voice of Christendom, exclusive of the French court, re-echoed the prayer. Petrarch and the nobler souls of the age not spiritually estranged from the papacy, seconded this importunity; they felt it a sin and shame for the Roman bishop to live away from his flock; they trusted that the gross vices of the court of Avignon would disappear in the bracing air of Rome, and that the degraded popedom would regain strength and glory in its proper seat.<sup>36</sup> Italian patriots, remembering the old alliance of the popes and the republics, and entertaining the hope that the presence of the pontiff might contribute to the peace and unity of perturbed and divided Italy, a delusion discernible even then, and whereof Italian patriots have been long disabused, joined in the general importunity, and pressed the pontiff to return. The pontifical absentees heard but hearkened not. John XXII. gave no heed to the urgency of Christendom. Benedict XII. thought and talked about returning, but remained at Avignon in defer-

<sup>35</sup> M. Villani, lib. i. c. 29, 56.

<sup>36</sup> Petrarch importuned pontiff after pontiff. In a poem addressed to Benedict XII. (*Opera*, p. 1335), he does not forget forsaken Rome; he makes her sad plight the burden of a poem to Clement VI. (p. 1346), presses the duty of return in a long exhortation to Urban VI. (*Rerum Senilium* lib. vii. pp. 897-914), and congratulates him upon his return (lib. ix. pp. 933-44).



ence to the French king, Philip of Valois, who deprecated his departure from the love of power, and to the French cardinals who urged his stay from the love of ease.<sup>37</sup> Clement VI. withstood the eloquence of Rienzi the envoy, disregarded the summons of Rienzi the tribune, and held fast to Avignon which he purchased from Joanna, queen of Naples and countess of Provence, like her more famous fellow in beauty and in crime, Mary Stewart, a favourer and a favourite of the Roman See. Driven from Naples for her share in the murder of her husband, Andrew, by his brother and avenger, Louis king of Hungary, she fled to Provence and offered to abide the trial of the pontiff. Louis consented to stand by his award. The guilty queen wanted her character and kingdom back; the papal judge wanted the sovereignty of Avignon. Clement absolved the fair criminal, bought the city for a trifle, and naturally enough clung still more tenaciously to the purchased possession than he had clung to the borrowed residence.<sup>38</sup> Innocent VI., instead of revisiting his flock, sent the warlike cardinal Albornoz with an army to recover his principality. Petrarch and Christendom pleaded more effectually with his successor Urban V., a spirit of a higher strain, who, moved by the distracted state of France, alarmed by the recent apparition of the Free Companies before Avignon, and undeterred by the extreme reluctance of his own court, in 1367 appeared among his proper flock to the joy of the Romans, and to his own glory. But his stay in Italy was brief, his cardinals longed for the pleasures of their French retreat: his own heart was in France, and in 1370 he went back to die at Avignon.<sup>39</sup> His successor, Gregory XI., found the aged Petrarch still urgent in enforcing the duty of residence at Rome; when that potential voice was hushed by death in 1375, another powerful pleader, Catharine of Sienna, took up the strain; the atrocities of the papal legates and the success of the liberating Florentines threatened the loss of his Italian principality. The urgency of the master-mind of the age, the importance of its most popular saint, and the peril of his earthly kingdom, at last prevailed with the pope. In 1376, to the bitter regret of his cardinals, Gregory tore himself from Avignon, and reached Rome in 1377. A year's residence there during which

<sup>37</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1335, n. 3-5.

<sup>38</sup> G. Villani, lib. xii. c. 50, 51, 58, 98, 110, 112. M. Villani, lib. ii. c. 24. Petrarchi *Opera*, p. 740.

<sup>39</sup> M. Villani, lib. xi. c. 26. Raynaldus, an. 1367, n. 1 et seq.; an. 1371, n. 11-21.

he met with much trouble and little honour made him yearn for Avignon whither he meant to hasten back when death fixed him at Rome (1378).<sup>40</sup>

For the first time for more than seventy years a Roman pontiff breathed his last among his flock. The seventy years' captivity seemed at an end, that captivity during which the popes had figured as runaway pastors and French vassals, and the papal court had stood out as the most immoral and infamous in Christendom; that captivity so variously disastrous to the popedom, which so weakened its sway over kings and nations, which so loosened its hold upon the hearts and consciences of men. The papacy was at last brought back to Rome, not however to be renewed and glorified, but to exhibit a fresh variety of transgression, to have its dishonourable and disastrous experiences enlarged and diversified, to have the plague of protracted intestine war added to its other sores and shames. The captivity of Avignon was appropriately succeeded by the Great Schism.

On the death of Gregory the Romans vehemently demanded a Roman pope; and the frightened Frenchmen who mainly composed the college of cardinals, conceded an Italian pontiff who took the name of Urban VI. Never did pontiff assume a name more utterly belied by his nature. Excessive haughtiness and harshness pushed to ferocity were the characteristic vices of Urban, accompanied however by some of the virtues not incompatible with austerity, by laboriousness, contempt of money, and moral correctness.<sup>41</sup> Reforms violently attempted, loud threats, coarse abuse, troublesome injunctions and a large creation of Italian cardinals, disgusted the Frenchmen who had elected him, and drove them to declare the papal throne vacant and to seat thereon Robert of Geneva, under the name of Clement VII. Two popes unanimously elected by the same cardinals claimed the allegiance of the faithful, and rent Christendom asunder. The Frenchmen, who in reliance on the support of their country had replaced an Italian by a French pontiff, withdrew from Italy, and carried their pope to Avignon. Their reliance on France was not misplaced. The French monarch and the French nation, eager to prolong the dependence of the

<sup>40</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1376, n. 16; an. 1377, n. 1 et seq.; an. 1378, passim. Petrarchi *Opera*, p. 1026.

<sup>41</sup> Theodoricus à Niëm reports (*de Schismate*, lib. i. c. 8) that one of his partisans said of him, 'Pater noster non Urbanus, sed potius, ut timeo, Turbanus dicitur.' Froissart calls him 'furieux,' 'mélancolieux,' 'ombrageux' (tom. ii. c. 36).

popedom, welcomed back a French vassal in the Sovereign Pontiff, declared Clement to be the true pope, and drew Spain and Scotland to his side. Urban however was more widely acknowledged and passes with Roman Catholic doctors and historians for the legitimate pontiff. Italy zealously took the part of the Italian pope; Germany and the Holy Roman Empire sided with the occupant of the imperial city. The rejected of France won the recognition of England and Flanders. Portugal then as now in close alliance with England, believed in the pope of her ally.<sup>42</sup>

Christendom was rent and most ignominiously rent. There is no meaner or more miserable, there is no more unalluring or wearisome passage in history than this same schism of the West, this Battle of the Popes. It was a wretched business from beginning to end, addressing no generous passions, proclaiming no lofty principles, calling forth no great men, inspiring no heroic deeds. The schism appealed to mean and malignant passions; it abounded in petty and painful incidents; its heroes were small, bad men. But it was a remarkable event in the history of the popedom; it was a new experience for that all-enduring institution; it formed an essential link in the complicated chain of its destiny. It is impossible to conceive of a more perfect engine for debasing and disabling the papacy than this battle of the popes. Rome thundered against Avignon; Avignon flung back the bolt at Rome. Urban damned Clement; Clement dealt back the damnation on Urban. Urbanists abominated Clementists; Clementists abhorred Urbanists. Throughout Christendom the clergy were incessant in their denunciations of a legitimate and widely-recognised pontiff. Papal follies and crimes were in the mouths of all; sermons were fuller of the anti-pope than of the devil.<sup>43</sup> The partisans of the one pope preached and formed crusades against the followers of the other. Henry Spenser, the warlike bishop of Norwich, led a host of English Urbanists against the continental Clementists with no honour to himself or advantage to his pontiff. At the bidding of Urban Charles of Durazzo marched from Hungary

<sup>42</sup> Froissart, tom. ii. c. 12, 35, 36. *Clementis VII. Vita*, apud Baluzium, tom. i. pp. 485-538; tom. ii. pp. 313-45. Theodoricus, *de Schismate*, lib. i. c. 1-18. *Histoire générale du Schisme*, par du Puy, in vol. vii. of Buckley's *De Thou*.

<sup>43</sup> The fury of the Urbanists boils over in Raynaldus; the wrath of the Clementists breaks forth in Baluzius. The manifestos and fulminations of each party are exceedingly amusing. Baluze, tom. ii. 846, et seq. Theodoricus, lib. i. c. 19.

against his kinswoman, Joanna of Naples, who had declared for Clement, and in dethroning and putting to death the adherent of the anti-pope avenged the murder of her husband Andrew thirty-six years after the commission of the crime (1345-1381).<sup>44</sup>

Between the two rival popes there was little to choose. Both were utterly unworthy of the stir and strife made about them; and their personal unworthiness lent a peculiar meanness and malignity to the contest. The butchery of Cesena remains the most conspicuous exploit of Clement; the torturing and strangling of five cardinals of his own following holds the foremost rank among the many atrocious extravagances of Urban. The pontiff of Avignon sank into a mere creature of France, and complied with all the rapacious demands of the French court. The pontiff of Rome expanded into a universal hater and tormenter, pouring out the inexhaustible bitterness of his soul alike upon foes and friends, and showing himself, whether or not the legitimate pope, the undeniable plague and fury of Christendom.<sup>45</sup>

The rival pontiffs were kept in countenance by the chief sovereigns of Europe, by the drunkard Wenceslas who disgraced the imperial throne and provoked the German nation to depose him; by the madman Charles VI., whose lunacy gave France over to anarchy and civil strife; and by that trifler, prodigal and law-breaker, Richard II., who dishonoured the crown and aroused the wrath of England. The manifold glory of the fourteenth century was gone; the great men who had so thronged it were all withdrawn before its close, except Chaucer, and had left no successors. There were, it is true, heroes and men of might; but they were the heroes and mighty men of Islam. Timoor overran Asia, renewed the terrible glory of Zingis, and led the Mongols to new conquests and massacres. His rival, and afterwards his vanquished captive, Bayezid Ilderim, conducted the Ottomans from victory to victory, overthrew the chivalry of France at Nicopolis (1395), and brought the tottering Eastern empire to the edge of doom.

In Christendom there remained not monarch or statesman with power, virtue or energy to terminate or control the disorder of the Church. Almost everywhere political anarchy prolonged and aggravated the ecclesiastical anarchy. The schism did not depart with Urban in 1389, or expire with Clement in

<sup>44</sup> Froissart, tom. ii. c. 132-45. Theodoricus, lib. i. c. 20-25.

<sup>45</sup> Theodoricus, lib. i. c. 28-32, 42-60. *Histoire du Schisme*, p. 110.

1394. The cardinals on each side, apprehensive of slight or degradation from the pontiff to whom they might pass over, and more anxious for their own dignity and importance than for the unity of the Church, gave each pope a successor to the scandal of Christendom, and in spite of the remonstrances of more than one power. The Urbanists chose Boniface IX. in 1389, after him Innocent VII. in 1404, and after him Gregory XII. in 1407. The Clementists elected Benedict XIII. in 1394, who outlasted his three rivals, and whose sublime or stupid stubbornness in holding fast to his pontifical dignity with the world against him has made his original name of Peter de Luna almost famous. He signalled the beginning of his pontificate by stoutly holding out against his French protectors, who besieged him in the castle of Avignon with the vain hope of frightening him into a resignation; while his Italian rivals were fighting for the possession of Rome with the neighbouring barons, the Neapolitans, and the Romans themselves.<sup>46</sup> The characteristic vices of the popedom flourished alike beside the Tiber and the Rhone; pontiff vied with pontiff as an extortioner and a broker in simony. Each mourned over a shrunken revenue; each multiplied gross extortions, and conducted a fraudulent traffic.<sup>47</sup>

This grievous spectacle of the divided and degraded church, this glaring manifestation of rottenness in each contending head, stirred up throughout the Christian world vehement abhorrence and indignation, and roused a lively craving for Church Reform. The wrath, though all-pervading, varied here and there in intensity; the church-reformers were not all of one mind, some limited their desires to a reform of life and discipline, while others went on to a reform of doctrine; everywhere was abhorrence of the popes; here and there was abhorrence of the popedom. The quickened intellect of the fourteenth century in alliance with its deep religious fervour had awakened disbelief in Romish dogmas, and led to spiritual estrangement from the papacy, an estrangement heightened into detestation by the scandals of Avignon, but infinitely aggravated and inflamed by the still deeper sin and shame of the Schism.

In England this spiritual abhorrence waxed stronger and stronger. Wycliffe died in the sixth year of the Schism (1384);

<sup>46</sup> Theodoricus, *de Schismate*, passim. Raynaldus, an. 1378-1407, passim.

<sup>47</sup> Theodoricus, lib. ii. c. 7-13, 33-38. Boniface IX. was the mightiest master of this traffic.

but earnest followers went on with his work. The Lollards openly assailed the papal power, both as a political usurpation and as a corruption of Christianity; they multiplied among the people; they won converts and supporters among the great; they thronged the Universities; they petitioned Parliament; they rejoiced in the famous statute of Præmunire (1393), which so trenchantly curtailed papal usurpations, and so bitterly incensed the popes; they pointed with pity to the riven church, with scorn and horror to the grovelling popedom, and urged their country to break away from this sore and shame of Christendom.<sup>48</sup>

The impatience of more than one Roman doctrine and practice which had more or less always possessed Bohemia was fast growing into a national anti-papal feeling. Bohemia gave England a queen in Anne, sister of King and Cæsar Wenceslas, and wife of Richard II., and received in return the books of Wycliffe. The English books found translators and multitudinous readers; their doctrines were soon enforced by Bohemian reformers, Jacobel, Henry of Meissen, Jerome of Prague, and above all John Hus. The communion in one kind was vigorously assailed; the witholden cup was importunately demanded; many Romish rites and dogmas were vehemently impugned. Confessor of the queen, rector of Prague University, and a preacher of great gifts, John Hus was potent alike with the court and the people, impressed the intellect and mightily stirred the heart of Bohemia. The enormities of the Schism embittered and emboldened his eloquence, which not satisfied with branding the popes did not spare the popedom.<sup>49</sup>

In England and Bohemia, church-reformers and pope-opponents went farthest; but they were found everywhere. Indignant Christendom demanded the resignation of the rival popes, and the purification of the polluted popedom, the curtailment of papal usurpations, and the mitigation of papal extortions. Kings and nobles, the clergy, the universities, the nations, all joined in the cry for Church Reform. France, who had enjoyed the dependence of the undisputed sovereign pontiff and welcomed the residence of him who had the revenue of Christendom at his disposal, found little honour or profit in entertaining a needy

<sup>48</sup> Walsingham, *Historia Anglorum*, tom. ii. p. 50 et seq., ed. 1864.

<sup>49</sup> Comenius, *Persecutiones Ecclesie Bohemice*, c. 5 et seq. Æneas Sylvius, *Historia Bohemica*, c. 35; *Opera*, Basileæ, 1551.

priest and upholding a tottering throne, and took the lead in the work of uniting the Church.<sup>50</sup>

But while princes and people were earnestly striving to make an end of the Schism, the two rival successors of St. Peter were as earnestly labouring to keep it up. They would do anything but abdicate. They encountered the importunity of Christendom with every kind of artifice and evasion, with falsehood and perjury. They swore to hinder in no way the union of the Church, and set about accumulating obstacles; they promised to abdicate, and clung more stubbornly to their degraded thrones; they agreed upon an interview for the purpose of arranging their abdication, and contrived never to meet. In 1408, Gregory XII. came from Rome to Lucca, and Benedict XIII. came from Avignon to Spezzia, within thirty or forty miles of each other; but they found that distance quite insuperable. This mendacious tenacity on the part of the tottering pontiffs disgusted at length their very cardinals, who forsook their masters and convoked a general council, which came together at Pisa in 1409, and, supported by almost the whole of Christendom, deposed both Gregory and Benedict, elected Alexander V., and asserted principles and passed decrees to the prejudice of the papal supremacy.<sup>51</sup>

This assembly bequeathed a wholesome example of deposing popes and controlling the popedom; but it only aggravated the rent which it met to close. The pontiff of its making and his successor, John XXIII., were the most widely obeyed; but the dethroned popes still clutched at their broken sceptres. Spain held out for Benedict; portions of Italy and Germany stood by Gregory; and the council of Pisa, which found Christendom a two-headed portent, left it a three-headed monster. Every one of her three heads disfigured and disgraced the Church. Benedict was a prodigy of selfish and reckless stubbornness; Gregory was the falsest and meanest of self-seekers; and John, according to his contemporaries a compound of horrible vices, must have been at the best a very bad man.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>50</sup> *Histoire du Schisme*, p. 120 et seq. *Determinatio Universitatis Parisiensis*, apud *Fasciculum Rerum*.

<sup>51</sup> Theodoricus, lib. ii. c. 33, 38, 42; lib. iii. passim. *Histoire du Schisme*, pp. 150-68. Raynaldus, an. 1407-10, passim. Of the two rivals Gregory was the meaner and more mendacious. As a coiner of excuses, evader of engagements, and accumulator of obstructions, he has no match among place-holders.

<sup>52</sup> Theodoricus, *de Vita P. Johannis XXIII.* passim, ed. Frankfort, 1610. The enormities imputed to John by his secretary Theodoric, and alleged against him by the

France, afflicted with a king now hopelessly insane, torn by fierce and bloody factions, and on the brink of an English invasion and the calamity of Agincourt, slackened in its efforts to restore unity to Christendom. At length the business was undertaken by the person best fitted both by position and character to carry it through, the chief potentate of Christendom, Sigismund, king of Hungary, and emperor of the Romans, son of Cæsar Charles IV., and brother of Cæsar Wenceslas deposed about 1400. Very few historical personages have played so considerable a part for so long a time as Sigismund; and scarcely any one so prominent in his own day has been so faintly remembered. He reigned over Hungary fifty years, filled the imperial throne for twenty-seven years, and called himself king of Bohemia for twenty years. His active career covers half a century (1386-1437); it includes that of our Richard II., the reign of Henry IV., the life of Henry V., and the boyhood of Henry VI. He began his career when the uncles of Richard II. were governing England, and the companions of the Black Prince were fighting in France; and he closed it when England was directed by the uncles of Henry VI., and France was wasted by the companions of Henry V. He was the contemporary of Hugh Calverley and Robert Knollys, of John Talbot and Richard Beauchamp, of Catharine of Sienna and Joan of Arc, of Thomas duke of Gloucester, the victim of his nephew Richard's hatred, and of Humphrey duke of Gloucester, the victim of his nephew Henry's apathy.

In ecclesiastical history, Sigismund fills some space. He conducted one crusade against the Turks in his youth, and another against the Hussites in advanced life. He was vanquished at Nicopolis in 1395 by Bayezid the misbeliever, and in Bohemia by Ziska the heretic. He brought together the council of Constance, and attended the council of Basle; he composed an ecclesiastical schism, and inflamed a religious quarrel. His activity was extraordinary; he stands at the head of royal and imperial travellers. He repeatedly traversed Europe; he sojourned at Constantinople and visited London; he was the guest of the Palæologi and the Plantagenets. He fought near the Danube side by side with the companions of Bertrand du Guesclin, and feasted by the Thames with the

council of his own convening, are almost incredible even in a successor of John XII. and a predecessor of Alexander VI.



victor of Agincourt. And yet this commander in one of the greatest fights ever fought between the Cross and the Crescent, this hero of one of the most famous assemblies in ecclesiastical history, this deposer of popes, this pacifier of Christendom, is remembered mainly from his momentary connection with a humbly-born Bohemian preacher, from his breach of faith with John Hus. Both Cæsar and council have waxed very dim; while the dungeon and the stake of the Reformer, the everlasting interest of unmerited suffering and heroic virtue mainly keep the mighty prince and the great assembly alive.<sup>53</sup>

It is difficult to regain a faithful image of Sigismund, to enter into the mind and heart of the hero of the council of Constance. Raised to the imperial throne on the death of Rupert of the Rhine, in 1410—a dignity from which his drunken brother Wenceslas, still alive and still king of Bohemia, had been deposed about ten years before—Sigismund emerged into sudden prominence and activity. A man of pleasure yet a man of lively parts, unfortunate as a soldier yet of much personal courage, a man of action and a lover of learning but not a master spirit, endowed with a large and eager rather than a profound and calculating ambition, a busybody rather than a statesman, sincerely but showily in earnest, capable of acting a splendid part but not of doing a great work, he was the very man to add splendour to the imperial dignity, and found in the schism the very business for the happy exercise of his gifts. Unfortunate and unpopular in his reign over free and turbulent Hungary, impotent to deal aright with the religious enthusiasm of Bohemia, at fault with aggrieved nations and deeply-stirred souls, he knew how to deal with selfish cardinals and troublesome popes; he had skill and vigour enough to convene a council and compose a schism, though the sores that bred the schism were above his healing. On his exaltation to the imperial throne, he found the Church with three heads and innumerable corruptions, and at once set about uniting and cleansing her as became the first monarch of Christendom. He pursued the work with singular activity and perseverance; traversed great part of Europe on this errand, went from court to court, won over sovereigns, stirred up dignitaries both of Church and State, tried his skill upon the three popes, negotiated with

<sup>53</sup> Lenfant, *Histoire du Concile de Constance*, et *Histoire des Hussites*, passim. Æneas Sylvius, *Historia, de Europa*, c. 1.

Benedict and Gregory, and conferred with John whom he in common with the greatest part of Christendom reluctantly recognised, and whom at last he persuaded and alarmed into summoning a general council to meet at Constance.<sup>54</sup>

Thither was gathered together much of the conventional and something of the real greatness of the time, much of the splendour, the worth, the learning, and the vice of Christendom. Thither came an emperor and a pope; thither came legates from the two other pontiffs, and ambassadors from almost every sovereign of Europe; thither came princes of the Church and the State—dukes, counts, patriarchs, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and abbots, all largely and gorgeously attended;<sup>55</sup> thither came the most learned doctors of the age; thither came men of great mark in their day, but utterly forgotten now, such as Cardinal Zabarella, John Brogni, cardinal of Viviers, and Robert Hallam, bishop of Salisbury.

Thither likewise came men great and glorious in their own age, whose greatness and glory, though exceedingly dwindled and dimmed, have not yet quite perished from the memory of man—the foremost intellect of France, the foremost baron of England—John Gerson, chancellor of Paris University, a profound speculator, a learned theologian, a vehement foe of papal corruptions, a vehement assertor of Gallican liberties, and certainly the most illustrious member of that council of Constance which he had done so much to bring together; and Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, the most distinguished statesman and warrior of England in the earlier part of the fifteenth century, a companion of Henry V. in his wars and victories, and the governor of Henry VI., a pilgrim to the Holy Land and the representative of England at the council of Constance, so worthily entombed in that beautiful chapel at St. Mary's, Warwick, which was built by his direction. At Constance too was conspicuous Frederick, burgrave of Nüremberg, the first elector of Brandenburg of the house of Hohenzollern, raised by Sigismund to that dignity during the sitting of the council, the lineal ancestor of the royal house of Prussia, and a main

<sup>54</sup> Theodoricus, *de Vita Johannis XXIII.* p. 27 et seq. Lenfant, *Histoire du Concile de Constance*, lib. i.

<sup>55</sup> There were 3 patriarchs, 23 cardinals, 27 archbishops, 150 bishops, 100 abbots, 200 doctors, more than 100 counts and barons, innumerable gentlemen and artificers, and 700 (some say 1,500) strumpets. Lenfant, preface, and list *in fine*; other lists give larger numbers.

aggrandiser of that fortunate family. Among the countless multitude who came to see and hear was Poggio Bracciolini of Florence, the most distinguished scholar of a period very barren in great writers, far inferior to the mighty Florentines that had been and that were to be, but still a man of much learning and insight—insight memorably manifested while he was at Constance. And there came to Constance, too, one immortal man whose glory has grown with the flight of ages and the growth of souls; not a pleasure-seeking visitor, but a sublime sufferer; not a member of the splendid assembly, but its victim, whose eternal glory is its eternal shame—John Hus, with his companion then and for ever, Jerome of Prague.<sup>66</sup>

The council of Constance was surely a distinguished assembly and a remarkable event—the most remarkable event of a not very illustrious period. Italy, Germany, France, and Spain were torn by mean and miserable dissensions, terribly heightened in the case of France by foreign invasion. The battle of Agincourt was fought just a year after the representatives of Christendom had met by the Bodensee. Henry V. was in the midst of his brief and brilliant career, but not more brilliant than disastrous both for France and England. While he wasted and afflicted the former land, he stayed the spiritual and intellectual growth of his own country by completing the work of his usurping father and crushing the Lollards. Supreme as a warrior and diplomatist, he stood forth by far the most illustrious contemporary of the council of Constance, to which he sent ambassadors, and with which he heartily cooperated, partaking alike its jealousy of papal usurpations and its zeal for Roman doctrines.

No such general assembly had met for ages as that which was solemnly opened on November 5, 1414, beside the Bodensee. There had been many general councils during the middle ages, over which popes presided, and at which mighty matters were taken in hand. The Lateran Council under Innocent III., in 1215, raised transubstantiation into an essential dogma. The Council of Lyons, under Innocent IV., in 1245, presumed to depose the emperor Frederick II.; the Council of Lyons, in 1275, under Gregory X., professed to have united the Eastern and Western Churches; the Council of Vienne, under Clement V., in 1310, condemned and abolished the order of the Temple. But these assemblies, though numerous and splendidly attended, were

<sup>66</sup> Lenfant, lib. i. passim.

not in the truest and fullest sense general assemblies of the Church. They were papal conventions rather than general councils. Their papal convener and their papal president was their director and master. They came together to minister to papal ambition, papal avarice, or papal vengeance; to accomplish some object, to crush some foe of the popedom.

But the Council of Constance was, in very truth, a general assembly of the visible Western Church. It very fully represented the mind and heart, and it very largely engaged the interest of Christendom. It was the great event of the time; the common affair of the Western Christian world. No great meeting of our day, political, diplomatic, social, or commercial, no congress of Vienna, no conference of Paris, can be compared for a moment with the Council of Constance, for the width and depth of the interest which it aroused, for the greatness and glory of the expectation which waited upon it. Every one was full of the scandals of the Schism and the woes of the Church; every one felt aggrieved and ashamed by the sores and shames of the degraded popedom; every one hoped and believed in the great assembly which had met 'to reform the Church in her head and in her members.' Well might Cæsar Sigismund contemplate with no ignoble pride and gladness the splendid assembly which he had at last brought together; well might he feel assured that he had wrought a mighty good to Christendom, and worthily fulfilled the duty of a Holy Roman Emperor.

The council professedly met to reform the Church in her head and in her members. It was quite in earnest about the union of the Church; and very many of its members were deeply in earnest about her reformation. They felt sick at the manifold sores and shames of Christendom, the simony, the extortion, the violence, the oppression, the intense and all-pervading worldliness, the intense and all-pervading immorality. They laid most of these evils to the charge of the three contending popes, and were bent upon purifying, reforming, and reducing the polluted and exacting popedom.<sup>57</sup> Its retention, however,

<sup>57</sup> *Determinatio Universitatis Parisiensis de Schismate*; Nicolaus de Clemangiis, *de corrupto Ecclesie Statu*, apud Browne, *Fasciculus Rerum*, London, 1690, tom. ii. pp. 541-70. The former document in which Gerson may have had a hand, passionately bewails the evils of the Schism, and most pathetically appeals to the obdurate pontiffs. It puts into the mouth of the Church a description of her cloven head almost too loathsome to read, though not below the loathsome reality. 'Videte caput diffisum in duo media; videte cruentam plagam. . . . veteris plage livorem, tabidam saniem, ossa cranii putrida, vermes ex cerebro ipso, græge cumulatissimo erumpentes, et ex

they made a point of conscience as well as of policy, and were as bitter against the doctrinal opponents as against the unworthy occupants of the papal chair, against John Hus as against Pope John XXIII. The boldness of the Bohemian preacher, especially his denunciation of an enormous bull in which Pope John allured the faithful to a crusade against his neighbour the king of Naples by a lavish grant of indulgences, drew down upon him an accusation of heresy and a papal excommunication. Bohemia was all astir. Cæsar Sigismund hoped to succeed to that kingdom on the death of his brother; he aspired to a thorough settlement of Christendom; he wanted the council to undertake the quelling of Bohemia as well as the cleansing of the papacy; he got some Bohemian friends of Hus to persuade the reformer to attend the council and justify his doctrines before the assembled wisdom and learning of Christendom, and granted him that famous safe-conduct, that solemn assurance of protection during his journey to and from Constance and his stay there, which has been better remembered than all the striking events of the emperor's long and busy life.<sup>58</sup>

Both Johns were at Constance, the godly preacher and the papal sinner; and the council at once took them both in hand, threw the reformer into prison in spite of the imperial safe-conduct, and urged upon the pontiff the duty of immediate abdication. Intent upon doing away with the monstrosity of a three-headed Christendom, the fathers of Constance sought the resignation of the three rivals. Benedict and Gregory appeared by their legates; but John attended the council which he had convoked, and they began with him. Loth to convene the council, loth to repair to the council, Pope John felt still more loth to obey the council. He promised to abdicate, but shrank from abdication, hesitated, delayed, equivocated, and at last fled from Constance, in hopes that his flight would break up the council, and took refuge with Frederick, duke of Austria, who likewise disappeared from Constance. Then, as now, a tottering pontiff leaned upon a tottering Hapsburg: then, as now, the union hastened the downfall of each! The fathers of Constance kept together; the emperor remained with them; Gerson

*celeris medelæ defectu vulnus ad curationem supra modum difficile*' (p. 547). The popes are allured into resignation by the promise of a heavenly crown, and threatened with eternal torments if they won't resign (p. 546). But heaven had no charms and hell no terrors for these stubborn clingers to an earthly throne.

<sup>58</sup> *Monumenta Johannis Hus*, Norimbergi, ed. 1715, pp. 1-7.

preached on the superiority of a general council to a pope. The fathers affirmed the doctrine, brought the pontifical runaway to trial, declared him guilty of every mean and foul vice, of every atrocious and monstrous crime of which human nature is capable, condemned, suspended, and deposed him. Sigismund dealt not less sternly with the confederate Hapsburg, put duke Frederick to the ban of the empire, and let loose the Switzers on their hereditary foe, whom they quickly despoiled of more than half his states. Both duke and pontiff yielded; Frederick humbled himself before the Cæsar; John humbled himself before the council, acquiesced in his deposition, and became a fellow-prisoner of John Hus. The same stronghold contained John the pontiff, and John the reformer.<sup>59</sup>

There has been much burning of heretics done on the earth; Church and State have combined to kindle many a pile; but perhaps the most famous piece of heretic-burning ever done was done at Constance; never was a pile so conspicuously lighted as that which consumed John Hus and Jerome of Prague. There is something strangely mean and horrible in this gathering together of the power, the splendour, and the learning of the world and the Church, the princes, the prelates, and the doctors of Christendom, against these two Bohemian preachers. The chief sovereign of Europe allured John Hus to Constance, broke faith with him, and blushed in presence of the council when reminded by his victim of the violated safe-conduct; a pope sanctioned his arrest and appointed his trial; the assembled dignitaries and luminaries of the Church shamefully misconducted his trial, rudely interrupted his defence, and jubilantly pronounced his condemnation; episcopal hands degraded him from the priesthood, while episcopal lips made him over to the devil; a famous assembly delivered him to death, and a prince of the Holy Roman Empire, the elector-palatine, was charged with his execution.<sup>60</sup> And Cæsar, pontiff, council, that train of princes, that host of prelates, that array of doctors, have all sunk into the satellites and attendants of their immortal victim.

<sup>59</sup> *Acta Constantinensis Concilii, Concilia Generalia*, Venetiis, 1585, tom. iv. pp. 234-58, 261, 265-67, 272-300. Lenfant, lib. i. passim; lib. ii. c. 1 et seq., 61, 70 et seq., 86 et seq., 93, 94, 95, 129. Theodoricus, *de Johanne XXIII.* pp. 35-48. Coxe's *House of Austria*, lib. xiv.

<sup>60</sup> *Acta*, pp. 316-26. Lenfant, lib. iii. c. 1 et seq., c. 43 et seq. *Monumenta Johannis Hus*, pp. 1-37. The safe-conduct is very minute and emphatic, p. 2. Hus was burned on July 6, 1415.

The unwavering and unshrinking constancy, the calm and composed fortitude, the tender trustful resignation with which the pure and godly Hus endured the dungeon and the stake, the lofty and heroic bearing, the defying and triumphant courage with which the eloquent and accomplished Jerome atoned for the momentary weakness of his recantation, mightily stirred the hearts of their countrymen and disciples, called forth the wonder and reverence of their nobler contemporaries, and have ever dwelt in the admiring memory of the ages; have damned to everlasting fame the emperor who broke faith with them; have bestowed an evil immortality upon the council that doomed them to death; have bequeathed an everlasting consecration to the place where they suffered, and made still more memorable the famous stream whereinto their ashes were cast.<sup>61</sup> While dealing with John Hus and Jerome, the fathers of Constance were not unmindful of their English master, withdrawn as he had been by death thirty years before. They condemned the writings of Wycliffe, and decreed for his books and his bones the same fiery doom which they had inflicted on his followers. The heavier doom befel the lighter innovator. Hus and Jerome were but imperfect disciples of the great English reformer. With him detesting the general constitution of the Church and some of its practices and dogmas, and abhorring the papacy as a great spiritual corruption and a great political evil, they clung to some of its cognate doctrines such as transubstantiation, and revered the memory without embracing all the convictions of their English teacher.<sup>62</sup>

Meanwhile the council showed no slackness in the work of ending the schism. The trial of John XXIII. went on side by side with the trial of John Hus, and the deposition of the pope preceded by a month the execution of the reformer. Of the two remaining popes another quickly disappeared. Only two days

<sup>61</sup> For the recantation of Jerome, see *Acta*, pp. 337-8; for his condemnation, p. 353. *Monumenta*, tom. ii. pp. 521-32. One wondering spectator, one admiring listener, has recorded his delight and astonishment at the discourse and demeanour of Jerome. 'O heroic man, worthy of the everlasting remembrance of mankind! (O virum dignum memoria hominum sempiterna!)' exclaims the enraptured Poggio in his precious epistle to Leonard Aretino (*Opera*, Basileæ, 1538, pp. 301-5). It was not spiritual sympathy, it was intellectual sympathy and insight which revealed to the Florentine scholar the greatness of the Bohemian reformer. He did not praise the heresiarch; but the heresiarch could not hide from his admiring discernment the eloquent orator and the heroic sufferer.

<sup>62</sup> *Acta*, pp. 269-72. Lenfant, lib. ii. c. 59; lib. iii. c. 42, 50-58.

before Hus was burned Gregory XII. abdicated; and Christendom was rid of two of its three heads. But the remaining one stuck fast and stubbornly on in spite of all manner of efforts to get it off. Benedict XIII. clung to the triple crown with a desperate and amusing tenacity, and defied the world with a sublime stolidity which have kept his name alive. Perhaps no foolish, obstinate old man ever made so much noise or gave so much trouble as this Peter de Luna. The council exhausted threats, promises, diplomatic devices, and pathetic appeals to get him to resign. Benedict replied with pathetic appeals, impossible conditions, evasions, and defiance. Cæsar Sigismund posted over half Europe from the Bodensee to the Mediterranean to confer with Benedict at Perpignan, and persuade him into abdication for the good of the Church. The old man obstinate persisted in reigning for the good of the Church, made speeches seven hours long at the age of seventy-eight, and at last, when Sigismund had won over his chief supporters, took ship for Spain, and shut himself up in the castle of Peniscola on the coast of Valencia. Spain forsook Benedict, but Benedict did not forsake himself. The kings of Aragon and Castile went over to the council; the stout old pontiff excommunicated the royal deserters; the fathers of Constance solemnly deposed him; Peter de Luna solemnly anathematised the fathers of Constance; Christendom went after the council and the pope of its making; Benedict pronounced Christendom accursed, and proclaimed the sea-beaten rock of Peniscola the seat of the true Church. There he abode for eight years, anathematising and anathematised by everybody, enacting the papal offices with scrupulous regularity, and indulging in the daily luxury of an excommunication; and there he died (1424) at the age of ninety, not the least memorable and one of the most harmless of the popes; one of the most troublesome personages on record, yet with a humorous element in his tenacity which wins a sort of liking for him; the old man obstinate on a great scale and a large theatre, the most conspicuous instance of that aged and impotent stubbornness familiarly manifested in the stupid old clergyman who sticks to his pulpit when all his congregation have left him, goes on preaching with no one to hear, and damns everybody in revenge for the neglect of everybody.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Lenfant, lib. iv. c. 1 et seq. *Histoire du Schisme*, pp. 177-84. Theodoricus, *de Johanne XXIII.* pp. 61-64. *Acta*, pp. 345-52, 358-62.



When the fathers beside the Bodensee had deposed the inmate of Peniscola (July 26, 1517) their work was little more than begun. They had come together because the Church was a three-headed monster and corrupt throughout. The three heads were taken away; the schism was at an end; but the corruptions remained. To reform the Church in her head and members was the professed object of the council, was the watchword of all its members. But they differed as to the time and method, while very many were reformers only in profession. The emperor seconded by the Germans and English was for reforming the Church before electing the pope; the cardinals supported by the Italians, French, and Spaniards, were for making a pope first and cleansing the Church afterwards. Sigismund was an earnest and hearty Church-reformer as far as discipline was concerned. As the depository of imperial power and heir of the imperial traditions, he desired the reduction of papal pretensions and the abolition of papal usurpations. As the author and hero of the council of Constance, he would fain have had its work complete and his own glory therein full and abiding; and he felt sure that the popedom was more likely to be reformed without a pope than with and through a pope. The cardinals entertained the very same conviction, but the very opposite desire. Anti-reformers by the necessity of their position and drawing their wealth and power from the very usurpations and extortions complained of, they pressed the election of a pontiff as the sure way of preventing reform.<sup>64</sup>

The part taken in this matter by the representatives of the different nations of Christendom was characteristic of the several nations, and prophetic of the part taken by each in the mightier controversy of the next age. Teutonic Europe groped and felt after that ecclesiastical renovation at Constance which she fully found and firmly grasped a hundred years after; while Latin Europe with like self-consistency showed the same papal leanings at the council which she so vehemently displayed at the Reformation. The English and Germans who broke with Rome in the sixteenth century, dealt sternly with Rome in the fifteenth; while the French, Italians, and Spaniards who clave to the popedom in that hour of sore peril were not untrue to it in this season of less urgent danger. The Italians signalled themselves above all by their papal zeal. They had done their

<sup>64</sup> Lenfant, lib. v. c. 40 et seq.

best to prevent the deposition of John XXIII., and now they strove hard to hasten the election of a pope and hinder the reforms of the Church. With little or no spiritual affection for the papacy, they saw that a pope at Rome brought much money into Italy; they clasped as a political distinction and national advantage that popedom which has divided, degraded, and enslaved them, and which the Italians of to-day are striving to put away. The German members of the council dwelt on the innumerable sins of the papacy—its pride, ambition, avarice, and moral pollution; dilated on the corruptions which it had introduced into the Church, and urged the reform of the Church before the election of her head, that he might enter upon a purified office, and be bound by the laws of reformation established by the council. But they were overborne as the mere reformers of the popedom always have been and deserve to be. The cardinals intrigued with assiduity and effect, and on the death of Robert Hallam, bishop of Salisbury, the ablest and most anti-papal of the English deputies, gained over the representatives of England. The Germans were left alone and yielded. The emperor gave way, mourning over his unfinished work and wroth with his red-hatted obstructors. The cardinals, attended by deputies from each nation, hastened into the conclave and lost no time in giving the Church a head in Otho Colonna, who took the name of Martin V. (Nov. 1417). The new pontiff of course evaded all serious and searching reforms; he made a few unimportant concessions to each of the nations severally; the reformers grew slack; the emperor despaired, and the council broke up (May 1418).<sup>65</sup>

The assembly by the Bodensee has sunk into more than the insignificance and oblivion so especially the portion of great councils and congresses. The fathers of Constance, though belonging to European nations still living and potent, have become less interesting to us than the fathers of Nicæa or Chalcedon, just as the emperor Sigismund is far less known, is far less a reality to us than the emperor Constantine. Councils and congresses have been proverbially grievous failures; the council of Constance may perhaps be pronounced the most conspicuous failure of them all. No assembly ever came together under more splendid auspices or with more magnificent

<sup>65</sup> *Acta*, pp. 384-95. Lenfant, lib. v. c. 59 et seq.; lib. vi., passim. Sismondi, *Histoire des Républiques Italiennes*, lib. lxii.

professions; no men ever undertook a greater work than the fathers who met beside the Bodensee. They came together to reform the Church in her head and members, to set in order the deranged spiritual affairs of Christendom, to heal the spiritual wounds and corruptions of the time; and they left the spiritual sores of the age not only unhealed, but unmitigated; they left the work of Church reform altogether unaccomplished. They were busy enough, it is true; they got one pope to resign; they pulled two popes down; they set one pope up; they brought the Church back under one head; they burned two reformers; they condemned to the flames the writings of another; they convulsed Bohemia; but they utterly failed to accomplish that which they professed to be their main business, to reform the Church in her head and members. The failure was conspicuous and ignominious, but inevitable. Every attempt to reform the papacy has failed, and must needs fail. They who have dealt with the popedom as an inherent spiritual corruption, incapable of healing or mitigation and simply requiring riddance and rejection, have often prevailed against it; while they who have treated the papacy as a good institution fallen into abuse and susceptible of amendment, have ever met with sore and signal failure.

The fathers of Constance undertook to regenerate Christianity by reforming the popedom just as in our day European Liberals and many of them Protestants, but with far less excuse and in defiance of a blaze of light, looked for the regeneration of Italy to a liberal and enlightened papacy. The distinguished assembly by the Bodensee undertook an impossibility, summoned the world to behold the performance, and ignominiously broke down. The work of the fathers of Nicea retains an interest; their decrees have still some worth and validity for human souls: while the only act of the council of Constance which retains any hold upon the heart and memory of mankind is its great crime. The assembly has a shameful share in the glorious immortality of its two noble victims.

Its reputation has suffered from the disunion of Christendom in the next age and from the subsequent spiritual development of mankind. It has found favour neither with Romanists nor Reformers. Its assertion of the superiority of a council to a pope has offended the one half of Christendom; while its vindication of Roman doctrines has disgusted the other half. Papists are angry with it for pulling down popes; Protestants are wroth

with it for burning reformers. But notwithstanding its manifold miscarriages, the council of Constance occupies an important place in the story of the papacy, and is not without significance in the history of the world. Its mere assemblage and professed object eloquently proclaimed the evils of the popedom; its failure to remedy those evils furthered the perception of their incurable nature. It revealed the papacy and hastened the Reformation.

## BOOK VI.

## FURTHER DECLINE OF THE POPEDOM.

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Homines sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus, immani avaritia, nocentissimi, iidemque superbissimi; quis fides, decus, pietas, postremo honesta atque inhonesta omnia quæstui sunt.—SALLUSTIUS, *de Bello Jugurthino*, c. 31.

‘Men of surpassing wickedness, of bloodstained hands, of boundless avarice, supremely baleful and exceedingly arrogant, with whom faith, honour, piety, in short all things noble and base, are mere matters of gain.’

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THE schism was at an end. Martin V., the pontiff chosen at Constance, was acknowledged throughout Christendom, except upon the rock of Peniscola, and in some strongholds of Bohemia. On the breaking up of the council Martin betook himself to Italy and after some stay at Florence, made his entry into Rome (1420). For the first time for more than a century—for the first time since the death of Boniface VIII. (1303)—a generally recognised pope held his court permanently at Rome. The papacy regained its unity and its proper seat, but how changed from the papacy not only of Innocent III., but of Boniface VIII.! rudely shaken by the Avignon captivity, sorely battered by the great schism, and not at all strengthened by the handling of the council of Constance. A respectable man and a somewhat vigorous pope, Martin did his best for the popedom, though he did not forget his family, and ever sought to combine the aggrandisement of the Roman See with the aggrandisement of the house of Colonna. He bestirred himself not unsuccessfully to recover the revolted States of the Church, vainly preached peace to France and England, and incessantly stirred up war against the Hussites. But he prospered far more in Italy than in Bohemia, fared much better as a vindicator of the territorial than as a champion of the spiritual popedom.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sismondi, *Histoire des R. I.* tom. viii. l. 63, p. 294 et seq.; l. 65, p. 404. Raynaldus, an. 1419, 20 passim.

The great event of this pontificate was the victorious uprising of the Hussites against Rome. For the first time in the story of the papacy a nation threw off its spiritual yoke, and stood in arms against it. Such was the result of the chief exploit of the council of Constance. John Hus was exceedingly dear to his countrymen: his earnest spirit and holy life had won their love and veneration; his powerful preaching had commended his doctrines to their souls. His cruel death filled them with exceeding wrath and exceeding sorrow. Far from branding his memory, frightening his disciples, and crushing his principles, it hallowed his name, doubly endeared his doctrine, and greatly multiplied his followers. There was mourning throughout the land; but it was not the wailing of broken and despairing spirits, it was the grieving of glowing and indignant souls. The Bohemians felt the death of their two illustrious countrymen as an outrage upon their nation as well as upon their faith; they waxed more anti-papal and anti-sacerdotal; they burned to avenge the death of their prophet upon the priests who had accused and condemned him. They rebuked the council of Constance in grave epistles, they reviled it in fierce speeches and stern songs, disdained the summons which the council addressed to the leading Hussites, and frightened away the legate whom the council had sent to frighten them.<sup>2</sup> But their wrath did not expire in bitter words. Exasperated by the execution of some others among their teachers, they rose against the monks and the priests. There were strife and tumult throughout the land; a stern and intense enthusiasm possessed the people. Three hundred tables were spread in the open air whereon 40,000 persons partook of the communion in both kinds. The Papists fell on bands hastening to the mighty feast, and were beaten back: civil war broke out: churches were forcibly occupied: monasteries were plundered. Sluggish King Wenceslas, brother of Cæsar Sigismund, and formerly himself Cæsar, in love with an easy life and indifferent if not favourable to the Hussites, studiously kept out of the fray, passed from hiding-place to hiding-place, and left his heaving and convulsed realm to itself.<sup>3</sup>

But the Hussites had more than a careless king who would do nothing against them. They had for their chief a man of

<sup>2</sup> Lenfant, *Histoire des Hussites*, lib. v. c. 2 et seq.; lib. vi. c. 1. Æneas Sylvius, *Historia Bohemica*, c. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Æneas Sylvius, c. 35-37. Lenfant, lib. vi. c. 1 et seq.

might without his fellow in that age, and with very few to match him as a leader of religious enthusiasts throughout the ages. They were led by John Ziska, a captain more skilful than his accomplished Italian contemporaries, Braccio, Sforza and Carmagnola, a warrior more daring and terrible than his valiant English contemporaries, Henry V., Warwick and Talbot; a mighty man of the make of David and Cromwell, though somewhat more rude and grim; a potent soul as well as an invincible warrior, the inspirer as well as the leader, all on fire with that earnest faith, that burning enthusiasm, and that fierce wrath which uplifted the Bohemians into a nation of heroes. Not unlike Hannibal in fertility of resources, not unlike Sertorius in rapidity of movement, daring strokes and surprises, he resembled and soon surpassed those one-eyed heroes in bodily infirmity. Ziska began his victorious career with one eye, and enacted his chief wonders in total blindness.<sup>4</sup> Republican Rome had not a more bitter and terrible foe in the great Carthaginian than papal Rome had in the dread Bohemian. A monk, it is said, had dishonoured his sister; priests had given his prophet to the flames; the Council of Constance and the Church of Rome had affronted his nation and proscribed his faith. The mightiest man of the age felt it his sacred business to avenge John Hus, to defy the Roman pontiff and chastise the Roman priests. Never perhaps was a great crime so amply and awfully avenged as that burning beside the Lake of Constance; never was the blood of any one of its countless victims so soon and so sternly required from the Roman priesthood. But Ziska was not only a mauler of monks, a burner of convents, and a stormer of strongholds; he exactly trained and disciplined the enthusiasts whom he commanded, and who built and fortified under his direction the famous stronghold of Tabor, wherefrom the most vehement and anti-Roman of his followers took the name of Taborites.<sup>5</sup>

Amidst all this stir and strife King Wenceslas died in 1419. His brother Cæsar Sigismund at once laid claim to the crown of Bohemia, and made ready to take possession. But the Bohemians had not forgotten or forgiven the betrayer of John Hus; and when Sigismund replied to their demand for religious freedom by a profession of intolerance and the execution of some of

<sup>4</sup> Æneas Sylvius, c. 38. Lenfant, lib. vii. c. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Æneas Sylvius, c. 40. Lenfant, lib. vi. c. 2-4; lib. xi. c. 25.

their fellow believers, they would not have this persecutor to reign over them, declared the German monarch an enemy of their faith and nation, and made ready to withstand him to the uttermost.<sup>6</sup> Then broke forth one of those conflicts, the sublimest and most interesting of all wars, wherein a mighty principle and a lofty enthusiasm have made a small nation more than a match for a world in arms, and have borne on a scanty band from victory to victory over innumerable hosts; wherein the weak things of the world and the things that are not have confounded the strong things of the world and the things that are; a war of the same kind, but more remarkable for sustained successes and unlikely victories than that in which the Jews under the Maccabees defied the disciplined armies and superior civilisation of the Syrian Greeks, or than that which the Netherlanders under the House of Orange sustained against the might of Rome and Spain. The papacy and the empire put together their strength to crush Bohemia, and failed signally and repeatedly (1420-1432). Pope Martin proclaimed a crusade against the Hussites: and in 1420 Cæsar Sigismund led a great host of German crusaders to utter rout and shameful flight before Ziska and his followers. Five times in one year (1420) did the papal and imperial host encounter the Hussites, and five times was it smitten and scattered. Again Martin gave the word: again Sigismund marched to signal discomfiture (1421).<sup>7</sup> The pontiff went on preaching crusades; half Europe and all Germany rushed again and again upon the devoted land, to be beaten back with dreadful slaughter and sore shame. Emperors, archdukes of Austria, electors of Saxony, Bavaria and Brandenburg, German dukes, English prelates and princes, Italian legates, Albert of Austria, Frederick of Hohenzollern, Cardinal Beaufort, Cardinal Julian, conducted mighty hosts into Bohemia, and brought back broken and terrified fugitives. Year after year were the invasion and the defeat renewed. Six immense armaments, splendidly equipped, illustriously commanded, and papally consecrated fled broken and terror-stricken before the band of peasants whom Ziska trained and inspired. A flail in those dreadful hands caused mailed knights to tremble and fly. Whole armies took to shameful flight without striking a blow at the mere sight of these terrible Bohemians.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Lenfant, lib. vi. c. 10; lib. vii. c. 1 et seq. *Æneas Sylvius*, c. 39, 40.

<sup>7</sup> Lenfant, lib. viii. c. 1-8; lib. x. c. 1-5. Raynaldus, an. 1420, n. 13-16. *Æneas Sylvius*, c. 42.

<sup>8</sup> *Æneas Sylvius*, c. 44. Balbinus, *Epitome Rerum Bohemicarum*, lib. iv. c. 4-11. Lenfant, lib. viii.-xvi.



This second great war waged by the Roman Church for the extirpation of heresy, differed greatly in complexion and result from the first. Two hundred years before, the papal crusaders marched from victory to victory in the south of France; they fell upon the Albigenes as wolves upon sheep. In the fifteenth century the papal crusaders met with nothing but defeat and dishonour. In Bohemia they fled and fell before the Hussites as sheep before wolves. The first crusade crushed a nation, degraded a language, and rooted out a faith in Languedoc. The second crusade uplifted a nation, glorified a language and strengthened a faith in Bohemia. A small and insignificant people burst forth into vehement life, portentous energy and terrible glory. The Bohemians became the dread of Germany and the astonishment of Europe. Not satisfied with repelling invasion, they returned it. They broke through the mountains that encircled their land, and carried sword and fire all around them. As Ziska was a sort of sterner, less lofty and large-minded Cromwell, so his followers, especially the Taborites or the more vehement and anti-Roman Hussites, had with far greater ferocity much in common with the Puritans. They held pretty much the same doctrines, and had pretty much the same tastes as the saintly warriors of England; they were great singers of hymns and lovers of sermons; haters of priests, despoilers of churches, and breakers of images. They set great store on the Bible, and especially enjoyed the Apocalypse; they regarded Rome as Babylon, and the Pope as Antichrist; they looked for the speedy coming of the Lord, and the speedy reigning of His saints. Meanwhile, they felt themselves appointed to administer His preludeing wrath and deal forth His preparatory chastisements. They looked upon their mountain-girdled land as upon the Holy Land, as Israel encompassed by hostile and idolatrous nations; they spoke of their invaders and neighbours as Moabites, Amalekites and Philistines, and they went forth against them and dealt with them accordingly. Bohemia might have become a great power, had longer life been granted to her mighty chief, who died in the midst of his victorious career, October 11, 1424.<sup>9</sup>

\* Æneas Sylvius, c. 46 et seq. Lenfant, lib. viii. c. 22; lib. xxi. c. 23; lib. xxiii. c. 7. Ziska is said to have manifested in a very singular way his stern tenacity to his patriotic task. As 117 years before the dying Edward I. commanded that his heart should accompany the English army to Scotland, so that he might still have part in the conflict with the Scots, so the dying Ziska is said to have bidden his followers make a

But the death of Ziska did not break the spirit or arrest the victories of the Hussites. A warrior of his own training and inspiring, as stern an anti-Roman enthusiast, as mighty a man of valour, and almost as skilful a captain as the blind hero, Procop the Shaven, took his place at the head of the Taborites, and repeated his marvellous triumphs over German princes and papal legates at the head of immense armies. At that period Europe had no dearth of warfare. There were interminable conflicts in Italy between ambitious princes and jealous republics, wherein renowned captains like Braccio, Piccinino, Carmagnola, and the Sforzas, father and son, fought famous battles with scarcely any bloodshed, and still less result, Moorad II., the wise and valiant sultan of the Ottomans, was pushing on that career of conquest checked in after years a while by the Hungarian hero, John Hunyad, and the Albanian hero, George Castriot; and was building up the Turkish empire in Europe by repeated victories over the Magyars and the Southern Sclavonians. There too was raging that strange and protracted war between England and France, wherein the large kingdom was overrun and almost subjugated by the small kingdom, wherein the guilt of invasion lay with the people of scantier resources and inferior numbers, while the more prominent and populous nation struggled almost desperately for existence with larger armies and ampler resources. But none of these conflicts, not even the last, national as it was and ennobled by the holy heroism of the Maid of Orleans, possesses the interest or presented the marvels of the war of patriotism wherein Bohemia encountered the empire and the popedom. At Agincourt a handful of starving and sickly Englishmen overthrew a numerous, well-supplied, and well-appointed French army; but the knights and nobles of France fought gallantly and died honourably; while at Weissenburg a great papal and imperial host under Cardinal Beaufort, uncle of the hero of Agincourt, fled without striking a blow at the mere sight of a little band of Hussites (1427). At Risemberg a still larger army of crusaders, commanded by Cardinal Julian, took to flight without

drum of his skin and take it into battle with them, that he might still lead them to victory over the foes whom he had so often vanquished. It is added that the drum was made, and used with great effect. His tomb in Czaslaw church, where was hung his iron club with a fitting inscription, remained in honour while Bohemia remained a nation, but when 200 years after she fell before Ferdinand II., the inscription was defaced and the club carried off by the Austrian soldiers. Lenfant, lib. xi. c. 24.

looking a handful of Bohemians in the face.<sup>10</sup> And these wonders were achieved amidst intestine divisions. The Hussites were split into the Calixtins, who took their name from the urgency with which they required the cup for the people, and whose chief important divergence from the Roman Church lay in their championship of the communion in both kinds; and into the Taborites, who, true disciples of Wycliffe and spiritual brethren of the Waldenses, abhorred the whole system of Romish doctrine and discipline, transubstantiation, image worship, saint worship, and auricular confession, disliked the priesthood and detested the popedom.<sup>11</sup> Both parties, however, combined to resist the invaders of their country, and both joined in demanding four concessions as essential to any compact with pontiff or Cæsar—the communion in both kinds, the public preaching of God's word in the Bohemian tongue, the withdrawal of all political power from the clergy, and the trial before the civil tribunals and public punishment of all malefactors, ecclesiastics as well as laymen. Cæsar Sigismund, unwilling to make these concessions, but despairing to conquer the rebels, pressed the pontiff to refer the matter to a general council; and Pope Martin, despairing to exterminate the heretics, consented and convoked an assembly of the Church at Basle. The fathers of Constance, ashamed of their failure to purify the Church and reform the papacy, bequeathed that business to a succession of general councils.<sup>12</sup> In obedience to this decree Martin had summoned a synod at Sienna in 1423, got it to condemn the Hussites and to anathematise the ancient Peter de Luna who still professed to govern Christendom on the rock of Peniscola, and suffered it to talk about Church reforms, but carefully withheld his presence, contrived to make Sienna synod a still greater failure than Constance Council, and dismissed the assembly in a few months, with a promise, however, to convene another in seven years. This promise he reluctantly redeemed; but died in 1431, just before the representatives of Christendom met at Basle.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Æneas Sylvius, c. 45. Balbinus, lib. iv. c. 10, 11. Lenfant, lib. xiii. c. 22; lib. xvi. c. 1-5.

<sup>11</sup> Æneas Sylvius, c. 35, 41.

<sup>12</sup> Lenfant, lib. xv. c. 24, 35. The Council of Constance appointed the first at an interval of five years, the second at an interval of seven years, and its successors at an interval of ten years. *Acta*, p. 383.

<sup>13</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1423, n. 10-12; an. 1424, n. 1-5; an. 1431, n. 2. Lenfant, lib. xii. c. 6-9.

The fathers of Constance had kindled the Bohemian war; the fathers of Basle undertook to quench it. They invited the Hussites to send deputies and set forth their grievances. The invitation was accepted (1433). The Calixtins sent their most famous doctor John Rockisan; the Taborites sent their mighty leader Procop the Shaven. The avenger of John Hus conferred with the successors of his executioners; and the terrible Procop walked among the fathers whose president, Cardinal Julian, he had so lately and utterly discomfited on the field of Risemburg. Bohemian and Roman Catholic theologians argued for and against the four articles before the council. The Hussites came to no agreement with the fathers, but more fortunate than their master regained Bohemia, whither they were speedily followed by deputies from the synod, who after much negotiation accepted the four points with some modifications, and declared Bohemia reunited to the Church.<sup>14</sup> The Taborites disliked the conditions, and distrusted the union which they would not accept; went to war with the combined Roman Catholics and Calixtins, and were totally overthrown by the confederates at the battle of Broda (1434), where their great leader, the valiant Procop, was slain, and their aggressive power quite broken, thus verifying the exclamation of their admiring adversary Sigismund, that Bohemians could be overcome only by Bohemians. Recognised as king by the victorious confederates on conditions honourable to the Hussites which he at once began to infringe, this imperial busybody closed his long and striking career at the age of seventy, a case of extraordinary longevity among mediæval sovereigns.<sup>15</sup>

The Calixtins and Roman Catholics fell out again and went on quarrelling for many years, generally to the advantage of the former. Bohemia had a Hussite archbishop of Prague in the resolute and restless Rockisan, and a Hussite king in the wise and valiant George Podiebrad who guided his country first as regent and then on the throne from 1447 to his death in 1471. Amidst the submission of Europe she maintained her theological peculiarity, and in defiance of papacy and empire held fast to the recovered cup until the little rill of

<sup>14</sup> Lenfant, lib. xvii. c. 1, 2; lib. xvii. c. 5, 7; lib. xviii. c. 13. Æneas Sylvius, c. 49, 50. *Acta Concilii Basiliensis (Concilia Omnia, Venetiis, 1585), sessio iv. pp. 429, 637, 653.*

<sup>15</sup> Æneas Sylvius, lib. li., lii. Lenfant, lib. xvii.-xxvii.

Calixtin reform was lost in the mighty river of the Protestant Reformation.<sup>16</sup>

The great revolt against the Church of Rome at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, under Wycliffe and Hus, was savagely put down in England and imperfectly suppressed in Bohemia. Its general defeat and its limited success in one land may be easily explained. The mind of man was not quite ready; learning had not fully revived; biblical studies were not enough advanced; printing was not yet invented. But more than all this, the soul was not stirred in its depths, was not potently called forth against Rome. Wycliffe fell upon all the corruptions of the papal church, doctrinal and political; Hus assailed the vices of the popedom and the priesthood; but neither English nor Bohemian reformer conducted the attack in the only thorough and effectual manner; neither put forth some mighty and contagious doctrine, some soul-kindling and world-quickenning truth like justification by faith. Bohemia it is true was positive and therefore successful in reclaiming the long-withholden cup. But the communion in both kinds, though a precious spiritual right was not a mighty doctrine, an immortal principle; it had not the far-spreading, world-conquering energy of a deep-lying truth.

But the Papacy did not find its only danger in the uprising of the Hussites, somewhat allayed as it was by the compact with the council of Basle; that very council constituted a kind of papal peril, threatened the See of Rome with diminution. The representatives of Christendom who had gathered together at Basle in 1431, met with the fixed determination to do the worst which their predecessors at Constance had left undone, to sweep away the political and secular corruptions of the Church and bring down the papal tyranny to a limited and constitutional monarchy. Pope Martin, the convener of the council, died just before its meeting and was succeeded by Eugenius IV., a restless and resolute personage,

A daring pilot in extremity,  
Pleased with the tempest when the waves were high,

brave and implacable, aggressive and unbending, quick to give and take offence, impatient but enduring, fierce against opposition but strong under calamity, the very man to provoke and aggra-

<sup>16</sup> Æneas Sylvius, c. 53 et seq.

vate, but also the very man to ride through a storm, and as tenacious of papal prerogatives as the fathers of Basle were set against them. Elected a few months before they met, he spent his whole pontificate in a fierce fight with them. The stubborn pontiff and the steadfast council were well matched, and began at once to quarrel. Suspicious of an assembly holden in Germany and mainly composed of French and German prelates and doctors, and eager to get it under his own eye and in his own power, Eugenius bade the council break up almost before it had come together and transferred it to Bologna. The synod of Basle refused to break up, remonstrated and retaliated, affirmed its superiority to the pope, declared itself indissoluble by him, summoned Eugenius to attend and threatened to depose him if contumacious. Sigismund, in the vigour and maturity of his days the hero of one great assembly, was willing in his declining years to pass for the patron of another. Supreme at Constance, he would fain be somebody at Basle, and trusted by the help of the latter assembly to regain that realm of Bohemia of which the crime of the earlier had bereaved him. But then he did not wish to quarrel with the pope. He therefore set up as mediator between pontiff and synod, and retaining in age his travelling propensities, visited Rome and Basle, got the pope to acknowledge the council on conditions however unacceptable to the latter, and got the council to suspend the deposition of the pontiff.<sup>17</sup>

Eugenius, stubborn as he was, sought a reconciliation. Through his aggressive and implacable disposition, he had on his hands the kinsmen of his predecessor, the people of Rome and more than one Italian potentate as well as the fathers of Basle. Soldiers of fortune like Francis Sforza invaded the States of the Church in the name of the council; and the Romans rose upon their unpopular sovereign, pursued him with stones and arrows and drove him in disguise from the city to take refuge in Florence. In these sore straits Eugenius made advances to the synod, retracted his hostilities and withdrew his censures.<sup>18</sup> The council accepted peace but would not for

<sup>17</sup> *Acta C. B.* sess. 3-14. Raynaldus, an. 1431, n. 20 et seq. Cardinal Julian, the legate appointed by Martin to open the council, and its first president, in two very remarkable letters to Eugenius on his project of immediate dissolution, speaks very boldly, almost sternly, to the reckless pope (*Fasciculus Rerum*, tom. i. p. 54, et seq.).

<sup>18</sup> Lenfant, lib. xvii. c. 29. *Diario di Città di Roma* (Muratori, tom. iii. pt. ii. p. 1126). *Acta C. B.* s. 16, pp. 458-64. Platina, *de Vitis Pontificum, in Eugenium*, p. 225 et seq.

this reconciliation with the pope grow slack in the work of reforming the popedom. They lopped off abuses of all kinds, cut down papal usurpations, made away with papal extortions, sadly stunted the wide and insatiable maw of the Roman court, forbade the pontiff to appropriate the first year's income of every vacant bishopric, to bestow benefices not yet vacant for a consideration, and to keep back benefices for a consideration; regulated the papal election, interfered with appeals to Rome, softened the severity of excommunications, and restrained the issue of interdicts.<sup>19</sup>

These proceedings exceedingly exasperated the half reconciled Eugenius, whose ill-smothered wrath soon broke out into open hostility on the occurrence of a new cause of quarrel. The Greek empire, beset on all sides by the Ottomans and almost shut up within the walls of Constantinople, stood upon the brink of that ruin towards which it had been ignobly creeping for centuries. More than one Byzantine Cæsar had traversed Europe as a suppliant for help against the terrible Turks, and had played the beggar in vain. John Palæologus, trembling before the great sultan Moorad II., and despairing of the influence of political motives upon Europe, sought to win the help of Western Christendom by a religious bribe, offered to unite and subject the Greek church to the Latin church. To bring the Greek church into subjection had been for centuries a favourite and fruitless endeavour of the papacy. More than once the Greeks and Latins had played at becoming reconciled; and for the latter the game had a singular fascination. John proposed a conference on the points in dispute between the Eastern and Western churches, and addressed himself both to Eugenius and the fathers of Basle. Both pontiff and council caught at the offer, both coveted the credit of bringing over the Greeks, and quarrelled about the place of meeting. The pope insisted upon some Italian town; the synod stood out for some German or French city.<sup>20</sup> The Greeks, importunately solicited and vehemently fought for, at last yielded to the more powerful allurements of the pontiff, who offered to pay the expenses of their deputies to Italy and back. Eugenius at once dissolved

<sup>19</sup> Lenfant, lib. xviii. c. 10, 29. *Acta*, sess. 20, 21, 23.

<sup>20</sup> *Acta C. B.* ss. 19, 24, 25, pp. 482-90. Men even then laughed at the folly and futility of this game. Cardinal Julian (ep. i. *ad Eugenium IV.*) calls this profession of uniting the Greeks an old song: 'Ista cantilena de Græcis jam trecentis annis duravit, et omni anno renovatur.'

the council of Basle, and summoned a synod to meet the Byzantine emperor and ecclesiastics first at Ferrara and then at Florence, where the Greeks pretended to be convinced that the Spirit proceeded from the Son as well as from the Father, that the fire of Purgatory was material fire, and that the Roman bishop was the Vicar of Christ and the Head of Christendom; and where Eugenius had the honour of receiving their profession of obedience. But never was performance more futile or triumph more short-lived. The nation exclaimed against this falling away of its sovereign and patriarch from the truth, held the succour of the West far too dearly purchased by submission to Rome, preferred the destruction of the State to the servitude of the church and on the very brink of the death-struggle with the Turks, renounced the sacrilegious union with the Latins, and indignantly cast off the yoke of the papacy.<sup>21</sup>

This sorry business in fact brought nothing but trouble and disgrace upon the pontiff; this pretended union with the East led to a real schism in the West. In convening a synod at Ferrara he had dissolved that of Basle. The fathers there not only refused to be done away with, but vigorously retaliated. Eugenius had dismissed them; they deposed Eugenius. He had set up a council against them; they set up a pontiff against him in the person of Amadeus VIII. of Savoy, and the first duke thereof who after a long and prosperous reign had abdicated and turned hermit at Ripaille on the banks of Lake Lemman, and who took the name of Felix V.<sup>22</sup> This singular elevation of a layman and a prince to the papal chair is rendered still more remarkable by the events passing under our eyes, by the present employment and prominence of the House of Savoy. Victor Emmanuel is the lineal descendant of Amadeus VIII. The nominee of an assembly engaged in restricting and reforming the papacy as a spiritual power was the ancestor in direct male line of the representative of a nation set upon destroying the papacy as a political and territorial power. From the liberal pontiff of the 15th century, from the would-be regenerator of the popedom, has sprung the actual liberator and regenerator of Italy from

<sup>21</sup> Lenfant, lib. xvii. c. 31; lib. xviii. c. 50; lib. xix. c. 9, 26, 27. *Acta Concilii Florentini (Concilia Omnia, tom. iv.)*. Eugenius (p. 897) breaks into a strain of premature rapture over the reconciled Greeks, as he does (p. 909) over the reconciled Armenians, and somewhat hastily calls upon heaven and earth to rejoice over a union which did not last ten years.

<sup>22</sup> *Acta C. B. sess. 26-42*. Lenfant, lib. xviii. c. 50; lib. xix. c. 15, 35, 36. *Æneas Sylvius, Commentarii de Gestis C. B., Opera, ed. 1551*.



the temporal domination of the popedom. Twice has the House of Savoy fallen out with the papacy; but the enterprise of the descendant has one capital advantage over the enterprise of the ancestor—that of feasibility. In the regeneration of a nation Victor Emmanuel has undertaken a very difficult task; in the regeneration of the papacy Amadeus undertook an impossibility. The liberal pontiff was no match for the absolute pontiff. The absolute pope was the true and legitimate pope, and triumphed as he was bound to do over his constitutional competitor. The chief powers of Europe, though well-wishers to Church Reform, disliked another schism and shrank from recognising Felix V. France, that had (1438) in a general assembly of her clergy adopted the chief reforms and retrenchments of the fathers of Basle and consolidated them in a national document entitled the Pragmatic Sanction, true to her constant policy of self-seeking service towards the popedom, and with most self-consistent inconsistency adhered to the reforming council, but would not declare against the legitimate pontiff.<sup>23</sup> Germany likewise did not reject Eugenius, though for a while she remained faithful to the assembly which deposed him. England, degraded by the bigotry of her Lancastrian monarchs, those ruthless persecutors of the Lollards, and misrepresented by an ignoble devotee Henry VI. and a grasping churchman Cardinal Beaufort, fell away from the fathers of Basle whom she had at first gladly recognised, renounced the council and all its works, refused Felix and held fast to Eugenius. The most gifted, capable and valiant sovereign of the age, Alfonso V. of Aragon, in furtherance of his designs upon the kingdom of Naples, shifted his adhesion from pontiff to pontiff and from council to council, but at last settled it upon Eugenius.<sup>24</sup>

The intellect of the time, as represented by the chief universities of Europe, was mainly with the fathers of Basle and Felix V. The university of Paris especially, the most illustrious among them, true to the spirit of its great chancellor John Gerson, who did not survive to unfold in the more congenial

<sup>23</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1438, n. 14. Lenfant, lib. xix. c. 17, 56.

<sup>24</sup> Lenfant, lib. xix. c. 14, 16, 33, 57; lib. xx. c. 12; lib. xxi. c. 4. Raynaldus, an. 1438, n. 14. England sent deputies to the council at its opening in 1431 (see for their instructions *Fasciculus Rerum*, præfatio, p. 6), but was not represented at the election of Felix, who was chosen by deputies from the different nations who recognised the council: 'Anglici vero idcirco recepti non sunt, quia non aderant' (*Æn. Syl.* lib. ii.).

atmosphere of Basle his strong reforming principles half smothered at Constance, held fast to the reforming council and the liberal pontiff.<sup>25</sup> But the rising intellect of Christendom, not yet aggrandised by the printing-press, unsustained by the powers of this world, unallied with any great spiritual principle and unennobled by any intense spiritual conviction, was no match for an ancient power like the papacy, enfeebled and degenerate it is true, but still strong in spiritual pretensions and political alliances. An assembly too is generally worsted in conflict with an individual; and though this struggle nominally raged between two popes and two councils, it really lay between the fathers of Basle and the pontiff of Rome. Pope Felix was the mere creature and instrument of the council of Basle, just as the council of Florence was the mere creature and instrument of Pope Eugenius. The assembly too had the further disadvantage of occupying somewhat new and untried ground, while its adversary was intrenched in a long fortified and familiar position. On the election of Felix, the president Cardinal Julian, vanquished in one famous battle by the Hussites and slain in another by the Turks, forsook the council with other considerable members and went over to Eugenius, to be followed ere long by its still more famous secretary Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II. Pope Felix too lived chiefly apart from his constituents, at Lausanne, and a war between the Switzers and the House of Austria, in which the people of Basle took part, and which brought a large French army to the city, made that town a painful and perilous place of residence. Germany, under the guidance of its Austrian emperor Frederick III., fell away from the council, holding fast however to some of its enactments, and acknowledged Eugenius just before that turbulent pontiff breathed his last (1447).<sup>26</sup> In him the papal throne lost a very remarkable and worthy occupant. All the while he was extending or defending his spiritual authority, reconciling the Greeks and the Copts and fighting the fathers of Basle, he was engaged in perpetual conflict with the princes of Italy for the defence or extension of his Italian principality; he was always trafficking with condottieri, making and breaking alliances, and deep in conspiracies. A stern and

<sup>25</sup> Lenfant, lib. xix. c. 59.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* lib. xix. c. 15; lib. xxi. c. 17, 24-29, 55, 57. Raynaldus, an. 1438, n. 5; an. 1440, n. 10; an. 1444, n. 13; an. 1446, n. 1 et seq.; an. 1447, n. 1 et seq. *Platina, in Vitas Pontificum, de Eugenio IV.*

exacting sovereign, a reckless, unscrupulous and perfidious politician, he was emphatically a good pope; he confronted formidable enemies with unshrinking courage, and in a perilous conjuncture upheld the spiritual and temporal domination of the papacy with great vigour and some success, outplotted the craftiest plotters of Italy, brought the turbulent people of Rome into subjection to the Roman See, and got the better of the fathers of Basle.

His successor Nicholas V. (Tommaso di Sarzana, 1447-1455) is the most tenderly remembered and generally revered of all the occupants of the papal chair, except perhaps Benedict XIV. He stands forth as the supreme lover and patron of learning among princes, as the most generous fosterer of the rising intellect of his time, as the most bountiful rewarder of learned men in that or perhaps any age, and as the founder of many learned institutions, among others of the University of Glasgow (1449); as in truth the unwitting enemy of his Church and See, ere long so formidably assailed by that very learning and genius whereof he was the chief encourager, so sorely smitten by the very weapons whereof he was the great sharpener and polisher.<sup>27</sup> But though the pontiff has been forgotten in the lover of learning, Nicholas did not neglect his pontifical duties. He kept down sedition and baffled conspiracy in Rome. He reluctantly executed after having repeatedly forgiven the republican scholar and restless conspirator Stephen Porcaro, who joined to the love of ancient learning the love of ancient freedom, who like Rienzi yearned for an Italian republic with Rome for its head, who like Arnold of Brescia looked upon the papacy as the chief hindrance, and who must be allowed to have deserved well of that freedom and unity of Italy now almost accomplished. Nicholas likewise pushed the advantage gained by his predecessor over the council of Basle to a considerable and decisive if not a complete victory. Germany recognised Nicholas, and Cæsar Frederick directed the magistrates of Basle to send away the

<sup>27</sup> He was almost as great a master as a patron of learning. His memory was prodigious and his knowledge universal. In the words of his biographer Manetti (*Muratori*, tom. iii. p. 912), 'He not only retained the sense of all the authors that he had ever read, but (I mention it with a shudder, horresco referens) even their very words. He was a grammarian, a logician, a poet, an historian, a geographer (cosmographus), an orator, a natural and moral philosopher, a theologian.' He collected 5,000 manuscripts, sending collectors to the ends of the earth and employing innumerable transcribers. More classical works were edited and translated during the eight years of his reign than during the five preceding centuries (pp. 925-27).

fathers from that imperial town. They repaired to their Savoyard pontiff at Lausanne; there, after some negotiation, Felix V. abdicated on terms honourable to himself and his constituents; Nicholas was acknowledged throughout Christendom, and the council of Basle came to an end.<sup>28</sup>

Thus closed what must needs be called a great and famous assembly. The council of Basle had a lofty purpose and an earnest spirit, attempted much and worked hard. There is something noble and striking in the spectacle of a multitude of learned doctors and accomplished divines in an age of iron, with war and confusion round about, encompassed by contending kings and disordered nations, unsustained by any power of this world, dignified by no great political alliance, meeting together not in the capital of a large kingdom, not in the centre of a mighty nation, but in an isolated imperial town of no great size or importance; and there setting earnestly to work for the reform of the church and the regeneration of Christendom, pursuing the work for nearly twenty years, impressing princes and attracting nations. Its greatness as an assembly far exceeds the greatness of its individual members. Not one of its master-spirits has captivated posterity; scarcely one of its distinguished members abides in the memory of mankind. Its faithless secretary, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, one of the busiest men and best writers of the time, deserted the council whose doings he has so admiringly set forth, went over to the pontiff whose misdeeds he has so vehemently branded and whose deposition he has so approvingly recorded, became secretary of the emperor Frederick III., mounted that papal throne among the impairers whereof he had been numbered, and as Pope Pius II. anathematised the work at which he had assisted at Basle.<sup>29</sup> Another deserter of the council and its first president, Cardinal Julian, is mainly remembered as the leader of two unsuccessful crusades, the first against the Hussites and the second against the Turks, as the persuader of a famous perjury and a partaker of its signal punishment, as the casuist who on the principle that faith is not to be kept with mis-

<sup>28</sup> Sismondi, *Histoire des Répub. Ital.* c. 75. Lenfant, lib. xxii. c. 27-37. Raynaldus, an. 1449, n. 1 et seq. Manetti, p. 923. Nicholas in a formal bull approved the acts of the council (*Acta C. B.* pp. 545-47).

<sup>29</sup> His narrative of the deposition of Eugenius (*Commentarii de Gestis C. B.*) is very graphic and striking. The future pope fully succeeds in imparting to the reader his lively sympathy with the boldness of the council.

believers prevailed upon Wladislaus king of Poland and Hungary to break the peace with the Ottomans to which he had sworn, and who fell with the king at the battle of Varna, where Moorad II. the Turkish sultan so effectually displayed and so terribly avenged the violated treaty.<sup>30</sup> Its two most steadfast champions and brightest luminaries, its second president, Cardinal Louis Aleman, archbishop of Arles and its greatest theologian Nicholas archbishop of Palermo have no hold upon us and give forth no light for us.<sup>31</sup> But this unmemorableness of its leading members in nowise takes away from the greatness of the assembly. The council of Basle stands out not ignobly among the products and the signs of the time; it ministered not a little to the worth and interest of a period thronged with confusion and conflicts but not empty of important events, of an age bringing up the rear of the dark ages and faintly tinged with the growing light. It beheld England spiritually and nationally degenerate under the Lancastrian persecutors, feebly and unfortunately fighting in France, and miserably divided at home by quarrels between the guardians of Henry VI., Cardinal Beaufort and good Duke Humphrey. It beheld Germany full of stormy and confused life, Spain a prey to mean civil strife and Italy involved in incessant and unprofitable internal wars. It beheld the strange and tortuous course of Philip Maria the last of the Visconti, the astonishing advance of his son-in-law the soldier of fortune Francis Sforza who afterwards became duke of Milan, the brilliant career of Alfonso V. of Aragon, rightly styled the Magnanimous, the conqueror of Naples, and the bountiful patron of learning, and the rise of the house of de' Medici at Florence in the person of Cosmo. It witnessed the final deliverance of France from her English invaders; it witnessed the rapid growth of the Ottoman power and the dying agonies of the Byzantine empire; and it came to an end only four years before the capture of Constantinople by Mohammed II. It witnessed the manifold advance of knowledge, the progress of Portuguese

<sup>30</sup> Æneas Sylvius, *de Europa*, c. 5. Raynaldus, an. 1444, n. 1-10.

<sup>31</sup> Æneas Sylvius testifies the most lively admiration for these two men (*passim*). Clearly they must have been great in their way. One would like to know more of the archbishop of Arles. He seems to have been even more than the consummate president of a great assembly. His speech in vindication of the rights of the unepiscopal members of the council is very fine and breathes a noble Christian spirit (*Æn. Syl. lib. i. pp. 25-33*). He makes an admission, especially agreeable in an archbishop, that bishops and presbyters were originally one and the same.

discovery along the western coast of Africa and the growth of learning in Italy; and it was contemporary with the childhood of Columbus. The fathers of Basle were certainly better employed than many of these personages and their work may be advantageously compared with many of these performances. But there was something going on very near them which altogether dwarfs their own or any contemporary achievements. While they were sitting, printing was invented. While they were labouring at Basle to produce a constitutional pope and a regenerate Christendom, somewhat lower down the Rhine Fust and Gutenberg were busy at Mentz in perfecting that instrument destined to be of such marvellous help to that cause of Church Reform for which they wrought with so much earnestness but so little avail. In its failure to accomplish its chief end and object the council of Basle resembled the council of Constance; though in many respects it was honourably distinguished from its predecessor. It was less numerous and far less splendid. It possessed much less political power; it boasted of fewer distinguished members and illustrious visitors; it met with less worldly success; the pope of its unmaking stood firm; the pope of its making was unmade. It lacked the attraction of a gorgeous attendance; it lacked the interest of a famous crime. It had no devoted, powerful and steadfast protector like Cæsar Sigismund; it had no luminary so bright as John Gerson; it had no immortal victims like John Hus and Jerome of Prague. The later council however has not only this pre-eminence over the earlier synod in having shed no innocent and holy blood; it was in truth a far greater assembly. It lived a longer and far nobler life; it was more in earnest; its deeds were truer to its words; it had a far less worldly spirit; it more strenuously endeavoured after higher things with many more hindrances in its way. The fathers of Constance professed to be church-reformers, spoke strongly against papal abuses and talked loudly about restraining and purifying the popedom. The fathers of Basle were very zealous and energetic church-reformers; they put forth principles and framed enactments which have been proclaimed by the Gallican Church and adopted by the French monarchy; they made war with abuses, abolished usurpations, forbade extortions, devised restrictions, in fact did their best to regenerate Christendom by producing a limited and liberal papacy. Like their predecessors they undertook an impossibility and incurred a

defeat. But the failure at Basle was still more important and instructive than the failure at Constance. The earlier synod failed in what it pretended to do; the later assembly failed in what it strove to do with all its might and main. The utmost efforts of friendly reformers were made in vain; this last and crowning failure still more eloquently proclaimed the papacy unreformable, still more loudly called for the efforts of hostile reformers, helped still more to hasten on the Protestant Reformation.

By the middle of the fifteenth century however the papacy seemed to have overridden the storm, to have overpassed all its perils, to have overcome all its enemies. It had regained its unity and its proper seat; it had recovered its Italian principality and apparently its spiritual sovereignty; it had worsted the reforming fathers of Basle; one pontiff reigned over Christendom and kept his court peaceably and permanently at Rome. But the papacy was much the weaker and the worse for its late experiences. The seventy years' subjection to France, the forty years' battle of the popes, the not over-tender dealings of the fathers of Constance and the rough handling of the fathers of Basle, proved anything but an invigorating and exalting discipline, left its frame sorely shaken and its strength vitally impaired. During the latter half of the fifteenth century and beyond, from the disappearance of the council of Basle to the manifestation of Luther, the reign of the papacy over Christendom was undisputed but influential. Like the church and monarchy of France at the beginning of the eighteenth century, it was unchallenged and unquestioned while inspiring very little genuine reverence and wielding a greatly diminished authority; it had the appearance with very little of the reality of power. The papacy in truth sank into insignificance; it took no great part in the work of the time; the spirit of the age was against it; events instead of obeying its impulse and entering into its service came without its bidding and wrought for its undoing. It ceased to be a power in Christendom and history takes very little note of its doings during the latter half of the fifteenth century. The age had its mighty men, but there were no pontiffs among them. Mohammed II. and Scanderbeg, Louis XI. and Charles the Bold, Earl Warwick and Margaret of Anjou, Edward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII., Ferdinand and Isabella, Gutenberg, Columbus and Erasmus power-

fully affected their own age and have duly impressed posterity. But the contemporary popes, Calistus III., Pius II., Paul II., Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., were insignificant as pontiffs and remain obscure names, were powerless over Christendom and have no interest for posterity. Not only are they utterly unworthy to rank with mighty men like the inventor of printing, the discoverer of America and the great master of wit and learning, not only can they bear no comparison with the far inferior royal potentates such as Louis XI., Henry VII. and Ferdinand the Catholic who more rudely and selfishly forwarded the work of the age; they cannot even be reckoned with its great and illustrious hinderers, with the representatives of feudal freedom and feudal power, with Richard Neville or Charles the Bold, with the last of the great English barons and the last of the great French feudatories.<sup>22</sup> They were simply insignificant and remain so. The last pontiff of the fifteenth century, Alexander VI., has indeed found an abiding place in the memory of mankind; but he owes it merely to the enormity of his vices, to the flagrancy and multitude of his crimes; he has achieved the horrible immortality of a monster; his name has a significance like that attached to the names of Caligula and Nero, of Messalina and Heliogabalus.

But the popes of this period, though powerless for any great enterprise, manifested much petty activity. Impotent as pontiffs, insignificant as sovereigns of Christendom, they were very busy as Italian politicians, and tolerably important as Italian princes. The history of Italy is as full of their doings as the general history of Europe is silent thereupon. This absorption in Italian affairs was a main characteristic of the papacy for nearly a century from its permanent re-establishment at Rome about 1450 to the Reformation and some time after, from the death of Nicholas V. (1453) to that of Paul III. (1550). At the beginning of this period Pius II., more famous as the statesman and historian Æneas Sylvius than as the Roman pontiff, sought to elevate Italian politics by welding Italy together into a league

<sup>22</sup> There was some resemblance in the character and in the end of these last two great representatives of feudalism. Both were very proud and very rash, though the Englishman had a far higher and more generous nature. Both strove against the age; both fell in a battle which they lost. Earl Warwick yielded up life and victory on Barnet field to that King Edward IV. whom he had made and unmade (1471), six years before the duke of Burgundy was vanquished and slain under the walls of Nancy by those Switzer peasants whom he despised and invaded and by whom he was thrice overcome (1476-7).



against the Ottoman conquerors of Constantinople, proclaimed himself the leader of a new crusade and died not ignobly when setting out upon an enterprise in which Italy played the laggard and from which Turkey would have come forth conqueror.<sup>33</sup> Towards the end of the period this devotion to the politics of the Peninsula rose in Pope Julius II. to the dignity of a noble passion; that warlike pontiff joined to the ambition of an Italian prince the ambition of an Italian patriot, and burned with the desire to drive all foreign invaders out of the Fatherland. But all the pontiffs of this period were alike pre-eminently Italian princes and politicians, immersed in small intrigues, engaged in petty wars, members of little leagues, parties to ignoble conspiracies. They spent as diligent and persistent pains, showed as much unscrupulousness and committed as many crimes in consolidating and enlarging their Italian principality, in reducing its chief feudatories and subjugating its republican cities, as did the contemporary kings in a like but a larger work, as did Louis XI. in reuniting fiefs and adding strength to the crown of France, as did Ferdinand the Catholic in welding together the Spanish monarchy, as did Henry VII. in aggrandising the English throne and depressing the English nobility. To outplot a master of Italian wile, to dissolve a hostile confederacy, to surprise a fortress, to seduce a soldier of fortune, to enslave a small commonwealth, to dethrone a petty potentate, to make away with a troublesome neighbour, to endow their nephews with principalities and carve out little states for their bastards, were the chief employments of Paul II., of Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., Clement VII., and Paul III.; such occupations found much favour with the nobler nature of Julius II., divided Leo X. with the patronage of art and learning, and diverted him not a little from the struggle with Luther.<sup>34</sup>

As Italian politicians, the Roman pontiffs of this period manifested much ability and obtained much success. They were not merely versatile and unscrupulous, but they broke faith with much skill and committed crimes with considerable dexterity. They generally changed sides at the right moment; they gene-

<sup>33</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1459, n. 59 et seq.; an. 1464, n. 36-60. Campanus, *Vita Pii II.* (Muratori, tom. iii. part ii. pp. 470-92). Sismondi, c. 79. Æneas Sylvius, *Opera*, pp. 905 et seq.

<sup>34</sup> Sismondi, c. 81, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 100, 101, 102, 103, 107, 110, 113, 120, 121.

rally made a judicious choice of agents and allies, got something by most wars, found their account in most intrigues, and drew some profit even from an unsuccessful conspiracy. They encouraged and threw upon the paltry divisions and petty troubles of Italy in that period of comparative peace and abounding prosperity which preceded the fatal invasion of Naples by the French under Charles VIII. in 1494; they fostered and improved those horrible plagues and awful woes which foreign invaders so continuously dealt forth to Italy for forty years after that beginning of sorrows. The popes generally contrived to find themselves in the end on the strongest side, and to enlarge their states or endow their kindred whether they had to do with petty Italian sovereigns or with the great powers of Europe, France, Spain and Germany. As Italian princes they found their account in the divisions of Italy, and accordingly they most of them did their best to keep her divided. Pontiff Sixtus IV. was ever stirring up strife among his neighbours, to the no small advantage of his family and extension of his territories. The same pontiff approved of the conspiracy of the Pazzi against the Medici (1478), directed the daggers beneath which Julian de' Medici fell in the cathedral of Florence and from which Lorenzo so narrowly escaped, tried war where conspiracy had failed, and made something by a crime so fatal to all the other conspirators. Innocent VIII. did pretty well both for his bastards and his see.<sup>35</sup> Alexander VI. employed his great diplomatic abilities not less successfully than his horrible vices for the exaltation of the house of Borgia and the territorial aggrandisement of the papacy; he showed consummate skill in dealing with the various invaders of Italy; and by assisting in the crimes and conquests of his famous son Cæsar, rendered no small service to the Roman See. If the popedom seemed to do the work of a papal bastard, Cæsar Borgia in fact did the work of the popedom. On his father's death he was despoiled by pope Julius II., and the principality of Romagna, conquered, consolidated and conciliated by that very capable tyrant, passed into the permanent possession of the papacy. That pontifical statesman and warrior, Julius II., did much for the territorial popedom, joined the league of Cambray against Venice to the extension of the

<sup>35</sup> Sismondi, c. 85-88. Raynaldus, an. 1478, n. 1-13; an. 1480, n. 68-70. Machiavelli, *Storia di Firenze*, lib. viii. *Vita Sisti IV.* ab anonymo (Muratori, tom. iii. part ii. pp. 1053-66).

States of the Church, abandoned the league with the same result, entered Mirandola sword in hand, and left the papal territories greatly enlarged on the eve of the great revolt against the spiritual popedom. Leo X. preserved the conquests and pursued the policy of his predecessor, restored his own banished kinsmen the Medici to Florence, and achieved manifold triumphs as an Italian prince and politician as the half of Christendom was falling away from him. Clement VII. made mistakes and underwent reverses as an Italian potentate, but in the end he repaired them all. As his defiance of the emperor Charles V. had brought about the sack of Rome, his own captivity, and the expulsion of his family from Florence, he went over to the victorious emperor, re-established the Medici permanently at Florence, and recovered full possession of the States of the Church such as they have remained to our day, at the time that England, Sweden and Denmark were renouncing the papacy; and his successor Paul III. consoled himself for the spread of the Reformation by making his bastard a prince, and founding at Parma the ducal house of Farnese.<sup>86</sup>

But during this period, while the popes were so busy about Italian politics and waxed stronger as Italian princes, they were growing weaker as rulers of Christendom; mighty forces were being gathered together against their spiritual authority. The latter half of the fifteenth century was a period of innovation, expansion, and illumination. The Middle Ages, which notwithstanding the worth of some of their products, notwithstanding the glory of Gothic architecture and the nobleness of feudal freedom, are still rightly denominated the Dark Ages, came to an end. Men had given them both more to see and greater power of seeing. Their vision waxed stronger as the prospect grew wider. They beheld great monarchies in the room of little states. New oceans and new continents broke on their gaze and were given to their possession. The long-buried world of ancient learning and genius rose from its grave before their eyes in all its strength and beauty, and the great invention of the age secured and diffused the possession of the recovered treasure; the languages in which the Word of God was written were for the first time earnestly studied and accurately known. Columbus revealed the new world to the old; Vasco de Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope and made the

<sup>86</sup> Guicciardini, *Storia*, passim.

mythic India a reality for the West ; subjugated Greece yielded up her hidden lore and sent forth her exiled sons ; enamoured Italy eagerly caught at the precious gift and joyfully welcomed its imparters ; Germany devised the great instrument of spreading it wide, and contributed its most earnest and profound students. The Printing Press soon became a power ; intellect soon filled a throne. The foremost wit, scholar and writer of the age, a man of Teutonic blood, was a mighty potentate ; the world recognised a king in Erasmus. The age indeed was fruitful and wonderful that witnessed the development of the French and Spanish monarchies, the triumphant establishment of the Ottoman Empire, the discovery of America, the opening of India, the resurrection of ancient thought and learning, and the invention of printing.

In most of these events the papacy encountered hostile powers. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks, apparently a loss to Christendom and a gain to Rome through the humiliation of her rival the Greek Church, became in the end of harm to the papal power and of help to the Christian faith by converting the most learned among the Greeks into exiles and teachers, by transferring the custody of Grecian lore from a dying empire and stationary intellects to living nations and growing minds. The resurrection of ancient learning in fact sorely wounded the papacy and greatly furthered the revival of Christian truth. The relations between classical lore and the Christian faith have been very remarkable and very noble. Either wittingly or unwittingly these two powers have ever been allies and helpers of each other. Grecian genius, so earnestly studied, and Latin genius, so magnificently manifested about the birthtime of Christianity, dwindled with the waning gospel and shared the grave of the buried truth. The darkness of the dark ages lay in the common obscurity of these two harmonious and auxiliar lights, as it took to flight before their common awakening. Classical learning first emerged to make the way straight and plain for the reappearance of its more illustrious ally and to enfeeble and bring low the papal adversary, and it has ever since continued in close alliance with Christian truth and an object of just suspicion and well-grounded enmity to Romish falsehood. The most illustrious Protestants, like Milton, have ever been warm lovers and mighty masters of ancient learning ; Protestant Churches and Universities have rightly made it subservient to the defence of their doctrines and

essential to the training of their youth; and Romish zealots in our day as in every age have fallen foul on that lofty lore which in the fifteenth century so sorely smote their church.

Manifold was the warfare which classical lore then waged against the papacy. It shook the papal power by awakening, stimulating, and invigorating the intellect, and by withdrawing men's minds from the meagre fare of monastic chronicles and scholastic speculations to the sumptuous banquet of ancient genius. But classical learning did much direct harm to the papacy. It at once aroused the spirit and supplied the means of critical enquiry. The Roman See had with almost entire impunity during the dark ages drawn around its political and spiritual usurpations the fortification of sundry literary forgeries which fell down at once before the awakened intellect and widened vision of the age. Laurence Valla demolished the donation of Constantine,<sup>37</sup> and sundry scholars made onslaughts on the false decretals. But ancient learning did not merely help to discredit the title-deeds which the Roman Church had forged; it likewise contributed to the reappearance of the Word of God which she had hidden. The languages wherein were written those oracles of the faith which knew nothing of her and yet witnessed so mightily against her, became the object of earnest study. The chief wit and writer of the age, the intellectual potentate who arose towards the end of the fifteenth century, wielded his power to the detriment of the Roman Church. Erasmus showed no mercy to monkish enormities and clerical corruptions, but he did the papacy more direct harm still as a scholar than as a satirist; the great assailant of ecclesiastical abuses, he published the first separate edition of the Greek Testament.<sup>38</sup> The printing-press imparted a sevenfold energy to these hostile forces and lent a marvellous rapidity to their operations. The discovery of America and the opening of India, though accompanied by a large extension of the papal jurisdiction, yet as events which kindled the intellect and widened the vision of mankind, were not without prejudice to the papal power.<sup>39</sup> The age was emphatically an enquiring, an

<sup>37</sup> *In Donationem Constantini Declamatio* (Opera, Basileæ, 1540, pp. 761-97).

<sup>38</sup> The Greek Testament appeared for the first time at Basle in 1516, printed by Froben and edited by Erasmus, six years before it came out in the Complutensian Polyglot of Cardinal Ximenes, which, though printed some years before, was not published till 1522.

<sup>39</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1493, n. 18-23. There is no more amusing piece of pontifical audacity than the bull wherein Alexander VI. arrogated for the Roman See the dis-

exploring, an inventing age; the papacy shrank from its investigations and trembled before its inventions. The Roman Church soon recognised the enmity of the printing-press and declared war against it. She reckons as a redeeming feature in the character of the monster for whom she is constrained to blush his zeal against this new and most formidable enemy. Alexander VI. established the censorship of the press; and, not satisfied with setting up the censor to restrain the printer, sought to undo the past misdeeds of the press by ordaining a diligent pursuit and ruthless conflagration of all printed books in the least tainted with heresy.<sup>40</sup>

But the deadliest enemies of the popedom were the popes themselves. A good pope has been often a very bad man, like Innocent IV.; a good pope has been sometimes in certain personal relations a good man, like Pius V.; now and then a bad pope has been a good man, like Clement XIV. But the pontiffs who immediately preceded the Reformation were the worst of men and not the best of popes. Their badness was of a sort and size to damage and degrade their office. In them the natural affections, proscribed and perverted into sins by the very constitution of the Roman Church, broke forth into monstrous licence and fearfully avenged their repression; in them the love of kindred became nepotism of the most flagrant and repulsive sort; in them the sin of compulsory celibacy had its foulest and most frightful manifestation. In the latter portion of the fifteenth century the papal chair was defiled by the filthiest vices, by the darkest crimes, by a manifold and gigantic profligacy. There was a progress in depravity. Each successive occupant rose above his predecessor in wickedness. Paul II. (1464-1471) was cruel and grasping, an oppressor of his subjects, a persecutor of scholars, a hoarder of money.<sup>41</sup> Sixtus IV. (1471-1484) combined great energy and ability with fierce passion and flagrant vices; he was restless, turbulent, prodigal and dissolute, a lover of wine and women, reckless in love and unrelenting in hate, given to conspiracy and not averse from murder, an over-fond and over-liberal uncle or father, the first

posal of the new world, and divided the new-discovered oceans, islands, and continents between Spain and Portugal.

<sup>40</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1501, n. 36.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* an. 1464-71, passim. Sismondi, c. 81. Platina, the contemporary and the victim of Paul, gives a very bad account of his tormentor (*In Vitas Pontificum, de Paulo II.*). See also a very amusing tractate (*De quinque Paulis*, Strasburg, 1609), wherein the five pontifical Pauls are bitterly contrasted with Paul the Apostle.

gross indulger in nepotism, the first founder of a princely papal house, the establisher of the Spanish Inquisition, and a warm patron of the immaculate Conception of the Virgin. Innocent VIII. (1484-1492) was a much smaller but scarcely less repulsive personage; he was base, lewd and venal. Sundry mistresses had endowed him with seven bastards; and he bountifully provided for that numerous brood, redeeming this gigantic nepotism by a violent persecution of the Jews.<sup>42</sup> In him Belial, as in Sixtus IV. Moloch, and in Paul II. Mammon, occupied the papal chair. But in Innocent's successor, Alexander VI. (1492-1503), Mammon, Moloch, and Belial, in company with every other evil spirit, sate upon the pontifical throne. A monster of lust, a monster of cruelty, a monster of perfidy, and a monster of rapacity, this monster of the papal dynasty perhaps surpasses in rich variety of vice and exquisite symmetry of evil every monster of every imperial and royal dynasty, Caligula, Nero and Heliogabalus, Pedro the Cruel and Ivan the Terrible, Christiern II. of Denmark and Philip II. of Spain. His debauchery was as boundless and shameless in old age as in youth; he kept mistresses and begot bastards after, as before, his elevation to the Pontificate. His palace was both a sty and a slaughter-house; his cardinals and his guests were alternately the companions of his debaucheries, or the victims of his villany. Though deeply dyed in blood, he cannot be said to have been wantonly bloodthirsty; he always sought to gain something by his murders. As a diplomatist he had much ability and success; but his dexterity was as nothing beside his duplicity. Macchiavelli, in the famous book written in palliation and justification of much princely perfidy, stands aghast at the transcendent treachery of Alexander VI.<sup>43</sup> The Vicar of Christ was forsworn to all the world. He broke faith with every Italian state, with every European sovereign, with every one out of his own family, small or great, who had anything to do with him. His brood of bastards was his smallest shame and sin; but their horrible likeness to him and the hideous crimes which he committed for them and with them have laid still more blackness upon his memory and have uplifted the house of Borgia into a conspicuous and everlasting infamy. Incest and fratricide were among the characteristics of his

<sup>42</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1471-1492 passim, especially 1472, n. 53-57; an. 1477, n. 9; an. 1479, n. 34; an. 1483, n. 64; an. 1492, n. 21. Sismondi, c. 89, 90.

<sup>43</sup> *Il Principe*, c. 18.

family; his portentous son Cæsar and his horrible daughter Lucretia still keep company with their papal sire in the memory of mankind. His death had a marvellous appropriateness; he was hoisted with his own petard. He and Cæsar prepared poisoned wine for a cardinal whom they had bidden to a banquet. By mistake all three partook; all three sickened; but the old pope alone died (1503). Cæsar Borgia far exceeded his father in capacity and political merits; it is true that the consummate statesman and the beneficent ruler have been forgotten in the traitor, the murderer, the fratricide, and that the admired of Macchiavelli remains the abhorred of posterity; but it required enormous crimes like his to stifle the memory of his great abilities and political merits. Yet his combined crimes and capacity failed to maintain his power. The death of his father was his undoing. He was despoiled of all his conquests; the most accomplished traitor of his time became the victim of treachery, he lived obscurely and died miserably. The atrocities of Alexander VI. were profitless to his family; the papal monster failed to found a princely house.<sup>44</sup>

But he did not fail to shake the popedom. His enormities were most disastrous to the Church whereof he was the head. Horrors as huge and impurities as foul, perpetrated by the pontiffs of the tenth century in the very thickest darkness of the dark ages, had scarcely stirred the dull intellect and dead soul of that time. The far inferior excesses imputed to the Avignon pontiffs somewhat affronted and estranged the somewhat more sensitive and enlightened Christendom of the fourteenth century. But the papal crimes which culminated in the enormities of Alexander VI. were perpetrated in an age of full light, right in the noontide blaze of day. Acute and reflecting witnesses remarked them; contemporary and polished pens recorded them; the printing press spread them abroad; the swarms of invaders who just at this period rushed down from the Alps upon Italy became familiar with them, and brought back their evil fame into every country of Europe; vigorous minds pon-

<sup>44</sup> Guicciardini, lib. i.-vi. passim, who in lib. vi. p. 314, relates the death and sums up the vices of Alexander. Sismondi, c. 92-101. Macchiavelli, *Principe*, lib. vii., xi. The papal annalist Raynaldus (an. 1492, n. 24) confesses and bewails the vices of the papal monster, but gathers some consolation from the purity of his faith and the excellence of his precepts, from his bitter hate of heresy and his ardent affection for the Virgin Mary.



dered over them; earnest souls abhorred them; they glared upon the clearer vision, they appalled the more tender conscience of Christendom. Even in Italy, where the residence of the papal court had almost worn away all spiritual life, they provoked more than a sneer or a sarcasm; they aroused genuine horror; they called forth resistance; they encountered a stern rebuker and unshrinking antagonist in Jerome Savonarola, that strange Puritan monk, a lover of liberty and a preacher of righteousness, a tribune of the people and a reformer of the Church. He withheld the communion from the dying Lorenzo de' Medici, as from the withholder of the freedom of Florence (1492), and took part in the revolution which in 1494 cast out the Medici and delivered the Florentines. But he felt the plight of Christendom still more keenly and indignantly; the Borgias were more horrible than the Medici. He shuddered at the enormities of Alexander VI.; he preached against the abominations of the court of Rome; he prophesied retribution and renewal; he demanded reform.<sup>45</sup> He proved more happy as a prophet than as a reformer. Retribution and reform were at hand; but neither was to be of his bringing. He sought a reform of manners and discipline apart from a reform of doctrine; he sought the regeneration of Christendom through a regeneration of the papacy; he held to the popedom while assailing the pope. Of course he failed utterly; like all reformers of the papacy, he was worsted by that very unreformable power. Like many other popular saints and leaders, he professed prophetic inspiration and trusted in miraculous interposition. The shrinking from an ordeal proposed by himself impaired his influence over the republic of Florence where he had long held sway in the love and reverence of the better and nobler citizens, and brought his adversaries into power. Alexander, who had kept his rebuker constantly in sight, took advantage of this political change, got him arrested and condemned as a heretic,

<sup>45</sup> See his *Oracolo della Renovazione della Chiesa*, ed. 1536. Nothing is more remarkable than the curiously combined felicity and infelicity of Savonarola as a prophet. He foresaw the woe that was coming upon Italy (lib. iii.); he foresaw the renewal wherewith God was about to visit His church (lib. ii., iv., v.). He attributed the impending calamities of Italy to her crying sins, especially to the enormities of her priests and pontiffs (lib. iii. c. 3, 4, 5); but he unfortunately included among her woes that of Turkish invasion and conquest, which did not afflict her. Right as to the approaching renewal of the church, he was amusingly wrong as to the instrument of renovation. He prophesied of a holy pope, and Luther came (lib. iv. c. 3).

and the loftiest among the pontiff's innumerable victims died at the stake in the public place of Florence.<sup>46</sup>

But Italy did nothing to maintain the very imperfect protest of Savonarola. She still felt the papacy to be a national distinction and advantage. Her great political speculator, Macchiavelli, had three centuries the start of her in pronouncing it a national curse. The Italians then were political Papists, just as they are now political Protestants. They accepted the spiritual popedom without loving it or believing in it; they combined profound scepticism with polite acquiescence in received doctrines. Their enthusiasm for ancient learning, while disgusting them with the popular superstition, had made them in love with Greek philosophy. The highest minds among them, Marsilio Ficino, Angelo Poliziano, Pico di Mirandola, and Lorenzo de' Medici, had constructed a sort of graceful religion by mixing up Platonic speculations with Christian dogmas.<sup>47</sup> Just as Italy abounded in subtle diplomatists, but not in great warriors, so she was rich in refined intellects, not in robust souls. Her intellectual glory adorned and beautified without invigorating or ennobling her. But it was far different beyond the Alps, especially in Germany. There throughout the middle ages Christianity had been a far less corrupted and more real thing than in Italy. There Tauler and his brother mystics had maintained some earnest spiritual life during the fourteenth century. The writer of the Imitation of Christ, whether Thomas à Kempis or not, was certainly a German. The long contest between the Roman pontiffs and the German emperors had nourished anti-papal feelings, and bequeathed anti-papal traditions. The Council of Constance and the Council of Basle were both holden in German towns; and in each assembly the most earnest Church Reformers were the German members. Germany not only invented printing, but most earnestly and conscientiously applied her own inven-

<sup>46</sup> Sismondi, c. 92-98. Philippe de Comines, *Mémoires*, lib. viii. c. 3, 26, who mentions the prophecies of a Reformation, and acknowledges the exceeding beauty of his life: 'Sa vie était la plus belle du monde.'

<sup>47</sup> Marsilio Ficino, the Florentine scholar and philosopher, whom the house of Medici devoted from his youth to the service of Plato, and who dedicated to Lorenzo that translation of the Athenian philosopher upon which Cosmo had set him, took the chief part in the betrothal of Platonism to Christianity. He commends the alliance in the dedication of his translation to Lorenzo, and wrote a book, *De Religione*, to prove that the life of Christ is the living shape of all virtue: 'Christi vitam esse virtutis totius ideam' (*Platonis Opera*, Marsilio Ficino interprete, Lugduni, 1590, p. 798).

tion. In like serious and devout manner she welcomed and wielded the restored majesty and might of ancient learning. Contact with the wisdom and genius of Greece and Rome not only regaled the taste and quickened the intellect, but helped to stir the soul of Germany. German scholars at once applied the ancient languages to unlock and explore the Bible. Scriptural studies flourished in the German Universities, and of course began to impair the authority of the Roman Church. Theologians like John Wesel wrote and preached against many Roman doctrines and papal pretensions, made some stir and underwent some persecution.<sup>48</sup> The general detestation of monastical corruptions found a potent Teutonic utterer in Erasmus; and his onslaught was seconded by the learning of a German scholar, Reuchlin.

The excesses and horrors of the papal court found Germany in this anti-papal mood and exceedingly deepened it. Alexander VI. was a painful puzzle and portent to the earnest Teutonic soul. The Germans shuddered at such a Vicar of Christ; a monster of vice in the infallible guide and absolute sovereign of Christendom amazed and shocked them. The matter was not much mended nor the indignation greatly weakened by the substitution of Julius II. for Alexander, by the presence of a man of war instead of a monster of vice in the chief place of the Church. The almost heroic qualities which sometimes ennobled the fierceness of this warrior pontiff, his generous but fitful and unavailing vehemence as an Italian patriot could not help to raise the spiritual character of the papacy. He was always at war with some power of Christendom or other, and was always the aggressor. He suggested and joined the league of Cambray for the ruin of Venice, then eager to undo his own work fell upon his chief ally Louis XII. of France, forced his reluctant eldest son into warfare with the Church, set up a holy league against the earnest petitioner for peace, and drove him in pure self-defence to get together a council at Pisa for mending the misgoverned Church and restraining her turbulent head. The utter and sorry failure of this synod, a personal triumph for Julius, proved no gain for the papacy. This perpetual stirrer-up of strife, this pope who commanded armies and stormed towns, who rode sword in hand through the breach of captured

<sup>48</sup> Ullman's *Reformers before the Reformation. Paradoxa et Examen Johannis de Wesalia* (Browne's *Fasciculus Rerum*, tom. i. pp. 325-333).

Mirandola, this warlike Vicar of Christ, was a huge scandal to Christendom.<sup>49</sup> His gifted and famous successor brought weakness instead of strength and discredit instead of dignity to the defiled and dishonoured popedom. Leo X. was certainly neither a monster of vice nor a mighty man of war. A clever and unscrupulous diplomatist, a patron of learning, a man of taste and a man of pleasure, a reckless spendthrift and a reckless extortioner, he was not a very good man, and proved a very bad pope. His characteristic qualities, far from helping to obliterate or impair the deep impression made by papal profligacy, contributed some fresh items to the huge sum of papal guilt. The enormous vices of Paul II., Sixtus IV., and Innocent VIII., the crowning and consummate wickedness of Alexander VI., the violence and perpetual wars of Julius II. were fittingly reinforced and well supported by the luxury, prodigality and unscrupulousness of Leo X. His very patronage of art led to the issue of indulgences, and the fame of the munificent lover of letters is almost lost in that of the impotent antagonist of Luther.

But it was not restored learning, it was not rekindled genius, it was not reinvigorated reason, it was not the new-born power of the press, it was not its own accumulated vices and consummated corruptions before which the papacy went down over half Christendom, which constituted the great assailing force, which dealt the crushing and confounding stroke. These all came up at the right time, and did good service as auxiliaries in the great battle. The onslaught was more mightily made; the stroke was more divinely dealt. The victorious and irresistible assailant was a soul deeply stirred and divinely inspired, possessed by an intense yearning and filled with a quickening truth, eager to be rid of the crushing burden of sin, and finding only full deliverance in the free grace of God. The Reformation has been spoken of not altogether wrongly as the insurrection of reason against authority, as the assertion of the right of private judgment in matters of religion, as the general emancipation of the intellect: the Reformation was all this, and something likewise far diviner. It was the re-enthronement of God's truth; it was the reproduction of a vital principle of Christianity long hidden and buried under a heap of false dogmas and idle observances; it was the restoration of the soul

<sup>49</sup> Guicciardini, lib. vii.-ix. Raynaldus, an. 1511, n. 3 et seq. Sismondi, c. 103-110. Seckendorf, *de Lutheranism*, lib. i. c. 2.

to its right place in things spiritual, the renewal of direct communication between the spirit of man and the spirit of God. The Reformation brought with it the negation of much, but it began with the most positive, profound and glorious of all conceivable affirmations, that salvation is from the Lord, that divine life flows down into our hearts directly from the Divine Being. It brought low the Church of Rome by magnifying the Word; it deposed the pope over the half of Christendom by re-enthroning faith in the living God. Luther was no subversive speculator, no discontented priest, but a sin-stricken soul, who weary of dead works had turned to living faith, and after trial of man's absolution had won healing from God's grace. He never sought directly to emancipate the intellect; he did not at first seek to overthrow the papacy, but he sought to bring Christendom back into personal and living contact with the living God and to pour into other souls the fire of that potent truth which had kindled his own. The Reformation was in truth a baptism of fire, a coming down of the Holy Ghost upon Christendom.

Again, glad soul, explore  
 With thine own wings the boundless realm of grace!  
 Once more, once more,  
 Meet thine own Heavenly Lover face to face!  
 Once more rejoice  
 To hear the very tones of His own gracious voice!  
 Again, again,  
 Thyself the dear Redeemer entertain!  
 Back, pontiff, His sweet smile no longer dim;  
 No more thy darkness thrust between His own and Him.  
 On, glad soul, all thy Saviour's sweetness try;  
 Yes! fall upon that tender bosom lie,  
 In the meek rapture of thy new-won liberty.

The Reformation half ruined the popedom because it renewed Christendom. It was widely destructive because it was so mightily reconstructive. Up sprang the soul on the wings of justifying faith; and down before that potent truth fell false doctrines, superstitious rites and dead works, masses, penances, indulgences and absolutions, transubstantiation and purgatory, priestly supremacy and papal infallibility. Many intellectual admirers of the Reformation have disliked its origin, have felt astonishment not unmingled with vexation that such admirable results should have flowed from the vehement protrusion of one dogma. Rejoicing in the great effects of the Reformation they have remained blind to the glory of

its birth, unconscious that the might of its deeds arose from the divineness of its origin. Nothing but a mighty truth grounded in the deeps of God's nature and man's heart, potently promulgated and continuously held up before the eyes of Christendom, could have shaken a fabric so ancient, so deeply founded and so strongly put together as the papacy, and have swept away the heaped-up and closely cohering corruptions with which century after century had overlaid the Christian faith. Former foes, the Albigenses and the Lollards, Wycliffe and Hus, assailed Rome with her own transgressions, sought to smother her beneath her own defilements, and won but slight and temporary success from this negative mode of warfare. Luther hurled a divine truth at the popedom and struck it to the ground; or rather he held up this divine truth without at first wielding it as a weapon of offence, and the papacy shook and shrank before it. He had no idea that the new-birth of his own soul was to be the new-birth of the Church, that the victory of justifying faith in his own spirit was to become the victory of that truth through half Christendom, and that that victory involved the discomfiture of the papacy. When he rose up against indulgences, he did not mean to rise up against the Roman pontiff. Gradually the nature and extent of the business for which he was set apart dawned upon his soul, but he did not become fully aware of the work that he was doing and the fight that he was fighting, until he flung the papal bull into the fire in the market-place of Wittemberg. If the great Reformer himself only rose by degrees to the comprehension of his own Reformation, it remained at first utterly unapprehended by spectators and antagonists. The very depth of its origin, the very divineness of its birth made it a complete surprise to the world.

No mighty event so widely related and so elaborately prepared, ever took the world so completely unaware. Political revolutions in the very form in which they broke out have proved great surprises; but they have been generally preceded by a vague uneasiness and preliminary stir; men have looked out for some outburst, though they knew not what. The French revolutions of 1789 and 1848, the fall of the absolute monarchy and the fall of the constitutional monarchy were thus preluded: should the fall of the Austrian and Ottoman empires signalise this generation, certainly neither catastrophe will take the world by surprise. Men are more prepared for a convulsion

than for a new-birth; renewal comes more unexpectedly upon mankind than dissolution. Resuscitated Italy and renovated America, the exaltation of the down-trodden and divided peninsula into a nation, the purification and reinvigoration of the great Republic through the destruction of slavery, take rank not only as the most blessed events, but the chief wonders of this generation. And the astonishment is all the greater when the new-birth is spiritual, when regeneration takes place in a region not very familiar to most men, and especially strange to statesmen and potentates. Next to the birth of Christianity, its new-birth fifteen centuries afterwards was the greatest surprise in history.<sup>50</sup> In spite of the widened vision, the quickened intellect, the enlarged knowledge of the age, in spite of the flagrancy of papal crimes, the princes and powers of the world, including the pontiff himself, had not the faintest suspicion that a spiritual uprising was at hand. While the battle soon to be fought and won through half Christendom was being fought and won in the soul of Luther, not an inkling of the business erelong to employ their arms and their diplomacy interrupted their absorption in hostilities and negotiations with very different objects.

France, consolidated and aggressive, immersed from the beginning of the century in Italian politics and Italian campaigns, and fresh from a fierce conflict with Pope Julius II. as an Italian prince, exchanged in 1515 the mature and respectable Louis XII. for his young and gallant kinsman Francis I., under whom she recommenced that career of Italian conquest always so brilliant, so brief, and so resultless.<sup>51</sup> In the flush of youth

<sup>50</sup> Savonarola anticipated the renewal of the Church, but there was no general expectation. More than twenty years before he prophesied that God would erelong 'make known His righteousness and send a holy pope' (*Renovazione della Chiesa*, lib. iv. c. 1, 2).

<sup>51</sup> Immediate success and final failure have signalled the many attempts of France upon Italy. In 1494 the French overran Naples under Charles VIII., to be driven out in 1496. About 1500, under Louis XII., they conquered Milan and a portion of Naples, to be chased from Naples in 1503 and from Milan in 1513. Under Francis I. they regained the Milanese in 1515, to lose it again in 1521. In 1522-3 they again unsuccessfully invaded Italy. In 1525 Francis led them across the Alps to the fatal battle-field of Pavia. In 1528 a French army perished before Naples. In 1556, under the Duke of Guise, the French again failed in Italy, and in 1559 evacuated Piedmont, which they had occupied for some years. In 1627 Louis XIII. conducted an army to the assistance of the Duke of Mantua. From 1634 to 1659, and from 1689 to 1696, they warred in Piedmont without any permanent result. In 1702 Louis XIV. again sent French armies into Italy, to have them vanquished and driven out in 1706. In 1734 France appeared in Italy for the depression of Austria and not directly for her own aggrandisement, not without results. Her Italian campaigns during the war of the

and of triumph, the victor of Marignano, the vanquisher of the invincible Swiss, the winner of the battle of the giants, the conqueror of Milan, was aspiring to extend his dominion in Italy and selling the rights and liberties of the Gallican church to Leo X. for papal support in that enterprise.

His fellow in years and in tastes, alike enamoured of splendour, learning and conquest, though but seldom in the battle-field, triumphant although with little result at Teroneme over France, and over Scotland at Flodden, Henry VIII. of England was half veiling and half manifesting in the magnificent revels and half earnest pursuits of his gorgeous youth those potent and commanding qualities which signalised his maturity, little dreaming of the anti-papal employment which awaited him, and little aware that in heaping riches and honours upon his favourite Wolsey he was creating the last of those proud, ostentatious, grasping, worldly churchmen who did so much to estrange England from the Church of Rome. Ferdinand the Catholic, the consolidator of the Spanish monarchy and the underminer of Spanish liberty, the conqueror of Granada, Navarre, and Naples, the great supporter of the Inquisition as much in the interest of his own power as in that of Rome, as much for the depression of Spanish freemen as for the extermination of Jews and Moslems, the worldly and selfish craft of whose superstitious bigotry co-operated happily with the disinterested and fervent intolerance of his consort the nobler Isabella, and who remained to the last immersed in perfidious schemes and tortuous negotiations, ended his successful but unscrupulous career in 1516, a year before Luther lifted up his voice, and left the many realms which he had so perfidiously gathered together to his grandson Charles of Austria. The other grandfather of that fortunate youth, the Emperor Maximilian, the sovereign of Germany and of Luther, so accomplished and brilliant a personage, so unsatisfactory and unsuccessful a monarch, so sanguine an expectant, so daring a projector and so small an achiever, the leader of so many bootless expeditions, the hero of so many barren wars, and successful only in his attempts to aggrandise the house of Austria by matrimony, so far from including among his numberless expectations the downfall of the papacy had himself aspired to the papal dignity, and was as

Austrian succession from 1743 to 1748 were resultless. In 1796 General Bonaparte led the French to the conquest of Italy, from which they were driven in 1814. In 1859 Napoleon III. warred in Italy as her champion, not without success.



variously and unprofitably busy as ever at the time of the manifestation of his mighty subject.<sup>52</sup> His grandson Charles, the heir of so many realms, just King of Spain but not yet emperor, was at the age of sixteen beginning that long and remarkable career destined to take its colour and complexion in no small measure from the sayings and doings of a Saxon monk.

Other and loftier potentates than these were taken no less unaware by the advent of Luther. Erasmus, who had done so much to discredit the clergy, did not at all mean to shake the popedom, and did not in the least anticipate the revolution which he so greatly hastened. Aldus Manutius congratulated Leo X. on the perpetuity and universality of that dominion half whereof he was about to lose.<sup>53</sup> The papacy itself had not the smallest presentiment of the coming peril. The advent of Luther and the uprising of half Christendom took the popedom altogether by surprise. Leo X. was busy tightening his rule over Florence and signing concordats with Francis I., aggrandising his family, beautifying his capital and enlarging his Italian territories, encouraging artists and learned men, enriching favourites and leading an elegant and luxurious life without the faintest suspicion that he was destined to face the direst peril and engage the mightiest assailant of the papal power. The proceeding which roused Luther was a mere expedient for raising the revenue. No needy financier ever less intended or expected to bring about a great revolution than did the reckless pontiff who directed the sale of indulgences. Ever

<sup>52</sup> Maximilian must needs take rank as the greatest and most lucky matchmaker on record. By marrying Mary of Burgundy, daughter and heiress of Charles the Bold, he got the Netherlands for the house of Austria. By marrying his son Philip to Juana, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, he brought into his family the fairest realms of Europe and America, Spain and the Indies, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia; and by betrothing his grandson Ferdinand, brother of Charles V., to Anne, sister of Louis, King of Hungary and Bohemia, who fell in battle with the Turks at Mohacs (1526), he procured these two kingdoms for his race.

<sup>53</sup> In his dedication of the *princeps editio* of Plato (1513) to Leo X., a congenial scion of the Platonic house of Medici, the sanguine printer Aldus, after having dilated on the many merits and felicities of Leo, exclaims: 'Besides all these, there is another matter which cannot be made too much of, that such wide regions, such vast oceans, and so many new peoples unknown to the Romans, those lords of the world, are being discovered in our age and made subject to the Christian faith; so that we may hope that while you bear rule over the Roman Church there will be one fold under one shepherd, and that same shepherd of exceeding worth and piety (*unum futurum ovile sub uno pastore, eodemque optimo et pientissimo*).' *Erasmii Epistolæ*, pp. 457-59.

lavish and ever needy, in 1517 Leo was in especial want of money to carry out some projects for the aggrandisement of his territories and his family; he obtained from a council which met at the Lateran a tenth on all church property for a Turkish war which never took place, and under pretence of building St. Peter's Church proclaimed a traffic in indulgences, and sent forth agents to conduct the sale throughout Germany. Various spiritual comforts and favours came into the market. For a moderate sum the fortunate purchaser might get himself absolved from all his sins and exempted from the pains of purgatory; for a trifle more he might procure an obliging confessor, a share in the merits of all good works done in the church, and the release of his departed friends from their purgatorial prison.

The traffic in indulgences affords a very happy and striking illustration of the genius of the Roman Church. There is not a single practice of hers however apparently unworldly and self-denying which has not a worldly end and object, the exaltation of her priesthood or the augmentation of her revenues. There is not a single distinctive doctrine of hers however seemingly sublime and concerned about the things of the other world which does not minister to her gain and greatness in this world; while there is not a single truth of Christianity as originally set forth and as reproduced at the Reformation which has not for its only end and object the highest good of man and glory of God. The nature and work of the Triune God, the eternal purpose of the Father for the redemption of mankind, the incarnation and vicarious sacrifice of the Son, His everlasting priesthood and prevailing mediation, His future return and visible kingdom, the quickening power and indwelling presence of the Holy Spirit in the souls of men, human depravity and spiritual renewal, justifying faith and imputed righteousness, free forgiveness and final perseverance, are truths which have no tendency to aggrandise a hierarchy or enrich a corporation, but which only serve to make men godly and God glorious. The work of Electing, Incarnate, Atoning, Renewing and Indwelling Love is a work and wonder of God's grace conducted by no worldly skill and for no worldly ends. But her own gain and glory are the professed end and object of the Roman Church; and all her peculiar doctrines and practices partake of the character of politic devices and financial expedients. She has pressed the most solemn

concerns of the life to come, judgment and retribution, into the service of her worldly interests; she has built a prison for departed souls from which her intervention alone can deliver them, and has drawn a large revenue from the tributary realm of purgatory. Transubstantiation is an instrument of domination as well as a defiance of reason; the feast of thankful memory and brotherly love has become in her hands an idolatrous pageant and a sacerdotal implement; the sacrifice offered once for all on Calvary is perpetually repeated; and the finished work of the Redeemer is ever being done over again for her honour and advantage. She has enthroned herself instead of the Lord in the confessional, and has turned the relief of burdened souls into an instrument of conquest and a support of her dominion. The meritorious works whereby Heaven is to be won and God's free grace made nought of largely consist of services to her hierarchy and contributions to her revenue. Masses, penances and absolutions dishonour God for her uplifting and enriching. Every distinctive dogma and ordinance of the Roman Church robs God of His glory to clothe herself therewith, involves the usurpation of a divine prerogative for a worldly end. This public auction of indulgences, however, though in harmony with the genius of the Roman Church, was an extravagant and exaggerated manifestation thereof; and though thoroughly characteristic of the accomplished worldling who governed the Church, of the Vicar of Christ who faintly held Christianity, it shocked many devout churchmen and was only just carried in the college of cardinals. It offended more than one German prince who complained of this shameless assault upon the substance of his subjects.<sup>54</sup>

Had the dislike to indulgences been merely political, had it been confined to prudent cardinals and jealous princes, the papacy would have taken no harm. But the traffic spiritually aggrieved a peasant-born German monk; and that German peasant, Martin Luther, happened to be the true potentate of the age, the deepest, largest and most devout, the most fearless, valiant and heroic soul then breathing, perhaps the most fear-

<sup>54</sup> Fra Paolo, *Historia del Concilio Tridentino*, lib. i. pp. 3, 4, ed. 1619. Guicciardini, *Historia d' Italia*, lib. xiii. A true Italian, the Florentine historian brands alike the indulgence traffic and its assailants, dislikes Leo only less than he does Luther, and mingles detestation of the practices of the Roman Court with abhorrence of the doctrines of the Reformers. For the character of Leo see lib. xiv. p. 174, lib. xvi. p. 338. Seckendorf, *de Lutheranism*, lib. i. c. 3-8, ed. 1692. Ranke's *History of the Reformation*, lib. ii. c. 1.

less and heroic soul that ever breathed.<sup>55</sup> Such a business went right against the whole bent and bias of Luther's nature. A man who had felt sin to be a terrible and crushing burden, who had found all the fashionable ecclesiastical devices for getting rid of it so many mockeries and delusions, who had vainly gone through the prescribed round of pilgrimage and penance at Rome, who had at last found relief for his burdened soul in his lonely cell at Erfurt, and who was then rejoicing in God's free forgiveness for Christ's sake just made clear to him by God's Word; such a man was filled with especial disgust and indignation at this public sale of pardon and peace, at this trading in comfortable confessors and remitted penalties. Luther had spread these convictions among the Augustinian order of which he was an administrator, and had filled with his doctrines the newly-founded University of Wittemberg, where he preached and lectured. Therefore when one of the papal agents for the sale of indulgences came into Saxony and carried on a thriving trade at the neighbouring town of Juterbock, Luther could forbear no longer, but on October 31, 1517, nailed to the gate of the parish church of Wittemberg ninety-five propositions in disparagement of indulgences and in denial of the pope's power to traffic in them.<sup>56</sup> A solitary monk, put forward by no party, sustained by no power of this world, lifted up his voice against a prerogative of the sovereign pontiff, gainsaid the chief of Christendom. Perhaps no human valour ever matched the valour of this single-handed combatant of a power so ancient and so awful, so deep-rooted and so wide-spread, so closely connected with every power in this world, with the whole social and political order of things. But the boldness answered; the Hour was come as well as the Man. Germany sorely felt the grievance of indulgences and gathered rejoicingly round their dauntless impugner; the age was ready for a breach with the popedom and welcomed its intrepid assailant. The protest which Luther put forth in the singleness of a strongly stirred soul and from the deeps of a divine indignation, proved to be in exact accordance with the spirit of the age, was caught up by the most powerful influences and re-echoed by the most potential

<sup>55</sup> Cardinal Pallavicino (*Storia del Concilio di Trenta*, lib. i. c. 4) calls the heresiarch 'a man so bold that Heaven must needs employ a thunderbolt to frighten him (uomo sì ardito che a spaventarlo convenne ch' il Cielo spendesse un fulmine).'

<sup>56</sup> Pallavicino, lib. i. c. 4. Sleidan, *Commentarii*, lib. i. Seckendorf, lib. i. Lutheri *Opera*, ed. 1558, tom. i. pp. 51 et seq.

voices of the time. In the assailant of papal indulgences German princes approved the assertor of their authority and the protector of their revenue; German patriots welcomed the champion of the fatherland against the aggressions and exactions of a foreign power; while devout souls blessed the vindicator of holy things from a degrading and corrupting traffic. In the opponent of the Dominican Tetzels who conducted the sale, and of the Dominican Aquinas who had maintained the theological principle of indulgences, the great scholars and chief intellects of the age welcomed the opponent of those coarse and ignorant friars who frowned upon learning and enquiry, and of those schoolmen whose authority stood right in the way of intellectual activity and advancement. Frederick, elector of Saxony and sovereign of Luther, not unmeetly called the Wise, enjoyed and protected the boldness of his subject; while Erasmus rejoiced over this new and more daring fellow combatant in the warfare with stupid monks and grasping priests. Luther waxed stronger every day; his partisans grew in number and boldness; his adversaries were as powerless as they were vehement and bitter.<sup>57</sup>

But while Germany felt thus deeply and thoroughly stirred, Rome was but slightly moved. The pontiff himself made light of the onslaught and dallied with the danger. Never indeed were antagonists more unequally matched than Leo and Luther. An accomplished worldling, an elegant man of pleasure, a subtle schemer steeped in Italian politics, a liberal patron of wits and scholars, a pope who looked upon the popedom as an admirable position for getting and dispensing the good things of this life, a pontiff earnest only about aggrandising his family, enriching his favourites and enjoying himself, was set against a very man of God, a man awfully in earnest about his own soul and the Church of Christ, large-hearted and strong-willed, mighty, fearless and terrible as a Hebrew prophet, the very son and successor of St. Paul. They were as unequally matched as were the papal champion and the anti-papal champion of an earlier age, Gregory VII. and Henry IV. But the strength and the weakness had changed sides. The German emperor was no more a match for the Roman pontiff of the eleventh century than was the Roman pontiff of the sixteenth century a match for the German peasant. But Leo was more than morally in-

<sup>57</sup> Sleidan, lib. i. Pallavicino, lib. i. c. 10. *Erasmi Epistolæ*, ed. 1558, p. 243.

competent; he altogether misconceived the mighty movement and the mighty Reformer. He mistook the Reformation for a squabble between two monastic orders for a lucrative office, and probably mistook Luther for what Roman Catholic writers delight to represent the mightiest man of these later ages, as an envious Augustinian huckster, eager to get the traffic in indulgences and enraged that the Dominicans had gotten it. He gave far greater heed to the petty politics of Italy than to the great uprising of Christendom, showed far more zeal in despoiling his feudatory the Duke of Urbino for the benefit of his nephew Lorenzo than in putting down Luther, and spent more pains to get a French princess and an Italian principality for his kinsman than to reconcile half-alienated Germany to the Roman See. He slighted this troublesome disparager of indulgences and left him to be dealt with by opponents like Tetzels, Hochstraten, and Prierio, who far more zealous and wrathful than their free and easy sovereign fiercely denounced the propositions and demanded the punishment of Luther. Cæsar Maximilian himself spurred the laggard pontiff to vindicate his authority, and Leo at last summoned Luther to Rome. The summons was not heeded and not pressed. A papal legate, Cardinal Cajetan, who had vainly sought to kindle Germany into a Turkish war, thought of quenching the flame just lighted in Germany and took Luther in hand. The Saxon monk appeared before the prince of the church at Augsburg. The cardinal insisted on retraction. The reformer would not retract, but took to flight and appealed to the pope. The cardinal pursued the contumacious fugitive with no little bitterness, required Elector Frederick to banish his heretical subject and met with a contemptuous refusal. But Leo did not partake the bitterness of his legate; his heart was in Italian politics; he had nothing of the persecutor about him; he would fain conciliate Frederick and make peace with Luther. He sent a like-minded German nuncio into Saxony with the golden rose for the elector and soothing words for the monk. Miltitz and Luther conferred. The nuncio deprecated further strife and preached forbearance without demanding a recantation; the assailant of indulgences agreed to refer the dispute to a German and episcopal arbiter, promised to keep the peace if his opponents would do so too, and offered a written explanation instead of a retraction, where much anti-papal doctrine was maintained though the papal authority was not denied. He went back to

Wittenberg, renounced controversy, and plunged into theological and philological studies. Leo like Luther considered the affair as over and plunged into Italian and European politics, especially into the intrigues which accompanied the contest between Francis of France and Charles of Austria for the imperial crown vacant by the death of Maximilian, and which was carried off by Charles.<sup>58</sup>

But certain pontifical champions less prudent or more fervent than the pontiff would not let the matter drop and would not let Luther alone. Dr. Eck, an accomplished theologian and consummate disputant, had challenged Carlstadt, a friend of Luther, to a public disputation at Leipzig on grace and free will, and among the articles which he engaged to defend gave a prominent place to the absolute authority, infallibility, and scriptural origin of the papacy. Luther, who had more than once intimated his belief in the human and not very ancient origin of the popedom, took up this assertion as a personal challenge, replied that the papacy was an altogether human and somewhat recent institution, and went to Leipzig publicly to fight out this fight with Eck (July, 1519). At home in the field of Scripture and Christian antiquity, he showed that Apostles and Fathers knew nothing of the popedom, and pointed to the Greek Church for ages at variance with Rome and yet a vital and undeniable portion of Christendom. Hard pressed here Eck taunted his opponent upon his accordance as to the origin of the papacy with all the heretics of all the ages, with the Albigenses and the Waldenses, with Wycliffe and with Hus, especially with the last, and flung into his teeth the solemn condemnation of the Bohemian heresiarch by the general and infallible council of Constance. Luther, brought up in the abhorrence of heretics and the veneration of councils and as yet unaware of his numerous spiritual kindred in the past, but fully aware of the danger of at all allowing the relationship, did not for a moment shrink or waver, but declared that Hus had in some points held the truth and that a general council might fall into error. The audience was astonished at this boldness; Eck professed horror and indignation; and the debate ended by converting Luther's partial alienation from the Roman See into deep and entire estrangement, by rendering reconcilia-

<sup>58</sup> Pallavicino, lib. i. c. 6-14. Seckendorf, lib. i. c. 13-24. Sleidan, lib. i.

tion with the papacy impossible.<sup>59</sup> He brought with him to Leipzig the vague idea that the popedom was human in origin and subject to error; he brought back with him the settled conviction that the popedom had condemned true doctrines and promulgated false doctrines. He followed up the thoughts that had arisen and the inquiries suggested there; he read the works of Hus and at once recognised his own kinsman and forerunner; he read the treatise of Laurentius Valla and found that the donation of Constantine was a fiction; he found the papal laws at variance with scripture; he more than suspected the decretals of collision with history; he beheld the spiritual and political popedom alike fortified by forgeries and supported by false doctrines; he renounced many of its subordinate and sustaining dogmas, purgatory, transubstantiation, and the sacerdotal character of the clergy. He began to hate Rome with the whole strength of his mighty heart, and to feel in harmony with all who had ever hated her. He first quarrelled with the papacy as an institution of divine origin which had fallen into many bad habits and gross perversities; he then looked down upon it as a thing altogether earthborn and exceedingly fallible; he at length abhorred it as something utterly evil, monstrous and diabolic, diffused that abhorrence in more than one trenchant tractate during the year 1520, and gave it unreserved and sarcastic utterance in a letter to Leo himself. He beheld Babylon in Rome and Antichrist in the Vicar of Christ.<sup>60</sup>

Meanwhile the growing hate and fear of Rome for Luther kept pace with the growing abhorrence of Luther for Rome. The Leipzig disputation and the stir which it made in Germany not a little alarmed and exasperated the Roman court. Leo himself still kept his calm temper and still preferred mild measures. But his doctors and cardinals would not have it so, and required him to avenge the outraged majesty of the Roman See and extinguish its audacious assailant. Eck hastened to Rome to urge the descent of the papal thunderbolts upon the head of the opponent whom his own arguments and eloquence had failed to crush. A bolt was elaborately forged; a bull was carefully framed, published in June 1520, and entrusted to Eck for promulgation. This condemned the doctrines of Luther,

<sup>59</sup> Pallavicino, lib. i. c. 15, 19. Seckendorf, lib. i. c. 25, 26. Sleidan, lib. i. Gerdes, *Historia Evangelii Renovati*, tom. i. appendix, n. 19, 20.

<sup>60</sup> Seckendorf, lib. i. c. 27, 28. Sleidan, lib. ii. *Ep. ad Leonem X.*, *Lutheri Opera*, tom. ii. pp. 1-3. *De Captivitate Babylonica*, pp. 63-88.



ordained the burning of his books, and if he did not retract within sixty days cut him off from the Church and required his person to be seized and delivered to the pope.<sup>61</sup> Eck bore the bull in triumph back to Germany, and began to burn the books and persecute the partisans of his antagonist. But Luther remained unscathed. Elector Frederick refused to execute or receive the bull; the University of Wittemberg cleaved closer to its illustrious member. The German nation encouraged its daring champion. The courage of that mighty man of valour rose with the greatness of the foe and the fierceness of the fight; he went forth to battle against the pontiff as fearlessly and as cheerfully as he had gone forth against his servants and satellites. He answered ban with ban and fire with fire. He excommunicated his papal excommunicator; he retaliated upon the papal bull the burning of his own books. On December 10 1520 a pile of wood was erected at the Elster gate of Wittemberg; the people of the town stood round; the students of the University were gathered together there. At last Luther appeared arrayed in his frock and cowl and laden with sundry volumes. An attendant lighted the pile, Luther drew near, with his own hands flung into the fire the papal decretals and the papal bull, and called down destruction upon the papal power.<sup>62</sup> There is nothing great and lofty about most conflagrations of this kind. Book-burning in general is an ignoble and impotent act, a mean expression of hatred and a miserable

<sup>61</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1520, n. 51-9. This famous document is a very respectable specimen of pontifical eloquence, a very fair sample of that conventional rhetoric and formal floridity characteristic of the official literature of the Roman Church in all ages, and in such thorough harmony with its spirit and pretensions, far removed alike from the bareness and simplicity which generally distinguish the state-papers of secular powers, and from the spontaneous, vivid, and enkindling eloquence which original genius lends to strong individual convictions. The flowers of papal rhetoric are always artificial flowers. Singularly enough, the most conspicuous blossom in the pontifical garland, the bark of Peter, its present perils on a stormy deep and its ultimate certainty of a prosperous voyage and a pleasant haven, a flower as much in favour with Pius IX. as with Gregory VII. or Stephen II., with the antagonist of Victor Emmanuel as with the antagonists of the Emperor Henry IV., and the Lombard King Astolf, does not appear in Leo's bull. Herein the Lord is invited to defend his vineyard and protect his vicar. St. Peter is invited to guard his see and watch over his successor. The saints and the whole Church are invited to secure the Word from the invasion of private judgment; but most amusingly of all, St. Paul is invited to crush his own son and mighty successor, Luther, who is finally cut off from the Church as a withered branch.

<sup>62</sup> Pallavicino, lib. i. c. 20-22. Sleidan, lib. i., ii. Mathesius, *Historien des D. Martin Luthers*, pp. 19, 20, ed. 1570. Seckendorf, *de Lutheranism*, lib. i. c. 29, 32.

form of revenge, a mode of warfare perpetually employed by Force against Thought, by Error against Truth, and a mode of warfare almost always attended with defeat. But Luther's deed had nothing in common with such conflagrations. The bull-burning at Wittemberg stands sublimely apart. It had in it a heroism, a greatness, a majesty, and a fruitfulness which uplift it to the height of the mightiest deeds that ennoble history. It was an exceedingly daring act, a singularly bold defiance. A solitary monk, without a soldier and with scarcely a dollar at his command, uncertain of the continued protection of a petty German prince or of the abidingness of popular sympathy, and strong only in intense faith, hereby declared war to the death against a power waning indeed, but still of venerable antiquity, of imposing splendour and of enormous strength, one of the greatest powers of the world, and in alliance with all the great powers of the world. It was a mighty and majestic act, this defiance which Truth, long prostrate and still unarmed and naked, hurled at the falsehood of a thousand years, so magnificently pranked forth, so strongly and elaborately fortified.

It was a most fruitful deed, a deed big with new births and great events, with spiritual renewal and intellectual growth; a deed which ushered in a new era in the history of the world. The scene at Wittemberg introduced another epoch in the story of the popedom, opened the fifth act of the papal drama, a drama unconcluded still, but hastening towards its catastrophe; an act, of the closing scenes whereof we are the awe-struck witnesses. The fourth act of the papal drama, the period of temporal decline, was at an end. It began with the seizure of Boniface VIII. at Anagni by the hirelings of Philip the Fair; it closed with the burning of the bull of Leo X. by the hands of Luther at Wittemberg. The French king hurled the popedom from the supreme place among the powers of this world; the outrage at Anagni irreparably degraded the secular papacy, and introduced a long series of sores and shames, the captivity at Avignon, the subjection to France, the battle of the popes, the rough handling of the councils. But battered, bruised and stained as was the papacy during these two centuries, it retained throughout the spiritual allegiance of Christendom. In spite of the onset of Wycliffe and the hostility of Hus, in spite of the stir in England and the uprising of Bohemia, the pope remained the recognised head of the Western Church. A German peasant stripped him of half this spiritual sovereignty,

and hurled him from the throne of Western Christendom. The defiance of Wittemberg ushers in a period where, in spite of more than one partial recovery, the papacy has gone on waning both as a spiritual and worldly power. Of all the mighty assailants whom the popedom has encountered, none have smitten it so strongly and wounded it so sorely as Philip the Fair and Martin Luther. They stand thus strangely linked together, this king of France and this peasant of Saxony, in the very front of the anti-papal host, towering high above all their fellow-warriors; but the great German Reformer as far transcends the stern French despot in might of onset and majesty of soul, as the sublime defiance at Wittemberg rises high above the grim outrage at Anagni.

## BOOK VII.

## THE REFORMATION.

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‘When I recall to mind at last after so many dark ages wherein the huge, overshadowing train of error had almost swept all the stars out of the firmament of the Church, how the bright and blissful Reformation by divine power struck through the black and settled night of ignorance and anti-christian tyranny, methinks a sovereign and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosom of him that reads or hears, and the sweet odour of the returning gospel imbathes his soul as with the fragrancy of Heaven.’—MILTON, *Reformation in England*.

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THE defiance of Wittenberg astonished and exasperated the Roman court. The not very zealous pontiff was somewhat stirred by the burning of his bull; legates were at once sent into Germany to work upon the mind of the youthful Cæsar, and to direct the might of the empire against the daring Saxon monk. But another and far inferior business lay nearer to the heart of Leo. Luther was not the enemy whom he most desired to crush. He coveted an enlarged principality in Italy far more eagerly than the undisputed sovereignty of Christendom. As an Italian prince and politician he was thoroughly in earnest and very prosperous. But with all his prosperity he was restless and ambitious. Supreme in his native Florence and master of larger and more obedient territories than most of his predecessors had possessed, he longed to recover Parma and Placentia, which Julius II. had annexed to the Papal States, and which Francis I. of France had occupied on his conquest of Milan in 1515. The two chief sovereigns of Europe, Francis the French king, and Charles the Spanish king and German emperor, were at the beginning of their long reigns and their long rivalry. Rivals for the imperial crown, rivals for supremacy in Europe, they were rivals for the mastery of Italy. The two chief potentates of Christendom they were also the two chief potentates of Italy, Francis as duke of Milan and Charles as king of Naples and Sicily. It was clearly for

the advantage of the territorial popedom to keep both monarchs there rather than drive one out, to maintain rather than to subvert the balance of power in Italy. But Leo was eager for a change and pining for Parma and Placentia; he determined to effect the expulsion of Francis by the help of Charles, to set Spain and Germany in array against France, and to run the risk of yielding Italy to the grasp of the most potent monarch that Europe had known since Charlemagne. In conformity with ancient precedent, a pontiff was the troubler of Italy. The hideous woes so lavishly poured forth upon the peninsula from 1494 to 1530, flowed largely from papal vials, and the long and debasing servitude to the House of Austria in which those woes ended was in no small extent a piece of papal handiwork. The plague of war let loose upon Italy by Charles VIII. of France had been nursed by the diligent perfidy of pope Alexander VI., and inflamed by the fierce ambition and misjudging patriotism of pope Julius II.; and was now after some years' intermission renewed by the restless and intriguing spirit of pope Leo X., who in 1521 formed a league with the emperor for the expulsion of the French from Italy.<sup>1</sup>

But though mainly busied with Italian projects, Leo was not utterly unmindful of his pontifical duties; though full of Parma and Placentia, he did not quite forget Wittemberg. As a condition of his alliance with Charles against the French monarch, he bargained for the assistance of the emperor against the Saxon monk, and required Charles to strengthen the papal bull with the imperial ban. The legates whom he sent into Germany found the heart of the youthful Cæsar fully with them. Charles showed himself at the age of twenty-one pretty much the same person that he continued to be through life, a zealous devotee of the Roman Church and an earnest foe of the Reformation, but embarrassed and half disabled by circumstances; he commenced at Worms his long series of imperfect and maimed services to the Church of Rome. A diet was assembled there in April 1521, and Luther, whom the unpunished burning of the bull had not a little glorified in the sight of the German nation, was summoned to attend. Fortified by an imperial safe-conduct he at once obeyed the summons. Vainly his

<sup>1</sup> Guicciardini, lib. xiv., who thus characterises the pontiffs: 'Principio a nuovi movimenti dettono quegli, i quali obligati più che gl' altri a procurar la conservazione della pace, più spesso che gl' altri la perturbano e guerra accendono con tutta l' industria' (tom. ii. p. 173, ed. 1636).

friends dissuaded the journey; vainly they set before him the violated safe-conduct and the fiery doom of John Hus; vainly they urged the likelihood that Charles might repeat the perfidious weakness of Sigismund and Worms renew the famous tragedy of Constance. To Worms he would go were every tile of every house on the road a devil of hell set upon hindering him. To Worms he went where he bore witness to the truth before kings. The peasant-born Reformer stood before those imperial and princely servants, instruments and opponents of his, whose inward and outward life he so powerfully affected, whose policy he did so much to shape, whose territories he did so much to circumscribe or extend—before that youthful Cæsar, that famous Charles V., the passions and perplexities of whose secret soul he was so strongly to stir and multiply, and the burden of whose long and busy reign he was so greatly to aggravate—before the head of that House of Austria whose ruling passion henceforth was to be abhorrence of his doctrines, and whose chief occupation for more than a century lay in warfare with his work. After an elaborate harangue from the legate Alcander against Luther, the Reformer was summoned before the Diet and required to retract his writings. He asked and obtained a day for consideration; on his second appearance he declined to make the slightest retraction; and in the presence of emperor, legates and electors, and to the intense delight of the mass of the audience bore fearless and unshrinking testimony to the truths which had brought the bull upon him. Charles would not or durst not violate the safe-conduct, and Luther withdrew from Worms unscathed: but the emperor and the legate contrived to procure from the Diet an edict which condemned his doctrines and proscribed his person: the State undertook to give effect to the curse which the Church had hurled against him: the papal bull was followed by an imperial ban. The ban was proclaimed in direct defiance of the national feeling: and his sovereign, elector Frederick, interposed to avert an immediate conflict. On his journey from Worms back to Wittemberg Luther was carried off by friendly captors to the famous castle in the Wartburg, where restrained from public warfare with Rome he devoted his solitude to her undoing, and carried on the work most effectually during his seclusion by labouring at his translation of the Bible.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Sleidan, lib. iii. Mathesius, c. 3. Pallavicino, lib. i. c. 23-27. Seckendorf, lib. i. c. 37, 45. Ranke, *History of Reformation*, lib. ii. c. 4. Gerdes gives the summons, the safe conduct and the ban (tom. ii. appendix, n. 6).

Meanwhile Leo, satisfied with the nominal victory at Worms, unaware of the strength of that national and spiritual feeling which would make a mockery of the bull and a nullity of the ban, heedless too of the anti-papal stir that Zwingli was making in Switzerland, flung himself wholly into Italian politics, and forgetful of the secluded heresiarch unsheathed the sword against the orthodox king of France. On the eve of the revolt of half Christendom, he clutched at two Italian towns. While its chief woe was about to fall upon the popedom, the policy of the pope throve and his arms prospered. Luther was out of sight and apparently inactive; the anti-papal opinions of Germany and Switzerland had not yet mastered a state or given birth to a church. The chief sovereigns of Europe either rejoiced in the alliance or mourned over the enmity of Leo. Charles V. joined him in the war against the French king and published an edict against Luther; Henry VIII. entered into the alliance against France and wrote a book against Luther. The emperor well fulfilled his traditional office of advocate of the Roman Church: the English king well earned his title of Defender of the Faith. Francis I. vainly sought the friendship and bitterly rued the hostility of the pontiff. In this war of his own kindling Leo was the principal rather than auxiliary: the combined forces were commanded by his general, and the victories were won in his name. The French were outgeneralled by a papal commander and driven from Milan and Italy by a papal host; Parma and Placentia resumed the yoke of their papal master. The heart of Leo was greatly uplifted by these triumphs; but his enjoyment was exceedingly brief: eight days after the tidings reached him he died, not only in the arms of victory but according to general report in consequence of the hot embrace. His sudden death, imputed by many to poison, was attributed by others to excessive joy at the triumph of his arms and the enlargement of his states.<sup>3</sup> The portion of Leo has been very singular. He was at once one of the most prosperous and unprosperous, one of the most illustrious and inglorious among the Roman pontiffs. Most successful as an Italian prince, most distinguished as a patron of art and literature, he was anything but gloriously conspicuous as the Head of the Roman Church. Successful in extending his Italian territories and more than a match for potent French monarchs, he had to face the great uprising of Christendom against Rome,

<sup>3</sup> Guicciardini, c. 14. Pallavicino, lib. ii. Sismondi, c. 113.

and came into conflict with the greatest and most heroic soul of these latter ages. If he prospered in diplomacy and war, Luther branded his indulgences and burned his bull. He stands conspicuous among the very few popes, Nicholas V., Julius II., Sixtus V., Benedict XIV., Clement XIV., who have possessed some personal and powerful interest for men: he has found favour with those to whom popes were objects neither of much hate nor much love: alone of all the pontiffs he has won an elaborate and tender biography from an enamoured English Protestant.<sup>4</sup> He has connected his name with a great intellectual epoch. But the spiritual greatness of that time far exceeds its intellectual greatness: of its master spirit the pontiff was the official and most inadequate antagonist; and the glory of the age of Leo X. is lost in the glory of the age of Luther. Considerable as an Italian potentate, memorable as a patron of genius, as the fostering contemporary of Michael Angelo, of Ariosto, of Raphael, Leo remains far more memorable as the witness of the Reformation, as the contemporary and antagonist of Luther. In company with statesmen and princes, with kings and Cæsars and those of more than ordinary capacity, with Wolsey and Granvelle, with Frederick of Saxony and George of Saxony, with Henry VIII. and Gustavus Vasa, with Francis I. and Charles V., he falls into the train of the German peasant.

He was replaced by Adrian of Utrecht, the tutor of Charles V., the first German and the best man that for centuries had sate in the papal chair. The official head of Christendom, the greatest writer and the master spirit of the age, Adrian, Erasmus and Luther were all of Teutonic blood. Pure in life and earnest in spirit, he brought to the pontifical throne a sincere abhorrence of the corrupt practices of the Roman court and a sincere abhorrence of the doctrines of Luther.<sup>5</sup> He understood the movement in Germany far better than Leo did and feared and hated it far more. Bent alike upon reform-

<sup>4</sup> It makes nothing against the anti-papal character of English literature that one of its most excellent biographies, Roscoe's *Life and Pontificate of Leo X.*, is the panegyric of a pope. In the eyes of the elegant English Unitarian, the papal chair takes what honour it has from so graceful and accomplished an occupant; Luther appears the harsh troubler of so refined a reign; and the plain speaking and plain dealing of the mighty monk with the polite pontiff seem like the impertinence of some rude boor towards an elegant and accomplished gentleman.

<sup>5</sup> Guicciardini, lib. xiv. Pallavicino, lib. ii. c. 2, 3, 4. Sarpi, *Historia del Concilio Tridentino*, lib. i. ed. 1619.



ing the Roman court and crushing the German Reformation, he found either undertaking far above his strength. The bull and the ban had both been launched in vain; Luther was in seclusion, but his doctrine walked at large and spread through Germany and Christendom. Ulric Zwingle was busy in Switzerland assailing Romish doctrines and practices, disputing with the Romish doctors and proclaiming free grace, was doing his best to wed the newly recovered truth to the republican liberty of his country, and was fast winning over the canton of Zurich to the cause of the Reformation. Throughout Germany the glad tidings rang in eager and rejoicing ears; everywhere souls exulted in the reopened intercourse with Heaven; everywhere the recovered Gospel found potent preachers and here and there still more helpful martyrs; in many places images were removed and Roman rites discontinued; princes protected or connived at, imperial cities approved, the secular power everywhere forwarded the Reformation either by indirect support or stimulating persecution; men were everywhere eager to give it the welcome of their hearts and if needful the witness of their blood. The spirit of the German nation and of the Teutonic race was stirred to its very depths and waxed every day more earnest in behalf of Luther and more bitter against Rome. The edict of Worms was detested and disregarded. This feeling of the nation penetrated to its chief political representatives and found expression in the Diet that met at Nuremberg in 1522.<sup>6</sup> The emperor was not there. Fresh from the conflict with spiritual truth and freedom embodied in Luther at Worms, Charles after the manner of his house hastened into Spain to crush the political freedom that had long flourished there, and to win over the Commons of Castile a more decisive victory than he had won or would ever win over the Reformers of Germany. Pope Adrian sent a legate to Nuremberg, and in the absence of his imperial pupil and ally addressed letters to the princes of Germany wherein he mingled fierce invectives against heresy and heretics with frank acknowledgments of ecclesiastical and even papal iniquities, incentives to persecution with promises of reform, exhortations to make an end of Luther and Lutherans with assurances that he would do his best to make an end of the abuses of the Roman court. But exhortations and promises

<sup>6</sup> Seckendorf, lib. i. c. 45, § cx. Gerdes, tom. ii. passim.

alike came to nought. The Diet too faithfully representing the nation to serve the papacy, would do nothing against Luther, suggested a general council to be holden in Germany as the only remedy for the religious dissensions, and meanwhile directed that no more novelties should be put forth, but that the pure Gospel should be everywhere preached according to the interpretation of the Church. Luther rejoiced over this vague edict as over a real victory, and his joy was justified by the indignation of Adrian, the complaints of Charles and the rapid spread of the Reformation.<sup>7</sup> The pontiff dealt more tenderly but not more prevailingly with Zwingle than with Luther and sought to conciliate the Evangelist of Switzerland as vainly as he sought to crush the Evangelist of Germany. He failed no less signally as a reformer, and fared no better with Roman cardinals than with German princes and preachers. The cardinals disliked him as a foreigner and detested him as an economist and reformer; the correctness of his life and his hostility to abuses rebuked their vices and injured their interests, his birth and manners made him generally unpopular; and he died in 1523 amidst the rejoicings of the priests and people of Rome after a brief and disastrous pontificate.<sup>8</sup>

Julio de' Medici, illegitimate son of that Julian who had fallen beneath the daggers of the Pazzi at the bidding of Pope Sixtus IV., and the prime minister of his cousin Leo X., mounted the papal throne under the name of Clement VII. with a great reputation for ability and a reputation not wholly undeserved. But his was not the ability which moves men and controls events, which arrests revolutions and preserves states. He combined singular subtlety with great irresolution, exceeding foresight with exceeding fearfulness. This exact insight into things around him, and this clear vision of coming events, unaccompanied by the least strength of character, rendered him only more powerless to deal with them.<sup>9</sup> His prudence neither saved money nor averted danger. Born to shine in quiet times and small intrigues, he was utterly unfit to withstand the insurgent soul of Teutonic Christendom or to stand between

<sup>7</sup> Seckendorf, lib. i. c. 56. Sleidan, lib. iv. Raynaldus, an. 1522, n. 60-89; an. 1523, n. 1-32. The abuse lavished by the pontiff upon Luther in his letters to the German princes, especially in that to the Elector of Saxony (Raynaldus, an. 1522, n. 73-87), while fully equalled in vehemence and bitterness by the invectives of the Reformer against the papacy, lacks the liveliness and interest of Luther's invective. Sarpi, lib. i.

<sup>8</sup> Sismondi, lib. 114, 115.

<sup>9</sup> Guicciardini, lib. xv. xvi.

the mighty opponents that were tearing Italy to pieces, to arrest the first fiery onset of the Reformation or to pluck Italy from the grasp of her foreign spoilers. Francis I. and Charles V. were fiercely fighting for the dominion of Italy; the flame kindled by Luther was illumining half Europe. It was clearly the duty of the pontiff to do his best towards quenching that flame or keeping it from spreading; it was clearly the duty of the Italian prince to do his best towards maintaining the balance of power in Italy and keeping any foreign power from becoming supreme there. Clement saw and recognised both these duties, but he felt the latter much more than the former. Like Leo X., he was far more of a prince and politician than a priest; he but faintly felt the sacerdotal passions, the hate of heresy, the lust of spiritual domination and of worldly power for the sake thereof. Of course he made the proper pontifical protests and demonstrations against the Reformation. He exhorted faithful sovereigns to defend the Church against her rebels, and wavering sovereigns to remain fast in their allegiance to her; he stirred up the zeal of bishops and mourned over the defection of nations. But he did not fling what little heart he had into the work; he exhorted, remonstrated and reprovèd in vain; and he witnessed the unstayed march of the Reformation, the victorious uprising of half Christendom, the formal and final separation of many kingdoms and states from the Roman See, and the foundation of hostile churches.

The great spiritual renewal, the strong anti-papal feeling which pervaded Germany at the death of Leo, and which spread wider and waxed stronger and deeper during the pontificate of Adrian, went on getting deeper, broader and stronger still and began to do the proper work and yield the proper fruit of every positive and contagious conviction, to express itself in outward acts, to destroy and to construct, to pull down and build up institutions. The newly awakened spirit of Christendom after some uneasy chafing under Roman forms, threw them off one after the other and took to itself congenial forms, cast away masses, penances, and processions, scattered relics and destroyed images. Priests, monks and nuns began to marry, encouraged by the great examples of Melancthon and Luther; convents were broken up; bishoprics were secularised; the most powerful princes of Germany, the House of Saxony, the House of Brunswick, the House of Hohenzollern,

the Palatine House, the dukes of Mecklenburg, Wurtemberg and the margrave of Baden renounced the communion of Rome before the death of Clement; almost every imperial town, the cities of South and Middle Germany, Ulm, Augsburg, Nuremburg, Strasburg, Frankfort, the members of the Hanseatic League, Lubeck, Hamburg and Bremen, established the Reformed doctrines. Wherever the German race ruled or dwelt, the truth proclaimed by the mighty German peasant penetrated and prevailed; the Teutonic knights became champions of the Reformation, their Grand Master, Albert of Brandenburg became the Lutheran duke of Lutheran Prussia. Livonia listened to the word, and the truth spread over the Netherlands in spite of their sovereign Charles V. Switzerland was not slow to listen and believe. If not so potent a soul as Luther, Zwingle approved himself an apostle of no mean might. He won over Zurich; Berne soon followed; and by the year 1530 full half of Switzerland had broken with Rome.<sup>10</sup> England and Scotland, at first but slightly stirred by the spiritual uprising of the Teutonic race, ere long swelled the train of insurgent nations and states. But not only the Teutonic race rejoiced in the message of Luther. Scandinavia uprose. The spiritual revolution there was preceded and assisted by a political revolution. Christian II. king of Denmark Norway and Sweden (1513-1523) was one of those sovereigns whose crimes and cruelties have kept their names alive, and has won a place in the memory of mankind beside Pedro the Cruel, Ivan the Terrible, and Philip II. Unpopular in Denmark, he was abhorred in Sweden both as an oppressor and as the representative of a foreign domination, as king of Denmark and as slaughterer of the Swedish senate (1520). His cruelties aroused resistance and at last called forth a national hero: Gustavus Vasa, the son of one of his victims, called his countrymen to arms, drove the Danes from Sweden and hurled Christian from the throne to which he was himself raised by a grateful people, and has taken rank among redeemers of nations and champions of freedom with the princes of the House of Orange, just as the Danish oppressor keeps company with the Stewarts and Hapsburgs. But the Swedish hero was destined to be more than a political deliverer, to anticipate the full glory of the House of Nassau. While he was leading the Dalecarlian

<sup>10</sup> Sleidan, lib. vi. Seckendorf, lib. i. c. 55, 57, 61. Ranke, lib. iii. c. 3-7; lib. iv. c. 5. Gerdes, tom. ii. passim, whose narrative of the progress of the Reformation is at once the most detailed and comprehensive that I know of.

miners against the Danish oppressors, Luther was burning the papal bull and confronting the imperial diet. Sweden all in a glow over one broken yoke was just in the mood for breaking another. Uplifted and enkindled by the victorious struggle for national life, she lent herself gladly to the spiritual renewal descending upon Christendom. The large heart and brain of Gustavus at once understood and welcomed the Reformation both in its religious and political bearings. After a sharp struggle with the clergy he led a willing people into final severance from Rome and devoted Sweden to the cause of that Reformation which she has ever since in spite of more than one faithless sovereign faithfully upholden, which won from her such vital service and brought her such signal glory in the following century, which has preserved her from the fate of Poland, maintained for her a respectable place among the nations, and her unimpaired affection for which has just overflowed in her warm welcome of the representative of anti-papal Italy.<sup>11</sup> Her course was that of all Scandinavia. Driven out of Sweden (1521) Christian II. was expelled from Denmark and Norway (1523) which passed to his uncle Frederick of Holstein. This prince brought to the Danish throne a mind favourable to the doctrines and stimulated by the exhortations of Luther; earnest apostles came from Germany, and ere long Denmark and Norway were won over to the Reformed faith; the triumph was assured under Christian III. the son of Frederick and a devoted follower of the Reformation; while the dethroned Christian II. lurked in the dominions of his brother-in-law Charles V., professed himself the exiled martyr of the Roman Church and after an ineffectual attempt to regain the throne expired in a Norwegian prison.<sup>12</sup>

The Reformation too made some impression upon Slavonic Europe. It got a footing in Poland, it made the rapid conquest of Bohemia; the countrymen of Hus soon learned to rejoice in his successor; the land which held fast to the cup in spite of Rome was not slow to join the general uprising against Rome, and the Calixtins easily expanded into Protestants. The Magyars, that Tartar tribe which dwelt on the borders of Christendom, lent glad ears to the glad tidings. Their king Louis

<sup>11</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1526, n. 129, 130; an. 1529, n. 25; an. 1532, n. 28. Seckendorf, lib. i. c. 59. Gerdes, tom. iii. § ii. c. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1524, n. 31, 33; an. 1530, n. 57-59. Ranke, lib. vi. c. 10. Seckendorf, lib. i. c. 57. Gerdes, tom. iii. § ii. c. 3.

fell before the great Sultan of the Ottomans, Solyman the Magnificent in 1526; his crown was disputed by a foreign claimant, Ferdinand of Hapsburg, brother of Charles V. and by a native claimant John of Zapolya; but notwithstanding Turkish invasion, Austrian oppression and civil war, the Reformation threw in Hungary. Even in Latin and Celtic Europe it made some advances. France early yielded the recovered Gospel multitudinous converts and many martyrs; Calvin began to write and piles began to be kindled before the death of Clement.<sup>13</sup>

Of this mighty revolution the pontiff was the helpless witness or at most the impotent reviler. He railed at Luther; he remonstrated with Gustavus of Sweden and Frederick of Denmark; he exhorted Charles V. and Francis I.,<sup>14</sup> but he put forth no power to arrest the movement; he scarcely even endeavoured his best. What heart he had was given to another cause; what energy he possessed was manifested in a narrower field. As an Italian politician he earnestly bestirred himself; as an Italian prince he was very conspicuous and very unfortunate. The woes of invaded and devastated Italy prolonged now through thirty years came to their height under the pontificate of Clement. He found Italy the battle-field of Europe; he found France and Spain still fiercely fighting for the fair possession. Thrice since 1494 had the French been driven out of the peninsula; their third expulsion was devised and effected by Leo X. (1521) in conjunction with Charles V., sufficiently formidable as emperor and king of Spain and rendered much more so by the supremacy in Italy which the success of this alliance brought him. Francis however went on sending or leading armies across the Alps without success (1522-23), and Clement found the two chief sovereigns of Europe far more intent upon rending Italy than upon reconciling Christendom. The emperor professed and in truth felt that zeal against the Reformation so proper in the advocate of the Roman Church, the French monarch possessed that hate of heresy so becoming in her eldest son; but both advocate and eldest son were far more set upon assailing each other than upon vindicating the spiritual authority of their common father; and their designs upon Italy directly threatened the independence of the Italian prin-

<sup>13</sup> Kransinski's *Polish Reformation*. Gerdes, tom. iv. § i. et seq.

<sup>14</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1524, n. 1-18; an. 1525, n. 28, 29; an. 1526, n. 29.

cipality. Thus the Italian struggle greatly helped on the Reformation by absorbing the energy of the pope, by feeding the ambition of Francis and Charles at the expense of their bigotry and by embroiling the pontiff in turn with the two most powerful and willing champions of his religious supremacy. Alarmed for the independence of the papal states and eager to keep indignant Florence under the yoke of the house of Medici, he dealt and dallied with both the spoilers, now courted Charles and now drew near to Francis. At length (1525) the battle of Pavia left Francis in the hands and Italy at the mercy of Charles, disabled France and promised the emperor the sole dominion of the Peninsula. Italy shrank from impending subjection and made a last effort to avert it; her princes and republics bestirred themselves to a united resistance; the commonwealth of Venice, the Duke of Milan, the Roman pontiff entered into a league against the emperor (1526). Clement shrank from a master even in the enemy of the Reformation, and in the midst of its victorious march broke with the sovereign most willing and able to aid him in arresting it. Charles could not afford to oppress Italy and Germany at once, to fight the pope and the Reformation at the same time; at the Diet of Spire (1526) he made great concessions to the Lutherans; thousands of German warriors hastened across the Alps to do battle for the Cæsar against the pontiff; Rome was stormed and plundered by Spanish Papists and German Lutherans (May 6, 1527); and the head of the Holy Roman Church became the captive of his devout son, the head of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>15</sup> Just ten years after Luther lifted up his voice against Rome, this calamity came upon her. The captivity of the pope and the desolation of the papal city were in the eyes of the great Reformer as the judgment of God upon Babylon. But they wore a very different aspect in the eyes of an Italian patriot. The pontiff was the leading member of a league in defence of Italian independence; Rome had fallen before the foreign hirelings of a foreign invader; Clement had suffered as a champion of Italy. In this its hour of disaster and ignominy a lofty part seemed assigned, a noble destiny seemed in store for the papacy. It might link its cause with that of a famous nation struggling against savage invaders, and its name which stank in the nostrils of Christendom, might still smell

<sup>15</sup> Guicciardini, c. 16, 18. Sleidan, lib. vi. Sismondi, c. 115-118.

sweet to Italy. Rejected by the soul of half Europe, the popedom might keep and strengthen its hold upon the heart of the most highly civilised and richly gifted among European peoples. Amidst the curses of its spiritual foes, it might bear away the blessing of Italian patriots, and gather an abiding glory from the championship of a noble cause.

But it was not so to be. The sorrow and glory of that hapless struggle lay not in store for the popedom. Heroic devotion to the cause of Italian freedom was to glorify republican Florence; while papal Rome helped to dig its grave. Italy was to fall; but with the consent, but with the cooperation of the papacy, which, abandoning the post of champion, was destined to be permanently ranked among her dividers and oppressors. Clement in fact was a very poor patriot and a very slack champion. He entered into the Italian league fearfully and doubtfully; he fought the battle of Italy faintly and irresolutely. He trembled before the emperor all the time he was at war with him, sought a reconciliation directly after he had drawn the sword and entered into negotiations before the capture of Rome. Far more bent upon keeping the Medici at Florence than upon driving Charles out of Italy he made Florentine servitude rather than Italian freedom the central aim of his policy; and when on the capture of Rome and his own captivity, the Florentines rose upon his officers, cast out his kinsmen and restored the republic, his patriotism, already very faint and cold, altogether vanished; and renouncing his Italian confederates, who would not help him to reenslave Florence, he sought peace and alliance with the enemy of Italy. Charles V. was at once the most widely-ruling and fortunate monarch that Europe had known for ages. His youth was not so personally, signally, and marvellously triumphant as the youth of Alexander, nor so consummately prudent and unbrokenly successful as the youth of Augustus; but at twenty-seven he had enjoyed almost every kind of good fortune; for him the greatest victories of that age had been won, the most famous cities taken, the most powerful monarchs made captive, the king of France and the Sovereign Pontiff; the Reformation which he disliked had done him service; the pope with whom he reluctantly went to war had fallen into his hands. But the young conqueror was not carried away by this tide of good fortune.<sup>16</sup> He had wrung

<sup>16</sup> *Autobiography of Charles V.* c. i, pp. 14, 16; c. 2, p. 19.



hard terms from his French captive ; but he was willing to deal less hardly with his papal prisoner. A sincere votary of the Roman Church, a true scion of the House of Austria, he had reluctantly fought the pope, he had still more reluctantly served the Reformation ; he much preferred to persecute the heretics in conjunction with the pontiff than to keep down the pontiff with the help of the heretics, to be master of Italy with the consent and cooperation of the Roman See than to rule there in its despoite. Pontiff and Cæsar soon came to an agreement ; by the treaty of Barcelona Clement engaged to abandon his allies and to sacrifice Italy, while Charles engaged to put down the Lutherans and to subjugate the Florentines (1529). They soon afterwards met at Bologna to carry out this arrangement, to give and to receive, to confirm the subjugation of Italy, and conspire for the subjugation of Christendom. There (February 24, 1530) Italy witnessed for the last time the coronation of an emperor by a pope ; there Charles V. received the imperial crown from Clement VII., 730 years after Charles I. received it from Leo III.<sup>17</sup> There for the last time was publicly and splendidly exhibited by the namesake and most potent successor of Charlemagne that singular connection between empire and papacy established by his great predecessor. There the papacy and the House of Austria entered into that confederacy against the national and spiritual life of man which still subsists, and first contracted those mutual obligations so long and faithfully observed and not forgotten yet. There Charles pledged to the Roman See that hostility against the Reformation, fully felt though inadequately manifested by himself, and so intensely and persistently exhibited by his race. There the papacy first sanctioned and supported that Austrian domination which has degraded and afflicted Italy for more than three centuries. There Italy ceased to be a nation ; there her long subjection began. And there among the train of vassal princes eager for the smile of the emperor and the protection of the pope appeared Charles III. duke of Savoy, under the guidance of whose posterity the Italy that perished there has again become a nation, to whose descendants it has been given to undo the work of that fatal conference, to pluck from the grasp of Austrian Cæsar and Roman pontiff and to weld together into one free monarchy so many fragments of that Italy dismembered and dishonoured there.

<sup>17</sup> Guicciardini, lib. xix. Pallavicino, lib. ii. c. 16 ; lib. iii. c. 2.

Florence was the first victim of this alliance between pontiff and Cæsar. Charles undertook to be the executioner of Clement's wrath against the city that had thrown off his yoke, and to degrade the illustrious commonwealth into a principality for the Medici. Florence vainly but most heroically struggled against this unworthy doom; for a year she held out against the combined host of pope and emperor. There the spirit of Italian freedom fought its last and not least glorious fight, undauntedly defied its imperial assailant and its papal betrayer. The siege of Florence called forth one of the noblest and most heroic struggles that the love of liberty has ever inspired; the fall of Florence is perhaps the most melancholy event in Italian history: The republic was degraded into a duchy and received a duke in Alessandro de' Medici the illegitimate and worthless kinsman of Clement, who was betrothed to Margaret, the illegitimate daughter of Charles. As pontiff and Cæsar united to effect the overthrow, so their union was shamefully represented in the servitude of Florence. The glorious commonwealth which had so often vindicated Italian liberty now against emperor and now against pope fell at last before the combined assault of both and sank into the appanage of two bastards, a papal nurseling and an imperial offshoot.<sup>18</sup> But Florence has regained in the nineteenth century more than she lost in the sixteenth, has risen into the metropolis of free and united Italy. The rank which she won in 1865 may be but for a while; but it was nobly earned in 1530. The city whose conflict with pope and Cæsar was the death-struggle of Italian freedom, and whose heroism shed a mournful glory over the fall of Italy, may well draw new life from her renewal and derive dignity from her exaltation.

Germany likewise soon felt the effects of the alliance between pontiff and emperor. On his reconciliation with Clement, Charles cheerfully undertook to do his best against the Reformation which he had reluctantly left alone during their quarrel. Between the treaty of Barcelona and the conference at Bologna a Diet was holden at Spire, from which assembly a decree was obtained intended to arrest the progress and circumscribe the domain of the Reformation, to keep it from going further and weaken it where it was already established. Against this decree six princes and fourteen imperial cities presented (April 20,

<sup>18</sup> Guicciardini, lib. xix.-xx. Sismondi, c. 120, 121.

1529) that famous Protest which yielded an illustrious designation for the half of Western Christendom that had broken with Rome—a name which emancipated nations have accepted and which enfranchised souls have felt to be not unworthy of the freedom wherewith Christ has made them free. Well may the Churches born at the Reformation rejoice in the name of Protestant; and woe to the reformed Church that should grow ashamed of the noble designation.<sup>19</sup> In the next year (1530) another German assembly listened to another famous document. There was laid before the Diet of Augsburg that celebrated confession of faith which still remains the symbol of the Lutheran Churches. But the Protestant princes and cities were not satisfied with declaring their grievances and setting forth their faith. In 1532 they formed a confederacy for the defence of their religion; and the League of Schmalkald arose to uphold the protest of Spires and to maintain the Confession of Augsburg.<sup>20</sup> Charles detested alike protest, confession and confederacy; he was well inclined to keep the compact with Clement and put down the Reformation. Victorious hitherto over every adversary that he had encountered, French monarch, Roman pontiff and Italian nation, he would fain have added the Protestants to the number of his vanquished foes and have expiated the guilt of his victory over the Holy Father by a victory over heretics. But though much of a zealot he was something of a statesman; he remembered the complicated interests of his many realms; he considered circumstances, and circumstances very imperatively forbade him to attack the Protestants.<sup>21</sup> He was by far the most potent monarch of Christendom; but beyond the limits of Christendom there was a mightier than he. The chief of Islam took the field against him, and postponed the conflict between papal and Protestant Europe; the Sultan made of none effect the league between the pope and the emperor. Solyman the Magnificent, the tenth and most glorious of the Ottoman Sultans, a conqueror descended from conquerors, inherited the vigour and genius conspicuous in eight generations of the House of Othman, and uplifted the Turkish empire to the topmost height of power and splendour. His contemporaries, Henry VIII., Francis I. and Charles V., were men not without might and princes not without majesty;

<sup>19</sup> Seckendorf, lib. ii. c. 14. Sleidan, c. 6.

<sup>20</sup> Seckendorf, lib. ii. c. 20-29; lib. iii. c. 1, 2. Sleidan, lib. vii. viii.

<sup>21</sup> *Autobiography*, passim.

but Solyman the Magnificent outdid and outshone them all. He was in truth the Grand Turk. North Africa passed under his dominion; and its corsairs became the servants of the Sultan and the scourges of Christendom. He wrested Rhodes from the knights of St. John; the host of Hungary was scattered before him at Mohacs, the king perished, and the kingdom was overrun; of the two competitors for the vacant throne John of Zapolya invoked his protection and became his vassal; while Ferdinand of Austria, brother of Cæsar Charles, was driven out of Hungary and followed into Germany by the Sultan, who vainly besieged Vienna (1529). In 1532 Solyman led a still more mighty host into Germany. Christendom was greatly alarmed and for a moment reconciled. The emperor made large concessions to the Protestants; the Protestants sent large reinforcements to the imperial army; Charles advanced and Solyman withdrew. But if he did not conquer Germany, he rendered no small service to the Reformation; the fear of the sultan practically annulled the compact between the emperor and the pope and extorted from Charles the formal toleration of the Lutherans at the Diet of Nuremburg (1532). The Reformation profited by the warfare between Cæsar and sultan as much as by the conflict between Cæsar and pontiff, found furtherance from the conquest of Hungary and the siege of Vienna no less than from the struggle in Italy and the storming of Rome. Aggressive Islam contributed to the purification of Christendom; Charles and Francis, Clement and Solyman, were all helpers of Luther.<sup>22</sup>

But there was one European monarch who had neither directly nor indirectly, wittingly nor unwittingly, ministered to the Reformation. From the beginning of his reign Henry VIII. of England had manifested for the Roman Church an affection far surpassing that of her French Eldest Son, and rendered her services which put to shame those of her imperial advocate. In him she found at once a zealous religious votary and a zealous political supporter. Soon after his accession he joined the Holy League which Julius II. had formed against Louis XII. and went to war with Francis I. mainly to please pope Leo X. The Reformation came, but only inflamed his zeal for the Roman Church. He did battle with Luther in behalf of her doctrines, laid his book on the Seven Sacraments at the feet of

<sup>22</sup> Seckendorf, lib. iii. c. 4, 5. Sleidan, lib. viii. Pallavicino, lib. iii. c. 9. *Autobiography*, c. 2, p. 24.

Leo X., was greeted by the grateful pope as Defender of the Faith, and went on earning his new title by a vigorous persecution of the English reformers.<sup>23</sup> He showed himself in truth a friend in need; calamity bound him faster to the papacy. He took greatly to heart the storming of Rome and the captivity of Clement, abhorred the impious victory of the emperor and went to war with his ally Charles in behalf of the captive. Clement naturally preferred his English son to every other sovereign: Henry bade fair to forestall the honours of the House of Hapsburg, to take the chief part in the fight of the papacy against the Reformation, and to stand forth before posterity as the great obstructor and oppressor of the time. But very different work lay in store for him. Scruples as to the lawfulness of his marriage with his brother Arthur's widow, and the desire for male offspring heightened afterwards by his passion for Anne Boleyn, made Henry anxious for a divorce from Catharine of Aragon. A papal dispensation had made the match; he wanted a papal dispensation to unmake it. He wanted Clement to undo the work of Julius II.<sup>24</sup> Catharine was the emperor's aunt; and Henry first urged his suit when Clement was at war with her nephew, and his first formal application for a divorce reached the pope when a prisoner of Charles in St. Angelo. Clement liked his English champion, but he trembled before his imperial captor; and with him fear was a far stronger passion than either gratitude or revenge. He was quite willing to please Henry, but he was very unwilling to displease Charles, who could do him both more good and more harm than the king of England, could enlarge or curtail his Italian principality, could enthrone his family at Florence or leave them in hopeless exile. Anxious to offend neither he had recourse to all manner of expedients and delays; he empowered Wolsey and Campeggio to try the cause in England, and on the appeal of Catharine removed the cause to Rome. On their final reconciliation at Bologna Charles exacted from him a promise that he would decide in favour of his aunt. But Clement shrank from a decision. He interposed delays, created difficulties, did not quite withhold encouragement from Henry, and put him off with ambiguities and equivocations. The patience of the king in waiting for the papal decision was as remarkable as his persistency in prosecuting the divorce. At last he grew impatient with the dilatory pontiff, mingled menaces

<sup>23</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1521, n. 64 et seq.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* an. 1503, n. 22.

with importunities, and obtained from his parliament some anti-papal statutes. Convocation granted him a divorce; but Clement reversed their sentence and finally decided against the king. Successive statutes severed the many links which bound England to the Roman Church, and Clement lived just long enough to behold the multitudinous disasters of his pontificate crowned and consummated by the withdrawal of a great kingdom from the papal allegiance, by the conversion of the foremost champion into the bitterest foe of the Roman See.<sup>25</sup> The year when he died (1534) was the year when his authority in England ceased. Perhaps the most uniformly unfortunate, though by no means the most worthless or incapable of the Roman pontiffs, he witnessed in helpless despair the uprising of Teutonic Christendom; he witnessed not without active complicity the subjection of Italy. He was the victim of excessive fear and excessive prudence. He feared everybody; he foresaw everything; he failed in almost everything. He dreaded the loss of England and threw her away; he dreaded the servitude of Italy and helped to enslave her; he trembled before the Emperor; he trembled before the Reformation; he trembled at the thought of a general council, and shrank from convoking one even to oblige the emperor, lest the papacy should suffer therefrom. His solitary success was the enthronement of a worthless kinsman, the downfall and degradation of his native Florence.<sup>26</sup>

It was given him indeed to witness the success of his votaries in the first war engendered by the religious strife, the victory of the Roman Catholic over the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, and the death of Zwingli on the mournful field of Cappel (1531).<sup>27</sup> But this check was very slight and altogether local. He died when the Reformation was in the fulness of youthful strength, in the very midst of its onward march and victorious career. It took no harm from the horrors of the Peasants' War (1525-26); it was not thrown back by the excesses of the Münster Anabaptists (1533); Luther and Zwingli had fallen out over the Lord's Supper, but the divisions among Reformers could not stop the Reformation. Clement left the papal power prostrate in England and in Scandinavia, in more than the half of Germany and in the half of Switzerland. He left Protest-

<sup>25</sup> Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, passim.

<sup>26</sup> Guicciardini, lib. xx. pp. 537, 547.

<sup>27</sup> Sleidan, lib. vii.

antism progressive in France and Scotland, in the Netherlands, in Poland and Hungary, supreme in many lands, and aggressive everywhere.

His successor, Alessandro Farnese, who took the name of Paul III., was a much better pope, and a far braver, more earnest and resolute man. He had more than an official hatred of the Reformation and waged a real warfare therewith. He furnished up the old weapons against heresy and forged new ones; he was not sparing of papal thunderbolts and invoked not in vain the temporal sword; he stirred up princes to take the field against the Protestants, and summoned new and potent auxiliaries to mingle in the fray. He recreated and reinvigorated the Inquisition at Rome, by founding in 1543 the congregation of the Holy Office, assigning it a separate jurisdiction and clothing it with tremendous powers in all cases of heresy. He began the persecution which crushed Italian Protestantism. He excommunicated Henry VIII., returned with his loudest bolts the heavy blows of that strong smiter, repaid his own very real dethronement in England with the nominal deposition of the English king and sought to spur now Charles V. and now Francis I. into a crusade against the schismatic islander.<sup>28</sup> His dealings with the emperor were manifold and complicated; he laboured with much assiduity and some success to shape his imperial son into an effectual combatant of the Reformation. Charles himself was willing enough to be so shaped, but his circumstances rendered the operation somewhat difficult. With a strong inclination to shine as a persecutor he never attained to the possible perfection of that character. No career exhibits so strikingly and constantly as his does the contest between the bigot and the statesman. A true Hapsburg he abhorred freedom political and religious; he undermined liberty in Spain; he would fain have subjugated Germany; with no desire to become the servant of the papacy, he would fain have been throughout the warrior of the Roman Church, he would fain have crushed the Reformation. But with all his bigotry he lacked the singleness of aim essential to a perfect persecutor and so eminently possessed by his son Philip II. and his great-nephew Ferdinand II.; he was something of a statesman; he did not forget the many realms of which he was the lord and the complicated interests of which

<sup>28</sup> M'Crie's *Reformation in Italy*, c. 5. *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. i. pp. 619, 624. Raynaldus, an. 1535, n. 11-13, 18.

he was the centre. By conventional position the first sovereign of Christendom, he had some ambition to show himself such in reality, to make the conventional distinction a personal distinction; he felt though not intensely the passions of a conqueror. He was ever at war with Francis I.; he had a constant antagonist in Sultan Solyman; his interests as an Italian prince often clashed with those of the Roman pontiff; his expeditions into Africa stood in the way of a crusade against the Reformation. He was constrained to court the Protestants of Germany; he stood in constant need of their men and their money. But he never liked them; he ever contemplated their subjection; he always looked to the extirpation of heresy as the crown of his conflicts and conquests. Pope Paul III. sedulously encouraged these good dispositions and strove hard to remove the obstacles to their practical manifestation. He often conferred with Charles on matters ecclesiastical, sternly rebuked the concessions to the Lutherans which circumstances occasionally wrung from him, offered him men and money for the holy war and earnestly sought to reconcile him with his orthodox adversary Francis, who kept burning French Protestants as some amends for his connection with German Lutherans and his confederacy with Sultan Solyman.<sup>29</sup> At length the pontiff prevailed. By the peace of Crespy (1544) Francis agreed to give up the Turks and take part against the Lutherans, Charles made ready for his long-meditated conflict with the Reformation, and both bound themselves to hasten the meeting of a general synod. The council of Trent followed hard upon the treaty of Crespy. Paul III. never felt that terror of a general council which so possessed his predecessor Clement. At his accession in 1534, he determined to convene a great ecclesiastical assembly, but he also determined to render it not only harmless, but even helpful to the popedom.

This papal expedient had originally been a Lutheran aspiration. In the progress of his anti-papal convictions Luther had appealed from the pontiff to a general council, though he soon unlearned any peculiar reverence for the doctrinal authority of ecclesiastical synods. A general council was first proposed at

<sup>29</sup> Sleidan, lib. xv. xvi. Pallavicino, lib. v. c. 3-7. Seckendorf, lib. iii. c. 28, 29. Raynaldus, an. 1544, n. 78. *Autobiography*, c. 3, pp. 35, 36, 48, 49; c. 4, pp. 52, 60, 61. That most interesting fragment published since this book was written exactly confirms the view here taken of the religious character of Charles, and sets forth the conflict between the bigot and the statesman.



the Diet of Nuremberg (1522) by some reforming princes as the only mode of healing the breach of Christendom, and as a motive for postponing all hostile decision with respect to the reformed doctrines. The proposal was more than once laid before the emperor who more than once pressed it upon the pope. From the first a general council found favour with Charles, who coveted the glory of reuniting Christendom and was perfectly willing to repeat the splendid part which Sigismund had acted at Constance. But neither pontiff nor earnest Reformers had the same pleasing associations with that famous assembly. The former recollected its dislike of papal power; the latter recollected its attachment to Roman dogmas. Luther remembered the execution of John Hus; Clement remembered the deposition of John XXIII. The pontifical trembler brought to the consideration the fulness of his foresight and the fulness of his fear and evaded the emperor's urgent demands for a council. But the bolder Paul at once took the matter in hand and sent an agent into Germany to confer with the Protestants on this business. The nuncio Vergerius spoke with Luther and discoursed with elector John Frederick. He found the Reformer contemptuously and heroically careless about a council; he found the prince not unwilling but cautious and on his guard. Nothing came of the conferences. Both pope and Protestants wished a council; but they wished a very different thing. The pontiff wished an exclusively ecclesiastical synod of his own convening and under the presidency of himself or his legates. The Reformers wished an assembly of the great spiritual men of Christendom laymen and clergymen, noble and simple, with no papal convener and no papal president, where ministers and laymen alike might take part in the debates and have a voice in the decisions. The pope wanted it to meet in Italy; the Protestants desired that it should come together in Germany. The pontiff could not accept a council after the heart of the Reformers without denying himself; the Protestants could not admit a synod after the papal pattern without acknowledging the spiritual authority of the pope; in other words the breach was unhealable; a fair and impartial assembly was an impossibility. Luther clearly saw the impracticability of a reconciliation and the utter bootlessness of a general synod. Henry VIII. denied the right of the pontiff to convene a council and refused to have anything to do with an assembly of

his convening.<sup>30</sup> But a general council sounded well; Charles V. believed in it; Francis I. had no objection to it; and Paul III. laboured for it with ostentatious vigour and undoubted sincerity, though with a continuous ill-success which at first sight looked suspicious. He summoned a general assembly of the Church to meet at Mantua in 1537, and on some difference with the duke transferred it to Vicenza in 1538; prorogued it because Charles and Francis could not agree and at last suspended it indefinitely; took it up again in a year or two, and to please the emperor and allure the Germans transferred it to Trent and issued a solemn bull of convocation for November 1542. But this summons failed to bring the council together. Charles and Francis were at fiercer war than ever; the Turks were in Hungary, Christendom was in commotion; the Protestants would not come; the Roman Catholics could not come, and Paul again suspended the council so often on the brink of being but still among the things that were not. But in 1544 the emperor made peace with the most Christian king, and his brother Ferdinand obtained a truce from Sultan Solymán; Paul found it possible to bring a synod together and Charles found himself at leisure to assail the German Protestants.<sup>31</sup>

The council of Trent was opened December 13, 1545. The assembly, so long, so variously and so vainly invoked, so greatly desired, so greatly dreaded and so perpetually hindered, at last became a fact at the very time when the hatred of the Reformation so strongly felt by Charles V. but so long crossed and baffled by circumstances, so carefully dissembled and so painfully suppressed, became active hostility. Paul III. had at once the pleasure of contemplating a general council in a fair way of becoming a papal instrument and the chief monarch of Christendom engaged in a crusade against the enemies of the Roman Church. It was given him to survive the mighty man who had plucked half Christendom from the grasp of Rome and who was withdrawn from the world February 18, 1546, just two months after the Council of Trent began its work, and

<sup>30</sup> Pallavicino, lib. iii. c. 7, 17, 18. Seekendorf, lib. iii. c. 10, 11, 12. Guicciardini, lib. xx. Sleidan, lib. ix. Sarpi, lib. i. *Autobiography of Charles.*

<sup>31</sup> *Bulla Indictionis Concilii Tridentini*, apud *Canones &c.*, Lipsiæ, 1842. Sleidan, lib. xi. Raynaldus, an. 1534, n. 3; an. 1535, n. 29-36; an. 1536, n. 4, 5, 33-35, 42-44; an. 1537, n. 1, 2, 5, 15, 21-27, 31, 35; an. 1538, n. 9, 10; an. 1539, n. 25, 26; an. 1540, n. 52; an. 1541, n. 52, 63; an. 1542, n. 12, 14, 43; an. 1543, n. 1, 5, 9, 20, 21; an. 1544, n. 7, 29; an. 1545, passim. *Autobiography*, c. 2, pp. 19, 24; c. 5, pp. 72-4.

to behold what Luther was spared from beholding, the calamities of the bosom friend and devoted disciple of the Reformer elector John Frederick and the humiliation of the house which first sheltered and first embraced the Reformation.<sup>32</sup> Pope Paul witnessed and assisted with contributions from the papal treasury and a body of papal troops the early success of the emperor's crusade against the Reformation, but did not live to witness its final defeat. He beheld how Charles divided and disabled the German Lutherans, how he seduced into his service the ablest among them, duke Maurice of Saxony, with the promise of his cousin's electorate, how he vanquished John Frederick and made him captive at the battle of Muhlburg (April 24, 1547), how he reduced to submission and got into his hands another great Protestant champion Landgrave Philip of Hesse, how he led the two Protestant princes in triumph from town to town, how he received the keys and overthrew the liberties of many Protestant cities, how he enforced throughout Germany a slightly modified form of Romanism called the Interim, to endure till the council of Trent should have fixed the faith; how the first electorate of Germany was taken from the Protestant champion John Frederick and given to the Protestant traitor Maurice, and how the Ernestine line of Saxony, in whose states the Reformation was born and under whose fostering care and love it had grown up and thriven, was despoiled and degraded, was brought down from the chief to the pettiest place among the reigning houses of Germany—a humiliation so magnificently reversed in our day, transformed into such great dignity and such wide dominion.<sup>33</sup> But Pope

<sup>32</sup> The calm and hopeful deathbed of Luther was worthy of his godly and most heroic life, and is most simply and tenderly set forth by Justus Jonas in a letter to John Frederick. Seckendorf, lib. iii. c. 36, §§ 133-5.

<sup>33</sup> Sleidan, lib. xvii.-xx. It is well worth the while to glance at the respective fortunes of the Albertine and the Ernestine line of Saxony—the representatives of the successful Maurice and the descendants of the afflicted John Frederick. History records no more glorious piece of poetical justice than the present plight of these two families. The Saxon electors of the Albertine line, sprung from Augustus, brother of Maurice, were unfaithful to the Reformation, and fell from the leadership of Protestant Germany, which passed to the House of Hohenzollern. They proved laggards to Protestantism, and finally apostates from Protestantism. Elector John George played a most unworthy part during the Thirty Years' War, held aloof from the elector Palatine, saw Protestantism rooted out of Bohemia and assailed throughout Germany, fawned upon its exterminator Ferdinand II., became the reluctant ally of Gustavus Adolphus, and then hastened to abandon the Swedes and to fight for the House of Austria and the Church of Rome. Elector Augustus Frederick in 1697 bought the tarnished and troublesome crown of Poland, and gave up his Lutheranism in part pay-

Paul did not live to see how the new elector repaired a few years afterwards his treacherous desertion of the Protestant cause, and humbled the emperor whom he had served, how the arch-dissembler Charles was overmatched and mastered by the arch-dissembler Maurice, how the Saxon turned against the astonished Cæsar the army that he had collected for his service, how he scattered his forces, stormed his strongholds, wellnigh took him captive and drove him to an ignominious flight; how he broke the power of the mighty monarch, stayed the career of the determined persecutor, confounded the schemes and spoiled the harmony of a life, and wrung from the reluctant Cæsar the peace of Passau which secured religious freedom and

ment thereof. The Roman Church had little cause to glory over this begetter of innumerable bastards; but his apostasy involved that of his family, and inflicted a popish ruling house and a popish court upon the Protestant people of Saxony. His son Augustus, in whom was continued the disastrous connection between Poland and Saxony, conspired with Austria, France, and Russia for the undoing of Prussia under Frederick the Great, and brought upon his Saxon subjects unutterable calamities during the Seven Years' War. Elector Frederick Augustus became a king of Napoleon's making, cherished a benefactor in the foreign master of Germany, fought for his patron when the Fatherland rose against her oppressor, and was punished by the loss of nearly half his dominions made over to Prussia at the congress of Vienna. From the vassal of France the ruling house of Saxony has sunk into the jackal of Austria, delivered up to her Count Teleki whom it thus placed in the position which drove him to suicide, partakes her abhorrence of Italian freedom and imitates her adhesion to the Neapolitan Bourbons. Of a truth the Albertine line of Saxony is reaping as it has sown, is finding its reward even here. So is the Ernestine line. The numerous descendants of John Frederick clung steadfastly to the faith for which he had lost a large electorate and taken up with a petty dukedom. In the seventeenth century they produced a Protestant hero and a Protestant saint, Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar and Ernest the Pious of Saxe-Coburg. Bernhard, the chief German champion of Protestantism during the Thirty Years' War, would have left a mighty name and become a great potentate but for his early death. The greatness of the race, however, was only deferred—and deferred to be marvellously magnified. In 1814 Charlotte of England fell in love with Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, of the posterity of John Frederick; their brief union was but the beginning of exaltation to this favoured race. While the posterity of his oppressor Charles V. has been long extinct, while the representatives of his betrayer Maurice hold a shortened and a tarnished sceptre, the descendants of the Protestant martyr sit on three European thrones, occupy the highest place among the great ones of the earth. They reign over that Belgium which Charles ruled and in that Ghent where he was born; they bear sway in that Portugal which his son Philip reckoned among his many realms. But above all, for them has been reserved the crown of Great Britain, the chief place in the free English commonwealth, the chief place in that empire on which the sun never sets; the sceptre of the Indies has passed into their hands. Vast, powerful, and gorgeous as was that Spanish monarchy which obeyed Charles V., the posterity of John Frederick preside over an empire still wider, more splendid, and more mighty. The descendants of the despoiled prince sit on the most glorious of earthly thrones; the descendants of the Protestant martyr reign over the chief among Protestant nations. 'Let Thy work appear unto Thy servants, and Thy glory unto their children.'

political equality to the Lutherans (1553).<sup>34</sup> Pope Paul did not live to witness these reverses. At his death in 1550 he left the emperor conqueror of the Protestants and master of Germany; he left the council of Trent which in 1547 he had transferred to Bologna suspended, but he left it an instrument for the use of the Roman Church.

But he met with an auxiliary far more potent and devoted even than Cæsar Charles; he secured an instrument far more formidable and effective even than the council of Trent. A Spanish cavalier of fervent temperament, wounded in a combat with the French, while Luther was preaching against indulgences, rose from his sick-bed a religious enthusiast. He banqueted upon ecclesiastical legends as Don Quixote feasted upon tales of chivalry, cherished towards the Virgin and the Church a disinterested devotion like that of Don Quixote for the ladies, and went forth to rescue the Roman Church beset by mighty heretics, as Don Quixote went forth to deliver distressed damsels from the hands of dreadful giants. But Ignatius Loyola went forth in quest of adventures not so vainly as the knight of La Mancha; he made others partakers of his enthusiasm and sharers of his enterprise, came to Rome in 1537 and offered the passionate devotion and unlimited obedience of himself and his companions for the especial service of the papal power. Paul III. accepted the offer, in 1540 admitted the order of the Jesuits among the agencies of the Roman Church, and thus secured for the popedom a permanent body of servants and champions such as no master and no cause has ever known; champions with no other business but papal warfare, and with every power and every passion strained to the uttermost therein; servants who had ceased to be men, released from every bond save that which bound them to the papacy, from the bonds of family, of country, of honour and of conscience; disciplined enthusiasts, the slaves of a potent impulse and the creatures of an elaborate system, burning with a fierce fanaticism and drilled into the most exact subordination; emissaries combining the utmost rigidity of end and aim with the utmost freedom and variety of action, accomplished scholars, elegant writers, powerful preachers, devoted missionaries, consummate confessors, servile courtiers, reckless revolutionists, unscrupulous conspirators, manifold malefactors, capable of every effort,

<sup>34</sup> Sleidan, lib. xxiii.—xxiv.

of every sacrifice, of every crime. Such was the tremendous host which arose to guard the popedom, which advanced to do battle with the Reformation. The former and first captain of such an army must surely be reckoned as the best servant of the Church of Rome in these latter ages. The founder of the Jesuit order has not found the papacy ungrateful; St. Ignatius has well earned his statue and his anniversary. The pontiff likewise who welcomed such a champion and enrolled such an army has deserved well of his church and his see. The establisher of the order of the Jesuits, the reinvigorator of the Inquisition and the convener of the council of Trent did something against the Reformation, was certainly a good pope.<sup>35</sup>

But Paul III., though certainly a good pope, was certainly not the best of popes; though a real hater and vigorous assailant of the Reformation, he cannot be numbered among its most formidable foes. He did not love the papacy as Ignatius Loyola loved it. He had not that single aim, that exclusive passion for the honour and advantage of the Church whereof he was the head which consumed his humble servants, the Jesuits. He was not absorbed in the battle against Protestantism; he did not give himself, heart, mind, soul and strength, to the warfare. He was a father and a very affectionate father. He had bastards male and female; and his tenderness for them and their offspring, amiable and honourable in the man, did much to spoil the pope. In truth he loved his children better than his church. He was far more bent upon enriching and aggrandising them than upon exalting the popedom and crushing the Reformation. For their advantage he mainly shaped the policy and frequently sacrificed the interests of the Roman See. He felt far greater eagerness to make his son Peter Louis Farnese duke of Parma and Placentia than to put down Luther

<sup>35</sup> Seckendorf, lib. iii. c. 21-84. Raynaldus, an. 1540, n. 69. In their petition to Paul III. Loyola and Xavier make the following profession:—'Firmiter profitemur omnes Christi fideles Romano pontifici tanquam capiti ac Jesu Christi vicario subesse: ad majorem tamen nostræ societatis humilitatem ac perfectam uniuscujusque mortificationem et voluntatum nostrarum abnegationem summopere conducere judicamus singulos nos ultra illud commune vinculum speciali voto adstringi, ita ut quidquid modernus et alii Romani pontifices pro tempore existentes jusserint ad profectum animarum et fidei propagationem pertinens, et ad quascumque provincias nos mittere voluerit, sine ulla tergiversatione aut excusatione illico, quantum in nobis fuerit, exequi teneamur, sive miserit nos ad Turcas, sive ad quoscumque alios infideles, etiam in partibus quas Indias vocant existentes, sive ad quoscumque hæreticos seu schismaticos, seu ad quosvis fideles.' Raynaldus, an. 1540, n. 67. *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. i. p. 653.

or to depose Henry VIII., and bestowed more pains on getting the emperor to be the minister of his paternal affection than of his ecclesiastical ambition. Parma and Placentia were old imperial fiefs and recent papal acquisitions. Julius II. had conquered them; Leo X. had lost and won them back, as had Clement VII. To give them to his bastard, Paul had to take them from his Church. Nor had he only to persuade the indignant cardinals; he had also to win over the reluctant Charles V., who claimed the sovereignty of these cities as emperor and their possession as duke of Milan. This project half occupied all the conferences and coloured all the dealings between the pontiff and the Cæsar. As the emperor smiled or frowned upon this project, so the pope warmed or cooled towards the emperor. In 1545, about the time when the council met at Trent, when Charles engaged to fall upon the Protestants and Paul engaged to assist him with a body of papal auxiliaries, the pontiff made over Parma and Placentia to his son Peter Louis, thus curtailing the papal states to found a principality for the Farnese family. The Cæsar though he had bestowed his illegitimate daughter Margaret upon the pontiff's grandson Ottavio Farnese, did not like this giving away of imperial fiefs on the part of the pope, and set himself against the grant. He was at that time fighting fiercely against the Lutherans; but the gratified pope was swallowed up in the offended father. Paul did his best to disable his imperial champion in the midst of his victorious career, transferred the council from Trent to Bologna, from the dominions of Charles to his own, and withdrew his soldiers from the imperial army. On the murder of Peter Louis by some of his new subjects in 1547 Charles V. seized upon Placentia to the depression of his son-in-law Ottavio and the still more bitter provocation of the aged pontiff, who set himself to incense and oppose in every way the victorious champion of the Church, disapproved of his dealings with the vanquished Protestants, encouraged his French rival, kept the council away from Trent and unemployed, and died in 1550 the opponent of the opponent of the Reformation.<sup>36</sup> His

<sup>36</sup> Thuanus, lib. iv. c. 18-22. Pallavicino, lib. v. c. 14. Raynaldus, an. 1545, n. 53, who briefly bemoans this piece of paternal love. *Autobiography of Charles* (c. 9, p. 127), whose dislike of Pope Paul seems as strong as his enmity towards the Reformation. A contagious disease, the pretext for the removal of the council from Trent to Bologna, ill disguised the papal spite which dictated the transfer. Sarpi tells the whole affair most amusingly; the invention or exaggeration of the contagion, the real terror of some bishops, the pretended alarm of the legate Monte, the happy ambiguity of the medical opinions and the timely death of a bishop (lib. ii. pp. 260-64).

ambition for the aggrandisement of his family was however gratified; he became the founder of a princely house; his grandson Ottavio after a long struggle established himself in Parma; his posterity ruled there for 170 years. Nor did the papacy wholly suffer from the nepotism of the pope. From the match which he brought about between Ottavio Farnese and Margaret of Austria was born Alexander Farnese duke of Parma. The great general of Philip II., the most accomplished and successful soldier of the Roman Catholic reaction was the great-grandson and namesake of the pontiff. As progenitor of Alexander Farnese, he did scarcely less service to his Church than as the establisher of the Jesuits or as the convoker of the council of Trent. But still though a far better pope than either Leo X. or Clement VII., he was not such a defender of the popedom as the occasion demanded; his nepotism disabled him from fighting against Protestantism as alone it could be effectually fought against, with all his might and main; such a combatant was sorely needed. During the whole pontificate of Paul III. (1534-1550) the Reformation continued an advancing and victorious power. Though its German chiefs were vanquished at Muhlberg, Protestantism did not partake the defeat, but widened its domain in Germany and deepened its hold on the heart and mind of the German people. It completed and consolidated the conquest of Scandinavia. It mounted the throne of England with its youthful votary Edward VI., and rapidly advanced towards dominion in Scotland. It waxed daily stronger in France, Poland, Hungary and the Netherlands. It won a centre and a citadel in Geneva, and there under the guidance of its supreme intellect Calvin at once assumed its most intellectual form and put forth its most potent and contagious energy. The council of Trent had scarcely begun its labours and was still on its adventures, the sport of political changes and the subject of disabling removals. The Jesuits had only commenced their operations. The victorious march of the Reformation was not yet arrested; its mighty onset was not yet stayed.

As a pontiff Paul III. far surpassed his successor. A sluggard and a man of pleasure Julius III. in no way represented, in no way heightened and directed, the growing earnestness and energy of his Church. Instead of coming forth a resolute combatant of the Reformation, he sank into a mere partisan of the emperor Charles V. He mainly bestirred himself as an Italian prince, took



a petty part in more than one petty Italian contest, and dealt another blow at the expiring freedom of Italy by assisting the wily, unscrupulous and grasping Cosmo de' Medici, the final quencher of Florentine freedom and the first Grand Duke of Tuscany, to subjugate the republic of Sienna, receiving in return a principality for his brother.<sup>37</sup> To please the emperor he summoned back to Trent the general council which Paul III. out of spite to the emperor had removed to Bologna (May, 1551). The synod got through some work, but met with many mischances, and did not sit long. Henry II. of France would scarcely acknowledge it, and his envoy complained of its convocation as a piece of imperial partisanship; the Swiss would send no representatives; and refusing all concessions to the few deputies from the German Protestants it was soon broken up by their victorious chief Maurice of Saxony, who frightened the fathers from Trent and involved them in the same ignominious flight to which he drove the emperor; and the pontiff overwhelmed by this defeat of the Cæsar and this triumph of the heretics suspended the dispersed synod.<sup>38</sup> He beheld the discomfiture and humiliation of Charles V.; he beheld the long-cherished and almost accomplished designs of that consummate statesman utterly broken and baffled, and the glory of that favourite of fortune altogether darkened. He beheld the mightiest monarch of the age and not its least mighty man, the vanquisher of France, the enslaver of Italy, the subjugator of Germany, the invader of Africa, the not unworthy foe of sultan Solyman, the captor of king Francis, of pope Clement, of elector John Frederick, the victorious combatant of heretics and misbelievers, worsted and brought low by his creature and servant Maurice of Saxony, worsted too as champion of the Roman Church, vanquished by the might of that Reformation which he had so earnestly set himself to overthrow. Charles in whom the Roman Catholic zealot had ever combated and at last wholly mastered the statesman, recognised in this victory of Maurice, in the peace of Passau, and in the legal establishment of Protestantism in Germany, the failure of his whole career; he felt his life spoiled and his occupation gone; his broken spirit dwelt within a shattered frame; the sceptre and the

<sup>37</sup> *Julii III. Vita, Conciliorum* tom. xxxv. p. 663. Thuanus, lib. vi. c. 10; lib. viii. c. 10; lib. xiv. c. 1. Sarpi, lib. iii. p. 293.

<sup>38</sup> Thuanus, lib. viii. c. 1-9; lib. ix. c. 13, 14; lib. x. c. 1-13. Raynaldus, an. 1550, n. 11; an. 1551, passim; an. 1552, n. 2, 12, 14, 19-27. Sarpi, lib. iv.

sword which he could no longer wield for the overthrow of heresy oppressed him; he shrank from a world upon which he had failed to impose his faith and his will, and longed to indulge his religious zeal in the cloister. He resigned his many realms to his son Philip, bequeathed the task of extirpating heresy to that still intenser fanatic and more accomplished persecutor, and for two years lived the life of a devotee at the convent of St. Yuste, where he died in 1558. His abdication must be reckoned among the triumphs of the Reformation; that famous scene at Brussels over which historians have so fondly lingered announced the disabling of the chief champion of the Roman Church, the withdrawal from the combat of the first great secular antagonist of Protestantism.<sup>39</sup> Pope Julius, who did not live quite long enough to witness the abdication of Charles, was himself a sort of recluse and died in seclusion (1555); but the luxurious retirement of the pope gave no example to the austere seclusion of the emperor. The secular potentate gave up both pomp and power, the name and the reality of empire; the spiritual prince remained a sovereign while renouncing the cares of sovereignty. The Cæsar prayed, fasted and scourged himself in a cloister; the pontiff shut himself up in a palace where he jested, gambled and made merry with pleasant companions.<sup>40</sup> The abdication of Charles was a genuine piece of religious earnestness; the whole life of Julius was a game of play. Such a sluggard and losel in the papal chair ill suited the stern and solemn time, ill served his travailing and imperilled Church, ill encountered aspiring and aggressive Protestantism. During his pontificate (1550-55) the Reformation still kept its onset, still went on conquering. It vanquished the emperor and won recognition from the empire. While it became a legal power in Germany, it became a real and mighty power in France and Scotland, in Poland and Hungary; it sent forth a mighty voice from Geneva; it stirred even in Italy and Spain. It underwent it is true a momentary repulse in England; in 1553 it descended from the English throne with Edward VI.; the enthusiastic Protestant boy was replaced by the fanatical Popish woman; Mary brought back her kingdom to the papal obedience. Julius III. received the homage of the returning realm and in blessing the union of Mary of England

<sup>39</sup> Thuanus, lib. xvi. c. 20.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* lib. xv. c. 7. Raynaldus, an. 1555, n. 12; who amusingly tries to make the best of the papal sluggard and sensualist.

with Philip of Spain, in bringing together the great male and the great female persecutor, seemed to have wrought a great work for his Church. But the reconquest of England was but momentary; the means which Mary took to establish her work undid it; her cruelties ruined her Church in the heart of England; and her ruthless, shameful and disastrous reign ensured the final triumph of English Protestantism.

The successor of Julius, Marcellus II., a man of great worth, died immediately after his election, and was replaced by John Peter Caraffa, who reigned as Paul IV. from 1555 to 1559, and in whom the Roman Church found a far more appropriate head than in Julius III. For more than a century, since Eugenius IV., the opponent of the council of Basle, so excellent a pope had not been known. He had the earnestness, the personal correctness, the austerity, the sternness, the arrogance, the daring, the lofty ideas of papal power and the intense hate of heresy which have characterised the best popes. He had too a natural vehemence and bitterness which heightened and inflamed these pontifical endowments. He had spent much of his life in austere seclusion; one of the founders of the Theatines, he had anticipated Ignatius Loyola in organising a society for the defence of the Church and attempted on a small scale the work of the Jesuits; he persuaded Paul III. to repair and reinvigorate the Inquisition.<sup>41</sup> He felt for the Reformation such an abhorrence as became a true and earnest pontiff, and burned to wage against it such a warfare as the spirit and interests of his Church required. But he fell short of a perfect pope, of a thoroughly effectual combatant of the Reformation. His abhorrence of Protestantism was a passion strong and fierce, but not absorbing and exclusive. He was stirred by other passions not less strong and fierce. He hated the emperor Charles V. as fiercely as he hated Calvin or Melancthon; he longed to overthrow the Spanish domination in Italy not less eagerly than to extirpate Protestantism everywhere. A member of a Neapolitan family attached to the French party, he regarded the reign of Charles over Naples with the bitterness of a vehement and vanquished partisan. But Charles was likewise master of Italy; his enemy Caraffa yearned

<sup>41</sup> Thuanus, lib. xv. c. 12. Raynaldus, an. 1555, n. 21-24. The bitterness and impotence of his hate are alike conspicuous in the very amusing decree whereby the old man deprived all heretical priests and dethroned all heretical sovereigns. Raynaldus, an. 1559, n. 14.

for her emancipation. He burned with the passions of a Neapolitan partisan and an Italian patriot, and on his elevation to the papal throne set about gratifying them. Urged on by his nephews into whose hands he put everything and who partook and inflamed his passions, pope Paul stirred up strife against the emperor everywhere, made friends with his foes and foes of his friends, invited the Italian exiles to Rome and summoned the French into Italy, embittered the closing scenes of his reign and ruffled the tranquillity of his cloister. Charles laid down his many crowns; the pontiff however did not lay down his wrath, but transferred it in full to Philip, the son and successor of Charles. The fiery old man thrust his favours and alliance upon Henry II. of France, drove the French king to break the truce with Spain, and forced hostilities upon the reluctant and deprecating Philip. The Head of the Roman Catholic Church fell upon his most devoted son and servant, the Catholic king; an earnest pope, vehement in his hatred of heresy, drew the sword against the transcendent hater of the Reformation and heaped annoyances upon his congenial consort, Mary of England. The two supreme of persecutors felt the wrath of a persecuting pontiff. Philip, eager to avenge the papacy in the blood of the heretics, began his reign as the reluctant antagonist and unwilling vanquisher of a pope; and that ruthless soldier of the papal church, the duke of Alva, had the painful duty and the shameful glory laid upon him of invading the papal territories and defeating the papal forces.

The pontiff and his ally of France got thoroughly worsted. The French were signally defeated in Flanders and were driven out of Italy, which they abandoned to the Spaniards, making no serious attempt at reconquest for 150 years. Paul IV. was left at the mercy of the victorious prince whom he had so wantonly provoked. But Philip abhorred the prosperous warfare, made haste out of it and pressed an honourable and advantageous peace upon the vanquished and helpless pontiff (1557).<sup>42</sup> Forced to accept the devoted alliance of the king of Spain, the pope directed his wrath against Philip's uncle Ferdinand, whom he refused to recognise as the successor of his brother Charles on the imperial throne, on the ground

<sup>42</sup> Thuanus, lib. xvi. c. 1-8; lib. xvii. c. 4-18; lib. xviii. passim. Raynaldus, an. 1555. n. 72, 73; an. 1556, passim; an. 1557, n. 1-19, who properly bemoans this unnatural war and heartily enjoys this peace which he rightly says 'vincenti quam victo propiore pontificem reddidit' (n. 19); an. 1557, n. 42-45.

that the abdication of the one and the election of the other had come to pass without the leave of the Roman See. For two years more the vehement old man went on expending his pride alike on Roman Catholic and Protestant princes, lavish of his wrath both upon heretics and cardinals, and died towards the end of 1559 to the great joy of the Romans, who threw down his statue, slighted his obsequies and burned the prison which he had built for the Inquisition.<sup>43</sup> In this vehement and wilful old man the Reformation encountered a bitter foe rather than a formidable antagonist; and during his pontificate it continued an aggressive and victorious power. In England it reascended the throne and reconquered the realm; the furious zeal of Mary was the ruin of her Church; the Smithfield fires thoroughly estranged the nation from Rome; and in 1559 Elizabeth gave to Protestantism a complete and abiding triumph in England. It made the conquest of Scotland. In 1559 there broke out that war between the Protestant lords of the Congregation and the Queen Regent Mary of Guise which soon ended in the subversion of the papal power and the establishment of an earnest and potent Protestantism in North Britain. France which had yielded the Reformation its most profound and powerful intellect, promised to yield it a full and signal triumph. The country of Calvin bade fair to become a Protestant land. The great French exile who from his throne at Geneva wrought so mightily upon Christendom, saw of the fruit of his work everywhere, and not least in the fatherland. Disowned and persecuted by the French government, Protestantism had become in 1560 a great power in the kingdom. Whole cities and provinces believed; princes of the blood and nobles, scholars and warriors were won over; it had grown strong enough for statesmen to wield it and parties to rally round it. Poland in its day of power and splendour sprang forth to welcome the returning Gospel, and drank in new strength and freedom from the presence of the glorious guest. Her nobles and palatines forsook the Roman Church in multitudes.<sup>44</sup> Her great king Sigismund Augustus (1548-72) was

<sup>43</sup> Thuanus, lib. xx. c. 21; lib. xxi. c. 2; lib. xxiii. c. 15. Raynaldus, an. 1557, n. 46; an. 1558, n. 8; an. 1559, n. 35, 36.

<sup>44</sup> Thuanus, lib. xxii. c. 10; lib. xxiii. c. 8-13. Raynaldus, an. 1557, n. 28-30, who bemoans the slackness of the Inquisition in France (n. 30); an. 1558, n. 15; an. 1559, n. 11-13. Poland was evidently in special danger and the alarm of the Roman court was very great; an. 1555, n. 55-63; an. 1556, n. 29-41; an. 1558, n. 16-19. Sarpi, lib. v. p. 388.

suspected of Protestantism. The Reformation throve not less remarkably among the Magyars; it stirred afflicted Hungary not less strongly than prosperous Poland. Wasted by perpetual war and divided between Turk and Austrian, the former land rejoiced in the gladdening and quickening presence of restored truth; her noblest, her bravest and her wisest sons were won over. Transylvania was fast becoming a purely Protestant principality; the Mohammedan idol-haters, those masters of more than the half of Hungary, protected the growth of her Christian image-breakers. In the strong cities of the Netherlands the Reformation found a home, and nowhere made more numerous and devoted converts than among the patient, earnest and diligent Netherlanders. In Italy societies were formed for the propagation of the Gospel; noble and learned Italians became Protestants; the most splendid and accomplished court of the Peninsula bade fair to become a nursery of Protestantism. Renée of France, sister-in-law of Francis I. and duchess of Ferrara, was a zealot for the Reformation and the hostess of Calvin. Even in Spain the Reformation counted many converts. At the death of Paul IV., about 1560, Protestantism was supreme and established in Northern Germany, in Sweden, Denmark and Norway, in England and Scotland, potent in Southern Germany, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, the Netherlands and France; astir in Italy and not without life in Spain.<sup>45</sup>

But by 1560 the Roman Church was fully armed and strengthened to withstand and repel the onset of triumphant Protestantism. The Reformation found her slack and slothful, steeped in worldliness and luxury. The hatred with which she hated this power which denied her to be of God, which branded her as very Babylon, which assailed her doctrines as the corruptions of God's truth, her ceremonies as the corruptions of

<sup>45</sup> Raynaldus, *de Hungaria*, an. 1534, n. 7; an. 1550, n. 9; an. 1557, n. 69; an. 1560, n. 65; (*de Italia*) an. 1552, n. 57; an. 1559, n. 22; (*de Hispania*) an. 1559, n. 15-21. Thuanus, lib. xxiii. c. 14. Gerdes, tom. iv. v. passim. M'Crie's *Reformation in Italy*, c. 2, 3. Well might even a sober Protestant re-echo the rapturous words which broke from the lips of Celio Curio, an Italian champion of the truth: 'The joyful sound of the gospel has within our day reached the Tartars, Turks, Indians, and Africans. Christ, the King of kings, has taken possession of Switzerland and the Grisons. Germany is under His protection. He has reigned and will reign again in England; He sways His sceptre over Denmark and the Scandinavian nations; Prussia is His; Poland and the whole of Sarmatia are on the point of yielding to Him; He is pressing forward to Hungary; Muscovy is in His eye; He beckons France to Him; Italy, our fatherland, is travailing in birth; Spain will speedily follow' (M'Crie, c. 4, p. 187).

God's worship, and her head as the usurper of Christ's throne, which halved her votaries and her revenues, which plucked multitudinous souls and mighty kingdoms from her grasp, was at first the hatred of a sensual sluggard and greedy worldling, fierce and violent, but not painstaking and effective; the blows with which she returned the terrible strokes of the Reformers were broken and bootless. But she gradually awoke to a knowledge of the greatness of the danger and the strength of the foe. Her sincere votaries became intensely and fiercely in earnest; her worldly sons became marvellously skilful as antagonists and consummate as persecutors. She clad herself in new and stronger armour; she improved old, she invented new and formidable weapons; she dealt strong and terrible strokes. The Inquisition, invented three centuries before for the benefit of the Albigenses (1228) and introduced into Spain eighty years before for the benefit of the Jews and Moors (1480), was recreated and reinvigorated for the benefit of the Protestants, learning a tenfold vigilance and ruthlessness. Philip Neri bestowed upon his Church a multitude of powerful and popular preachers in the Oratorians (1564).<sup>46</sup> During the first twenty years of their existence (1540-60) the Jesuits had given clear promise of what they would be, had approved themselves consummate missionaries, had commenced their career of brilliant but shortlived conquest in the farthest East, and now brought to the conflict with heresy the most formidable qualities, the most exact discipline and the most reckless devotion with which combatants were ever endowed. The papacy which as wielded by Sixtus IV. and Alexander VI. had done so much to bring on the Reformation, and which as wielded by Leo X., Clement VII., Paul III. and Julius III. had done nothing or little to beat it back, now passed into very different hands. The monsters who provoked, the men of pleasure and the politicians who first witnessed the great spiritual uprising were now replaced on the papal throne by austere ascetics, single-minded fanatics and energetic pontiffs. Paul IV. in whom the earnest and vigorous pope though largely developed was half spoiled by the vehement politician, the Italian prince and the Italian patriot, had for immediate successors men in whom the Italian patriot disappeared and the Italian prince was almost lost in the potent pontiff, in the fierce and effectual combatant of the Reformation.

<sup>46</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1564, n. 5.

Italy in fact had now no political life, Italian patriots had no occupation; her freedom and independence were crushed; all stir in her had ended, even the stir of arms; she had ceased to be an object of strife, to be a battle-field for native aspirants or foreign invaders; the Austrian yoke lay heavy upon her; by 1560 she had sunk into a Spanish dependency. The war concluded in 1559 in which the Holy Father in company with the most Christian king drew the sword against the Catholic king was the last struggle for the mastery of the Peninsula between France and Spain, the last war of any importance known in Italy for 140 years. The popes accepted this domination of Spain and this degradation of Italy as they found therein the most effectual means for recovering their spiritual supremacy. Degraded Italy in becoming the servant of Spain became the servant of the Roman Church. Her gold, her brain and her blood lay at the disposal of Philip II., of the patient plodder, the indefatigable schemer, who lived, reigned, toiled and plotted for the extirpation of heresy. Bereft of freedom and rejecting truth, forbidden to be wise and valiant for herself, Italy employed her courage and her skill in darkening the lands where the light was shining, in inflicting upon other countries her own gloom and debasement. She bore a great though not the foremost part in the horrible work of the Roman Catholic reaction (1560-1648)—a work visited upon her, as upon her more guilty mistress, by centuries of shame and woe. She had still great generals and subtle politicians, but instead of serving and uplifting the Fatherland they were busy in unpeopling the Netherlands and desolating Germany; they were but agents and butchers in the service of the great exterminator of Protestantism, the great hinderer and darkener of the world.

But Italy furnished only a small portion of the means at the disposal of Philip II. for the undoing of the Reformation and the glorification of the Roman Church. The Spanish empire was the widest, the wealthiest and the strongest empire existing. The man who had dedicated himself and all that he had to the destruction of Protestantism sat upon the greatest throne in the world. This servant and satellite of the Roman Church was the most powerful of living men. Spain and her colonies, Italy and her islands, Portugal and her possessions, more than one province of modern France, the Eastern and the Western Indies, Mexico and Peru, the most powerful army, the largest navy, the silver and gold of the world were his; and all this



wealth and might were expended without stint and without stay in the service of the Roman Church, for the extirpation of Protestantism, during forty years (1556-1598). Circumstances too singularly favoured his enterprise. Opportunity smiled upon him; his helps were many; his hindrances were few. He belonged to a family famous at once for the number of its crowns and the fierceness of its fanaticism; he was only the most distinguished persecutor of a persecuting race; his throne though the mightiest was not the only nor conventionally the loftiest throne in possession of the House of Hapsburg; his kindred presided over the German empire, and for more than half of his reign (1576-98) a congenial kinsman Rudolf II. held the imperial dignity.<sup>47</sup>

No political complications lay in his way or diverted him from his task. No royal rival, no Francis I. divided his hatred and hostility with the heretics. France was utterly disabled, could do nothing to oppose his projects. Henry II. seemed at first resolved to perpetuate with Philip the lifelong conflict of Francis I. with Charles V., that conflict which had so embroiled Europe and so favoured the Reformation. Vanquished however in company with his pontifical ally by the Catholic king, the most Christian king engaged at the peace of Cateau Cambresis to assist his late antagonist and future son-in-law in the extirpation of heresy. Soon after Henry fell in a tournament (1559); his eldest son Francis II. a minor under the influence of his young wife Mary Stewart and her uncles of the House of Guise was quickly replaced (1561) by another minor Charles IX. under the regency of his terrible mother Catharine de' Medici; Protestantism waxed very strong and turbulent; Romanism waxed very anxious and furious; and political factions concurred with

<sup>47</sup> The greatness of the Spanish monarchy amazed and misled both friends and foes. Campanella, who wrote his curious disquisition thereon towards the end of Philip's reign (*De Monarchia Hispanica*, ed. 1640), exhibits a perverse ingenuity in many of his speculations and a curious infelicity in most of his predictions. He expects the further aggrandisement of Spain on the very brink of her decline. Her greatness, the fruit of her free institutions, he refers in large measure to her papal proclivities, and looks for the increase and perpetuity of that greatness to perseverance in that policy which has brought her so low. He congratulates her upon that suppression of spiritual life which has been punished by such deep national degradation, and contrasts her happy stillness with the stir and strife whereby France was nationally reinvigorated and England has been nationally and spiritually glorified (c. 4). He looks on England as a thorn in the side of Spain, but not as at all likely to found a great empire; and he almost congratulates Italy on her debasing connection with Spain. He magnifies the Spanish empire as the empire in which the mass is being ever repeated and on which the sun never sets ('neque unquam in ejus imperio noctescit,' c. 4).

religious dissensions to plunge France into horrible confusion during the whole reign of Philip. Instead of disputing with Spain the dominion of Italy and the supremacy of Europe, France was torn by the most hideous of civil wars, and became the bloodiest among the many battle-fields on which the Roman Church contended with the Reformation. Instead of giving Philip alarm and unpleasant occupation as a formidable rival, she engaged his solicitude as a land tainted by heresy; far from having her jealous interference to encounter, he meddled in her affairs, aggravated her civil wars and assisted one French faction against another; instead of diverting him from the extirpation of Protestantism, she afforded him pleasant employment of that kind. No other European power seemed likely to give any serious hindrance to Philip's undertaking. Solyman the Magnificent was still alive, was still the leader of his own hosts, still the foe of the House of Austria, the master of more than the half of Hungary and the protector of the Protestants there. He was now advanced in life and had outlived all the great royal and imperial contemporaries of the early Reformation, Henry VIII., Francis I., Charles V. and Gustavus Vasa. But neither the weight of years nor a load of domestic crimes and calamities disabled the mighty Sultan, who died before the fortress of Zigeth (1566) on an expedition against the House of Hapsburg. But though he held in check the persecuting propensities of Philip's German kindred, he was too far off to restrain the fanaticism or to oppose the undertaking of the Catholic king.

Protestantism, though still a mighty and victorious power, filled no widely-commanding throne, possessed no conspicuous champion among the rulers of the earth. Calvin was still among men, still active and potent, a great kindler and inspirer of souls. Knox wrought and reigned in Scotland. But no earthly potentate of corresponding greatness fought the fight of the Reformation. Maurice of Saxony had fallen in battle some years before (1553). John Frederick of Saxony had died a petty German duke. Gustavus Vasa died in 1560, leaving Sweden to make trial of more than one unworthy son. William of Nassau, prince of Orange, was as yet an unrevealed potentate, a loyal subject of Philip and a member of the Roman Church. Elizabeth had just re-established Protestantism in England; but she ruled over a small realm; her title was disputed by a Roman Catholic rival, Mary Queen of Scots; and her interests

kept her on good terms with Philip. Though a sincere Protestant, she was by no means a mighty Protestant champion. Her Protestantism was a very different sort of thing from the Romanism of the king of Spain. Satisfied with a mild and moderate form of the Reformed faith, she did not live for the propagation of her religion as Philip did for the extension of his, nor did she long and labour for the overthrow of the Roman Church as Philip longed and laboured for the extirpation of the Reformed doctrines. It is true that she put Roman Catholics to death at home and assisted Protestants abroad; but the occasional execution of English Roman Catholics for rebellion and conspiracy bore no resemblance to the wholesale slaughter of Protestants in the Netherlands and their systematic extirpation in Spain; while the stinted, uncertain and half-grudging hand with which she doled out assistance to the Calvinists of France and the Netherlands exhibited a striking contrast to the eager and sustained prodigality with which he supported the League in France and made ready the Armada against England. Circumstances at last drove her into a life-and-death struggle with Philip and shed upon the last years of her reign the glory of a not unworthy resistance to the Roman Catholic reaction. Notwithstanding all these shortcomings, Elizabeth must be reckoned as the foremost champion of the Reformation; and during her long reign, almost wholly contemporaneous with that of Philip, she ministered as much to the glory and greatness of her little realm, as he contributed to the depression and degradation of his world-wide empire.<sup>48</sup>

But the inferior zeal and power of its conspicuous personages were not the only or the chief disadvantages which Protestantism encountered in its conflict with the Roman Church. It suffered still more grievously from its own divisions. It misunderstood, misinterpreted and misconducted itself. Instead of accepting the diverse opinions, instead of welcoming the different churches that must needs arise from the rejection of the one infallible church, it grew angry and fearful at its own work, and the reformed churches wasted upon one another much of the earnest hostility due only to the discarded infallibility. Luther had early fallen out with Zwingle over the Lord's

<sup>48</sup> Both the life and the reign of these 'mighty opposites' covered pretty nearly the same period of time. Philip was born in 1527, began to reign in 1556 and died in 1598. Elizabeth was born in 1533, began to reign in 1558 and died in 1603. Philip lived 71 and reigned 42 years; Elizabeth lived 70 and reigned 45.

Supper, the German cleaving to a real presence, the Switzer holding only to a spiritual presence of Christ therein. Philip of Hesse, a wide-minded and large-hearted Protestant, brought them together at Marpurg in 1529, but failed to reconcile them through Luther's fault. Neither would give way; but Zwingle would agree to differ, while Luther must needs differ and disagree, and widen this single difference into a total breach.<sup>49</sup> The churches which gathered around these great teachers retained their characteristic doctrines and spirit. The Lutherans would have nothing to do with those who held the Supper to be a simple feast of commemoration, and would neither hold religious communion with them, nor make common cause with them against the common enemy; while the churches which followed Zwingle and afterwards embraced the theology of Calvin offered the right hand of fellowship to the Lutherans, and were ready to take part with them against Rome. Lutheranism soon went far beyond the not ignoble though mistaken vehemence of Luther. Not long after his death it sadly degenerated, grew stiff and formal, sour and harsh, tenacious of petty peculiarities, careless of large 'brotherly similitudes,' making an impassable flood out of the rivulet which separated it from the other Reformed Churches, and idly gazing into the huge gulf which yawned between Protestantism and Romanism. In the great fight with the Roman Catholic reaction it made on the whole but a sorry figure. One Lutheran prince, Gustavus Adolphus, stands forth a great-souled, large-hearted Protestant hero, a mighty and immortal Protestant champion; one Lutheran nation, Sweden, has deserved well of truth and freedom. But in its German home Lutheranism put forth no power and made no progress, wielded neither the sword of the spirit nor the sword of the flesh with much effect, neither suffered fruitfully nor contended valiantly, produced few martyrs and no heroes, shrank from the fight with the Roman Church, clung to a selfish and ruinous repose when Protestantism was in sorest peril, and showed far more forwardness and vigour in persecuting Calvinism than in resisting Rome. Calvinism was far more generous, large-hearted, expansive, potent, progressive and productive; it went on quickening souls, kindling nations, breeding heroes and yielding martyrs; it held out its hand to churlish Lutheranism, waxed valiant in fight against the hosts

of the reinvigorated papacy, suffered dreadful things and achieved mighty things in behalf of Protestantism. It fought the battle of truth and freedom bravely though not prevailing in France, heroically and triumphantly in the Netherlands, nobly and not without success in Hungary. It produced Coligni and Mornay du Plessis, it inspired all the mighty men of the House of Orange, William the Silent, Maurice, Frederick Henry and William III. It reigned in Scotland; it became a great power in England; it kindled Cromwell and the Puritans. Even in Germany the Calvinistic house of the Palatinate did something and endured much in the cause of the Reformation; and the Calvinistic house of Brandenburg attained to greatness and glory, while the Lutheran house of Saxony neglected or betrayed the Protestant cause, fawned upon the House of Hapsburg, and in the end went over to Rome.<sup>50</sup>

These rents and breaches in the Protestant body grievously enfeebled it throughout the great conflict with the Roman Church from 1560 to 1648. They broke out even before the strife began. No sooner was the Reformation legally recognised in Germany by the peace of Passau (1553) than the Lutherans and Calvinists began to fall out. The former half went with the Roman Catholics in endeavouring to withhold from the Sacramentaries as they called the latter the benefits of the treaty. No sooner was Protestantism victorious in England under Elizabeth (1559) than dissensions broke out among the victors and Anglicanism began to make war on Puritanism. Of a truth Protestantism was fearfully overmatched in the awful fight with Rome. One-handed and ill armed both for offence and defence, she had to contend with Romanism clad in the closest and strongest armour and wielding the sharpest and most crushing weapons with both her hands, with all her might and main. Protestantism loose and divided, without the help of powerful princes, standing armies and mighty institutions, had to encounter Romanism supported by the most potent monarch, the most conspicuous reigning house and the greatest generals of the time, by the only large standing army then existing, the best disciplined and most formidable ecclesiastical host ever drawn together and the swiftest, surest and

<sup>50</sup> I do not mean to say that the Calvinists never persecuted their fellow-Protestants, but that they were far less given to persecuting ways than the Lutherans, and were always ready to unite against the common enemy. Coxe's *House of Austria*, c. 36, 40. Sarpi, lib. vii. p. 624.

most terrible of tribunals, by Philip II. and the House of Austria, by the duke of Alva and the prince of Parma, by the Spanish army, the order of Jesuits and the Holy Inquisition.

The Church of Rome thus formidably armed, thus potently allied and thus mightily supported, was not unmeetly headed. The popes were not unworthy of all this zeal and devotion, of all these servants and satellites, of all these means and appliances. Paul IV. died in 1559; his fanaticism at last overcame his patriotism; he at length forgave the dominator of Italy in the Catholic king, and with his dying, breath congratulated the Church upon such a champion as Philip II. and upon such a bulwark as the Inquisition.<sup>51</sup> He was succeeded by Pius IV., a man of little worth, but a very excellent pope, wily, grasping, lavish and voluptuous, but a vehement hater and a vigorous assailant of heresy, an arrogant assertor and an energetic vindicator of the prerogatives of the papal chair against Roman Catholic detractors as well as against Protestant impugnors. He denounced heavy penalties against liberal cardinals and unpersecuting bishops, deposed heretical sovereigns like Jeanne d'Albret, queen of Navarre and mother of Henry IV., and sent troops to assist the French Catholics against the Huguenots and to aggravate the horrors of that most hideous of wars, the religious war in France.<sup>52</sup> He called together again the long-suspended council of Trent, wielded the synod at will, shaped it into a perfect tool, and brought it to a happy end. No synod or congress called together for a special matter and temporary need has lived so strange and romantic a life as the council of Trent, has had so many adventures, undergone so many changes, and known so many difficulties. All sorts of accidents retarded its assembling and interrupted its sittings. Suggested by German princes in 1522, repeatedly proposed by Cæsar Charles V. to pope Clement VII., from 1524 to 1534, seriously taken in hand by pope Paul III. in 1535, convoked in 1538, it did not come together till 1545. Intended for Mantua and convoked for Vicenza it met at Trent. But it did not long stay there. To keep it together was as hard a business as to bring it together. Papal reluctance and the perpetual conflict between Charles V.

<sup>51</sup> Thuanus, *Historia*, lib. xxiii. c. 15.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* lib. xxiii. c. 21; lib. xxviii. c. 11; lib. xxxi. c. 11; lib. xxxvi. c. 26. Raynaldus, an. 1560-65, passim. Under Pius IV. was completed the massacre of the Waldensian colonists in Calabria, one of the most horrible crimes of the Church of Rome. M'Crie, c. 5, pp. 257-66.

and Francis I. hindered the meeting of the synod; war and political complications disturbed its deliberations and broke up its sessions. To punish the emperor for opposing the aggrandisement of his bastard and to get the council more entirely into his own power Paul removed it to Bologna in 1547, where in the words of Sarpi it slept for some years. To please Charles Julius III. revived the council and brought it back to Trent (1551); but the fathers fled before Maurice of Saxony in 1552; and Julius in despair of reconciling the victorious Protestants or getting any present good out of the scattered synod, suspended it. For ten years the suspension continued; Charles V. shorn of power and broken in spirit, was unable to obtain a renewal of the council; the stern and implacable Paul IV. detested the House of Austria too heartily to do Charles or any of his family a pleasure, even though it might turn to the profit of the papacy. But the brother and successor of Charles in the empire, Ferdinand, alarmed at the multitude of Protestants in Austria, Bohemia and Hungary, and eager to win them back to the Roman Church by some concessions, importuned Pius IV. into reviving the synod of Trent in the hope of getting some compromise from an assembly the professed object of whose existence was to heal the great religious breach.<sup>53</sup>

The much-enduring synod reassembled at Trent in the beginning of 1562, got through its work and hurried to its end in less than two years, towards the close of 1563. But the work which it accomplished was very different from the work which it was invoked to accomplish. Intended to effect a reconciliation between the Church of Rome and the Reformation, it not only failed of course to bring about that impossibility, but it widened and deepened the breach. The general council invoked by the German princes in 1522 was distrusted by the Protestants ere it was convoked and shunned by the Protestants when it came together; they rejected its decrees and defied its authority. Suggested by anti-papal German princes, proposed by Austrian emperors and supported by French kings and bishops not without a hope that while vindicating the dogmas of the Roman Church it would reform many of her abuses and limit the power of her head, dreaded and deferred by the papacy as a probable rival and a possible enemy, as likely to renew the

<sup>53</sup> Bulla Indictionis sub Paulo III.; Bulla Resumptionis sub Julio III. et sub Pio IV. *Canones et Decreta C. T.* Raynaldus, an. 1560, n. 3, 56, 61. Sarpi, passim. Paul IV. threatened a council at Rome to annoy the emperor (Sarpi, p. 388).

coercion of Constance and the hostilities of Basle, it was mastered and wielded by the popes, became their creature and their helper, worked their will and sustained their power. Instead of taking something from the authority of the head of the Roman Church to bestow upon her royal and episcopal members it left the power of the papacy unimpaired, nay strengthened by the sanction of its silence. Instead of concocting a doctrinal compromise between Rome and the Reformation it rendered the inherent impossibility of a reconciliation manifest and glaring, settled every disputed point in favour of the Roman Church, re-enacted all her peculiar dogmas with increased precision and stiffness, proclaimed them with heightened solemnity, fenced and fortified them with fresh curses. In this spirit it began, continued and ended; and its work, though so often interrupted, has a thorough and striking consistency. On its first meeting at Trent in 1545, the council at once assailed the Reformation in its fundamental and creative doctrine, singled out justification by faith for early condemnation, asserted the justifying power of works, and maintained that they were not the evidence of faith but a cause of salvation. It then went on to set forth the seven sacraments, to magnify the mass, purgatory, relics and images.<sup>54</sup> Vainly did Cæsar Ferdinand beseech one or two slight doctrinal concessions; vainly did the French envoys accuse the synod of over-haste in stiffening dogmas and of slackness in reforming discipline, and suggest some small limitation of the papal power.<sup>55</sup> The pontiff secured the initiative in the council; the right of proposing decrees was confined to the papal legates; and such decrees as professed to aim at reformation tended to tighten the bonds of ecclesiastical discipline and render the Roman priesthood a more formidable and aggressive force. The papal will entirely prevailed; the last utterance of the council was a comprehensive curse; and the imprecation against all heretics with which the presiding cardinal dismissed the synod was fervently and fiercely re-echoed by the departing fathers.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> *Canones et Decreta Concilii Tridentini*, Lipsiæ, 1842, sessiones 6, 7, 13, 14, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.

<sup>55</sup> Thuanus, lib. xxxii. c. 1; lib. xxxv. c. 13. Raynaldus, an. 1563, n. 91, 138, 39. Sarpi, lib. vi. vii.

<sup>56</sup> 'Cardinalis: Anathema cunctis hæreticis! Responsio: Anathema! anathema!' *Canones et Decreta C. T.* p. 208.



An illustrious Roman Catholic Liberal, perhaps the greatest anti-papal son of the Roman Church, Fra Paolo Sarpi, whose history of the Council of Trent ranks among the remarkable books of the world, has told the tale of the synod not only without sympathy and admiration, but with much dislike and disparagement; and more than one Roman Catholic government shrank from publishing the decrees of the council as binding upon its own subjects.<sup>57</sup> A liberal Roman Catholic, a lukewarm Protestant, an amiable philosopher, may regret the absolute surrender of the council to the papal will and the thoroughness with which the papal work was done, may regret that no concession was made, no compromise devised, no reconciliation attempted. But no true Papist, no earnest Protestant, no very profound thinker, no clear and strong-minded man of action will participate in the regret. Luther felt that the breach with Rome was eternal, and saw at once that a general council was powerless to repair it.<sup>58</sup> Reconciliation was impossible; the synod of Trent showed vigour and good sense by declining to attempt an impossibility. By refusing vain concessions and withholding a worthless compromise it certainly did no disservice to Protestantism. By making the impossibility of reconciliation visible and glaring to all, it made the path of duty, of determined resistance clear and straight. If by re-enacting the Roman dogmas in utmost rigour with fresh solemnity and new anathemas the fathers of Trent lent a watchword and a stimulus to the aggressions of the Romish Church, they likewise roused the Reformed Churches to new resolution and endeavours by leaving them no other choice but that of unconditional surrender or unyielding resistance.<sup>59</sup> The council of Trent holds a respectable rank among the

<sup>57</sup> Thuanus, lib. xxxvi. c. 21.

<sup>58</sup> Seckendorf, lib. iii. c. 11, § 34.

<sup>59</sup> The more fervent Protestants of that time had an adequate sense of the direness of the impending peril and the magnitude of the inevitable conflict. The general assembly of the Scottish Church in 1565 appointed a fast in consideration of the troubles of the nation and the perils of the faith. In his *Treatise of Fasting* composed for that occasion, Knox sets forth the designs of the papacy against Protestantism with all his wonted vehemence of language but with unexaggerated and singular accuracy of statement: 'Now is Satan so enlarged against Jesus Christ and so odious is the light of His gospel to that Roman Antichrist that to suppress it in one province, realm, or nation he thinketh it nothing, unless that in all Europe the godly and such as abhor the papistical impiety be therewith utterly destroyed, and so rased from the face of the earth that no memory of them should after remain, &c.' M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, vol. ii. pp. 140-3.

efficient councils and congresses of the world; it cannot be reckoned with those assemblies 'hateful to God and to His enemies.' Deliberately, earnestly, passionately, with all its heart and soul, with all its might and main, it set itself against God's truth and man's freedom; and has rightly earned the hearty and abiding hostility of the lovers and champions of both, as it still dwells in the affections of the foes and assailants of both. Its decrees still fully utter the mind, its canons still fully reveal the spirit of the Roman Church, are still referred to with assent and with disapproval, are still repeated with delight and with detestation.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>60</sup> If Ranke is scarcely referred to here, it arises simply from the fact that, while I had keenly enjoyed and diligently studied his admirable work many years before I undertook this book, I did not have recourse to his guidance during my rapid march over his own peculiar ground from a not unnatural preference for contemporary guides. I cannot over-estimate my obligations to my previous study of his great history of the Roman Catholic reaction.

## BOOK VIII.

## THE FIGHT WITH THE REFORMATION.

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'Woe unto them that call evil good and good evil; that put darkness for light and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter.'—*Isaiah* v. 20.

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THE work of the council of Trent completed the preparations of the Roman Church for the great fight with Protestantism. Armed at all points she took the field against her foe, under the command too of a peerless captain. Pope Pius IV. did not long outlive the assembly which he had so vigorously wielded, and in 1565 made way for Pius V. (Michael Ghislieri) the perfect and pattern pontiff. In him the Roman Church enjoyed a fervent, vigilant, devoted, laborious, self-denying and consummate head; in him the Reformation encountered a watchful, unwearied, implacable and merciless enemy. Of unspotted life, untainted by nepotism, superior to the love of pleasure and the love of money, an ardent devotee and a true ascetic, he lived and breathed, he thought, felt and acted only for his church; all his passions were merged in a passion for her glory and in hatred of her foes; all his powers were perpetually tasked to the uttermost in her service and for the destruction of her adversaries. He was distinguished as a persecutor before he became pope, early flung himself with exceeding delight into the work of exterminating heretics, took service in the Inquisition, waged a vigorous warfare with the Reformation in Northern Italy where he indefatigably searched out and unsparingly destroyed Protestants and Protestant books, and through his surpassing merits was promoted to the post of chief Inquisitor.<sup>1</sup> The sovereign pontiff did not grow slack in the

<sup>1</sup> Gabutius, *de Vita Pii Quinti*, lib. i. c. 2: 'Pro ardenti suo in exterminandis hæreticis desiderio,' c. 2, 5, 9. The unrelieved load of indiscriminate eulogy wherewith Gabutius oppresses his well-written and interesting life of this pontiff, is common to all papal biographers; witness Bzovius, *de Vita Pauli V.*, and Wiseman's *Recollections of the last Four Popes*.

work or fall below the glory of the chief Inquisitor ; Pius V. fully maintained the reputation of Michael Ghislieri, fully justified the joy which Philip II. expressed at the election of so eminent a persecutor.<sup>2</sup> Amidst the multitude of pontifical cares and duties, all diligently attended to and exactly fulfilled, he gave closest heed to the supreme care and duty of extirpating heretics, and as the head of the Roman Church outdid his deeds and outnumbered his trophies as the head of the Holy Office. He conducted the operations of the Roman Catholic reaction with great skill, astonishing energy and much success. He carried the war against Protestantism into every land and pressed into the service every mode of assault, every form of seduction and violence ; teaching, preaching, imprisonment and torture, fire and sword, Jesuits, inquisitors and soldiers.<sup>3</sup> In Italy he had the lurking Protestants hunted down and given to the flames, and created that dark and wily tyrant Cosmo de' Medici Grand Duke of Tuscany partly as an assertion of papal power but partly as a reward for the surrender of Tuscan heretics (1568). He heartily seconded the endeavours of Philip II. to root out the Reformation from the Netherlands, hailed the advent of Alva and encouraged the horrors of his administration. He did his best though vainly to crush Polish Protestantism, to thrust the work of persecution upon the enlightened king and tolerant diet of Poland.<sup>4</sup> He threw his whole soul into the hideous civil war in France, lavished blessings, money and soldiers upon the Roman Catholics, inflamed the passions of the combatants and the savageness of the contest, warned Henry of Anjou fresh from the bloody victory of Jarnac against the sin of indulgence, assured Charles IX. of the exceeding cruelty of mercy towards heretics, cautioned the fell mother of that fell pair Catharine de' Medici in one of her moods of

<sup>2</sup> Gabutius, lib. i. c. 9.

<sup>3</sup> The words of Gabutius are striking: 'Ad hanc contagionem ubique terrarum radicitus evellendam, cum in omni vita sua, tum in primis in pontificatu, et prudentissimis consiliis et piis cohortationibus, et humanissimis monitis, et bellicis subsidiis, armis ac penis adhibitibus, nullis laboribus parcens aut impensis, nihil non agendum sibi perpetuo cogitavit,' lib. iii. c. 12. How differently do Gabutius and Alban Butler deal with Pius ! The English gentleman of the liberal eighteenth century hides the persecutor in the saint ; while the Italian ecclesiastic of the sixteenth century gives due and proud prominence to the persecutor whom he regards as essential to the saint. The liberal Catholic de Thou detests the persecutor and scarcely allows the saint, whom he represents as implacable and unforgiving ('injuriarum tenacissimus,' lib. xxxix. c. 1).

<sup>4</sup> Gabutius, lib. ii. c. 2, 10, 11 ; lib. iii. c. 10, 12, 16. Thuanus, lib. xxxix. c. 2.

constrained and guileful tolerance against the error of supposing any work more pleasant in the sight of God than an onslaught on the Huguenots, and was just prevented from bestowing his benediction upon the Bartholomew massacre which followed close after his decease.<sup>5</sup> Nor while taking pains to train up this sometimes slack tormenter of France into the heroine of St. Bartholomew, did Pius forget or neglect the two other famous women, Elizabeth Tudor and Mary Stewart who with Catharine de' Medici bore so conspicuous a part in that awful fight between Rome and the Reformation. In the guide and darling of England he abhorred the Protestant champion, launched a bull of excommunication against her and did his best to shake her throne and win back her people. In the guilty or suspected wife, in the disturber and castaway of Scotland he yearned towards a Roman Catholic martyr, encouraged her during her struggle with her Protestant subjects as work done for the church and consoled her under her imprisonment by her Protestant neighbour as suffering endured for the church.<sup>6</sup>

But this incessant and wide-spread conflict with the Reformation did not exhaust the wrath and energy of this pattern pontiff. He abhorred misbelievers almost as much as heretics, and lent himself with equal zeal and earnestness to a war against the Turks. When Sultan Selim II. the somewhat degenerate son of Solyman the Magnificent, sought to wrest Cyprus from the Venetians and alarmed Christendom by the greatness of his armament, Pope Pius at once organised a great confederacy against the Ottomans, formed a league with Philip II. and the Venetians and bound together Spain and Italy in a holy war. He lavished toil and treasure upon this undertaking and contributed a considerable squadron to the mighty fleet with which Philip's bastard brother Don John of Austria set sail in quest of the misbelievers; and his galleys, if not his prayers, bore no small or undistinguished part in the battle of Lepanto (October 7, 1571), the greatest and most

<sup>5</sup> Gabutius, lib. ii. c. 6-10. *Lettres de Saint Pie V*, Paris, 1826. Henry is warned against the sin of indulgence, ep. 18. Catherine is cautioned, 'Cave autem putes, carissima in Christo filia, quidquam gratius acceptiusve Deo fieri posse quam quum illius hostes pro catholicæ religionis studio oppugnentur.' Charles IX. is told, 'Nothing is more cruel than pity and mercy bestowed on impious men who deserve the worst punishments (Nihil est ea pietate et misericordia crudelius quæ in impios et ultima supplicia merentes confertur,' ep. 24).

<sup>6</sup> Gabutius, lib. iii. c. 8, 9. *Romanum Bullarium*, tom. ii. p. 305.

splendid though not the most decisive and fruitful victory ever won by Christendom over Islam; and the only occasion in which any gleam of glory lighted upon Italy from her servile and disastrous connection with Spain.<sup>7</sup> The joy of Lepanto fight was almost too much for the enfeebled frame of Pius who did not long outlive the chief triumph of his pontificate, dying May 5, 1572. His death, just preceded by the devout visitation of the sacred spots of the sacred city, was in exact harmony with his life and well became the perfect pontiff.<sup>8</sup> A natural harshness and an abiding and bitter memory of personal wrongs which doubtlessly contributed to his pre-eminence as an Inquisitor, did not interfere with his excellence as a pope at a time when a good pope was bound to be a good persecutor. The man in whom Philip II. loved a congenial fellow-worker and revered a transcendent pontiff must needs have deserved well of the Roman Church. No earnest Protestant, no enlightened philosopher will deny that he has fully earned the place which she has assigned him in her canon, and that she has fulfilled her duty in rendering perpetual honour to St. Pius V.

Gregory XIII., if not quite the match was no unworthy successor of the perfect pontiff, was no faint and lukewarm foe of the Reformation, no slack or unskilful captain of the Roman Catholic host in its onslaught on Protestantism. He began his pontificate worthily and significantly. The opening of his reign was signalled by the chief exploit and supreme triumph of the Roman Catholic reaction, by the most horrible crime in history, that largest and most deadly manifestation of the evil passions of man's heart, that master-piece of treachery and cruelty, that huge bath and mighty banquet of blood, which never has had and never will have fellow or rival, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew—the long and deliberately planned slaughter

<sup>7</sup> Gabutius, lib. iv. c. 5; lib. v. c. 6, 7. Of the many great battles won by Christendom over Islam during their 1200 years' fight the victory of Tours (732) whereby Charles Martel saved Western Europe from the Arabs, and that of Navas de Tolosa (1212) which broke for ever the Mohammedan power in Spain, were at once more bloody and more decisive, though less famous than that of Lepanto. Prince Eugene, Romanzoff, Potemkin and Suwaroff vanquished the Ottomans with more result than Don John of Austria, but not Zenta, nor Peterwardin, nor Khesme, nor Kinburn nor Ismail has a name like the 'immortal waves that saw Lepanto's fight.' The defeat of the Turks before Vienna (1683), less sanguinary and more fruitful than their discomfiture at Lepanto, alone holds equal rank with it. The glory of John of Poland alone comes up to the glory of John of Austria.

<sup>8</sup> Lib. v. c. 10-12.

of 30,000 Protestants by fellow countrymen with whom they had recently contracted amity, of subjects by a government that had lately and solemnly pledged them its protection, and of guests by hosts who had given a special invitation and afforded an ostentatious hospitality.<sup>9</sup> In this great work of aggressive and

<sup>9</sup> Thuanus, lib. lii. passim; lib. liii. c. 1-4. This transcendent crime, the joint work of a perjured government, a corrupt court, infuriated party-chiefs, a frantic mob, and a ruthless priesthood, the foulest and most perfidious of plots, the most deliberate and terrible of *coups d'état*, the most ferocious of popular outrages, the uttermost achievement of political faction and religious hatred, stands forth 'facillime princeps' among the many horrors of history. The sedition of Corcyra was the work of political animosity alone and in comparison was a mild piece of bloodshedding. The slaughter of 50,000 Italians throughout Asia Minor at the bidding of Mithridates, savage and perfidious as it was, was still the performance of a foreign enemy and a subject population against a dominant race and therefore, as de Thou points out (lib. liii. c. 1), inferior to St. Bartholomew; its victims, harmless and unsuspecting inhabitants, were not guests specially invited to be destroyed. Sylla smote and slew multitudes of political enemies, captives taken in war; but he never wooed guests to the slaughter; the terrible Roman could not have feasted at St. Bartholomew's. The massacres of each other wherewith the beleaguered Jews heightened the horrors of the siege of Jerusalem were not deliberate plots. The manifold massacres with which the Mongols under Zingis and Timoor darkened their career of victory were those of ruthless and calculating conquerors, not of plotters and traitors. The Sicilian Vespers (1282) when 8,000 Frenchmen perished were the spontaneous vengeance of a sorely oppressed people. The slaughter of 30,000 Sheahs or heretical Mohammedans at Constantinople by the hands of the Sonnees or orthodox Mohammedans at the bidding of the orthodox Sultan Selim (1515) bears a striking resemblance to the massacre of 30,000 heretical Christians by the sons of the true Church at Paris, but the Moslem butchers were simply savage and not treacherous; the victims were not ensnared. Another famous Constantinople massacre, the destruction of the Janissaries by Sultan Mahmood (1826), was a bloody and deliberate *coup d'état*, but unaccompanied by religious hate or special treachery. The crimes of the French Revolution cannot sustain a comparison with the crimes of the French Roman Catholic reaction. The Paris massacre of September 1792 yields in variety and complication of wickedness to the Paris massacre of August 1572. French Atheism, if quite as murderous as French Popery, was in no wise treacherous. The Jacobins smote and slew without mercy; but they laid no snare, they spread no banquet; they slaughtered no sleeping guests. The massacre of Glencoe (1692) where sleeping hosts were slain by their guests, though on a very petty scale, approaches very nearly to St. Bartholomew in the deliberateness with which it was planned and the treachery with which it was executed; but it was not done in the name of religion, and the government which ordained it did not stand pledged towards its victims. The Bartholomew business stands at the head of all the enormities of Romish fanaticism. Throughout the crusade against the Albigenses the heretics were ruthlessly but not perfidiously slaughtered. The 18,000 heretics whom Alva gloried to have made away with in the Netherlands within ten years besides those slain in battle, fell by the axe, on the gallows or at the stake and not by the hand of the midnight murderer. The massacre in the Valteline (July 19, 1620) where murder feasted at midnight, where Roman Catholic dalesmen slew their sleeping Protestant neighbours, is a miniature St. Bartholomew; but there was no elaborate treachery; the victims were not guests. The Irish massacre of 1641 had the wonted accompaniment of Roman Catholic cruelty, treachery and the hour of

vengeful Romanism, in which all the conspicuous champions of the Roman Church concurred, which Philip II. encouraged, which Catharine de' Medici directed, at which Charles IX., Henry of Anjou and Henry of Guise assisted, received the benediction of the sovereign pontiff. Great had been the joy at Rome over Lepanto; solemn and elaborate had been the thanksgivings for the overthrow of the Turks a few months before. Not less was the joy over St. Bartholomew; not less official and ostentatious were the thanksgivings for the massacre of the Huguenots. Pope Gregory proudly appropriated this wonderful triumph of the church and thankfully acknowledged this crowning mercy of Heaven. Splendid processions, special services and brilliant illuminations celebrated the blessed event; papal rhetoricians strained their art to adorn and magnify this astonishing exploit; and a jubilee was proclaimed that all good Catholics from all parts of the world might be enabled to return united thanks to Heaven for the great work done at Paris and the glorious things wrought by Alva in the Netherlands. Some panegyriste have claimed for the papacy the credit of having frequently laid restraint upon the fanaticism of Roman Catholic populations. On a close inspection of history this restraining hand nowhere appears. It is true that some famous Romish crimes were not papal projects; but it is impossible to mention one which provoked papal rebuke and repression. With respect to this crime of crimes, while it is certain that St. Bartholomew's was not suggested by a pope, it is probable that Pius V. was privy to the project and it is certain that Gregory XIII. applauded, appropriated and consecrated the deed just as the same pontifical encouragement and the same pontifical consecration were bestowed on the butcheries of Alva in the Netherlands.<sup>10</sup>

The pontificate of Gregory XIII. was not unworthy of this striking opening. During the thirteen years of his reign (1572-85) the great fight between the two faiths raged incessantly, with nearly half Europe for the battle-field; maintained fiercely in one and faintly in another portion of this wide field,

darkness; but it was the outbreak of a down-trodden people against a dominant race. The Bartholomew business still holds the supreme place among the horrors of history, and is not likely to be dethroned.

<sup>10</sup> Thuanus, lib. li. c. 10; lib. liii. c. 4. The papacy may borrow the triumphant interrogation of Cicero when charged with privy to the death of Cæsar: 'Quid interest inter suasorem facti et probatorem? aut quid refert utrum voluerim fieri, an gaudeam factum' (*Philippica* ii. c. 5).



the conflict stopped nowhere. In France the fight slackened. Even before St. Bartholomew's it became clear that France would not forsake the Church of Rome. Throughout the struggle from 1561 to 1570 the advantage had remained with the Roman Catholics who won all the great pitched battles, Dreux, Jarnac and Montcontour, while the Huguenots, outnumbered and outgeneralled, signalised themselves by the desperate valour with which they defended besieged towns, Rouen, Orleans, &c. After the Paris massacre, bereft of chiefs, fearfully diminished in numbers and disabled from encountering their adversaries in the open field, they won still greater glory behind stone walls; they held out in Sancerre and La Rochelle against the whole power of the French crown; and the triumphant defence of the latter stronghold stands out a true piece of heroism amidst the horrors of that most unhappy struggle (1573).<sup>11</sup>

Under Henry III. the brother and successor of Charles IX. the strife languished; the Protestants were weak but the Catholics became divided. The kings of France were never the slaves of Rome. Henry and his mother notwithstanding their large part in the Bartholomew business did not regard the extirpation of heresy as the one great concern, and were not at all inclined to reduce the French crown into a mere instrument of the Roman Church; they had connections with the foreign Protestants, and Catharine was anxious to get for her youngest son the Duke of Anjou a Protestant principality in the Netherlands and a Protestant wife in Elizabeth of England.<sup>12</sup> Henry III., in early youth a successful captain and a bloody persecutor, the victor of Jarnac and Montcontour and a hero of St. Bartholomew, after his accession to the throne in 1576 a curious trifler, a miracle of effeminacy and luxury in a stern time and in a convulsed land, had not however lost all care for the dignity of his crown, and slackened in his warfare with the Huguenots as the more vehement Roman Catholics more fierce and fanatical for the debauch of St. Bartholomew began to deal with the kingdom of France as a mere province of the Roman Church and a mere bulwark of the papal power. They at once distrusted and despised the king; and at last formed themselves into a League for the better protection and vindication of the Roman

<sup>11</sup> Thuanus, lib. lv. c. 15, 16; lib. lvi. c. 1-11, 16.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* lib. lix. c. 12; lib. lxvi. c. 22; lib. lxxiii. c. 30, 31; lib. lxxiv. c. 14, 15.

Catholic faith against all impugners. Many of the most powerful nobles, a great part of the clergy, and most of the large towns with Paris at their head threw themselves into this confederacy (1576). The king put himself at the head of the League in order to weaken and divide it; but the Leaguers suspected their royal chief, and would have fain replaced both at the head of their body and on the throne of France Henry of Valois by Henry of Guise, a true son of the Church, and a leader of great ambition, capacity and daring. Henry III. had no children, and but one brother, Francis of Anjou the unworthy and unsuccessful wooer of Elizabeth and the Netherlanders. Henry of Navarre, chief of the French Protestants, stood next in the order of succession. The more violent Leaguers suggested to the pontiff that the papacy which had enthroned the Carolingians might dethrone the Capets, and that the same power which more than 800 years before transferred the French crown from Childeric to Pepin, might now transfer the same crown from Henry of Valois to Henry of Guise. Pope Gregory, a vigorous and prudent pontiff, encouraged the League without listening to these perilous suggestions, rejoiced to behold the strongest of the three parties into which France was rent careless of the fatherland in its passionate zeal for the papacy, and that great kingdom which had often protected and sometimes oppressed the popedom, not unlikely to fall into the gift of the Roman See.<sup>13</sup>

The pope watched with no less closeness and eagerness the very unequal fight between the two churches in the Netherlands, and lent what help he could to the might of the enormous Spanish monarchy in its unsuccessful endeavour to root out truth and freedom therefrom. His pontificate opened with the opening success of the overmatched patriots in the long struggle, with the capture of the Brill on the coast of Holland by the Dutch sea-rovers who thereby began the rescue of their country (July 1772). He deplored the dishonoured withdrawal of Alva from his field of bloody service, and still more the bootlessness of that service. He rebuked Don John of Austria when inclined to make concessions to the Netherlanders, and encouraged the victor of Lepanto to renew over heretics the triumph that he had won over misbelievers. He witnessed the sublime self-devotion wherewith the little towns of Holland withstood the legions of Spain, the marvellous heroism which could not avert

<sup>13</sup> Thuanus, lib. lxiii. c. 1, 8-14, 26; lib. lxviii. c. 1; lib. lxxx. c. 1.

the fall of Harlem and the not more admirable heroism which was rewarded by the deliverance of Leyden. He watched the sublime career of the Prince of Orange, the astonishing skill, patience, self-denial and self-devotion with which William the Silent conducted the struggle against the Spanish monarchy and the Roman See, and in laying the foundations of the Dutch Republic gave a new state to Europe and a new bulwark to Protestantism; and he just lived to rejoice over the woe of the Netherlanders when their leader and guardian was snatched from them by the bullet of Balthasar Gerard. He at last beheld at the head of the Spanish army in the Netherlands a chief curiously called upon by birth to lead the soldiers of the Roman Church, and not less singularly fitted by endowments to lead them to victory, Alexander Farnese prince of Parma in whose veins met and mingled the blood of a papal house and the blood of the House of Hapsburg, the great-grandson of pope Paul III. and the grandson of Charles V., the greatest captain of the age, a greater than Alva, a greater than Don John of Austria, and a mighty master of state-craft not less than of war-craft. The pope witnessed many of the exploits of the great Italian and died during the progress of his master-piece, the siege of Antwerp.<sup>14</sup> Pope Gregory too was ever scheming for the distress and deposition of Elizabeth of England and for the deliverance and enthronement of her captive kinswoman Mary Stewart. He took a lively interest in more than one plot against her person, especially that famous conspiracy for which the Jesuit Campian suffered, and assisted with men and money more than one insurrection in Ireland. He bestirred himself about more than one Polish election to secure the throne for a good Catholic, deplored the pre-eminence in religious liberty which then illustrated Poland, and vainly preached persecution to king Stephen Bathori, formerly the Protestant vayvode of Protestant Transylvania who on his election to the Polish crown in 1574, professed the Roman Catholic faith. He despatched Jesuits to work upon the wavering mind of the unworthy son of the great Gustavus Vasa, John king of Sweden, who had bereft his eldest brother Eric of throne and life, and Gregory lived to rejoice in the secret conversion of the fratricide.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Thuanus, lib. liv. c. 1-17; lib. lv. c. 3-9; lib. lix. c. 14-21; lib. lx. c. 1-7; lib. lxii. c. 6-16; lib. lxiv. c. 6-13; lib. lxvi. c. 1-20; lib. lxviii. c. 17-20; lib. lxxi. c. 2-17; lib. lxxiv. c. 1-12; lib. lxxv. c. 11-15; lib. lxxvii. c. 10-18; lib. lxxix. c. 13-17.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* lib. lxiv. c. 14; lib. lxviii. c. 32; lib. lxx. c. 17; lib. lxxiv. c. 16; lib. lxxix. c. 18; lib. lvii. c. 1-14; lib. lxi. c. 1-4.

But Romanism as well as Protestantism had its deserters among the princes of this age; and Gregory looked not less carefully after them. Gebhard Truchses, archbishop and elector of Cologne (1577), a prelate of the Roman Church and a prince of the German empire, fell in love with Agnes von Mansfeldt, a woman of high birth, great beauty and lofty spirit, and privately married her. Resolved to keep both his wife and his principality, he felt the impossibility of combining these good things with allegiance to the Roman Church and sought support among the Protestants. Pope Gregory urged the archbishop to retrace his steps or to resign his dignity; and when Gebhard made an open profession of Protestantism and publicly espoused Agnes, the pope excommunicated and deposed him (1582). The emperor Rudolf, the superstitious and persecuting son of that exceptional Hapsburg the liberal and half Protestant Maximilian II., declared against Truchses and seconded the bull of the pope with the ban of the empire; and the chapter of Cologne elected another archbishop in Ernest of Bavaria. Gebhard however would not yield, and when the Roman Catholics of Germany armed in the cause of his competitor he called upon the German Protestants to save him and to serve themselves, to secularise another archbishoprick and win another electorate, to secure to him the possession of Cologne and to themselves supremacy in the empire. The opportunity was great; their means were ample, but their hearts were divided. Gebhard had taken to Calvinism, and the chief Lutheran princes either held aloof or declared against him. Vigorously assailed by the Roman Catholics and feebly supported by the Protestants, he was after a brave and strenuous resistance overborne in the unequal struggle, stripped of dignity and dominion, and driven to live in happy obscurity with his Agnes at Strasburg. In this business the Protestants suffered more than defeat; they brought upon themselves shame. They miserably flung away the victory that was within their reach; a magnificent opportunity found them laggards; an unexpectedly found them backward and unreliable; a potent passion allied itself with the cause of truth, and mean jars and malignant jealousies rendered the alliance of none effect. Pope Gregory rejoiced not only over a signal success of the Roman Church, but over a direct triumph of the papal power, over the full execution of a papal doom and the immediate chastisement of a formidable insurgent; and enjoyed the striking contrast

between the zeal and union of the partisans of the popedom and the backwardness and divisions of its opponents.<sup>16</sup>

But the Protestants were not the only objects of the pontiff's hostile vigilance; he enjoyed the victories of the Poles over the schismatic Muscovites, and patronised the disastrous crusade of the Portuguese against the Moors of Africa. His pontificate was signalised by a great victory, as the pontificate of Pius V. had been signalised by a great defeat of the Mohammedans. The field of Alzequivir witnessed the death and victory of the aged Sultan of Morocco and the defeat and destruction of the young crusader Sebastian of Portugal and his army (1578). On the death next year of his uncle and successor Cardinal Henry, Gregory sought to get the bestowal of the crown of Portugal into his own hands and offered the papal arbitration to its many claimants. But the most powerful among them, Philip II. notwithstanding his devotion to the Roman See, preferred a crown of his own getting to a crown of the pope's giving and eluded the pontifical proposal, while his army under Alva made the conquest of Portugal.<sup>17</sup>

But Gregory did not seek to vindicate the papal power merely by the disposal of kingdoms and the persecution of heretics. He would fain magnify his office by the reformation of the calendar. More than 1600 years had elapsed since Julius Cæsar set the Alexandrian astronomer Sosigenes to work in order to remove the exceeding confusion which had invaded the reckoning of time, and bestowed upon the world the great benefit of a rectified calendar, of a year arranged according to the course of the sun. Confusion however gradually crept into the intercalations necessary to keep the year true to the sun. In process of ages the course of the year had got considerably parted from that of its guiding luminary to the great practical inconvenience of mankind. The revival of learning at once heightened the sense of the evil and furthered the finding of a remedy. More than one statesman of the sixteenth century aspired to the glory of reforming the calendar, and many scholars published plans of reform. In accordance with the theory of the supremacy of the Church over the whole of human life, a theory boldly and vehemently maintained in the fervour of the Roman Catholic reaction, Gregory held this reform to be the proper business

<sup>16</sup> Thuanus, lib. lxxv. c. 1; lib. lxxvi. c. 12, 13; lib. lxxviii. c. 13-15; lib. lxxix. c. 1-12.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* lib. lxxii. c. 15; lib. lxxv. c. 5-9; lib. lxxix. c. 10-15; lib. lxxx. c. 1-16.

of the papacy alone, and was jealous of the intervention of any other power. He accordingly set an Italian astronomer Antonio Lilio to work, adopted his scheme which consisted mainly in the withdrawal of ten days from the year and in counting October 5, 1582, as October 15, and pressed it upon Christendom with all the weight of pontifical authority. The Roman Catholics eagerly grasped, while the Protestants as earnestly pushed back the papal gift. The regulation of the calendar was a benefit; but its acceptance seemed to the foes of the Roman See a sort of recognition of that power with which they were at deadly strife. They shrank from the boon of a pontiff whose reign opened with the Bartholomew massacre and closed with the murder of the prince of Orange. In one and in one thing only anti-papal Christendom lagged behind papal Christendom. As the fight between the two churches slackened Protestant Europe gradually adopted this rectified reckoning. Holland first accepted the pontifical boon. England held out for more than 150 years against the papal innovation; the English year began at the end of March and lagged eleven days behind the continental year until 1751, when she conformed to the Gregorian calendar. Greece and Russia still decline the papal gift. This reform stands pleasantly and singularly out among the terrible doings whereof the popedom was either the occasion or the prompter, and Gregory XIII. still lives in the memory of men as the reformer of the calendar and the hallower of St. Bartholomew massacre.<sup>18</sup>

Around his successor Sixtus V. the peasant-born Felix Peretti, there hangs a more human and lively interest than perhaps around any occupant of the papal throne. Though a vigorous and effective pontiff, he cannot be numbered among the greatest of the popes, with Gregory VII., Alexander III., Innocent III., Innocent IV., Boniface VIII., Eugenius IV. and Pius V. He had a personal greatness apart from his pontifical greatness. He stands at the head of those few wearers of the triple crown in whom the man mastered and outshone the pope. Nicholas V. was a man of letters; Julius II. was a man of war; Leo X. was a man of taste and pleasure; Benedict XIV. and Clement XIV. were men of worth. Sixtus V. was a man of genius and brought to the papal throne all the characteristics of the

<sup>18</sup> Thuanus, lib. lxxvi. c. 9. *Bullarium*, tom. ii. p. 456, 7. The Bull directs 'ut de mense Octobris decem dies inclusive a tertia Nonarum usque ad pridie Idus eximantur.'

self-conscious man of genius who has made himself, the love of self-manifestation, the restless and all-pervading energy, the impatience of restraint, the impatience of mediocrity, the freedom and vivacity of speech. The son of a swineherd he gloried in his humble birth which he used finely to call illustrious, inasmuch as the sunshine streamed through the roofless cottage in which he was born. He was a great destroyer and a great constructor; he waged a war of extermination against the robbers and assassins who then as ever especially infested the States of the Church; he filled Rome with new buildings, constructed aqueducts, set up obelisks and finished St. Peter's church. He sought in various ways to improve the condition of his subjects and put forth no small energy as a political and social reformer. Like most capable men he had the fullest appreciation of capacity in others even when exerted against himself, and expressed the liveliest admiration for the great queen of England who reigned in spite of the papal thunderbolts, and who triumphed over the Armada that he had blessed.<sup>19</sup> He had the passions of an able Italian prince, if not those of an Italian patriot; he felt a great jealousy and impatience of the ascendancy of Philip II. in Italy, and chafed beneath that Spanish domination which had wrought such great things for the Roman See. But with all this he was a zealous and energetic pope; the man of genius did not smother or enfeeble the pontiff; he held heresy in proper and genuine abhorrence, and flung himself into the fight against Protestantism with all the fervour and force of his fiery heart and potent will.

Never did that fight rage more fiercely than during his pontificate (1585-90). In the Netherlands the prince of Parma gladdened the first year of the reign of Sixtus by the capture of the long beleaguered Antwerp and finally brought the Southern Provinces back underneath the yoke of Spain and Rome. But the Northern Provinces were unconquerable; the loss of their great guide and guardian made the Dutch more set upon upholding his work; they resolved to maintain their freedom and Pro-

<sup>19</sup> Gregorio Leti, *Vita di Sisto V.*, Torino, 1857. Thuanus, lib. lxxxii. c. 1, 2. He admired the royal heretic of Navarre as much as the royal heretic of England and used to say that there were in Europe only three sovereigns good for anything, Henry, Elizabeth, and Sixtus. Leti, tom. ii. p. 214. Elizabeth returned the admiration, and when besought to marry would say that she would have no one but Sixtus; who heartily appreciated and somewhat coarsely returned the compliment: 'Se dommissémo insieme una notte, farebbero nascere un Alessandro nel mondo.' Leti, tom. ii. p. 214-15. For his reforms see his bulls (*Bullarium*, tom. ii. p. 486-686).

testantism or to perish. They found a tardy though not ineffectual helper in Elizabeth of England ; they found in Maurice of Nassau, if not so consummate a political leader as his father William, a more skilful and successful general, a young hero not unworthy to cope with the all-accomplished Farnese whose genius was diverted from his proper work in the Netherlands by the requirements of his master to assist the Armada against England and to support the League in France. His employer, the patient, plodding, implacable Philip was wide and vast in his ambition for the greatness of the Spanish monarchy and the glory of the Roman Church. He would fain smite heresy not only in the Netherlands, but all the world over. While busy with the recovery of the Seven United Provinces, he attempted the conquest of England and the reduction of France into a dependent kingdom. The towering ambition of Philip was in harmony with the aspiring genius of Sixtus, and Roman Catholic Europe lent the impetuous pontiff and the indefatigable king her fanaticism kindled to a sevenfold heat and her resources tasked and strained to the utmost. Every principle potent with the intellect, every passion mighty in the heart of man, every device of unscrupulous craft and power was pressed into the warfare against Protestantism. Liberty and despotism, the democratic principle and the monarchical principle were alike invoked in behalf of Rome. Never was her marvellous tenacity as to ends, never was her wonderful versatility as to means so conspicuously manifested. She preached up loyalty in the Netherlands, treason in England, and anarchy in France. She wielded frantic French mobs, disciplined Spanish armies and subtle Italian wits. She commanded the services of accomplished casuists, profound politicians, consummate captains, fierce demagogues, and desperate assassins. Bellarmine defended her dogmas, Baronius composed her annals ; Farnese fought her battles ; Philip II., Catharine de' Medici, Charles IX., and Henry of Guise directed her massacres, Balthasar Gerard and Jacques Clement did her murders. The right and duty of a people to destroy a government hostile to the church were maintained as persistently and unshrinkingly as the guilt of a nation in conflict with a government devoted to the church ; and heretical or lukewarm sovereigns were commended and not in vain to the knife or bullet of her devoted sons.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Thuanus, lib. lxxxii.-lxxxv. passim. Amidst the copious Popish literature in recommendation of rebellion and regicide the work of the Spanish Jesuit and historian



William of Orange had already fallen; plot after plot was hatched at Rome against the life of Elizabeth. The plot for which Campian suffered was quickly succeeded by Parry's plot; and Babington's conspiracy followed hard after. These crimes were designed for the glory of the Roman Church and the restoration of her supremacy in England through the deliverance of the captive Queen of Scots and the exaltation of Mary the Roman Catholic champion and in papal estimation the rightful queen of England to the throne of Elizabeth over the corpse of her excommunicated rival. As these crimes in conjunction with the horrors of the Roman Catholic reaction on the continent heightened and deepened that abhorrence of Rome which the Marian fires had kindled in the heart of England, so they rendered the imprisoned princess who was accused of prompting them and was to divide their profit with the pope, more and more detestable to the English nation. The national wrath, inflamed to the highest pitch by the Babington conspiracy, at length demanded the death of Mary as indispensable to the safety of queen and kingdom; and the scaffold at Fotheringay was reared not so much by the personal animosity and jealousy of Elizabeth as by the fear and wrath of Elizabeth's devoted people. The execution of Mary was the deed not of an envious woman but of an angry nation; she died the victim of England and the martyr of Rome. The scene at Fotheringay has its place among the stern and mournful scenes of the fight between the two churches, and may be reckoned in some sort as the misdeed of Protestantism, as in fact its main misdeed, just as murder and massacre were the characteristic misdeeds of Romanism. Protestantism stern and sometimes ruthless was never furious and hardly ever perfidious. It preferred the judge and the executioner to the assassin, it wrought with the solemn axe rather than with the stealthy bowl, bullet or dagger.<sup>21</sup> Pope Sixtus, Philip II., the House of Guise, the Spanish nation, and the populace of Paris, in short Roman Catholic Christendom, looked upon Mary Stewart as a martyr,

Mariana, *De Rege*, holds the foremost rank for ability and audacity. He justifies not merely the public execution but the murder of a tyrannical or heretical king (lib. i. c. 6).

<sup>21</sup> The death of Beaton archbishop of St. Andrews by the hands of Norman Leslie and others in revenge for the burning of George Wishart, and the death of Francis duke of Guise by the hand of Poltrot are the only murders that can be laid to the charge of Protestantism throughout this conflict. Of treacherous midnight massacres Protestantism was altogether guiltless.

and burned to avenge her as such. The Roman Church has done right to make the most of the charms and misfortunes of the Queen of Scots and is fully entitled to all the credit that she can get by them,—is quite welcome to invest that irresistible woman and that guilty wife, that great disturber of hearts and realms, that famous beauty, that famous criminal and that famous sufferer with the honours of martyrdom.<sup>22</sup>

The death of Mary, while it scattered the perils of England within augmented her danger from without. It stirred up Philip to deal what he believed would prove the death-blow of heresy; to bring to completion the mighty armament to fit out which he had been for years tasking the resources of the Spanish monarchy and of Roman Christendom—that Invincible Armada which he sent forth next year to dethrone Elizabeth and to conquer England, to chastise the supreme Protestant and pull down the great stronghold of Protestantism. Sixtus cast his whole soul into this enterprise against the misbelieving realm and the accursed queen, conferred the crown of England upon the Catholic king, and bestowed his blessing upon the Invincible Armada which was to give virtue and validity to the gift. He had to bewail the broken instrument and the bootless blessing; he had to witness the utter rout and ruin of the Invincible Armada, the huge overthrow of Romanism in its most formidable onslaught upon the Reformation, the most illustrious, complete and decisive yet the least blood-stained victory of Protestantism, the sublimest and most glorious business throughout the awful fight between the churches, the business with which man had least and Heaven had most to do.<sup>23</sup>

In France the pontiff ministered to one of the wildest storms that ever shook that oft shaken realm and arrogated for the Roman Church one of the strangest parts that she has ever played. He began his reign by excommunicating the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, the two leaders of the Protestants.<sup>24</sup> But it was not against them that his name was most

<sup>22</sup> Thuanus, lib. lxxxvi. c. 8–16. Cardinal Barberini, afterwards pope Urban VIII., devotes some not infelicitous lines to the death of the fair Roman champion (*Poemata*, p. 130, ed. Oxon. 1726). Benedict XIV. in his treatise on canonisation makes her out to be a martyr; and Pius VI. in his allocution on the death of Louis XVI. compares the execution of the king of France with that of Mary, and awards the honour of martyrdom to both, as both were immolated by the enemies of the church (*Bullarii Romani Continuatio*, tom. ix. pp. 318–29.)

<sup>23</sup> Thuanus, lib. lix. c. 7–14.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* lib. lxxxii. c. 5.

vehemently invoked and his bolts were most fiercely hurled; the French monarchy was assailed in the name of the Roman See by a portion of that French nation so jealous for the glory and greatness of their country. That Catholic throne of France which alone of European thrones never endured degradation from the papal throne, which even overshadowed and overtopped the papal throne during its medieval majesty, now rocked beneath the papal fanaticism of the French people. That strange France, extreme at all times and in everything, extreme in the gratification of every passion and in the application of every principle, extreme in the strictness and fierceness of her feudalism, extreme in the absoluteness and severity of her monarchy, extreme in the boldness of her democratic and atheistic theories, in the frenzy of her revolutionary violence, extreme in the thoroughness and sternness of her democratic despotism or imperialism, was just as extreme at this time in the precision of her papal creed, and, in the fury of her papal zeal, pushed every passion and every principle of the Roman Catholic reaction to its uttermost excess and its ultimate consequence.

The three parties into which France was rent had each a Henry at its head. The royalists or patriotic Catholics who set more store upon the glory and greatness of France than upon the aggrandisement of the Roman See, rallied around their natural chief but very inadequate representative, Henry III. of Valois, king of France, a man not without ability and capable both of vigour and ferocity, but the voluntary slave of mean pleasure, the elaborate cultivator of a monstrous and outrageous luxury, who may have perhaps sought this way of escape from the disorders of the realm and the horrors of the time. In Henry of Bourbon king of Navarre, the Protestants possessed an accomplished leader rather than an earnest fellow-believer, a man of pleasure and a man of action, heroic and voluptuous, a valiant soldier and a skilful captain ripened by time and experience into a statesman of no mean order. The Leaguers or vehement papists who set the glory and greatness of the Roman Church far above the glory and greatness of their country, possessed in Henry of Guise the very model of a party-chief and popular leader— aspiring, calculating, enterprising, turbulent, courteous, eloquent, daring and unscrupulous, fully inheriting the principles and genius of his intensely papal and greatly gifted house. Of these three parties the Huguenots were the weakest, the Royalists or patriotic Catholics had the

deepest root in the land and finally prevailed; whilst the Leaguers or Papists seemed by far the strongest, made the fiercest stir and put forth the greatest energy. They were pre-eminently at once the anti-national and the popular party; the League in fact constituted one of those terrible outbreaks of democratic or rather ochlocratic violence, which have so singularly diversified French history. While the Protestants were made up of a few great noblemen, many country gentlemen and the more respectable inhabitants of the smaller towns in the south and west and of sequestered mountaineers; while the royalists comprehended the bulk of the aristocracy great and small, the country population and the legal bodies of the state, the League consisted of a few mighty nobles, the mass of the clergy and all the great cities. The populace throughout France was intensely and savagely papal. Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, Toulouse, Rouen, Orleans, Poitiers were stirred by preaching friars and ruled by papal agitators, demanded the deposition of the lukewarm Henry of Valois who filled the throne, the exclusion of the heretic Henry of Bourbon who would inherit the throne, and the exaltation of that Catholic Henry of Guise who was alone worthy of the throne.<sup>25</sup>

The fierce democracy of France was wielded by the Church of Rome at the end of the sixteenth century with the same power with which it was wielded against her at the end of the eighteenth century. Then, as two hundred years later, Paris was a city of stormy clubs, of perpetual public processions, of fierce demagogues, of frantic mobs, of daily tumults, of frequent barricades, of frequent massacres, with the difference that the clubs were of priestly formation, that the processions were ecclesiastical processions, that the demagogues were priests or the nurselings of priests, that the mobs were infuriated, the barricades reared and the massacres perpetrated for the defence and glory of the Roman Church. Bussy le Clerc and Menneville, not to mention Henry of Guise, were popular chiefs, daring and sanguinary though not so famous as Danton and Robespierre or Billaud Varennes and Collot d'Herbois. The Dominican monks who owned and named the Jacobin convent in 1590, spoke and acted against kings and government, as recklessly and ruthlessly as the revolutionists, who occupied their convent and usurped their name in 1791. The right of deposing and

<sup>25</sup> Thuanus, lib. lxxxii. c. 1-7; lib. lxxxvi. c. 17-21.

murdering monarchs for the advantage of the church was maintained as unshrinkingly both in word and deed, as the right of dethroning and executing sovereigns for the interest of the people; and the duty of exterminating heretics was preached and practised by priests and people no less devoutly and vigorously than was the duty of exterminating enemies of the people two hundred years afterwards. The Parisian mobs slaughtered Protestants at the bidding of court and priesthood as savagely in 1572 as it slaughtered priests, nobles and courtiers in 1792. August 24, 1572, was far more bloody than September 2, 1792. The people of Paris rose up against Henry III., erected barricades, surprised and overpowered the soldiers, seized upon the fortresses and drove away the king, just as in these latter times it dealt with Louis XVI., Charles X. and Louis Philippe. May 12, 1588, the Day of the Barricades, was as thoroughly a revolutionary day as August 10, 1792, July 29, 1830, and February 24, 1848. The French monarchy was assailed as fiercely by the League as by the Convention; but while the Republicans were very jealous for the glory and did much for the greatness of France, the vehement Papists would fain have reduced their country into a fief of Rome and a dependency of Spain. In the revolutionary wars it was the French democracy with Paris at its head, that drove from the soil of France the foreign armies which priests and nobles invited, while 200 years before it was the French aristocracy under Henry IV. which fought for the national unity against the Spanish and papal invaders, whom the priest-led people called in. In the States General that met at Blois in 1588, the papal spirit swelled as high as the democratic spirit did in the States General that met at Paris in 1789, though with much less result.<sup>26</sup> Henry of Guise, at whose bidding and for whose exaltation this spirit raged, that mighty noble, that hero of the Barricades, that idol of the populace, that champion of the papacy, that wielder of the League, at last fairly frightened Henry of Valois out of his sloth and luxury into a treacherous and bloody activity and fell with his brother the cardinal of Lorraine beneath the strokes of royal assassins. This crime maddened papal France; the king was disowned, and Mayenne brother of Guise was declared lieutenant general of the kingdom. The king at once made peace with Henry of Navarre upon whom the League had driven him

<sup>26</sup> Thuanus, lib. xc. c. 10-16; lib. xcii. c. 7-12.

to make war, joined his forces with those of the Protestants and marched right upon Paris to crush the might of democratic popery in its stronghold; before the walls whereof the dagger of a Dominican monk, Jacques Clement, smote the monarch, extinguished the house of Valois, delivered the beleagued city and opened the throne to a Protestant occupant.<sup>27</sup>

While this terrible storm was raging, pope Sixtus lent his breath at once to swell and to direct it. He made the most of the papal frenzy of the French priesthood and the French populace, and did his best to ensure the permanent prostration of the reeling French Monarchy before the Roman See. He sent a legate into France for the special improvement of this great opportunity, stirred up the Roman Catholic cantons of Switzerland to assist the League, encouraged Cardinal Bourbon, uncle of Henry of Navarre, in his pretensions to the crown of France as the next Catholic heir and magnified the services of Henry of Guise, whom he compared to the Maccabees. He sternly resented the murder of the papal champion and his brother the cardinal of Lorraine, withheld absolution from the suppliant king and finally hurled against him the heaviest bolts of the Church. Fierce and almost frantic was his exultation over the murder of Henry; he likened the murderer Jacques Clement to the most illustrious heroes of the Hebrew nation, and set the deed on a level with the most glorious marvels of divine grace, with the Incarnation and the Resurrection.<sup>28</sup>

But Sixtus had to deal with a living heretical Henry, the far nobler, more capable and more formidable successor of the dead Henry. Fierce and unmeasured was the bull which he had lately launched against Henry of Navarre, now Henry IV., the rightful king of France whom the Leaguers refused to acknowledge, as being an excommunicated heretic and with whom they waged a deadly war. The patriotic Catholics clung to the legitimate monarch with whose triumph were bound up the independence and glory of France. But the priest-led French democracy was furiously and implacably hostile. The Roman Church assailed the principle of legitimacy in the person of the

<sup>27</sup> Thuanus, lib. xciii. c. 10-17, 22, 23; lib. xciv. c. 8-13; lib. cxv. c. 7; lib. xevi. c. 8. Sully, *Mémoires*, tom. i. c. 28, ed. 1638.

<sup>28</sup> Thuanus, lib. lxxxiv. c. 11; lib. xci. c. 19; lib. xciv. c. 14; lib. xevi. c. 10. Leti, tom. ii. iii. passim. The Jesuit Mariana (*de Rege*, c. 6) dilates approvingly on the death of Henry.

greatest of the Bourbons with the same vehemence wherewith she is now defending it in the persons of his degenerate descendants of Naples and Parma. The Leaguers invoked against him every principle and every power. They appealed to the States General and to the Sovereign Pontiff, solicited papal intervention and demanded popular election in the disposal of the crown of France; they besought the aid of Philip II. and preferred the debasement of France under the orthodox domination of her rival Spain to the independence and glory of their country under a Protestant sovereign. The doctors of Paris University and the demagogues of Paris city heaped censures and revilings upon Henry; and the people of Paris endured the horrors of a close siege and a wasting famine rather than yield to their heretical sovereign. Philip, eager to smite heresy and to weaken and divide France, withdrew the duke of Parma from the conflict with the Netherlanders and sent him to raise the siege of Paris and prolong the resistance of the League.<sup>29</sup> Pope Sixtus, though he had branded the king of Navarre and would not recognise the king of France, was far less implacable than the French Leaguers and less energetic than the Spanish monarch. The fine qualities, the valour and capacity of Henry, raised the admiration of the susceptible man of genius. Impatient of the Spanish domination in Italy, he shrank from helping to establish it in France. He withheld men and money from the League, exchanged harsh words with the ambassadors of Philip and indulged in menaces against the great champion of the church when death came upon him in 1590. Like all great builders, from Solomon and Tarquin the Proud down to Napoleon III., he grieved his subjects with heavy burdens; but he was in truth a great man. In that terrible time, convulsed by the awful fight between the churches, though not slack in his papal duties he was eminent for something besides hatred of Protestantism, and survives as the man of genius rather than as the mighty pope. In the long line of the Roman pontiffs not one has more attractions for the hero-worshipper than Sixtus V., and if he does not dwell in the love he certainly abides in the admiration of posterity.<sup>30</sup>

During the reign of Sixtus and the pontificates of the three popes who filled up the two years between his death and the accession of Clement VIII. (1590-92) the conflict between

<sup>29</sup> Thuanus, lib. xvii.-cvii. passim.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* lib. xviii. c. 4, 11, 17; lib. c. c. 8. Leti, tom. iii. c. 5.

Rome and the Reformation took the most various shapes and assumed its widest dimensions. It called forth and comprehended every sort of warfare, the regular and declared war of state against state, that of England against Spain; civil war between the French patriots and the French Leaguers; the struggle of a people against an oppressor, of the Netherlanders against Philip; the warfare of partisans and volunteers, of Switzers and Germans of both communions. England, Holland and the half of France stood against Spain, Portugal, Italy, Savoy and the other half of France. Roman Catholic Germany contributed volunteers to the Roman Catholic cause as did Protestant Germany to the Protestant cause. Levies were raised in the Catholic cantons of Switzerland for the League and in the Protestant cantons for the Huguenots. Those exact contemporaries, Philip and Elizabeth, after the cold and dubious friendliness of their earlier years, after the suspicion and covert hostility of their maturity, broke out in their declining years into declared and inveterate hostility. English troops served in the armies of Henry of Bourbon and Maurice of Nassau, defending in France the cause of the Protestant sovereign and in the Netherlands the cause of the Protestant people. Spanish armies marched into France to the assistance of the League and the deliverance of Paris and Rouen; papal forces too were sent to the aid of the Leaguers. The main battle-fields were France, where Henry IV. victorious in the open field but baffled by Parma in his sieges, the victor of Ivry but the unsuccessful beleaguerer of Paris and Rouen, fought valiantly for his crown rather than for his faith, and the Netherlands where Maurice of Nassau filled the place and surpassed the warlike deeds of his illustrious father, upholding with a courage, skill and success wonderful in so young a captain the cause of the faith and the fatherland. But the battlefield of the two faiths was not confined to Europe; the fight was not fought only by land. It raged on the ocean; it reached to the ends of the earth. It was fought on the shores of Brazil and amidst the Eastern Archipelago, in the Persian gulf and on the Pacific Ocean. As sovereign of Spain and Portugal Philip was in truth monarch of both the Indies, had an American, an Asiatic and an African empire. Wherever reigned the Catholic king, thither came his Protestant enemies of Holland and England. The Dutch requited his invasion and devastation of their own narrow land by the invasion and devastation of his vast domi-



nion in the farthest East and West and by the conquest of a portion thereof; they smote their Spanish oppressors on the ocean with almost unbroken success, wrested from Philip realms of gold and islands of spice, and in the fight for faith and freedom built up a great and splendid empire in the East Indies. The seamen of England ventured as far and smote as hard though they made no such magnificent conquests. Distant continents, heathen and Mohammedan nations were disturbed by this convulsion of Christendom; Shah Abbas, the mighty and illustrious ruler of Persia, and Sultan Akbar, the Great Mogul who so vigorously, gloriously and beneficently reigned over Hindostan heard how the Christian misbelievers were smiting each other along the coasts of their broad realms.

In this mighty fray pope Clement VIII. (1592-1605) mingled with intense zeal and earnestness, especially in that portion of the battle which was fought out on French ground. He set himself vigorously to support the tottering League against the growing strength of Henry IV., rejected the Roman Catholic envoy of the Protestant king, lent himself to the designs of Philip II. upon the French crown, called upon the Three Estates of the Realm assembled at Paris in 1593 to set aside the heretical legitimate sovereign and place a true child of the Roman Church upon that throne devoted and dedicated to her eldest son. The papacy then sought to bring about a revolution in France as passionately and persistingly as it has in general lent itself to the defence of long established authority, invoked the principle of popular election against the principle of legitimacy as earnestly as in our day it invokes the principle of legitimacy against the principle of popular election, and stirred up the democracy of France to dethrone the king of France no less importunately than it summons in our days the monarchs of Europe to put down their people. The Spanish ambassador harangued the States General on behalf of the daughter of Philip II. and the niece of Henry III., for whom he solicited the crown and for whom he proposed to find a husband first in the House of Hapsburg and then in the House of Guise; and the papal legate supported the proposal and forbade the truce which Henry IV. had offered the States. The popedom seemed on the point of winning a singular and unexampled triumph over its old companion and proud protector the French monarchy, of sharing with the French populace the bestowal of the French crown, of transferring the throne from

the third to a fourth dynasty as it 840 years before assisted in transferring it from the first to the second dynasty, of deposing the Capets as it had helped to depose the Merovingians, and of raising either the House of Austria or the House of Lorraine to that throne whereon it had contributed to seat the Carolingian race.<sup>31</sup>

But another portion lay in store for France. The French revolution when it came was not to be the work of the papacy; the change of dynasty when it happened was not to be effected for the honour and advantage of the Roman Church. The Capets were yet to reign for two hundred years. The France of 1593, fiercely fanatical as she was, shrank from a revolution that would degrade the French crown beneath the triple crown and from a change of dynasty that would enthrone a foreign prince of a hostile house. The States General would not have France governed or partitioned for the benefit of Rome and Spain, and recoiled from the honour of choosing a king; Mayenne and the very leaders of the League delayed the election; the parliament of Paris protested against the election of a foreigner, the very populace of Paris murmured against the interference of the legate and the pretensions of the Spaniards.<sup>32</sup> Just as the nation began to shrink from the goal whither its papal zeal was leading it, the Protestant king put off his Protestantism. Brought up in the Reformed faith by a zealous mother, wedded to a Roman Catholic wife and forced into the Roman Church amidst the horrors of St. Bartholomew, won back to the faith of his childhood by the remembrance of that horrible conversion and by the desire to head a party and get a political standing in the country, he had no vital hold upon the Reformed religion and became the chief of the Huguenots rather than the champion of Protestantism. A tolerant and clear-sighted statesman, a skilful and chivalrous soldier, a genial and good tempered voluptuary, he lacked spiritual earnestness no less than fanatical bitterness, he rose above the savage persecutor as much as he sank below the deep-souled believer, he was as superior to Philip II. and Ferdinand II. as he was inferior to William of Orange, Gustavus Adolphus, and Oliver Cromwell. Above all things an accomplished and thorough Frenchman, he saw that France longed for peace, but that she would not brook a Protestant king, that she loathed alike the rule of a foreigner and

<sup>31</sup> Thuanus, lib. ciii. c. 9-12; lib. cv. c. 10-20; lib. cvi. *passim*.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* lib. cvi. c. 13-18.

the sway of a heretic. Ever since his accession he had professed himself open to arguments in matters of faith and in 1593 he summoned Roman Catholic doctors around him, declared himself convinced by their reasonings, and on July 25, 1593, was reconciled to the Roman Church at St. Denis.<sup>33</sup> This conversion takes rank among the ignoble but serviceable compromises which history accepts without admiring and forbears to censure while she refuses to praise. Unwelcome to earnest Protestants, suspicious to vehement Papists it was an eminently national and successful act. Elizabeth with the more zealous Protestants murmured against the unworthy apostacy; Philip II. made light of the hollow conversion; the fanatical preachers of the League inveighed against the wolf in sheep's clothing; the desperate demagogues of Paris preferred a Spanish deputy who had always obeyed the church to a French king who had once defied her; the papal legate proclaimed that a heretic could not be admitted into the church without the leave of the pope, and a Spanish doctor maintained that the pontiff himself had no power to receive a relapsed heretic. Pope Clement himself made no haste to readmit a convert who had been converted before with so little profit or to call back the bolt which Sixtus V. had hurled against the heretic who had gone back to his vomit; he spurned the advances and sent back the envoy of the new convert.<sup>34</sup> But France made haste to welcome back her rightful monarch and opened wide her arms to the professor of the Roman Catholic faith. Her proud aristocracy, more than half his own before, gathered exultingly around him. Her fanatical democracy gladly bowed before him; chief after chief and city after city forsook the League; and Paris at last gladly admitted her monarch. Clement, who very naturally would have liked a sovereign sounder in the faith for eldest son and had coveted for the papacy the bestowal of the French crown, saw at length that France would not take a king of his making, and that if he would not receive Henry into the church, France would very likely be driven into a schism. He accordingly admitted the advances and received the ambassadors of the French king, recalled the papal censures, absolved the royal suppliant, and acknowledged the relapsed and excommunicated heretic for the eldest son of the church.<sup>35</sup> If Rome had not

<sup>33</sup> Thuanus, lib. cvi. c. 8; lib. cvii. c. 6-9. Sully, tom. i. c. 39, 40.

<sup>34</sup> Thuanus, lib. cvii. c. 6, 9, 12; lib. cviii. c. 1-6.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* lib. cviii. c. 11-18; lib. 109, c. 1-8; lib. cxiii. c. 20, 21.

done all that she wished she had yet won a great triumph. If the pontiff had not made a king, he had not lost a kingdom. France so long and so fiercely disputed by the two churches was at length finally secured for the Church of Rome; Protestantism which at one time bade fair to conquer the realm and mount the throne, shrank into a vanquished and tolerated inmate of the land. Philip II., who loth to forego the French crown for his daughter Isabella had done his best to disparage the conversion and hinder the absolution of Henry, struggled some time longer to keep his hold on France; but he soon recognised the vanity of the attempt. Bowed beneath the burden of seventy years, on the brink of the tomb, and desirous to leave his son as few enemies as might be, he offered peace to the French monarch who accepted it at once and with an eagerness creditable in the ruler of France, but scarcely honourable in the confederate of queen Elizabeth and prince Maurice, made haste to restore peace to his country mangled and crushed by a forty years' war, and to abandon those Dutch and English allies whose aid had been so importunately solicited and so liberally given. An admirable Frenchman rather than a true hero or a man of might, he shrank from the side of his Protestant allies as he had cast off his Protestantism with an ease and alacrity not very honourable and almost ignoble. Naturally and thoroughly tolerant however he did not become a persecutor when he became a renegade; he granted full freedom of worship and entire civil and political equality to the Calvinists by the Edict of Nantes in the very year wherein he signed the treaty of Vervins with Philip II. (1598).<sup>36</sup> In the same year that supreme hinderer of the world, that great ruiner of realms and degrader of souls passed to his account, after having done his work with all his might and main but with imperfect success, after having rooted out truth and freedom in Spain, helped to weaken them in France, disabled them in the Southern Netherlands, strengthened and aggrandised them by his assaults in the Northern Netherlands, and invigorated and glorified them by his hostility in England. His exact contemporary and great antagonist Queen Elizabeth who outlived him five years, maintained to the last in company with Holland the fight against Rome and Spain, now governed by his like-minded but feebler

<sup>36</sup> Thuanus, lib. cxx. c. 6-7. Sully, *Mémoires*, tom. i. c. 89.

son Philip III. ; though not so devoted a champion of the Reformation as the Spanish king was of the Roman Church, she was faithful to the cause of truth and freedom, and died while fighting in their behalf (1603) ; and she fills almost as conspicuous a place among the helpers as Philip holds among the oppressors and degraders of mankind.

Under Clement VIII. the European battle-field of the two faiths was not confined to France and the Netherlands but for a moment reached to Scandinavia. While in France a Roman Catholic nation constrained a Protestant king to abandon his religion in order to retain his crown, in Sweden a Roman Catholic king sought to overthrow the faith of a Protestant nation and lost his throne in the attempt. John, son of Gustavus Vasa, and the dethroner and murderer of his elder brother Eric (1567), though the husband of a Roman Catholic and himself a secret convert to the Roman Church yet forbore to assail that Protestant faith which his great father had established and which Sweden had heartily embraced. He died in 1592. His son Sigismund, a Roman Catholic zealot, who had been chosen king of Poland in 1587, did not manifest the same prudent forbearance, and his conduct in his elective kingdom where he shewed himself a creature of the Jesuits, a vehement propagandist, and as much a persecutor as the laws of Poland would let him be, alarmed the people of his hereditary realm for the safety of the established Protestantism. As he lingered in Poland after his father's death, his uncle Charles the youngest son of Gustavus Vasa and a staunch Protestant was appointed viceroy, with whose concurrence the Swedish diet, in 1595 and 1597, watched jealously over the welfare of the Protestant faith and fenced it about with many stringent enactments directed against the designs of the king. Sigismund, wroth with these enactments, suspicious of his uncle and spurred on by the Jesuits to bring back his hereditary kingdom under the Roman yoke, invaded Sweden with a foreign army. The nation gathered round the Protestant viceroy in defence of its faith and freedom ; Sigismund was vanquished at Lincoping and driven out of Sweden. The diet solemnly dethroned the invader of his fatherland and bestowed the crown on the national champion Charles. The Protestant nation rejoiced in a Protestant king. Charles, the son of one great Protestant Gustavus, was the father of another still greater and more illustrious ; and Sweden

was kept true and faithful to the Reformation to come to its rescue in its season of sorest need and extremity.<sup>37</sup>

Pope Clement VIII. mingled in the great fray with no small energy and with some prudence. He encouraged Sigismund in his endeavours against Protestantism in Poland and in Sweden, supported the designs of Philip II. upon the crown of France and delayed the recognition and reconciliation of Henry IV. until any further postponement became glaringly inexpedient for the Roman See. He witnessed the successful struggle of the Netherlanders under Prince Maurice against Philip II., who in despair of reducing or reconciling them to his own direct rule, made over the Belgic provinces to his daughter, Isabella and her husband and cousin the Archduke Albert of Austria, with no effect however upon the steadfast Hollanders. But Clement, though properly busy in fighting the battles of the church against heretics, was not absorbed by that occupation. A thoroughly good, watchful and many-sided pontiff, he showed no less readiness and resolution in despoiling Roman Catholic princes for the benefit of the Roman Church. The House of Este, which had for centuries taken no mean part in Italian politics, and had done so much to foster Italian genius, held the duchy of Ferrara as a fief of the Roman Empire and the Roman See. On the death of Alphonso II. the patron and gaoler of Tasso, in 1597 without children, and the accession of his kinsman Don Cæsar, Clement refused to recognise the latter as feudatory on the alleged ground of illegitimate descent and resolved to resume the fief and to enlarge the papal states by the seizure of Ferrara. Don Cæsar was summoned to appear at Rome and surrender the dukedom within fifteen days. Vainly did he offer homage and deprecate hostility. The summons was soon followed by a bull of three-fold severity which confiscated the duchy of Ferrara, excommunicated the duke and smote his dominions with an interdict; and this terrible bull was ere long followed by a formidable army of 16,000 men which invested Ferrara and constrained Cæsar, who possessed none of the qualities suggested by his heroic name, to abandon his ancestral seat, give up the best part of his possessions and shrink from duke of Ferrara into duke of Modena, while the papal spoiler rejoiced to see his territories expanded by a fair city and a fertile domain. Under the sway

<sup>37</sup> Thuanus, lib. civ. c. 8; lib. cxviii. c. 12; lib. cxxi. c. 18-20. *Ausa Caroli adversus Sigismundum*, Dantzig, 1598.

of the popes, Ferrara ceased not only to be historical and illustrious, but also to be prosperous and populous; and it went on dwindling until our days when a fairer destiny has just plucked it from the withering grasp of the priests and set it high among the cities of the kingdom of Italy.<sup>38</sup>

The conversion of Henry IV. and the acquisition of Ferrara were gains which Clement prized at their proper worth; but he set not less store upon the finding of the relics of St. Cecilia. The remains of the melodious saint came very seasonably to light just when the pope was plagued by gout in the feet; the sufferer came in contact with the sacred body; the gout at once took to flight, and the grateful pontiff rewarded these serviceable relics with a magnificent sepulchre.<sup>39</sup> This circumstance, upon which a biographer of Clement dwells almost to the exclusion of every other occurrence of this eventful pontificate, is curiously characteristic of the time and the man. It completes the portraiture of the popedom in its period of renovated vigour and power. It was the act of a prudent, capable and energetic pontiff, an enlarger of the Italian principality, an extender of the spiritual dominion, a fellow-worker with Philip II., an antagonist of Elizabeth, both of whom he outlived. He saw the congenial though inferior Philip III. on the throne of the supreme persecutor, he saw the unworthy James Stewart on the throne of the mighty queen; he saw England separated from Holland and at peace with Spain. He died in 1605 just before the Gunpowder Plot came to figure among the dark attempts of that terrible struggle and to aggravate the sore plight of the English Roman Catholics.

<sup>38</sup> Thuanus, lib. cxix. c. 18. Gibbon, *Antiquities of the House of Brunswick*, § 3. The House of Este, has been more nobly avenged and Ferrara more nobly won from the papacy than Gibbon anticipated when he said: 'The arguments which the court of Rome has disdained may one day be heard in the louder tone of the Austrian cannon.' The Austrian cannon has been planted there but latterly in defence of papal domination, and has been just removed thence in company with papal domination. Cardinal Barberini, afterwards pope Urban VIII., rejoices over the conquest of Ferrara in some glowing and vigorous alcaics and enjoys both armament and excommunication:

'Dum lecta Mavors instruit agmina  
Utrunque; nullis fallitur artibus  
Tentata mens patris supremi,  
Propositique tenax et omnia  
Terroris expers audet et acriter  
Constans Averni devovet ignibus  
Rite execrandum mentis hostem  
Heu! nimium male pertinacis.'

*Poemata*, pp. 150-54

<sup>39</sup> Baronius, an. 821, n. 13

In his successor Paul V. (Camillo Borghese) the papal throne had an occupant of more energy than prudence, and greater arrogance than energy—an occupant full of the might and majesty of the Roman See, and bent upon enforcing its might and exhibiting its majesty on every occasion. The beginning of his reign, so darkly signalised by the plot of his English subjects to destroy a Protestant government, was not less conspicuously though less criminally marked by an attempt of his own to oppress a Roman Catholic government. Of all the states which remained in communion with the Roman Church the republic of Venice was the least papal. It had done little or nothing for Rome in her conflict with the Reformation, had testified perfect goodwill towards Protestant powers and constant coldness towards Philip II., had encouraged Henry III. in his struggle with the League and at once recognised Henry IV. though a relapsed and excommunicated heretic.<sup>40</sup> No Protestant state, no absolute monarchy was more jealous of the sacerdotal power than this Roman Catholic aristocracy, more sternly discountenanced ecclesiastical pretensions or more stubbornly resisted pontifical encroachments. In strict conformity with this constant policy of keeping all priests orderly and submissive, and provoked by ecclesiastical excesses in its own dominions, the Venetian senate in 1605 put forth certain decrees which prohibited the alienation of immovable property to persons and for uses ecclesiastical, forbade the erection of new churches or convents without leave of the state, and provided for the trial and punishment by the civil tribunals of priests guilty of great and grievous crimes. Paul V., who as Cardinal Borghese had bitterly resented these statutes, imperiously demanded their repeal as soon as he became pope. The senate refused; whereupon the pontiff let loose his wrath in a fierce and bitter bull in which he cut off doge, senate and commonwealth from the communion of the church and forbade every ecclesiastical person to perform any ecclesiastical office in the accursed land. Venice replied by a decree which forbade every priest or monk to pay attention to the excommunication and interdict. The Venetian ecclesiastics as a body stood by the Republic and obeyed the senate rather than the pontiff; the disobedient Jesuits and Capuchins were expelled; the Republic recalled her ambassador from Rome; the Pope recalled his nuncio from Venice, threatened war and levied an army. The common-

<sup>40</sup> Thuanus, lib. xvi. c. 14; lib. xvii. c. 19-31.



wealth made ready for hostilities, assembled a large force and formed a league with the Protestant Grisons and Switzers. Meanwhile a memorable paper war was being waged: Rome and Venice summoned their master-spirits and their most accomplished writers into the field. The great papal doctor Bellarmine and the great papal annalist Baronius brought the one his ingenuity and the other his learning to the help of the pope; but they met with more than their match in the illustrious theologian of Venice Fra Paolo Sarpi who pleaded the cause of his country with a logical force and rhetorical grace, with a strength of argument, a fullness of erudition, and a stream of sober and dignified eloquence which brought conviction to Europe and glory to Venice, which won the lasting gratitude of the republic, and the abiding resentment of the Roman Court, which provoked the daggers of more than one baffled assassin, and which in company with the history of the council of Trent have brought down upon him an immortality of suspicion and hatred from the vehement members of his own church, and have secured for him an abiding place in the esteem and admiration of liberal and Protestant Christendom. This memorable strife of pens was the only warfare that arose from the dispute. France and Spain offered their mediation; Paul reluctantly relaxed somewhat in his demands; and in 1607 an arrangement was brought about which preserved the honour and interests of the republic untarnished and unimpaired.<sup>41</sup>

Meanwhile the war of swords between Rome and the Reformation somewhat slackened. No very conspicuous or potent champion appeared for either cause; Prince Maurice did well in his narrow field of the Netherlands whereto the strife was now confined; but even there the war languished and in 1609 Spain made a truce of twelve years with the United Provinces. Philip III., the congenial but less capable son of his fell father went on afflicting his many realms and weakening the Spanish monarchy, partook his father's horror of reigning over mis-believers, though he manifested it in a less bloody fashion and dealt a fatal blow to the prosperity of Spain by the expulsion of her industrious Mohammedan population. In Germany Protestants and Catholics now and then indulged in petty contests, fought for the possession of a bishoprick, or for supremacy

<sup>41</sup> *Sententia Pauli V. cum Responsionibus* (Frankfort, 1607), passim. *Histori particolare delle cose passate trà 'l Sommo Pontifice Paolo V. e S. R. di Venetia* (Geneva, 1624). Bzovius, *de Paulo V.*

in an imperial city; and in these little wars the Roman Catholics got the better through the wretched divisions of the Protestants, who, split into Lutherans and Calvinists, sought each other's downfall rather than that of the common enemy. The Lutherans were the chief sinners; and the Saxon electors signalised themselves as persecutors of their fellow Protestants and trucklers to the House of Hapsburg. The Calvinists showed a nobler spirit; their chief, Frederick, elector Palatine, urged cordial union and vigorous action, and at last in 1597 formed an alliance among the lesser princes and imperial towns which was renewed and strengthened in 1608 and is known as the Union. The Catholics with the duke Maximilian of Bavaria at their head got up an opposing confederacy entitled the League whereof Pope Paul was the nominal chief. The Emperor Rudolf, an alchemist, an astrologer and a pupil of the Jesuits, enacted during his long reign (1576-1612) the part of a persecutor as far as his sluggish and contemplative character would let him. In every dispute between the two churches which disturbed the empire, he sided against the Protestants, and did his best to put them down in Austria, Hungary and Bohemia. But Rudolf was a tormenting not a crushing persecutor, and drove both Hungarians and Bohemians to revolt who dethroned him in favour of his brother Matthias. Charles Emmanuel duke of Savoy who had sought the aggrandisement of his house through the championship of the Roman Church, who had fought for the League against Henry IV., had despoiled France during the civil war and been chastised by Henry upon its conclusion and who had last signalised his zeal for the faith by his share in the treacherous and unsuccessful attempt upon the Protestant stronghold of Geneva in 1602, began to look in another direction, sought aggrandisement by a connection with France rather than with Spain, and ceased to be a prominent champion of the Roman Church.<sup>42</sup> The Stewarts reigned in Great Britain; England was no longer the England of Elizabeth; James I. was no Protestant champion or national sovereign; while the English people was waxing more and more Protestant, while English Protestantism was deepening into Puritanism, the English throne was degraded by perhaps its basest occupant, by the meet beginner of the anti-national and traitorous Stewart

<sup>42</sup> Schiller, buch i. Coxe, *House of Austria*, c. 43. Thuanus, lib. cxxix. c. 8. Sully, *Mémoires*, tom. ii. c. 11.

dynasty. From an ignoble fear of war rather than from a love of peace, from indifference to the Protestant cause, and from a dislike of a nation fighting for freedom James hastened to forsake Holland and make peace with Spain (1605), but was kept as yet from base fawning upon Spain by the master-mind of the French monarch. Henry who as a Protestant had stood forth the leader of a French party rather than as a champion of the Reformed faith, when he had turned Catholic to secure the crown, signalled himself far more as king of France than as champion of Rome. After the peace with Spain in 1598 he set himself to heal the wounds, and restore the prosperity of his bleeding realm and wonderfully succeeded. But while devoted to the welfare, he was not careless of the glory of France; he did not forget that house of Austria which had so striven to keep him from the crown and to partition and degrade his country, and determined as soon as France was sufficiently recovered, to fall upon the House of Hapsburg, to deprive her of Belgium, to humble her in Germany, to strike her down in Italy and to shut her up in Spain, to aggrandise Savoy, Venice and the papal states at her expense and to establish an Italian confederation with the pontiff for president. He gradually made ready for this great enterprise and allied himself with the Protestant Union of Germany and the smaller states of Italy.

A petty German prince, the Duke of Cleves and Juliers died without issue in 1609; his succession was claimed by a Protestant and a Roman Catholic kinsman and Germany began to arm herself in behalf of the one or the other claimant. Henry saw and resolved to seize the opportunity; he assembled his army and was about to march when he was struck down in the streets of Paris by a Roman Catholic fanatic (1610). The dagger of Ravailac delayed a great war, arrested a great policy, hurled France for a time from her high place among the nations, and postponed the humiliation of the House of Austria.<sup>43</sup>

The papacy was both a loser and a gainer by this deed of a papal fanatic. Henry IV. was on good terms with Paul V.; he cultivated a close connection with the court of Rome and won the pontiff over to his schemes against the House of Austria by associating the humiliation of that family with the aggrandisement of the temporal popedom. The kingdom of

<sup>43</sup> Rigallius, *de Rebus Gallie*, passim. Sully, tom. ii. c. 51. Schiller's *Geschichte des 30 jährigen Kriegs*, buch i. Coxe's *House of Austria*, c. 41, 44.

Naples was to be annexed to the States of the Church and the Roman pontiff was to reign over the half of Italy.<sup>44</sup> The Italian confederacy which Henry aspired to found was to have its president and its most powerful member in the pope. But this splendid augmentation of the papal territories was to be made at the expense of the devoted handmaid of the Roman Church; the popedom was to shine in the spoils of the House of Hapsburg and the Spanish monarchy. If by the death of Henry IV. the Roman See missed the supremacy of Italy, the power most set against the Reformation escaped dismemberment; Paul V. was left at leisure to look after the extension of his spiritual dominion, undisturbed by the cares of Italian greatness, while the House of Austria remained strong enough to exhibit in an effective manner its hereditary and characteristic hatred of Protestantism. The head of the Spanish branch, the feeble Philip III., signalled himself chiefly as a persecutor of his Mohammedan subjects; under him the sinking greatness of Spain was solely upholden by the skill and vigour of her diplomatists; and almost every success of Spanish diplomacy was a success of the Roman Church. Bedmar, her ambassador at Venice plotted the destruction of the steadfast and liberal republic that neither crouched before Rome nor obeyed the orders of Spain; it was from a Spanish plot that Venice was preserved; and while Otway bespeaks sympathy with the baffled conspirators rather than with the rescued commonwealth, the Englishmen of that time rejoiced over 'Venice Preserved' as a disappointment of Spanish designs and Roman desires. Gondomar ambassador of Spain at London made a fool of the British Solomon, suggested every un-English and unprotestantlike course to the receptive soul of the sorry Stewart who degraded the throne of Elizabeth, put James I. upon the greatest baseness in English history, the beheading of Raleigh, the sacrifice of a national hero at the bidding of the national foe, allured him with the prospect of a royal daughter-in-law, and won him to affront and fetter the soul of Protestant England in its earnest sympathy with the perils and straits of Protestants abroad.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Coxe, c. xliv. Sully, tom. ii. c. 51. Bentivoglio, *Opere*, p. 167.

<sup>45</sup> The popular contempt for James and the regretful admiration for Elizabeth breaks out in an hexameter quoted by Spanheim, *de Papa Femina*, c. 3:

'Rex erat Elizabeth; nunc est regina Jacobus.'

'King Elizabeth is gone;  
Now queen James is on the throne.'

Those straits ere long became very sore. The head of the German Hapsburgs, Cæsar Rudolf, artist and alchemist, bigot and astrologer died in 1612 realmless and forlorn. He found, and notwithstanding incessant assaults he left Protestantism potent in Austria, prevalent in Hungary, supreme in Bohemia, and predominant in the empire. His unceasing but ineffective hostility begot trouble and confusion throughout his dominions. He goaded the Protestants of Hungary and Bohemia into successful revolt, he drove the Protestant principality of Transylvania under its valiant chief Bethlem Gabor into intimate alliance with the Turks; he kept the Protestants of Germany in perpetual suspicion and alarm. His brother and supplanter Matthias fainted beneath the burden which he had eagerly taken up. Less liberal and enlightened than his father Maximilian, less of a bigot than his brother Rudolf he failed to satisfy either Protestants or Catholics, to compose or to stifle the religious dissensions which distracted the empire and the kingdoms whereof he was the head. The Protestant Union and the Catholic League divided the empire. There and throughout the Austrian dominions the Protestants had the advantage over their opponents in number and did not fall much below them in zeal, but were greatly inferior in united action and concentrated energy. The most powerful among the Protestant princes, the Lutheran elector of Saxony, kept aloof from the Protestant Union at the head of which stood the Calvinist elector Palatine. John George of Saxony early showed himself that lukewarm and laggard Protestant that he remained throughout the Thirty Years' War. He lacked earnestness rather than courage and inclination rather than energy, and he harmed the cause of the Reformation from a positive predilection for the House of Austria and a lively jealousy of Calvinism. George William of Brandenburg was a weakling and waverer rather than a cold Protestant, and he failed his faith in its trying hour from mere feebleness and fearfulness. Frederick the young elector Palatine was an earnest, steadfast and devoted Protestant; he felt and urged upon evangelical Germany the need of union and energy. Alone among the leading Protestant princes of the empire he saw the duty of his order and did his best to fulfil it. But his zeal exceeded his capacity; his position was above his power. The son-in-law of James I. he relied upon a prince in whom there was no help; and the German confederacy

which acknowledged him for its head was but a nominal Union.<sup>46</sup>

The Catholic League, on the other hand, comprehended all the chief Catholic sovereigns of the empire and had for its head the most powerful and able among them, Maximilian duke of Bavaria a prince full of ambition and fanaticism, something of a soldier, still more of a statesman but above all a fierce zealot of the Roman Church. But in his cousin and the cousin of the emperors Rudolf and Matthias, Ferdinand of Austria, duke of Styria, he had a still superior fellow workman, and the Church of Rome possessed a zealot still fiercer and more implacable, a champion still more formidable, another Philip II. similarly inspired and similarly endowed, whose master passion was hate of Protestantism, the work of whose life was its extermination and who held wealth and power and dignity mainly valuable as they helped on that work; a darkener and hinderer of mankind marvellously well fitted for his business; patient, persisting, indefatigable, undaunted amidst the direst dangers, unbroken by the heaviest disasters, unscrupulous and remorseless, and in whose eyes cruelty and perfidy wore the aspect of consummate virtues when directed against heretics. The hatred which he bore to the Reformation was deeper and more bitter than the hatred that Hannibal bore to Rome, that Cato bore to Carthage, that William III. bore to France or that Napoleon I. bore to England. Brought up with his cousin Maximilian by the Jesuits he begun to hate heresy in his boyhood; in the flower of his youth on his knees before the shrine of the Virgin at Loretto he swore the extermination of Protestantism, and renewed his vow at the feet of Pope Clement VIII. (1598). Never has a vow been better kept. He began the work of persecution in his little dukedom of Styria which he at length cleared of Protestantism and prosperity. But a wider field was ere long spread out before the great heretic-hunter. The emperor Matthias and his brothers were childless; certain discerning well-wishers of the House of Hapsburg and the Roman Church urged the Cæsar to adopt his cousin Ferdinand who had children for his heir and successor. Matthias who rather feared and disliked his fanatical kinsman reluctantly consented, and the Estates of Hungary and Bohemia, mainly

<sup>46</sup> Schiller, buch i.

composed of Protestants, foolishly and fatally accepted as his successor this proved and manifested Roman zealot, notwithstanding the earnest warnings of their more discerning members. The accomplished persecutor at once began to career in this larger field and got Matthias to restrict the freedom of Protestant worship in Bohemia. The Bohemians remonstrated and resisted, threw Slavata and Martinitz the two agents of Ferdinand out of the window of the council-chamber at Prague (March, 1618), established a confederacy and assembled an army. The emperor would fain have given them satisfaction, but Ferdinand held out against conciliation, and the Thirty Years' War began. Matthias died broken-hearted in 1619; but the Bohemians would not have Ferdinand to reign over them, twice beleaguered him in Vienna and bestowed their crown upon Frederick, elector Palatine, the head of the Protestant Union. The Protestant champion tremblingly accepted this dignity; he was not a hero, but he was not a laggard or a dastard; had Protestant Christendom or even Protestant Germany shown as much boldness and steadfastness, Bohemia would have remained a free and flourishing kingdom, Germany would have escaped woes unutterable and the Thirty Years' War would not have been a three years' war. But Frederick was feebly supported or meanly forsaken. James I. that laggard Protestant and unworthy Briton, that tool of the Spanish court and admirer of the House of Hapsburg, looked upon the uprising of Bohemia as a wicked rebellion and the election of his son-in-law as an unhallowed usurpation, cared much more for the cause of kings involved in the success of Ferdinand than for the cause of the Reformation concerned in the success of Frederick and would do nothing for his daughter's husband. John George of Saxony envied and opposed the fellow-electors who had won a crown; George William of Brandenburg wavered and did nothing; the Protestant Union made a show of supporting its head and finally forsook him. Ferdinand was made of sterner stuff than Frederick and was far more vigorously supported. Twice besieged in his capital by the insurgent Protestants he neither trembled nor faltered; twice marvellously delivered he turned with heightened hope and resolution to the accomplishment of his work, got chosen emperor by the help of the Saxon recreant, and made a close compact with his Bavarian cousin Maximilian and his Spanish kinsman Philip III. who sup-

ported their faith and their confederate not exactly after the fashion of James I. and the German Union. The Spaniards advanced against the Palatinate; the Catholic Leaguers poured into Bohemia and by the victory of Weissenberg at the gates of Prague drove Frederick from the kingdom and laid it at the feet of the vengeful and fanatical Ferdinand (November 8, 1620).<sup>47</sup> The battle of Prague was not the only Roman Catholic victory which signalised that year. An Alpine valley was the scene of a more atrocious triumph over heresy, of a midnight massacre, in kind and quality though not in size the exact fellow of the Paris enormity, a Bartholomew business in miniature. The Valteline, an Alpine valley, mainly inhabited by an Italian and Roman Catholic population with some Protestant dwellers and under the dominion of the Protestant Grisons, separated the possessions of the German Hapsburgs from the possessions of the Spanish Hapsburgs, lying between the domains of Ferdinand II. and the Italian dominions of Philip III. With this valley in their own or in friendly hands, the two congenial kinsmen might assist each other far more plentifully and powerfully; the whole force of the house of Austria might be brought together and the battles of the Roman Church still more effectually fought. The interests of the House of Hapsburg coincided with the passions of the Roman Catholic dalesmen, impatient of subjection to Protestant masters and of intercourse with Protestant neighbours. In the heart of the Alps as in the streets of Paris fanaticism selected a summer night for its banquet of blood. On the night of July 19, 1620, the people of the Valteline rose upon the Protestants asleep in their midst, and slaughtered men, women and children; neighbour murdered slumbering neighbour; priests dipped their hands in the blood of the heretics; about 300 Protestants were destroyed; massacre cleansed the valley from the stain of heresy, and the Church of Rome was served by another horrible crime.<sup>48</sup>

Paul V. had a long and eventful pontificate (1605–21), and proved an earnest, arrogant, ambitious, energetic and tolerably successful, in one word an excellent pontiff. Baffled in his attempts to humble the Republic of Venice and disappointed of

<sup>47</sup> Schiller, buch i. Coxe, c. 41–48.

<sup>48</sup> Botta, *Storia d'Italia*, c. 19. *Vera Narratione del Massacro nel Valtelino, 1621*; a most minute, heart-rending and pathetic narrative, wherein the name of almost every victim is given.



a great extension of his Italian territories by the death of Henry IV., he betook himself vigorously to the enlargement of his spiritual dominions, encouraged the House of Hapsburg in its designs for the glory of the Roman Church, assisted Ferdinand II. in his warfare against heresy with an annual subsidy and grants from ecclesiastical revenues, enjoyed the battle of Prague and the subjugation of Bohemia, and lived to witness the expulsion of the Calvinist Frederick not only from that kingdom, but from his hereditary domain of the Palatinate which was occupied by the Spaniards in 1621. As Gregory XIII. had approved and appropriated the St. Bartholomew massacre, so Paul V. approved and appropriated the miniature massacre of the Valteline, granted an indulgence to the ecclesiastics who with their own hands had slaughtered the sleeping Protestants and were as blood-shedders disqualified for the performance of ecclesiastical offices, and allowed priestly murderers to minister at the altar. Paul witnessed not merely the disasters of Protestantism in Germany, but its decline in France, where the Huguenots struggled in vain against the hostile government of Louis XIII. (1620-21). The Protestant principality of Béarn was brought under the yoke of Rome and a victory was won at the foot of the Pyrenees less bloody but no less decisive than the victory just won in the heart of the Alps.<sup>49</sup>

Besides his share in these substantial successes, pope Paul achieved one futile triumph and gained one disastrous victory for his Church. He rejoiced over the union of the Nestorian Church and enjoyed the condemnation of Galileo. He indulged in perhaps the idlest and most unprofitable practice of the Roman See, the uniting of a church which is not united. He performed one of those unmeaning ceremonies where certain individuals from personal or political motives make over an unconscious church or nation to the papal dominion. The Armenians too united by Paul V. had been united two centuries before by Eugenius IV. (1438), and may without doubt be easily united again more than two centuries later by Pius IX., who in fact when he received the adhesion of the Bulgarians in 1860 repeated another exploit of the same Eugenius.<sup>50</sup> The acquisition of the Nestorians by the Church of Rome was as real and fruitful a success as her contemporary

<sup>49</sup> Coxe, c. 48. Botta, *Storia d'Italia*, c. 19. Bzovius, *Paulus V.*, c. 31-33.

<sup>50</sup> Bzovius, c. 26, 27.

triumph over science in the person of Galileo. The earnestness wherewith the illustrious Tuscan supported the system of Copernicus and maintained with the great Prussian astronomer that the earth moved and that the sun stood still aroused the alarm of the Jesuits, the Inquisition and the pontiff. The philosopher was summoned to Rome (1617), and his opinions were condemned by a synod of doctors who pronounced the earth stationary and enjoined silence on Galileo. Twenty years after (1635) he put forth his beloved truths in a book for which he was persecuted by Urban VIII.; and unendowed with the heroism of such multitudes of humble martyrs of religious truth, was constrained to recant the verities of astronomy as abominable and soul-destroying heresies, and was punished with imprisonment in the dungeons of the Inquisition. The Holy Office retained its captive and the Roman Church enjoyed her triumph, though the earth pursued her movement and the sun maintained his steadfastness.<sup>51</sup>

Paul V. died in 1621; but the Roman Church went on for a while in her career of reconquest. Her matchless servant Ferdinand did her work with all his might and main. He set himself to root out truth, freedom and learning from Bohemia laid at his feet by the victory of the Weissenberg, and achieved a masterpiece of extermination. He executed the leading Protestants and patriots and confiscated their possessions. He drove out all Protestant preachers, professors and schoolmasters, deprived the Protestants of every political, civil and social right, pursued them into mountains and caves, let loose upon the land swarms of Jesuits and bands of soldiers who happily blended the work of indoctrination and massacre; and finally he banished every Protestant from Bohemia. 'They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword; they wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins, destitute, afflicted, tormented.' With her Protestantism Bohemia lost everything else; Ferdinand subverted her liberty, proscribed her literature and made war upon her language. He found the kingdom full of political, intellectual and spiritual life; he left it in the starkness of servitude, ignorance and superstition; he found the Czechs a people of freemen, warriors, scholars and Protestants; he left them a herd of slaves, tremblers, dullards and Papists; in fact he blotted out Bohemia

<sup>51</sup> Galilée, *Biographie Universelle*, tom. x. Campanella, *Apologia pro Galilæo*, ed. 1622.

from the number of the nations, inflicted on her the same fate which his predecessor Simon de Montfort at the head of the papal crusaders of the thirteenth century inflicted upon southern France.<sup>52</sup>

The war, kindled in Bohemia, raged throughout Germany; the work of Ferdinand prospered; the House of Austria and the Church of Rome marched from victory to victory. The Palatine Frederick was pursued with implacable resentment by Cæsar Ferdinand; the Palatinate was overrun by the Catholic host; the electoral dignity was taken from Frederick and conferred upon Maximilian of Bavaria; the magnificent library of Heidelberg was carried in triumph and laid at the feet of Gregory XV. as a trophy of the holy war; and the Vatican still remains enriched with these spoils of Protestantism. Frederick became an outcast; but he did not lack champions among the petty Protestant princes of Germany who showed all the valour, zeal and devotion so grievously wanting in their more powerful fellow-believers. While John George elector of Saxony enjoyed the disasters of the Calvinist Frederick and fawned upon the House of Hapsburg, while George William elector of Brandenburg trembled and kept quiet, the dukes of Saxe-Weimar defied the power of Austria, fought and suffered for their faith as heroically as their ancestor the disinherited elector John Frederick. Christian of Brunswick drew a consecrated and chivalrous sword for God and the queen of Bohemia; and Ernest von Mansfeldt, the greatest and most high-hearted of adventurers, raised and kept armies together by his own genius and energy, almost restored the despoiled Palatine and almost defeated the House of Austria. But the odds were too great for the unsupported valour of Christian and the unsupported genius of Mansfeldt, who both died in the midst of the unequal conflict (1625-6). Swarms of Roman Catholic warriors overran Protestant Germany, the army of the League under the able, experienced, earnest and fanatical Tilly, the host of the emperor led by the imperious, aspiring, gorgeous and unscrupulous Wallenstein, wasted the empire from end to end, dispossessed Protestant princes, and restored Romanism in Protestant states and cities. They drew nigh to the Baltic:

‘Amazement in their van with flight combined,  
And Sorrow’s faded form and Solitude behind.’

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<sup>52</sup> Coxe, c. 49, 50. Schiller, buch ii. Comenius (*Ecclesie Bohemice Persecutiones*, c. 44 et seq.) minutely and pathetically sets forth the woe of Bohemia.

Every German antagonist had gone down before them, when a foreign champion rushed to the rescue of imperilled Protestantism. In 1625 Christian IV., king of Denmark, a soldier and a statesman, threw himself right in the way of the papal and imperial torrent; but after a brave struggle he too was overborne and forced to leave the German Protestants in the gripe of their oppressors. Ferdinand II. was not the man to let his victim go, but resolved to stifle heresy in Germany as he had rooted it out of Bohemia, to extirpate all freedom in company with Protestantism, to undo the work of a century, to roll back the stream of history, to re-enthroned the Church of Rome through the aggrandisement of the House of Austria, and to reign the absolute master of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>53</sup>

Europe contemplated this long course of papal and imperial victory with amazement, jealousy and alarm, but offered no effectual hindrances thereto. Never has the foreign policy of England been so mean and anti-national as under James I. and Charles I. during this great pain and peril of Protestantism, save and except under Charles II. during another similar crisis, the invasion of Holland by Louis XIV. The nation murmured, chafed, remonstrated, tried to do something for the good cause, contributed money and volunteers, but with un-English and half-Romish Stewarts on the throne, effected nothing. To avenge and assist the oppressed Protestants, to recover the Palatinate, to restore the elector and his consort the British princess Elizabeth, the not unworthy namesake of the great queen, was the hearty desire and watchword of every 'true protested Briton.' To keep in the good graces and get into the family circle of the House of Hapsburg, to marry his son Charles to a Romish and Spanish wife, to secure the pope's approbation of the match, to propitiate Spain and Rome by the betrayal of his religion and the sacrifice of his daughter, such was the foreign policy of James I.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Schiller, buch ii. Coxe, c. 49-51. Harte's *Gustavus Adolphus*, vol. i. pp. 69, 174-182, 2d ed.

<sup>54</sup> It is quite melancholy to read the magnificent exhortations which that noblest of the French Protestants, that warrior, statesman, scholar and theologian, Mornay du Plessis wasted upon the base soul of the dastard pedant James, whom he would fain have stirred up into a great Protestant champion, in the dedication of his *Mysterium Iniquitatis*, folio, 1611. There is no small majesty, there is exceeding intensity in his prayer for the overthrow of the popedom and his yearning to take part therein. 'Amidst the front ranks may I mingle in the battle; amidst the triumph may I swell that angelic strain "She has fallen!" may I be steeped all over in this holy joy; may I dwell enraptured thereon on the borders of the joy everlasting! (Inter principia

The popish and Spanish match was the base and idle dream of the British Solomon; the recovery of the Palatinate was the aspiration of the British people. Whenever the national impotency shamed and frightened him into attempting something for his daughter, he either doled out to her and her husband a little underhand inadequate and ineffectual assistance or generally approached the House of Austria as a suppliant, essayed the recovery of the Palatinate at Madrid, felt sure that he should get back his Protestant son-in-law's patrimony from the gripe of the Austrian spoiler by getting a popish and Austrian daughter-in-law, and trusted for the restoration of his daughter to the mediation of the Spanish king with his German kinsman Ferdinand, of that very Spanish king, whose troops had overrun the Palatinate and were then keeping garrison in its strongholds. At home he affronted the deepening Protestantism of his people by promoting semi-Popish prelates who thrust upon the Church of England the rites and doctrines of Rome, and discussed the expediency of a union between the churches. He bequeathed this policy to his congenial but more decorous and less personally despicable son Charles I., who maintained it with a little more outward dignity and decency. Baulked of a Spanish wife and hurried at his accession into a war with Spain in compliance not so much with the Protestant susceptibility of the English people as by the offended pride of his favourite Buckingham, the companion of his bootless journey into Spain in search of an Austrian consort, he hurried out of that mismanaged and ineffective contest and resumed the paternal position of supplicant of the House of Austria for the restitution of the Palatinate. Busy in assailing the liberties and persecuting the more earnest Protestants of England, he felt no deep interest in the perils of Protestantism abroad, and uttered feeble and fruitless supplications in behalf of his sister and her despoiled children. While England was holden back by her unworthy Stewarts, Holland, absorbed in the conflict with Spain renewed in 1621, gave shelter to the Palatine and his family, but could give him no succour. Philip IV., the more ambitious and somewhat less incapable successor of Philip III. (1621), under the inspiration of his aspiring and enterprising minister Olivarez, wielded the great though rapidly declining strength and the still formidable

*prælium misceam, inter triumphos præcinente angelo illud "Cecidit" congeminem; huic sanctæ lætitiæ totus immergar; æternæ contiguus immorer raptus'* (Dedicatio).

name of the Spanish monarchy with considerable energy, partook the hereditary hatred of Protestantism, renewed the war for the subjugation of the Netherlands, embraced with all his heart and seconded with all his might the vast designs of his German kinsman Ferdinand for making the House of Hapsburg and the Church of Rome supreme in Christendom.<sup>55</sup>

Pope Paul V. had assisted Ferdinand in his early struggle with heresy, and enjoyed the first successes of that devoted champion of Rome, the battle of Prague and the subjection of Bohemia. His successor Gregory XV. (1621-23), witnessed the conquest of the Palatinate, received the Heidelberg library as his share in the spoils of defeated Protestantism, and established the Propaganda, for the more effectual propagation of the faith among heretics as well as heathens. It was given to the successor of Gregory, Urban VIII. (Maffeo Barberini) in the earlier years of his long pontificate (1623-44) to behold the triumphant career of his zealous Austrian son, the march of the Roman Catholic host from victory to victory, the extermination of Bohemian and the prostration of German Protestantism. But he did not enjoy all these triumphs as a good pontiff was bound to do. If ever there lived a pope who was not a papist, Urban VIII. was that peculiar personage. Although he rooted out heresy from a corner of Italy, Monaco, in 1630, his dislike of the Reformation was official more than personal, or rather it was less personal and lively than his dislike of the House of Austria. With less genius than Sixtus V., he somewhat resembled that exceptional pontiff. Self-conscious and restless, with a lively imagination and an eager ambition, a poet and a man of action, he cared more for his own glory and greatness than for the glory and greatness of his Church. Bent upon making a great stir in Italy and manifesting himself mightily there, he

<sup>55</sup> By the mouth of Ribera his ambassador at Rome, Philip IV. boasts to Urban VIII. of the implacable hatred borne to heresy by the kings of Spain, lays himself and his vast empire at the feet of the pontiff and pledges all his power by land and sea to the defence of the Roman See. He professes 'that a king of Spain ever holds as rebels those who fall away from the Catholic faith, that he reckons as his enemies those who rise up against the Roman church, turns his arms against them, accounts and avenges the wrongs of religion as his own, nor will be reconciled with them till they are reconciled with the Church.' He re-echoes the declaration of Philip II. that he would rather lose his richest provinces than reign over those who refuse obedience to the Roman church ('quam eos subditos habere qui se religioni Romanæque Ecclesiæ subicere obstinate recusent!') *Oratio ad Urbanum VIII.* 1625). The document forms a rejoicing and most instructive summary of the policy which has brought Spain so low.

annexed the dukedom of Urbino, he made war upon the duke of Parma, he was the most lively and energetic potentate of the Peninsula, the only disturber of that servile torpor which the deadly Spanish yoke had cast over Italy. He felt himself cribbed and confined as an Italian prince by the domination of the Spanish Hapsburgs, welcomed the transient intervention of France under Richelieu and deprecated most heartily that supremacy of the House of Austria over Germany and Europe, which Ferdinand II. seemed not unlikely to bring to pass. The pope disliked his most devoted son and was no well-wisher to his foremost champion, but shrank from active opposition to designs which promised such splendid results to the church whereof he was the head.<sup>56</sup>

Italy, enervated and degraded as she was, continued to pour forth her blood and treasure for the House of Austria and the Church of Rome—for those powers which have so fittingly requited her services, which avenged by the misery and debasement that they brought upon her the help that she gave them in bringing wretchedness upon other nations, and against which she is now waging a warfare more worthy of record and retrospect than the battles that she fought in their behalf. She lent them her brain and sword for the extirpation of that Protestantism which is now smiling upon her struggle and cheering her on to victory. A great Italian general Marquis Spinola led the army of Spain in the renewed conflict with Holland and more than once baffled prince Maurice. Italian warriors helped to fight the battles of Ferdinand II. and under Tilly and Wallenstein took part in the oppression and desolation of Germany, in the occupation of the Palatinate and in the massacre of Magdeburg. Italian soldiers kept garrison in the strongholds of Saxony and Pomerania; Italian captains commanded on the shores of the Baltic.

France, fallen from her place in Europe since the death of Henry IV., and weakened during the miserable minority of the feeble Louis XIII., had watched with impotent jealousy the triumphs of Ferdinand II., but was fast becoming herself again under the guidance of a great man. Cardinal Richelieu, far more a Frenchman than a churchman, disliked the House of Austria still more than pope Urban did, and made up his

<sup>56</sup> Harte, vol. i. p. 70; vol. ii. pp. 97-187. Botta, *Storia d' Italia*, c. 21. The poems of Urban (Oxon. 1726) have great merit. He wields the Alcaic measure especially with ease, elegance and vigour.

mind to humble the hereditary rival of France. But he had difficulties at home to contend with. The nobility thwarted him; Protestantism, though fallen and enfeebled, was still an armed power in the midst of France; before he could uplift Protestants abroad he must bring down Protestants at home. But even after he had disarmed the Huguenots and taken their stronghold La Rochelle, he shrank from assailing Ferdinand in the full tide of victory, he recoiled from an open and single-handed conflict with the House of Austria in this her hour of strength and splendour. In truth Ferdinand was a formidable antagonist. With more than 100,000 veteran and victorious soldiers under the greatest captains of the age, Tilly and Wallenstein, he overran and oppressed the empire from the Alps to the Baltic; Catholic Germany trembled and served him; Protestant Germany lay bleeding and fettered at his feet; Spain was his devoted ally; Italy was his obedient servant, the pope had to keep terms with the zealous son whom he disliked; Turkey was rent by factions and weakened by minorities; France was jealous but cautious and embarrassed; England was kept back by her Stewart king; Holland had full work on her hands. The dominion of Europe seemed within the stifling grasp of the House of Austria; the Church of Rome seemed about to regain the sovereignty of Christendom; never before or since has so deadly a domination hung so close over Europe; never has Protestantism known so sore a peril and so dark an hour.<sup>57</sup>

But a bright light broke upon this thick darkness. One unconquered and unawed nation was kept in reserve; Heaven had a consummate hero, a mighty helper in store for this exceeding need. In the farthest North Sweden had early chosen and steadfastly upholden the Reformation, had cast away the king who had forsaken it, and bound up possession of the throne with faithfulness to Protestantism. On that throne there then sate the most heroic personage and the devoutest Protestant that ever wore a crown. With as much largeness as loftiness of soul, set upon high endeavours, at home in difficult enterprises, the most valiant of soldiers, the most skilful, daring and inventive of captains, not without ambition but ambition wielded and ennobled by a great cause, with the love of glory mastered and magnified by the love of God, hasty of speech and

<sup>57</sup> Coxe, c. 5. Schiller, buch ii. Harte, vol. i. Gebhard Janus, in his panegyric on Gustavus Adolphus, sets forth the fearful plight of German Protestantism. *Gustavus Magnus*, pp. 164 et seq.



vehement in temper but most placable and forgiving, pure in life and fervent in spirit, with the fear of God before his eyes and faith in God deep in his heart, fervent but not fanatical, incapable of persecution while capable of martyrdom, Gustavus Adolphus possessed all the gifts and endowments of a perfect hero in as large measure as any mighty man of antiquity, while his spiritual greatness uplifted him to a height unreach-able by Epaminondas or Hannibal, and in a larger measure than any king of any age, or than any modern warrior or statesman, unless his fellow believer, and contemporary though not in manifestation, Oliver Cromwell be excepted. Grandson and namesake of Gustavus Vasa who established Protestantism in Sweden, son of that Charles IX. whom his Protestantism uplifted to a throne from which his Roman Catholic nephew had been hurled, inheritor of a crown consecrated to Protestantism, Gustavus Adolphus seemed a born champion of the Reformation.<sup>58</sup> Circumstance as well as inward conviction helped to confirm this bias of birth. He was in perpetual conflict with his cousin Sigismund king of Poland who coveted and claimed that Swedish throne from which the nation had cast him down for his adherence to the Roman Church. The war between Poland and Sweden, between Sigismund and Gustavus, which raged during the earlier years of the 'Thirty Years' War (1618-29) was in fact a war between Romanism and Protestantism and formed a portion of the great struggle between the churches. In that part of the wide battle-field where the Swedish hero fought, there and there alone did the Protestant cause prevail. While Bohemia was struck down, the Palatinate occupied and Germany overrun by the Catholic host, the Protestant champion overcame his Roman Catholic kinsman in Livonia, Poland and Prussia. Ferdinand counted the cause of Sigismund his own and that of the church and sent an army of victorious veterans to his aid; but they availed not

<sup>58</sup> Benedict Skytte, in his noble panegyric on the departed Gustavus, finely sets forth this hereditary championship: 'As no one besides had ever the courage to assail so mighty a house sustained by such long ancestral greatness, so no one besides had the special power and meetness to overcome it. For as Ferdinand belonged to a race born for the undoing of liberty so there was providentially raised up against him an antagonist in the great Gustavus descended from her champion Charles, from her champion Gustavus (Nemo tantam domum tam longa majorum serie subnixam ita aggredi ausus est, ita vincere potuit aut debuit; quippe Ferdinandi familie ad opprimendam libertatem nate fatale erat opponi Gustavum Magnum, vindice Carolo, vindice Gustavo ortum)' (*Gustavus Magnus*, pp. 311-367, a collection of panegyrics and funeral orations on the Swedish hero, Lugduni Batavorum, 1637).

against the mighty Swede, who wrung from his cousin a glorious and profitable peace.<sup>59</sup>

Victorious over the Polish subordinate, the Protestant champion singled out the Austrian chief of the Roman Catholic host. Gustavus held the cause of the imperilled Reformation to be his own. The groans of oppressed Germany and of stricken Protestantism rang in his ear; he looked across the Baltic and beheld the shores of Pomerania swarming with the gorged warriors of the House of Hapsburg and the Church of Rome. Wallenstein led them against the ramparts of Stralsund, the chief stronghold on the Pomeranian coast; but a Swedish garrison thrown in by Gustavus beat them back. . The king of Sweden but slightly put forth his hand, and for the first time the Roman Catholic host recoiled (1629). Gustavus then deliberately, earnestly and prayerfully set about the highest endeavour that king or captain ever gave himself to, undertook one of the most daring enterprises of which history bears record, almost more daring than the onslaught of Alexander upon Persia, not less daring than the march of Hannibal into Italy and certainly bolder than the early invasion of Italy by Bonaparte. The king of a poor thinly-peopled and insignificant land, the captain of a small army, assisted by some money from France and by some volunteers from England and Scotland, Gustavus flung himself upon the Austrian Cæsar, the highest placed and the most potent monarch of Europe in the fullness of strength and in a mid career of conquest, surrounded by more than 100,000 victorious veterans under generals of consummate skill, sustained by the power of Spain, the resources of Italy and the gold of the Indies. The height of the endeavour was a match for the boldness of the enterprise. Ambition and resentment may have somewhat moved him; but ambition and resentment were the handmaids of a purer and more lofty passion; the love of glory stirred his heart; but the love of glory waited on the love of God. He solemnly consecrated himself and his people, his hand and brain, his life and soul to the deliverance of his oppressed fellow-believers, to the rescue and raising up of Protestantism sore beset and beaten down, to the preservation of Christendom from the most dreary and deadly yoke that ever threatened it, from the confederate despotism of the House of Austria and the Church of Rome.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Harte, vol. i. pp. 34-120.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 138-152. Schiller, buch ii.

And gloriously was the high endeavour fulfilled. The Protestant champion threw himself into Germany with a few thousand men, and thronged more mighty deeds into two years and not five months (June 24, 1630—November 6, 1632) than almost any conqueror, and than certainly any deliverer ever achieved in the same time. Everything yielded to his patience, his boldness, his genius and his self-devotion. He hurled back the torrent of Roman Catholic aggression from the shores of the Baltic to the foot of the Alps, from the mouth of the Elbe to the source of the Danube. Stronghold after stronghold was stormed; army after army was defeated; city after city welcomed the Protestant deliverer, prince after prince gathered round the Protestant champion—

‘Each laurelled leader down before him went;  
He passed from strength to strength, a wondrous way,  
Till Victory’s dim dawn flamed into fair full day.’

Tilly and his savage host, defiled and bewildered by the blood-bath of Magdeburg, where 20,000 Protestants were slaughtered at the storming of the hapless city, May 10, 1631, were utterly broken and overthrown at Leipzig four months after, September 7, 1631,<sup>61</sup> and the Roman Catholic captain, overtaken by his terrible pursuer who had traversed half Germany in the chase, underwent a second defeat and received a mortal wound on the banks of the Lech. Wallenstein, whom Ferdinand had dismissed at the importunate request of jealous rivals about the time when Gustavus landed, whom he summoned to the rescue after the battle of Leipzig and whom the emperor according to the practice of the House of Hapsburg towards its signal benefactors, afterwards got treacherously murdered on pretence of a plot never formed, shrank from an encounter with the mighty Swede. The ecclesiastical electors of the Rhine bowed before the Protestant victor. The Spaniards did not wait for him in the Palatinate, Maximilian of Bavaria fled from his capital, and Gustavus entered Munich in triumph. Ferdinand stricken down from the topmost height of power and pride to the lowest depth of weakness and forlornness feared a visit at Vienna.<sup>62</sup> The House of Hapsburg so late the terror of Europe,

<sup>61</sup> Harte, vol. i. pp. 267-76; vol. ii. pp. 20-34. Schiller, buch ii. The Magdeburg butchery unstained by the treachery so characteristic of the horrors of the Roman Catholic reaction, still holds the highest rank among the massacres perpetrated by all besieging armies except the Mongols under Zingis and Timoor. *Swedish Intelligencer*, pp. 111 et seq.

<sup>62</sup> Harte, vol. ii. passim. Schiller, buch. ii. iii. *Gustavus Magnus*, pp. 224-309.

sank into an object of compassion and contempt. The Church of Rome arrested in its career of reconquest trembled before the king of the Goths and beheld in him a new Alaric and Adolph. Christendom gazed in gladsome or abhorrent amazement upon the marvellous conqueror. The Reformed Churches exulted in their mighty champion and mourned over his early withdrawal. Italy expected an invasion, Spain cowered before the terrible heretic and indulged in extravagant rejoicings at his departure. France envied the sudden greatness of her ally. The insignificant Louis XIII. felt doubly small beside such a monarch. Richelieu, great as he was, shrank before the master-spirit whom he had solicited to appear, feared that the House of Austria was too much humbled, that the Roman Church was in some peril, and felt glad when the hero fell. Christian of Denmark was jealous of the Protestant champion who had wrought the deliverance which he had vainly attempted. England and Scotland rejoiced over the victories of the great deliverer, but Charles I. and Strafford had no liking for so true a hero and so true a Protestant and rather enjoyed his removal.<sup>63</sup>

Of all the princes of Europe, pope Urban VIII. most heartily admired and most sincerely lamented the great champion of the Reformation. The pontiff's heart yearned towards the mighty man whom his office bade him abhor; and with Urban the heart was far stronger than the office. Himself ambitious, enterprising and a poet, he was dazzled by these daring deeds done and by these splendid victories won in behalf of heresy; he felt for Gustavus the earnest and imitative admiration which more than one smaller aspirant for renown has felt for a surpassing contemporary, which Peter III. of Russia felt for Frederick the Great and which Paul of Russia felt for Bonaparte, though the pope far exceeded in capacity the two hapless czars; he sought to emulate in Italy the career of the Swedish conqueror in Germany, and loved in Gustavus the humbler of that House of Hapsburg which kept him down as an Italian potentate. Full of heroic susceptibilities and predilections, high of heart and large of soul, he shrank from the

<sup>63</sup> Harte, vol. ii. passim. Schiller, buch iii. passim. In the *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum*, pp. 392-97, Gevartius the Austrian historiographer, expresses the Roman Catholic horror of Gustavus and joy at his death, not unmingled however with admiring amazement at the deeds of the king of the Goths whom he likens to another Gothic Adolph, the successor of Alaric.

Philips and the Ferdinands, the Austrian champions, the patient plodders, the deadly persecutors, the wily conspirators and assassins who had so meanly yet so effectually done the work of the church, and he yearned towards the world-amazing conqueror, the high-hearted hero, the large-souled deliverer who so gloriously fought the battles of the Reformation, and lamented the stroke which cut short that illustrious course and laid the Protestant champion low on the field of Lutzen (November 6, 1632).<sup>64</sup> Gustavus died the death at once of a martyr and of a hero, sealing his devotion to the Protestant faith with his blood, and falling upon the battle-field which he won.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Harte, vol. ii. p. 383. It is sad to think that the admirer of Gustavus was the persecutor of Galileo.

<sup>65</sup> In the Thirty Years' War the great Protestant champion and two of the foremost Roman Catholic champions Tilly and Pappenheim died either on the battle-field or from wounds received thereon, the Protestant hero in the arms of victory, the two Catholic captains in the embrace of defeat—Tilly mortally wounded beside the Lech and Pappenheim falling on that field of Lutzen where Gustavus fell. Among the mighty men who died in the arms of victory, men such as Brasidas at Amphipolis, Epaminondas at Mantinea, Theodoric the Visigoth at Chalons against Attila, Douglas at Otterbourne, Gaston de Foix at Ravenna, Dundee at Killiecrankie, Wolfe at Quebec, Abercrombie at Alexandria, Nelson at Trafalgar, and Moore at Corunna, Gustavus Adolphus stands forth by far the most illustrious. Nor are Tilly and Pappenheim the least conspicuous of the more numerous company of kings and captains who died in the embrace of defeat, a company which includes Saul at Gilboa, Ahab at Ramoth-Gilead, Josiah at Megiddo, Mardonius at Platea, Cleon at Amphipolis, Callicratidas at Arginuse, Cleombrotus at Leuctra, Antigonus at Ipsus, Flaminius at Thrasymene, Æmilius Paulus at Cannæ, Hasdrubal beside the Metaurus, Judas Macabæus at Eleasa, Crassus at Carrhæ, Varus in Teutberg Forest, the emperor Decius at Feretium, Totila the Goth at Tagina, Oswald of Northumberland at Oswestry and his vanquisher Penda of Mercia at Winfield, Roderick at Xeres, Harold at Hastings, Simon de Montfort at Evesham, Manfred at Benevento, Philip van Arteveld at Rosbecque, Hotspur at Shrewsbury, the Constable d'Albret at Agincourt, Thomas of Clarence at Baugé, Archibald Douglas at Verneuil, Richard of York at Wakefield, Warwick at Barnet, Charles the Bold at Nancy, Richard III. at Bosworth, James IV. at Flodden, Van Tromp off the Texel, Montcalm at Quebec, Brueys at the Nile, Joubert at Novi. It is hardly just to call the deliberate self-immolation of Leonidas at Thermopylæ death in the embrace of defeat or to speak of the self-devotion of the two Decii, the father at Vesuvius against the Latins, and the son at Sentinum against the Gauls, in order to bring victory to Rome, as death in the arms of victory. Pelopidas perished in a Thessalian as did Marcellus in a Carthaginian ambushade. Brutus and Cassius died on the field which they lost, though they fell by their own hands, as did Otho. Julian was killed in a skirmish; Sir Philip Sidney fell in an indecisive engagement. Turenne was struck down in a reconnaissance; Marceau fell during a disastrous retreat not in a regular rout of the French, near Coblenz. Dessaix and Lannes were killed while sustaining though not supremely directing the battles of Marengo and Essling. Moreau was struck down at Dresden, a member, not the commander of the defeated host. Kings and chiefs have fallen during the siege as well as on the field. The arrow which brought death to Richard I. flew from the petty fortress of Chalus; a stone from the walls of Toulouse struck down

As his army gained the victory though they lost their leader, so the cause prevailed though the great champion was withdrawn. The work had been too mightily done for his early dying to undo it. Protestantism was saved; the Roman Church was stayed in her attempt to reconquer Christendom. The House of Austria recovered from its deep depression, but never regained the supremacy from which Gustavus had hurled it. During the sixteen years which yet remained of the Thirty Years' War the Swedes led by nurselings of their royal hero and vigorously assisted by the French, generally got the better; Ferdinand II. who in 1634 added the murder of Wallenstein to his many misdeeds died in 1637; the conflict, maintained with vigour but general ill success by his congenial though slightly less fanatical son and successor Ferdinand III. was brought to a close in 1648 by the famous peace of Westphalia, which established the freedom and security of Protestantism in Germany, aggrandised its Swedish champions and their French allies, and put an end to the great wars of religion.<sup>66</sup>

The treaty of Westphalia was in truth no mean work and no ordinary event. It must be acknowledged as the greatest and most famous of all treaties, as the most important, abiding and illustrious piece of diplomacy ever accomplished. It made an end of the longest war ever known; it made an end of the most horrible kind of war, religious conflict on a large scale. It affected almost every power of Europe; it led to an entire change in the politics of Europe. It is not yet a dead letter. Much of it stands good for our time. The external and political relations of Romanism and Protestantism in Germany and throughout Christendom remain pretty much what this masterpiece of diplomacy left them. It closed a very great and awful act in the history of the world. The battle of the churches, as far as it was a matter of swords, as far as soldiers and statesmen had to do with it, was over; that is, it was over as a great European business, as a great scene in history. It lingered

Simon de Montfort the elder; Constantine Palæologus fell as the Ottomans were storming Constantinople; a cannon-ball near Roxburgh Castle despatched James II. of Scotland; Charles XII. a kinsman and successor of Gustavus fell before the walls of Frederickshall; Marshal Berwick was killed while beleaguering Philipsburg. But all the mighty men who have fallen by the hand of war whether on the battle-field or before or within the beleaguered fortress, are overtopped and outshone in the greatness of their deeds, in the height of their souls and in the glory of their name by the Protestant hero who fell at Lutzen.

<sup>66</sup> Schiller, buch iv. Woltmann's *Geschichte des Westphälischen Friedens*, passim.

here and there in far-off nooks. It lingered in Ireland, where the vanquished and down-trodden Roman Catholics rose upon their Protestant neighbours, made another night hideously memorable, November 1641, and added the Irish massacre to the manifold horrors of the fight between the churches; where in 1649 the sword of English Puritanism, so mightily wielded by Cromwell, sternly avenged the massacre and brought the Papists again under the yoke, and where forty years afterwards another fierce Roman Catholic uprising in the name of James II. ended in another crushing Protestant victory under William of Orange. It lingered in Hungary where perpetual persecutions on the part of the House of Hapsburg often drove the Protestant Magyars, supported by their Roman Catholic fellow countrymen, to take up arms, till the peace of Zatmar (1711) recognised their political and religious freedom.

But the great European conflict was over. The struggle between Rome and the Reformation which for ninety years, from the accession of Philip II. and Elizabeth to the peace of Westphalia (1558-1648), had completely coloured and suffused the politics of Europe, appropriated every event, mixed itself with every combination, prompted every alliance and every treaty, insinuated itself into every intrigue, inspired every faction, turned every lesser strife into a tributary of its main stream, occupied every statesman, wielded every warrior, which convulsed so many nations, shook or overthrew so many thrones, witnessed so many battles, so many sieges, so many conspiracies, so many massacres, such multitudinous and enormous crimes—that awful struggle was at an end. The politics of Europe escaped from the gripe both of Rome and the Reformation; the powers of Europe were no longer marshalled as Catholic or Protestant powers. Religion ceased to be their bond of union or their cause of quarrel. States professed to enter upon war and to contract peace not for the extermination or the defence of Protestantism but for the extension of territory or for the preservation of the balance of power. The leading monarchs, statesmen and warriors of the age were no longer the servants of either church. Cromwell it is true, who survived the peace of Westphalia ten years, the supreme of Protestants, the fellow of Gustavus Adolphus, sought to give the policy of England a Protestant shape. The struggle of England against the House of Stewart was contemporary and not unconnected with the struggle of Protestant Christendom against the House of Haps-

burg and the Church of Rome ; as it was a conflict not only with arbitrary power in the English State, but also with semi-popery in the English Church. As Ferdinand II. delighted in Jesuits and loathed Protestants, so Charles I. loved Romanisers and detested Puritans ; Laud was as potent with the Stewart as was Father Lammerlein with the Hapsburg and persecuted earnest Protestantism as heartily, if unable to persecute it as savagely. The great civil war which raged in England during the last years of the Thirty Years' War bore in some things a striking likeness to the great Continental fight. The two heroes whom the two conflicts called forth, Gustavus and Oliver, stand at the head of mighty Protestants and perhaps of heroic men. In spirit and genius, as afterwards in rank, the Huntingdonshire farmer was the fellow of the king of Sweden ; the Swedish Lutheran, if not so profound a theologian as the English Calvinist, knew and loved the Word almost as well.

The Ironsides whom Oliver inspired, had their pattern and precedent in some of the warriors whom Gustavus trained to pray and conquer ; and the saintly host and the prayerful camp of the English Puritans exhibited the perfection of that godly discipline which had been attempted in the Swedish army.<sup>67</sup> Had Oliver been supreme in England when Gustavus was doing the work in Germany, had the two mighty Protestants put forth their might together, the world could not have stood against them ; Austria might have been crushed, Rome might have fallen ; Christendom might have become Protestant. As it was, when Cromwell twenty-one years after the death of Gustavus and five years after the peace of Westphalia found himself sovereign of England, he made it the chief business of his foreign policy to support the Protestant cause throughout the world. He protected oppressed Protestants everywhere, sought to reconcile Protestant princes and to establish a Protestant confederacy, bestowed the favour of his alliance emulously courted by France and Spain upon the former as the less intensely papal power and earnestly cultivated the friendship of Charles Gustavus, the warlike and not unworthy nephew of Adolphus, and the successor of his unworthy daughter, that fan-

<sup>67</sup> Harte takes for the motto of his life of Gustavus the lines with which Dryden closes his not unworthy tribute to the memory of Oliver :

'His name a great example stands to show  
How strangely high endeavours may be blest  
Where piety and valour jointly go.'



tastical recreant Christina who descended from the throne of Sweden to indulge an æsthetic, sentimental and rationalistic popery at Rome.<sup>68</sup> Had the reign of the Lord Protector been prolonged, his Protestant policy might have borne great and abiding fruit; but he died in 1658, and his was the last great endeavour to shape the politics of Europe for the defence or aggrandisement of a faith. Statesmen were otherwise employed. Territorial extension became the manifest object of strong and ambitious States. The balance of power became the watchword of their weaker neighbours. Spain sank into impotence and contempt; the House of Austria ceased to be formidable. Louis XIV. kept Europe in constant alarm by his not unsuccessful endeavours for the enlargement of France and the aggrandisement of the House of Bourbon. By turns he assailed papal Spain (1667), invaded Protestant Holland (1672), drove the two States only twenty-three years after the end of their eighty years' conflict into a close alliance and saw the House of Orange in intimacy with the House of Hapsburg. Himself a persecutor of Huguenots he stirred up the Hungarian Protestants against his fellow persecutor Leopold of Austria, emperor of Germany, while in his dealings with the degraded England of the Restoration, he sought to root out liberty and Protestantism therefrom by means of her Stewart kings, his unprincipled hireling Charles II. and his clumsy fellow-labourer James II.; and Leopold, a pupil of the Jesuits and as true a Hapsburg as the times would let him be, in the midst of a ruthless warfare against the Protestant Magyars, welcomed the revolution which drove the Catholic Stewarts from the throne of England and set apart that throne for Protestant occupants.

The Church of Rome, defeated in her great attempt to reconquer Christendom, had regained much of the ground which she seemed about to lose in 1560 at the beginning of the awful combat. Secure in the possession and debasement of her undisputed dominions of Spain and Italy, she had won back her supremacy in France, was depressing Southern Germany and the Southern Netherlands by her restored rule, had reconquered and ruined Bohemia, more than divided Hungary with the

<sup>68</sup> A French agent in a letter to Cardinal Mazarin (Guizot, *République d'Angleterre*, tom. ii. pp. 426-36) gives a most entertaining sketch of the Protestant policy of the Protector and ascribes to him certain grand projects for the propagation and defence of his faith. But the noblest record of Oliver's zeal for Protestantism is supplied by the letters to foreign powers which Milton wrote in his name.

Reformed Churches, was using her recovered predominance for the weakening and bringing down of Poland, and kept her hold on the heart, though vanquished in the realm of Ireland; while Protestantism remained in possession of England and Scotland, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, North Germany and the Northern Netherlands. Latin Christendom kept mainly Roman Catholic, Teutonic Christendom kept mainly Protestant, and Slavonic Christendom kept mainly in allegiance to the Greek Church. After the peace of Westphalia, the Roman Church ceased to be aggressive on a large scale and through the means of great powers; the spirit of reconquest died out in her as the principle of expansion had died out in Protestantism. The papacy bore witness to the shrunken ambition and impaired energy of the Roman Church. Urban VIII. survived the heretical object of his admiration till 1644, retaining to the last his dislike of the House of Austria and his restlessness as an Italian potentate, and leaving the Thirty Years' War still raging. His successor Innocent X. (1644-55) sought to play a great and lofty part in the pacification of Christendom, undertook in conjunction with the republic of Venice the task of mediating between the House of Austria and her foes, and despatched for that business an accomplished diplomatist Cardinal Chigi to the congress of Münster (1644). But offended by certain concessions, especially certain grants of ecclesiastical property obtained by the Protestants, the papal mediator withdrew his envoy, gave up his office and protested against the treaty. The famous peace of Westphalia was concluded not only without but in spite of the papacy, and included a sort of defiance of the papal power in one of the final clauses which proclaimed the validity and inviolability of the treaty, every protest of every power spiritual or temporal, any decree of pope or council notwithstanding.<sup>69</sup> In this great settlement of Christendom every European power appeared either as contracting party or ally thereof, except the sultan and the pontiff. But pope Innocent went beyond a protest. He annulled this masterpiece of diplomacy, abolished this most abiding of its works. This illustrious and enduring treaty, the pattern and precedent of so many others, to which so many famous successors, the treaties of Nimeguen, of Ryswick, of Utrecht, of Aix-la-Chapelle, of Vienna, have looked back with filial deference and reverent

<sup>69</sup> Woltmann's *Urkunde Westphälischen Friedens*, Artikel 17.

recognition, that treaty which brought to an end the wars of Christendom strictly so called, which fixed the frontiers and the political relations of the Roman Catholic and Reformed Churches pretty much as they now stand, which has at this very hour a certain virtue and validity, has thriven under the anathema and remained a standing proclamation of the modern impotence of the Roman See. The one service to mankind which the popedom zealously attempted during the middle ages was that of mediation between contending powers with which itself was not in conflict, and it performed this honourable office of peace-maker as effectually as its own perpetual wars would allow. After the Reformation the popes still affected this benignant character, and appeared frequent mediators between their eldest and most Christian son of France and their most Catholic son of Spain. Paul III. assisted at the peace of Crespy between Francis I. and Charles V. (1544); Clement VIII. intervened at the peace of Vervins between Henry IV. and Philip II. (1598). Innocent X. sought to mediate between France and the House of Austria at Münster, and not ignobly aspired to take a leading part in the great business of the pacification of Christendom by the peace of Westphalia; the defeat of that aspiration through the predominance of Protestant powers and the prevalence of Protestant demands as well as his bootless protest against that master-work and his idle abolition of that very abiding reality, dealt a heavy blow to the power and importance of the papacy. Since that time more than one pope has offered to assist at great European peace-makings, but papal mediation has not been even accepted; and for the last 200 years the popedom has had neither part nor lot in any of the famous European treaties, unless that of Vienna may be excepted which merely restored Pius VII. to his Italian dominions without admitting him even as a contracting party.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Alexander VII. sought to mediate between Spain and France, but Cardinal Mazarin would let his papal sovereign have no part in the peace of the Pyrenees (1659). Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, tom. xxv. c. 28, p. 44. Thiers, *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*, c. 56.

## BOOK IX.

## THE DECREPITUDE OF THE POPEDOM.

He is by reason of age and also of the many shrewd brushes that he met with in his younger days, grown so crazy and stiff in his joints that he can do little more than sit in his cave's mouth grinning at pilgrims as they go by and biting his nails because he cannot come at them.—*Pilgrim's Progress*.

FROM the peace of Westphalia through the latter half of the seventeenth century, throughout the long reign of Louis XIV. (1643-1715), the popedom went on shrinking and dwindling as a spiritual and a political power.<sup>1</sup> When war between Rome and the Reformation ceased to be the great business of Christendom, the head of the Roman Church lost much of his prominence. The age of Louis XIV. was an age of abounding

<sup>1</sup> The length of his reign is very remarkable, especially when taken together with its eventfulness. He reigned seventy-two years, and he lived seventy-eight years. Few monarchs have lived longer and none have reigned longer than Louis XIV. Sapor II. king of Persia, a contemporary of Constantine and Julian, the latter of whom fell in a war with him, alone reached the seventy-two years of Louis' reign. In fact Sapor may be said to have reigned before he was born, as he received the homage of his subjects while in the womb, on which the crown was laid. The great Mogul Aurungzebe, a contemporary of Louis, lived ninety years out of which forty-nine were years of sovereignty (1658-1707). The nominal reigns of the two Byzantine Cæsars and brothers, Basil II. and Constantine IX., lasted almost as long as their lives, Basil living sixty-eight and reigning sixty-two years (963-1025) and Constantine living sixty-eight and reigning sixty-five years (968-1028). Christian IV. of Denmark reigned sixty years (1588-1648). Two Chinese emperors of the present dynasty, Kung He (1661-1722) and Kien Long (1735-1795) reigned each sixty years. Our George III. lived eighty-two and reigned sixty years. Uzziah and Manasseh kings of Judah, Augustus Cæsar, Alfonso VIII. of Castile (1158-1213), Henry III. of England (1216-1272), Andronicus Palæologus the Byzantine Cæsar (1273-1332), Edward III. of England (1327-1377), Pedro IV. of Aragon (1336-1387), Sigismund of Hungary (1385-1437), Frederick III. of Germany (1440-1493) and Louis XV. of France (1715-1774) most nearly attained a reign of sixty years. Louis XIV. was the contemporary of seven English sovereigns, four German emperors, five Russian czars, three Spanish, four Portuguese, four Swedish, four Danish and six Polish kings, six sultans and nine popes.

life and manifold activity, of great political and great intellectual energy; it was an age of great scientific advancement and great literary splendour, of great wars and great treaties, of theological controversy and religious persecution, but not of papal ascendancy or activity. There were great sovereigns, great statesmen, great discoverers, great philosophers, great poets, great theologians and great persecutors; but there were no great popes. The pontiffs had nothing to do with the wars and treaties, and not very much with the persecutions which renowned and saddened the age. The great men of the time were no servants of the papacy, not even the great Roman Catholic theologians and persecutors. Turenne, Condé and Luxembourg, Eugene of Savoy and Marlborough fought to enlarge or curtail, to advance or bring low the power of France, but not for or against the papacy. Colbert and Louvois, Pomponne and De Torcy laboured for the aggrandisement of France and the glory of Louis without any especial reference to Rome; just as the de Witts, Fagel and Heinsius wrought for Holland as a state, not as a Protestant state. The highest and purest souls within the Roman Catholic Church, the illustrious company of Port Royal, were not soldiers but victims of the papacy. In the *Lettres Provinciales* wherewith Pascal smote the Jesuits, the mightiest and most richly gifted member of the Roman Catholic Church struck a tremendous stroke against the foremost upholders of the papal power. The great preacher and the great theologian of the French Church cannot pass for a papal champion; Bossuet was no Bellarmine; so far from magnifying the primacy of the popedom, he magnified the liberties of the Gallican Church and upheld the four articles of 1682, one of which exalted councils above popes.

The foremost sovereigns of the age, however sincerely devoted to their religion, did not dedicate their main activity to its defence and advancement. Frederick William the great elector of Brandenburg, a ruler far more truly great than the grand monarch of France, and a true and earnest Protestant, was more prominent and is better remembered as the true founder of the greatness of the House of Hohenzollern, as the benefactor and enlarger of his little state, than as a champion of the Reformation. William of Orange himself, the earnest and hereditary champion of Protestantism, was yet the antagonist of France rather than of Rome and abhorred in that Louis

whom in conjunction with Roman Catholic powers he so persistently assailed, the invader of his country and the dominator of Europe as much as the oppressor of his faith. But for Englishmen the foe of France and the champion of Europe has been lost in the Protestant hero; the Revolution, a part only of the great work of his life, the conflict with Louis XIV., stands forth his master work as in truth it is; and hearts are still stirred by the memory in truth glorious and immortal not of him who banded nations together against the ambition of Louis XIV. and withstood the armies of France under Condé and Luxembourg, but of him who vanquished the papal host on the banks of the Boyne and wrought a great deliverance for the state and church of Protestant England. The valiant king of Poland John Sobieski, when he vanquished the Turks before Vienna (1683) and beat back the last great onset of Islam, was the soldier of Christendom, not of the popedom.

His confederate the emperor Leopold, true Hapsburg and ruthless persecutor of Protestantism as he was, had a fanaticism less single and absorbing than that of his grandfather Ferdinand II., and is better remembered as the ally of Protestant England and Holland against Louis XIV. than as the oppressor of Protestant Hungary.

The splendid monarch so conspicuous throughout the age to which he has bequeathed his name, though greatly given to persecution, was no Philip II., was not distinctively and exclusively a persecutor, and was very far indeed from being a papal champion. Incapable of fanaticism Louis XIV. became a persecutor from excess of pride and self-will. Above all an absolute monarch, full of ambition but more filled with arrogance, and elated by early and long continued success, he got to resent as a personal affront not only all active opposition to his will, but all independence of thought, speech and action in his court and in his kingdom, every divergence from the creed which he professed, every disinclination to a course which he had taken, any scruple about recognising rights which he deemed his own. He resented opposition in Angélique Arnauld no less than in William of Orange; he was as wroth with the meek woman who shrank from subscribing a formulary which he approved as with the great prince who stirred up confederate nations and led forth mighty armies against him. An impartial exactor and oppressor he invaded Holland without the slightest provocation, at once to pull

down a stronghold of that Protestantism which he did not profess, and to chastise the republic which had wounded his pride and baulked his ambition. He fell upon prostrate Spain to get an extension of territory, and he had the Palatinate laid waste in order to break the resistance of Germany; he oppressed the Jansenists for disliking a formulary which he liked, he tormented the Quietists for not feeling as he felt, he persecuted and expelled the Protestants for not believing as he believed, he assailed and humbled more than one pope for affronting his dignity and resisting his will. The papacy was often braved and outraged by its eldest son, felt the heavy hand of him whose hand lay so heavy upon the heretics. He thrust a quarrel upon Pope Alexander VII. (1662) on account of a tumult which the haughty conduct of his ambassador at Rome had provoked, heaped menaces and insults upon the Holy Father, sent an army into Italy to enforce satisfaction and finally wrung a most humiliating reparation from the sovereign pontiff (1664). The very same pontiff who had seven years before felt the fear of Protestant England, who had trembled at the name of her great Puritan sovereign Oliver and been fluttered at the neighbourhood of her great Puritan sea-king Blake, felt the rough handling of Roman Catholic France and quivered in the stern gripe of the great persecutor of the Protestants.<sup>2</sup> Louis fell out on a similar occasion with Innocent XI. a pontiff of eminent personal virtue, and handled that pope with no less arrogance and bitterness. But his breach with Innocent XI. was not merely a dispute about the privileges of an ambassador; he had with that pontiff another, and a more serious, substantial and respectable quarrel. The crown had long exercised the right of appointing to all the livings of a vacant bishopric through the greatest part of France. In 1673 Louis extended the right to the whole kingdom, and appropriated the revenue of many livings to buy over Protestants to the Church of Rome. Notwithstanding this pious employment of church revenues, some bishops in the hitherto exempted provinces remonstrated against this encroachment of the royal power. Pope Innocent XI. supported them. So great was the admiration and awe inspired by Louis, that most of the French bishops stood by the king, who to bind them closer to him countenanced the extension of the episcopal power at the

<sup>2</sup> Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, tom. xxv. c. 27.

expense of the papal power ; so that the dispute about vacant benefices grew into a serious conflict between the See of Rome and the State and Church of France. Innocent launched bulls and briefs against priests who had accepted livings at the king's hands, and Louis through his parliaments encountered trenchant briefs with sweeping decrees. In 1682 the clergy of France assembled, confirmed the right of presentation claimed by the king, and under the inspiration of Bossuet drew up the four famous articles which denied the popedom all temporal jurisdiction in foreign states, declared a general council to be above a pope, recognised in the canons and customs of the French Church and other Churches limitations of the papal power, and pronounced the papal decisions even in matters of faith liable to alteration, unless confirmed by the consent of the whole church. Innocent rejected these articles as personal affronts and spiritual enormities ; Louis took to them, had them registered in parliaments and taught in schools. The pontiff withheld the bull of investiture from every upholder of the four articles whom the king had appointed to a bishopric, while the monarch forbade every new-made prelate to go to Rome for the bull ; so that between pope and king thirty-five sees had no occupants. Then came the deplorable dispute above referred to. Innocent had abolished certain privileges claimed by foreign ambassadors at Rome, among others that of sheltering criminals. All other powers accepted this alteration ; but the great king held out, and sent an ambassador to Rome with a train of armed men and with instructions to maintain the abolished privileges and to defy the pope in his own capital. Innocent excommunicated the envoy ; Louis upbraided and threatened the pontiff, seized upon Avignon, and showed himself in this small matter the oppressor of that pope who had found him a not unworthy opponent in the great business of the four articles.<sup>3</sup>

In the thick of this fight with Rome Louis stretched forth his hand to crush his Protestant subjects. The very assembly of the clergy which had drawn up the four articles of 1682 besought the king to make an end of heresy in his dominions. Louis, who held it high treason in a subject to profess a different faith from his own, and who ever since he had taken

<sup>3</sup> Sismondi, tom. xxv. c. 33, pp. 421-9 ; c. 34, pp. 551-65. De Maistre, *de l'Eglise Gallicane*, lib. ii. c. 1-7, who is greatly scandalised by the enormity of these anti-papal proceedings in so eminent and exemplary a persecutor.



affairs into his own hands had been busy at the work of destroying heresy, was nothing loth to bring it to completion. After having harassed and tormented the Protestants in every way for five and twenty years, after having tried every kind of corruption and violence to turn them into Catholics, bribed them at six livres the convert, driven them from every honourable profession, rendered them incapable of every office, let loose soldiers upon them, plundered their property, shut up their schools, pulled down their temples, and taken away their children, at last on October 2, 1685, he revoked the Edict of Nantes by which his grandfather Henry IV. had granted them the fullness of religious freedom, abolished the Reformed worship in France, sent the ministers to the galleys, drove 300,000 Protestants into other lands, caused the death of as many more by the hardships laid upon them, and went on tormenting a million more who stayed in France, either bold and world-defying confessors or insincere and suspected converts.<sup>4</sup>

The grim work which had its fulfilment in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was in no way the work of the papacy. The popes had little or nothing to do with the persecution of the French Protestants. The crime was emphatically the crime of Louis, who effaced the popes as persecutors not less completely than as potentates. Innocent XI. gave no encouragement to the work and objected to some particular measures.<sup>5</sup> He beheld his own oppressor in the oppressor of the Huguenots, disliked everything which Louis did, looked coldly upon his friends and yearned towards his foes. The sovereign pontiff almost discouraged the clumsy attempt of James II. to bring back England to the Church of which he was the head, gave a cold reception to the envoy whom the king sent to Rome, had no horror of the Protestant hero William of Orange, that un-resting enemy of Louis, and almost welcomed that Revolution which, while it hurled a Roman Catholic sovereign from the throne of England and linked the possession of that throne with the profession of Protestantism, yet crossed the ambitious projects of his froward eldest son and began the long series of calamities which darkened the latter years of the arrogant and magnificent Louis. Innocent died at enmity with the French king (1690); and Louis under the pressure of the league of Augsburg which the Protestant champion William of Orange

<sup>4</sup> Sismondi, tom. xxv. c. 30-34.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* c. 34.

had knit together against him, made some concessions to the papacy, gave back Avignon, gave up the immunities claimed for the ambassador at Rome, and suffered his clergy to make a kind of half-retractation of the four articles, surrendering them as starting-points for national action, but retaining them as principles of the Gallican Church.<sup>6</sup> Thus the Revolution which struck down Roman Catholicism in England and the confederacy which assailed the great persecutor of Protestantism, brought a slight advantage to the papacy.

The pontiff to whom Louis made these concessions, Innocent XII. (1691-1700), requited them by a vital service in the great matter of the Spanish Succession. When the sickly and childless Charles II. of Spain, the last male of the Spanish Hapsburgs, was drawing towards his last hour, oppressed by the burden of the many realms which he had ever been powerless to govern but which he was now called upon to bequeath, perplexed by the rival claims of the House of Bourbon and the German branch of the House of Hapsburg to the vast inheritance, beset by the hourly importunity of contending counsellors, some recommending a French and others an Austrian successor; sorely wounded by the presumption of foreign powers in parcelling out his many kingdoms, tormented by the scruples of a tender conscience and the plagues of superstitious terror, by the solicitations of sorcerers and the suggestions of friends, in this dire perplexity the hapless monarch turned for counsel and direction to the head of his Church and promised to abide by the decision of the sovereign pontiff. The dying Innocent replied to the dying Charles and besought him as he feared that God before whose judgment-seat they both must so soon appear to bequeath his vast dominions to the rightful heir, Philip duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV., who had married the eldest sister of Charles.<sup>7</sup> Charles at once obeyed; the old pope and the young king died within a few weeks of each other (September 27, November 1, 1700); and the papacy in this period of political depression had for once something to do with a great European event, with the transfer of the Spanish monarchy to the House of Bourbon and with the tremendous war of the Spanish Succession; that war from which death withdrew William III., but in which the spirit of the great foe of Louis so mightily triumphed, that war so glorious

<sup>6</sup> Sismondi, tom. xxvi. c. 35, pp. 43, 44, 69; c. 36, pp. 113-15.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* tom. xxvi. c. 38, pp. 286-8. Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, tom. iii. c. 2.

for England and so calamitous for France, that war wherein Marlborough enacted such wonders, which heaped such disasters and defeats upon Louis XIV., and wherein that haughty oppressor of Europe drained to the dregs the bitter cup of shame which he had held to the lips of so many princes and peoples. The fierce flame of that conflict burned from one end of Italy to the other. For the first time for nearly 150 years the Peninsula became the theatre of a great war. While in this war two Italian princes of kindred blood greatly signalled themselves, Victor Amadeus duke of Savoy, an Italian potentate, and Eugene prince of Savoy, an Austrian general, every Italian state greatly suffered, and not least the pope and his people. Clement XI. acknowledged as king of Spain that Philip of France whom the dying counsels of his predecessor Innocent XII. had helped to place upon the Spanish throne, and showed a leaning towards France throughout the war of the Spanish Succession. The emperor Joseph (1705-11) whose brother the archduke Charles of Austria claimed the Spanish crown, and whose general Eugene of Savoy in conjunction with his kinsman Victor Amadeus had driven the French from Italy, remained master of Italy by their victory before Turin, as he became supreme in Germany through the victory of Blenheim. Stern and exacting, though not a pupil of the Jesuits and not a religious persecutor, the Austrian Cæsar abused his successes and laid a heavy hand upon the pope among other Italian princes. Clement remonstrated and resisted; for a wonder a Hapsburg drew the sword against a pontiff; the Austrian troops overran the papal states, wrung a large contribution and a humiliating treaty from Clement, and compelled him to acknowledge Charles as king of Spain.<sup>8</sup> The peace of Utrecht however, which while it divided the Spanish monarchy left Spain and the Indies to Philip, released Clement from this degrading obligation; a peace disastrous to Italy in so far as it made over the Peninsula to Austria by assigning Milan and Naples to the German Hapsburgs, but of avail to Italy inasmuch as it enlarged the dominions of that House of Savoy from which her deliverers were to arise, and conferred a kingdom upon Victor Amadeus which has in our days expanded into the kingdom of Italy.

Clement XI., who outlived Louis XIV., was the ninth pontiff-

<sup>8</sup> Sismondi, tom. xxvii. c. 40, pp. 60-63. Botta, *Storia d' Italia*, c. 21. Saint-Simon, tom. iv. c. 9; tom. vi. c. 25; tom. vii. c. 10.

cal contemporary of the long-lived and almost as long-enthroned monarch. During that reign there had been a great business going on in France, a business wherein king and popedom both took part and both an unrighteous and oppressive part. If the papacy was guiltless of his persecution of the French Protestants, if the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was the especial crime of Louis, he was in his persecution of the Jansenists encouraged and supported by the popedom. In a book on St. Augustine published in 1640, a Flemish theologian, Cornelius Jansen bishop of Ypres, put forth convictions on grace and sin like those to which St. Paul gave utterance, which Augustine cherished and commended, and upon which Calvin laid so firm a grasp and bestowed so elaborate a setting forth.<sup>9</sup> These convictions that man cannot save and sanctify himself, that salvation is altogether and immediately from the Lord, that a work of grace in the heart is from beginning to end a direct work of God, that nothing can bring man to God but God's own direct act and that nothing can keep man near God but God's own immediate grace, that the divine life in the soul is nothing but a stream flowing at once from Him and replenished by Him, convictions inseparable from all deep spirituality and essential to all transcendent holiness, which have formed and filled every true saint of God, which have lain at the bottom of every great religious revival, which flamed forth in the Reformation, in Puritanism and in Methodism, these convictions put forth in the book of Jansen, found favour with the selecter spirits of the Church of France, unwilling to sever themselves from the Roman Catholic Church, but sick of the loose morality and the low spirituality of the Jesuits. The Roman See at once recognised in these doctrines something very like those formidable truths which in the hands of Luther and Calvin had plucked half Christendom from its grasp, which make the healing and hallowing of man the direct business of God, and which take little or no account of popes and councils, of hierarchies and sacraments in the work of the soul's salvation. Urban VIII. censured the book of Jansen in 1642. The Jesuits, who in their zealous championship of free will and church-authority abolished God's direct part in the salvation of the soul, who took as indulgent a view of human guilt as they allowed a stinted measure of divine grace, who demanded little from that human nature whose needs they

<sup>9</sup> *Biographie Universelle, Jansen Corneille*, tom. xxi. p. 395. Sainte-Beuve, *Port Royal*, lib. ii. c. 10, 11.

extenuated and whose celestial supplies they contracted, and who appropriately required a lax morality to keep company with a low spirituality—the Jesuits recognised in these doctrines of Jansen a near approach to those dogmas of the Reformation which they had been raised up to oppose and which they had been combating for a century, and beheld among the leading French Jansenists their own natural and hereditary enemies, descendants or disciples of those who had assailed their servile devotion to the papal power, their subversive precepts and practices against governments which did not share that devotion, and who had done much to bring about their temporary expulsion from France. The Arnaulds endowed Port Royal; that Angélique and that Agnes Arnauld who ruled that famous convent and that restless theologian Antoine Arnauld who lived only to write and whose vital air was the breath of controversy, were children of that Antoine Arnauld who had so much to do in driving the company out of France after the attempt of one of their pupils upon the life of Henry IV.<sup>10</sup> (1595). The political opposition which they had hitherto provoked within their own church was heightened into a spiritual opposition. Often in conflict with lawyers and governments and even with other religious orders envious of their superior ability and success, the Jesuits had now to do with saints and sages. The convictions about sin and grace which they so detested, soon mastered the purest hearts, the greatest intellects and the highest souls in France. Godly women gathered together at Port Royal to work and pray, gifted men retired thither for meditation and study; great theologians, philosophers, disputants and poets, Pascal, Nicole, Arnauld, De Sacy, Boileau and Racine, were nurtured there; never were learning, genius and sanctity in closer league. This league the Jesuits felt to be a hostile league, but a confederacy far too strong to be encountered with their own moral and intellectual resources. Learning greater than their own undoubted erudition was seconded by genius and sanctity which had never distinguished them. They felt towards the luminaries of Port Royal the hatred of theological opponents and political antagonists, the envy of inferior authors towards great writers and the malignity of worldly religionists towards true saints. In the war of intellect they were utterly worsted. In the *Lettres Provinciales* Pascal smote them with

<sup>10</sup> Thuanus, lib. cx. c. 8–13; lib. cxi. c. 18. Sainte-Beuve, *Port Royal*, lib. i. c. 3.

an overwhelming stroke and branded them with an ineffaceable ignominy. Often attacked before as papal demagogues and conspirators, as subverters of public law and national peace, they were now assailed as panderers to the corruptions of human nature, as misleaders of conscience and subverters of the moral law.

The beaten controversialists became persecutors. Vanquished in the intellectual conflict, they betook themselves to the powers of this world, to the heads of the Church and the State, and invoked against the recluses of Port Royal the 'might of the Roman See and the French monarchy. Rome had at once detected a semi-Protestant in Jansen and had made haste to condemn the famous book which Urban VIII. censured in 1642. But the Jesuits wanted a more precise and decided condemnation—a bull which would not only strike at but strike down his admirers and their antagonists. Accordingly they laid five propositions drawn as they said from the book of the Flemish theologian before Innocent X., the same pope who had vainly sought to mediate at Münster. Together with certain French bishops they beset the aged pontiff with intrigues and entreaties; they plied his sister-in-law, housekeeper, and prime minister, Donna Olympia Pamfili, with bribes, and they at last in 1653 got a bull after their own heart, a bull which declared the five propositions heretical and invoked the secular arm against all upholders of the same.<sup>11</sup> The Jansenists encountered the bull with a distinction consistent with entire honesty and singleness of heart but far less intellectually respectable than the thorough assent of the Jesuits or the thorough denial of the Protestants. They condemned the five propositions condemned by the Roman See, but maintained that they were not to be found in the book of Jansen, allowed the pope's infallibility in matters of faith but gainsaid it in matters of fact, conceded his right and power to fix the belief of a world, but asserted that he might be mistaken as to the meaning of an author.<sup>12</sup> The

<sup>11</sup> *Recueil des Bulles*, Mons 1697, which contains most of the ecclesiastical documents connected with Jansenism, Urban's bull (p. 31 et seq.), the application to Innocent (p. 58 et seq.), and Innocent's bull (p. 63 et seq.). Sainte-Beuve, lib. ii. Sismondi, tom. xxiv. c. 26.

<sup>12</sup> The rage of that vehement papal champion de Maistre against Jansenism is highly amusing. It extends even to the ladies of Port Royal, whose sufferings he almost enjoys and makes a mock of. He is especially wroth with the Jansenists for clinging to the church which rejected them and whose decisions they set at nought: 'Le Jansénisme a l'incroyable prétention d'être de l'église catholique, malgré l'église

Jesuits would not leave their opponents this way of escape, but resolved that the Jansenists should renounce the head of their church or give up their favourite theologian, should become heretics or recreants, and they found allies in the more worldly of the French prelates and in the French monarch. Louis XIV. then in the prime of his gorgeous, potent, voluptuous, unrestrained youth felt all that intolerance of independent religious thought, all that abhorrence of intense and spontaneous religious feeling, which he displayed in his decorous, precise and morose old age. The youthful voluptuary was as much a persecutor as the old devotee was. As he beheld in Protestantism an old standing rebellion, so he looked upon Jansenism, as afterwards upon Quietism, as a troublesome and insolent novelty. Pèrefixe Archbishop of Paris, a strong supporter of the Jesuits, drew up a formulary in which the five propositions were expressly renounced as the propositions of Jansen and thrust it upon the clergy of his diocese. But he singled out the godly women of Port Royal for his especial compression, and in person required their signature to the formulary. But nothing could bring Agnes Arnauld and her companions to own that a Latin book which they could not read contained certain propositions which they did not believe that it contained. Controversialists one of whom was Bossuet, endeavoured to confuse their conscience and perplex their reason; but these single-minded women got the better of these masters of dispute. The papal power was arrayed against them, but they would not subscribe to an untruth even at the bidding of the papacy. The wrath of the king was poured upon them; they were carried off by royal officers from their convent at Paris and imprisoned at Port Royal aux Champs, bereft of the communion and oppressed in manifold ways for many years. But they would not and they did not sign.<sup>13</sup> These goodly women were made of purer and stronger stuff than the holiest and bravest among the French clergy. Louis XIV. bent upon crushing all opposition to his will, obtained from Pope Alexander VII. in 1665 a formulary which condemned the five propositions imputed to Jansen in the proper meaning of that author and which the whole priesthood and all the religious orders of France

catholique; . . . il se moque de ses décisions, il en appelle, il les foule aux pieds tout en prouvant aux autres hérétiques qu'elle est infallible' (*De l'Eglise Gallicane*, lib. ii. c. 3).

<sup>13</sup> Sainte-Beuve, lib. v. c. 12. Sismondi, tom. xxv. c. 28.

were called upon to sign. The strictest Jansenists among the clergy signed it with a declaration as to papal fallibility in matters of fact, and left the ladies of Port Royal alone in their glory. But the Jansenists though silenced were still powerful; Clement IX. the successor of Alexander VII. was mild and conciliatory; a compromise was devised, which recognised the infallibility of the Roman See in matters of faith without asserting or gainsaying its infallibility in matters of fact. Agnes Arnauld and her companions regained possession of their convent; the scattered and fugitive luminaries of Port Royal were gathered together again.<sup>14</sup> Louis allowed some respite to Jansenism, while he wrought at the extermination of Protestantism and waged war with Quietism. He showed no mercy to the mystics of his own Church. He detested disinterested love as much as efficacious grace, and was as wroth with those who held that men might love God hoping for nothing again as with those who maintained that God carried on a direct work of grace in the heart. He was as hard upon Fénelon as upon Antoine Arnauld and tormented Madame Guyon as remorselessly as he oppressed Mère Angélique or Mère Agnes. He extorted from the reluctant Innocent XII. a condemnation of Fénelon's *Maximes des Saints* and made the papacy his tool in his persecution of the Archbishop of Cambrai and his friend the great female apostle of Quietism.<sup>15</sup>

But Jansenism was neither forgotten nor forgiven by the implacable Louis. Though not so prominent as in the earlier years of his reign, it still had champions and assailants. Books were still written and bulls were still solicited against it. Its chief doctor the indefatigable and marvellously voluminous Arnauld died in exile. Ladies of his saintly and richly gifted race still ruled over Port Royal, and the principles to the upholding of which that family still consecrated its hereditary genius and virtue still prevailed there. But the hostility of the royal persecutor towards these illustrious men and holy women who looked into the deeps of God's grace with more earnest and adoring eyes than his, was unquenchable, and was aggravated in his old age by the importunity of a new confessor. The Père La Chaise, an accomplished and not unamiable though sufficiently intolerant Jesuit, an agreeable man of the world who

<sup>14</sup> Sismondi, tom. xxv. c. 28, pp. 75-87. Sainte-Beuve, lib. v. c. 6.

<sup>15</sup> Sismondi, tom. xxvi. c. 37, pp. 235-60. Saint-Simon, tom. i. c. 29, 31, 40, 61; tom. ii. c. 10, 19. *Recueil des Bulles*, passim.



kept the king's conscience for thirty-two years, and who has bequeathed his name to the famous cemetery, died in 1709 and was replaced as keeper of the royal conscience by Tellier a morose and remorseless Jesuit, the fanatic of his order, absorbed in advancing its interests and afflicting its opponents, and who hated Jansenism as a zealous, implacable and revengeful Jesuit only could. He set himself to bring about the destruction of Port Royal which he perpetually urged upon the king. Louis was by no means loth. Pope Clement XI. lent himself to the work by granting a bull in 1708 which condemned anew the five propositions as those of Jansen; and the community of Port Royal was again required to subscribe to the condemnation. Again these high-souled women refused; again did an archbishop of Paris bereave them of the communion; again was the arm of Louis le Grand stretched forth against them, but this time far more savagely and crushingly than before. They were harshly hurried away from their beloved home and imprisoned in various religious houses throughout France; the godliest community within the Roman Catholic Church was cruelly and for ever broken up: the convent of Port Royal des Champs, that dwelling of genius and godliness, that holy place of the French Church which pilgrims of all nations and churches revere as a true sanctuary, was levelled to the ground, and the bones of the holy men who reposed near the spot where they had prayed, aspired and laboured, were taken up and scattered to the winds.<sup>16</sup>

With many splendid and some noble qualities Louis XIV. was neither a great nor a good man. He must be reckoned among oppressors and hinderers, among the foes of truth and freedom. As a persecutor he was very consistent and remains very eminent. Not the great length of his reign, not the unbroken triumphs of its earlier portion, not the heavy and thronging calamities of its latter years, not the splendour of his court, not the magnificence of his buildings, not the variety of his mistresses, not the greatness of his generals, not the genius of the contemporary writers, not the number of his wars, not the ruthlessness of his devastations, not the heaviness of his fiscal oppressions, not the servility of his priests and nobles, not the extravagance of his priestly flatterers, not the idolatry of his subjects, not the misery of his people, not his intense pride in

<sup>16</sup> Saint-Simon, tom. vii. c. 3, 36. Sainte-Beuve, lib. vi. c. 12, 13. Sismondi, tom. xxvii. c. 40.

prosperity, not his singular magnanimity in adversity, is more striking than the steadfastness and continuity of his intolerance. In the bright dawn of his diversified career he assailed the Jansenists; a persecutor of the Protestants throughout his reign, it was in the noontide glare of power and pride that he poured the full vials of his wrath upon them; amidst gathering clouds prophetic of the woes to come he fell upon the Quietists; it was amidst the thickest darkness of calamity, when Marlborough and Eugene had smitten him to the earth, when his armies were vanquished, his strongholds captured, his capital threatened and his people starving, when his humble supplications for peace and his lavish offers to ensure it were spurned by his foes, when a weight of domestic woe was about to aggravate the load of public calamity, when disease was about to enter the royal house and to leave him almost without a descendant, it was then that Louis again smote Jansenism and levelled Port Royal. The persecutor has half effaced the great monarch: the attempted extermination of Protestantism and the oppression of Jansenism have cast into the shade the other exploits of Louis; and posterity most vividly remembers him by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, his own peculiar crime, and by the destruction of Port Royal, a crime in the perpetration of which he got the help of the papacy.

The demolition was perhaps hastened by another dispute in which the king and the pope both took part and which continued to divide the Church of France after the royal persecutor had passed to his account. Paschasius Quesnel, a priest of the Oratory and a friend of Arnauld, put forth at different times Reflections on the New Testament, wherein he taught the necessity of a work of grace in the heart, spoke of faith as the sovereign grace and the spring of all others and deprecated the withholding of the Scriptures from the people. The Jesuits at once caught the scent of Jansenism and Protestantism in the Reflections and set king and pope at work to condemn the book and plague the writer. Quesnel, driven from France and Flanders by the royal persecutor, found a refuge in Holland, that perpetual citadel of freedom, that land which, illustrious for its defiance of Philip II. and its more recent resistance to Louis XIV., went on rendering services scarcely less precious to spiritual and intellectual liberty; which first of all Christian communities dealt indulgently towards the Jews, which first of all Protestant communities tolerated the Roman Catholics,

where a writer, the outcast of every State and Church, might labour in peace, where a book unproducibile elsewhere might come forth into the light; that common asylum of banished princes and exiled patriots, of English Puritans, of Polish Socinians, of French philosophers and Jansenists, of Locke and Burnet, of Crell and Bayle, of Arnauld and Quesnel. But though the writer was an outcast from his country, the book of Quesnel became a power and stirred up a long strife in France. Abhorred by the Jesuits it was approved and recommended by an enemy of theirs, Noailles Archbishop of Paris, whose approbation inflamed their abhorrence. They easily set Louis against it, and got Pope Clement to condemn it in 1708. But the condemnation was not sufficiently severe and precise; Father Tellier wrought upon his royal penitent; Louis wrought upon the pope, and at last in 1713 obtained from Clement XI. the famous bull *Unigenitus*, one of the most curious performances of the Roman See, a bull which condemned one hundred and one propositions of Quesnel, mostly pious aspirations, godly precepts and apostolic exhortations, and which handsomely but not unduly acknowledged the services of the royal persecutor to the Roman Church.<sup>17</sup>

The condemnation of so edifying a book not a little shocked a large portion of the French clergy. The Archbishop of Paris declared many of the heretical propositions to be quotations from St. Paul and in company with many prelates and doctors refused to accept the bull. The last labour of Louis XIV. was the vain endeavour to thrust the bull upon the French Church; and

" Among the condemned propositions were the following:—

26. No graces are bestowed except through faith.
27. Faith is the first grace and the spring of all others.
28. The first grace which God grants to the sinner is the forgiveness of sins.
61. Faith justifies when it is effectual (*operatur*); but it is not effectual except through love.
57. The sinner lacks everything when he lacks hope; and there is no hope in God where there is no love of God.
58. There is neither God nor religion where there is not love.
60. Faith, its enjoyment, its increase and its reward, is all the gift of God's pure grace (*'Fides, usus, augmentum et præmium fidei, totum est donum puræ liberalitatis Dei'*).
86. The reading of Holy Scripture is for all men (*'Lectio sacræ scripturæ est pro omnibus'*).
82. Christians should hallow the Lord's day by the reading of pious books (*'lectionibus pietatis'*), especially the Holy Scriptures.

It is hurtful (*damnosum est*) to wish to keep a Christian from such reading.

(*Bulla Clementis XI.*, apud *Canones Concilii Tridentini*, Lipsiæ, 1842.)

the old king died in the midst of this congenial work (1715). The guardian of his infant great-grandson Louis XV., Philip Duke of Orleans, that libertine Hamlet whose subtle and splendid intellect was enervated by impotence of will and debased by unbounded profligacy, was in no way a persecutor. He disliked the maxims and measures of his uncle; the Jesuits were driven from court; the Jansenists for a moment triumphed, and hoped to get rid of the famous bull *Unigenitus*. But Clement XI. who had granted the bull to the importunity of Louis XIV. felt the honour and interest of the papacy involved in forcing the Church of France to acknowledge that the pious remarks and ejaculations of Quesnel were so many deadly heresies; and found a supporter in the still more profligate minister of the profligate Regent, the sordid and grovelling Dubois who had set his heart upon being made a cardinal and saw that the surest way to get the hat from Rome was to get the bull recognised in France, and after much negotiation procured a sort of recognition from the refractory clergy. The hundred and one propositions, Pauline quotations and gospel verities, passed for dangerous heresies. Jansenism sustained another defeat; the Jesuits and the popedom achieved a miserable and disastrous victory (1720).<sup>18</sup>

Throughout the age of Louis XIV. the papacy languished and dwindled. Not only was it politically insignificant; not only had it no part in the great events of the time; but in ecclesiastical affairs it was overborne by the great king. Both as guardians of the Church and as assailants of her enemies, the pontiffs were effaced by their potent eldest son. They played an inferior part both as persecutors and as watchers over the faith. Louis XIV. in turn wielded or oppressed the Roman See, dealt with it as an instrument or an opponent. Pius V., Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V. had been the equal fellow workers with Philip II.; Alexander VII., Innocent XII. and Clement XI. were in some sort ecclesiastical ministers of the French champion of the

<sup>18</sup> Sismondi, tom. xxvii. c. 43, 44. Saint-Simon, tom. iv. c. 2; tom. ix. c. 11; tom. x. c. 13; tom. xi. c. 1, 6; tom. xii. c. 14; tom. xiii. c. 16, 28; tom. xiv. c. 20, 26; tom. xvii. c. 11; tom. xviii. c. 18. He thus characterises the bull *Unigenitus*: 'Tout y brillait, excepté la vérité. L'art s'y était épuisé, l'audace y surpassait celle de tous les siècles, puisqu'elle alla jusqu'à condamner en propres termes des textes exprès de S. Paul, que tous les siècles depuis Jésus-Christ avaient respectés comme les oracles du Saint-Esprit même, sans en excepter aucun hérétique, lesquels se sont au moins contentés de détourner les passages de l'Écriture à des sens étrangers et forcés, mais qui n'ont osé jamais aller jusqu'à les rejeter ni les condamner' (tom. xi. c. 6).

Church, just as Innocent XI. was his outraged antagonist. In the warfare against Jansenism and Quietism the popes played the most miserable, degrading and disastrous of all parts, that of underling oppressors. They assailed the best and greatest men, they tormented the holiest women of their own Church at the bidding of a despot whose hand had more than once lain heavy on themselves. The Roman See has no portion in the glory of the Arnaulds, of Fénelon, and of Madame Guyon: while in the shame of their sufferings it has a large share. Successes in such a warfare were far more ignominious and calamitous than defeats; a liberal and intellectual age at once detested and despised them; the Jesuits came in mainly for the hatred, the popedom for the contempt; and ere long Jansenists, Quietists and Protestants were terribly avenged upon their three oppressors, the order of the Jesuits, the French Monarchy and the papal power.

From the death of Louis XIV. to the French Revolution the popedom led a very quiet, obscure and insignificant life, had no concern in the great events, had nothing to do with the great changes, had no part and lot with the great powers of the age, made and received no direct assaults, provoked scarcely any hostility and achieved no conquests political or spiritual. The eighteenth century took very little notice of the papacy, neither loved it much nor hated it much. Of the four great wars between the peace of Utrecht and the French Revolution, the war of the Polish Succession (1733-36), the war of the Austrian Succession (1740-48), the Seven Years' War (1756-63) and the American War (1775-83), the former two alone concerned Italy, transferred Naples and Sicily from Austria to the Spanish Bourbons, and placed another member of that family at Parma, depressed the House of Hapsburg, strengthened the House of Savoy, brought more suffering to the papal territories but did not affect the political position of the pope, while they did something for the independence of Italy by curtailing the possessions of Austria and enlarging the kingdom of Sardinia. The Protestant states of Europe had not any great anti-papal zeal at the bottom of their policy; but the prominent powers of the eighteenth century were unfriendly rather than friendly to the popedom. The chief place in Europe which Papal Spain held during the sixteenth century and which Roman Catholic France held during the seventeenth century, was during the eighteenth century holden by Protestant England—Englar

uplifted by the Revolution and the wars against Louis XIV., England whose very greatness and prominence were the results of her Protestantism and direct affronts to the papacy; while the outcast pretenders to her throne, the miserable Stewarts, during their long sojourn at Rome bore most lively and impressive witness to a great papal defeat.

Another Protestant state grew into a great power during the eighteenth century; the electorate of Brandenburg, enlarged at the peace of Westphalia, and aggrandised by the vigour and genius of the great elector Frederick William, became the kingdom of Prussia in 1701, under his son Frederick I. The new kingdom acquired a strong army by the pains of Frederick William I. (1712-40), an army which was wielded with such marvellous skill and energy by his son Frederick the Great, as a soldier and statesman the mighty man of the eighteenth century. Under his guidance Prussia wrested Silesia from Roman Catholic Austria (1740-41), overcame with the help of Protestant England the great and mainly Roman Catholic confederacy which sought her ruin during the Seven Years' War (1756-63), shared in the spoils of Roman Catholic Poland (1772), and at the death of her mighty monarch took rank with the chief powers of Europe. This century witnessed the advance of another anti-papal state into might and prominence. The Russian empire which in the tenth century received Christianity not from Rome but from Constantinople, which clung steadfastly in weal and woe to its anti-papal faith, which in the thirteenth century preferred the yoke of the Tartars to the yoke of Rome, which broke the Mongol yoke not long before the Reformation, that Russia which had lain so long apart from the political life and stir of the world, sprang forth at the beginning of this century into greatness and glory under Peter the Great and at the death of Catharine II. at the end of the century stood foremost among the great powers of the world, enlarged by conquest from Sweden and Turkey, the main destroyer and the main possessor of Poland. That hapless land, the only country in Europe which waxed more intensely Roman Catholic during the eighteenth century, bade defiance to the liberal spirit of the age by an exaggeration of the persecuting spirit, horrified enlightened Europe in 1724 by the execution of many Protestant burghers of Thorn for alleged indifference to an alleged insult to Roman Catholic worship, the last butchery perpetrated on behalf of the Roman Church, bereft the Protes-

tants of their political rights and drove them from the Diet in 1733.<sup>19</sup> This persecuting Poland went on dwindling and sinking throughout the century, was despoiled by her three neighbours, Austria, Russia and Prussia in 1772 and 1793 and finally disappeared from the company of nations in 1795, the victim in no small measure of her papal intolerance. Austria just maintained her place among states. She lost and gained territory; but her losses were disadvantageous while her gains were unprofitable to the Roman Church, as she had Silesia wrested from her by Protestant Prussia and acquired Galicia as her share in the spoils of Roman Catholic Poland. But she only pettily bestirred herself in behalf of Rome under the bigoted Maria Theresa<sup>20</sup> and became for a moment liberal and anti-papal under Joseph II.

Spain, though she showed a little more life and vigour under the Bourbons than under the last Hapsburgs, did not signalise herself as a Roman Catholic power and remained throughout the century a dependent ally of France.

France herself politically shrank under Louis XV. and played a very inferior part in Europe during most of the eighteenth century. But intellectual France became a great power, the chief power of the age. The French monarchy fell from its high place in Europe but the French mind reigned in its stead; and the French mind wielded its might against the papal power and the Roman Church. It is true that its hostility was extended to the whole of Christianity: but it was hostile to Christianity mainly because of the dogmas and the deeds of the Roman

<sup>19</sup> On April 18, 1724, the pupils of the Jesuit College at Thorn fell upon some Protestant children who uncovered the head but refused to bend the knee as the host was borne along. In the tumult that followed the people broke into the college, burned the furniture and according to the Roman Catholics flung into the fire an image of the Virgin. The Jesuits called upon Poland to avenge the mother of God. The national fanaticism was aroused: the affair was brought before the diet and a commission was appointed which on the mere statement of the Jesuits deprived the Protestants of churches and colleges and condemned fourteen burghers to death either for helping or not hindering the desecration. Vainly did foreign powers deprecate the bloody doom which was carried into effect at Thorn (December 7, 1724), with the direct sanction of the Polish diet to the shame of Poland and the horror of Europe (Krasinski's *Reformation in Poland*, vol. ii. c. 15). There is a very interesting contemporary narrative of this mournful business, *Thorn Affligée* by De E. Jablonski, 1725. Ten were put to death and nearly fifty were visited with other penalties.

<sup>20</sup> Maria Theresa however was a considerable persecutor. She let loose soldiers on forty Moravian villages which had gone over to Protestantism and had many of the villagers shot and tormented. Frederick the Great to Voltaire, *Œuvres de Voltaire*, Basle, tom. liv. lettre 132, p. 286.

Church. It took Rome at her word, considered Popery as the perfection of Christianity and overlooked Protestantism as a very mild and mitigated form of the same evil. Louis XIV. had been especially jealous of the religious activity of the French intellect, had done his best to silence Protestants, Quietists and Jansenists. But the mind of France could not be kept down, and very naturally when the yoke was thrown off, broke forth into insurrection against all religion: it rose up in tremendous strength and turned that strength against the faith in the name of which so much tyranny had been inflicted. Horror-stricken at the Bartholomew massacre, ashamed of the Dragonnades, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the destruction of Port Royal, sick at the isolated acts of ferocious persecution which still defiled their country, the master-spirits of France were stirred with a noble indignation; but they poured forth their wrath and scorn too widely and smote Christianity on account of the horrors which the Roman Church had perpetrated and the absurdities which she professed. The French king and some of the French ministers were bigots, but very powerless and utterly contemptible bigots. Never were the high places of France filled so vilely as during the long reign of Louis XV. (1715-1774). Louis himself without being blood-thirsty was singularly weak and vile, combined the utmost baseness of vice with the utmost baseness of superstition: in health he wallowed in the foulest and thickest filth of sensuality; in sickness he shuddered and shrieked at the thought of hell-fire, rejoiced to make amends for his enormous lewdness by outbreaks of bigotry, and plunged France into the dishonour and disasters of the Seven Years' War to avenge his harlot de Pompadour upon the mocking tongue of Frederick the Great. The government at once feeble and oppressive degraded France alike at home and abroad. The ministers were mostly worthy of their sovereign. Cardinal Fleury, memorable as the oldest and most pacific of all prime-ministers, was the most fortunate and respectable among them, inflicted the least harm and shame on France; while the best and greatest deed of the most energetic among them, the Duc de Choiseul, was the suppression of the Jesuits. The dearth of generals was still more striking than the dearth of statesmen. Not a single great French captain appeared between the death of Louis XIV. and the Revolution.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Curiously enough the two captains who alone during this period led the armies of France with distinguished skill and success were both foreigners and both royal bastards; James duke of Berwick, killed before Philipsburg in 1734, the son of



But if the monarch, the statesmen and the generals of France during the eighteenth century were the by-word of Europe, her thinkers and writers were its lords and masters. Her encyclopédistes were far more effective than her ministers and marshals. Voltaire and Rousseau, D'Alembert and Diderot, Helvetius and D'Holbach, outdid and have outlived Cardinals Dubois, Fleury, Bernis and Tencin, the ducs de Bourbon, de Choiseul, de Richelieu, Belleisle, Broglie and d'Estrades. Voltaire was in truth the great potentate of the age. He reigned as long and as absolutely as Louis XIV. himself, the last and perhaps the greatest of those intellectual chiefs who have ruled not so much over a country as over an age, whose greatness has had an immediate and universal recognition, who have sat upon a throne during their lives, whose royalty has been acknowledged by the great ones of the earth and whose friendship has been sought as a favour by nobles and monarchs, but whose might and majesty, so conspicuous during their lives, have not grown since their departure. Voltaire for more than fifty years held sway not only over the mind of France but over the mind of Europe, was a potentate recognised far and wide, had homagers and disciples among crowned heads, held intercourse with Frederick the Great and Catharine II. not as courtier with monarchs, but as potentate with potentates, enjoyed the fullness of fame and the fullness of power during his life, saw and handled much of his work with his own eyes and with his own hands, and had it completed directly after his death in the French Revolution. As he resembled in most of these respects his predecessors in the intellectual sovereignty of their age, Petrarch and Erasmus, so he was not unlike them in his relation to the priesthood and the papacy. As his Florentine predecessor by invectives against the corruptions of the papal court of Avignon helped to bring upon the papacy the peril of the councils of Constance and Basle, as his Dutch predecessor by his warfare with monkish enormities and sacerdotal sins was the great harbinger of the Reformation; so the French occupant of the intellectual throne of Europe helped mightily to stir up that wrath against Church as against State, against Roman pontificate as against French monarchy, which flamed forth in the great Revolution. The

James II. of England by Arabella Churchill sister of Marlborough, and Maurice Count Saxe, the victor of Fontenoy and Laffeldt; one of the innumerable bastards of that prodigy of bodily might, Augustus elector of Saxony and king of Poland.

patriarch of Ferney signalised himself as an assailant of Christianity; but though he exchanged courtesies with the tolerant and enlightened pontiff Benedict XIV. he was pre-eminently the assailant of papal Christianity: the distinctive doctrines of the Roman Church were those upon which the mighty mocker was most lavish of his scorn; the crimes and cruelties of the Roman Church were those upon which the great hater of oppression poured forth his intensest wrath. The supreme horror of history was his supreme horror; he shuddered at the Bartholomew business as though he had witnessed it; the butchery of Thorn which in 1724 had stirred his youthful indignation, he remembered fifty years after in extreme old age with undiminished abhorrence. He fiercely denounced and most earnestly strove to arrest the horrible barbarities still now and then inflicted in France in the name of the Roman Church. He had a heart and help for all the oppressed; but the victims of oppression whom he most zealously laboured to save or avenge were French Protestants, Calas and de Barre, the Protestant father broken on the wheel at Toulouse for a crime which he never committed (1762), and the young soldier broken on the wheel at Abbeville for making merry at a procession of the host.<sup>22</sup> He witnessed the partition of Poland without abhorrence, as the punishment of a papistical and persecuting nation; and he forgave two of the spoilers, Frederick and Catharine as champions of toleration and patrons of religious liberty.<sup>23</sup> It is impossible for even an earnest and large-hearted Christian only to loathe or utterly to hate Voltaire; an outpouring of ribald scorn upon some solemn truth is accompanied by a generous outbreak of indignation against some act of persecution; his endeavours to subvert the Christian faith did not arrest his endeavours to pluck some innocent victim from the gripe of oppression. The patriarch of Ferney was at once a melancholy and terrible, but a very natural product of the Church and country to which he belonged; it was mainly the

<sup>22</sup> *Recueil des Lettres*, let. clxxxi. clxxxiii. clxxxvi. &c. *Œuvres*, tom. lxii. Speaking of Calas, he says (let. clxxxiii.): 'Jamais depuis le jour de la St. Barthélemy, rien n'a tant déshonoré la nature humaine.' He writes to Frederick in reference to de Barre (tom. liv. let. xxx.): 'Cela est digne de la nation des tigres-singes qui a fait la St. Barthélemy; cela était digne de Thorn en 1724.' He bitterly remembers the Thorn butchery in a letter to Frederick (tom. liv. let. xxxviii.).

<sup>23</sup> See *Letters to Frederick* (1768-73), tom. liii., liv., and *Letters to Catharine*, tom. lv. *passim*: he writes to her (let. viii.): 'Vos soins généreux pour établir la liberté de conscience en Pologne, sont un bienfait, que le genre humain doit célébrer.'

deeds of the Roman Church which made him mighty, which breathed into his imperial scorn its sovereign bitterness and its awful power. It became the nation which wrought the Bartholomew massacre and revoked the Edict of Nantes, whose king, princes, nobles and populace took part in the slaughter and whose priests and pontiffs hallowed it, whose most magnificent monarch counted the abolition of Protestantism as his most blessed work, and whose chief magistrate took upon his lips the song of Simeon as he put his name to the decree which inflicted unutterable woes upon such multitudes of his Protestant fellow countrymen; it was meet and right for the French nation to bring forth Voltaire.<sup>24</sup> Foes of Christianity have sprung up in Protestant lands; but these men at the most gained a few followers and gave birth to a controversy; while the arch-mocker whom France bred and whom Rome provoked, became a great power and hastened on a great convulsion. The long reign of Voltaire was most disastrous to the papacy; and his hand was felt in that terrible Revolution which so vengefully smote the French Church and the Roman See.

This great adversary whose hostility comprehended the general truths of Christianity as well as the peculiar doctrines of the Roman Church, had little ground of personal complaint against her, and suffered no wrong at the hands of the papal power. But there was a far less famous and formidable but a more direct opponent, an antagonist mainly of the political popedom, an assailant of its worldly power and profits, whom the Roman See pursued with a singular persistency, inveteracy and bitterness. In his Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples published in 1722, Giannone, a Neapolitan lawyer and antiquary, made a vigorous and vehement onslaught upon the rights of sovereignty claimed by the Roman See over that kingdom and upon the temporal popedom in general, defended the independence of the Neapolitan state and that of every other state against the pretensions of the Roman Church. The papacy utterly powerless to enforce these pretensions, was not powerless to torment their impugner, implacably resented the anti-papal history and incessantly afflicted the historian. At the bidding of Pope Innocent XIII. the archbishop of Naples excommunicated Giannone; the priests stirred up the lazzaroni

<sup>24</sup> The Chancellor le Tellier upon whom Bossuet bestowed one of his great orations, broke forth into 'Nunc dimittis' as he appended his signature to the decree which revoked the Edict of Nantes.

against him and drove him from the country. Charles VI., emperor of Germany and then king of Naples, gave the champion of his rights shelter at Vienna: but when in 1734 he lost the Two Sicilies, to the House of Bourbon, he did not think it worth while to add the papacy to the number of his enemies by any further protection of the historian whom it had neither forgotten nor forgiven. Driven from this asylum Giannone wandered over Italy, hunted from state to state by the implacable Roman priesthood until he found rest and renewed the anti-papal warfare at Geneva. In 1736 a treacherous friend and a religious festival allured him into Savoy where he was seized by order of Charles Emmanuel king of Sardinia, who consented to act as papal jailer and in one of whose fortresses Giannone died after a captivity of twenty years (1758).<sup>25</sup> In serving the papacy as an underling oppressor the House of Savoy incurred its chief stain, perpetrated an uncongenial baseness and occupied an ignominious post under the papacy, very different from the position which it now fills in reference to that power. A prince of that house destined to bring low and perhaps to overthrow the political popedom executed the papal wrath upon the great gainsayer of the papal temporalities. The persecution of Giannone was almost as dishonourable to the papacy as to Charles Emmanuel. It displayed at once the changed circumstances and the unchangeable temper of the Roman See, its shrunken plight and its immortal malice, its capacity for oppression so contrasted with its incapacity for empire. Three popes, Innocent XIII., Benedict XIII. and Clement XII., pursued the anti-papal historian; Benedict XIV. found him in a Piedmontese prison and somewhat sullied his fair fame by suffering him to remain there. The Civil History of Naples, if not a literary masterpiece, holds a place among those famous books such as Tyndale's Translation of the Bible which have brought great sufferings upon their authors, and Giannone takes no mean rank among the many martyrs of Italy and among the innumerable victims of the popedom.

The persecution of Giannone affords a good sample of the petty and unpleasant activity which occasionally diversified the general insignificance of the papacy during the eighteenth century. The prominence which fell to the lot of the popes of that age was either painful or ludicrous and sometimes both painful

<sup>25</sup> *Biographie Universelle, Giannone.*

and ludicrous. They were now and then thrust forward to make disastrous sacrifices, such as the suppression of the Jesuits; and shame was mingled with the pain of the bootless journey of Pius VI. to Vienna in order to arrest the anti-papal reforms of the emperor Joseph II. If they now and then aspired to prominence, they made absurd mistakes and proclaimed their impotence before a mocking world. Benedict XIII. not content with assailing in Giannone the assailant of the political pretensions of the papacy, undertook to set them forth in all their medieval extravagance for the conversion and edification of the eighteenth century. He published a bull to the honour and glory of Gregory VII. in which the claims of the great papal champion were solemnly repeated, his exploits proudly recorded and his triumphs over kings and princes commended to the study of the kings and princes of the eighteenth century. These last showed greater kindness to the foolish old man than he deserved by forbidding the promulgation of the bull in their dominions and thus sparing him the ridicule of an extended publication of the silly impertinence.<sup>26</sup> A still greater piece of pontifical folly, a still more absurd medieval reproduction was perpetrated by Clement XIII. In the Seven Years' War which the implacable resentment of Maria Theresa kindled against Frederick of Prussia, and in which the indefatigable Austrian princess banded every great continental power together to deprive him of a kingdom who had years before deprived her of a province, it happened that the Roman Catholic powers, Austria, France and afterwards Spain, in conjunction at first with Russia who afterwards abandoned them, stood against Protestant Prussia and Protestant England. In this evil confederacy of Maria Theresa, Elizabeth of Russia and Madame de Pompadour to bring about the ruin of their personal enemy Frederick, Pope Clement XIII. beheld a Holy League; in this endeavour of the Austrian fury, the Russian voluptuary and the French harlot to take signal vengeance upon the grasping, mocking Prussian, the worthy pontiff welcomed a Holy War. In the free-thinking prince of a Protestant people he recognised a notable heresiarch. The holy father burned to take some part in so pious a confederacy and to do something against so flagrant a heretic. In Marshal Daun, the skilful Austrian general and the only very successful commander of that

<sup>26</sup> *Biographie Universelle, Benoît XIII.*, tom. iv. pp. 187, 188.

very unfortunate confederacy, who had defeated Frederick at Kolin and Hochkirchen, the admiring pontiff recognised an illustrious champion of the faith, and solemnly bestowed upon the Austrian commander a handsome sword, a crimson hat and a dove of pearls which he had solemnly hallowed on Christmas Day 1758, as a reward for past services and a stimulus to new exertions. This curious piece of papal intervention brought nothing but ridicule upon pope, champion and cause. Marshal Daun, hitherto respected as the most worthy antagonist of the hero-king, got thoroughly laughed at as 'the man of the consecrated hat' and gained no more victories over Frederick. The heretical monarch baffled his foes and preserved his states. The orthodox Maria Theresa was baulked of her revenge and failed to recover Silesia. Protestant England under the guidance of the elder and the greater Pitt marched from victory to victory and from glory to glory as she has never before or since done. Never has Roman Catholic France had such unbroken dishonour and disasters heaped upon her. Roman Catholic Spain was stricken down at once. The Holy League fell to pieces, and the Holy War came to a disastrous end, notwithstanding the consecrated hat and sword which the holy father had thrown into the balance.<sup>27</sup>

But the popes of the eighteenth century, though not among its master-spirits, though insignificant beside its great sovereigns, statesmen and writers, were not all of them ridiculous. Though overborne and outshone by Peter the Great and Frederick the Great, by Maria Theresa, Catharine II. and Joseph II., by Walpole and Chatham, by Pombal and Washington, by Voltaire and Rousseau, they were many of them eminently respectable men. Never had so many men of worth filled in succession the papal throne. In personal respectability the pontifical dynasty outshone every European dynasty. The savage eccentricities of Frederick William of Prussia, the stern, unscrupulous ambition of Frederick the Great, the grossness of our George II., the looseness of Elizabeth of Russia, the enormous lewdness of John V. of Portugal, of Louis XV. and of Catharine II. were rebuked by the decent morals of all the contemporary pontiffs and by the eminent virtue of some among them. The eighteenth century, so full of intellectual life and manifold activity, so daring yet so shallow in speculation,

<sup>27</sup> *Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans*, c. 9 (*Œuvres de Frédéric II.* tom. iv.).

so low in religious life, so earnestly walking by sight, so utterly lacking faith, with such an abundance of philosophers, projectors, inventors, reformers, and with such a dearth of great believers, was fortunate in its pontiffs especially in Benedict XIV. (Prosper Lambertini), the wisest, most benignant and excellent of all the popes (1740-58), and in his not unworthy and more saintly disciple Clement XIV. (Lorenzo Ganganelli, 1769-74). This excellence of Benedict XIV. must be altogether and very rightly denied by every extreme Papist, by every one who identifies papal excellence with the vehement assertion of every papal pretension, with the vigorous exercise of papal power, with an earnest and unbounded devotion to the characteristic spirit and principles of the Church of Rome; the excellence of Benedict lay in the fact that he urged no unseasonable principle, that he put forward no extravagant pretension, that he displayed no persecuting spirit, in the knowledge which he had of his age and in the harmony in which he lived with it, in his clear perception of the comparative insignificance of the papacy, and in the meekness and pleasantness with which he suited himself thereto. He detested and discouraged persecution not merely from his accurate discernment of the time in which he lived but by reason of a most gracious and benignant nature; he connived at the escape of some suspected heretics; he remonstrated with Maria Theresa against the oppressive acts of her troops in occupation of Genoa, oppression which provoked the heroic uprising of the Genoese and the ignominious expulsion of the Austrians on December 2, 1746, the noblest manifestation of Italian energy during the eighteenth century. He deprecated the persecuting practices of the vehement members of his own Church, and interceded for the oppressed Protestants in Languedoc.

But Benedict not only partook of the liberal tendencies of the age; he mingled also in its intellectual life. A wit and a scholar, he encouraged every art and science, and distinguished himself in more than one. A large stock of learning and an exceeding liveliness of parts set off and adorned the benignity of Benedict and won for him the admiration no less than the love of his contemporaries. Catholics were proud of their accomplished and benignant pontiff; Protestants respected and admired the liberal pope; free-thinkers gave him their good word. The two master-spirits of the age, its greatest sovereign and its greatest writer were among his admirers and panegyrists. Frederic!

the Great held the tolerant and accomplished pontiff in no small esteem. Voltaire expressed his admiration for Benedict in a not very happy Latin couplet to accompany the portrait of the pope;<sup>28</sup> and in a flattering though not fulsome dedication which received a cordial and graceful acknowledgment, laid at the feet of the liberal pontiff his tragedy of Mahomet, meant to set forth the horrors of fanaticism.<sup>29</sup> A distinguished Englishman completed the triumvirate of Benedict's infidel panegyrists. Horace Walpole honoured his memory with a monument at Strawberry Hill, and the son of that Sir Robert Walpole who did so much for the Protestant succession in England compressed into a happy inscription the graces and virtues of the best of the popes. The eighteenth century was proud of this its singular production and half liked the papacy for the sake of the liberal and enlightened pope; and posterity still looks back with delight upon the unwonted spectacle. Even earnest and single-hearted Protestants, in whose sight the popedom never ceases to be a great spiritual corruption, who behold in every occupant of the papal throne a usurper of the rights of the Heavenly King, and a veiler of the glory of the Eternal Son, will yet fix a softened gaze upon this its most gracious and gifted occupant, will acknowledge that if ever pontiff was rightly named, if ever pontiff could bequeath a blessed memory, that pontiff would be Benedict XIV. and will

<sup>28</sup> 'Lambertinus hic est Romæ decus et pater orbis,  
Qui mundum scriptis docuit, virtutibus ornat.'

*Œuvres de Voltaire*, tom. iii., where also see dedication of Mohammed and acknowledgment of Benedict.

<sup>29</sup> A poet may take liberties with the facts of history, but has certainly no right to do such monstrous violence to the truth of historical characters as Voltaire has done in this drama. He has degraded Mohammed, a deceiver and a self-deceiver without doubt, but still an earnest believer and a mighty and large-souled man who held in his heart of hearts and held up before an idolatrous or half idolatrous world the unity of God, who freely forgave his personal enemies and marvellously uplifted his people, into a miserable self-conscious impostor, a malignant and fiendish tyrant, a monster of perfidy and cruelty. He has dealt in like manner with Omar and debased the mighty follower of a mighty leader into the mean servant of a mean master. In his Zopyre an enlightened philosopher and patriot of the eighteenth century, the antagonist and victim of fanaticism murdered by his own son at the instigation of the prophet, it is hard to recognise Abou Sofian the fanatic idolater, the rival chief and bitter persecutor of Mohammed, who drove the prophet out of Mecca, whose wife Henda in the savageness of her fanaticism tasted the entrails of Mohammed's uncle Hamza slain at the battle of Ohud, whom the victorious apostle magnanimously forgave, whose son Moawiyah supplanted the prophet's grandson Hassam in the Khalifat and whose descendants signalled themselves by propagating the faith and slaughtering the descendants of Mohammed.



offer no cold or stinted homage to the personal graces and virtues of the best of the popes.<sup>30</sup>

Between Lambertini and the congenial Ganganelli there came the silly and stubborn Rezzonico who took the name of Clement XIII., the same who bestowed the consecrated hat and sword upon Marshal Daun and who as stupidly and disastrously mistook the eighteenth century as his predecessor and successor happily understood it. He sought to deal with his own day as with the darkness of the middle ages and fared accordingly. He forced a quarrel upon the Bourbons of Parma whose dominions he claimed as fiefs of the Roman Church and whom he accused of encroaching upon his ecclesiastical authority in their relations with their own clergy and thereby got embroiled with the Bourbons of France, Spain and Naples who took the part of their kinsmen according to the flesh against their spiritual father. He fell out with one of the mighty men of the age, Sebastian Carvalho, afterwards Marquis Pombal, the prime minister of Portugal, a Lusitanian Richelieu, a still more vehement and despotic reformer than Frederick the Great or Joseph II. Pombal with whose ecclesiastical reforms Clement interfered, very roughly handled his papal opponent, sent away the nuncio from Lisbon, recalled the Portuguese ambassador from Rome, abolished all sorts of pontifical and clerical immunities, hinted at separation from Rome and talked of a Portuguese patriarch.<sup>31</sup> But the main quarrel between the small pope and the great minister was about the Jesuits. This famous society had now constituted for more than two centuries a papal army in every Roman Catholic country. The first century of their existence was one of strenuous, incessant and often victorious warfare against Protestantism; the second was mainly one of warfare against the highest saints and most illustrious sages of their own Church. Never not even in the uttermost fury of the Roman Catholic reaction had the Jesuits been universal favourites with the Roman Catholic world. Roman Catholic governments dreaded and disliked the absolute obedience and the reckless zeal of these soldiers of the papacy; absolute princes abhorred the doctors who proclaimed it the duty of an orthodox people to depose or destroy not only a heretic but even a lukewarm son of

<sup>30</sup> Botta, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. xlv., xlv. *Biographie Universelle*, Benoit XIV., tom. iv. p. 188 et seq.

<sup>31</sup> Botta, lib. xlvii. *Biographie Universelle*, Clément XIII., tom. ix. p. 31 et seq.; Pombal, tom. xxxiii. p. 265 et seq. *Mémoires de Pombal*, 1784, lib. v.-vii.

the Church ; while moderate and liberal statesmen recoiled from the teachers who enjoined upon every orthodox sovereign the sacred duty of exterminating his heretical people. In France they were especially disliked and suspected. The murder of two French kings, Henry III. and Henry IV. was laid to their charge. The French Parliaments looked upon them as bad subjects and enemies of their country, as mere agents of a foreign power, as subverters of moral and political law ; and the Jesuits were for a time banished from France. They returned but still found the Parliaments watchful and jealous ; and ere long they had to do not only with the lawyers but also with the saints and sages of France. Utterly worsted in the intellectual fight with the Jansenists, they turned to Louis XIV. for help ; and their final victory over their illustrious opponents was a mere victory of court favour and brute force over genius and sanctity, a kind of victory especially disastrous to a religious body. The Jansenists were no sooner silenced than still more formidable foes arose ; the French philosophers fell furiously upon the Jesuits, flung in their faces every fearful persecution and every huge crime of the last two centuries and laid to their charge every oppressive and repressive act in which the base court and miserable government of Louis XV. indulged. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the destruction of Port Royal weighed heavily upon the Jesuits. Their old foes the Jansenists reopened their mouths and repeated the charges of immoral teaching. Their still older foes the Parliaments renewed the accusations of unpatriotic and anti-national doctrine and practice. The eighteenth century rushed fiercely upon the Jesuits and loudly required their suppression. Statesmen listened and began to frown upon the Order.

The statesman who first executed the wrath of the age upon the doomed fathers was Pombal. He charged the Jesuits with complicity in an attempt upon the life of his sovereign Joseph of Portugal and accused the Jesuits of Paraguay of doing their best to hinder an exchange of territory which he had made with Spain in South America. He at once laid a heavy hand on the Society and had the fathers arrested, imprisoned and shipped off from Brazil to Portugal. In the midst of this fierce stir against the Jesuits Clement rushed to their rescue with a brief extolling their services, rebuking their assailants and promising his protection ; the rewarder of Marshal Daun was

true to himself; and defied the age with a declaration in favour of the doomed fathers as impotently if not as ridiculously as with the present of the consecrated hat and sword. Pombal treated the brief as a personal affront to his master and by way of answer expelled the Jesuits from Portugal (1759).

Pombal and Portugal were the first to strike; but other statesmen and greater kingdoms hastened to repeat the stroke. The Duc de Choiseul, chief minister of France during the unfortunate Seven Years' War, who had leagued the House of Bourbon and the House of Austria to so little purpose against England and Prussia, sought a diversion from the disasters of that conflict by leaguering the same powers against the Jesuits. On friendly terms with the philosophers and possessed with the spirit of the age he willingly lent himself to work out its hostile will upon the doomed company, and encouraged the Parliament to take in hand the hated society which was suppressed throughout France in 1762. Spain and Austria soon followed the example (1766). The Roman Catholic powers struck down this great bulwark of the Roman Church; the Bourbons took the chief part in dispersing and afflicting the most devoted servants of that papacy in company with which they were so soon and so long to suffer such terrible things at the hands of the French Revolution. Its multitudinous sins found the company out. The extirpation of Protestantism in Bohemia and the destruction of Port Royal were sternly visited upon the Jesuits, whose suppression and expulsion were carried out with no small cruelty especially in Spain and who found no patrons and protectors save in the two royal free-thinkers Frederick and Catharine. The King of Prussia especially, hospitably entertained in his Protestant kingdoms these hyper Roman Catholic outcasts of Roman Catholic Europe and by this stretch of tolerance somewhat astonished his spiritual father Voltaire, who enjoyed the fall of the Jesuits as a triumph of philosophy and a blow to superstition. But though broken up throughout Roman Catholic Europe, the Jesuits still remained an order of the Roman Church; the papacy still clung to its servants. France, Spain and Portugal called upon the pontiff to complete their work and suppress the order. Clement XIII. knew the greatness of the required sacrifice and was most loth to make it, struggled against the inexorable age, provoked Pombal to talk of an independent Portuguese Church and the Bourbons of France and Naples to seize

upon Avignon and Benevento, and held out to his death in 1769.<sup>32</sup>

A wise Clement succeeded a foolish Clement. The age impotently defied by Rezzonico was conciliated by Lorenzo Ganganelli; and Benedict XIV. lived and reigned again in Clement XIV. Self-denying and unworldly, averse from pomp and splendour and more of a saint than almost any one of his predecessors, he was likewise more of a servant of the time; severe towards himself, he was not tenacious as a pontiff, but earnestly sought to reconcile the popedom with the age. The Jesuits felt that their hours were numbered; the Catholic powers hailed the accession of a liberal pope and hastened to testify their good will towards him. He recalled the bulls of his predecessors against the Bourbons of Parma; the Bourbons of France and Naples restored Avignon and Benevento; Pombal and Ganganelli exchanged courtesies and concessions. The age and the pontiff shook hands. The latter at once took up the business of the Jesuits; and after a long and careful examination of the charges brought against them put forth a bull in 1773 by which he solemnly suppressed the order. The Jesuits strove hard to frighten the pontiff and avert the bull, stirred up a country girl Bernardina Benizzi to prophesy woe to the pope if he abolished the order, and according to some writers took care to fulfil their own predictions by poisoning Clement who was carried off in 1774 by a sudden and violent sickness and whose body wore a strange and livid appearance.<sup>33</sup>

It is impossible for a true Papist to look upon the suppressor of the Jesuits as a good pope; it is impossible for a holy, tender and susceptible soul not to delight in Ganganelli as in a good man. The darling of all men except the extreme members of his own Church, he won the applause of Burke and Voltaire, he possessed the regard of Frederick and Catharine who admired in him the liberality which they partook and revered the virtue to which they were strangers. As much of a liberal as Benedict XIV., he was more of a saint, less of a wit and less fortunate

<sup>32</sup> Botta, lib. xlvi. *Correspondence between Frederick and Voltaire from 1769, passim* (*Œuvres*, tom. liii., liv.). *Biographie Universelle, Clément XIII.* and Pombal, tom. ix. and xxxiii. *Bullarii Romani Continuatio*, tom. iii. pp. 35-39.

<sup>33</sup> *Biographie Universelle, Clément XIV.*, tom. ix. p. 133 et seq. Botta, tom. viii. c. 48. *Rom. Bull. Continuatio*, tom. iv. pp. 215, 666. In the bull whereby he suppressed the Jesuits (pp. 607-13) he endeavours to reconcile this great concession to the age with the dignity of the popedom by reciting former papal suppressions of religious orders.

as a pontiff. Lambertini lived in harmony with the age simply by respecting its spirit, by not defying its tendencies, and not affronting its better feelings; while Ganganelli had to make great concessions and sacrifices to the age in order to maintain the same harmony. He was a gracious, noble, holy and unworldly time-server; one of those very few time-servers who have won at once the admiration and the reverence of mankind.<sup>34</sup> In not one occupant of the pontifical throne, not even in Sixtus V., has the man so overpowered the pope. Clement stands forth more conspicuous as a man of worth than Sixtus as a man of genius; or rather Clement XIV. is forgotten, while Ganganelli abides in the love and reverence of posterity. It is natural that no pope should be so dear to strong Protestants and so odious to strong Papists as the suppressor of the Jesuits, but both Protestants and Papists must needs acknowledge, with very different feelings however, that the worst of popes was among the best of men.

The pontificate of Clement XIV. was signalised by another disaster to the Roman Church, a disaster however not like the suppression of the Jesuits in being inflicted by the hand of her head, the first partition of Poland. A Roman Catholic state was dismembered, a Roman Catholic nation was broken up by two free thinkers and one zealous Catholic, by the heretical Frederick, the schismatic Catharine, and the orthodox Maria Theresa. The vices of her constitution, the licence of the nobles, the impotence of the crown, the slavery of the people, the elective monarchy and the *liberum veto* had much to do with the fall of Poland; but that fall was hastened and directly brought on by the vehemence and bitterness of her Romanism. The crime of Austria, Russia and Prussia was the immediate effect and signal punishment of Polish persecution. It was the growing intolerance of the Polish Diet, it was the accumulated wrongs of the Polish Dissidents, both of the Greek and Protestant Churches, which fatally divided Poland and gave occasion to foreign intervention. It was in order to redress the grievances of the oppressed Dissidents that Catharine II. professed to interfere in Polish affairs. It was in the name of religious liberty that her armies domineered over king and kingdom. It was against the spiritual freedom of their fellow-countrymen as much as against the Muscovite legions that the Polish Catholics

<sup>34</sup> *Vie du Pape Clément XIV.*, Paris, 1777.

known as the Confederates of Bar took arms (1768), and passed with enlightened Europe for a swarm of superstitious crusaders rather than a band of devoted patriots. As it was as champions of freedom of conscience that Catharine and Frederick first meddled in Poland, so it was this reputation of theirs that mainly reconciled the age to the first partition and made the crime pass unquestioned and unchallenged, as the punishment of an intolerant and persecuting nation and as an extension of religious liberty. Enlightened by suffering, Poland bewailed and unlearned the intolerance which had helped to bring her low; the admirable constitution of 1791 consecrated religious liberty; the struggle before the second partition of 1793 and that before her final fall in 1795 were the struggles of pure patriotism against undisguised rapacity; and the long agony and heroic endurance of the oppressed nation have not ignobly expiated the sins of the persecuting nation. Only one of the great European states that arose about the time that the empire of Charlemagne fell to pieces has disappeared, and that kingdom was pre-eminently a Roman Catholic kingdom. Great and glorious when as in the sixteenth century she surpassed every country of Christendom in religious liberty, Poland fell in the full strength of triumphant and exclusive Romanism, amidst her preeminence and partly because of her preeminence as a persecuting nation.<sup>35</sup>

The successor of Ganganelli, Giovanni Angelo Braschi who took the name of Pius VI., destined to make sacrifices far more bitter than the sacrifice of the Jesuits, to undergo calamities far closer and heavier than the partition of Poland, and to fall into the hands of foes far fiercer and more terrible than liberal statesmen and reforming sovereigns, seemed made and meant for a very different destiny. Fond of pomp and splendour, munificent, stately, eloquent, singularly handsome, of noble manners and of decent morals, of hasty temper but withal courteous and affable, if not so much a man of the time as Lambertini or Ganganelli, yet no stupid and stubborn bigot like Rezzonico, not without discernment of the age and not without a sense of pontifical dignity, Pius VI. seemed the very man to do the best for the papacy in presence of the reforming statesmen and monarchs of the age, to conceal its weakness and to decorate its decline, to resist a demand with grace or to make a

<sup>35</sup> Krasinski's *Reformation in Poland*, vol. ii. c. 16.

concession with honour, to satisfy the eighteenth century without servilely obeying it, and to invest the dwindling popedom with an outward charm and awe in the eyes of an unbelieving and unrevering age. For some years he admirably discharged this office, kept up a splendid court, attempted great and beneficent public works, spent large sums of money in an endeavour to drain the Pontine Marshes, attracted and impressed strangers and won the respect of Catholic sovereigns if he did not arrest their ecclesiastical reforms.<sup>36</sup> High-placed reformers in fact were busy all around him. In Spain Aranda and Florida Blanca illustrated the reign of Charles III. (1759-88) by manifold improvements, diminished clerical abuses, impaired the papal jurisdiction and enfeebled the Inquisition. In Italy every conspicuous sovereign was a conspicuous liberal, save and except oddly enough the two kings of Sardinia Charles Emmanuel III. (1730-75) and Victor Amadeus III. (1775-96) who clung to the Jesuits and withstood the age.<sup>37</sup> While the House of Savoy yielded bigots and obstructors, liberals and reformers were encouraged and produced by the House of Bourbon and the House of Austria. The Marquis Bernardo Tanucci, first minister of Naples during the youth of Ferdinand of Bourbon, attempted all sorts of improvements there, diminished the number of convents, and struck down the papal jurisdiction, made away with papal courts, papal appeals and papal nominations to bishoprics.<sup>38</sup> But the two most eminent and illustrious reformers of the age, the emperor Joseph II. and Leopold grand duke of Tuscany, were Austrian princes, sons of the bigoted Maria Theresa heiress of the House of Hapsburg and the tolerant Francis of Lorraine. The House of Hapsburg-Lorraine began well. Joseph II., gifted, diligent, amiable, aspiring, benevolent, the most earnest and disinterested of despotic reformers and levellers, far better and more benignant than Frederick II. or Catharine II., bent upon forcing his subjects into toleration and happiness, and all the provinces and kingdoms beneath his sway into one uniform, reformed and liberal monarchy, won his fairest fame and achieved his most abidingly beneficent labours as an ecclesiastical reformer. He assailed the papal jurisdiction throughout his vast dominions, forbade the execution of any bull without leave from the government,

<sup>36</sup> Botta, *Histoire d'Italie de 1789 à 1814*, lib. i. pp. 41-48.

<sup>37</sup> *Id.*, *Storia d'Italia*, lib. xlviii.

<sup>38</sup> *Id.*, *Histoire d'Italie*, lib. i. pp. 34-36.

withdrew all bishoprics and monasteries from direct dependence upon the Roman See or direct intercourse therewith, abolished and created bishoprics, and lessened the incomes of some, suppressed convents which he turned into hospitals, barracks or colleges, put down superstitious ceremonies, ordered a German translation of the Bible, bestowed full freedom of worship upon the Protestants and Greeks and rendered them capable of holding any office and dignity. These innovations, remarkable in any sovereign, but passing wonder in the head of the House of Austria and the successor of Ferdinand II., astonished Europe and alarmed as much as they amazed Pius VI., who after an ineffectual diplomatic correspondence determined to deprecate these reforms in person and to arrest the imperial innovator by the charm of his presence, the grace of his manners and the power of his eloquence. He accordingly set off for Vienna in February 1782 against the advice of many cardinals who feared that the papal visitor might appear a papal suppliant and return an unsuccessful suppliant, as in fact he did. Joseph gave his pontifical guest the most splendid and respectful reception, overwhelmed him with gorgeous ceremonies, honourable observances and marks of outward veneration, but took no heed of his exhortations and remonstrances, would not make a single concession, would not revoke a single edict, would not suspend a single reform. The pontifical suppliant returned to Rome, with no other result from his visit than that of having thrust the impotence of the popedom before the eyes of Europe.<sup>39</sup>

In Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany, the congenial brother of Cæsar Joseph, and himself afterwards emperor, Pius had to do with a reforming neighbour. Among the innumerable benefits which the benignant Austrian innovator showered upon his Tuscan subjects, many found no favour with the Roman See. He abolished the Inquisition, suspended bulls and sentences of excommunication, forbade the publication of the same, withdrew the laity from the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts, and subjected the clergy to the civil tribunals. These beneficent enactments were among the fifty-seven propositions laid before the synod of Pistoja which he gathered together in 1787 without leave of the pope, and where Scipio de' Ricci, bishop of Pistoja, took a leading part, who though nephew of the last general

<sup>39</sup> Coxe, *History of the House of Austria*, c. 124.



of the Jesuits, combined Jansenist theology with anti-papal politics, and got the reputation of being almost a Protestant. Ricci asserted the independence of the bishops upon the papal power, claimed more liberty for the inferior clergy, cried out for a national Italian council, demanded that the service should be performed in the vulgar tongue, maintained that indulgences did not affect the dead, and half propounded the Protestant conceptions of faith, grace and church-authority. The Austrian innovator and the Tuscan theologian troubled Pius VI. not a little, who at length in 1794 hurled an elaborate bull against the synod of Pistoja.<sup>40</sup>

Royal reformers and semi-Protestant doctors however seemed the most formidable foes with whom Pius would have to do: the papacy promised to go on leading the same quiet, insignificant, not very glorious but not uncomfortable life which it had lived during the eighteenth century, making a few concessions to the importunity of judicious friends, and suffering a little gentle violence at the hands of respectful and somewhat exacting sons. The eighteenth century must strike a philosopher, a Protestant and even a moderate Catholic as the most pleasant portion of the papal story. Never had the popes done so little harm, shown so little cruelty or corruption; never was their demeanour so modest and their character so respectable. It is true that their Italian territories were sadly misgoverned. Nearly three centuries of direct ecclesiastical rule had utterly extinguished all political and intellectual life there. Commerce languished; population dwindled; great cities, Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna shrank; brigandage thrived. The pontiffs attempted no political reforms and made scarcely any real improvements. Herein they sank far below the contemporary sovereigns of Italy, not only beneath Joseph in Milan and Leopold in Tuscany, but even below the kings of Naples and Sardinia and the dukes of Parma. But their political dominion like their spiritual dominion during the eighteenth century was not sharply oppressive, though heavily repressive; their subjects, misgoverned and kept down, had their industry undeveloped, their energy suspended, their intellects fettered and their souls in bondage, but were not tormented or trampled under foot, and had not yet become indignantly sensible of the pressure

<sup>40</sup> Botta, *Histoire*, lib. i. pp. 24-29. *Bulla Pii apud Canones Concilii Tridentini*, Lipsiæ, 1842.

put upon them. The territorial like the spiritual popedom did not then wear a shockingly repulsive aspect; to many the latter especially looked like an evil thing mitigated and capable of further mitigation. The hopeful and pious sons of the eighteenth century might entertain the agreeable expectation that the papacy would be smoothed and polished down into the ornamental appendage of advancing civilisation or into the decorous satellite of some leading power, that the spirit of the age would strip the popedom of all its peculiarities one after the other and in the end wear it away, that the process would be gradual and quiet, unattended by dire calamities and unmarked by fierce convulsions. Some politicians expected the fall of the popedom from the financial distresses of the great Catholic powers who would lay hands upon ecclesiastical property including the territorial popedom and thus break up the Roman Church.<sup>41</sup> Even sincere and enlightened Protestants had got to regard the papacy, if not with complacency, with no unkindly indifference, had lost all lively sense of the spiritual evil of the Roman Church; in their eyes as on their lips the Great Whore had dwindled into the Scarlet Lady, and they looked for her slow and peaceful disappearance before the march of mind and the spread of knowledge. There were only some very devout and obscure Protestants, humble readers of the Word and despised students of the Apocalypse who believed in the unchangeable disposition of the papacy and in the ineradicable corruptions of the Roman Church, who still beheld in her the Great Whore, somewhat faded and shrunken,

<sup>41</sup> Frederick in a letter to Voltaire (tom. liv. c. 132) thus puts forth this theory: 'Le pape et les moines périront sans doute; leur chute ne sera pas l'ouvrage de la raison; mais ils périront à mesure que les finances des grands potentats se dérangeront. En France quand on aura épuisé tous les expédients pour avoir des espèces, on sera forcé de séculariser des abbayes et des couvents. En Autriche le même besoin d'argent donnera l'idée d'avoir recours à la conquête facile des états du saint siège pour avoir de quoi fournir aux dépenses extraordinaires, et l'on fera une grosse pension au saint père. Mais qu'arriverait-il? La France, l'Espagne, la Pologne, en un mot toutes les puissances catholiques ne voudront pas reconnaître un vicair de Jésus, subordonné à la main impériale. Chacun alors créera un patriarche chez soi. On assemblera des conciles nationaux. Petit à petit chacun s'écartera de l'unité de l'Église.' What a clever and yet what a shallow prophecy! Frederick foresaw the growing embarrassment of European princes; but he foresaw not the Revolution of France nor the resurrection of Italy. How utter a mistake to make the papacy destroyed by that embarrassed Austria with which it is a fellow sufferer and make the deed of an aspiring nation the deed of a needy government!

but still not without power to allure and deceive, who felt sure that great woes were laid in store for the popedom and the nations in its train, and expected that the world would be shaken by the long agony of its closing hours and the strangeness of its awful end.

## BOOK X.

## THE AGONY OF THE POPEDOM.

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So as she bade, that witch they disarrayed  
 And robbed of royal robes and purple pall,  
 And ornaments that richly were displayed;  
 Ne spared they to strip her naked all.

*Faery Queen*, i. viii. 46.

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THE more deeply and earnestly the French Revolution is contemplated the more manifest is its pre-eminence above all the strange and terrible things which have come to pass on this earth. Never has the world witnessed so gorgeous an outbreak of hope and so tremendous an outbreak of wrath, so bold an undertaking and so bitter a disappointment, so thorough a work of destruction, so daring an attempt at renewal. Never likewise has the world witnessed so exact and sublime a piece of retribution. Supreme as an aspiring energy and a destroying force, the French Revolution has a not less awful pre-eminence as an avenging power. If it inflicted enormous evil, it presupposed and overthrew enormous evil. If France showed such mad earnestness to break utterly with the Past and to make all things new, there must have been something very painful and intolerable in that Past; the old things must have been very grievous indeed. In a country where every ancient institution and every time-honoured custom disappeared in a moment, where the whole social and political system went down before the first stroke, where monarchy, nobility and Church were swept away almost without resistance, the whole framework of the state must have been rotten; royalty, aristocracy and priesthood must have horribly sinned. Where the good things of this world, birth, rank, wealth, fine clothes and elegant manners became worldly perils and worldly disadvantages for a time, rank, birth and riches must have been frightfully abused; the nation, which abolished and proscribed Christianity, which dethroned religion in favour of reason, and en-

throned the new goddess at Notre Dame in the person of a harlot, must needs have been afflicted by a very unreasonable and very corrupt form of Christianity. The people that waged a war of such utter extermination with everything established as to abolish the common forms of address and salutation and the common mode of reckoning time, that abhorred the 'you' as a sin and shrank from 'Monsieur' as an abomination, that turned the weeks into decades, that would know the old months no more, that renounced January for Nivose and June for Prairial, must surely have had good reason to hate those old ways from which it pushed its departure into such minute and absurd extravagance. The demolished halls of the aristocracy, the rifled sepulchres of royalty, the decapitated king and queen, the little dauphin so sadly done to death, the beggared princes, the slaughtered priests and nobles, the sovereign guillotine, the republican marriages and the Meudon tannery, the couples tied together and thrown into the Loire, and the gloves made of men's and women's skins: these things are most horrible, but they are withal eloquent of retribution; they bespeak the solemn presence of Nemesis, the awful hand of an avenging power; they bring to mind the horrible sins of that old France; they bring to mind those wretched peasants ground for ages beneath a weight of imposts from which the rich and noble were free, visited ever and anon with cruel famines by reason of crushing taxes, unjust wars and monstrous misgovernment and then hung up or shot down by twenties and fifties for just complaining of starvation: and all this for centuries.<sup>1</sup> They call to remembrance the Protestants massacred by myriads in the streets of Paris, tormented for years by missionary dragoons in Poitou and Béarn, and hunted like wild beasts in the Cevennes; slaughtered and done to death by thousands and tens of thousands in many painful ways and through many painful years.

The mere revilers of the French Revolution have forgotten all this. Burke, philosopher and historical student though he was, forgot it. He perused the prodigy with a penetrating eye, early discovered much of its true character, its gigantic dimensions, its destructive power and its contagious energy; but he would not look back; he would not look forward; he only looked on. He saw only to loathe, and he spoke only to

<sup>1</sup> Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, passim.

curse. He beheld and bewailed the high places which the Revolution made low, the splendour which it made desolate, the ruin which it wrought, the misery which it inflicted, the enormities which it perpetrated. He had no eye for the evils which it was to remove and he remembered not the horrors which it avenged. He forgot the long ages of feudal, of regal, of sacerdotal oppression in the passing spectacle of popular fury. He beheld in the leading revolutionists a swarm of satyrs, harpies and furies; but he could not see in their midst the majestic form and the awful face of Nemesis. It is not wise merely to hate and curse a Revolution which undid much evil and did some good and from which France arose new-born and reinvigorated; though it is very difficult to love or admire so terrible a process very much. But it is possible, it is meet and right to acknowledge its fitness and majesty as a great work of retribution, to bow in awe and trembling before this awful judgment of God the Avenger.

In no work of the French Revolution is this its retributive character more strikingly and solemnly apparent than in its dealings with the Roman Church and the papal power. It especially became France which after so fierce a struggle had rejected the Reformation and had perpetrated such enormous crimes in the process of rejection, to turn its fury against that very Roman Church in whose behalf it had been so wrathful, and to repeat those very crimes in its warfare against that popedom for whose glory it had so largely sinned, to abolish the Roman Catholic worship as she had abolished the Protestant worship, to massacre multitudes of priests in the streets of her great towns, to hunt them down through her length and breadth and to cast them by thousands upon a foreign shore just as she had slaughtered, hunted down and driven into exile ten thousands and hundred thousands of Protestants. It misbecame not that French democracy which two hundred years before had rushed into the wildest excesses, had risen against the legitimate king, called in the foreigner and would have fain subverted the order of succession at the instigation of the priests and for the honour and advantage of the popedom, to smite down the Church in company with the throne, to carry the war into the papal territories and to heap all sorts of woes and shames upon the defenceless popedom. It was not unworthy of that terrible Paris which at the bidding of priestly demagogues had teemed with clubs, erected barricades and

butchered myriads of heretics, to boil over in clubs where the Church was denounced and to rush at the instigation of other demagogues to the butchery of hundreds of priests. The excesses of revolutionary France were not more the punishment than the direct result of the excesses of feudal, regal and papal France. With Protestantism the Revolution had no dealings friendly or unfriendly. It attracted and convulsed no Protestant land as such. Some Protestant countries foolishly and wrongly thrust themselves into the conflict, but not as Protestant countries. France revolutionary or imperial absorbed Holland, overthrew Prussia and had a fierce fight with England. But these states whether engaged in war or in alliance with France did not permanently participate in the revolutionary attraction and convulsion. In every country where Rome had vanquished the Reformation the mind and heart of the nation were bowed and tamed down, save in France, whose mind and heart too mighty to be crushed, rushed into French philosophy which took practical shape in the French Revolution. The potent fire kindled in the sixteenth century for the destruction of spiritual and ecclesiastical corruption and for the renewal of souls and nations, quenched throughout central and south-western Europe, made room for a fierce and all-devouring flame which streaming from Roman Catholic France spread most readily to Roman Catholic Spain and Italy and burned most strongly there. Upon these nations the French Revolution has wrought most powerfully and abidingly; and not yet a spent power, holds them still in its grasp. In one of its aspects the Revolution may be described as a reaction against the excesses spiritual and religious of the Roman Catholic reaction. No sooner had the torrent burst forth, than it dashed right against the Roman Catholic Church in France and so against the popedom whereon that Church in a measure depended. At the beginning of the Revolution the inferior clergy had some sympathy with the popular complaints against the excesses of power in high places whether of Church or State; and in the National Assembly their deputies voted with those of the Commons that the three orders should sit together, and thus helped to establish the supremacy of the Third Estate over nobles and clergy, over king and kingdom, over state and church. The spirit of popular France which now ruled in the National Assembly was the spirit of earnest, hopeful, rejoicing, boundless innovation. The exulting inno-

vators soon turned their clerical allies into enemies, set about blotting out the ecclesiastical past of France and shaping the French Church as well as the French State entirely anew. The sacrifice of privileges, immunities and exemptions offered by the clergy in common with all privileged France in that exalted outbreak of self-immolation which signalised the night of August 4, 1789 in the Assembly were soon followed by sacrifices in no way voluntary, but utterly abhorred and fiercely resisted by the priesthood. The property of the Church was made over to the State, the French clergy sank from a proprietary into a salaried body; the income of the higher priesthood was greatly reduced; the income of the poor priests was assured and increased. Monastic orders, whose property had likewise gone were abolished; monks and nuns were restored to the world; and the Protestants, tolerated by Louis XVI. in 1787, were raised to full religious freedom and political equality (November, 1789). By the famous civil constitution of the clergy (1790) old bishoprics were done away with, new bishoprics were created, the practice of the early Church was re-established and the election of the clergy restored to the people. The clergy murmured, struggled and appealed to the pope against these arrangements; the Assembly summoned them to swear to the new constitution and every ecclesiastic who refused the oath, was deprived of office and income. The priesthood as a body declined the oath, and became at once the declared enemy and victim of the Revolution. Refractory ecclesiastics were chastised with transportation and imprisonment. The annexation of Avignon to France was signalised by a massacre mainly of priests; and hundreds of ecclesiastics were slaughtered at Paris on September 2, 3, 4, 5, 1792, days not altogether unworthy of August 24, 1572, though they were unstained by perfidy, and reckoned their victims by hundreds instead of by myriads. The Roman Catholic religion was soon afterwards formally abolished.<sup>2</sup>

Nothing had prepared Pope Pius VI. for this sudden upsetting of the Church, for this swift and utter overthrow of the papal power. Stately and decorous, he seemed utterly out of place in so wild a time and beneath so pitiless a storm. Not unaccustomed to the mild experiments of royal and imperial re-

<sup>2</sup> Thiers, *Histoire de la Révolution Française*, tom. i. c. 3, 4, 5, pp. 187-90, 228-34, 257-61; tom. ii. c. 1, 6, pp. 27-32, 313-40, 388-411. For the Civil Constitution see Theiner, *Brefs et Instructions du Pape Pie VI.*, tom. i.



formers, to the polite opposition of the emperor Joseph and the respectful innovations of the archduke Leopold, he found himself suddenly and without the least warning in conflict with the most ardent, impatient, daring, determined and unshrinking innovators that the world had ever seen. Assailed by the French Revolution before any other foreign monarch in his political lordship over Avignon and his spiritual sovereignty over the French Church, destined to take rank among the chiefest victims of the Revolution and to feel its uttermost fury, to be smitten first in his spiritual power, then in his Italian principality and at last in his person; Pius confronted it from the first with impotent and unavailing but not wavering or undignified opposition. He encountered the fast descending hail of innovation with remonstrances, with protests, with bulls and briefs, with anathemas and excommunications. He rejected with horror the civil constitution of the clergy, forbade the priesthood to obey it, comforted the kings and nobles of Europe with the solemn declaration that the revolutionary doctrines which so appalled them were decidedly heretical and that the leading revolutionists at whose names they shuddered were cast out of the Church, and joined the papal thunders to the eloquent curses of Burke, the armies of the confederate monarchs and the manifesto of the duke of Brunswick.<sup>3</sup> But the Revolution throve on papal maledictions and triumphed over royal coalitions. France, rent by incessant struggles and a hideous civil war, without an ally, assailed by more than half Europe, cut off from the Roman Church, isolated from Christendom, encountered the passions in arms against her, hatred, loyalty and superstition, with a fanaticism stronger and more terrible than all of them put together; fiercely patriotic and ambitious she burned to chastise her invaders and enlarge her borders; republican and democratic she burned to uproot aristocracies and overthrow thrones everywhere, and carry the republic in the train of her victorious legions; infidel, she burned to disseminate her infidelity and to uproot everywhere that Christianity which she had done her best to extirpate at home. Strong with a strange and furious strength, the French Republic beat back invading Europe, conquered Belgium, absorbed Holland, acquired Germany to the Rhine, defeated Austria, repelled England, awed

<sup>3</sup> Botta, *Histoire d'Italie de 1789 à 1814*, tom. i. c. 1, p. 96. Theiner, *Brefs et Instructions*, passim.

and conciliated Prussia, overran Sardinia, struck down Spain and then turned her into a servant and ally.

The pope whose offences against the republic had been aggravated by the murder of Hugh Basville a French agent in a tumult at Rome (1793), and who had joined the alliance against France, was not forgotten or forgiven. Hitherto the terrible republic had been able to reach him mainly as a spiritual potentate to break his power in France and wherever the French arms prevailed, to smite him in his smitten subjects, the slaughtered, beggared and expatriated priests of France. But in 1796 the revolutionary torrent rushed across the Alps, and beset Pius in his Italian principality; the invincible warriors of anti-papal and anti-christian France were led into Italy by a young general of Italian race and under Napoleon Bonaparte struck down the king of Sardinia, won victory after victory over the Austrians, drove them out of Lombardy, and then turned against the papal territories. In a severe and high-sounding proclamation Bonaparte set forth the wrongs of the papal government towards France and its own subjects, denounced the wrath of republican France and enlightened Europe upon an obsolete and pernicious government, followed up this proclamation by the seizure of Bologna and the Legations, and frightened the pope into a humiliating truce, who exhorted his Vendean sons and champions to submit to his republican foes and sent an agent to Paris to soothe and conciliate the chiefs of the anti-christian commonwealth. Suddenly however under the wand of the French enchanter, the Legations were transformed into the Emilian republic. Pius refused to recognise this sudden exaltation of a papal province, would make no peace with the French spoilers, and cried out before Europe against the spoliation.<sup>4</sup> But vainly did he raise this cry for help; vainly did the sovereign pontiff invoke the aid of heretical England; vainly did Burke who went on cursing the Revolution to the last, who loved everything that France hated and upheld every one that France assailed, and who looked with especial tenderness upon Pius as upon one of the earliest and most constant foes of the abhorred republic, vainly did the gifted fanatic, as he took in his dying hands the war-trump and sought to drown the many voices raised throughout England for peace in one last fierce blast of defiance against the terrible

<sup>4</sup> Botta, lib. vii. p. 333; tom. ii. lib. vii. p. 22; lib. viii. pp. 124-34.

commonwealth, commend the afflicted pope to the armed assistance of Protestant Britain.<sup>5</sup> Bonaparte unsheathed the sword of France against the helpless pontiff, who at once yielded and signed the dishonourable peace of Tolentino whereby he recognised the Emilian republic, paid a heavy contribution to its French parent and underwent other humiliations (February, 1797). The pontiff sank into a dependent, and a papal legate, Chiaramonti, afterwards Pius VII., became the panegyrist of republican liberty.<sup>6</sup>

A year had gone; Bonaparte had subdued and pacified Italy, had extinguished betrayed Venice and made her over to Austria, had turned his aspiring eye towards the East, and passed over into Egypt to pluck a dependency from the Sultan as he had wrested provinces from the pope (1798). In his absence the Directory which France then obeyed, far more fanatical than their young general whom they taxed with too much tenderness towards the papacy, bent upon hastening the work of Italian regeneration and human emancipation and certainly not wrong in feeling assured that there could be no thorough regeneration of Italy and no final deliverance of mankind while the popedom remained, set about casting that hindrance out of the way. They gave the word; the French soldiers under Berthier marched upon Rome, set up a Roman Republic and laid hands upon the pope. The sovereign pontiff was borne away to the camp of the infidels and followed the unbelieving host from prison to prison as it retreated before the Russians and Austrians who at the formation of the second coalition in 1799, descended into Italy under Suvarroff to undo the work of the French republic there, and was finally carried captive into France. Here the gorgeous and ceremonious Pius, so made and meant for the pomp and splendour of a stately and decorous court, the honoured guest and the graceful host of kings and Cæsars, and who had borne his change of fortune with exceeding meekness and resignation, breathed his last at Valence in the land where his priests had been slain, where his power was broken and his name and office were a mockery and

<sup>5</sup> *Letters on a Regicide Peace*, letter 3, Burke's Works, Bohn's edition, vol. v. pp. 286, 287. It is difficult to admire too much the amazing eloquence and intellectual vigour, or to detest too heartily the pernicious fanaticism of these peace-denouncing letters.

<sup>6</sup> Botta, lib. ix. p. 274; tom. iii. lib. xii. pp. 23-26. Thiers, tom. viii. c. 5; tom. ix. c. 7. The homily of the citizen cardinal and future pope is most edifying (*Collectio Bullarum*, &c. London, 1821, pp. 319-26).

byword and in the keeping of the rude soldiers of the unbelieving commonwealth which had for the last ten years held to his lips a cup of such manifold and exceeding bitterness. No pope had undergone such a variety of woe since the papal monsters of the tenth century tormented and destroyed each other. No pope had such bitterness poured out upon his last days since Boniface VIII. was seized and outraged at the bidding of Philip the Fair; as that proud pontiff was done to death by the hirelings of a French monarch, so the meeker Pius died in the hands of the soldiers of the French republic. The French Revolution had its perfect work here as everywhere else, went to the very uttermost in this as in every other direction, crowned its destruction of the monarchy by the death of the monarch and consummated its warfare with the Roman Church by the captivity and lamentable end of her head.<sup>7</sup>

It was in truth a marvellous spectacle; it was indeed a sublime and perfect piece of retribution which so amazed the world at the end of the eighteenth century—this proscription of the Roman Church by that very French nation which had slaughtered and cast out so many myriads of Protestants at her bidding—this captivity and mournful end of the sovereign pontiff in a town of that France which had shown so much zeal for the popedom and wrought so much ill to its enemies, not far from that Avignon where some of his predecessors had so luxuriously lived and so comfortably died, in that very Dauphiné so consecrated by the struggles and sufferings of the Protestants, and near those Alpine valleys where just a hundred years ago French soldiers had so ruthlessly hunted down the Waldenses;<sup>8</sup>—this transformation of the States of the Church into the Roman Republic, and this overthrow of the territorial popedom by that very French nation which just one thousand years ago had under Pepin and Charlemagne conferred these territories.

Other strange circumstances too heightened the strangeness of this catastrophe. Popish Spain and Ireland were on the side of the persecutors of the pope; heretical England and schismatic Russia were the enemies of his enemies. The Bourbon Catholic king was the ally of French regicides and infidels. At the very time that Pius was dragged in the train of the unbelieving host, the anti-papal Russians under Suvarroff appeared in Italy to

<sup>7</sup> Botta, lib. xiii. p. 79; lib. xvi. p. 412. Thiers, tom. ix. c. 12; tom. x. c. 14. Cardinal Consalvi's *Mémoires*, tom. ii. pp. 53-93.

<sup>8</sup> Monastier, *Histoire de l'Eglise Vaudoise*, tom. ii. c. 24, 25.

undo the work of France and partly to restore the papal power. Protestant England was wrongly helping the Bourbons to overthrow the Parthenopean republic which the French had set up at Naples, and thereby to bring about a most bloody royalist and papal reaction under the ruthless Cardinal Ruffo;<sup>9</sup> while his loving Irish sons called in the French persecutors of Pius to rid them of the yoke of the heretical Saxon.

Strangely too were the feelings of men changed, confused and complicated by this evil plight of the papacy. Many to whom the papacy had been an object of dislike and contempt before the French uprising, regarded now with a mingled tenderness and reverence that power which the Revolution had so fiercely assailed, and venerated Pius VI. as one of its most conspicuous victims, as an illustrious martyr of law and order. A few sincere Protestants carried compassion for the persecuted pope into forgetfulness and forgiveness of the sins and corruptions of the popedom; only very earnest souls remembered the accumulated guilt and welcomed the expected chastisement, beheld in these dealings of France with Rome the nakedness and desolation which her old lovers were to bring upon the Great Whore, and rejoiced with a solemn joy in the awful judgment of God. Multitudes imagined that the papacy was on the point of death and asked if Pius VI. would be the last pontiff, and if the close of the eighteenth century would be signalised by the fall of the papal dynasty. But the French Revolution was the beginning and not the end of the judgment. France had but begun to execute the doom: a doom sure and inevitable, but long and lingering, to be diversified by many strange incidents, and now and then by a semblance of escape: a doom to be protracted through much pain and much ignominy.

The cardinals driven from Rome by the French assembled at Venice on the death of the captive pontiff and gave him a successor in Bernabo Chiaramonti, who took the name of Pius VII. Meanwhile the French vanquished in Italy by Suvarroff had abandoned Rome (1799) which was occupied by the Neapolitans who restored the papal authority; and the new pope re-entered the pontifical territory in June 1800,<sup>10</sup> just as Bonaparte who,

<sup>9</sup> Botta, lib. xviii.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* lib. xx. pp. 339-42. Thiers, *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*, tom. i. lib. iv. Consalvi (*Mémoires*, tom. i. pp. 199-290) has left a very interesting history of the conclave which elected Pius VII., of the intrigues of Austria to have a creature of hers chosen, and of her reluctance to restore to the pope the pontifical states from which Suvarroff had driven the French.

baffled in the East by England before the walls of Acre and stopped on the way to India, had returned from Egypt, who had snatched France from the feeble grasp of the Directory on the 18th Brumaire (November, 1799), and who had at once breathed his own spirit of order and energy into the weakened and disordered republic, regained Italy and awed Europe on the field of Marengo (June 14th 1800). The conqueror might have again struck down the temporal popedom and again set up the Roman Republic. But Bonaparte though the creature and heir of the Revolution, was its curber and tamer also, would not repeat its violence or prolong its disorders. Besides he wanted the papacy. He saw that the popedom though stricken sorely and shrunken sadly was yet a power among men, and he meant to make that power an appendage, ornament and support of his own. Accordingly he not only at the rearrangement of Italy in 1801 left Pius VII. in possession of his Italian principality, but determined to restore his spiritual authority in France. He disliked and deplored the overthrow of Christianity and the abolition of worship, from no spiritual convictions whereof his stern, hard self-absorbed heart seemed utterly devoid, but from a hatred of disorder and anarchy and a clear intellectual perception of the necessity of some form of religion to social and national life. He saw that the great majority of those Frenchmen who cared about religion at all were Roman Catholics; he therefore made up his mind to restore the Roman Church in France. Pius VII. was not very difficult to deal with. Gentle, conciliating, not very energetic or exacting, conscientious but not very tenacious or fanatical as a pope, and somewhat impressible by external influences and passing events, the panegyrist when cardinal of republican France with the Legations in her grasp, the pontiff hearkened to the overtures of the First Consul, glad to get France back on any tolerable terms. He accepted the famous concordat concluded July 1801 and published by Bonaparte in 1802, which made over to the government the regulation of public worship and the nomination of bishops, gave it control over the publication of bulls, the holding of synods and the action of nuncios, in a word thoroughly subordinated the Church to the State; and in refusing to recognise the Roman Catholic faith as the religion of the state and in simply declaring it to be that of the majority of Frenchmen forbade any encroachment upon the civil power on

the part of the head of that religion.<sup>11</sup> France became again Christian and Roman Catholic in profession to the amazement of Europe, to the sore scandal of republican philosophers who beheld the great work of the Revolution undone, and to the sore displeasure of republican generals who had so often discomfited the armies which the Church had blessed and who looked upon the nobles and the priests as the vanquished enemies of France, but to the considerable satisfaction both of sovereign Pontiff and of First Consul, the former of whom rejoiced to call the foremost realm of Christendom his own again, while the latter meant the favour to the church as a favour to himself. Bonaparte had by no means done with Pius. In 1804 the First Consul became Emperor of the French and eldest son of the Church; he wanted the pope to consecrate the new empire and to bless the new dynasty; he asked the Church of Rome to do for the Bonapartes something like what she had done a thousand years before for the Carolingians. As in 752 Zachary crossed the Alps to crown Pepin le Bref and sanctify the second dynasty; as on Christmas Day 800 Leo III. crowned another king of the Franks Charles the Great emperor of the West; so Pius VII. crossed the Alps to witness on December 2, 1804, the coronation of the new Charlemagne. But it was as no sincere believer that Napoleon invoked the presence of Pius; it was not to confer a crown that the pontiff came to Paris, but merely to adorn a ceremony and to consecrate a pageant. With his own hands Napoleon set the crown upon his head; while Pius attended, an important and imposing, but a purposely slighted witness of the coronation. The emperor meant for the pope-dom that very same place in his empire which the pope had filled at his coronation, that of an ornamental appendage and sanctifying subordinate.<sup>12</sup>

Another singular event soon came to heighten the position of the new empire and to affect its relations with the papacy. The first anniversary of the coronation, December 2, 1805, was signalised by the battle of Austerlitz, and this greatest of all Napoleon's victories was followed in 1806 by the peace of

<sup>11</sup> Thiers, tom. iii. c. 12. Botta, lib. xxi. pp. 379-94. Consalvi, tom. i. pp. 299-415. *Collectio Bullarum*, &c. London, 1821, where the Latin version of the Concordat and the bulls connected therewith are given (p. 92 et seq.).

<sup>12</sup> Thiers, tom. v. c. 20. In an allocution pronounced before and in another delivered after his French journey Pius tries to make the best of a bad business (*Collectio Bullarum*, p. 292 et seq.).

Presburg, whereby Francis II. of Hapsburg-Lorraine ceased to be emperor of Germany or with more official correctness emperor of the Romans and sank into the emperor of Austria; the Holy Roman Empire came to an end. The empire which claimed to represent the power and dignity of the ancient Cæsars, and which the popedom had renewed and sanctified in favour of Charlemagne, was no more. The papacy lost its old companion, at once its creature and its endower, now its sovereign and now its servant, for ages its unfriendly intimate but during the centuries that followed the Reformation merely its nominal companion, a mere conventional name among the powers of the world. But now this unreality was replaced by a very potent reality. Another pontiff had attended the coronation of another Charlemagne. The new Cæsar was in very truth emperor of the West, sovereign of France, Belgium, Germany as far as the Rhine and Northern Italy, with Southern Italy, Spain and Holland as dependents. Prussia was prostrated at Jena in 1806; Russia yielded to the ascendancy of Napoleon after Friedland in 1807; England alone withstood the master of Europe.<sup>13</sup>

The new Cæsar now began to unfold and carry into effect his designs with regard to the papacy. He had no desire to be its destroyer, but had a very strong ambition to become its master—the director of its destiny and the wielder of its authority. When restoring Christianity in France, he might have dealt with the Gallican Church as Henry VIII. dealt with the Anglican Church; he might have severed its connection with the Roman See and set up an independent national French Church. But Napoleon wanted the papacy; he sought a connection with it as with a serviceable satellite, sought to widen, strengthen and deepen his sway by yoking it to his chariot wheels and appropriating its influence over the Roman Catholic world. The head of the Latin race, he would have fain had the head of the Latin Church for his chief priest and minister of ecclesiastical affairs. Pius VII. seemed as likely as any conceivable pontiff to accept this situation. He was of a gentle and yielding nature; he was not insensible to the influences of the great events of his time; he was as an Italian prince completely in Napoleon's power. But he had withal some sense of his dignity and duty as pope; and the French emperor found

<sup>13</sup> Thiers, *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*, tom. vi. c. 23, 24. Consalvi, tom. ii. p. 298.



him tolerably hard to deal with. A serious quarrel soon broke out. Pius complained of encroachments upon his spiritual power throughout the empire, and of encroachments upon his Italian territories by the civil and military officers of the kingdom of Italy. Napoleon replied with high demands and stern threats, claimed the power of nominating a third of the cardinals, asserted the supremacy of the empire over the popedom, threatened to enforce his right as successor of Charlemagne of taking back those territories which Charlemagne had conferred, and at last in 1808 annexed the Marches to the French empire. Pius protested against the annexation and excommunicated the officers who had carried it into effect.<sup>14</sup> Whereupon, just as Napoleon amidst the Prussian war and in the capital of a vanquished enemy had sent forth the Berlin decrees to ruin the commerce of England, so in the thick of the Austrian war in the capital of another defeated adversary just before the victory of Wagram he issued at Vienna, May 1809, a decree which incorporated the remaining papal territories with the French empire, abolished the political popedom and reduced Pius to the rank of a French subject with an income of 2,000,000 francs (80,000*l.*). Pius hurled a vigorous protest against his deposition and a bull of excommunication against his imperial dethroner. In answer thereto, General Radet entered Rome, arrested the pontiff and sent him off prisoner to Savona. Thus imperial France repeated the stern dealings of revolutionary France towards the Roman See; or rather the French Revolution in this its organised, mitigated and more decorous form of imperialism still held the popedom in its tormenting grasp. The sovereign Pontiff became a French captive; the States of the Church became French possessions and gained greatly by the transformation of the enfeebling, depressing, debasing rule of priests into a vigorous and in some measure enlightened government set upon mending the lot and bringing out the mind and energies of the people.<sup>15</sup>

But Pius VII., though a captive was still head of the Roman Catholic Church. Napoleon had got his territories and his person; but he also wanted his subjection and services as chief of the Latin Church, and so would fain appropriate all

<sup>14</sup> Botta, lib. xxiii. Thiers, lib. xxxvii. Cardinal Pacca, *Memorie Storiche*, tom. i. passim. See in Pacca, *Bulla Excommunicationis*, p. 234 et seq.; and Radet, *Relation de l'Enlèvement du Pape*, p. 224 et seq.

<sup>15</sup> Botta, lib. xxiii. Thiers, lib. xxxvii.

its institutions and wield all its appliances for his own purposes. But Pius himself was not a little loth to yield the subjection and render the services required of him by Napoleon. A patient captive, he still resented his captivity and regretted his dominions, still felt himself the rightful sovereign of Rome and refused to become a French subject. The excommunication with which he had smitten his dethroner, though utterly powerless to stay or to shake the conqueror of Europe, still had power to inflame the Spaniards in their resistance to Napoleon's invasion, and in their refusal to have his brother Joseph to reign over them, Pius felt that as head of the Roman Church he was still a potentate, and so far from wielding his power for the honour and advantage of his jailer, embarrassed him by forbearing its exercise and refusing to institute and confirm the bishops whom Napoleon nominated. After fruitless negotiations at Savona and the vain pressure of the stricter imprisonment to which the unyielding pontiff was subjected, the emperor resolved to deprive the papacy of this prerogative which the concordat had conceded, by means of a synod of the clergy of the empire which met at Paris in 1811. The council rather shrank from its work, but overborne by the iron will of Napoleon, proposed to substitute confirmation of bishops by metropolitans for confirmation by the pope; a deputation waited upon the imprisoned pontiff who at last consented to this substitution in certain circumstances (1811).<sup>16</sup> But Pius steadfastly refused to renounce his Italian principedom, to give up the temporal popedom, to become a subject of the emperor and accept the handsome income which Napoleon offered him. Hereupon he was transferred to Fontainebleau near Paris as to a more honourable place of detention, where also he would be brought under the emperor's personal influence, in 1812 at the opening of the decisive conflict with Russia. The great conqueror had to do with victims far more deeply wronged as with antagonists far more formidable than the pontiff. The prisoner of the pope was the tormentor of Toussaint l'Ouverture and the murderer of the duc d'Enghien, the betrayer of trusting Venice, the assailant of friendly Turkey, the deceiver and devastator of obsequious Spain, the deluder of devoted Poland, the bruiser of Germany and the invader of Russia. Pius VII. got the sympathy and regard of millions who disliked the papacy, but who abhorred Napoleon. The

<sup>16</sup> Botta, lib. xxxiv. Thiers, tom. xiii. pp. 35-48, 103-178, 220-24. Paeca, part 3, passim.

grievances of the pontiff got associated with the wrongs and were avenged by the uprising of oppressed nations. The overthrow in Russia sharpened the emperor's desire for a full reconciliation with the Church. In more than one interview with the pontiff he put forth all his power of fascination and persuasion and at last prevailed upon Pius to sign the concordat of Fontainebleau (January 25, 1813), a compact politely and respectfully worded, but which confirmed the annexation of Rome to the French empire and put an end to the temporal popedom. The pope was to reign over the Church at Avignon, was to become a resident in France and a pensioner and dependent of the French empire.<sup>17</sup>

But great events cancelled this compact. The Russians advanced; Prussia arose; Germany flew to arms; Austria went over to the allies. Napoleon, overmatched and overcome, fell back upon France. Wellington marched from victory to victory in Spain. Germany was delivered; Spain was delivered; and these deliverances brought about the deliverance of the pontiff. On his return from the overthrow of Leipzig, the emperor, eager to lessen the number of his foes, released the pope and restored his dominions (1814).<sup>18</sup> Confederate Europe marched into France and extorted from Napoleon an act of abdication at that very Fontainebleau where a year before Pius had signed the concordat. The victory over Napoleon was the victory of oppressed nations not less than of legitimate sovereigns; but the monarchs were by far the greater and indeed the only immediate gainers thereby. In the fullness of their hatred towards the French Revolution and the French Empire, they sought to undo the good as well as the evil works thereof, and to bring back old Europe as completely as their own interests would allow. The abolition of the territorial popedom was a priceless boon to Italy and a great blessing to Europe, a work of wisdom, and a piece of beneficence; but it had been wrought by the French Revolution; it had been repeated by the French Empire; it was therefore a work to be undone. The pope was a legitimate sovereign whom France had despoiled of his dominions; they were therefore to be restored. This restoration of the political papacy was not the work of pious enthusiasts and fiery crusaders; the pope was not borne back to his Roman throne on a triumphant tide of Roman Catholic reaction; it was the work of

<sup>17</sup> Thiers, lib. xlvii. Pacca, part 3. *Collectio Bullarum*, p. 341 et seq.

<sup>18</sup> Thiers, lib. li.

cool and careful diplomatists; it was done with the approbation of powers that acknowledged not the Roman See, of anti-papal Russia, of Protestant Prussia, of Protestant England—that very England whose government steadfastly withheld political privileges from the British and Irish Catholics, while it joined in reinflicting the papal domination on Central Italy—a power too with which it would hold no diplomatic intercourse. The Congress of Vienna made many mistakes but not one so signal and pernicious as this re-establishment of the territorial papacy; and the part taken by England therein stands out among the many blunders and absurdities of English diplomacy. It is not a little curious that the acts of the Vienna Congress most disliked and assailed at the time, its deprivations and annexations, have proved far more abiding and beneficent than its restorations. In transferring Norway from Denmark to Sweden, in enlarging Prussia at the expense of Saxony and other German States, in annexing Genoa to the kingdom of Sardinia, it brought about changes which have endured, which have done good to every country concerned, and which in the case of Genoa and Sardinia have led to other still more blessed changes. But in giving back Northern Italy to the Hapsburgs, Southern Italy to the Bourbons, and Central Italy to the pope it restored enormous misrule, engendered misery, discontent and war, and set up a state of things which has now almost wholly passed away.<sup>19</sup>

The papacy boasted of another narrow escape. It seemed to have thrown off the gripe of the French Revolution, and to have got safe out of the hands of the French Empire. But it was only rescued from one peril to fall into another. Delivered from French domination, it was assailed by Italian patriotism; in other words it lay still in the stern gripe of the Revolution, which though apparently dead and gone was still a living power. The spirit of its early, hopeful, aspiring days, the spirit of revolt against repressive and oppressive institutions, against an enthralling and debasing past, blew like a rushing mighty wind over Roman Catholic Europe, stirred Spain in her starkness, roused Italy out of her faintness, kindled intellectual life and begot political aspiration. Spain was invaded at once by the legions of imperial France and by the principles of aspiring and innovating France; and behind the ramparts of

<sup>19</sup> Thiers, lib. lvi. passim. One annexation alone that of Belgium to Holland has been annulled.

that Cadiz beleaguered by the warriors of the French empire the better spirit of the French Revolution reigned over the Spanish Parliament. The Cortes of Cadiz with all its faults was an assembly of high-hearted reformers, who loved liberty and hated persecution and who attempted in their too ambitious constitution of 1812 the abolition of all those evil things which had degraded their country for 250 years. But it was Italy upon which the French Revolution most mightily wrought; and Italy was not only awakened and quickened by contact with aspiring and innovating France, but was helped and advanced by her connection with imperial France. Napoleon sinned against her by the betrayal and extinction of Venice; but his sins against Italy were at least equalled by his services to Italy. He sorely bruised Germany and strove to break her up into still more helpless fragments; he sought to subjugate a proud nation in Spain. But with Italy he dealt more tenderly and beneficently. He found the Peninsula a heap of petty principalities and worn-out republics; and knit them together for the first time into the kingdom of Italy. He lifted Italy from a 'geographical designation' into a place, subordinate it is true, but still into a place among the nations. He plucked her from the withering grasp of antiquated senators, obstructive priests and oppressive princes and set over her enlightened and capable administrators. He found her beneath the curse of the temporal papacy, and he took away the curse. The Congress of Vienna undid all this. The Italians, awakened in heart and mind by the French Revolution, impatient of intellectual bondage and ecclesiastical tyranny, flattered by the show of national life, delivered from the priests and accustomed to an enlightened administration during their connection with imperial France, were again made over to Austrians, Pontiff and Bourbons, more repressive and oppressive for having been expelled. Italy sank from a national name into a geographical designation. The Peninsula became a province of Austria, administered directly by Austrian generals and indirectly by dependent priests and princes. The Austrian domination too was a far worse thing than it had been before the Revolution. The imperial reformers Joseph and Leopold were replaced by a most legitimate Hapsburg in the son of the latter, Francis II. an intense hater of all freedom, political, intellectual and religious, the great business of whose life had been the conflict with revolutionary and imperial France, and who made it

henceforth his main concern to keep down the minds, the energies and the souls of all his subjects, especially of his Italian subjects. Asleep and insensible during the eighteenth century Italy became awake and alive to her degradation just as the yoke grew heavier. The restored Ferdinand of Naples bound himself by a secret treaty with Austria not to grant a constitution; and the restored pope Pius soon found himself forced to take his place among the dependents of Austria.

The pontiff and his priests resumed their sway over a people who despised and detested that sway and who had known a better state of things. Immediately upon its restoration the political popedom came into conflict with Italian patriotism. Struck down by revolutionary France, again overthrown by imperial and professedly Roman Catholic France, set up again with the leave and the help of Protestant England, Protestant Prussia and anti-papal Russia it began to be abhorred and assailed by Roman Catholic Italy. It looked ugly in every aspect, possessed every kind of vice and provoked every kind of hatred and hostility. The immediate subjects of the restored pontiff groaned beneath the worst government in the world, the rule of narrow-minded, unenlightened, incompetent and suspicious priests, utterly incapable as statesmen, impotent and worse than impotent as administrators. They at once detested and despised in the papal government a system miserably and minutely repressive and waxing every day more bitterly oppressive, a system which hampered their industry, kept down their energies, fettered their intellects and wounded their most legitimate ambition, which hindered them in getting wealth and in getting knowledge, which forbade them to think and to aspire, forbade them to labour profitably or to signalise themselves honourably, and punished them for endeavouring to become thinkers, citizens and patriots; a government from its very nature in hopeless conflict with progress and utterly incapable of reform. Italian patriots beheld in the papacy a great foe of Italian nationality, a great obstacle to Italian unity and a great support of foreign domination. They saw that the territorial popedom ever since its consolidation three centuries ago had directly ministered to the disunion, weakness and subjection of Italy. The conviction of Machiavelli that the popedom was the great moral, political and social bane of Italy began to grow the conviction of many patriots. They saw that Italy could not become a nation while the political popedom

endured, that it both required and assisted the reign of the foreigner in their country, and that if their country was honoured in having an Italian prince for head of the Roman Catholic Church this costly honour brought sore trials and debasement to Italy. This conviction however though fast spreading had not yet become a popular conviction. It was the immediate subjects of the restored papacy who first took bitter offence at it, chafed beneath it and strove against it. In Pius VII. they had a sovereign of much personal worth, of great natural mildness and forbearance; but he was still a pontiff-king tenacious of his twofold sovereignty and rendered more tenacious thereof and more set against every principle and practice that prevailed during the French occupation by his sudden and unlooked-for recovery of the throne. He signalled the year of his restoration (1814) by the restoration of the order of the Jesuits, in the vain hope that they would encounter the Revolution with the same vigour and success wherewith they had withstood the Reformation. Pius faithfully played the part of a restored sovereign. As the restored Ferdinand of Spain blotted out the Constitution of 1812, persecuted its champions and brought back priestly and regal absolutism, put down the Cortes and set up the Inquisition; as the restored Ferdinand of Naples destroyed the constitution which England had won for Sicily and undid all the good which the French had done for Naples, in like manner the restored Pius abolished every great reform which the French introduced and reinflicted every grievance which they had removed in the States of the Church.<sup>20</sup> His favourite and prime minister Cardinal Consalvi, liberal and magnificent in his tastes, no mere priest, the entertainer and correspondent of Protestant sovereigns and statesmen, who admired Niebuhr and feasted Frederick William of Prussia, who shared his master's regard for England, and who was the only Cardinal ever in favour there, whose portrait together with that of his master employed the pencil of Lawrence and adorns the gallery of Windsor, was still the faithful minister of the restored pontiff; his liberality was that of an accomplished gentleman rather than of a practical statesman; he upheld the abolition of every French reform and the revival of all the Roman abuses; at the head of the papal administration he most conspicuously maintained that priestly yoke which lay so

<sup>20</sup> Thiers, lib. lvi.

heavy on the people of Central Italy.<sup>21</sup> Discontent was spread throughout the Peninsula. Every day its foreign masters and its petty princes, Hapsburgs, Bourbons and Pontiff grew more repressive and oppressive; every day the Italians grew more wrathful and impatient.

Then came the first unsuccessful uprising of South-Western Europe against its rulers in Church and State. The two especially Roman Catholic lands Spain and Italy, bestirred themselves to overthrow that ecclesiastical and political despotism established in the struggle with the Reformation, shaken by the French Revolution and re-established in 1814. Spain first uprose (1818), mastered her Ferdinand of Bourbon, put down her priests and her Inquisition, convoked her Cortes and set up again the magnificent constitution of 1812. Italy did not lag behind. Naples coerced her Ferdinand of Bourbon and established a liberal constitution (1820). Piedmont wrested popular institutions from her king, a creature of Austria and Rome. The people of Lombardy and Venice murmured, chafed and conspired, but did not venture to take arms against their Austrian masters. The subjects of the pope were eager to shake off his yoke and made ready to rise against him; but the Austrians advanced and they did not stir. The Austrians marched through the papal states into Naples where they met with no resistance, made an end of the constitution and re-enthroned Ferdinand in despotic authority. In Piedmont the constitution was upset and absolutism restored with equal ease and rapidity (1821). The first uprising of Italy was but a poor performance; full of aspiration, she showed an utter lack of resolution. She wanted earnestly to be free but shrank from the struggle and the sacrifices without which freedom cannot be won: and she had to suffer long and sorely beneath a far heavier and more cruel yoke ere the aspiring temper was heightened into the heroic temper. Spain did no better and fared no better than Italy; the French at the bidding of Louis XVIII. under the command of the duc d'Angoulême invaded Spain in 1823 on behalf of those Bourbons whom at the bidding of Napoleon they had fought to dethrone, and found no difficulty in upsetting the Spanish constitution and restoring the Spanish despot. The odds against freedom however were very great. Austria struck down Italy as France struck down liberal Spain, not merely on

<sup>21</sup> Consalvi, *Mémoires*, passim.



her own account, but in the name and as the agent of the Holy Alliance. This league notwithstanding its suspicious epithet was not of papal devising. The confederacy of a Roman Catholic, an anti-papal and a Protestant sovereign, of Francis of Austria, of Alexander of Russia and Frederick William of Prussia, all of whom Napoleon had humbled, but who in the end triumphed over him, it arose at first from a feeling of gratitude for their common deliverance and victory, had its origin in the susceptible soul of Alexander, and professed the maintenance of peace and religion as its object, but soon degenerated into a confederacy of kings against peoples, a league of despots against liberty. Of most holy leagues the papacy has been the projector and patron; but this Holy Alliance took the papacy under its protection. In the congress of Verona which met in 1822 just before the death of Pius VII., which confirmed the servitude of Italy and decreed the subjugation of Spain, the Roman See was represented and supported.

The career of Pius VII. was as singular as his character was simple and unremarkable. No hero of romance ever went through more striking adventures or experienced greater changes of fortune than did this mild and amiable personage. In perpetual contact with wonderful events, he did nothing to bring them about; no one in outward lot was more remarkably the creature of circumstance; no one was ever more hurt and helped by things with which he had nothing to do. Chosen pope at Venice when Rome was a republic under the wings of the French Republic, he was reinstated by a coalition whereof the author was the Protestant Pitt and the hero was the anti-papal Suvarroff. Scarce back in his capital, he had to exchange concessions with the new master of revolutionary France. He had the most intimate relations with Napoleon without having any influence upon his fortune, without doing anything to set him up or pull him down. He adorned the coronation which he was not allowed to perform, he consecrated the new empire which he disliked. The sanctifier of the mightiest power and the dependent of the most terrible foe that England ever encountered, he was of all the Pontiffs since the Reformation the one who most liked England and whom England most liked. He got involved in the conflict between the mighty opposites, angered Napoleon and lost his territories partly because he would not declare war against that England which would acknowledge neither his spiritual nor his territorial

sovereignty.<sup>22</sup> He was deposed by the power that he had consecrated and became the captive of his eldest son. He accepted a compact of which he disapproved, was released from it by a victory to which he had not contributed and was restored by a confederacy of which he was not a member, and the chief members of which were not of his Church. His restored power became odious to a people among whose princes he ranked high and of whose Church he was the head, and found favour and protection with a Holy Alliance not of his forming or inspiring. The fortune of the pope was better than that of the popedom. Pius regained his throne, but the papacy remained in peril. He had been an outcast and a captive, and he died a prince; he found the papacy in the gripe of the French Revolution, and left it in conflict with the Italian progeny thereof.

The pontificate of his successor Leo XII. (1823-29) a respectable, narrow-minded man and a very decent pope was disturbed by no violent outbreak of Italian patriotism, though it witnessed the growth and added to the strength of that hostile feeling. Every year heightened the severity of the Austrian domination and aggravated the evils of priestly misrule, augmented the misery and inflamed the discontent of Italy, embittered her hatred of the foreigner, widened her severance from the popedom and deepened the dependence of the Roman See upon the Austrian sword. Leo XII. remained the thankful client of the Holy Alliance and the faithful upholder of the heavy yoke beneath which his subjects chafed. Suspicious and repressive in Italy, the Roman Church was restless and active abroad, conspired with Absolutism in France and coalesced with Liberalism in the Netherlands and England. Aspiring and enterprising priests found much favour and encouragement with Charles X. a far better Bourbon than the tolerably enlightened and constitutional Louis XVIII., obtruded themselves upon the public eye, thrust themselves into public affairs, assisted the king in his struggle with the Liberals and in his efforts to upset the constitution and quickened anew the hostility of French Liberalism towards their Church. In Belgium on the other hand the priests prated about liberty and played the part of demagogues, represented the union of Catholic Belgium with Protestant Holland as a sin and shame and stirred up the people against the very unoppressive and beneficent government of the king of the Netherlands.

<sup>22</sup> Pacci, *Memorie Storiche*, pp. 39, 40, 49, 64.

The brief reign of Pius VIII. (March 1829—December 1830) aggravated the quarrel between the popedom and its subjects and was signalised by mighty European events. In England the Roman Church won a signal and legitimate victory with the help of English liberals. The Whigs of the nineteenth century lent their aid to the Irish people in breaking that long and strong chain of penal statutes which the Whigs of the seventeenth century had woven. A potent representative of the passions of the Roman Church and the Irish democracy arose in O'Connell: and the mightiest demagogue of the age was a dutiful son and subject of the papacy. At last in 1829 the Irish people and the English Liberals wrung from the reluctant British government and the reluctant British nation that Act of Emancipation which while conceding political rights and privileges to the British and Irish Catholics, furthered the operations of the Roman Church and the action of the papal power in Great Britain.<sup>23</sup>

But the next year was marked by a still more mighty business; Pius VIII. lived to behold a great outbreak in France which again upstirred Europe and somewhat affected the fortunes of the Roman Church and See. Charles X. was emphatically a king in whom the priests delighted; so dutiful and devoted an eldest son the papacy had not known for ages; he did his best to uphold the clergy, who did their best to uphold his power and went heartily with him in that onslaught on the public liberties which provoked the Three Days of July and cost him and his descendants the throne of France. The Revolution of 1830 was anti-sacerdotal if not anti-monarchical; set upon undoing the work of the Restoration it reversed the prominence which the elder Bourbons had given to the Church; the priests sank into the background as their royal patron went into exile; the people of Paris insulted priests and burned churches; <sup>24</sup> the priest-king was replaced by the citizen-king. The papacy frowned upon the Three Days and the Roman Church found no great favour with the monarchy of July. But while the Revolution of 1830 humbled the Roman Church in France it led to her exaltation in Belgium. Kindled by the triumph of the people of Paris over the eldest son of the Church, the people of Brussels, under the guidance of priests who abhorred William I. of Orange as a heretic and of demagogues who branded the connection with their Batavian

<sup>23</sup> Wiseman's *Recollections of the last four Popes*.

<sup>24</sup> Lamennais, *Affaires de Rome*, ed. 1837, p. 42 et seq.

kinsmen as a foreign yoke, rose against the king of the Netherlands. The French Revolution embraced the Belgian uprising as its offspring, without inquiring how far the child resembled the parent; France welcomed the dissolution of the kingdom of the Netherlands as a breach of the treaties of 1815 and the casting down of a bulwark erected against her, interposed her armed hand to preserve the Belgians from reconquest by the Dutch whom they were unable to withstand in the field and bore the chief part in setting up the kingdom of Belgium. Liberal England under the Reform Ministry took in this matter the course of liberal France though with far less reason, beheld in this dissolution of the kingdom of the Netherlands the triumph of Liberalism and overlooked the triumph of Romanism, forgot her old connection with the House of Orange, helped to throw down the barrier which she had helped to raise against French aggression, assisted at the establishment of the kingdom of Belgium and suggested a Protestant king in Leopold of Saxe Coburg.<sup>25</sup> In this strange and perverse alliance between Liberalism and Romanism, between the spirit of the age and the spirit of the papacy, Romanism played the part of wily deceiver as Liberalism played the part of foolish dupe and according to the well-deserved fate of such dupes got by far the worst of the bargain. While Liberals in more than one land believed that Rome had changed her nature and come over to their principles, that most versatile yet most consistent power allied itself with Liberalism for the destruction of liberty, and while abhorring its spirit repeated its phrases and wielded its resources. Under the inspiration of the days of July another Roman Catholic nation rushed to arms against an anti-papal despot, but Poland was no match for her Muscovite master; and Liberals and Catholics who rejoiced together over the rise of Belgium had to mourn together over the fall of Poland.

<sup>25</sup> The kingdom of Belgium has so far answered; the late king showed great skill and wisdom throughout his long reign except in the double match between his children and the house of Austria; but still it is difficult for a true Protestant Englishman, for a true Liberal and a true Conservative not to regret the breaking up of the kingdom of the Netherlands. The Belgians and the Batavians were of kindred race. United under the house of Burgundy they were brought together again by the congress of Vienna without violence to either or wrong to any country. Together they made a considerable nation; apart they make two petty states. Belgium a mass of subject provinces since the separation in the sixteenth century, now the Spanish, now the Austrian and now the French Netherlands, without a history and with no other distinction than that of the battle-field of Europe was ennobled by its reunion to a country like Holland.

But the anti-sacerdotal Revolution of July 1830 bore its latest and most legitimate offspring in Italy and Spain. Here it led not to a common uprising of Catholics and Reformers, but to a vehement struggle between Liberalism and the Roman Church, to an onslaught of patriotism upon the papacy. Italy looked up at the tidings of the Three Days; but it was only the Italians of the smaller states that had heart to rise up. Austria, watchful and prepared, kept down the Lombards; the shameful discomfiture of 1821 still weighed down the Neapolitans; in Piedmont the pressure was not very sore, nor the discontent very deep. But the popedom was at once despised and detested: its rule was very oppressive: its subjects were ready for revolt. Late in 1830 Pius VIII. was replaced by Gregory XVI., a very harsh, unbending and repressive prince, a despot after the heart of Francis of Austria and Nicholas of Russia. At once the people of the Legations rose against him as the people of Modena and Parma rose against their princes. But the Austrians advanced to the rescue of their satellites, occupied Parma and Modena, Bologna and Ferrara, put down the insurrection and withdrew. The great powers then at the instigation of France sought to reconcile the pontiff and his subjects; England, France, Prussia, Austria and Russia, the first two powers cheerfully and the last two coldly and carelessly, urged upon the pope certain political, municipal, judicial and financial reforms, especially the partial transfer of the government from priests to laymen (May 20, 1831). Gregory repelled this friendly intervention, but soon afterwards published some minute and insignificant reforms which in no way satisfied his people. Again the subjects of the pope arose and encountered his Switzer hirelings; again the Austrians appeared; occupied Bologna and Ferrara and overpowered the insurgents. Again was Italy doubly wronged by and through the popedom; again was the bad native government sustained by the foreign domination; again was the papal oppressor upheld by the Austrian oppressor; again the papacy stood forth as the most conspicuous and fatal enemy of Italy, as the chief minister both to its misrule and its subjection. In the ranks of the anti-papal insurgents there served two brothers of the House of Bonaparte one of whom fell at Forli fighting against the papal soldiery and ranks among the martyrs of Italian liberty, while the other was reserved to assail the same cause as President of the French Republic, to combat for the same cause

as emperor of the French at the head of 200,000 men, and to have more to do in shaping anew the destiny of Italy and the papacy than perhaps any man of any age.<sup>26</sup>

The government of Louis-Philippe, though very unlike that of Louis-Napoleon was still too fresh from the Three Days to enjoy the supremacy of Austria in Italy or to like her armed repression of Italian patriotism. France under the guidance of Casimir Perier protested against the occupation of Bologna and Ferrara by the occupation of Ancona (February 1832), and signified her disapproval of pontifical misrule and Austrian invasion by the presence of French soldiers in a pontifical city. This act, by far the boldest ever ventured upon by the not very daring government of Louis-Philippe, was not an unwise act, and might have helped Italy and honoured France had it been rightly improved. But France grew slack and nothing came of the occupation. If it encouraged Italy for a moment, it soon disappointed her. It provoked the pontiff without in the least mitigating the severity of his rule or bettering the lot of his subjects, and Ancona was evacuated at his request in 1839. Encouraged by Austria, pope Gregory annulled the scanty reforms granted in 1831; sustained throughout the sixteen years of his reign (1830-46) the reputation of the most suspicious and severe, the most repressive and oppressive of princes; deepened the abhorrence and contempt with which the people endured the yoke of the priests, and hugely widened the breach between Italy and the popedom.<sup>27</sup>

The Revolution of 1830 in France was in three years followed by a revolution in Spain; and the victorious Spanish constitutionalists were by no means the humble servants of the Roman Church. The invasion of the French and the overthrow of the Constitution in 1823 found great favour with the court of Rome; the invaders were dubbed sons of St. Louis and the Spanish absolutists passed for soldiers of the faith; the ruthless, thankless, faithless Ferdinand VII. was the darling of the priests. In the outbreak of Liberalism which followed his death and the accession of his infant daughter Isabella in 1833, the Church was not spared; in faithful and devoted Spain the Roman Church was smitten and brought low. Ecclesiastical property was appropriated by the state; monasteries were suppressed; the

<sup>26</sup> Guizot, *Mémoires*, tom. ii. c. 5, p. 270 et seq. *La Quistione Italiana* di M. Canuti, p. 176.

<sup>27</sup> Guizot, *Mémoires*, tom. ii. pp. 279-84; tom. iv. pp. 266-8. Canuti, *passim*.

Inquisition disappeared ; sacerdotal immunities were done away with ; papal prerogatives were curtailed. The nuncio was withdrawn, diplomatic intercourse was broken off between the Roman Court and the Spanish Constitutional monarchy ; and Gregory XVI. frowned no less sternly upon liberal Spain than did Francis of Austria or Nicholas of Russia and smiled no less benignly than they upon the legitimate and priest-supported pretender Don Carlos. As in Spain so in Portugal, the constitutional party set up a young queen against a despotic uncle, reformed State and Church, laid hands upon ecclesiastical property, removed ecclesiastical abuses, provoked the wrath of the pope, drew down the ill-will of the Northern powers and secured the support of England and France.

The papacy has occupied a more lofty and prominent but never a more strange and complicated position than it occupied under Gregory XVI. Depressed and discontented in France, popular and triumphant in Belgium, devoted to the government in Austria, opposed to the government in Prussia, absolutist in Spain and Portugal, democratic in England and Ireland, patriotic and persecuted in Poland, anti-national and oppressive in Italy, never did the Roman Church play a greater variety of parts. In France the clergy disliked the new monarchy, kept aloof from the citizen-king, and opposed alike M. Thiers the Conservative son of the Revolution and M. Guizot the Protestant champion of resistance ; while in Belgium the offspring and nurseling of this France of July, they upheld popular institutions and supported a revolutionary throne. In Spain and Portugal ecclesiastics figured as opponents of all reform, conspirators against constitutional government and now and then as victims of a liberal mob, while British and Irish Catholics heartily supported the Reform Bill, and the great Roman Catholic agitator O'Connell was the chief upholder of the liberal ministry of Lord Melbourne. Polish priests sustained the spirit of their oppressed countrymen, and Polish monks and nuns suffered sorely at the hands of their Russian masters ; while Italian priests signalled themselves as the most bitter foes of reform, freedom and national life, the most accomplished inflictors of misrule, and the most zealous and effectual supporters of the foreign yoke. If he at all considered English party-politics, Pope Gregory must have inclined towards those Whigs who contended so earnestly for the emancipation of his children and who administered Ireland with so much indulgence and partiality

towards the Irish Catholics; while he heartily detested and would fain have subverted the constitutional thrones and liberal institutions of Spain and Portugal which these same Whigs had done so much to set up. As head of the Roman Church he rejoiced at the severance of Roman Catholic Belgium from Protestant Holland and its erection into a separate kingdom; while as a legitimate sovereign indebted to the Congress of Vienna and troubled with insurgent subjects, he must have had some fellow feeling with the Protestant king of the Netherlands. He felt attracted towards Frederick William III. of Prussia as a Conservative monarch and a member of the Holy Alliance; but he vigorously withstood the Protestant sovereign whose government imprisoned the archbishop of Cologne for his stubbornness in the matter of mixed marriages about 1837. As a harsh legitimate monarch, ever menaced by popular insurrection, he cultivated the regard and enjoyed the protection of that great patron of legitimacy Nicholas of Russia, whom however he had to oppose as the impugner of papal authority in Poland and whom he rebuked with his own lips in 1844 as the persecutor of his Polish children. Towards Austria his relations were more simple, were those of pure and cordial amity. Francis II. and prince Metternich found him an admirable fellow-worker in the task of repressing and oppressing Italy and maintained with him a constant exchange of valuable services.

The pontificate of Gregory (1830-1846) was pretty exactly contemporaneous with the reign of Louis-Philippe (1830-1848). Though the pope had no great love for the citizen-king or his Protestant minister, his dealings with the French government, if not very cordial, were not directly hostile. He got as much and gave as little as he could. He obtained the evacuation of Ancona; he conceded the dispersion of the Jesuit congregation in France. But while on civil terms with the French government, he heartily abhorred the revolution from which it sprang and held in proper detestation that vehement, aspiring, anti-sacerdotal France of July which it sought to regulate and control. He frowned upon French Liberalism even in its devout moods and rejected a memorable overture which certain French Liberals made to the Roman See. The abbé Lamennais with some other gifted men and ardent spirits, enamoured alike of freedom and the faith, in love at once with progress and the popedom, undertook to reconcile the age and the Church, and soon after the revolution of July set up a paper, *L'Avenir*,



wherein they preached advanced Liberalism in the name of religion and pressed upon the papacy a league with democracy and the championship of oppressed nations. These strange doctrines frightened the French clergy and did not please the Roman court. A stir was made: the *Avenir* was suspended and its editors repaired to Rome to plead their cause and vindicate their services before the pope. The pontiff did not smile upon such servants and sternly rejected such services. In the famous encyclical of August 15, 1832, Gregory branded every principle dear to his liberal votaries, freedom of conscience, freedom of the press, every kind of freedom, frowned upon struggling nations, and sanctified legitimate thrones. Lamennais professed submission; but the champion of the people was too strong for the servant of the papacy, and broke forth in the *Words of a Believer* (*Paroles d'un Croyant*, 1834). This vehement but most melodious utterance of democratic and national aspiration at once drew down severe papal censure; the author renounced his allegiance to Rome, and a foremost soldier in the army of the Church became a captain of the revolutionary and anti-papal host.<sup>28</sup>

But it is his relations with Italy which have most distinguished Gregory XVI. It is as an Italian misruler and oppressor that he remains at all memorable. His peculiar people have especial cause to remember their sovereign. Under him the States of the Church tasted the full and manifold bitterness of supreme and unmitigated misgovernment. A monstrous commercial code and a monstrous penal code, prohibitions and monopolies, trade and agriculture hampered in every way, railways and banks discountenanced, secret tribunals and extraordinary commissions, punishments of frightful severity and occasional torture, priests overpaid and laymen underpaid, education shackled and learned associations frowned upon, lotteries in favour, the taxes oppressively heavy yet quite inadequate, and the revenue lavished upon Swiss mercenaries, spies and bravos: such were some of the characteristics of papal rule under Gregory XVI.<sup>29</sup> A man of narrow mind and small capacity, he has no claim to

<sup>28</sup> Guizot, *Mémoires*, tom. vii. c. 43. *Affaires de Rome*, where the encyclical is given (appendix No. 2), in which the freedom of the press is branded as execrable and abominable ('deterrima illa ac nunquam satis execranda et detestabilis libertas artis librarie').

<sup>29</sup> Massimo d'Azeglio, *degli Ultimi Casi di Romagna*, p. 50 et seq. It is not a little instructive and still more amusing to compare the Gregory of Massimo d'Azeglio with the Gregory of Cardinal Wiseman. Both the English and the Italian Roman Catholic

take rank with the potent and prominent persons of his time, with Louis-Philippe and Nicholas of Russia, sultan Mahmood and Mohammed Ali, Prince Metternich, Count Nesselrode and Viscount Palmerston, M. Guizot and M. Thiers. He cannot be numbered even among the mighty despots and hinderers of the time; he lacked the intellect which distinguished Prince Metternich and the personal majesty which uplifted the czar. He must even take rank below Francis II. But he holds a high place among the meaner obstructors and oppressors of his age. Italy well remembers him as the faithful satellite of her foreign lords, the bitter foe of her national life, and an assiduous ministrant to her misery and debasement.

The reign of Gregory XVI. the most rigorous and oppressive of pontiffs, witnessed in more than one land an alliance between Romanism and Liberalism; the most potent popular leader of the age was a devout son of the Roman Church; but still the world hardly looked for a liberal pope. The world then was exceedingly surprised and delighted when Pius IX. the successor of Gregory XVI. who died June 1, 1846, began his reign with acts of mercy. Tenacious of his prerogatives as prince and pontiff, desirous of no great change in the government of his states, designing no thorough reform of the political popedom, eminent neither for power of mind nor strength of will, the new pope had a singularly gracious nature, a singularly benevolent heart, and did not lack good sense. Unconnected with the administration of his predecessor he had as Cardinal Mastai Ferretti witnessed with grief the wide-spread wretchedness and deep-rooted hatred which the rule of Gregory had engendered. He felt loth to reign over miserable and exasperated subjects; he aspired to remove wretchedness and to beget love. Accordingly with no purpose and plan of thorough and systematic reform, but in the fullness of a benevolent heart, Pius dismissed the ruthless Lambruschini, called the milder and more enlightened Grizzi to office, published an amnesty, emptied the prisons, recalled and set free 3,000 exiles and captives, granted the press a little freedom, made a slight advance towards free trade, discouraged spies, restrained the police, and set on foot an enquiry into the iniquities of the penal code.<sup>30</sup> These good

have doubtlessly borne faithful witness; the cardinal has just as much reason to bless the memory of a kindly patron and good pope as Italy has to curse the memory of a relentless oppressor.

<sup>30</sup> Whiteside, *Italy*, vol. ii. c. 4.

and gracious deeds were welcomed as first steps in a prearranged march of reform; they were certainly mighty things for a pope to do; and they looked like marvels and miracles in the successor of Gregory XVI. Rome was in raptures; Italy rejoiced; Europe applauded. The people of the papal states who were meditating a rebellion at the decease of their oppressor, were at once transformed from exasperated insurgents into loyal and devoted subjects. Rome became a city and Pius became the centre of enthusiastic popular gatherings not less than of official priestly processions; the Romans were never weary of praising, of thanking, of following their prince. The papal benediction grew from a mere ceremony into a thing of power, into an inspiring utterance. Italy rejoiced with an exceeding joy, hoped and aspired with a cheerful and confident boldness. The breach between Italian patriotism and the political popedom seemed healed at once and for ever. Italy beheld in pope Pius the first of Italian patriots, a foe of native misrule and a champion against the foreign lord, looked for her redemption through the direct action of the papacy and trusted that Italian freedom and the papal power would renew over the Austrians the triumph which the same confederates had won 700 years before over the great German emperors Frederick Redbeard and Frederick II. Some patriots like Gioberti proposed an Italian confederation with the pope for president; most Italians hoped something from the liberal pope.<sup>31</sup> Mazzini and a few aspirants after Italian unity alone knew better and kept aloof. The vision of a reforming pope surprised and gladdened liberal Europe hardly less than Italy. Everywhere the Liberals applauded and welcomed their new ally. In lands where there already existed an alliance between Romanism and Liberalism, believers in that alliance considered it as confirmed for ever by the accession of

<sup>31</sup> Massimo d'Azeglio in his *Proposito d'una Programma per la Nazionale Opinione Italiana*, 1847, thus speaks of the Liberalism of Pius (p. 57): 'This great fact like all the great facts of history will exert an unbounded influence on the future of civilisation, will make its path smooth (le appianerà la via), and will preserve it from incalculable evils.' Alas for the hapless prophet! In the *Primato Morale e Civile degli Italiani*, written before the accession of Pius, Gioberti indulged in the most unmeasured predictions of the regeneration of Italy through the popedom. He declared it to be 'the true principle of Italian unity' ('il vero principio dell' unità Italiana') (tom. i. p. 88, Brussels, 1848). He laid down (p. 90) that the pope is naturally and ought to be indeed the civil head of Italy; and he exclaims (p. 122), 'What joy, what glory, what blessed and noble repose, when the old brotherhood of the Italians shall be restored through the work of the common father!' ('sarà ripristinata dall' opera del comun padre').

a liberal pope and looked forward to the unbounded triumphs of liberty and progress with a pope for leader and standard-bearer; English admirers of O'Connell beheld in the pontifical reformer the complement of the Roman Catholic agitator and acknowledged a kind of beauty in the last days of the broken-hearted demagogue who died on pilgrimage to kiss the feet of the liberal pontiff. Even sincere Protestants yielded their imaginations to the fascinating surprise of a pontifical reformer, and delightedly entertained the vision of a regenerate Italy advancing in freedom and prosperity under the guidance of a papal deliverer. Experienced statesmen were not free from the fascination. In France the citizen-king and his Protestant minister then busy about the Spanish marriages, sought the good graces of Pius and hoped to see a slight advance of Italian freedom, a slight increase of French influence and a slight diminution of Austrian supremacy in Italy brought about through the liberal inclinations of the sovereign pontiff. English statesmen were more enthusiastic and disinterested in their admiration of the pope than were Louis-Philippe and M. Guizot. Sir Robert Peel spoke his praises in the House of Commons; Lord John Russell and Viscount Palmerston sought an intimate connection with the liberal pontiff and proposed to Parliament that diplomatic recognition of the papacy hitherto withheld by Great Britain. Parliament assented, but required that the papal ambassador should be a layman,—and as Pius would not agree to this stipulation the business came to nothing.<sup>32</sup> Very earnest Protestants alone, who knew the papacy spiritually, disbelieved in a liberal pope, despaired of a regenerate Italy with the pontiff for regenerator, and distrusted the infallible head of the unchangeable Church as a champion of freedom and progress.

While Italy and liberal Europe rejoiced in Pius IX., Austria watched him in jealous alarm. She saw that his reforms were encouraging the patriotism and kindling the enthusiasm of Italy. She disliked a reforming neighbour, especially a reforming pope, and trembled for her Italian provinces just as Lambruschini and other reactionary Cardinals trembled for their dignities and revenues. The latter intrigued and conspired against their master while the former in order to awe and arrest so pernicious a patriot occupied Ferrara (July, 1847). Pius crushed the conspirators by arming its people and estab-

<sup>32</sup> Hansard's *Debates*, 3rd series, vol. xcvi.

lished a National Guard, protested against the violence of Austria and required her to quit Ferrara in no faint or fearful tones. Italy was greatly stirred and uplifted at the spectacle of the chief Italian prince confronting and defying the foreign lord. Charles Albert king of Sardinia, who inherited the ability and ambition of the House of Savoy and who had gradually withdrawn his kingdom from that dependence upon Austria in which it had lain since the treaty of Vienna, now returned to the Liberalism of his youth, protested against the seizure of Ferrara, offered his services to the pope, made concessions to his subjects and advances to the Italian Liberals, and put himself forward as champion of that Italy whereof he perhaps hoped to become king. Astonished and confounded by all this stir, Austria withdrew from Ferrara (September 1847). This

ithdrawal which Pius welcomed merely as a vindication of his territorial sovereignty, was hailed by the Italians as a victory of the fatherland over the stranger, greatly emboldened their patriotism and furthered their cause. Everywhere the nation spoke; almost everywhere the princes yielded. The pope, the king of Sardinia and the Grand Duke of Tuscany concluded a Customs' League, and whilst thus helping forward Italian union, each of the three sovereigns did something for his own subjects. Pius set up a consulting senate; Leopold made the not illiberal institutions of Tuscany still more liberal and Charles Albert in January 1848 granted his people a free constitution, and gave Italy for the first time the blessing of religious freedom. On January 12, 1848, Palermo arose and Sicily threw off the yoke of those Bourbons who ever since their restoration to despotic power by the Austrians in 1821 had steadfastly oppressed and steadfastly degraded their subjects; and king Ferdinand alarmed by the Sicilian revolt and the Italian stir bestowed most reluctantly and most insincerely a constitution upon Naples.<sup>33</sup>

Then came the Revolution of February 1848, and the fall of constitutional monarchy in France. The clergy who had kept aloof from Louis-Philippe suffered nothing from the overthrow of the citizen-king and his Protestant minister. But this stroke though in no way directed against the priesthood and the pope-dome, yet wrought powerfully upon the papacy through the power wherewith it wrought upon Italy. There it hastened everything. It found domestic freedom half conceded; it

<sup>33</sup> Whiteside's *Italy*, c. 26, 27.

constrained a full grant; it found Italy eager for battle with the foreign master; it hurried her into the field. At the tidings from France the consulting senate which Pius had set up demanded a free constitution which the pope reluctantly granted, endeavouring as well as he could to combine political freedom with ecclesiastical despotism, a house of Commons with the college of Cardinals, responsible with irresponsible government, a free press with the Index Expurgatorius; and to reconcile the character of a constitutional sovereign with that of the infallible head of the unchangeable Church. But he was called upon to play a part if not so awkward yet more painful than that of a constitutional monarch. In March Milan rose and drove out the Austrians. Charles Albert drew his sword in behalf of Italian independence; Lombardy and Venice broke forth into insurrection and together with Parma and Modena which had cast out their dukes, gave themselves to the king of Sardinia;<sup>34</sup> Austria, enfeebled by domestic revolution, retained only a few fortresses, and all Italy armed to drive her utterly out of the Peninsula. Leopold of Tuscany was constrained to assail his kinsman; Ferdinand of Naples was forced to send an army against his Austrian patron; but he soon recalled his forces, stirred up the mob against the Liberals, let loose his soldiers upon them (May 15), slaughtered the constitutionalists and abolished the constitution. Pius IX. was likewise required by his people to draw the sword against Austria for the deliverance of Italy. Heavy and intolerable as he felt the burden of constitutional monarchy, the pontiff felt it a still more grievous business to make war upon such devoted and dutiful spiritual children as the Austrians were; the head of the church came into rude conflict with the Italian prince and patriot. In 1847 the pope had overpowered the political liberal in a matter not Italian. The Jesuits had long troubled and divided Switzerland; the bulk of the people and the majority of the cantons, a majority made up of Catholics as well as Protestants, desired their expulsion and the abolition of many clerical abuses; the priests and Jesuits got seven Roman Catholic cantons to form a Sonderbund or separate league for the protection of the menaced order and for the retention of the threatened abuses. The General Diet declared the Sonderbund illegal and decreed its dissolution together with the expulsion

<sup>34</sup> Whiteside, c. 19.

of the Jesuits. The Sonderbund would not break up and invoked foreign intervention. Austria was willing to interfere either by diplomacy or by arms; and the citizen-king and Protestant minister who directed France, separated from England by the Spanish marriages, inclined towards Austria and the Jesuits. A congress of the five great powers was to take in hand this business and interfere between the Helvetic Confederacy and the Sonderbund. But England as faithfully represented by Lord Palmerston had no mind to meddle in Switzerland for the profit of the Jesuits. He held back the congress and kept it waiting for the English envoy while Switzerland acted, overpowered the Catholic cantons with an irresistible force and without bloodshed, broke up the Sonderbund and cast out the Jesuits. The work was done; neither Austria nor France sought to undo it; and Switzerland through her timely and bloodless vigour in 1847 spent the year of revolutions in profound peace and has remained unshaken ever since.

In this business Italy went with Switzerland while the pope, as in duty bound, went with the Sonderbund and did what he could by briefs and protests for the sacerdotal troublers of the Confederacy. But Italy and the pope now differed on a vital, on an Italian matter—on no less a matter than the one great concern of Italy, or rather they discovered the real and utter discordance between their principles and ends. They had altogether mistaken and grievously deceived each other. Italy mistook a good-hearted priest for a thorough reformer and patriot, while Pius IX. mistook Italian patriotism for an agreeable and exciting pastime instead of an earnest and exacting task—a task too in utter conflict with his work, as the head of the Roman Catholic Church. A vain, weak, kindly man he relished the reputation of a reformer and enjoyed the love of his people and the applause of Europe; a true though by no means a great priest and pontiff, he meant to do nothing for Italy that would weaken the priesthood or injure the popedom. And now he found the work of an Italian patriot in direct conflict with the duties and interest of the sovereign pontiff; he found himself called upon to draw the sword against Austria, to assail that House of Hapsburg-Lorraine which had for generations so ruthlessly and recklessly served the Roman Church, and to assist in the overthrow of a power more than any other power the natural ally and the essential support of the papacy. Aspiring

Italy most rigidly and rightly exacted this duty from the Italian prince and patriot; Pius most rightly shrank from this enormity in the common father of the faithful. He deprecated warlike cries, discouraged warlike preparations, tried to hold Charles Albert back, besought Austria to yield without fighting, and did his poor best to force the sword of Italy back into the sheath and keep his own subjects from the field. But they heeded him not; thousands of Roman soldiers and Roman volunteers marched into Lombardy against the foreigners without his leave. At length the poor pope let out his heart in a proclamation of April 29, wherein he set forth his duties as the common father of the faithful, disowned and denounced the war, disavowed his generals and recalled his soldiers.<sup>35</sup>

At last the pope stood revealed. The extreme Italian patriots, the extreme Papists and the extreme Protestants who knew the sheer impossibility and utter mockery of a liberal and patriotic pontiff were then right. Italy found out her mistake, beheld in her pontifical champion a traitor in the hour of peril and a runagate in the thickest of the fight. As had been her love so was her hate; according to her rapture was her wrath. She was likewise stronger than he, and had him for the time in her hands. Austria was fighting for existence against domestic and foreign foes; France was still in the gripe of the Revolution of February, was passing through the storms of May and the horrors of June 1848. The pontiff was in the gripe of aspiring and struggling Italy. He would fain have fled, but the Romans constrained him to stay, to change his ministers and to go on playing the ludicrous and painful parts of a constitutional sovereign and an Italian patriot. More than any other Italians his subjects threw their hearts into the patriotic struggle, and were the most enthusiastic crusaders in the holy war. But they were unfortunate crusaders. Austria won back the whole of Venetia save Venice, defeated Charles Albert, recovered Lombardy and invaded the States of the Church. Driven back from Bologna by the enthusiastic valour of the citizens, the Austrians withdrew and left Central Italy for a time to itself (August 1848).

The hearts of the Romans did not sink with the overthrow of Charles Albert, the triumphs of Austria and the treacherous and bloody victory of Ferdinand of Bourbon over Neapolitan

<sup>35</sup> Marriotti, *Italy in 1848*, c. 3, pp. 182-90.



liberty. They burned more fiercely for the deliverance of Italy, and required the pope to defend the fatherland and pursue the war. Pius held back, changed the patriotic ministry of Count Mamiani for the ministry of Count Rossi, who sought to quench this fierce fire of Italian patriotism with drops of domestic and administrative reform. Rossi fell by an unknown hand (November 15, 1848). A general uprising followed this great crime. Pius yielded everything and then fled to Ferdinand of Naples at Gaeta (November 24). The Romans vainly solicited his return and then made over the government to a commission which called upon the people of the Roman state to elect a constituent Assembly. On February 9, 1849, that assembly pulled down the popedom, set up the Roman Republic and placed at the head of the government triumvirs whereof Joseph Mazzini was most conspicuous.<sup>36</sup> Things had come to this, as they were indeed bound to come. Italy and the popedom at last fully knew and utterly abhorred each other. That Italian Revolution which enjoyed the papal blessing and besought the papal guidance, struck down the pontiff. That fire of Italian patriotism, inflamed by an unthinking pontiff, at last consumed the political popedom. The worst government in the world had fallen. The kingdom of the priests was overthrown by its own subjects. Rome recovered political liberty; religious liberty for the first time reigned in the city of the popes. Joseph Mazzini, as intensely anti-papal as Arnold of Brescia, as fervently republican as Cola di Rienzi, but far more nobly supported by the Roman people than either of his predecessors, was chief of the Roman Republic. The apostle of united Italy with Rome for metropolis held supreme power at the Capitol.

But the Roman Republic had come to the birth in a time of sore peril. In March 1849 Charles Albert renewed the fight for Italian independence and was again overthrown by Radetski at Novara, came down from the throne, gave up the work and went to die broken-hearted in Portugal. Austria was again supreme in Italy. But Republican Rome would not yield, gathered together an army and made ready to encounter Austria and Naples. The outbreak of 1848 as far as it was democratic and social was put down everywhere, in France and in Germany. But as far as it was national, as far as it was an outbreak of

<sup>36</sup> Pepe, *Narrative of Events in Italy*, vol. ii. c. 12.

long fettered and sorely bruised nations, it had life and power in it yet. Hungary, so transcendently betrayed and horribly distracted by the Austrian government in 1848, and so suddenly invaded by the Austrian forces, had begun under the inspiration of Kossuth to beat back the invaders. The sword of Italy seemed broken; but Venice and Rome clutched each a fragment, and hoped with the help of Hungary to keep the Austrians and Neapolitans at bay.

But Republican Rome had to do not only with a Hapsburg and a Bourbon but also with a Bonaparte, was to fall not by the hands of despotic Austria or Naples, but before the sword of Republican France. Ever jealous of Austrian supremacy, but never enamoured of Italian independence, France had faintly smiled upon the early days of Pius and slightly encouraged the patriotic aspirations of Italy in the last days of Louis-Philippe and M. Guizot, who, however, after the breach with England about the Spanish matches leaned rather towards Austria. Republican France through the mouth of M. de Lamartine professed delight in the Italian uprising, hinted at intervention in certain cases and talked of an army of the Alps. Under General Cavaignac the National Assembly after the first defeat of Charles Albert in August, 1848, voted an expedition to the Roman States to keep victorious Austria in check; but as the Austrians did not advance, the French kept at home. On December 10, 1848, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, the chosen of the nation, became President of the French Republic. In March 1849 Charles Albert was again overthrown; again Austria shook her victorious sword over Italy. On April 24 a French army landed at Civita Vecchia in order according to their general Oudinot to keep watch against Austria and to keep watch over Rome by occupying the city. The republican government denied its need of such watchmen and refused them admittance, and the Romans led on by Garibaldi beat back their French assailants (April 30). The National Assembly of France, sincerely liberal and republican, but now in its last hours, reproved this outrageous assault upon a friendly and filial republic and negotiated with the commonwealth of Rome. But in May this assembly was replaced by the Legislative Assembly, a body fiercely conservative and ready to prop up the priesthood as a barrier against revolution. It allowed Louis-Napoleon to work his will upon Rome. In June the French again advanced and beleaguered the city. Not only France, but other Catholic powers, Austria, Spain

and Naples flung themselves upon the lonely Republic in the name and at the bidding of the dethroned pope. Single-handed, republican Rome fought on and uplifted Italy by the heroism of her struggle and the glory of her fall. After a magnificent resistance Bologna yielded to the Austrians; Garibaldi drove back the Neapolitans, and then stood forth the leader of those true Romans who so gloriously defended their city against the French. The dignity of the surrender was in harmony with the valour of the defence, the constitution was proclaimed from the Capitol as the French entered Rome; and the Roman Republic died in faith, in faith of the uprising of Italy. Rome was great and heroic once more. After ages of ignominy the Eternal City knew some days of glory; the Roman people not unworthily reappeared and magnificently effaced the Roman priesthood.

This destruction of the Roman Republic in behalf of the popedom, though a monstrous deed in liberal and republican France was hardly perhaps an unnatural and enormous act in France with a Bonaparte at her head. When she gave herself to Louis-Napoleon she gave herself not only to the carnal but to the spiritual kinsman and representative of Napoleon I., to the inheritor of his policy and projects; and one of the chief among these projects was the mastery of the popedom, the reduction of the Roman See into an ornament and support of the French empire. Now the existence of a Roman Republic could in no way further this design. As an exile in Naples, in Spain, in Austria, the pope was out of the reach of France; as a mere spiritual potentate, he would be independent of her; besides, Austria might undertake to re-enthroned and appropriate him. But if re-enthroned by France, if thrust upon his reluctant people by a French army, if kept at Rome by a French force, the pontiff would be to some extent in the power, and must needs become in some measure a dependent of France. This restoration of the pope would at once bind the priesthood to the House of Bonaparte and gracefully begin the work of mastering the papacy. Accordingly the Roman Republic was destroyed; the papal authority was re-established in Rome whither Pius returned in 1850, under the guard of French soldiers; and while France kept his subjects down in Rome, Austria kept them down in Bologna and the Legations.

But the Italian uprising though put down, had not come for nought; the Roman Republic though destroyed had not lived in vain. Italy and the papacy were at last made known to

each other. The Italian outbreak found them exchanging blessings and left them exchanging curses. That popedom which was to lead Italy on to freedom at home and deliverance from the foreign yoke, had according to its true nature and bounden duty turned against her, had been overthrown by her, had been set up again in her sore despite by her foreign oppressors, and was now kept up to her exceeding wrath and indignation by the soldiers of France and Austria. The temporal popedom had virtually ceased to exist; the creature of foreign armies it had lost all life and power of its own, and must needs fall on the withdrawal of these armies. But this great outbreak not only revealed the papacy to Italy, it everywhere disclosed the true and unchangeable nature of the popedom; it everywhere destroyed the sorry delusion of a liberal pontiff. It made the papacy known to those credulous Liberals who believed the unchangeable Church changed and the inflexible popedom mitigated, to those hasty statesmen who had sought a friendly connection with Pius IX. as a friend of freedom and progress, and to those easy and unthinking Protestants who had not only forgiven the misdeeds, but forgotten the character of the papacy. It fully justified those true Protestants, those true Papists, and those truest of Italian patriots, who steadfastly disbelieved in a pontifical Reformer, and rejected the very conception of such a personage as monstrous and absurd. It did much to set many things right, to bring natural allies together and to sunder uncongenial associates. It reunited Austria and the Roman See; it put Italy and the Roman See apart; and it greatly weakened in England, in Germany and in Belgium that unnatural alliance between Romanism and Liberalism by which liberty had gained worse than nothing.

The restored pontiff did his best still further to weaken that alliance. So utterly cast off by liberal Italy, so strangely brought back by republican France, he may for a while have taken Louis-Napoleon for a disinterested and enthusiastic believer and his French protectors for chivalrous crusaders; he certainly however took the strangeness of his fall as a rebuke of his former liberal course and the strangeness of his restoration as a divine direction and encouragement to walk henceforth in the old papal ways. Accordingly uplifted by this strange restoration and misled by the recent falling away of some among the Anglican clergy to the Church of Rome, Pius determined to strengthen the fabric of his Church in England

and to shake still further what seemed to him the crumbling edifice of English Protestantism. In September 1850 he put forth a rescript whereby he set over his English children English bishops instead of Vicars Apostolic and divided England into Romish sees with a medieval loftiness of phrase and haughtiness of pretension.<sup>37</sup> This overflow of pontifical arrogance called forth an overflow of English wrath and produced a not very successful attempt at repression in the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. However the papal aggression, though encountered by an inadequate statute, awakened and invigorated the somewhat dormant and flagging spirit of English Protestantism, quickened anew the national dislike of the papacy into a strong and lively passion and deepened that estrangement between the English Liberals and their political allies of so many years the Roman Catholics, which the Italian events of 1849 had begun.

But Pius IX. in the height of his pontifical assurance not only sought to strengthen the offensive and defensive appliances of the Roman Church, but aspired to augment the number of her dogmas, to bestow upon her advanced age a new doctrine and to surprise the nineteenth century with an addition to the faith. An especial votary of the Virgin, he ascribed to her particular intercession the pious zeal and disinterested services of the ruler of France and the felicity of again ruling over a people that abhorred his rule. The grateful pontiff sought to express his gratitude by the dogmatic declaration of her immaculate conception.<sup>38</sup> 'Our Lady' had been for ages the goddess of the Roman Church, but her divinity had not been as yet formally and infallibly recognised. Mariolatry had been a commended practice, but had not yet risen to the rank of an essential dogma bounden upon all believers. Famous doctors of the Church had disputed its right to this rank against other doctors who maintained the immaculate conception of the Virgin, her freedom from all human spot and stain and her consequent participation in the divine nature. Bernard earnestly impugned her divinity; Thomas Aquinas questioned her immaculate conception as did generally his Dominican brethren while the Franciscans affirmed it. In this matter popes differed with popes and council disagreed with council. Curiously enough the anti-papal synd

<sup>37</sup> *Litteræ Apostolicæ, quibus Hierarchia episcopalis in Angliâ restituitur* (Pii IX. Acta, pp. 235-46).

<sup>38</sup> *Litteræ Apostolicæ de Dogmaticâ Definitione Immaculatæ Conceptionis B. V. M.* (Acta Pii IX. prima pars, pp. 597-619).

of Basle voted the Virgin immaculate and divine; while Pope Eugenius IV. annulled this and all its other decrees. Among the most zealous of her pontifical votaries was the reckless, ruthless and faithless Sixtus IV. who put forth bulls in commendation of her worship and in glorification of her immaculate conception; nor did the papal monster Alexander VI. fall below his congenial predecessor in zeal for Mariolatry. It is not difficult to understand the delight of such men, susceptible now and then of a carnal and emotional devoutness, in a belief and a devotion utterly unconnected with moral principle and utterly incompatible with spiritual worship, but the appropriate centre of a mere carnal and emotional religion. The council of Trent while asserting the immaculate conception to be a fact and glorifying it accordingly shrank from raising it into a dogma.<sup>39</sup>

That exploit was reserved for Pius IX. who called together an assembly of prelates and cardinals to assist his deliberations, and on December 10, 1854, solemnly declared the immaculate conception and divine perfections of the Virgin to be no longer laudable convictions well to be entertained, but dogmas of the faith to be received without gainsaying by all believers and not to be questioned without taint of heresy.<sup>40</sup> The excess of political rottenness in the papacy coincided with the culmination of spiritual corruption. Thrust back with all the evils of priestly government upon a reluctant people, the pontiff thrust an enormous fiction upon the faith, thrust divine perfections and divine honours upon the mother of the Lord, in spite of the measured soberness of the angel's greeting, in spite of the lowly gladness of her own thanksgiving song, in utter contempt of the speech and demeanour of Him who so perfectly loved His mother yet so carefully kept her in her fitting place, who forgot her not upon His cross and amidst His passion, yet who so steadfastly checked all interference of hers in His work, who declared every faithful servant of His Heavenly Father of equal dignity with her who bore Him, and who when gently repressing congratulations lavished upon so blessed a mother, let fall a rebuke of what prophetic severity, of what overwhelming

<sup>39</sup> Raynaldus, an. 1477, n. 9; an. 1479, n. 34; an. 1501, n. 24-35. *Acta C. B.* sessio 36. *Canones et Decreta C. T.* sessio 5.

<sup>40</sup> 'Declaramus, pronunciamus et definimus doctrinam quæ tenet Beatissimam V. M. in primo instanti suæ conceptionis fuisse singulari omnipotentis Dei gratia et privilegio intuitu meritorum Jesus Christi Salvatoris humani generis ab omni originalis culpæ labe præservatam immunem, esse a Deo revelatam, atque idcirco ab omnibus fidelibus firmiter constanterque credendam' (*Pii IX. Acta*, p. 616).

force on this ascription to her of divine perfection and divine rank, on this supreme defiance of His word, and this crowning corruption of His faith.<sup>41</sup>

Meanwhile Italy, stricken down in 1849, visited by every plague and woe of which a nation is susceptible, afflicted by foreign occupation and domestic tyranny, crushed and withered throughout her length and breadth by the brute force or the not less deadly influence of Austria, lay prostrate but restless, without strength to shake her oppressors off but with life enough to keep her tyrants in alarm and Europe in perturbation. Austria knowing herself utterly and irreconcilably hated by her reconquered subjects of Lombardy and Venice, dealt with them after the sternest fashion of a conqueror, bruised them with restrictions and penalties, smote them with imposts, and brought them low with conscriptions. Her deputy at Modena keenly gratified his own inclinations while faithfully fulfilling her behests and following her example. Her deputy at Parma seasoned oppression with his own frantic singularity, closing a violent life by a violent death (1854). Leopold of Tuscany more mildly executed her will; and Tuscany remained the least ill governed, as under his grandfather the great reformer Leopold, she had been the best governed portion of dependent Italy. Ferdinand of Naples more than accomplished the will, exceeded even the desires of Austria, brought to the oppression of the constitutionalists and to the degradation of his people a heartiness, an originality, a steadfastness, a minute and searching cruelty all his own, aroused the alarm of despotic and the horror of liberal Europe, provoked the vain remonstrances of England and France and at last drove both governments to withdraw their ambassadors and to drop the company of Ferdinand.

Pope Pius came back to his people in the train of French and Austrian armies, bringing back with him every financial, judicial, political and spiritual abuse of the old papal government, every abuse which had vanished under the Roman Republic; and with France to keep his subjects down at Rome and Austria to keep them down in the Legations, he kept up the system of ecclesiastical misrule in all its symmetry and perfectness. Of his two protectors Pius naturally preferred the more congenial and devoted Austrian. Louis-Napoleon, who became Emperor of the French and eldest son of the Church in 1852, though he

<sup>41</sup> John xix. 25; Luke ii. 48, 49; John ii. 3, 4; Matthew xii. 46-50; Luke xi. 27, 28.

had sinned so signally against Italy and Rome, could not quite forget that Italian cause which he had once tried to serve and those papal subjects in whose ranks he himself had fought and his brother had fallen : he now and then addressed remonstrances and recommended reforms to the pontiff, who felt emboldened to evade these recommendations by the entanglement of France in the Russian war and by the encouragement and neighbourhood of his Austrian protector. Francis Joseph wished for nothing better than an exchange of services with Pius IX., was glad to lend soldiers and was eager to borrow priests, to give the pope material aid in keeping down the Italians of the papal states and to get the pope's spiritual help in keeping down the Italians of Lombardy and Venice. But for this papal help, for these services of the priesthood against Italy he was willing to give more than the services of his soldiers, to yield the rights of his crown and the laws of his empire. On August 18, 1855, he conceded that astonishing Concordat which so utterly humbled Austria beneath Rome, which inflicted on the state a more than medieval humiliation and conferred upon the popedom a more than medieval triumph, which not only cast down all the anti-papal bulwarks carefully erected by Joseph II. in the last century, but removed barriers which gross Papists like Ferdinand II. and Ferdinand III. would not forego. It put away all obstacles to the action of the Roman See upon the Austrian bishops, allowed papal bulls free admission and full circulation without leave or control of the government, brought back monasteries under the yoke of superiors resident at Rome, extended the dominion of the clergy over education and innumerable matters of civil life, subjected schools to ecclesiastical inspection, transferred the cognisance of ecclesiastical and matrimonial causes to ecclesiastical judges, invested the bishops with a literary censorship and promised imperial help in dealing with hostile writings, subjected the lower clergy to the bishops and subjected the bishops to the pontiff, in a word sought to make the people bondmen of the priests and the priests bondmen of the pope.<sup>42</sup> In the middle of the nineteenth century, in the midst of a sore peril, on the edge of political doom, scarce recovered from one tremendous stroke and just about to faint beneath another, the popedom won a servile piece of homage from a leading European power. In return for these great concessions

<sup>42</sup> *Genesis des Concordates*, Leipzig, 1856, where the marvellous document is given both in Latin and German.



and sacrifices on the part of Austria the pontiff was willing to render every service in repressing and oppressing Italy. Everywhere the papal power was put forth to uphold the rule of Austria and aggravate the servitude of Italy. Everywhere the priests were exhorted to combat beside the soldiers of the House of Hapsburg. Every petty Italian tyrant, every Austrian deputy had the benefit of their sympathy and services. Ferdinand of Naples found them his most effectual aiders and abettors. With all its might and main the papacy laboured to heighten the misery and deepen the darkness of Italy; and the enmity between them grew into an intense and irreconcilable hatred.

This thick gloom was made darkness visible by the contiguous brightness of Sardinia; the felicity of the people of king Victor Emmanuel nourished a lively and impatient sense of misery in the subjects of Hapsburg, Bourbon and pontiff. There is nothing so noble and inspiring in modern history as the career of Sardinia since 1849, as the hopeful heroism with which Piedmont, beaten down on the field of Novara, clung to her sacred mission and transferred the contest for Italian liberty to another, a more glorious and a more prosperous field, holding aloft the flag of constitutional freedom in the face of her Austrian victor, weakening him by her free Parliament, wounding him with her free press, encountering him in his master and his creature the pope, restraining refractory prelates and extending religious freedom while Austria was signing the Concordat. Papal power and priestly influence especially strong in Piedmont when those strange Austrian reformers Joseph II. and Leopold II. had half broken them in Lombardy and Tuscany, were now brought low in the kingdom of Sardinia, at the very time when that legitimate Austrian Francis Joseph uplifted and aggrandised them throughout his dominions. Between 1850 and 1855 Sardinia under the inspiration of Massimo d'Azeglio and Count Camillo Cavour suppressed monastic orders, reformed the marriage-laws, withdrew education from the supreme control of the clergy, and struck down countless papal and clerical usurpations. Wrathful bishops who excommunicated liberal statesmen and withheld funeral honours from departed reformers like Santa Rosa, the minister of Public Worship, were imprisoned; Franconi archbishop of Turin with other prelates was chastised by the government which he disobeyed. Pius IX. supported the episcopal troublers and rebuked the reforming statesmen of Piedmont; but his rebukes were set at nought; diplomatic

intercourse between Rome and Turin was broken off; the Waldenses long tolerated now rejoiced in the fullness of spiritual and political freedom; Protestant worship was freely allowed and Protestantism began to grow in Italy.

This career of Piedmont was glorious not only in itself but as a help to the fulfilment of the greatest design that has ennobled these latter days; these reforms so righteous, wholesome and admirable in themselves have a positive magnificence in connection with the scheme of Count Cavour for the deliverance and unity of the Peninsula, for the breaking of the foreign yoke and the exaltation of torn, stricken and divided Italy into a great nation. Blessings to the Piedmontese, they served as signals and encouragements to the other Italians, who beheld a beginning of light and liberty in Piedmont, yearned for union with the Sardinian kingdom and longed to partake of that light and liberty under the sceptre of Victor Emmanuel. Sardinia grew lovely and desirable in the eyes of Italy just as she grew ugly and hateful in the eyes of Rome and Austria. But Count Cavour earned the gratitude of England and France as well as the love of Italy and the abhorrence of pope and Hapsburg. Sardinia joined the Western powers against Russia; an Italian army appeared in the Crimea. Sardinia represented by Count Cavour took part in the congress of Paris (1856) which made peace with Russia, and sought to find therein an opportunity for Italy and an occasion against Austria. An Italian envoy set forth the woes of Italy, the aggressive tyranny of Austria, and the enormous misrule of pope and Bourbon before a great European assembly. If redress did not at once come sympathy was expressed. Sardinia was strengthened and uplifted by her share in the Russian war and her place in the councils of Europe; she won the gratitude of France and England, without winning the hatred of Russia; while Austria, capable only of diplomatic hostility against the Czar, got the abhorrence of the power which had saved her in 1849 and which she had forsaken in 1854, without getting the goodwill of France and England, with whom she would not draw the sword. Thus Austria was weakened and isolated by the Eastern War and the Paris peace, while the Italian name was magnified and the Italian cause was furthered.

From 1856 to 1859 pontiff, Hapsburg and Bourbon grew every day more suspicious, more alarmed and more oppressive; Italy every day groaned more bitterly and chafed more fiercely

beneath their yoke and looked more longingly towards Piedmont; every day Count Cavour and Victor Emmanuel waxed bolder and more defiant towards Rome and Austria. At last Napoleon III. remembered Italy, that Italy from which his race had sprung, over which his uncle reigned, for which his brother had fallen and for which he himself had fought, beheld in that Austrian domination an affront to France as well as the woe of Italy, and resolved to make an end thereof. The destroyer of the Roman Republic drew the sword in behalf of Italian freedom; the protector of the popedom became the champion of that Italy with which the popedom was at war. Alarmed and confounded by the boding words addressed to her ambassador on New Year's Day 1859, stung and maddened by the defiant demeanour of Sardinia and the general upheaving of Italy, Austria fell upon Piedmont in April, and France at once came to the rescue. The emperor led his host into Italy and struck down Austria at Magenta and Solferino, and with Austria her deputies of Parma, Modena and Tuscany, and that Roman priest-king who was at once her master and her servant. At Solferino Napoleon III. suddenly paused and surprised the world by a peace with Austria which left Venetia in her hands. After having proclaimed his resolution to deliver Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic he stopped at the Mincio. But this imperfect deliverance did more harm to the papacy than the perfect liberation which he designed. In order to reconcile the two clashing offices of protector of the papacy and champion of Italy he put forth the plan of an Italian confederation with the pope for president—a plan consistent with the territorial popedom and more advantageous and less formidable to France than the project of a united Italy. When the French marched into Italy, the princes of Tuscany, Parma and Modena fled from their dukedoms; the Austrians withdrew from the Legations; the papal officials departed with their protectors, and Emilia was lost to the pope.

The peace of Villafranca stipulated the restoration of the dispossessed sovereigns but the emperor forbade all armed intervention in Italian affairs; in other words left Italy to herself. At once Tuscany, Parma, Modena and Emilia flung themselves into the arms of Sardinia and chose Victor Emmanuel for their king without hindrance from France, with lively encouragement from England and in defiance of the angry protests of Hapsburg, Bourbon and pontiff. The project of an Italian

confederation fell to the ground ; Italian unity was fast becoming a reality and fast bringing ruin on the temporal papacy. As president of confederate Italy the pontiff might aspire to play a distinguished political part, but united Italy demanded his disappearance as an Italian prince, and Count Cavour in the name of Italy solicited him to yield the remnant of his states and to rise or sink into a purely spiritual potentate. But Pius IX. would not politically disappear, shrank from the glory of mere spiritual dominion, clutched convulsively at the fragments of his Italian principality which he declared essential to the dignity and due support of the papacy, loudly demanded back his provinces from Victor Emmanuel, wrathfully but bootlessly called back his vanished subjects, appealed to the powers of Europe against the Sardinian government, and summoned his faithful children from every land to draw the sword against their brethren in the faith who would not have their spiritual father to reign over them any more. Zealous sons from France, Belgium, Ireland, Spain and Austria hearkened to his voice and hastened to his help ; the pontiff gathered together a devoted host for the recovery of his lost and the defence of his remaining provinces, secured the services of a skilful and pious captain in general Lamoricière, and diligently sharpened a sword certainly not of the Spirit, wherewith to reclaim his subjects and convert his enemies. Its sharpness had been already tried upon some of his aspiring subjects. The people of Perugia were astir with the passion of Italian patriotism ; the foreign devotees of Pius under general Schmidt burst into the city, drove the strayed sheep at the sword's point back into the pontifical fold and solemnised the restoration of papal rule by lust, rapine and massacre (1859).

Ferdinand of Naples lived to behold and bewail the liberating advent of France, to fear but not to feel the vengeance of Italy. But that most righteous vengeance fell on his race and royalty. The defender of Rome against the French in 1849, the mighty man of Italy, the loftiest incarnation of her spirit, the strongest wielder of her sword, Giuseppe Garibaldi, landed at Marsala in Sicily (May 11, 1860) and flung himself with 1,000 followers into a kingdom of 7,000,000 and upon a host of 100,000 men. The Bourbon army fell into pieces, the Bourbon throne went down before the hand and heart of Italy. September 7th witnessed his triumphal entrance into Naples. The kingdom of the Two Sicilies passed away ; king Francis was a fugitive ; and Europe

was amazed by so sudden an overthrow of evil, by so swift and strong a stroke of retribution, wherein the soul had more to do than the sword.

About the same time Italy dealt another stroke and won another victory to the detriment of the papacy. The massacre of Perugia still further inflamed the burning hatred of the subjects of the pope towards the government of the pope. His army of crusaders lay heavy upon them; they cried out for deliverance to their emancipated brethren. Their cry was heard; the inscrutable protector of the popedom consented to its chastisement. The Italian army broke into the papal states, smote and scattered the papal host at Castelfidardo, captured the Irish crusaders at Spoleto, and Lamoricière with the remnant of his forces at Ancona; every town in Umbria and the Marches uprose; and these rejoicing provinces joined themselves to Italy and proclaimed Victor Emmanuel. The victorious Italian army marched through into Naples to complete the work of Garibaldi; after a brave resistance Francis II. gave up Gaeta and betook himself to Rome; Naples and Sicily became portions of the new realm. In March 1861, the free Italian parliament proclaimed Victor Emmanuel king of Italy; and Italy at last took her place among the nations of the world.

The visible birth of a nation is a very rare and a very great event; but the new birth of Italy has a singularly solemn and awful greatness about it, inasmuch as it demands the death of the temporal popedom. The gradual making of the one has been the gradual unmaking of the other. Already has Italian unity stripped the pontiff almost naked; the Romagna and the Legations, Umbria and the Marches have gone; Rome and St. Peter's patrimony are preserved to him only by the presence of a French army. But united Italy is not satisfied. She would fain, she needs must, strip the pope quite bare; she demands his all; she wants Rome; she cannot do without Rome. Papists and patriots, friends and foes of Italy, Cavour, Mazzini, Garibaldi, Lord Palmerston, Napoleon III. and M. Guizot, the mighty statesman withdrawn from his yet unfinished work, the earnest aspirant who sees his beloved idea almost fulfilled, the hero whose strong right hand and stronger soul have wrought such mighty things for the fatherland, the English statesman who so earnestly helped on and so heartily welcomed the new nation, the French emperor who loves not that kingdom of Italy which without him would not have been, and

the inflexible French Conservative, who dislikes Italian unity as much as French imperialism and in the excess of his conservative zeal clasps the territorial popedom to his Protestant heart; all acknowledge that Rome is essential to a kingdom of Italy, that such a kingdom is not complete, cannot prosper, nay, cannot last, without Rome for its metropolis.<sup>43</sup> Italy feels her need and demands her capital; Pius IX. demands back his provinces.

The papacy has passed through many varieties of peril and ignominy. It has undergone much; it has outlived much. The papal chair has been in the gift of harlots and in the possession of monsters; among its occupants have been captives and outcasts, the victims of a German emperor, of a French monarch, of a Roman uproar, the abhorred of whole nations, the rejected of half Christendom. But there is a novelty in the present peril; there is a variety in the present ignominy. No pontiff was ever in a more sorry plight than is Pius IX., the rejected of his own subjects, the impotent grasper of a shivered earthly sceptre, the ostentatious wearer of a royal robe rent and stained, the dependent of a power which he distrusts, dislikes and dreads, and which had so much to do with the breaking of that sceptre and the rending of that robe. The vices of medieval popes were half hidden from Christendom by the darkness of the time, or kept in countenance by its wildness and looseness. The weakness of many an aspiring pontiff was compensated by the support of mighty nations and powerful states; the estrangement and hostility of the one half of Christendom were encountered by the heightened devotion of the other. But the present peril has none of these alleviations and supports. The viciousness of the pontifical government is the great fact of the time, a plague admitted by Roman Catholic France and declared intolerable by Roman Catholic Italy. No outbreak of zeal in the pope's spiritual children at a distance can quench the abhorrence with which those spiritual children of his who have been his temporal subjects regard that subjection, or the enthusiasm with which they have renounced it. Transalpine Romanism put forth its utmost strength against

<sup>43</sup> 'Tant que le roi du nouveau royaume italien ne résidera pas à Rome, il ne sera pas le roi de l'Italie. . . . Pour qu'aux yeux et dans la pensée du monde l'unité italienne soit réelle, il faut que Rome en soit le siège. Pour devenir réellement le chef de l'unité italienne, Piémont est condamné à détrôner dans Rome la papauté' (Guizot, *L'Église*, c. 19, p. 144).

Italian freedom in the poor, little crusade which came to so speedy and sorry an end at Castelfidardo and Spoleto. The political popedom has still its admirers and supporters, but only among doomed dynasties, worn-out factions and decrepit nations. Trembling Bourbons and terrified Hapsburgs delight in its dominion; dainty French Legitimists uphold its cause; impotent Ireland cries out, powerless Spain murmurs, shattered Austria protests against these doings of Italian patriotism, while they are enjoyed and assisted by England, applauded by Sweden, Norway and Denmark, approved by Holland, Protestant Germany and Switzerland and not unfavourably regarded by Russia. From such allies there comes no deliverance for the imperilled popedom. The House of Austria will scarcely furnish forth another Philip II. or another Ferdinand II.; Spain will hardly yield another Alva, nor France contribute another House of Guise; while Italy instead of finding great captains like Farnese and Spinola to fight the battles of her foreign lords and her papal afflictors, produces national and anti-papal heroes like Garibaldi and Cialdini. The pontiff it is true has one protector in the Emperor of the French, and a very powerful protector, but ominous and inscrutable as he is powerful, who combines the protectorate of the popedom with the championship of Italy.

Such is the subtle and complicated snare in which the papacy finds itself caught: such is the spectacle which absorbs the gaze of Christendom, which stirs up the most opposite passions, suggests the most contradictory speculations and produces the most conflicting prophecies, which is contemplated with intense fear and with ardent hope, with exceeding wrath and with supreme delight. Mere political Liberals and philosophical speculators regard the struggling and ensnared papacy with calm satisfaction and expect from this peril the overthrow of another old and worn-out government, another triumph for the cause of progress. Italian patriots and lukewarm Roman Catholics, the more liberal or less affectionate children of the sovereign pontiff, look upon the peril with no small pleasure as sent to annihilate the Italian prince but sure to leave the pope strong as ever, nay, predict the expansion and advancement of his spiritual sovereignty when divorced from his temporal power. But not thus opine and prophesy the most dutiful sons of the Church, the most devoted partisans of the papacy; not thus hope and argue its Irish servants and its Austrian vassals. They mourn the

imperilled principedom as passionately and inconsolably as though the last hour of the popedom were in truth at hand; they abhor the emancipated Italians as intensely, they revile them as fiercely and fanatically as though Luther and Calvin were indeed leading them on to the final assault against Babylon. They bemoan the threatened patrimony of St. Peter as bitterly as he who said 'silver and gold I have not,' wept over his momentary treason to his beloved Lord; they urge the forcible recovery of the states of the Church as though her continuance were bound up with their restoration. In company with the pope himself they cling to the temporalities with a desperate tenacity, which bespeaks doubt and dread as to the permanence of the spiritual power. More logical and clear-sighted than their liberal or lukewarm brethren in the faith, and herein agreeing with the more earnest and far-seeing among their Protestant adversaries, they feel the deep and subtle connection between the temporal and spiritual power and forebode woe to the popedom from the loss of the principedom.<sup>44</sup> Affection opens the eyes of zealous Roman Catholics to the full extent of the danger which they dread and deplore, as hostility opens the eyes of earnest Protestants to the full magnitude of the peril which they invoke and enjoy. Intense Protestants fix upon this peril that rapt, earnest, expectant and rejoicing gaze which every trouble of the papacy has won from them. They interpret this gross misrule of his own peculiar realm by the Vicar of Christ, they point to this glaring earthly failure of infallibility, as a practical, overwhelming and irresistible argument in favour of their convictions respecting the papacy; they behold in the uprising of his Italian subjects against the in-

<sup>44</sup> This conviction is strongly holden by M. Guizot who so singularly combines attachment to the political popedom with estrangement from the spiritual papacy. In his work *L'Église et la Société Chrétienne*, 1861, the Protestant partisan of the popedom says (c. 19, p. 148): 'Il faut reconnaître que dans la papauté le pouvoir spirituel et le pouvoir temporel sont intimement unis et nécessaires l'un à l'autre, et qu'ils doivent subsister ou tomber ensemble; il faut dire tout haut qu'en attaquant et en renversant le pouvoir temporel du pape, on attaque et on renverse aussi son pouvoir spirituel, c'est à dire, l'Église catholique elle-même.' The perverseness of this remarkable book is fully equalled by the mental vigour and lofty spirit which ennoble it. While this stern and almost fanatical Conservative would fain restore that temporal rule of the popedom which he acknowledges to have been misrule, for the sake of that spiritual power against which he has all his life protested, the great political *Doctrinaire* shows himself a great religious *Doctrinaire*, a mighty champion of the only real Christianity, Christianity as a system of dogmatic truth, against the many loose religious systems now in fashion, rationalistic, pantheistic and mythical.



tolerable earthly yoke of the deputy of Heaven a proclamation not only of political impotence and evil but also of spiritual rottenness in the popedom; and they read in the present ignominious peril the prophecy of spiritual downfall. And they make this peril heartily welcome; they expend upon it their whole capacity of hope and joy; they enjoy it in every way as a great historical vista, as a sublime spiritual conjuncture, as an awful judgment of God, as an exact and solemn retribution, and as a hastening of the second advent of the Heavenly King to set all things right.

The pontiff seems of the same mind with his best friends and his worst foes, and holds to the deep and vital connection between the Italian principality and the ecclesiastical supremacy. The popedom shrinks from the loss of the principedom as from the pangs of death, feels it less dreadful to writhe in the hostile gripe of Italy and to blush beneath the heavy hand of protecting France than to plunge into an untried condition of being, would rather shiver in the rags of its torn temporalities than make a trial of pure nakedness, and recoils from that glorious career as a purely spiritual power alluringly held forth by Italian patriots and prophesied by many disinterested observers. The Roman Church feels that this twofold life is her proper life and that the loss of it will be death or something almost as bad. Duessa after all knows herself to be Duessa and while usurping the name feels incapable of sustaining the character of Fidessa.

Shamed and aggrieved by the protection of France the pontiff still more cordially detests the covenant whereby she has bound herself to withdraw that protection ere long. The Convention of September 15, 1864, between Italy and France, though in terms most tender and respectful towards the Roman See and merely providing for the early departure of its foreign guardians, appeared to the pontiff a covenant with death and hell, and hastened, if it did not provoke that most amazing and amusing defiance of the age put forth in the Encyclical Letter of December 1864 and the catalogue of errors accompanying it; wherein he has gathered together for condemnation in company with a few spiritual aberrations the most vital and precious truths political and spiritual, wherein he has comprehended all the most glorious gains and most fruitful achievements of humanity, and whereby he has set the Roman Church in direct and declared antagonism with this time of ours in its higher moods and purer

aspirations. Toleration and liberty, freedom of thought, freedom of speech and freedom of worship, the rights of sovereigns, the rights of peoples and the rights of conscience, the recognised principles of civil law and the established practice of political government alike enjoy the consecration of papal censure. There are few occasions of more lively joy, there are many occasions of less innocent joy than the follies and mistakes of opponents. The enjoyment which vehement Papists are bound to feel in this solemn declaration of principles on the part of their infallible head is far transcended by the delight taken by earnest Protestants in this enormous blunder on the part of the papal Antichrist; while moderate and liberal Roman Catholics sorely bewail the fatuity of the pontiff who seeks to disarm the hostile powers of the age by a proclamation of their impiety and to uphold his tottering temporalities by a declaration of their sanctity, who would break through the encircling peril with a denunciatory Encyclical, and intercept the descending blow with a catalogue of heresies.

The strangely vital papacy may outlive this peril: that much enduring power may endure this ignominy; but certainly he must be a very daring interpreter of passing events who predicts that the pope will emerge from his present plight stronger as a temporal ruler and mightier as a spiritual monarch. It is somewhat difficult for the most impartial observer and the most sober expectant not to anticipate from this strange conjuncture the overthrow of the Italian prince and the degradation of the head of Latin Christendom. Marvellous indeed must be his faith who believes that the popedom will gather fresh strength from the disdainful hate of Italy, or break forth into new glory beneath the stern and exacting protection of France. This age may witness the close of an era in ecclesiastical history through the transformation, if not through the extinction of the papacy. But the change will not be a new birth; the new shape will not be a shape of glory; the transformation will be a debasement. If the popedom pass over into the new era, it will appear not as a renovated and independent power but as a depressed and degraded satellite.

## BOOK XI.

## ITALY AND THE POPEDOM.

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Habbiamo adunque con la Chiesa e coi preti noi Italiani questo primo obbligo di essere diventati senza religione e cattivi; ma ne abbiamo ancora un maggiore, il quale è cagione della rovina nostra. Questo è che la Chiesa ha tenuto e tiene questa nostra provincia divisa.—MACHIAVELLI, *Discorsi sopra Tito Livio*, lib. i. c. 12.

‘ We Italians owe it in the first place to the Church and to the priests that we have become irreligious and worthless; but we are still more greatly bound to them, even for our downfall as a nation; as it is the Church which has kept and still keeps this country of ours divided.’

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WHILE hordes of barbarians were overwhelming the Roman empire and swarms of corrupt doctrines and idolatrous practices were darkening the Christian Church, a subject of that empire and a bishop of that Church grew gradually into a prince and a pontiff. The dignity of the imperial city assisted this exaltation of the Roman bishop; and about the middle of the eighth century he stood forth as the claimant of spiritual mastery over Christendom and of political dominion over a portion of central Italy. The papacy has known every variety of fortune, has been sometimes nearly omnipotent and at other times wellnigh powerless, has been sometimes terrible and at other times contemptible; but it has continued throughout still ambitious of universal empire, still tenacious of a petty principality.

In both its temporal and its spiritual character the popedom has triumphed, suffered and sinned; the fortunes of the principality have not been less various and remarkable than those of the pontificate; and if the crimes of the latter have a size and terribleness which defy all rivalry, the maintenance of the former has involved a tolerably severe and sustained infliction of evil. In truth the popedom has been almost as mournfully memorable in Italian as in ecclesiastical history. It has laboured almost as assiduously for the conquest and consolidation of the States of the Church as for the subjection of the world. The management of Christendom, the vindication of ecclesiastical

supremacy and the extirpation of heresy are weighty cares and have been well attended to ; but they have not diverted the popes from the pursuit of Italian acquisitions, the suppression of Italian insurrection and the maintenance of the Italian balance of power. Petty Italian princes and small Italian republics have divided the hostility of the papacy with mighty intellects and great Reformers. The souls that rejected, the nations that rose against the pontificate have not been slackly dealt with. The Albigenes were rooted out ; the Lollards were hunted down ; the Hussites were brought low ; the Reformation was fiercely assailed and beaten back in more than one land. But neither has there been any slackness in dealing with the opponents of the Italian prince. The Bentivoglio were beset in Bologna ; the Malatesta were expelled from Rimini ; the Rovere were assailed in Urbino ; the Este were driven from Ferrara. A Roman tribune was as odious as a German Reformer ; Rienzi was excommunicated more promptly than Luther : and the flames which consumed Arnold of Brescia punished the political aspirations of the Roman republican as well as the spiritual aspirations of the anti-papal teacher.

But though the pontiff never forgot the principality, and though the prince was generally tenacious of the pontificate, yet the spiritual power and the temporal power have not always flourished together. The palmy hour of the popedom has been the dark season of the princedom. Often during the middle ages the master of Christendom was a fugitive from Rome. Gregory VII., that disposer of kingdoms and abaser of crowned heads, who gave England to the Norman and at whose feet grovelled the young and fiery Cæsar Henry IV., died an exile at Salerno. When Frederick Redbeard held the stirrups and kissed the feet of Alexander III. at Venice, it was before a returned fugitive that the mightiest and most heroic of the German Emperors knelt (1177). It was when an outcast from Italy that Innocent IV. at the council of Lyons degraded from the imperial dignity another Frederick, the powerful and accomplished grandson of Redbeard (1245).

On the other hand the best days of the principality have certainly not been the best days of the pontificate. During the fifteenth century, while the hold of the papacy on the mind and soul of Europe was becoming fainter and slacker every year, its grasp upon Italian territory was waxing stronger and more steadfast. Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., cruel,

venal, profligate men, and not great and potent pontiffs, were ambitious and successful princes. It was only six years before Luther began the warfare against Rome that Julius II. entered Mirandola through the breach, with a drawn sword in his hand (1511). The impotent antagonist of the great Reformer, Leo X., was an Italian conqueror. It was in the midst of the terrible struggle between Romanism and Protestantism, only nine years after the vanquishing of the Invincible Armada, that Clement VIII. wrested Ferrara from the House of Este and enlarged the States of the Church with the spoils of a Roman Catholic prince (1597). During the next two centuries, while the popedom was assailed by Protestantism and philosophy, neither insurrection nor serious invasion troubled the principality.

Sometimes the spiritual and the territorial domination have dwindled together. In the tenth century, when profligate women bestowed the papal chair upon their paramours and their bastards, and when juvenile monsters or still more enormous men filled the chief place in fallen Christendom, it is hard to say whether the princes or the pontiffs were more contemptible. During the sojourn at Avignon which lasted nearly through the fourteenth century, the chief priest was sadly obscured and the Italian ruler was almost lost in the vassal of France. And four hundred years afterwards, when the pope again became a French captive and a French vassal, when the States of the Church became French provinces, when Pius VI. died in one French prison and Pius VII. languished in another, the spiritual power of the papacy had fallen almost as low as the political.

Sometimes the interests of the Italian ruler have clashed with those of the ecclesiastical potentate, and not unfrequently have overborne them. Just as the man or father has been too strong for the pontiff, just as many a pope has been more eager to enrich a nephew or to advance a bastard than to aggrandise the Church, so the prince has been often too strong for the pontiff, so many an occupant of the papal chair has preferred the defence or enlargement of his territories to the exaltation of his spiritual authority. Just as Alexander VI. endowed his portentous bastards male and female at the expense indifferently of Church or State; just as Paul III. was more bent upon aggrandising his son Peter Lewis than upon resisting Luther, and took more pains to plant the House of Farnese at Parma than

to uproot the Reformation; so Paul IV., proud and energetic pontiff though he was, yet burned more fiercely with the passions of a Neapolitan partisan and perhaps of an Italian patriot than with those of an aspiring pope, and made war upon the king of Naples and the dominator of Italy in that very Philip II. the master passion of whose soul was hate of heresy, and the great objects of whose life were the extirpation of Protestantism and the exaltation of the Roman Church. In like manner Urban VIII. too much disliked the predominance of the House of Austria in Italy, very earnestly to wish success or very effectually to lend support to that devoted dynasty during the Thirty Years' War with which Ferdinand II. afflicted Germany for the glory of the Roman Church and the destruction of her enemies.

But no exaltation of the ecclesiastical dominion has induced carelessness about the Italian territory. The most aspiring pontiff, the most absolute master of Christendom, the loftiest Gregory, the sublimest Innocent has not disdained the little principality, has clung closely to the territorial domination, has piously rejoiced in the liberality of Countess Matilda, has holden fast the bounty of king Pepin, has refused to imperil the soul of Constantine by any doubt of his donation or to disturb the bliss of St. Peter by any alienation of his patrimony. No one characteristic of the papacy, not its endurance, not its unchangeableness, not its inflexibility as to ends and versatility as to means, is more striking than this tenacity as to its temporalities, this hard gripe on its petty principedom. Herein as in everything else Rome has been unchangeable. Infallibility has ever demanded this little morsel; the Vicar of Christ could never dispense with this petty perquisite. Sometimes withholden, it has been ever required; sometimes but half possessed, it has ever been sought in full fruition. This stubborn clinging to the little territory may appear at first unnatural and unaccountable, as the spiritual power has seemingly gained nothing thereby, as the principedom would seem to have embarrassed and enfeebled the popedom. The pontiff has been lofty and powerful, has been devoutly venerated and devotedly served; the prince has been ever petty, powerless and unpopular. The beneficence of the Italian sovereign has been about on a level with that of the ecclesiastical monarch. It is possible that a visible head of Christendom somewhat awed and softened the fierce subverters of the Roman empire, and secured some protection and promi-

nence for moral and religious interests amidst the reign of brute force. It is also just possible that at the opening of the sixteenth century when the French, the Spaniards and the Germans overran and partitioned the Peninsula, the union of a considerable Italian territory under a native ruler was less humiliating and painful than foreign domination. But any accidental and temporary benefits of the Italian sovereignty as of the ecclesiastical supremacy, have been utterly overborne by its inherent viciousness, by its innumerable and enormous evils. The political papacy has disabled and degraded Italy not less effectually than the spiritual papacy has debased, enthralled and corrupted Christendom. But there have been about the latter a might and a majesty altogether withholden from the former, which have strongly impressed the hearts and imaginations of mankind. The popedom as a corruption of Christianity has drawn into its service some of the most powerful passions and inclinations of human nature, though far less generous and exalted than the feelings which it has stirred into hostility. It has fascinated great intellects, though far inferior in depth, breadth and strength to the genius by which it has been assailed. It has inspired ardent and not always an altogether ignoble affection, though not more fervent and far less lofty than the enmity which it has provoked. It has been served with a devotion not less faithful and far more enthralling and unscrupulous, but less heroic, attractive and large-hearted than that which it has estranged and exasperated. It has had its band of brave and steadfast martyrs, though far less numerous and august than the noble host which it has immolated. Among its champions may be reckoned hot enthusiasts, subtle schemers and skilful generals, while heroes and mighty souls have been numbered among its assailants. Shaken by Luther and Calvin, it has been propped up by Loyola and Bellarmine. With Alva and Philip II., with Tilly and Ferdinand II. for helpers, it has had William and Maurice of Orange, Gustavus Adolphus and Oliver Cromwell for foes. Deeply hated and strongly smitten, the popedom has been dearly loved and greatly upholden.

How differently has the princedom fared! No government has called forth such little affection, has provoked such bitter and abiding hate as the papal rule in Italy. It is not wonderful that freemen have loved their freedom, that men have jealously guarded the institutions which they helped to conduct and in which they found their welfare, that the old Romans,

were proud of the great commonwealth, that every republic of ancient Greece and medieval Italy abounded in devoted citizens, that Spanish liberty did not fall without champions and martyrs. The admiring contemplation, the devoted affection, the mighty championship which their happy constitution has won from Englishmen; the tenderness with which the Hungarians have regarded, and the heroism with which they have upholden and more than once won back their long-descended freedom, may not be matters of much surprise. But it is not only free institutions that have been truly loved and bravely guarded. The Roman empire had power to inspire its subjects with proud and reverential regard. The Venetian peasant was not without affection for the Venetian oligarchy nor without pride in the lions of St. Mark. The French empire created enthusiasm, bequeathed regret and has obtained restoration. Russian autocracy has won devout and affectionate allegiance. But the kingdom of the priests has never found among its subjects one grateful admirer, one sincere panegyrist, one devoted champion or one rejoicing martyr. The pope's Italian sovereignty has always been sadly endured or heartily abhorred, helplessly acquiesced in or fiercely struggled against. During the middle ages, while the presence of the Roman bishop was often earnestly desired at Rome, the yoke of the temporal potentate was always vehemently declined and often sternly shaken off. The princes and republics that occupied the territory which the popes claimed by virtue of the donation of Constantine and which Pepin and Charlemagne had granted them, resisted their claim and repelled their domination, made just as light of the donation of Constantine as though they had known it to be a forgery, and were as utterly unmoved by the less fabulous piety of Pepin and as thoroughly unemulous of the more authentic liberality of Charlemagne as though they had been conscientiously reluctant to cumber the popedom with worldly cares and greatness. The popes were not less strongly bent upon providing St. Peter with a patrimony, and throughout the middle ages those oppressors of Christendom, those vanquishers of Cæsars, those exterminators of churches and nations were perpetually engaged in dispossessing some petty Italian prince or in subjugating some little Italian commonwealth. The States of the Church were got together just in the same way that so many secular states have been formed, by a judicious mixture of fraud and force. Much blood was shed, many crimes were



committed. All those special accomplishments of Italian princeliness, all those various devices for getting and keeping dominion which Machiavelli has collected and commended in the *Prince*, were fully exhibited and successfully practised by these papal princes. The Vicars of Christ put together their Italian principality just after the manner of the Visconti and the della Scala. They procured or forged a grant of territory from some Holy Roman Emperor and shrank from no excess of perfidy or violence in gaining possession of the territory. The chief conquerors and consolidators of the States of the Church, Eugenius IV., Sixtus IV., Alexander VI. and Julius II. were as restless, reckless, intriguing, unscrupulous, treacherous, cruel, capable and successful as the most terrible Visconti or Sforza. The process by which the popes acquired their principality was harmful alike to the political and moral life of Italy. The intense energy and turbulent freedom of numberless municipal communities were effaced by the absolute and deadening sway of ecclesiastics. The crimes committed by the pontiffs in the acquisition of territorial sovereignty, crimes exemplary and authoritative in the guides of Christendom, greatly helped to debase Italian politics and to corrupt the Italian character.

But this fatal honour of providing a principality for the Vicars of Christ brought likewise other woes upon Italy. The pontifical principedom was established on the ruins of her independence. Not till Italy fell before the foreigner, not till she lay crushed and stifled beneath the deadly yoke of Spain, did the popes repose in the secure and undisputed possession of their principality. The French invaders of Italy in the time of Louis XII. were the allies of Alexander VI. and Cæsar Borgia, and contributed to the enlargement of the papal territories and the aggrandisement of the papal bastard. The genius of the popedom was too strong for the Italian patriotism of individual popes like Julius II. and Clement VII. and drove the latter into alliance and co-operation with the Spanish enslavers of the Peninsula. The doom of Italy was finally fixed and the papal dominion finally established at that conference of Bologna in 1530 where Charles V. received the imperial crown from Clement VII.; and Italian freedom fell beneath the joint strokes of Pontiff and Cæsar when in 1530 beleaguered Florence yielded to the soldiers of Charles V. and the bastard of a papal house was enthroned therein. Italy lay in her grave; the pontiffs sate securely on their Italian throne. Dante had rebuked the worldly

spirit and territorial aspirations of the popes as hindrances to the peace and union of Italy. Machiavelli laid to the charge of the popedom all the woes of Italy, her moral and spiritual corruption, her national division and downfall. If this charge was then amply borne out, what a terrible accumulation of proof has it since received!<sup>1</sup> The accusation brought against the papacy by one eminent Italian in the beginning of the sixteenth century is now repeated by the whole of Italy. Three centuries of undisputed ecclesiastical rule, of unbroken foreign domination, of continuous national degradation and death, have made it clear to the mind of every Italian. Papal rule wrought its full and perfect work in its own peculiar territories and on its own peculiar people, depopulated cities, depressed agriculture, hindered commerce, multiplied beggars and robbers, stifled every wholesome energy, crushed every noble aspiration in its hapless subjects, kept down their political and intellectual life, corrupted their moral and spiritual life. But the curse of pontifical dominion comprehended the whole peninsula. The subjection and degradation of Italy which had so greatly served to establish the territorial popedom, continued to uphold it; and the papacy in its turn upheld that servitude and oppression by which it was upholden. The foreign lords and the ecclesiastical potentate respected and supported each other. The debasing and deadening papal domination has for three centuries kept company with the debasing and deadening Austrian domination, as exercised first by the Spanish Hapsburgs and then by the German Hapsburgs and Hapsburg-Lorraines. The prostration of Italy was the exaltation of the territorial popedom; her shame was its glory; her death was its life.

At length the French Revolution came to stir the soul of Italy and to shake the kingdom of the priests. As soon as Italy began to live the pontifical sovereignty began to die. Her quickening was its quenching; her waxing was its waning; her uprising was its downfall. Italy soon found out that the territorial popedom kept her out of freedom, independence and unity. For a very brief while Italy and Pius IX. mistook each

<sup>1</sup> Machiavelli, *Discorsi sopra Tito Livio*, lib. i. c. 12. Gioberti in the *Primato Morale e Civile degli Italiani* gainsays Machiavelli and Sarpi in spite of the confirmatory witness of the last three centuries (tom. i. p. 30), indulges in assertions of the beneficent action of the political popedom glaringly contradicted by her past history and actual plight, and in predictions of the absolute necessity of the territorial papacy to the resurrection of Italy and the utter impracticability of Italian political unity, so amusingly belied by the present mood and condition of Italy.

other for friends and allies. But they soon recognised their mistake and parted company for ever. Italy and the Popedom went their several ways and resumed their natural hostility. That hostility soon became deadly. Each found out that for the one to live the other must die. In 1848 Italy cast out the prince and made an end of the principedom. Foreign soldiers brought back the prince and set up the principedom again. The pontiff-king stood confessed the mere creature of France and Austria. The kingdom of the priests became a mere ruin clumsily repaired by foreign hands and visibly propped up by foreign bayonets. That support was but partially withdrawn and the papal principality fell to pieces. One foreign protector struck down the other. France fell upon Austria and suffered Italy to fall upon the territorial popedom. The kingdom of Italy has been established on the ruins of the papal principality, just as that principality was established on the ruins of the freedom and independence of medieval Italy.

It may seem at first somewhat strange that the pontiffs should have clung so desperately to their petty principality, that the priests should not have thankfully parted with their detested kingdom. But this territorial tenacity is of the very essence of the Roman Church; without it she would cease to be herself. It is a necessity of her corrupt constitution; it is one of the striking flaws and defects in that marvellously cunning piece of work; it is one of the prominent weaknesses as well as vices of that inherently vicious system. It is an imagination of her own heart which is undoing her; it is a snare of her own weaving into which she has fallen. This territorial tenacity is at once the outcome and the argument of her spiritual evil.

The chief troubles and perils of the popedom have arisen from the excesses of its spiritual domination, from the insurrection of the soul against its debasing bondage, its corrupt doctrines and idolatrous practices. It is the pontiff, it is the spiritual oppressor that has most prominently sinned and suffered. The most signal triumphs of the papacy have been won over opponents of its spiritual authority; its most disastrous defeats have been inflicted by assailants of its spiritual tyranny. The Albigenses, the Waldenses, the Lollards, the Hussites, the Reformers were enemies of this kind. The French Revolutionists were foes of another sort. They did not specially abhor the papacy; they did not single it out for destruction.

They fell upon it as they fell upon all constituted authority. They assailed it as an old and conspicuous establishment, as a relic and bulwark of ancient tyranny. The present assailants of the papacy hold it in special abhorrence; but the enmity of the Italians is political, not spiritual. It is the principedom that has brought this present peril upon the popedom. It is against the prince, not the pontiff that Italy has risen; it is the political oppressor, the intimate of her foreign lords, the satellite of the Hapsburg and the patron of the Bourbon, the great hinderer of her freedom, her independence and her unity that Italy abhors. The political abhorrence may deepen into spiritual enmity; the political renewal may be accompanied and ennobled by religious regeneration. Italy, rid of intellectual darkness and political fetters, may have her eye strengthened to rejoice in the glorious light of divine truth and have wings given her to soar in the blessed air of evangelical liberty. The Italians may find the popedom so bound up with the principedom that renunciation of the latter must compel renunciation of the former. They may discover the Roman Church to be so inherently and immutably *Duessa*, that she cannot be served and recognised as pure and simple *Fidessa*. Italy may yield to the blessed 'assaults of God's reforming Spirit;' though the great offer made at the Reformation may not be exactly repeated. Bitterly has Italy rued her rejection of that offer; 350 years ago the spiritual rottenness of the papacy was discovered by the master-spirits of the age and proclaimed to all the nations of Western Christendom. Some hearkened and believed; some heard and denied. The nations that would not see God's light, that would not hear God's voice in the Reformation have been left to their own blindness and their own deafness. They denied the evil, they asserted the divineness of the Roman See; they clave to the popedom; they have been left to the popedom. Rejecting the divine message of Luther, they have been made to prove it divine by the facts of their subsequent history; impervious to the logic of Calvin, they have been left to the logic of events. 'Woe unto them that call evil good and good evil, that put darkness for light and light for darkness, that put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter.' The most awful fulfilment of this woe, next to the destruction of Jerusalem and the overthrow of Israel, has been and is still being exhibited in the portion of those nations, empires and dynasties which thrust away or rooted out the

Reformation. Just as every nation that embraced Protestantism has gotten infinite good therefrom, just as Holland which it created and Sweden which it aggrandised, remain free nations and respectable states; just as it has advanced the little electorate of Brandenburg into the great kingdom of Prussia; just as it has raised Great Britain from a comparatively low estate to the topmost height of empire, glory and freedom; just as Russia which never obeyed the papacy has grown with a wondrous growth: so all the countries and dynasties that knew not the time of their visitation, which clave to the papacy and cast out the Reformation, have been variously and abidingly cursed by their perverseness. France has rushed into every extreme and perpetrated every excess. Spain has sunk from the highest to the lowest place among the nations. Poland has been extinguished. Austria or rather the House of Hapsburg has plunged from crime to crime and from peril to peril to fill up in this age the measure of its guilt, and to totter at this hour over the edge of doom.

But plainly as the woe of the rejected Reformation, as the curse of the upholden papacy is written in the plight of every Roman Catholic country, nowhere is the terrible handwriting so large or so visible as in the native land and chosen seat of the popedom. Occupied and divided, oppressed and degraded, the prey of petty tyrants, foreign armies and priestly rulers, Italy has most loudly testified to the cleaving curse of papal rule, has most bitterly rued the fatal honour of the papal throne. There the logic of facts has had its mightiest and most awful working out; there the rhetoric of history has been most potent and overpowering. There the prince has convicted the pontiff, there the hindering, debasing, stifling, grinding territorial dominion has borne damning witness against the ecclesiastical system. The spiritual corruption to which three centuries and a half ago the Italians remained blind, deaf and dead, has yielded a political and social evil to which they have grown most painfully and wrathfully alive, has become a thing seen of the dullest eye, heard of the dullest ear and felt by the grossest heart. The power to which they then in defiance of the great protest of half Christendom resigned their souls, they have found fatal and afflicting to their minds, their bodies and their estates; subversive of their rights as citizens; in collision with their duties and energies as men. The power with the loftiest pretensions in the world has proved incapable

of the pettiest achievement, of yielding a not unbearable civil government, and has become intolerable to those who know it best and have had most to do with it. Infallibility has failed in the humblest sphere of earthly duty. The Vicars of Christ have scandalously misgoverned a petty principality. The head of the Church is abominable in the eyes of his temporal subjects. What an argument against the spiritual papacy is this! incapable of refutation, defying evasion; of a force not to be lessened by the subtlety of Bellarmine and not to be overpowered by the rhetoric of Bossuet.

Italy may not become Protestant; the offer rejected by her at the Reformation may not be renewed. She may not unswear her spiritual allegiance to the papacy; she may still allow the Pope to be the Viceroy of Heaven. She may still concede that out of his spiritual jurisdiction there is no salvation.<sup>2</sup> But she declares this Viceroy of Heaven to be an intolerable earthly ruler; she pronounces it the woe of woes to be a subject here of him who holds the key of the Blissful mansions. She casts off as ruinous to all the best interests and noblest ends of this life the political rule of him apart from whose spiritual supremacy there can be no salvation for any soul. Her spiritual adhesion has a bitter mockery about it. Italy may remain impervious to the sharp rhetoric of Protestant tracts and the weighty arguments of Protestant treatises. But she cannot refute herself. Her past history, her present plight and her present mood compose 'a Dissuasive against Popery' of overwhelming force. Who can gainsay, who can pervert the damning witness of that Italy, which has known the popedom so intimately and possessed it so peculiarly? Never was that exact retribution, that sublime poetical justice which so delights the heart and imagination of man and which lends so awful a charm to every great drama whether of fiction or of history, more sovereignly and solemnly present than throughout the papal drama; especially in these latter scenes of it where the popedom is wounded and entangled by the princedom, is taken in the device of its own heart, is caught in its own net and wounded with its own sword; in these wondrous scenes where Italy stands forth the great assailant and main afflicter of that very papal power of which she was for ages the closest intimate and the chief victim.

<sup>2</sup> Massimo d' Azeglio (*La Politica e il Diritto Cristiano*, pp. 37, 38) strongly utters this conviction.

## BOOK XII.

## FRANCE AND AUSTRIA AS ACTORS IN THE PAPAL DRAMA.

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O toi, chétif pape, considère et regarde du Monseigneur le Roi de France la bonté qui te garde et défend de tes ennemis, ainsi que ses prédécesseurs ont toujours gardé les tiens.—*Nogaret to Boniface VIII. (Du Puy, Histoire du Différend, p. 72).*

‘O thou wretched pope, think and reflect upon the goodness of my lord the king of France who guards and protects thee from thy foes, just as his predecessors have always guarded thine.’

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THE wonderful story of the papacy combines every ingredient and property of a grand, terrible and perfect drama. There has been a rapid succession of striking and most diverse scenes: there has been an endless variety of startling incidents; there has been an astonishing variety of remarkable characters. For twelve centuries almost every great event in history has had relations with the popedom, has served either to help or to hurt it, to advance or to bring it low; every prominent historical personage has been connected with the papacy either as friend or foe, either as servant or antagonist. The invasion of the German tribes, the early conquests of Islam, the warfare against images, the rise of the Carolingians in France, the glories of Charlemagne, the resurrection of the Western Empire, the fall of the Carolingians and the rise of the Capets, the Norman conquests of Naples, of England and of Ireland, the Crusades, the struggle between the Italian Republics and the German Emperors, the extirpation of the Albigenses and Magna Charta, the conquests of the Mongols under Zingis, the growth of the French monarchy, the growth of English freedom, the councils of Constance and Basle, the Ottoman capture of Constantinople, the revival of learning, the invention of printing and the discovery of America, the acquisitions of the House of Austria and its long rivalry with France, the invasion and subjugation of Italy by foreign powers, the greatness of the Spanish monarchy, the Reformation, the struggle of the Netherlanders against Spain, the civil war in France, the Thirty Years' War, the peace

of Westphalia, the supremacy of France under Louis XIV., the Revolution of 1688 and the consequent supremacy of England, the rise of Prussia, the growth of Russia, the partition of Poland, the French Revolution, the French Empire, the Congress of Vienna, the Revolution of 1830, the civil war in Spain, the discontent of Italy, the outbreak of 1848, the reaction of 1849, the Second French Empire, the Russian War, the Austrian Concordat, the uprising of Italy, the conflict between France and Austria;—not one of these events has come to pass without the papacy being the better or the worse for it. Phocas, Mohammed and the first khalifs, the great Greek Iconoclasts Leo and Constantine Copronymus, and the great Lombard kings, Luitprand and Astolf, Charles Martel; Pepin and Charlemagne, Archbishop Wilfred and Archbishop Hinkmar, Otho the Great, Dunstan, Lanfranc and Anselm, William the Conqueror and Robert Guiscard, Henry IV., Peter the Hermit and Godfrey of Bouillon, Bernard and Arnold of Brescia, Becket and Henry II., Frederick Redbeard and Frederick II., Philip Augustus and John Lackland, Dominic and Simon de Montfort, St. Louis and Charles of Anjou, Philip the Fair and Dante, Petrarch and Wycliffe, John Hus and Cæsar Sigismund, Mohammed II., Gutenberg, Erasmus, Columbus and Savonarola, Luther and Loyola, Charles V., Francis I., Henry VIII. and Gustavus Vasa, Philip II. and Elizabeth, William the Silent, Henry IV., Gustavus Adolphus and Ferdinand II., Cardinal Richelieu and Cromwell, Louis XIV. and William III., Voltaire and Pombal, Frederick II., Catharine II. and Joseph II., Napoleon I. and Alexander I., Prince Metternich and Czar Nicholas, Mazzini and Garibaldi, Francis Joseph and Victor Emmanuel, Count Cavour, Viscount Palmerston and Louis-Napoleon;—all these, more or less, directly or indirectly, unconsciously or rejoicingly, have wrought weal or woe to the popedom.

Together with this astonishing variety of incidents and characters, there has been a wonderful unity of action maintained throughout this tremendous and most complicated drama. Nothing can exceed the sustained self-consistency of the chief actor. Throughout twelve centuries and a half the popedom has remained true to its character as a secularised and perverted spiritual power; with extraordinary vigour and fidelity has it sustained the part of a kingdom of this world calling itself a kingdom not of this world. With every variety of mood it has always preserved the same character; through a multitude of



mistakes it has always pursued the same end. But this unchangeableness and self-consistency are not only thus awfully conspicuous in the chief actor, but are also strikingly apparent in such of the subordinate actors as were capable of any continuance during the long drama ; in the leading nations, empires and dynasties grouped around the papacy during the whole or a portion of its existence. In the parts which these states and dynasties have played in the great papal drama, in their dispositions towards the papacy, and in their dealings with the papacy, there has been a singular steadfastness and well supported consistency. The nation of France, the empire of Germany, the House of Hapsburg and the people of England have each exhibited a striking uniformity both of feeling and of action towards the See of Rome.

But there is one power in which this harmony of character with respect to Rome is especially wonderful ; a power too connected for the longest time and in the closest manner with the popedom. The French monarchy arose before the Roman bishopric swelled into the papacy ; while its founder Clovis was accomplishing his work (480-511), the Roman bishops were the submissive subjects of the Gothic sovereign of Italy, Theodoric. France stood forth as the protector of the pontiffs in the eighth century just as she stands forth their protector in the nineteenth. During the intervening eleven centuries the connection between France and Rome has been most intimate ; and throughout these ages the deportment and dealings of the French monarchy towards the Roman See have been unvarying and very peculiar. 'The eldest child of the Roman Church,' France though not violently untender or flagrantly disobedient, has been a froward and wilful child who has had her own way much more than her Holy Father liked. Her love of him has always had a self-regardful and imperious character. Often fanatical Roman Catholics, her monarchs have never been servile Papists. She has not seldom bestirred herself in behalf of the papacy ; she has sinned often and horribly in behalf of the papacy ; but she has never crouched before the papacy. Her services have been those not of a blind votary and self-forgetful vassal to whom service was reward enough, but those of a protector who would not protect for nothing and of a benefactor who exacted a large return. Alone among nations who have not renounced the Roman communion, France has more than once got the better in a conflict with Rome. Alone of European crowns, the crown

of France has never been lowered beneath the triple crown. The realm of England was once a tributary of Rome; the imperial throne of Germany has been given and taken away, has been trafficked with and trampled under foot by the pontiff; the House of Hapsburg has been ever his devoted and degraded vassal; but the throne of France has never had its lustre dimmed by dependence upon the papal chair. Alone among sovereigns a French monarch has reduced the popedom into his tool and thrall. While her warriors rejoicingly perpetrated the horrors of the Albigensian crusade at the bidding of Innocent III., no king of hers ever stooped to the baseness of John of England in casting down his crown before the same pontiff. Capable of a Bartholomew massacre, she has been ever incapable of an Austrian Concordat. It has been the portion of this eldest child, of this foremost and fiercest champion of the Roman Church to bring more detriment and degradation upon the popedom than any of the nations who have forsaken it has done. This spirit of imperious attachment, of self-seeking and exacting beneficence has been conspicuous throughout their intimate connection of eleven centuries. If in the middle of the eighth century Pepin twice led a French army across the Alps to the rescue of the pontiff from the Lombards, Pope Stephen II. crossed the Alps to crown with his own hand the founder of the second French dynasty. Charles the Great found in Pope Adrian I., whom he defended against the last Lombard king Desiderius and in Pope Leo III. whom he defended against a Roman rival and who placed upon his head the crown of the revived Western Empire, pliant instruments and obedient subjects.

The early Capetian kings were not slack in combating papal pretensions. But it was Louis the Saint, Louis the Crusader, the pattern of medieval devotion, who in the first of the many famous documents entitled Pragmatic Sanctions, upheld the freedom of the French church and the rights of the French crown, and set up against Roman aggression a barrier strengthened and improved by subsequent illustrious champions of the Gallican liberties. His intense piety, sometimes dimmed by superstition, never dwindled into pusillanimous servility; the saint of the house of France was a combatant of papal exactions and encroachments; he was a saint of God's making as well as of the pope's creating and deserves reverence although he underwent canonisation. In his grandson Philip the Fair the popedom found the most terrible and victorious antagonist that

it ever encountered among its spiritual children, and bowed before a most exacting and absolute master. It was a king of France who first vanquished the papacy, who avenged the wrongs of princes upon that power which had humbled the Plantagenets and extirpated the Hohenstaufens, who in the fullness of its might smote the popedom as sorely as it had smitten and in the noontide of its glory requited it with degradation deep as that which it had inflicted. It was a French monarch\* who confronted the proudest of the pontiffs, Boniface VIII., with pride still more overbearing and encountered his rage with wrath still more deadly, who set his lawyers upon the priests, who first summoned the people to do battle with the papacy, called together the States General for the first time and set his nation in battle array against Rome, encountered arrogant bulls with vehement accusations and provoked excommunication by the threat of deposition. But this terrible eldest son was not satisfied with defying and defaming the Holy Father. It was a French king whose armed hirelings burst into the palace and laid hands upon the person of the pontiff and whose contumely and violence broke the heart and shortened the days of the proudest of the popes. It was a French monarch who did a sovereign pontiff to death with entire impunity, before whom the Roman Church crouched and trembled, and whom Dante cursed in vain. This terrible king of France, not satisfied with chastising a pope, went on to degrade the popedom. He seated a Frenchman and a creature of his own in the papal chair, kept him afar from Rome a trembling prisoner in France and exacted ignominious service from the pontificate, unscrupulously using it for the gratification of his pride, avarice, ambition and revenge. It was a king of France who hurled the pontiffs from the chief throne of the world, who broke over their own backs the rod wherewith they had scourged the princes of the earth, who defeated for ever their attempt at universal dominion and turned that earnest aspiration of Gregory VII. and that momentary achievement of Innocent III. henceforth into an idle dream and a ludicrous fiction.

The servitude to the crown of France into which Philip the Fair had brought the papacy did not come to an end with the life of the enslaver. For seventy years the popes stayed away from their proper seat to play at Avignon the part of creatures of the French monarchy (1305-78). For seventy years the

papacy remained in the gift and in the service of France—of France too not powerful and prosperous as under Philip the Fair, but brought low and laid waste by England. French hosts were vanquished at Crecy and Poitiers; a French king was led captive through the streets of London; but these calamities did not disturb French supremacy at Avignon: the chief of Christendom remained the dependent of a captive king of France. When the remonstrances of Europe brought back the papacy to Rome, and constrained the election of an Italian pope (1378), French cardinals set up a French pontiff at Avignon; and for forty years the popedom was put to sore shame and Christendom was miserably rent mainly for the honour and advantage of the French monarchy. The council of Constance put an end to the schism; the council of Basle curtailed the papal power; and France, though faint and bleeding from the struggle of a century for national life with England and not yet rid of her English invaders, stood forth in 1438 to accept the work of the fathers of Basle and to incorporate their limitations with the laws of the French Church and State. Another Pragmatic Sanction brought pontifical authority very low in France. This blow against the papacy ranks next to the expulsion of the English among the glories of the reign of Charles VII. the Victorious, the vindicator of the ecclesiastical not less than of the national independence of France.

Louis XII., smitten in his Italian dominions by that thunderbolt of war and lively Italian patriot pope Julius II., gathered a council together at Pisa against his assailant, threatened the papal warrior with deposition and struck medals whereon the Roman See was upbraided and menaced as Babylon (1511). Only six years before the Reformation France seemed on the brink of a schism at least; but this open hostility, a departure from that oppressive protection habitually inflicted by France upon Rome, soon came to an end; and Francis I. concluded with Leo X. a concordat disadvantageous to the French Church, but not at all disadvantageous to the French crown (1516).

The Reformation came; but though it wrought powerfully upon France, did not alter her singular position towards the papacy. She yielded Protestantism its supreme and most constructive intellect, heroes manifold and martyrs innumerable. She produced Calvin, Coligny, du Bourg and Mornay du Plessis; but she did not become Protestant; she remained intensely Roman Catholic and slightly papal. Her government, her

priesthood and her populace ensnared and slaughtered the Huguenots; but her representatives at the council of Trent proposed limitations of the papal power and her government declined to promulgate the decrees of the council. She enacted horrors in behalf of the Roman Church; she plunged into the blood bath of St. Bartholomew; but she would not bestow her crown at the bidding of the popedom. The Protestant heir was converted; the papal pretender was rejected; the Huguenots and the Leaguers were both vanquished; the victory remained with that national Romanism so admirably represented by Henry IV. The dagger of the papal fanatic Ravallac reached the heart of that greatest and most French of French monarchs; but his policy survived him. Cardinal Richelieu showed far more zeal for the greatness of the French crown and the glory of the French nation than for the interests of that Roman Church which reckoned him among her princes. He chastised the Huguenots as rebels, not as heretics, and assisted Gustavus Adolphus, the hero of Protestantism, to arrest and disable the House of Austria in its war of extermination against the Reformed faith.

Louis XIV. stood forth as persecutor of the Protestants and defender of the Gallican liberties, as champion of the Romish faith and humbler of the Romish See. While recklessly employing corruption and violence for the conversion of the Huguenots he assembled the French clergy to circumscribe the authority of the pope; and the four famous articles of 1682, so hostile to the papal power, accepted by the assembly and defended by Bossuet the great controversialist of the Roman Church, were applauded and promulgated by Louis just three years before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). The French monarch who let loose armed missionaries on his Protestant subjects confiscated the pontifical possessions in France, insulted the pope in Rome and constrained Innocent XI. to look with no great displeasure upon the English Revolution of 1688, so disastrous to his Church, but so unwelcome to his haughty eldest son. They were French philosophers who most effectually disparaged, they were French lawyers who most assiduously assailed the Jesuits; he was a French statesman, duc de Choiseul, who bore the chief part in the overthrow of the order and who extorted from the pope that decree which laid low the great bulwark of the popedom.

The Revolution came; for a moment France forgot herself; for a moment she forsook her old ways with the papacy, ceased

to be the exacting eldest child and oppressive protector, and became the mere spoiler and smiter. She slaughtered the devotees, occupied the territories and seized the person of the pope; and Pius VI. died in captivity on the soil of France. But she soon returned to her old ways with the papacy. Steadfastly oblivious and abhorrent of her Past in all else, she could not long renounce it with regard to Rome; under Napoleon I. she again exhibited the wonted mixture of homage and defiance, of protection and oppression. Her mighty chief reconciled her to the papacy by a concordat greatly to the advantage of the State. Just as more than a thousand years before Pope Stephen II. crossed the Alps in 753 to crown Pepin the Little, the founder of the second French dynasty, so in 1804 Pius VII. crossed the Alps to adorn the coronation of Napoleon I., the founder of the fourth dynasty. Five years afterwards in 1809, the pontiff again crossed the Alps, no longer as the guest but as the captive of Napoleon, who became master of his territories as well as his person, without meaning however to depose the pope and put an end to the popedom, but bent upon converting the pontiff into a mere satellite and the pontifical throne into a mere ornament of the French empire. A French general dwelt in the papal palace, and the pope sojourned in a French prison, until combined Europe overthrew his jailer and the Vienna Congress restored his possessions.

Encouraged by the French Revolution of 1830, insurrection troubled the States of the Church. In 1832 France expressed her traditional jealousy of Austrian predominance in Italy and fulfilled her traditional task of protecting and controlling the papacy, by the occupation of Ancona till 1839. In 1848 another French Revolution broke out; another French Republic appeared. Emboldened by the example and neighbourhood of republican France, awakened Italy rose upon her rulers and drove the pontiff from Rome; when to the astonishment of all men and to the horror of liberal Europe, France, under the guidance of another Bonaparte turned her arms against her pupil, destroyed the Roman Republic and re-enthroned the Romish priesthood. But in this restoration of the pope France had not forgotten herself, had not belied her character. This inconsistency in the French Republic was a piece of perfect consistency in the French nation and government. This atrocity on the part of France was an atrocity in entire harmony with her historical traditions and past dealings towards the Roman

See. It well became his self-seeking eldest child and exacting benefactor to bring back the pontiff to a capital where he could not remain without her sword. The destruction of the Roman Republic was no offering of devout enthusiasm; Louis-Napoleon was no crusader; imperial France has not kept guard over Pius IX. for so many years in the spirit of devoted allegiance and disinterested service. In restoring the pope she restored a dependent; in maintaining him at Rome she has been maintaining a dependent; and her protection has grown more necessary and exclusive. The events of 1849 left France and Austria joint occupants of the Roman States and joint protectors of the Roman See; the events of 1859 left France sole occupant and sole protector. In this his sorest need and extreme peril the pontiff looks round for helpers and deliverers; but helper and deliverer he finds none save in this stern patron and hard master. Austria is stricken down; Spain is powerless; Russia is vigilant and unsympathising; England, Prussia and Scandinavia look on calmly and rejoicingly; while Italy breathes forth abhorrence and hostility. He finds himself alone with exacting and imperious France, shrinks from the cold comfort of her austere counsels and trembles beneath the stifling pressure of her encircling arms. Yet he is in no way cheered by the convention of September 15, 1864, by the covenant which France has made with Italy to withdraw her troops from Rome in 1866. He dislikes to be protected; but he dreads to be forsaken. To be guarded by his eldest son is very painful, but to be left alone with his peculiar people is far worse. Yet even should France withdraw her soldiers, that withdrawal would not terminate her intimate connection with the papacy. The companionship of ages is not so easily broken. The French monarchy and the popedom started nearly together and have kept each other company throughout the long journey. For eleven centuries France has walked beside the papacy, its imperious attendant, its self-willed eldest child, its oppressive protector; and she keeps at its side still, its only helper, its only protector, and more powerful, more imperious, more oppressive than ever.

The papal progress has had other attendants, if not companions throughout, yet singularly continuous in their presence; the papal drama has had other actors scarcely less marvellously constant to their parts. The middle ages beheld one of these well-sustained characters in the German Empire; and in later

times the House of Austria has acted towards the Church of Rome a part singularly self-consistent and well supported. The medieval relations of the German or rather of the Holy Roman Empire with the Roman See were those of unfriendly intimacy, of necessary but reluctant companionship. The Cæsar and the Pontiff were always quarrelling, but ever inseparable. A sort of fatal necessity drew them together and kept them together. For more than seven centuries, from the coronation of Charles I. (Charlemagne) at Rome by Leo III. in 800 to the coronation of Charles V. at Bologna by Clement VII. in 1530, pope and emperor lived pretty much the life of a pair who detest each other, but cannot do without each other. Now the one was uppermost and now the other; the pontiff stirred up a rebellion in Germany; the Cæsar excited a sedition at Rome; the emperor set up an anti-pope; the pope set up a rival emperor. The Gregories and Innocents made free with the imperial crown; the Henries and Fredericks were not less liberal of the papal crown. The pontiffs sometimes went so far as to proscribe and extirpate an imperial race; but the Papacy never repudiated the Empire; the Empire never denied the Papacy. Their strife arose from the very closeness of their connection and was utterly powerless to impair it. During the two centuries preceding the Reformation, the intimacy continued close and unfriendly; but both Pontiff and Cæsar had dwindled; and their quarrels partook of the comparative insignificance of the jarring pair.

The Reformation which separated more than half the German princes from the Roman Church, made the German Empire of little or no account to the Roman See and so put an end to this singular connection. But it originated another connection not less close and peculiar. The Reformation found the House of Hapsburg in possession of the imperial crown and of many states and kingdoms, Spain, Naples, Hungary and Bohemia, supreme in Italy and predominant in Europe; and encountered in that house its most persistent and formidable antagonist, its most ruthless and deadly persecutor. The Holy Roman Empire sank into the background, and ceased to be the intimate friendly or unfriendly of the Roman See; while the House of Austria became its unswerving, unshrinking and unscrupulous champion. There is something wonderful and terrible in the thoroughness and fidelity with which the Austrian dynasty has fulfilled this task, in the constancy, ability and heartiness with which it has sustained its part as enemy and exterminator of freedom,



political and spiritual. Its work has been purely negative and destructive; no revolutionary government has been so systematically and successfully subversive. To quench light and to uproot liberty, to disable souls and to undo nations has been its main business. Such a part demanded narrowness of mind, hardness of heart, fixedness of purpose, patience, perseverance, unscrupulousness and fanaticism. Heroism and intellect would have altogether unfitted it for the hereditary task. Accordingly not a single hero glorified the House of Austria; while it has been rich as no other race has been in patient plodders, accomplished plotters, unscrupulous fanatics and ruthless exterminators. Half only of its work, the conflict with the Reformation, can be glanced at here; the warfare with political freedom must be passed by.

Charles V., the nearest approach to a hero and statesman ever accomplished by the House of Austria, became king of Spain in 1516, one year before, and Holy Roman Emperor in 1519, two years after the first onset of Luther against the Church of Rome. The young Hapsburg stood face to face with the young Reformation. He at once felt conflict therewith to be the great duty and would fain have made it the great business of his life. But the political complications of his many kingdoms somewhat fettered him and for some time postponed his warfare with Protestantism; while some statesmanlike qualities which long clung to him marred the execution of the task. He attempted the work with small success in the Netherlands and with signal failure in Germany. The older he grew, he grew less of a hero and statesman and more of a Hapsburg. At last he gave up the task in despair and transferred the deepening fanaticism which had failed to undo a world, to be more innocently indulged in the convent of Yuste. The task of crushing the Reformation and upholding the popedom was taken up by his son Philip II., who brought to that task far higher qualifications, a nature wholly unheroic, an intellect altogether narrow, a more plodding patience, a fiercer fixedness of purpose, a deeper dissimulation, a darker perfidy, a deadlier fanaticism, and a more remorseless cruelty; and who laboured at that task with somewhat greater success. Croucher before a hostile and vanquished pontiff Paul IV. who forgot the Catholic king in the dominator of Italy and whom he was constrained to vanquish almost in his own despite, unequalled champion of the Roman Church, transcendent

enemy of the Reformation, extirpator of Protestantism in Spain, persecutor of Protestantism in the Netherlands, antagonist of Protestantism in France, assailant of Protestantism in England, instructor of Alva, director of Autos-da-Fe, encourager of St. Bartholomew massacres, proscriber of the Prince of Orange, supporter of the League, sender forth of the Armada, wager of many holy wars, deviser of many pious assassinations, devastator of many realms and degrader of more, Philip II. holds the highest rank among the light-quenchers and liberty-quellers of the world, and stands forth the great hinderer, the supreme disabler, in other words, the perfect and transcendent Hapsburg. His feeble son Philip III., his not much less feeble grandson Philip IV. and his impotent great-grandson Charles II. in whom the Spanish Hapsburgs died out, though all falling short of his terrible perfectness, yet approved themselves his not unworthy descendants; genuine and legitimate Hapsburgs they were as true to the work of their house as inferior abilities, impaired resources and less favourable circumstances allowed them to be; and when unable to carry on holy wars and having no more heretical subjects to destroy they rendered the Roman Church the homage of grovelling superstition and domestic misgovernment.

They had true kinsmen in the German Hapsburgs who maintained the honour of the house, if not so unbrokenly at least almost as successfully. Cæsar Ferdinand I., brother of Charles V. was too much of a politician to distinguish himself surpassingly as a persecutor, and although no stranger to the bigotry of his race, stood in too much fear of the Turks and in too much need of the German Protestants to manifest the hereditary tendencies in all their fullness. His son Maximilian II. was a total stranger to them and astonished his contemporaries and posterity as a tolerant and enlightened Hapsburg.<sup>1</sup> They reappeared however in his son Rudolf II., who joined the pursuit of alchemy to the pursuit of heretics, and combined the superstitions of astrology with those of Popery. His brother Matthias, though not pre-eminently Austrian, did not belie his race. But in his cousin and successor Ferdinand II. the House of Hapsburg produced if not its masterpiece, yet a specimen little if at all inferior to the unsurpassable Philip II. Darkly superstitious, fiercely fanatical, sternly patient, singu-

<sup>1</sup> In the dedication of his famous edition of Tacitus to Maximilian (1574) Lipsius does not exaggerate the gifts and graces of the Cæsar.

larly tenacious of purpose, utterly unscrupulous, perfidious, ungrateful and remorseless, in one word pre-eminently Austrian, Ferdinand wrought at the hereditary task with a devotion no less great and with success perhaps greater than that of his Spanish kinsman and exemplar.<sup>2</sup> As the boy Hannibal swore at the altar of Juno and in presence of his father Hamilcar eternal hostility towards Rome, so the youthful Ferdinand vowed before the shrine of our Lady at Loretto perpetual warfare with the Reformation and renewed his oath at the feet of pope Clement VIII. And faithfully that oath was kept. Up-rooter of Protestantism in Austria and Bohemia, oppressor of Protestantism in Hungary and throughout the Empire, obliterater of Bohemia from the roll of nations, devastator of Germany and author of the Thirty Years' War, Ferdinand II. may well dispute with Philip II. the rank of arch-hinderer and arch-afflicter of the world, the style and title of transcendent Hapsburg. It is not too much to say that in these two patient, plodding, plotting, unscrupulous and ruthless fanatics the House of Austria has produced the two most deeply, widely and abidingly harmful men with whom Europe and Christendom have been cursed.

This head servant of the Roman Church transmitted the Austrian blood pure and undiluted to his son Ferdinand III., who maintained the darkness and tyranny which his father had established in Austria and Bohemia, and prolonged though to his own detriment and discomfiture the war that his father had kindled in Germany. The race did not degenerate in his son Leopold I., who though hindered by the complications of European politics from making the persecuting service of the Roman Church the sole business of his long reign, was yet sternly bent upon completing the extirpation of Protestantism in his states and upon extending to Hungary the spiritual darkness and national annihilation inflicted on Bohemia. Yet notwithstanding his unscrupulous and ruthless devotion to the task, notwithstanding the perfidies and atrocities of forty years (1667-1705),

<sup>2</sup> It is not a little amusing to contrast the synonyms here assigned to the epithet 'Austrian' with those provided for it by Caspar Gebhardt the imperial historiographer; whose work here referred to is graced by a title-page after Rubens, and whose portrait by Vandyke hangs in the National Gallery; and who in his dedication to Ferdinand III. of his *Icones Imperatorum Romanorum* rapturously exclaims, 'Imo vero quis laudatissimos imperatores, Divos inquam, progenitores tuos, Rhodophos, Albertos, Fredericos: quis Maximilianos, Carolos, Ferdinandos, pios, justos, pacificos, uno verbo *Austriacos*, victores ac triumphatores augustissimos, digne recenseat?'

his failure was signal; Hungary brought to the defence of her religion and liberty a zeal and devotion above the zeal and devotion which Leopold brought to the warfare against them. Repeated breaches of the constitution, indiscriminate confiscations, savage military executions, the massacre of her most patriotic nobles, and the slaughter or slavery of her pastors, were powerless under Leopold as they have been under Francis Joseph to extinguish the spiritual and national life of Hungary; and Hungarian freedom and Hungarian Protestantism outlived that supreme oppressor as they will assuredly survive his tottering dynasty.

In his son Joseph I., unblest with a Jesuit preceptor, the race seemed about to degenerate into liberalism; but his early death transferred the crown to his brother Charles VI., the last male of his house and not wholly unworthy of it, very much of a Romish bigot and as much of a persecutor as the eighteenth century allowed him to be—witness the expatriation of the Protestant Salzburgers in which he had some part. With some good and fine qualities his daughter Maria Theresa inherited the papal leanings and persecuting predilections of her race. Her husband Francis of Lorraine was wholly untainted by them; the sour, fanatical Hapsburg blood was enriched by a more generous admixture; and her two sons Joseph II. and Leopold II. signalised themselves as liberals and reformers, as champions of toleration and opponents of papal power. An Austrian Cæsar emancipated his Protestant subjects; an Austrian Cæsar curtailed the extravagances and brought low the authority of the Roman See; while Leopold accomplished the same work in Tuscany. Pope Pius VI. crossed the Alps in 1782 to soften and subdue this Austrian prodigy, but the journey was in vain; the courteous but inflexible Joseph remained proof against the exhortations and devices of his pontifical visitor. But this was too strange and wonderful to last. Joseph and his successor Leopold soon died; the latter, who continued the race, had married a Spanish Bourbon; the infusion of Bourbon blood overpowered the generous Lorraine admixture and restored the thinness and sourness of the genuine Hapsburg current. His son Francis II., a true Austrian prince, spent the former half of his long reign in combating revolutionary and imperial France and the latter half in keeping down tormented and restless Italy. Compression, repression and oppression made the great business of his life. He inherited the superstition and bigotry

of his race and gave them such expression as the time permitted. In his son and successor the late emperor and still living Ferdinand, the peculiar Austrian qualities were so largely mingled with mental weakness as to render him scarcely responsible for the wrongs of his subjects and the misrule of his reign.

The crash of 1848 came; and in order to restore the shaken empire and rescue the imperilled dynasty, to beat back the vehement onset of liberty political and spiritual and firmly re-establish the tottering absolutism of Austria, the kinsmen and counsellors of Ferdinand extorted his abdication and a transfer of the crown to the youthful vigour of his nephew Francis Joseph. The selection seemed a happy one; the device proved successful for a time. Italy was reconquered; Hungary was won back by the sword of Russia. The new liberty was carefully uprooted from the soil of Austria; the old despotism was sedulously replanted. All the pre-eminently Austrian qualities, the superstition, the persecuting spirit, the fanatical stubbornness, the deadly hatred of light and liberty and the ruthless unscrupulousness met and mingled in this fated prince. In him during the first ten years of his reign the House of Hapsburg filled up the measure of its iniquities and attained perfection as a political oppressor and a Romish thrall. The perfidious destruction of Hungarian freedom was followed by the persecution of Hungarian Protestantism; the aggravation of the yoke of Austria in Italy was contemporaneous with her abasement through the Concordat concluded with Rome in 1855. The Austrian Concordat amazed the world, even though proceeding from a Hapsburg. This portentous document struck down every barrier which Joseph II. so elaborately set up against the encroachments of the Roman See; it conceded to the papacy powers and privileges which Philip II. would have refused, which Ferdinand II. would have withheld. It reduced the State into a tool of the Church; it enslaved society to the priesthood. It made over education and civil life to the clergy, made over the inferior clergy to the bishops and made over the bishops to the pope. The slavish and tyrannical superstition of his house reached its topmost height in Francis Joseph and wrought its master-work in the Concordat.

The reappearance of the French Empire and the concession of the Austrian Concordat stand out as the most amazing and startling European events of this generation. But the wonder inspired by each event is of a very different sort. The wonder

inspired by the former, however largely mingled with indignation and fear, includes admiration for deep insight and eminent capacity. The wonder inspired by the latter is merely angry and contemptuous amazement at stupid and besotted tyranny. French Imperialism, whatever may be its vices, has affinities with the age, has depth and breadth; while Austrian Popery is a pure anachronism and fatuity. The restorer of the French Empire had insight and foresight, knew the age well and knew well what he was about. The conceiver of the Concordat was wholly in the dark about the age and utterly blinded by superstitious terror. In purchasing at so dear a price the support of the priesthood for the maintenance of Austrian despotism, for the oppression of Italy and Hungary, he was not aware of the rottenness of the power whose livery he assumed. He did not perceive that he was leaning against a crumbling and falling tower. He had not eyes to see the gulf yawning for the pope-dom in that very Italian discontent and aspiration to stifle which he grovelled before Rome. Many a glad spectator beheld in this fast embrace of Rome and Austria the conjunction of two corrupt and decaying bodies sure to die the sooner by each imparting to the other its own evil and rottenness. So far the expectation has not failed. Chastisement has already fallen upon both the parties to the Concordat. In 1859 imperial France in conjunction with aspiring Italy struck down Austria. But the blow did not stop there; it smote right through Austrian despotism on to Romish tyranny; the pope-dom reeled beneath the stroke that stunned its imperial satellite.

Shrinking from the ruin imminent through his despotic courses, Francis Joseph has sought salvation in constitutionalism. Austria now affects to walk in the ways of political Liberalism. But this affectation of Liberalism has not changed her relations with Rome. The Cæsar still holds by the Concordat, and still cleaves to the papacy. In the long and terrible papal drama now sweeping on towards a meet catastrophe, the chief actors so wonderfully self-consistent throughout continue true to themselves to the very end. The House of Austria, chief satellite and servant of the Roman See since the Reformation, chief worker of its will, chief ministrant of its wrath, chief smiter of its foes, remains chief servant to the last. In these later scenes of the awful drama Cæsar and Pontiff have appeared more closely bound together than of old, fellows in woe not less than partners in sin, caught in the same net, smitten with the same

stroke, and hastening towards a common doom ; while Memory sweeping through the Past and gathering together all their dark and ruthless deeds, their ten thousand sins against light and liberty, pours an august and righteous vindictiveness into the joy wherewith the lovers of truth and freedom behold the evil plight, and look forward to the impending doom of the guilty twain. The tottering Empire leans upon the tottering Popedom ; the helpless Cæsar clings to the helpless Pontiff. They have been faithful and united in their lives ; in their death may they be not divided !<sup>3</sup>

There is another power, not a direct actor in the papal drama, yet curiously connected with the unfolding of that drama ; a power at no time a satellite of the Roman See, in more or less decided hostility to it always, apparently moving in an entirely different sphere, yet strangely and strikingly keeping company with it throughout ; influential over it and influenced by it, associated with it by a mysterious sympathy of fate in spite of a glaring and declared antipathy, curiously participating its fortunes, uplifted during its exaltation, decaying during its decline and at this very time marvellously linked with it by a community of peril. This power is Mohammedanism, mainly and most prominently represented during the last four centuries by the Ottoman empire. Islam and Popery are both corruptions of Christianity. Born about the same time, they grew up side by side, flourished together, have been long waning together and seem not unlikely to fall nearly together.

The imperial traitor and murderer Phocas advanced the Roman bishopric into the popedom, while Mohammed was entertaining angels and composing the Koran in the cave of Hera. While his followers were overrunning the world, the popes were struggling into greatness, rebelling against Greek emperors and striving with Lombard kings ; and the early triumphs of the Arabs helped on and hastened the supremacy of the papacy, by making sorely beset and imperilled Christendom in more urgent need of a central authority. Charles the Great received ambassadors from the great Khalif Haroun al Raschid, about the same time when he received the imperial crown from pope Leo III. While Islam in the eleventh century broke forth into new life through the championship of

<sup>3</sup> This was written in 1860.

its new and enthusiastic converts, the Seljuk Turks, the Roman See under Gregory VII. and his immediate successors made mighty strides towards absolute dominion. The Crusades ministered at once to the power of the Roman pontificate and to that of the Mohammedan faith, inasmuch as they made a matter under special papal control the chief business of Europe and aroused the fanaticism of the Moslem in defence of their threatened religion. The foremost champion of the Crescent, sultan Saladin, died in 1195, just three years before the greatest of the pontiffs, Innocent III., began to reign. The mighty popes of the thirteenth century who triumphed over the German empire and extirpated the imperial house of Hohenstaufen, were contemporaries of the mighty Mameluke sultans who vanquished St. Louis and drove the Christians out of the Holy Land. The Moors were finally overcome in Spain in 1492, just twenty-five years before Luther uplifted his voice against the Roman Church. The Ottoman Turks, who reached the topmost height of power and glory under Solyman the Magnificent at the opening of the Reformation, began to decline immediately afterwards, and have gone on ever since waning in company with the waning popedom.

Not only have Islam and the papacy declined together, but the method and manifestation of their declension have been curiously alike. Their weakness and rottenness have appeared not so much in the diminution of Mohammedans and Roman Catholics as in the degradation and prostration of Mohammedan and Roman Catholic nations. As Romanism has not for the last 250 years yielded to the converting power of Protestantism, but has testified its inferiority by disabling the peoples and empires beneath its yoke, so Islam has been stricken, not by the aggressive energy of Christianity but by its own cleaving weakness and evil. It has smitten into impotence the states and nations subject to its sway. The Mogul empire has vanished from Hindostan; Persia is rapidly sinking; the Ottoman empire has been long and visibly decaying. The decay both of Rome and Turkey has been as protracted as it has been obvious; their sickly life has been strangely prolonged. Just as the stricken papacy has disappointed the expectations of ardent Protestants by living on when they imagined it at the point of death, so the diseased vitality of the Ottoman empire has falsified the predictions not only of prophetic students, but of sceptical historians and sagacious



statesmen.<sup>4</sup> An outbreak of Mohammedan fanaticism has apparently revived Turkey, just as an outbreak of Romish fanaticism has seemingly reinvigorated the popedom. But in neither case has the decline been permanently arrested. Vainly have statesmen multiplied devices, vainly has half Europe taken up arms, to uphold the tottering frame of the Ottoman empire; the Crimean war has only hastened the downfall which it was meant to avert. The sultan is beset by perplexities and perils not less formidable than those that environ the pontiff. The uprising of Italy was contemporaneous with a stir in Turkey; the Roman question is coincident with the Rouman question. The sultan's Christian subjects have wrongs to complain of, though not so many or so grievous as those endured by the subjects of the pontiff, and detest the rule of their Moslem masters though not so bitterly as the Romans abhor the yoke of their own priests. There is great fear at Constantinople as at Rome.

Weakened by the war made in its defence, shaken by the treaty meant to assure its existence, embarrassed by financial difficulties, and threatened by internal commotions, troubled by the new constitution of the Danubian principalities and alarmed by the recent outbreak of Slavonic nationality in Servia, afraid of its old Muscovite foe and perplexed by its old French ally, the Ottoman empire staggers and totters on, looking for counsel and protection mainly to another ancient confederate, England, and another ancient adversary, Austria. This last circumstance of friendliness on the part of Austria marvellously heightens the strange likeness between the present plight of the Ottoman empire and that of the Roman See. Alike in having discontented subjects, they are alike in having the same patron and supporter. Since the end of the Crimean war she has held the same predominance at Constantinople as she had long held at Rome. Slavonic nationality chafes against Turkey and Austria just as Italian nationality has uprisen against Rome and Austria. Both the pontiff and the Sultan have been of

<sup>4</sup> Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. 55. Frederick the Great writes to Voltaire: 'S'ils (les Turcs) n'ont pas cette fois été expulsés de l'Europe, il faut l'attribuer aux conjunctures. Cependant ils ne tiennent plus qu'à un filet; et la première guerre qu'ils entreprendront achevera probablement leur ruine entière' (*Œuvres de Voltaire*, tom. iv. ep. 28). This was written in 1773; ninety years have passed away; the Turks have had four wars with Russia, one war with Russia and Austria together, one with France, conflicts with Greece and with Egypt, and have had England, France and Russia against them at Navarino, and are still in Europe.

late leaning upon the bosom of the Cæsar. What a marvellous conjuncture! what a mysterious connection! Islam and the papacy, all along such open and active enemies, yet all along so strangely alike and so mysteriously allied, allied as corruptions of divine truth, contemporaneous throughout, the same their time of birth, the same their period of growth, the same their age of glory, the same their season of decay, now find themselves at the end of twelve centuries and a half partners in peril and fellows in misfortune; both blindly clasp the same broken reed; both vainly shrink from the same formidable helper. The Commander of the Faithful and the Holy Father fix the same wishful and despairing gaze upon the shortened arm and shattered sword of Austria, while they lift the same look of doubt and terror towards the outstretched hand and unrevealing face of France.

## BOOK XIII.

## ENGLAND AND THE POPEDOM.

## PART I.

## THE ENGLISH STATE AND THE ROMAN CHURCH.

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Sway of Rome hast thou forsworn ;  
 Thou her banner down hast borne ;  
 Thou her curse hast glorious worn ;  
     Wear the glory still !

By thy most heroic pains,  
 By thy most illustrious gains,  
 By thy most majestic strains,  
     Ne'er let go the truth !

By thy years most full, most bright,  
 By thy mightiest men of might,  
 By thy sovereign souls of light,  
     Ne'er let go the truth !  
     *England's Treasure, The Anniversaries.*

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It would hardly become an Englishman engaged in setting forth the Past and the Present of the papacy, to leave unnoticed its relations with his own country. The dispositions and dealings of England towards the Roman Church have not exhibited the same steadfastness and self-consistency so signal and significant in those of France and Austria. The Reformation won its chief triumph here and uplifted England from a considerable member of Roman Catholic Christendom into the chief power of Protestant Christendom. Yet through her whole course there has not been wanting a certain harmony of feeling and a certain unity of action with regard to the Papacy. All along she has been in a measure anti-papal; during her connection with the Roman Church, she showed herself the resentful victim, the impatient tributary and the resolute combatant of the Roman See. While acknowledging the authority of the chief of Christendom, she abhorred the arrogance, resisted the exactions and restrained the usurpations of the foreign potentate.

English rulers sometimes crouched before Rome ; an English king degraded his crown beneath the triple crown. But the English nation never partook the degradation, ever disdained the Roman livery ; and English parliaments embodied the anti-papal jealousy of the English people in trenchant and restraining statutes. Since the Reformation which uplifted this national jealousy into spiritual antipathy and revealed in this usurping political power the supreme corruption of God's truth, abhorrence of the Roman Church has remained the darling and undying passion of the English heart, the main guardian of English liberty and the chief nurse of English glory. Since the Reformation English kings have gone over to Rome and English governments have dallied with Rome ; but England has never swerved from her fixed hate. The Popish Plot convulsed her ; the Papal Aggression upstirred her ; the cry of 'No Popery' has ever found an echo in her heart.

Saxon England from the Conversion to the Conquest, lived in no special dependence upon Rome, and till the eve of the Norman invasion had no memorable quarrel with Rome. The connection was friendly but not servile ; English kings went on pilgrimage to Rome, but did not sink into papal thralls ; the best and greatest of all the Heptarchical monarchs, Oswald of Northumberland, was the convert not of missionaries from Rome, but of evangelists from Iona. The son of Egbert and the father of Alfred, Ethelwulf of Wessex, the most intensely papal of all the Anglo-Saxon kings, granted Peter's pence not however as an acknowledgment of subjection but as an expression of pious liberality. The great Alfred and his congenial successors, Edward, Athelstan and Edgar, though on friendly terms with the Roman See, upheld the English church in much independence. In the seventh century Egfrid king of Northumberland fell out with bishop Wilfred of York, and in the tenth century king Edwy vainly struggled against priest Dunstan ; but these disputes arose between the English State and the English Church, not between the English nation and the Roman See ; they concerned matters interesting and important to the head of that body whereof the English Church was a member, but not matters of papal pretension and prerogative. In truth the comparative independence of Saxon England drew down the wrath of Rome and made Hildebrand, the director though not yet the occupant of the Roman See, a willing fellow-worker with William the Bastard. The Norman invasion was a papal

invasion; the Norman conquest was a papal victory; a papal bull made over the kingdom of England to an unscrupulous invader; the alien host marched beneath the papal blessing and the papal banner, while the papal curse was hurled against the defenders of the Fatherland. A Protestant pilgrim to the field of Hastings may dwell with mournful pride and almost filial tenderness upon the unyielding valour of the anti-papal English and the heroic fall of the excommunicated Harold, and then triumphantly turn from that victory of wrong and superstition to the long-abiding glory of free and Protestant England.

Behold of free-born Englishmen this England still the home!  
 Where is the Norman tyrant? where the robber-priest of Rome?  
 Behold the smiter smitten sore, the spoiler made a prey!  
 Behold the papal banner torn, the relics cast away!

The papacy shared the spoils of vanquished England with its Norman confederate and fixed upon the English Church a yoke scarcely less heavy than the yoke which William fastened upon the English nation. Its somewhat fluctuating and not very vigorously exercised power over that Church was transformed into direct and absolute dominion. The clergy were intensely national in Saxon England, administered and underwent justice in the civil courts, and took a large share in the business of life, without affecting the state of barons or the fierceness of warriors. The Conquest impaired their national character, augmented their worldly greatness, magnified their sacerdotal power and aggravated their dependence upon the popedom. Ecclesiastical courts, appeals to Rome and pecuniary exactions were multiplied. But though the Norman conquest highly exalted the papal power in England, the Norman kings were in no wise mere papal thralls. William was not the man to make extravagant and personally debasing concessions even to Gregory VII., and refused the homage which Hildebrand required him to render for the kingdom which Hildebrand had helped him to win.<sup>1</sup> Monkish chroniclers have reckoned intolerance of clerical and papal encroachment among the vices of William Rufus. Henry Beauclerc took an anti-papal part in the great fight between Church and State which then convulsed Christendom and fell out with more than one pope about the rightful share of prince and pontiff in bishop-making. Henry II. mingled conspicuously in the same mighty fray, devoted his great power and consummate capacity to the vin-

<sup>1</sup> Baronius, an. 1079, n. 16, 17, 18.

dication of the State, encountered clerical and pontifical usurpations with the Constitutions of Clarendon and wrestled with the papacy in the person of the great sacerdotal champion, Becket. Over the hallowed corpse of their slaughtered champion, the popes strode on to ampler sway; but it was as a national saint rather than as a papal martyr, it was as the victim of their Norman masters rather than as the servant of the Roman See that St. Thomas of Canterbury became so dear to the English people. That English nation soon and far more effectually replaced the Norman monarchs in the fight against the encroaching popedom. The basest of English kings set himself against the mightiest of Roman pontiffs. John resisted Innocent III. and refused Stephen Langton whom the pope had made Archbishop of Canterbury. But the noble cause was happily soon withdrawn from such ignoble championship. From fierce defiance of the papacy John passed to base submission thereto; threatened by a French invasion and abhorred by his oppressed subjects, the excommunicated king surrendered his crown to legate Pandulph, received it back as a liegeman of Innocent III. and declared England a tributary realm of the Roman See. This supreme baseness so far from being in any sense the act of the nation was perpetrated in order to secure the help of Rome in crushing the liberty of England. That help was given but was given in vain. The miserable tyrant had sunk into a Romish thrall when the nation rose against him. It was beneath the curse of Rome that the barons took up arms, and that English freedom grew and throve; it was in direct defiance of Rome that Magna Charta was wrung from the papal bondman, and papal absolution emboldened more than one English king to revoke or violate the Great Charter.<sup>2</sup>

The long reign of Henry III. was an unbroken struggle on the part of the growing English nation against royal and papal extortion and usurpation. The king was always needy and always grasping; the popes outdid him in rapacity; and griping pontiff went hand in hand with griping monarch. That palmy hour of the popedom brought out all its inherent worldliness; while the baseness of John and the weakness of Henry III. made England the chief sufferer therefrom. Rapacious pontiffs let loose unscrupulous legates upon the English clergy and people, but not upon a patient and yielding nation.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Matthew Paris, p. 316 et seq.; p. 355 et seq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* passim.

The Italian bloodsuckers were as heartily abhorred as were Henry's Provençal favourites; the exactions of the pope were included in the resistance encountered by the exactions of the king. The papal extortioner stood fast by his royal pupil; and Rome put forth her strength in vain to stifle in its cradle that English freedom which grew up amidst the stir and strife of this tumultuous but fruitful reign, and the growth whereof stands forth as the chief and most abiding glory of the thirteenth century. The English barons, bishops and burghers in their struggle for freedom, found among their most strenuous enemies Roman pontiffs and Italian legates. The Statutes of Oxford sworn to by Henry (1259) against the will of the pope were renounced by Henry under the absolution of the pope. Simon de Montfort and his fellow-workers laboured beneath the papal curse; and the first English House of Commons came together just six hundred years ago (1265) in direct defiance of Rome.

True to its anti-papal origin the Parliament of England soon began and steadfastly carried on a vigorous warfare against papal extortions and encroachments. In 1279 it checked clerical and indirectly pontifical acquisitions by the Statute of Mortmain. In 1306 it restrained the exactions of foreign monks and the manifold enormities of papal agents.<sup>4</sup> In 1350 by the Statute of Provisors it loosened the gripe which the pope presumed to lay upon livings not yet vacant, and imposed penalties on those who sought from Rome presentation to such benefices. In 1353 it outlawed those who carried causes by appeal to the Roman court; and in 1393 it hurled the Statute of Præmunire against all direct papal intervention in England, smiting with sharp penalties all bringers-in of bulls, processes and ex-communications.<sup>5</sup> The anti-papal spirit waxed very strong during the fourteenth century. The genius of Saxon England, overpowered awhile by the Conquest and the terrible oppression which followed, rose again ere long, strove more and more pre-vaillingly with the Norman influence, and at last got the mastery over it in the reign of the third Edward. The Norman aristocracy and the Anglo-Saxon commonalty became blended then into the English nation. In that reign the English language triumphed over the Norman French. In that reign English freedom won a legal and recognised life; the House of Commons became a separate assembly and a distinct power in

<sup>4</sup> 7 Edward I. st. 2; 35 Edward I. st. 1.

<sup>5</sup> 25 Edward III. st. 5; 27 Edward III. st. 1; 16 Richard II. c. 5.

the state. The vigour of the new nation broke forth on famous battle-fields, in noble poems, and in beneficent laws. That same England which overcame France, which produced Chaucer, and which restrained its own mighty monarch, not less vehemently and steadfastly upheld its own against the papacy. This most glorious period of medieval England was by far its most anti-papal period. The conqueror of France was no bondman of the papacy. Edward more than once vigorously remonstrated with the pontifical extortioners who so shamefully misspent the wealth of Christendom at Avignon. But his parliaments spoke still more sternly. Not content with trenchant statutes, they fiercely denounced the papacy, referred all public evils to its rapacity, required the removal of churchmen from all offices of state, and threatened to uproot the papal power out of England.<sup>6</sup>

But the onset against the popedom did not stop here. This age of military, of intellectual and of political glory was for England an age of spiritual glory also. Her great princes, her valiant warriors, her illustrious poet, her wise and patriotic legislators were attended by a mighty reformer. To her was granted in Wycliffe the fullest and mightiest setter forth of divine truth, the most thorough and potent assailant of Romish falsehood and papal corruptions that Heaven upraised during the dark ages. The time of conflict with papal encroachments upon the state witnessed the great assault of Wycliffe upon the whole system, doctrines and discipline of the Roman Church. While the kingdom of England was being guarded against the usurpations of Rome, the mind and soul of England were being stirred up against the corruptions of Rome. The translator of the Bible was the contemporary of those enactors of anti-papal statutes, some of whom might be reckoned among his disciples. He had powerful friends who protected his person and ensured his peaceful end; he had zealous followers who carried on his work and still more vehemently urged the onset against Rome. They were numerous and devoted; they were found in every rank of life; they assailed the Roman Church in sermons, in poems, in petitions to Parliament; they made a great stir in England; they spread their convictions abroad.<sup>7</sup> At the end

<sup>6</sup> See his letter to Clement VI. in Walsingham (*Historia Anglicana*, p. 255, ed. 1864), who calls it 'illam famosam epistolam pro libertate Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ con-tuenda.' Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, lib. vi.

<sup>7</sup> Walsingham, lib. i. pp. 324-5, 345-364; lib. ii. pp. 50-61, 119-20.



of the fourteenth century it seemed not very unlikely that England would lead the nations in a victorious uprising against the papacy, that the morning beam of Reformation beneath which England was beginning to glow would grow into a strong and steadfast splendour, overspreading Christendom and obscuring Rome. But the fullness of time was not yet. The land of Wycliffe, though destined to become the stronghold of Protestantism, was not to be its birthplace. Though reserved for supremacy among the nations who should cast off the papal yoke, she was not to lead the way in the sublime uprising. The first great Reformer was an Englishman; but the Reformation, as an aggressive and victorious power, was not to go forth from England. Hers was the glory of the morning star, not of the morning sun.

Wycliffe died in peace; his followers waxed strong and numerous; but they did not prevail, partly through the accession of the House of Lancaster (1399). Henry IV. strove to interest the church in the preservation of his ill-gotten and ever threatened crown, and to atone by his merits as a persecutor for his sins as a usurper. His bosom friend, the partner of his exile and of his triumphant return, Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, held the doctrines and followers of Wycliffe in exceeding abhorrence. The dethroner and murderer of Richard II. made over the Wycliffites or Lollards to the tender mercies of his clerical confederate, and got Parliament, so watchful against pontifical usurpations, and so jealous of clerical assumptions, to take part in the work of persecution. The Statute of Præmunire (1393), upon which Martin V. bestowed the papal malediction, was followed ere long (1402) by the Statute de Comburendo Hæretico, a statute not unworthy of the papal benediction.<sup>8</sup> Reformers were for the first time put to death in England. This persecution, begun by the policy of Henry IV., was continued by the policy of Henry V. The pretender to the French crown stood in as much need of clerical support as the usurper of the English crown. Wild prince Hal grew not only into a great king, a profound statesman and a mighty conqueror, but into a considerable persecutor. Under him the Lollards were heavily smitten and their leader, Sir John Oldcastle, was put to death. The superstition of Henry VI. was true to the policy of his father and grandfather;

<sup>8</sup> 2 Henry IV. c. 15.

and beneath the continual oppression of the House of Lancaster the Reformers dwindled down from a powerful and aggressive body into a little scattered, lurking flock.<sup>9</sup>

But though severe against the foes of the spiritual popedom, England even under these Lancastrian princes retained all her jealousy of the political popedom. The reign of Henry IV. was signalised by more than one anti-papal statute, as well as by a proposal of the House of Commons for the confiscation of church property. Henry V., though called the king of the priests, was in very truth their master and not their slave. Far from being a papal bondman, he heartily went with the Council of Constance in its unmaking of popes as well as in its burning of reformers, and stood by archbishop Chicheley, who defended the liberties of the English Church against the encroachments of pope Martin V. Vainly did that same Martin visit the Statute of Præmunire with annulment; vainly did he require its repeal. The English parliament clung to the accursed statute and the English government punished its violators. More than one papal agent was imprisoned during the reign of the superstitious Henry VI.<sup>10</sup>

At length came that great uprising of souls and nations against the Roman Church, wherein England, if not at once, yet in the end so fully and heartily took part. The bonds of Rome, so impatiently borne by English monarchs, were at last burst asunder by Henry VIII. The papal power, so assiduously restrained and curtailed, was at last utterly abolished by the parliament of England.<sup>11</sup> Henry VIII. too often showed himself a wilful and cruel despot; but he was a great man, a true Englishman and an eminent national benefactor. He committed many crimes, but he wrought a mighty and glorious work. Well did he earn the curse of Rome; well did he earn the thanks of England; and the national gratitude and admiration which followed him during his own and the succeeding century can never rightly be withdrawn from 'the majestic lord that broke the bonds of Rome.' The spiritual and political power of the Roman See fell under Henry VIII.; the doctrines of the Roman Church were renounced under Edward VI.; the mighty

<sup>9</sup> Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana*, vol. ii. pp. 291-300. The worthy monk closes his list of Henry's virtues with his signal merit as a persecutor: 'Inimicos fidei et ecclesiæ super omnia persequens et impugnans' (p. 344).

<sup>10</sup> 6 Henry IV. c. 1; 9 Henry IV. c. 8-10. Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, lib. vii. Fuller's *Church History*, lib. iv. Raynaldus, an. 1427, n. 15, 16.

<sup>11</sup> 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, 20, 21.

father was followed by a marvellous son; and the royal Protestant boy, so fervent in spirit, so wonderful for learning, genius and godliness, so richly gifted and so early gone, has ever found an abiding place in the grateful and tender memory of England. The nation, growingly though not as yet intensely Protestant, suffered Mary to bring back the Romish doctrines and reimpose the papal yoke. But this miserable woman was raised up to ruin the cause that she held so dear, to render the Roman Church horrible and the papal yoke intolerable to England. Her persecuting fury lent fullness and fervency to the anti-papal feeling of the nation. Her early removal was reckoned a national blessing and Elizabeth was heartily welcomed to the throne, as the undoer of all that her sister had done, as the breaker of a shameful and cruel yoke. The work of Henry VIII. and the work of Edward VI. were happily blended and finally established by Elizabeth; the papal supremacy went at once and for ever. Romish doctrines, again formally renounced by parliament, were ere long heartily rejected by the nation; and England, so long somewhat anti-papal, soon became fervently and supremely Protestant.<sup>12</sup> National jealousy of the popedom grew into a loftier, deeper and intenser feeling, was exalted into spiritual hate; with dislike of the foreign usurper and extortioner was blended abhorrence of the usurper of Christ's throne and the corrupter of Christ's religion. The fires of Smithfield, the massacre of St. Bartholomew and the other horrors of the Roman Catholic reaction on the Continent wrought this abhorrence into the inmost soul of the nation and made it the master-passion of the English heart. Popery became an intolerable and abominable thing, inclusive of all baseness and cruelty; while England clung to her Protestantism as to her chief glory and blessing, as to her highest duty and exceeding great reward, as to the main stay of her greatness and the main pillar of her freedom. As Protestantism has been more or less the leading principle of her national life and policy, so have her greatness and glory risen or sunk. The brief reign of Mary was as shameful as it was cruel; dishonour abroad accompanied persecution at home; the fires of Smithfield and the loss of Calais alone make memorable the times of Bloody Mary. Elizabeth came; Protestantism and prosperity returned; the curse of Rome brought

<sup>12</sup> 1 Elizabeth, c. 42.

all blessedness with it; all glory gathered around the excommunicated queen. Papal intrigues and Spanish assassination-plots kindled the love of her people to an intenser flame; the great triumphs of her reign, the vanquishing of the Invincible Armada, the rescue of the Protestant Netherlanders, and the reduction of Popish Ireland, were papal defeats. For England then, as for England ever, the chief glory of the mighty maiden, the supreme excellence of Good Queen Bess lay in her antagonism to Popery, in her championship of Protestantism.

The accession of James of Scotland to the English throne brought two Protestant peoples under the same sceptre and into very intimate relations, though not at once into national union. Scotland, during the most glorious period of her medieval history, her struggle for independence against the kings of England, had gone through a curiously mingled experience of papal protection and papal hostility and had proved the impotence of both, had fallen in spite of a pontifical patron, had risen again and prevailed in spite of a pontifical adversary. Hard pressed by Edward I., the Scots sought help from pope Boniface VIII., that proudest and most audacious of the pontiffs who looked upon the kingdoms of the world as provinces of the popedom and made haste to wield the distress of Scotland for the aggrandisement of Rome. Though Scotland had received Christianity from Ireland and Iona and not from Rome, and had long retained its ecclesiastical independence, he boldly maintained that the kingdom had always been not only in spiritual but in temporal subjection to the Roman See, claimed it in amusing defiance of history as a papal fief, and summoned the English invader to respect the dominions and spare the subjects of the popedom, and to lay his claims to the Scottish crown before the pontifical lord paramount (1301). Boniface had too much on his hands to prosecute this business; his engrossing quarrel with Philip the Fair kept him from falling out with Edward Longshanks; and in two years he was done to death by the deadly enmity of the French monarch. The papal throne was soon after filled by a creature of Philip and a subject of Edward, Clement V., who transferred the support of the papacy to the English invader and wielded its thunders against the Scottish chief. Robert Bruce achieved the deliverance of his country beneath the papal frown; Bannockburn was won in despite of Rome; an excommunicated hero rescued the realm and wore the crown; and papal recogni-

tion was withholden some time from the royalty of Bruce and the independence of Scotland.<sup>13</sup> The Roman Church, far from having redeemed this hostility by any subsequent services, showed herself especially evil in Scotland; her influence there was singularly debasing and her yoke singularly oppressive; the hierarchy was enormously corrupt. Scotland yielded herself heart and soul to the Reformation; nowhere was it more spontaneous, national and beneficent; it quickened and uplifted the nation, and raised the Scots from a savage and lawless race into an earnest, enduring, diligent, orderly, high-souled and heroic people. In establishing Protestantism the Scotch parliament did not anticipate the heart of the nation, but faithfully followed its bidding. The mighty man of the Scottish Reformation was not a subtle statesman, but a mighty soul. No English Reformer can be for a moment compared with Knox in earnestness and single-mindedness, in spiritual power and godliness. The accession of James Stewart to the English throne brought England into very intimate connection with a nation still more intensely Protestant than herself, and the union of two such nations beneath the same sceptre bade fair to minister to the strength and glory of their common Protestantism.

But the monarch who brought them together was utterly unworthy of them both and utterly unmeet to further the great work. James Stewart belonged to a race singularly stiff-necked and perverse, pre-eminently despotic, anti-national and Popish. Through zeal for the Roman Church his grandfather James V. had forced reluctant Scotland into a war with Henry VIII. and brought upon himself shameful discomfiture and a miserable end. The personal transgressions of his mother Mary were aggravated by her Popish proclivities; she lived the servant and died in some sort the martyr of the Roman Church. The Tudors, especially the last and greatest of them, so singularly intelligent of the times in which they lived, and so harmonious in their policy with the truest interests and noblest aspirations of the people over which they ruled, were followed by a race of kings who knew not the times in which they lived, nor the land over which they reigned, who hated the things which England loved best, and loved the things which England hated most—who loathed that long-

<sup>13</sup> Matthew of Westminster, pp. 418-37, ed. 1570. Hemingford's *Chronica*, p. 226, ed. 1731. Walsingham, vol. i. p. 155.

descended freedom to which England so clung, and who yearned towards that Roman Church which England so abhorred. Every Stewart had a Romish heart; every Stewart either directly or indirectly fought the battle of the papacy. James I. had all the evil characteristics of his house, somewhat kept in check by an elaborate Protestant education and rendered comparatively unaggressive and harmless to himself by his inherent cowardice and baseness of spirit. He was a somewhat copious anti-papal controversialist, and only just missed the honour of being a sort of Protestant martyr; yet he was a lukewarm, half-hearted and unworthy Protestant. The Gunpowder Plot which so heightened and deepened the national abhorrence of Popery, served but to inflame his vanity as the discoverer, and his fear as one of the intended victims of that atrocious device. He disliked the papacy mainly for its encroachments upon the regal power; it was his zeal for the right divine of kings that directed his pen against the popedom.<sup>14</sup> His policy did not take the same direction. He made haste to conciliate Roman Catholic Spain and to forsake the Protestant Netherlanders. If not privy to the alleged poisoning of prince Henry, the Protestant and English-hearted son with whom Heaven had afflicted him, he had a marvellous capacity for every baseness, and a singular aptitude for loving what his people hated and hating what they loved. The immolation of Raleigh to the vengeance of the Spanish Court may rank perhaps as the basest and most anti-national enormity ever perpetrated by an English king. In his eagerness to get a Spanish and Popish wife for his son Charles, he shamefully betrayed the interests of his daughter's Protestant husband Frederick elector Palatine; and he as clumsily dissembled his leaning towards Rome as he awkwardly managed his fawning upon Spain. Under him and under every male Stewart Protestant Great Britain lacked the might and majesty abroad which uplifted Protestant England under Elizabeth.

Charles I. not only provoked resistance as a false and tyrannical king, but provoked suspicion as a faint and laggard Pro-

<sup>14</sup> *Works of King James I.*, ed. 1616. *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*, pp. 247-286. *A Premonition to all Christian Monarchies*, pp. 257-338. His Protestantism, such as it was, had more liveliness in the earlier part of his life (*Paraphrase on the Revelation*, pp. 1-72). In the *Βασίλειον Δῶρον* (p. 172), though lamenting the scarcity of eligible Protestant princesses, he warned his son Henry against a Roman Catholic spouse, a curse which he took such base pains to inflict on his son Charles and which he at last secured for him. His growing tenderness for Popery kept pace with his growing detestation of Puritanism (B. Δ. preface, pp. 142-4, and *Premonition*, p. 305).

testant. Lively and potent as was English Protestantism in the time of Elizabeth, it had grown stronger and more fervent since, and was fast deepening into Puritanism. The nation truly cared and would fain have fought for Elizabeth of Bohemia and her unfortunate husband, to whose misfortunes her father was so indifferent and in whose cause her brother was so slack. England detested the Spanish match which James I. so basely sought and bitterly regretted the French match which Charles so unhappily concluded. The worst enemies of the latter next to himself were his Popish queen and his semi-popish primate. In Henrietta Maria the nation disliked a persuader of tyranny and an agent of Rome; in Laud it detested a traitor in the camp, a corrupter and undoer of the Reformed Church of England in the highest place thereof. As in the attempt of Charles to govern without parliaments and in the whole administration of the state the people detected a settled resolution to overthrow the ancient liberties of England, so in the whole administration of the Church they beheld a gradual return towards the cruelties and corruptions of Rome. The tyranny of Strafford was not more odious than the semi-popery of Laud. The main inspiration of the Puritans during the whole conflict with the king was fervent, intense Protestantism. The mightiest and most memorable of all Legislative Assemblies, that Long Parliament which came together November 3, 1640, was an intensely Protestant assembly. Abhorrence of Popery pervaded it, inspired many a debate, broke forth in many a resolution, and flamed in the very forefront of the Grand Remonstrance.<sup>15</sup> One of the great crimes of Romanism came to aggravate and embitter the struggle. The Irish massacre was a weapon in the hands of the Parliament and a sore perplexity for Charles, who while ever pretending to reject the proffered aid of its perpetrators, was in the end constrained to accept it. Roman Catholic Ireland at last drew the sword for the king, as the English Roman Catholics had done from the first; and the victory of the Parliament over the king was completed by the victory of Protestant England over Popish Ireland. The army which discomfited English cavaliers and Irish Papists, that most wonderful army ever gathered together, that prayerful, God-fearing, Bible-reading, temperate, continent and godly host, was a host of glowing enthusiastic Protestants. Its mighty leader, the hero of that solemn strife, was

<sup>15</sup> Rushworth's *Collections*, part iii. vol. i. p. 437 et seq.

the great hero of Protestantism; 'our chief of men' was our chief of Protestants. In Oliver Cromwell English Protestantism fulfilled itself, came forth in all its might and majesty and was manifested in its utmost intensity and steadfastness. His whole career from first to last was an unbroken and illustrious piece of Protestantism. He first manifested himself to his countrymen by uplifting his voice in the House of Commons against the preaching of 'flat Popery at St. Paul's Cross;' and his last recorded public utterance was a second effort in behalf of the persecuted Protestants of the Alps.<sup>16</sup> As he intervened in behalf of the Waldenses with the duke of Savoy, so he pleaded not in vain with the French government in behalf of the French Protestants; and he joined France in her war against Spain mainly on account of the pre-eminent Popery of the latter. As soon as he got to the head of affairs, he made haste to put an end to the conflict with Protestant Holland, and had a particular affection for Sweden because of its signal merits towards the cause which he held so dear. The main end of his foreign policy was to uphold the Reformation throughout the world and to make England the head of a great Protestant confederacy; and the tenderness of the tears which he wept over the sufferings of the Waldenses was in sublime harmony with the terribleness of the strokes wherewith he smote the perpetrators of the Irish Massacre.

Oliver died and Puritanism ceased to reign; but Protestantism was not dethroned. The English Church rose again at the Restoration, rid of all Popish tendencies, distinctly and sincerely Protestant, and abhorrence of popery never more vehemently possessed the English heart than during the reign of the half-infidel trifier, half-Popish plotter whom the Blessed Restoration seated on the English throne. Supremely bent upon enjoying himself and fully determined, as he told his brother, not to go on his travels again, Charles II. was next desirous to carry into execution a secret compact with Louis XIV., whereby he engaged to subvert the religion and liberty of his people, a compact which secured a French pension to the royal traitor, and of which a Stewart princess, his sister Henrietta, was the fitting negotiator.<sup>17</sup> Though ignorant of this infamous compact, the

<sup>16</sup> Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches of Cromwell*, introduction, c. 4; part x. letter 225, ed. 1857.

<sup>17</sup> This charming personage, wife of Philip duke of Orleans, the brother of Louis XIV. and the ancestor of Louis-Philippe, not only walked in the crooked ways, but shared the ill-fortune of the Stewart race. Her evil work at Dover where the treaty was



nation felt that its freedom and Protestantism were in peril. It was rightly alarmed; though its alarm was sometimes misdirected. The invented Popish Plot which so maddened and convulsed the nation helped, as Macaulay has remarked, to hide from the infuriated people a very real plot for the establishment of popery and arbitrary power, not a plot of obscure fanatics against the life of Charles, but a conspiracy of his own conducting against the spiritual and political life of his people. Charles was a secret traitor; his brother James who would succeed him was an avowed Papist, an open foe of the national faith and freedom. Misled by the pretended Popish Plot, Protestant England was wisely and worthily occupied with the Exclusion Bill. With admirable foresight and steadfastness did the House of Commons in three successive Parliaments labour to shut out from the throne a prince whose enmity to Protestantism was avowed and whose love of tyranny had been shown, to render impossible the very attempts against the liberty and religion of England which James afterwards made, and to prevent by a legal expression of the national will those evils which a foreign deliverer and a general uprising were required to remove. The Exclusion Bill was amply vindicated by the Revolution. Charles baffled the Exclusionists, sent the most eminent among them to the scaffold, and raised Lord William Russell and Algernon Sidney to a high rank in that noble army of martyrs who have fallen for the faith and freedom of Protestant England.

The secret Popish plotter died in communion with Rome, and was replaced on the English throne by the open conspirator against the liberty and religion of the nation. James II. combined all the weaknesses and vices of his race, accumulated its woes and fulfilled its doom. He mingled all tyranny with all baseness, passed from cruel oppression of the Nonconformists to grievous oppression of the English Church, estranged every friend, converted zealous adherents into determined adversaries, united the whole strength of English Protestantism against him and exalted a foreign prince into a national deliverer. The landing of William of Orange was the signal for a general uprising; and another and a greater deliverance hallowed anew

concluded in 1669, was straightway followed by her hapless end. Her death was imputed to poison and charged upon her husband. She negotiated a most infamous compact, died a most painful death and was graced by a most magnificent funeral sermon, Bossuet's masterpiece (*Oraison sur Henriette-Anne d'Angleterre*).

November the Fifth. The Revolution which dethroned a Romish king and cast forth a Romish dynasty, the statute which declared a Papist incapable of becoming an English monarch and consecrated the English throne to Protestant occupation, and the Act of Settlement which transferred the crown to the House of Hanover and bestowed the royalty of Britain upon the descendants of that Elector Palatine who had lost his dominions in the cause of the Reformation, set forth most impressively and abidingly the national aversion from Rome, bestowed a fitting crown and consummation upon the anti-papal endeavours of England and advanced English Protestantism to fullness of triumph and fullness of manifestation.<sup>18</sup> The Revolution of 1688, though it brought in its train foreign war and increased taxation, has yet been ever rightly called by Englishmen blessed and glorious, as a bloodless revolution, as so far a final revolution, as a revolution in behalf of ancient freedom, but above all as an anti-papal revolution, as a signal discomfiture of Rome, as an illustrious triumph of Protestantism. Alone among foreign princes who have attained supreme power in another country, William of Orange holds the highest rank among its deliverers and benefactors; his inestimable services to English freedom and Protestantism have, notwithstanding his foreign birth and foreign attachments, made his memory glorious and immortal here. In the race which produced the deliverer of Protestant Holland Heaven raised up a deliverer for Protestant England; and the glory of the especially Protestant House of Orange is for ever interwoven with the glory of Protestant Britain.

Throughout the eighteenth century the outcast Stewarts bore a world-wide witness to the intense hatred of England towards the Roman Church and the papal power. Pity and contempt attended the mock-royalty and mimic court which they carried about Europe; their wanderings appropriately terminated at the city of the popes; there they fittingly died out, and their sepulchre in the neighbourhood of Rome remains a striking monument of the victory of English Protestantism. The jealous and self-complacent islanders preferred a race of foreign Protestants to a line of native Papists. Britain rejoiced in the Protestant Succession without caring much about the princes whom it brought in; and the House of Hanover sate upon the throne of the Stewarts not so much at first by reason of

<sup>18</sup> 1 William and Mary, c. 2; 12 and 13 William III. c. 2.

the national affection, as the witness of the national Protestantism.<sup>19</sup>

English Protestantism during the eighteenth century, if not so mighty and magnificent, so richly gifted and eagle-eyed as in the time of Elizabeth, if not so intense, sublime and heroic as in the time of Oliver, was still a great and beneficent power, and uplifted Britain to no ordinary greatness and glory. Up to the death of George II. the government boasted of its allegiance to freedom and Protestantism; the nation if unenamoured of a particular king and disliking a particular minister, if indifferent to George II. and wroth with Sir Robert Walpole, duly prized the Protestant Succession and proudly cherished the Protestant Constitution; while the best, the wisest and the greatest Englishmen both within and without the National Church rejoiced in the Revolution and earnestly upheld as well as heartily enjoyed the national Protestantism. In her most heroic moods England drew no small inspiration from her Protestantism. It made her a more mighty and rejoicing helper of Protestant Prussia when sore beset during the Seven Years' War by a mainly Roman Catholic confederacy, and contributed somewhat to the force of those tremendous strokes wherewith she struck down France and Spain during that glorious conflict.

Her leader and inspirer during that conflict, the mightiest Englishman of the eighteenth century, the elder and the greater Pitt, was a true and lively Protestant. The highest repre-

<sup>19</sup> The oft-enumerated misfortunes of that most unfortunate of all families, the Stewart family, were scarcely more remarkable and continuous than was their misconduct. We must pity the gentle feebleness, the domestic sorrows and the broken heart of Robert III.; we must admire the genius and lament the murder of James I. (of Scotland), and must wonder at the curious infelicity of James II., killed at the siege of Roxburgh by a splinter from his own cannon. But the mean and miserable weakness of James III. brought about the rebellion in which he perished. James IV. rushed upon defeat and death at Flodden against the advice of his nobles and the remonstrances of Henry VIII. James V. earned shameful discomfiture, a broken heart and early death by perversely braving England in behalf of Rome. The many sorrows of Mary Stewart flowed directly from her many sins. The cowardice of James I. (of England) preserved him from the aggressive perversity and consequent calamities of his race. The persistent efforts of Charles I. to subvert the laws and liberties of Britain merited the loss of his crown, if not of his head. The early troubles of Charles II. were not more remarkable than his utter worthlessness. The dull baseness and stupid tyranny of James II. were fittingly rewarded by a forfeited crown, a foreign pension and a foreign grave. Those two outcasts, the old Pretender James and the young Pretender Charles Edward, inherited the perverseness as well as the misfortunes of their house. Henry Cardinal York, the last of the Stewarts, suffered from the French Revolution and died a pensioner of the House of Brunswick.

sentative of the nation, he fully felt its political and spiritual aversion from Rome. Like all the best and truest Protestants, he combined attachment to established Protestantism with tenderness for Protestant Nonconformity. Indifferent to Episcopacy, careless about Presbyterianism or Independency, he clung to the common Protestantism. He ever held fast to what he fondly and proudly called 'Revolution principles.' He smote the House of Bourbon with all his heart and all his might as a papistical and persecuting house, beheld in the monarchs of France and Spain the descendants of the pre-eminent persecutor Louis XIV., and looked upon the Seven Years' War as a continuance of the conflict with their ancestor, as a continuance of the work of William III. and Marlborough. His historical sympathies and literary tastes were those of a lively Protestant as well as a good patriot and a gifted soul. He went with the Parliament in its warfare with Charles I. and liked the parliamentary historian May better than the royalist historian Clarendon. He admired Fra Paolo Sarpi and recommended his anti-papal books. His lively enjoyment of the *Faery Queen* may have been heightened by the deep, full and glowing Protestantism of Spenser; and he had a whole and hearty delight in Milton, inspired at once by the supreme poet and the supreme champion of freedom and Protestantism. The mightiest Englishman of the eighteenth century was as he was bound to be no laggard or lukewarm Protestant.<sup>20</sup>

Towards the close of the last century that party which established the Protestant Succession and held down the Roman Catholics in the name of religious truth and political liberty, began to demand their emancipation in the name of religious liberty. George III. hated both Whigs and Papists. Whigs and Tories changed places; the former became the champions of those very Romanists whose hereditary enemies they had been; while the latter kept the yoke upon the necks of those with whom they had been for generations politically allied. The advocates of emancipation included the chief statesmen

<sup>20</sup> *Correspondence of the Earl of Chatham*. In a letter to Warburton (vol. ii. p. 186) he makes light of the differences between the Church and Nonconformists and speaks of the errors of Rome as 'rank idolatry, a subversion of all civil as well as religious liberty and the utter disgrace of reason and of human nature.' See also his speech in favour of the Dissenters (vol. iv. pp. 319, 320). His letters to his nephew Thomas Pitt at college (vol. i. p. 57 et seq.) bear witness to his deep religious feelings and declare his historical sympathies and literary tastes. In a letter to his wife he speaks of 'our Milton who says all things divinely.'

and orators of the time ; but they found themselves no match for the anti-papal feeling of the country represented by a thoroughly Protestant king. George III. partook in all its fullness the national abhorrence of Rome and upheld his earnest convictions with the whole strength of his strong will. In the earlier half of his reign an exceedingly unpopular monarch, the supporter of arbitrary measures at home, the promoter and proloner of the American War, he enjoyed during the latter half the warm affection of his subjects mainly as the exponent of this their strongest feeling ; the Protestant king reigned of a truth in the hearts of his Protestant people. In the long fight over the Roman Catholic claims the monarch and the nation often got the better of the enlightened statesmen ; Pitt and Fox were successively worsted. That most powerful of British ministries, directed for seventeen years by the vigorous intellect, unbending spirit and potent eloquence of Pitt, broke up in 1801 before the anti-Roman Catholic convictions of George III. The Ministry of all the Talents drove against that same rock in 1807 and was dashed into pieces ; the cry of No Popery rang throughout the country ; the nation gave the king a parliament to his mind ; and Roman Catholic Emancipation was postponed for nearly a quarter of a century. Its advocates recommended the concession on the grounds of political expediency, religious liberty and the amended character of the Roman Church ; while the national instinct rejected it on the ground of the unchangeable character of the Roman Church, her unchangeable ambition, and her unchangeable intolerance. At last, in 1829, at the instance of its most conspicuous opponents, emancipation was wrung from reluctant Britain amidst predictions of Roman Catholic ingratitude and papal encroachments which have been very exactly and abundantly fulfilled. The Emancipation Bill rightly and triumphantly defended on the grounds of religious liberty and political expediency, was most wrongly and ignorantly supported on the ground of the amended character of the papacy. As prophets its advocates have signally failed. The philosophers and statesmen were wrong ; the national instinct was right. The distinguished luminaries were wholly in the dark as to the character of the popedom. They believed in a mild and mitigated Romanism ; they believed that the unchangeable Church had changed ; they gave the Ethiopian credit for a white skin and the leopard credit for an unspotted hide. And these enlightened and accomplished men

made this extraordinary mistake from religious ignorance and indifference. They misread history and mistook Rome, because they were mere politicians, for want of spiritual discernment. The obscure and unenlightened Protestants who opposed them, possessed this spiritual discernment. They knew the Church of Rome aright, for they knew her spiritually. They needed no historic lore to behold in that Roman system which liberal statesmen and philosophers patronised as a curious relic of antiquity thoroughly cleaned and agreeably garnished, that very Popery which their fathers so rightly hated and so sternly held down, but which less favourable circumstances have rendered less formidable.

The unnatural alliance between Romanism and Liberalism was maintained to the no small shame and detriment of the latter. In 1835 the Lichfield House Compact was concluded; a Roman Catholic demagogue became the prop of a British ministry. The Whigs, those hereditary Protestants, those representatives of the Good Old Cause, those descendants of the men who voted the Exclusion Bill, who effected the Revolution, who established the Protestant Succession and twice conquered Ireland, stooped to hold office by the support and shape their policy at the bidding of a band of Irish Papists. Nothing helped so much as this connection to estrange the country from the Melbourne ministry; England looked upon the Whigs as the creatures of O'Connell, and branded this dependence at the election of 1841, when their discomfiture was the triumph of outraged Protestantism not less than of menaced Protection. In 1845 Sir Robert Peel aggrieved that Protestant feeling which had in no small measure borne him back to power by the enlarged and permanent endowment of Maynooth College, another inexpedient concession to political expediency, another vain attempt to conciliate the Roman Church, conceived in total ignorance of the character of that Church and made in direct defiance of that anti-papal instinct of Britain so much profounder than the insight of her deepest thinkers, so much more prophetic than the foresight of her greatest statesmen.

But British statesmanship was to attempt, happily without success, one more unwise defiance of British feeling, and pay a parting act of courtship to the papacy. England had not only renounced all dependence upon Rome, but had declined all intercourse with her; not only was her spiritual yoke thrown

off, but recognition was withholden from the papacy as a European power. For nearly 300 years no English envoy had resided at Rome except for a year or two during the reign of James II. Every other considerable non-Catholic state, Russia, Prussia, the Netherlands and the United States kept a representative there. Britain alone, in her great wisdom and to her great advantage, kept none. With that exact knowledge of the papacy to which her intense anti-papal feeling helped her, she saw that the only way to escape harm from Rome was to have nothing to do with Rome, to keep out of Concordats, and decline all dealings with Duessa. In 1846 Pius IX. mounted the papal throne; a liberal pope astonished the world and fascinated all men except those fortified and enlightened by a spiritual discernment of the Roman See. English Liberalism was charmed; a Liberal Ministry felt that it would be quite a misfortune and mistake not to become intimate with a Liberal pope and accordingly in 1848 brought in a bill for establishing diplomatic intercourse with the court of Rome. This bill would have become law but for the happy amendment of Lord Eglinton, which by declaring an ecclesiastical envoy inadmissible in England rendered the measure inadmissible at Rome. Thus England after three centuries of non-intercourse with the sovereign of the Roman States barely escaped the absurdity of making his acquaintance a few months before he ceased to be an independent sovereign and became the outcast of Italy and the dependent of France, and only eleven years before the establishment of that Italian kingdom which has swallowed up almost all the papal territories and threatens to blot the pontiff altogether out of the roll of European sovereigns. The gift of prophecy was not required to have kept English statesmen from this mistake; they needed only to have followed the sure guidance of the national anti-papal feeling, and to have been no wiser or more far-seeing than the bulk of their Protestant countrymen.

Two years afterwards occurred the liveliest outbreak of that feeling which this generation has witnessed. In 1850 Pius IX. bestowed upon this country a pontifical bull and a Romish hierarchy, dealt with it in medieval style and divided it into Romish sees. England to her astonishment and indignation found herself the object of a papal aggression. The surprise may have been somewhat out of place; the exceeding wrath may have done the papacy too much honour; the intervention

of Parliament and the action of the government may have been inadequate and ineffectual. But the Papal Aggression was a remarkable and welcome event; it manifested to the whole world the intensity and steadfastness of English Protestantism; it disappointed the calculations based on Tractarian efforts; it gave the lie to the prophets of Romish ascendancy. It showed that the old fire was unquenched, that the old hatred was fast-rooted still, that Rome was still for England what she had been for ages, an object, not of desire but of aversion, not a guest to be welcomed and made much of, but an invader to be defied and resisted.

This lively outbreak of English Protestantism has been succeeded by a somewhat dull and heedless mood. More than one unwise and superfluous concession, uncalled for by the largest conceptions of religious liberty, and inconsistent with the constitution, has been made to the Roman Church. Since the removal of its disabilities, that Church has partaken of the expansion exhibited by most things and most churches in England since 1830, and has appropriated without hindrance the many minds with a leaning towards formalism, superstition, sacerdotalism and implicit faith. The sacerdotal uprising of 1833 in the Church of England has without doubt much ministered to this expansion. Certain strong tendencies of contemporary thought, Humanitarianism and Ritualism, the disposition to subordinate religion as everything else to the tastes, likings and supposed interests of men, the impatience of definite doctrines, and the disposition to regard religion as an outward service rather than as an inward principle and power, have shared their favours in England at least between Rationalism and Romanism, while they have combined their relaxing power against doctrinal Protestantism; just as political changes have done something to relax and impair the Protestant Constitution of England as established and perfected by the Revolution of 1688. The throne of Great Britain happily still remains consecrated to Protestantism, though the Parliament has ceased to be an assembly of professed Protestants. An English patriot cannot look back without a noble pride and pleasure upon England under the unimpaired Protestant Constitution from 1688 to 1829. With all its restrictions, abuses and shortcomings, that time was a time of freedom, prosperity and progress; it far surpassed in every element of national worth, greatness and felicity, the cor-



responding period in every other European country. There were restrictions, but there was no oppression, no persecution. Like every other period of Protestant ascendancy, it was a time of national glory and greatness. Like Reformed England under Elizabeth, like Puritan England under Oliver, England under the unimpaired Protestant Constitution, largely manifested her might and majesty abroad; she attained to supremacy among the nations and to the dimensions of a mighty empire. Nor was Protestantism merely a power in the State and a partner in the Constitution; it went forth as a renewing power over the land; it dwelt mightily in the hearts of the people; it produced Methodism, quickened Nonconformity, reinvigorated the Church of England, multiplied the Word, set the slave free, and spread the Gospel over the world. The great spiritual revival of the last century was a mighty outbreak of inward, Protestant Christianity; its great public results, the Bible Society, the efforts to evangelise the world and the downfall of the slave trade and slavery, were pre-eminently Protestant works.

In our day, though the Protestant Constitution has been impaired, though the Roman Church has advanced, and though an ecclesiastical faction chafes against the Protestant character of the English Church, yet Great Britain may still boast the unutterable and inestimable blessedness of being a pre-eminently Protestant land. That law is still a living letter which declares popery incompatible with the chief place in the United Kingdom, and which ennobles the throne of Great Britain by connecting it with the profession of Protestantism. The royal family boasts the most illustrious Protestant origin and associations and reckons among its ancestors two martyrs of the Reformation, John Frederick elector of Saxony, despoiled by Charles V., and Frederick elector Palatine, despoiled by Ferdinand II. for devotion to the Protestant cause. The Church recognised by the State, both in England and in Scotland makes a clear anti-papal profession and holds a distinctly Protestant theology. The characteristic spiritual life of the country, the spiritual power which goes forth from the nation, is strongly and signally Protestant. The manifold energy, commercial, social, political and intellectual, put forth by the British people, reveals the predominance of its Protestant spirit. The strength and the glory of Great Britain are the strength bestowed and the glory kindled by Protestantism.

Though too often dull and sluggish, English Protestantism is still capable of very lively outbreaks, as the stir in 1850 showed; and its presence and power have been still more recently manifest in the fullness of delight wherewith Great Britain has hailed the uprising of Italy. If England was angry at a piece of pontifical impertinence, she has not had long to wait for revenge. In 1850 she was chafing beneath the Papal Aggression; since 1860 she has been enjoying the Papal Peril. Three centuries ago she chose the better part and is now reaping the full reward. Unendangered by the peril, unentangled in the embarrassments, undisturbed by the convulsions of the popedom, she can look on and rejoice. The action and utterance of the government in this Italian business have been true to the heart of the nation. The bearing of England in this papal peril is in noble keeping with the unbroken flow of her anti-papal feeling and the whole course of her anti-papal Past; while the hapless pontiff, turning in sorrow and despair from the troubled visage of Austria, and from the dark and doubtful countenance of France, can read no consolation in the calm and majestic gladness which illumines the face of Protestant England.

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## PART II.

### ENGLISH LITERATURE AND THE ROMAN CHURCH.

THE Protestant signature so indelibly impressed upon English history, is not less strongly stamped upon English literature. The utterance not less than the action of England has been persistently and magnificently anti-papal. The mighty masters of the English tongue have fully partaken of the national feeling and have found in the expression thereof a noble exercise for their gifts. The chief writers of England have been among her chief Protestants. Her learning, her wit, her philosophy, her genius, her eloquence, her poetry, her invention have been suffused all over with the glow of her Protestantism. Without reckoning its direct efforts and manifest monuments in theological treatises and controversial performances, this master-passion has attended as an inspiring presence the whole course of English Literature. It has wielded the popular song, it has appeared in the popular novel, it has sparkled in the light

comedy, it has laid hold on the stately tragedy, it has mingled with the political disquisition, it has pervaded the philosophical treatise, it has been admitted into the majestic history, it has insinuated itself into the gorgeous poetical allegory, it has spoken through the potent spiritual allegory, it has rung through the mighty hymn, it has found a place in the magnificent epic. The whole procession of English wits, poets, philosophers and historians, that procession unrivalled for length, for dignity and for splendour, has been an anti-papal, a Protestant procession. Of the only two great masters of English before the Reformation, Chaucer and Wycliffe, Rome found no friend in the former and a most formidable foe in the latter. Since the Reformation not a single great English writer has been a born Roman Catholic except Pope, and he in fact is merely a nominal exception; in him the Papist was altogether lost in the wit and the philosopher. Rome had no more portion in his genius and derived no more benefit from his writings than from those of the most decided Protestant.<sup>21</sup> One great master of English, Dryden, put forth his power in behalf of Rome; but he was a deserter to the papal camp. A born Protestant, he transferred to the service of Rome the power which he had acquired apart from her and first exercised against her.<sup>22</sup> The English language may be said to have shrunk from her service, to have shown impatience of the papal yoke and incapacity for papal work. It has fulfilled the destiny of a hostile power: it seems meant for a weapon of offence against Rome. The seasons of its growth and glory have been those of her danger and decline; its mighty masters have been her bitter foes; some of its chief monuments and master-pieces are the records of her sin and shame, the instruments and the trophies of her defeat.

Even before the English language came into being, ere the conflict between Anglo-Saxon and Norman French ended in its production, the anti-papal feeling of the country found vent in Latin. In the earlier part of the thirteenth century it fiercely

<sup>21</sup> I recollect no profession of Romanism throughout his works, except an allusion in Satire 2 to a very unpleasant and very unjust penalty of that profession:

' Fortune not much of humbling me can boast;  
Though double-taxed, how little have I lost!'

<sup>22</sup> Another poetical deserter to Rome, a Laudian churchman in the time of Charles I., Richard Crashaw, was helped by the patronage of Henrietta Maria to a canonry at Loretto where he died in 1650. His *Steps to the Temple* display a gorgeous fancy and large utterance.

broke forth in a series of lively Latin songs and savage Latin satires, as the following translated specimen bears witness:—

Rome is head of all the world, yet nought clean containeth;  
Everything that hangs thereon all uncleanness staineth.

When unto the pope you've come, hold it settled ever,  
Rich men only get his grace, poor men find it never.  
Gold is in the place of God, gold for gospel standeth;  
Fewer votaries altar wins than money-chest commandeth.  
Pontiff beggeth, beggeth brief, bull it also beggeth;  
Porter begs, begs cardinal, every lackey beggeth.  
All are beggars, and if one thrives not at your cost, sir,  
All your right is turned to wrong and your suit is lost, sir.<sup>23</sup>

But the national abhorrence of the papacy during the thirteenth century has won a far more famous, elaborate and majestic utterance. The greatest of all the medieval chroniclers who wrote in Latin, Matthew Paris, so pre-eminent over every one of them in diligence of research, in width and liberality of mind, in correctness, clearness and vigour of style, was an anti-papal Englishman. The monk of St. Albans manifests the heart of a patriot, the discernment of a statesman and many qualities of a great historian. His history is a noble work, and a deep, loud cry against the papacy. Papal extortions, papal corruptions, papal enormities of every kind filled his soul and throng his pages. In the hour of its supreme power and glory, an English monk set the popedom fully and faithfully forth and has bequeathed a dark and terrible delineation for the contemplation of posterity, and for the delectation of Protestant England.

Among the earliest lisplings of the half-formed English tongue were murmurs against Rome, such as these stanzas from a poem of the time of Edward II. :—

God greteth (cries out against) wel the clergie, and seith theih don amis,  
And doth hem to understonde that letel treuthe there is.

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'Roma mundi caput est, sed nil capit mundum :  
Quid pendet a capite totum est immundum.

Cum ad papam veneris, habe pro constanti,  
Non est locus pauperi, soli favet danti.  
Nummus est pro numine, et pro Marco marca,  
Et est minus celebris ara quam est arca.  
Papa quærit, chartula quærit, bulla quærit,  
Porta quærit, cardinalis quærit, cursor quærit :  
Omnes quærunt ; et si quid des uni deerit,  
Totum jus falsum est, omnis causa perit.'

*Political Songs* (Camden Society), p. 16. *Poems of Walter Mapes* (do.), p. 36.

For at the court of Rome, ther (where) treuthe sholde beginne,  
Him is forboden the paleis, dar he noht com therinne

For doute ;

And thouh the pope clepe him in, yit shal he stonde thereoute.  
Alle the pope's clerkes have taken hem to red,  
If treuthe come amonges hem, that he shal be ded :  
There dar he noht shewen him for doute to be slain ;  
Among none of the cardinaus dar he noht be sein,

For feerd

If Symonie may mete wid him, he wole shaken his berd.—*Political Songs.*

The decided triumph of English over Norman French in the fourteenth century was exactly contemporaneous with the first great uprising of England against Rome, of which Wycliffe was the leader. English became the language of education, public speaking and literature just as Wycliffe was seeking to make it the language of religion.<sup>24</sup> Our first prose masterpiece, his translation of the Bible, as happily executed as it was loftily conceived, is alike admirable as a magnificent specimen of pure English and as a great act of rebellion against Rome.

Throughout that noble national poem, the *Vision of Piers Ploughman*, written about 1360, that brave utterance of popular indignation against sin and oppression of all kinds, the anti-Roman spirit strongly breathes ; the pope comes in for a sarcasm (v. 4500, 4538) ; the vices of the papal church are unsparingly branded, and an avenger is invoked :—

Ac now is Religion a rydere,  
A romere aboute,  
A ledere of love-dayes,  
And a lond-buggor (buyer)  
A prikere on a palfrey.

Ac ther shal com a kyng  
And confesse your religiouses  
And bete you as the Bible telleth.—V. 6217 et seq.

The *Creed of Piers Ploughman*, by a later hand than the *Vision*, more fiercely assails the friars, has a more frequent fling at the pope, and openly rejoices in Wycliffe and other reformers (v. 1050, 1309).

But not alone these lesser singers breathed forth this anti-Roman strain ; it rang loud and clear throughout the works of the great medieval poet of England. Chaucer was more than a

<sup>24</sup> 36 Edw. III. st. 1, c. 15. This statute speaks of the French as unknown in the realm, and ordains 'that all pleas shall be pleaded, showed, defended, answered, debated and judged in the English tongue.'

contemporary and acquaintance of Wycliffe. The Morning Star of English Poetry not only shone in amicable and happy company with the Morning Star of the English Reformation, but might almost be taken for the latter luminary. By temperament, by conviction, by connections, he was altogether anti-papal. His fullness of life, his strong national feeling, his abhorrence of oppression, his intimacy with John of Ghent and the political friends of Wycliffe, his acquaintance with the Reformer and his friendship for an avowed Wycliffite, Occleve, his clear vision and his piercing intellect made him a glad beholder and somewhat a helper of that great uprising of the national and intellectual life of England against the foreign domination and corruptions of Rome which signalled the latter half of the fourteenth century. Whenever he handles religion, he mingles respect for herself with abhorrence of her corruptions, and misses no opportunity to disparage the prevailing system. This feeling overflows, especially in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, where (v. 415) he gives false zeal and hypocrisy the name of 'Papelardie,' another form of Papistry or Popery; a poem which he may have selected for translation partly from its satirical vehemence against the Roman clergy who are thus set forth:—

Thus Antichrist abiden we,  
For we ben all of his menie.

All outward lamben seemen we,  
Full of godeness and of pite;  
And inwards we withouten fable  
Ben greedy wolves ravisable.

We woll ordain of alle thing,  
Of folkis gode and ther living.—V. 7059.

The *Ploughman's Tale*, clearly of Chaucer's time, if not by Chaucer's hand, forms one of the most vigorous and bitter anti-papal invectives in this or any other language, witness this onslaught upon pontiff and prelates:—

'Christes ministers cleped they ben  
And rulen al in robberie,  
But Antichrist they serven clene,  
Attired all in tyrannie:  
Witness of John his prophecie,  
Antichrist is their admiral.

Their head coveteth all honour,  
 To be worshipped in worde and dede ;  
 Kings mote to him kneel and coure,  
 To the Apostles that Christ forbed.  
 To popes hests such take more hed  
 Than to keep Christs commandement.

So seemeth he aboven all,  
 And Christ aboven him nothing ;  
 When that he sitteth in his stall  
 Damneith and saveth as him think.

But the glory of Chaucer was not sustained just as or rather because the work of Wycliffe was arrested. The Church of Rome prevailed; the genius of England drooped. The stop put to the advance of spiritual truth laid an arrest upon English literature; not a single great writer enlightened the intellectual darkness, not a single great Reformer enlivened the spiritual deadness of the fifteenth century.<sup>25</sup> The English language was during this period far more nobly wielded in Scotland than in England, at the beginning of the century by King James I., at the end thereof by William Dunbar, and during the earlier half of the sixteenth century by Sir David Lindsay. In this last eminent Scotsman, a herald, a wit, a courtier, almost a statesman and a true poet, the Roman Church encountered a formidable foe and the Reformation found a powerful helper. In few of his poems does he fail to fall upon the corruptions of the priesthood; but he devotes the third book of *The Monarchy* to a very vehement and elaborate onslaught upon the papal monarchy, the excesses whereof he thus sets forth:—

Father, said I, what rule keep they in Rome  
 Which hath spiritual dominion  
 And monarchy above all Christendom ?

Their merchandise into all nations  
 As printed lead, their wax and their parchment,  
 Their pardons and their dispensations,  
 They do exceed some temporal princes' rent ;  
 In such traffic they are not negligent  
 Of benefice ; they make good merchandise  
 Through Simony which they hold little vice.

<sup>25</sup> Sir Thomas More belongs as a writer to the sixteenth century. Though the champion and martyr of the Roman See and a bitter persecutor of its enemies, yet in his most famous book he renders homage to religious liberty. Toleration prevailed in Utopia where every one was allowed to follow the religion he liked, 'uti quam cuique religionem libeat, sequi liceat' (ed. 1516).

Christ did command Peter to feed His sheep,  
 And so he did feed them full tenderly ;  
 Of that command they take but little keep,  
 But Christes sheep they spoil piteously,  
 And with the wool they clothe them curiously.  
 Like greedy wolves, they take of them their food,  
 They eat the flesh and drink both milk and blood.

But the chief intellectual potentate of Scotland during the sixteenth century, George Buchanan, was a still more fervent and devoted Protestant. His genius and learning found utterance in Latin and did not minister to the glory of the English tongue ; but never was British genius more intensely anti-papal than in this mighty wielder of the special papal weapon. He branded Rome in the language of Rome ; he glorified the Reformation in the speech of its adversaries. As poet and as historian he waged incessant warfare with the Roman Church. In his noble history of Scotland he dealt sternly with sacerdotal sins and pontifical enormities, and set forth with calm, majestic and sympathetic eloquence the struggles and the triumph of the Reformation in his own country, the sufferings of its martyrs and the deeds of its heroes. He hurled many a trenchant epigram and stinging satire against popes and papal satellites, against Mary of England and the House of Guise, while he lavished laudatory epigrams and stately odes upon the chiefs and champions of Protestantism—upon Calvin and the Regent Murray, on Margaret of Navarre and Elizabeth of England.<sup>26</sup>

The genius of England had drooped, the light kindled by Wycliffe seemed quenched ; but the Reformation came to enfranchise and unfold the mind as well as the soul of England, and to bring glory to the English language not less than to the English nation. It uplifted and enriched the English tongue by hallowing it to spiritual utterance just as it exalted the national character by harmonising love of God with love of country and making the most earnest patriots out of the most earnest believers ; reversing in both matters the course of the papal church, which degraded living languages by shutting them out from the highest employment of language and by reserving reli-

<sup>26</sup> With what pathetic dignity does he relate the martyrdom of Wishart ! (*Historia*, lib. xv. c. 32-37). How nobly and how tenderly does he dwell on the virtues of Murray ! (lib. xix. c. 54). There is exceeding vigour in the ode to Elizabeth :

‘ Super dracones fortis inambula ;  
 Sævam leonum frange ferociam,’ &c.

(*Opera*, tom. ii. pp. 285-6, ed. Ruddiman.)



gious utterance for the dead, alien Latin, as she debased national character by disconnecting patriotism and piety and by perverting indifference and even treason to the Fatherland into a virtue and duty. At the bidding of the Reformation, in direct defiance of Rome, the English language accomplished its master-work in the English Bible, putting forth for that achievement its utmost purity, strength, sweetness and magnificence, fulfilling itself therein, and supremely glorifying itself thereby. This most glorious achievement of the English language forms at once the most potent instrument and the most abiding monument of papal discomfiture.

But not only was this mighty monument reared in defiance of Rome; there were circumstances connected with its erection which enhance and deepen that defiance. The three best known translations which followed that of Wycliffe and which preceded and assisted the final one of 1611, were in a peculiar manner anti-papal offerings. That of Tyndale, finished in 1525, has an especial glory about it, not merely for its singular excellence, for the purity of its English and the spiritual insight manifested in the special felicity of some of its renderings, but still more for the guerdon which it brought him. The task, accomplished in exile, was crowned with martyrdom; Rome, unable to hinder the work, had the pleasure of burning the workman in 1535.<sup>27</sup> Some of those concerned in the Bishops' Bible (1539) met with the same reward under Mary; while some of the Marian exiles cheered and ennobled their expatriation by the production of the Geneva Bible, which appeared in 1559 at the opening of Elizabeth's reign. Each of these versions is an exquisite specimen of pure Saxon English, and contributed not a little to the beauty of our present translation of 1611; while the Rhemish version, undertaken by the Romish exiles under Elizabeth and published in 1582, curiously demonstrates the incapacity of the Roman Church for dealing with the English language, darkened and deformed as it is to an inconceivable extent by cumbrous

<sup>27</sup> Alone among our translators Tyndale never perverts *ποιμνη* into 'fold,' nor degrades *ἀγάπη* into 'charity.' Alone among them he renders John x. 16, 'There shall be one flock, one shepherd.' 'Fold,' right in the former part of the verse as the rendering of *ἀλλή*, is here a grievous mistranslation, subversive of the true idea of Christian unity, which it refers to an outward organisation instead of to a vital fellowship between Christ and His people. This utterance of our Lord, 'There shall be one flock, one Shepherd' (*γερήσεται μία ποιμνη, εἰς ποιμ/ν*), overthrows the whole theory of the papacy. It is the mighty grace of 'love' and not the comparatively small matter of charity which St. Paul magnifies in 1 Corinthians xiii.; and alone among our elder translators Tyndale makes 'love' the recipient of that sublime exaltation.

and monstrous Latinisms.<sup>28</sup> The curious felicity of Elizabeth which stirred the wonder and tasked the descriptive power of Bacon, was conspicuously manifested by the different manner in which her English lent itself to her friends and her foes. The Popish exiles who plotted against her life and envied the glory of her reign were awkward and impotent in their handling of that English tongue which her Protestant admirers so magnificently wielded. The clumsy curses heaped by Romish hatred upon Jezebel fell bootless, and were straightway forgotten; while the costly homage lavished by Protestant genius upon Gloriana was the true utterance of her people's love and has been the wonder and delight of posterity.

In the Book of Common Prayer the Reformation inspired another English masterpiece and reared another anti-papal monument. It must be difficult for a good Englishman, whatever may be his theological convictions, not to regard with pride and affection so truly national a production as the Liturgy of the Church of England. The tender fervency of its prayers, the lofty flow of its praises, the solemn march of its litany, the rhythmical perfection of its collects, and the sober grace and strength of the diction throughout, constitute a magnificent triumph and trophy of the English tongue, a triumph won and a trophy reared in defiance of the Roman Church. It is indeed an abiding witness of the Reformation, a standing monument, a speaking memorial of the defeat of Rome. There needed not that invocation in the Litany 'From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, good Lord, deliver us' introduced into the Prayerbooks of Edward VI., but withdrawn from the one issued under Elizabeth, to stamp a thoroughly anti-papal character upon the Service of the Church of England.

But the Reformation quickened the intellect not less than the soul of England. Beneath its vernal breathings, English genius burst forth into a fullness and richness of bloom never manifested before or afterwards. The English language was not merely uplifted into spiritual utterance, but rejoicingly lent

<sup>28</sup> Of these let the following specimens suffice: The Rhemish translators render Ephesians iv. 30, in our version 'Grieve not the Holy Spirit,' and in Wycliffe's 'Make not sorry,' thus: 'Do not contristate the Holy Spirit;' and Philipians ii. 7, in our version 'He made himself of no reputation,' literally 'he emptied himself,' thus: 'He exinanited himself.' With 1 Peter i. 17, they thus deal: 'And if you invoke the Father which without acception of persons judgeth according to every man's work, in fear converse the time of your peregrination.'

itself to every lofty and gracious office. The glory of the Elizabethan age was a glory of the Reformation, a splendour from which Rome shrank, abhorrent and confounded. All the great writers of that marvellous time were more or less creatures, lovers and servants of the Reformation. Such as were not earnest doctrinal Protestants were strong political Protestants. Philosophers natural, moral and political, lawyers, historians, romance-writers and poets, Bacon, Hooker, Coke, Raleigh, Sidney, Spenser, Shakespeare, all have the anti-papal stamp, all more or less directly lent themselves to the service of Protestantism. From Coke, the champion of the English crown, as from Hooker, the champion of the English church; from the commentator on the Common Law, as from the author of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, Rome had no tenderness to expect and found none. Bacon had too faint a heart and too cold a soul to lay on Protestantism a very fast or fervent hold, but his genius was essentially innovating and Protestant, and he frequently dwells on the evils of the Roman Church.<sup>29</sup> The perfect and pattern Englishman of his time, the flower of knightly grace and Christian heroism, Sir Philip Sidney, was a champion and martyr of Protestantism. He fell fighting against Rome and Spain in behalf of the Netherlanders, and yielded up his glorious life in defence of truth and freedom.

To claim Shakespeare for a Protestant as Milton was a Protestant would not be so absurd as to make him out a Roman Catholic. If he deals in good monks, he deals also in bad prelates and corrupt cardinals. If friar Lawrence utters much mild wisdom and sound morality, cardinal Pandulph is a masterly persuader of perjury, cardinal Beaufort contrives the murder of his nephew and is the hero of a horrible death-bed scene, and the lips of cardinal Wolsey overflow with malice and arrogance. But without expecting from a genius so transcendently dramatic any advocacy of a cause, it is not too much to say that the author of *King John* and *Henry VIII.* was a true Elizabethan Englishman, in other words was thoroughly anti-papal. He must have been a good Protestant Englishman who

<sup>29</sup> See, among the *Essays*, those on *Superstition*, *Unity* and *Seditions*. In the *Essay on Cunning* he glances at the Jesuits. In that on *Unity*, in reference to the line of Lucretius—

‘Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum’—

Bacon exclaims, ‘What would he have said, if he had known of the Massacre in France or the Powder Treason of England?’

put into the mouth of the ignoble John these lofty words, words which have more than once since found such an echo in the heart of England:—

Thou can'st not, Cardinal, devise a name  
So slight, unworthy and ridiculous  
To charge me to an answer as the pope.  
Tell him this tale, and from the mouth of England  
Add this much more, that no Italian priest  
Shall tithe or toll in our dominions.

So tell the pope, all reverence set apart  
To him and his usurped authority.

*King Philip.* Brother of England, you blaspheme in this.  
*King John.* Though you and all the kings of Christendom  
Are led thus grossly by this meddling priest,  
Dreading the curse that money may buy out,  
And by the merit of vile gold, dross, dust,  
Purchase corrupted pardon of a man  
Who in that sale sells pardon from himself;  
Though you and all the rest so grossly led  
This juggling witchcraft with reverence cherish;  
Yet I alone, alone myself oppose  
Against the pope and call his friends my foes.

*King John*, act iii. sc. 3.

No sincere Romanist, however dramatic his genius might be, would put such words into any mouth, words which convey spiritual as well as political abhorrence of Rome. John himself never went half so far; but Shakespeare disregards history and goes out of his way in order to make John talk like a strong Protestant, in order to utter through his mouth the claims of Elizabeth and the feelings and convictions of Elizabethan England. Notwithstanding the gracious delineation of Catharine of Aragon in *Henry VIII.*, it is impossible for any one but a Protestant to have written that play, triumphing as it does in the triumph of Cranmer over his enemies, glorifying the coronation of Anne Boleyn which so defiantly proclaimed the severance of England from Rome, rejoicingly ending with the baptism and prophetically exulting over the career of that Elizabeth who made the severance final. No Romanist would have gone out of his way in the *Midsummer Night's Dream* to glorify the 'fair Vestal throned in the West,' whom Romish detractors report to have been anything but a Vestal. There was harmony between the mightiest genius which the Elizabethan age produced and the spirit of the Reformation which quickened that age; and Protestant England is not without a portion and interest in this supremely gifted Englishman.

But of all English poets as well as of all Elizabethan poets Spenser has waged the most direct and elaborate warfare against Rome. With a most lavish yet a most exact and discerning hand, he laid out his gorgeous genius in glorifying the Reformation and in pouring shame upon the papacy. The fearful fight between Popery and Protestantism throughout Europe, whereof he was a witness, was fought over again in Faery Land—the former championed by grim giants, the latter by noble knights. The first and most famous book of the *Faery Queen* sets forth the conflict most exactly and magnificently. There appears in Una the loftiest, loveliest and most delightful of all Spenser's creations, the pure Truth, the one True Church opposed and persecuted by Duessa, self-styled Fidessa, the two-faced, two-tongued, much vaunting Roman Church, the kingdom of this world which professes not to be a kingdom of this world, by whom the Red-Cross Knight or the genius of Christian England, betrothed to Una, is for a while seduced and enthralled, and from whom he is delivered by Arthur, the representative of British royalty, and the alleged ancestor of the House of Tudor. The description of Duessa and of her belongings displays as much spiritual and historical insight as poetical magnificence. The true and only end of all Christian Churches, that of bringing God glory by making men godly, is exquisitely signified by Una bringing her knight to the House of Holiness and encouraging him in all noble enterprises; while Duessa in seeking to debase the champion and make a thrall of him for her own will and pleasure, admirably sets forth the self-aggrandisement which is the avowed and proper end of the Church of Rome, and that moral and intellectual degradation which she inflicts upon her votaries. Spenser shows himself fully aware of the hidden but intimate connection of popery with unbelief and lawlessness, a connection more and more revealing itself every day and fully to be unfolded in the end, when he makes the Red-Cross Knight first fall in with Duessa in company with Sansfoy, the brother of Sansloy. How well are the external splendour and allurements of Rome set forth!—

He had a fair companion of his way,  
 A goodly lady clad in scarlet red,  
 Purfled with gold and pearls of rich assay;  
 And like a Persian mitre on her head  
 She wore with crowns and owches garnishèd  
 The which her lavish lovers to her gave.

*Faery Queen*, book i. canto ii. stanza 13.

Every Protestant will at once recognise the lady. Her relation to the Roman Empire is set forth.

Born the sole daughter of an emperor,  
He that the wide West under his rule has  
And high hath set his throne where Tiberis doth pass.—C. ii. st. 22.

Her deceiving, truth-pretending power is noticed.

Great mistress of her art was that false dame,  
The false Duesssa, cloked with Fidessa's name.—C. vii. st. 1.

In the fight between Arthur representing Britain and Orgoglio, it may be Spain, there is no mistaking the companion of the latter.

And after him the proud Duesssa came  
High mounted on her many-headed beast;  
And every head with fiery tongue did flame,  
And every head was crowned on his crest,  
And bloody-mouthed with late cruel feast.—C. viii. st. 6.

(the massacre at Paris or the butcheries in the Netherlands). The mingled splendour and horror, the blended gold and gore of Orgoglio's castle ask no interpreting, especially this one detail.

And there beside a marble stone was built  
An altar carved with cunning imagery,  
On which true Christian blood was often spilt,  
And holy martyrs often done to die  
With cruel malice and strong tyranny,  
Whose blessed sprites from underneath the stone  
To God for vengeance cried continually.—C. viii. st. 36.

How many Protestants are longing to behold the stripping of Duesssa, are indeed rejoicing to behold the beginning of that operation which Spenser thus describes!

So as she (Una) bade, that witch they disarrayed,  
And robbed of royal robes and purple pall  
And ornaments that richly were displayed;  
Ne spared they to strip her naked all  
Then when they had despoiled her tire and caul  
Such as she was their eyes might her behold;  
That her misshapen parts did them appal,  
A loathly, wrinkled hag, ill-favoured, old.—C. viii. st. 46.

Thus rejoicingly and elaborately does the gorgeous and ethereal genius of Spenser lend itself to the deepest convictions, the dearest aspirations and the most earnest expectations of English Protestantism.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Among the minor minstrels of the Elizabethan age one Romanist holds a respectable place, Robert Southwell, a Jesuit and a victim of the penal laws who was hanged in 1595. His poems, though devoid of genius, exhibit fervour and tenderness of feeling with occasional force and felicity of expression.

But in Milton there arose a mightier intellect, a greater poet and a more intense Protestant than even Spenser. Abhorrence of Rome grew every day more and more the master-passion of England and included everything that bore the least resemblance to Rome. The Protestantism of the Elizabethan age, earnest and potent yet joyous and graceful withal, became heightened and deepened into that solemn and sublime Puritanism which possessed and ennobled England for the first sixty years of the seventeenth century. In that spirit Milton was steeped all over. His poetry, it is true, was less directly anti-papal than that of Spenser. Just as Cromwell, that highest practical embodiment of Protestantism, was kept by circumstances from any direct conflict with the Roman See, so Milton, the highest intellectual embodiment of Protestantism, carried on little direct controversy with the Roman Church; yet just as Oliver was a far deeper and more earnest Protestant than Elizabeth, just as his abhorrence of Rome unspeakably exceeded hers in spiritual depth and intensity; so the Miltonic Protestantism was a more potent passion and a more pervading principle than the Spenserian. Milton poured every passion and affection of his puissant soul into the hatred wherewith he hated Rome, and into the joy wherewith he rejoiced in the Reformation; every power of his mighty intellect was heated and heightened in the strong fire of that lofty abhorrence; his rich and ample genius was coloured and suffused with the glow of that noble joy. This spirit breathes through all his writings, from his earliest to his latest utterance, from the lisping of the boy-poet to the warnings of the mature politician, through elegy, sonnet, epic, history, ecclesiastical controversy, political controversy, and official despatch. The poet, the historian, the theologian, the political philosopher, the secretary of the commonwealth, always speaks as a Protestant.

At college the boy of seventeen expressed his abhorrence of Popery in a Latin poem on the Gunpowder Treason (*In Quintum Novembris*). This feeling broke forth in *Lycidas* where after bewailing the starved sheep of the Anglican fold, neglected by slothful and heedless shepherds, he adds—

Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw  
Daily devours apace and nothing said.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> These lines clearly indicate the stealthy operations of the Roman Church in England during the first sixteen years of Charles I., under the patronage of Henrietta Maria (Warton's *Minor Poems of Milton*). Gibbon (*Autobiography*) quotes them in illustration of the manner of his perversion to Rome.

In his many magnificent onslaughts upon the semi-popish prelates, those traitors to the English Church and tyrants of the English nation, his intense abhorrence of the papacy, the depth and fullness of his Protestantism, everywhere appear. These writings are in truth the sublimest utterances that Protestantism has yet won or ever will win. How augustly does the tractate on *Reformation in England* begin! 'Among those deep and retired thoughts which with every man Christianly instructed ought to be most frequent of God and of His miraculous ways and works amongst men, and of our religion and works to be performed to Him; after the story of our Saviour Christ suffering to the lowest bent of weakness in the flesh and presently triumphing to the highest pitch of glory in the spirit . . . . I do not know of anything more worthy to take up the whole passion of pity on the one side and joy on the other than to consider first the foul and sudden corruption and then after many a tedious age the long deferred but much more wonderful and happy Reformation of the Church in these latter days.' Then after a most searching and subtle setting forth of the process whereby pure, inward, spiritual Christianity sank and stiffened into Popery, he thus breaks forth—'When I recall to mind at last, after so many dark ages, wherein the huge overshadowing train of error had almost swept all the stars out of the firmament of the Church, how the bright and blissful Reformation by divine power struck through the black and settled night of ignorance and anti-Christian tyranny; methinks a sovereign and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosom of him who reads or hears, and the sweet odour of the returning Gospel imbathes his soul with the fragrancy of Heaven.' The most magnificent piece of prose writing in English or any language, that majestic argument for political innovation grounded on the renewing work of the Spirit, and culminating into that astonishing prayer-hymn which so sublimely interrupts the keen logic and sharp witticisms of the *Animadversions* upon the Remonstrant, is nothing but a manifestation of Protestant insight and an outburst of Protestant rapture. 'In this age, Britons, God hath reformed His Church after many hundred years of Popish corruption. . . . . Let us all go, every true protested Briton, throughout the three kingdoms and render thanks to God, the Father of Light and Fountain of heavenly grace, and to His Son Jesus Christ our Lord. . . . . For He, being equally near to His whole creation of mankind and of



free power to turn His beneficent or fatherly regard to what region or kingdom He pleases, hath yet ever had this island under the special indulgent eye of His Providence; and pitying us the first of all other nations, after He had decreed to purify and renew His Church that lay wallowing in idolatrous pollutions, sent first to us a messenger to touch softly our sores and to carry a gentle hand over our wounds. He knocked once and twice and came again, opening our drowsy eye-lids leisurely by that glimmering light which Wycliffe and his followers dispersed; and still taking off by degrees the inveterate scales from our nigh-perished sight, purged also our deaf ears and prepared them to attend His second warning trumpet in our grandsires' days.' In the *Areopagitica* Milton showed book-licensing to have been a papal invention and branded the evil device as more detestable for the corrupt fountain from which it flowed. In the *Iconoclastes*, in the two *Defences of the People of England*, and in the *History of England* the Protestant is ever grandly manifest. In many a noble state despatch he lent to his own soul not less than to the soul of Oliver a voice in behalf of persecuted Protestantism and in advocacy of a Protestant confederacy, especially in the letter to the Duke of Savoy in behalf of the oppressed Waldenses.<sup>32</sup> Yet his Protestant heart, not satisfied with this public appeal, overflowed in the loftiest of all sonnets—

Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughtered saints, whose bones  
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold;  
Even them, who kept Thy faith so pure of old,  
When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones,  
Forget not; in Thy book record their groans  
Who were Thy sheep and in their ancient fold  
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese, that rolled  
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans  
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they  
To Heaven. Their martyred blood and ashes sow  
O'er all the Italian fields where still doth sway  
The triple tyrant; that from these may grow  
A hundred fold, who having learned Thy way,  
Early may shun the Babylonian woe.

This mighty prayer has been fully answered in our day when a guardian Victor Emmanuel has replaced the oppressor Charles

<sup>32</sup> Olivarius Protector Reipublicæ Anglicanæ Serenissimo Principi Immanueli, Sabaudis Duci; O. P. R. A. S. P. Transylvaniæ; O. P. R. A. Excelsis Dominis Federati Belgii Ordinibus; O. P. R. A. Civitatibus Helvetiorum Evangelicis (*Milton's Works*, ed. 1837, pp. 794-6).

Emmanuel as sovereign of the Vaudois, when the Alpine shepherds have become the fellow freemen and the evangelists of the Piedmontese, when that very House of Savoy which smote the Waldenses is shortening the sway of the triple tyrant, when the Italian fields are white with harvest and the descendants of the slaughtered saints are gathering a hundredfold therein.

Protestantism has a clear interest in the glory of *Paradise Lost*. The theology of the poem is strictly and thoroughly Protestant. In his loftiest and most ethereal flight, Milton does not lose sight of Romish corruptions, and carries the warfare with them into regions most unearthly—

Then might ye see  
Cows, hoods and habits with their wearers tost  
And fluttered into rags; their reliques, beads,  
Indulgences, dispenses, pardons, bulls  
The sport of winds; all these upwhirled aloft  
Fly o'er the backside of the world far off  
Into a limbo large and broad, since called  
The Paradise of Fools to few unknown.—Book iii. v. 459, &c.

'The Babylonian woe' is foreshadowed to Adam by Michael in this summary of the corruptions of the Roman Church—

Wolves shall succeed to teachers, grievous wolves,  
Who all the sacred mysteries of Heaven  
To their own vile advantages shall turn  
Of lucre and ambition and the truth  
With superstition and tradition taint,  
Left only in those written records pure,  
Though not but by the Spirit understood.  
Then shall they seek to avail themselves of names,  
Places and titles, and with these to join  
Secular power, though feigning still to act  
By spiritual, to themselves appropriating  
The Spirit of Truth, promised alike and given  
To all believers; and from that pretence  
Spiritual laws by carnal power shall force  
On every conscience.—Book xii. v. 308, &c.

The Protestant fire burned bright in Milton to the last. His latest original utterance was an anti-Romish tractate. He concluded the magnificent series of his varied and wonderful works with a Dissuasive against Popery.<sup>33</sup> The champion of the English

<sup>33</sup> *Of True Religion, Heresy, Schism and Toleration, and what best means may be used against the growth of Popery*, 1673, the last original performance published by Milton, published in the year before his death. His translation of documents relating to the election of John Sobieski to the Polish crown, bears the date of 1674. *The Brief History of Muscovia* which appeared in 1682, and the *Treatise on Christian Doctrine* which appeared in 1825, were both begun and probably ended before the publication of the anti-papal tractate.

people, the secretary of the English commonwealth, the renowned conqueror of Salmasius in the greatest intellectual single combat ever fought, the master of all learning, and the sublimest of all poets, took his leave of the world as a Protestant pamphleteer. The greatest of all Protestants made a fitting end in the last words of that earnest and weighty pamphlet, Milton's last words, 'Let us then amend our lives with all speed; lest through impenitency we run into that stupidity which we now seek all means to avoid, the worst of superstitions and the heaviest of God's judgments, popery.'

In a far less richly and variously gifted contemporary of Milton, Rome found a foe not less potent and formidable. The genius of Bunyan was altogether and intensely Protestant and drew wellnigh its whole nourishment from the Bible, Luther and *Foxt's Book of Martyrs*. Next to the love of souls, his strongest passion was abhorrence of popery; and by one slight touch in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, the tinker of Elstow dealt the papacy a more crushing stroke than has come from any English writer before or since. 'Now I saw in my dream that at the end of this valley lay blood, bones and mangled bodies of men, even of pilgrims that had gone this way formerly; and while I was musing what should be the reason, I espied a little before me a cave, where two giants, Pope and Pagan, dwelt in old time; by whose power and tyranny the men, whose bones, blood, ashes, &c. lay there, were cruelly put to death. But by this place Christian went without much danger, whereat I somewhat wondered; but I have learnt since that Pagan has been dead many a day; and as for the other, though he be yet alive, he is by reason of age and also of the many shrewd brushes that he met with in his younger days grown so crazy and stiff in his joints, that he can now do little more than sit at his cave's mouth, grinning at pilgrims as they go by, and biting his nails because he cannot come at them. So I saw that Christian went on his way; yet at the sight of the old man that sat in the mouth of the cave he could not tell what to think, especially because he spake to him though he could not go after him, saying "You will never mend till more of you be burned." But he held his peace on it, and so went by and caught no harm.' Among the innumerable marvels and felicities of that astonishing book, this glimpse of Giant Pope is not the least wonderful and happy. It is impossible to exaggerate its vividness and fidelity as an historical picture, or

its tremendous force as a polemical stroke. The feeble old man grinning at his cave's mouth with the horrible memorials of the misdeeds of his youth and his strength around him, and impotently eager to repeat his enormities, comes in at once for unmeasured abhorrence and unmeasured contempt. In this book of all ages, ranks and intellects, in this book dear alike to the peasant and the genius, to the child and the saint, Giant Pope is a conspicuous object and an object alike of detestation and disdain. No Englishman has done so much to feed and foster the anti-papal feeling of England as Bunyan has done by this one glimpse of Giant Pope. He has sown it broad and dug it deep; he has made the papacy the scorn and abomination of the cottage and the nursery. Observation confirms and heightens the early disdain; history sustains and deepens the early abhorrence; and many a mighty Protestant has begun by playing at Giant Pope.

The stream of English thought and genius, so broad, strong, deep and full during the Elizabethan age, so strong, deep and full during the Puritan age, though shallower and narrower after the Restoration, yet kept flowing on in the old anti-papal channel. The Protestant succession of English literature remained unbroken. The great masters of thought and expression, Locke and for a while Dryden, showed themselves decided Protestants; while the many great preachers and powerful writers who adorned the Church of England, Barrow, Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Burnet, waged no slack or doubtful warfare with the Roman Church, especially while James II. was labouring to restore her supremacy. Dryden deserted; after a light charge upon Rome in more than one play, and a serious assault in the *Religio Laici*, he bore over to the papal camp his ample resources of vigorous thought and forcible expression, extorted from the astonished language an act of unwonted and unnatural service, and in the *Hind and the Panther* laid at the feet of the Roman Church the one single memorable tribute that she has won from the English tongue. The Revolution of 1688 plucked the laurel from the Roman Catholic poet as it rent the crown from the Roman Catholic king, and turned into bitter mockery the gorgeous predictions with which the former in his *Britannia Rediviva* greeted the birth of the latter's hapless son, doomed to a long life of exile and ignominy as the Pretender. Never was aspiration so

exactly and utterly belied by the event as the following, uttered in June 1688, just five months before the Revolution :—

No future ills or accidents appear  
 To sully and pollute the sacred infant's year.  
 Five months to discord and debate were given,  
 He sanctifies the yet remaining seven.  
 Sabbath of months! henceforth in him be blest  
 And prelude to the realm's perpetual rest.

To be sure, the realm has had in some sort a perpetual rest after those months, but through that final Revolution, that overwhelming 'ill and accident' to 'the sacred infant,' which made him a perpetual outcast and wanderer.

That same Revolution brought back home an illustrious Protestant exile, no mean master of the English language, and the guide of European thought for the next century. The Protestantism of Locke was an earnest and potent principle; and the great champion of toleration shrank from bestowing that blessing in all its fullness upon the subjects of the Roman Pontiff.<sup>34</sup> Addison was a true Protestant, and devoted much exquisite wit and humour, much pure English and happy argumentation to the championship of the Protestant Succession.<sup>35</sup> He led in his train a throng of anti-papal writers, poets and essayists, the most distinguished of whom, Tickell, in a satirical onslaught on the Pretender gave lively expression to the English scorn of Rome—

Say what new succours does the chief prepare,  
 The strength of armies or the force of prayer?  
 Does he from Heaven or earth his hopes derive,  
 From saints departed or from priests alive?  
 Nor saints nor priests can Brunswick's troops withstand,  
 And beads drop useless from the zealot's hand.

To Rome then must the royal wanderer go  
 And fall a suppliant at the papal toe?

His mind perhaps at length debauched with ease  
 The proffered purple and the hat may please.

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<sup>34</sup> While claiming toleration for Romanists even as given to idolatry, Locke would withhold it from them as holding anti-social doctrines and maintaining principles incompatible with the peace and safety of states, as subjects of a foreign and hostile power (First Letter concerning Toleration, *Works*, vol. ii. pp. 335-43, ed. 1770).

<sup>35</sup> See especially the *Freeholder*, where the Protestant fun of the *Jacobite's Journal*, the *Political Faith of a Tory* and the *Annals of the Pretender's Reign* still wins a hearty laugh (*Works*, vol. iv. pp. 341, 382, 460, ed. 1781).

Shall he whose ancient patriarchal race  
 To mighty Nimrod in one line we trace,  
 In solemn conclave sit, devoid of thought,  
 And poll for points of faith his trusty vote,  
 Be summoned to his stall in time of need,  
 And with his casting suffrage fix a creed?  
 Shall he in robes on stated days appear  
 And English heretics curse once a year?  
 Garnet and Fawkes shall he with prayers invoke  
 And beg that Smithfield piles once more may smoke?\*

But a deeper and more potential voice was not wanting to Protestantism even in the eighteenth century, a voice that still rings in the ears and hearts of Englishmen, and that will never cease to ring while the English race and the English language endure. Puritanism, intense and spiritual Protestantism, lived on as it ever will live in the mighty hymns of Watts. Unmatched as the gladdener and hallower of childhood, he has not less gloriously ministered to the spiritual life of the most advanced souls; he gave melodious utterance to that most masculine form of Christianity, that deep and sublime Calvinism which has commended itself to the profoundest intellects and the most heroic hearts of Christendom. The great Puritan singer could not fail to lift up his voice against Rome. This supreme hymn-writer, whose words are more familiar to a greater number of men speaking the English language than those of any other Englishman, has not forgotten to furnish them with anti-papal songs, has helped mightily to feed the flame of English Protestantism and keep alive a thankful remembrance of national and spiritual deliverances, of national and spiritual blessings. In the *Hymns for Children* he does his best to make them good patriots and good Protestants.

'Tis to Thy sovereign grace I owe  
 That I was born on British ground,  
 Where streams of heavenly mercy flow,  
 And words of sweet salvation sound.

In the thanksgiving song for Three Great Salvations, the defeat of the Armada, the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot and the Revolution of 1688, he thus triumphantly brings together the three deliverances from Rome:—

\* *Letter from an English Lady to a Gentleman at Avignon*, Doddesley's Collection, vol. i. Tickell explored the future far more successfully than did Dryden. His conjecture was exactly verified. The ecclesiastical dignity, mockingly set before the Pretender, was actually accepted by his son. The last Stewart, Henry Benedict, figured as cardinal York; and the 'ancient patriarchal race' died out in the hat and purple.

The happy day and happy year  
 Still in the new salvation meet, (November 5, 1688)  
 The day that quenched the fiery snare, (November 5)  
 The year that burned the invading fleet. (1688)  
*Horæ Lyricæ*, book i.

In the Imitation of the Psalms he remembers Britain and does not forget Rome. Where scorn is cast upon idols and idolaters, as in Psalms 115 and 135, he casts scorn upon Romish image-worship. Where the victory of Israel over her enemies is celebrated, as in Psalm 48, he sets forth the triumph of Britain over Rome. Where the hand of God is recognised in the revolutions of states, in the pulling down and setting up of kings, as in Psalm 75, he rejoices to acknowledge the Divine hand in the English Revolution and the Protestant Succession. After rehearsing manifold national blessings in Psalm 147, he thus ends :—

But He hath nobler works and ways  
 To call the Britons to His praise.  
 To all the isle His laws are shown,  
 His gospel through the nation known ;  
 He hath not thus revealed His word  
 To every land. Praise ye the Lord.

From Psalm 67 he wins a noble national hymn, beginning thus :—

Shine, mighty God, on Britain shine,  
 With beams of heavenly grace ;  
 Reveal Thy power through all our coasts  
 And show Thy smiling face !  
 Amidst our isle exalted high,  
 Do Thou, our Glory, stand,  
 And like a wall of guardian fire  
 Surround the favourite land !

But in the Hymns the Protestant feeling breaks forth most intensely. Hymns 29, 56 and 59 of Book I., trustfully await or triumphantly anticipate the fall of Rome. Hymn 56 is a mighty strain, and has special worth and power in this hour of papal peril.

We sing the glories of Thy love,  
 We sound Thy dreadful name ;  
 The Christian Church unites the song  
 Of Moses and the Lamb . .

Great God, how wondrous are Thy works  
 Of vengeance and of grace !  
 Thou king of saints, Almighty Lord,  
 How just and true Thy ways !

Great Babylon, that rules the earth,  
 Drunk with the martyrs' blood,  
 Her crimes shall speedily awake  
 The fury of our God.

The cup of wrath is ready mixt,  
 And she must drink the dregs ;  
 Strong is the Lord, her Sovereign Judge,  
 And will fulfil the plagues.

The Protestant spirit of Watts pervades the somewhat feebler hymns of his imitator Doddridge, who, as in hymn 272, rejoices over delivered Britain and confounded Rome. In truth the sacred songs of Watts marched in the front of a numerous host. The eighteenth century, so generally and not unjustly branded as an age of unbelief, was glorified in England by a great spiritual renewal, a mighty revival of inward Protestant Christianity. This revival, like the Reformation in Germany, broke forth into singing, and was attended by an ample retinue of rejoicing hymns. John and Charles Wesley, Toplady and Cowper are true Protestant singers. The glorious strains of Charles Wesley, though not so directly anti-Romish as those of Watts, are all aglow with the very innermost fire of Protestantism, the fire of justifying faith and divine renewal.

Though the papacy had but little prominence during the eighteenth century either as a power or as a subject of thought, yet the most popular English writers did not fail to render homage to the ineradicable national aversion. Thomson, too warm a patriot not to be a good Protestant, when rejoicing over the many glories of England, does not forget the greatest ; while exalting Sir Thomas More and reviling Henry VIII., he approved that work which Henry furthered and More sought to hinder,

Who with a generous though mistaken zeal  
 Withstood the brutal tyrant's useful rage.—*Seasons*, Summer.

Gray mingled delight in the great work with admiration for  
 the rough workman and gloried in

The majestic lord  
 That broke the bonds of Rome.  
*Ode on the Installation of the Duke of Grafton.*

In his *Hymn to Ignorance* he indulges in a burst of ironical regret over the dark ages when

With ensigns wide unfurled  
 She rode triumphant o'er a vanquished world ;



Fierce nations owned her unresisted might  
 And all was ignorance and all was night.  
 O sacred age! O times for ever lost!  
 The schoolman's glory and the churchman's boast;  
 For ever gone!

In an isolated couplet of the *Ethical Essay* he welcomed the time

When love could teach a monarch to be wise  
 And gospel light first dawned from Bullen's eyes.

In the *Schoolmistress* Shenstone makes us aware in what abiding honour the memory of the Marian Martyrs was holden about the middle of the eighteenth century, how deeply abhorrence of Rome lay rooted in the heart of the nation and how carefully it was handed down from generation to generation. In stanza 15 he tells how the village schoolmistress

In these elfins' ears would oft deplore  
 The time when truth by popish rage did bleed,  
 And tortious death was true devotion's meed.  
 And simple faith in iron chains did mourn  
 That nould on wooden image place her creed,  
 And lawny saints in smouldering flame did burn.  
 Ah! dearest Lord, forfend thilk days should e'er return!

The deep and lively Protestantism of Cowper coloured and suffused all his writings, uttered itself in theological reflections and spiritual appeals, broke forth in that noble invocation of millennial glory towards the end of the *Task*, and made more than one vigorous onset against Rome, as in the address to England which occurs in *Expostulation*:—

But Rome with sorceries and magic wand  
 Soon raised a cloud that darkened every land,  
 And thine was smothered in the stench and fog  
 Of Tiber's marshes and the papal bog.  
 Then priests with bulls and briefs and shaven crowns,  
 And griping fists and unrelenting frowns,  
 Legates and delegates with powers from hell  
 Though heavenly in pretension, fleeced thee well.

The French Revolution which did so much to quicken the intellect and aggrandise the literature of England, seemed likely neither to weaken nor strengthen its Protestant character. Other questions became prominent: other influences were put forth. But the irrepressible tendency soon asserted itself. Of the company of great writers who closed the last and ushered in the present century, Southey became a vehement Protestant

partisan and polemic. The profound intellect and spiritual insight of Coleridge kept no terms with Rome, pierced to her central falsehood, discerned her innermost corruptions and fitly branded them.<sup>37</sup> Wordsworth was too thoroughly English not to partake largely of the Protestant feeling, to which he gave strong and noble utterance in many of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, whereof the following is not the least lofty:—

## WYCLIFFE.

Once more the Church is seized with sudden fear  
 And at her call is Wycliffe disinhumed.  
 Yes, his dry bones to ashes are consumed  
 And flung into the brook that travels near,  
 Forthwith that ancient voice which streams can hear,  
 Thus speaks, that voice which walks upon the wind,  
 Though seldom heard by busy human kind:  
 'As thou these ashes, little Brook, wilt bear  
 Into the Avon, Avon to the tide  
 Of Severn, Severn to the narrow seas,  
 Into main ocean they, this deed accurst  
 An emblem yields to friends and enemies,  
 How the bold teacher's doctrine, sanctified  
 By truth, shall spread throughout the world dispersed.'<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup> 'If Idolatry in both its kinds (i.e. worshipping the supreme God under an image, and worshipping subordinate gods); if asserting the merits of creatures so as if not avowedly to deny, yet effectively to make vain the sole redemption by and mediation of Christ; if the undermining of the one great purpose of the Gospel by holding out substitutes for regeneration (i.e. the practical hatred of sin for its exceeding sinfulness) by doctrines of attrition, priestly absolution as operant *in se* and not merely declaratory; finally if a general corruption of the moral sense, produced and favoured by the whole compages of its doctrines and ceremonies added to a bold alteration and repeal of divine commands, and additions equally bold, as in the Eucharist in one kind only, the dogmas concerning marriage, purgatory, &c.; if these be not fundamental errors, what can be? if they be, the Church of Rome is fundamentally erroneous, therefore heretical' (*Theological Notes*, p. 73).

<sup>38</sup> Among the poets of that generation there was one Roman Catholic. But Moore, though an Irishman and a Romanist, cannot be called a servant of the Roman Church. From the English language so charmingly constrained by him to set forth the woes of Ireland, he extracted a very scanty tribute for Rome. The *Irish Melodies* include but one strain in honour of his Church:

'Through grief and through danger  
 Thy smile has cheered my way.'

In the *Fire Worshippers* the struggle between the two nations and the two faiths in Persia may image forth the struggle in Ireland. The Guebre champion may represent a Celtic and Romish hero, and the Arab emir an English and Protestant conqueror. The tale is a tale of hapless love much more than of stricken faith; just as Moore himself was far more of an amatory than an ecclesiastical bard: he will be remembered as the poet of the ladies and the poet of Ireland, but in no wise as the poet of Rome.

In our day a bold attempt has been made to turn awry this steadfast Protestant current of the national thought and feeling. A band of Anglican sacerdotalists undertook to seduce the soul and to debauch the language of England, to unteach her heart its old love and its old hate and her tongue its ancient service; to make England ashamed of her dearest traditions, her greatest achievements, her most wonderful deliverances, her most precious blessings and her most glorious sons; to set her heart against that Protestantism which had renewed her soul, quickened her intellect, glorified her history and lifted her so high among the nations; to cause the Reformation and the Revolution, the odour whereof had been so exceedingly sweet, to stink in her nostrils; to hurl Elizabeth and William of Orange from the throne of her heart and set up the Stewarts in their stead; and to pervert her noble tongue, that great anti-papal weapon, that chief instrument of unfettered thought, political liberty and spiritual truth, first into the satellite of sacerdotalism and ultimately into the slave of Rome. The Tractarian movement of 1833 was an uprising against Protestantism, an insurrection against the ruling powers and sovereign sanctities of English history, English literature and English religion. The enterprise, vigorously prosecuted by means of tracts, sermons, essays, tales and poems, has upon the whole signally failed. Without doubt it has been somewhat influential; much stir has been made; many minds have been seduced. One powerful intellect, one great master of English has gone over to the Roman camp; but English Protestantism has not been dethroned; the heart of England has not foregone its old loves and its old hates, the English language has not renounced its ancient service; that glorious tongue, sacred to truth and freedom, will not belie itself, will not be unnaturally wielded with any power against the spiritual life and national glory of England. English literature in some of its higher fields, especially in history, bids fair to manifest a more intensely Protestant character than it has exhibited for a century. Among the great writers of our day may be reckoned more than one Protestant of especial earnestness.

In the most illustrious name in the literature of this generation Protestantism has a clear interest; the gifted writer, the mighty master of English recently withdrawn from us, Lord Macaulay, had upon the whole an eminently Protestant genius. His heart was given to 'the Good Old Cause;' he showed an especial tenderness for the Puritans; he felt in perfect harmony

with the main stream of English tendency. The great object of his magnificent history, so sadly interrupted, was to set forth admiringly and sympathetically England, such as the Reformation, the Long Parliament and the Revolution had made her, to glorify the British Constitution preserved and strengthened by Protestant endeavours, and to trace the growth of the British empire, that erection of Protestant hands. But he was still more of a Whig than of a Protestant. His Protestantism was political rather than spiritual. It walked mainly by sight. His masterly and magnificent outline of the papal perils reveals at once its strength and its weakness. The greater reasonableness of the Reformed doctrines and the superior condition of those countries which embraced the Reformation assured him of the truth of Protestant Christianity; yet the long duration of the papacy somewhat oppressed his imagination and suggested the possibility of its perpetual duration. A profounder reading of history and of daily life, a deeper insight into God's ways with men and nations, would have reduced this oppressive wonder into transient astonishment and converted this long duration into a trial of faith, would have shown him that a Divine offer like the Reformation is never exactly repeated, and that men and nations having had good and evil set before them for their choice, are left to the fruits of that choice. The steady declension of the popedom during the last five centuries, a declension not less visible and remarkable than its escapes and revivals, might have assured him of its final doom and might have corrected the extravagance of his famous compliment to the stability of the Roman Church: 'She may still exist in undiminished vigour when some traveller from New Zealand shall in the midst of a vast solitude take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's.'

Such a disposition of events is exceedingly unlikely. It is to be expected that a system like Romanism in such accordance with the weakness and evil of human nature may under some degrading metamorphose, as some subaltern form of spiritual corruption, lurk on, the survivor of more than one existing state and nation. But it is matter of not less reasonable expectation that the English polity will outlive the Roman polity, that a state, founded in a considerable measure on respect for divine law and human rights and upholden by reason of its harmony with much of man's higher nature, will outlast a system based on the political and spiritual degradation of mankind and now

tottering beneath the weight of its ineradicable and accumulated vices. It is not unlikely that England, while still holding her place among the nations with eye undimmed and arm unshortened, will rejoice over the downfall of that papal power which she has so heartily abhorred, so steadfastly withstood, and from defiance whereof her might and majesty have so largely flowed. The English language, so mightily wielded against the crimes and corruptions of Rome, may be yet more gloriously tasked to set forth her overthrow. English genius, so loftily upborne in love of truth and freedom and in abhorrence of their foremost foe, may soar over her ruin in a still sublimer flight. It may be given to an English historian, in tracing the wonderful course of the popedom throughout, from its obscure beginning to its ignominious end, to exhaust the romance and complete the philosophy of history; and the fall of Babylon may enrich English poetry with its not least mighty and majestic song. And a traveller from still imperial England may sojourn in Rome when she has ceased to be the city of the popes, and may behold in St. Peter's, whether a gorgeous ruin or a secularised building, whether the seat of still inferior rites or the abode of purer worship, no longer at least a papal temple.

## BOOK XIV.

## THE CATASTROPHE OF THE PAPAL DRAMA.

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The cup of wrath is ready mix'd,  
 And she must drink the dregs ;  
 Strong is the Lord, her sovereign Judge,  
 And will fulfil the plagues.

WATTS, Hymn 56, book i.

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A JOURNEY through History is a walk with God—a journey full of interest and wonder for every open-eyed traveller even if unaware over Whose domain and in Whose company he is walking ; but how beset with wonder, how steeped in solemn awe and solemn delight for each explorer cognisant of the Divine region and conscious of the Divine Companion ! The charm of striking scenes, the awe of mighty events, is heightened and deepened by the conviction of their relation to the purposes of the All-Wise Disposer, of their subserviency to the good pleasure of the Almighty and Benignant Ruler. The pain inspired by the evil and portentous personages of History is lessened by the contemplation of them as ministrants of God's wrath and executors of His judgments, as those whose hearts He hardens and whose wickedness He overrules for the fulfilment of His purposes and the manifestation of His glory ; while delight in valiant and godly souls, in true heroes and noble martyrs, rises into a loftier height when they are regarded as rejoicing fellow-workers with the Lord, as faithful servants of His will and gladsome ministers to His glory. The way is sometimes exceeding dark ; the crimes and horrors of some period in History oppress and overpower us ; God seems to hide awhile His face from us. But the journey is pursued ; we reach higher ground ; we look back, we look around ; our God shines upon us again ; and we bow before the manifested might and majesty of the Moral Governor. Falsehood and Tyranny have won a crushing victory over Truth and Freedom ;

evil seems triumphant and supreme; the Good Old Cause, the very cause of God Himself, seems vanquished; when lo! a mighty man is raised up, a baleful power is stricken down; a terrible chastisement is inflicted; a great deliverance is wrought; we are uplifted into solemn sympathy with the Divine Avenger; we rejoice in a glorious manifestation of the Divine Deliverer; we are gladdened by a sweet visit of the Divine Consoler.

No portion of history more fully gives occasion for these mingled and manifold experiences than the story of the popedom. As Milton divinely says, 'I do not know of anything more worthy to take up the whole passion of pity on the one side and joy on the other than first to consider the foul and sudden corruption, and then after many a tedious age the long deferred but much more wonderful and happy reformation of the Church in these latter days.' The transformation of pure and primitive Christianity into medieval Popery, the metamorphose of that kingdom of Heaven brought in by the Son of God into the papal monarchy of Innocent III. is indeed a terrible and woful wonder. Yet amidst this signal corruption of Divine Truth and manifestation of human evil we may discern the restraining and chastising hand of God; nor would we keep our eyes shut to such service as He may have exacted from the papal power during those gross and dark ages wherein it arose and wherewith it had some harmony. Fullness of delight and wonder breaks upon us beneath the blissful brightness of the Reformation, amidst the marvels and glories of Divine Renewal; and now in these latter days we are called to rejoice with a solemn and trembling joy in the sublime work of Divine Retribution.

The more closely we consider the Roman Church, the more surely we feel ourselves in the presence of one who has been divinely delineated and divinely doomed, who has an evil prominence and a painful portion in the oracles of God; the more clearly we discern her identity with the Great Whore of the Apocalypse and recognise in the utterly fallen woman the utterly fallen and corrupt Church.<sup>1</sup> In every accompaniment of that grim and gaudy portent who must not discover some peculiarity of Rome? What ecclesiastical body except the Roman Church possesses the imperial pomp, the princely hierarchy, the gorgeous ritual and the gaudy vesture which may match the purple and the scarlet, the gold, the pearls and the precious stones

<sup>1</sup> *Apocalypse*, c. 17.

worn by the woman? In whose hands is the golden cup full of abominations unless in hers whose artistic allurements and outward splendour recommend and adorn her corrupt doctrines and practices? And above all who must not recognise in the woman drunken with the blood of the saints that Roman Church which extirpated the Albigenses, which hunted down the Lollards, which quaffed blood like water in the Netherlands, which feasted on St. Bartholomew's and was served for centuries by the Inquisition? The more closely we confront the historical reality with the prophetic delineation, the more distinctly do we discern that terrible likeness, so famous and fully recognised, so plain to all the foes of Rome, set forth by Waldenses, Albigenses, Apostolicals, Wycliffites and Hussites, and proclaimed far and wide at the Reformation; a likeness which has fixed the contemplation of the highest poetical and spiritual genius, on which Spenser dilated and which Milton recognised; a likeness seen by gifted and illustrious sons of the Roman Church, acknowledged by Dante and set forth in terrible detail by Petrarch.<sup>2</sup> This likeness so clear to them has grown clearer to us. We see what they could not see; we recognise the woman stripped by her lovers, made naked and desolate by those with whom she had sinned, in that popedom smitten by the princes of its allegiance and the nations in its train, by those very nations that fought its fight against Protestantism, bruised and rent by revolutionary and imperial France, stripped bare by aspiring Italy, and now bewailing the nakedness and desolation brought upon it by the double dealing of its eldest son and the settled hate of its peculiar people.

<sup>2</sup> *Faery Queen*, book i. passim. In c. 8, st. 29, Spenser identifies Duessa with the Apocalyptic woman. Milton at the end of *Reformation in England* brings in the foes of England consulting her sorceries. Matthew Paris calls the Roman court 'meretrix vulgaris et effrons' (p. 742). Dante, when among the papal tenants of hell, exclaims:

'You pastors the Evangelist had in mind  
When she who on the many waters sits  
Full in his sight defiled herself with kings.'

'Di voi pastor s' accorse 'l Vangelista,  
Quando colei che siede sovra l' acque  
Puttaneggiar co' regi a lui fu vista.'

*Inferno*, xix. 106-8.

Petrarch, a daily observer of the papal court at Avignon, flung at it every feature and accompaniment of the Apocalyptic woman and branded it as the proper and exclusive original of the fearful portrait: 'That very woman in sooth thou art whom the holy Evangelist saw in the Spirit; that same woman I say thou art and not another. . . . Recognise thy dress. . . . Dost thou not know thyself, Babylon?' and he goes on to draw out the likeness ('*Illa equidem ipsa es quam in spiritu vidit sacer Evangelista. Illa eadem inquam es, non alia. . . . Recognosce habitum. . . . Noscisne teipsam, Babylon?*') (*Opera*, ed. 1554, p. 807).

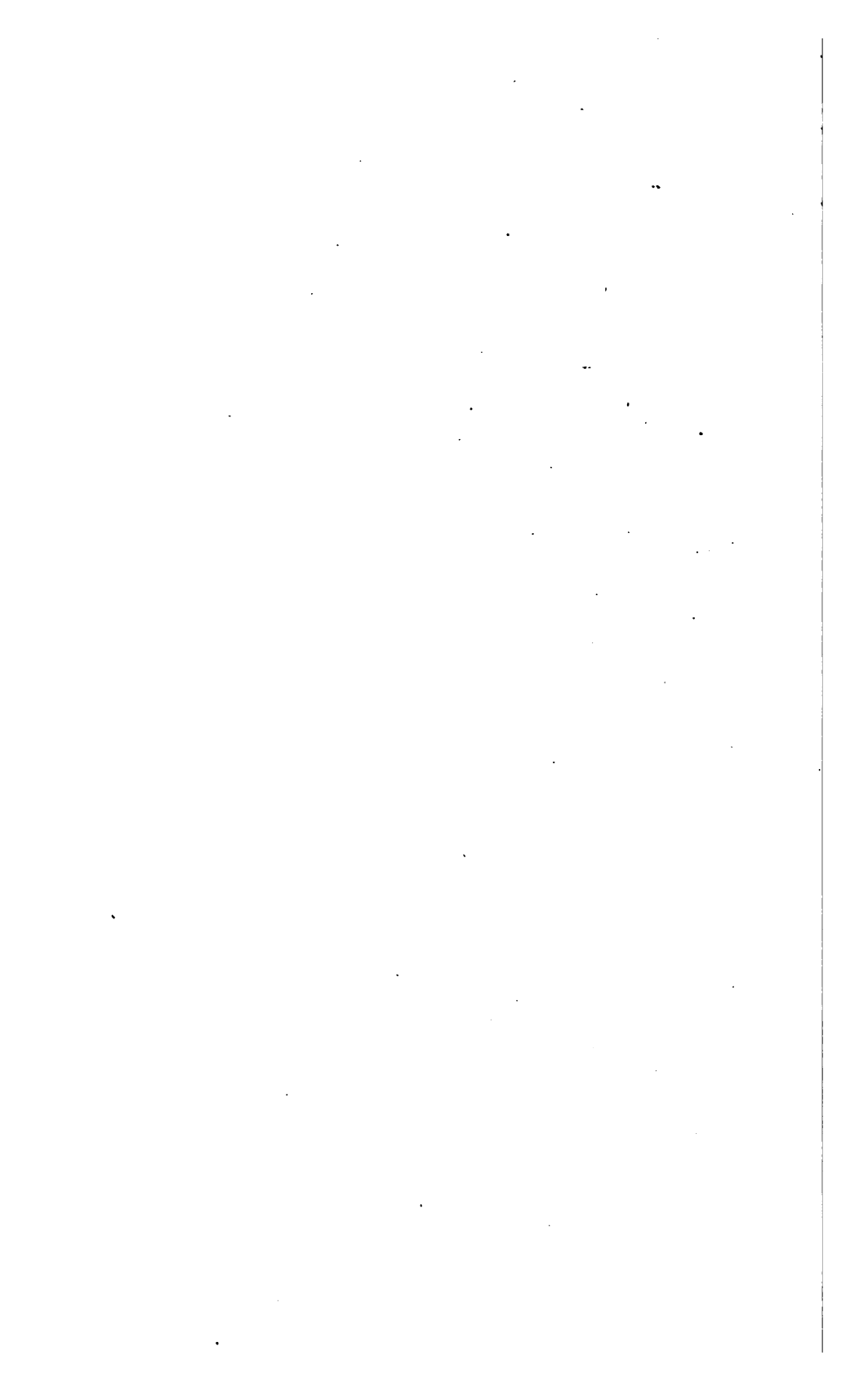


Such is the marvel of Divine Retribution whereof we are witnesses. The nearer we draw to the close of the long career of the papacy, the farther we go, the higher we climb and the more widely we gaze around, the journey grows more wonderful, the prospect spreads out fairer and more magnificent. The Papal Drama forms but some scenes or at most an act, as its catastrophe will furnish but an incident of that Divine Drama of History the course whereof has been so wonderful and the consummation whereof will be so blessed and glorious. That catastrophe will bring gladness to faithful souls mainly because it will hasten that consummation. The fall of an evil power yields a delight fitly felt and divinely inspired, but ere long to be swallowed up in nobler and diviner joy as the Heavenly King draws near to set up His universal and everlasting monarchy. All these mighty events and terrible revolutions will issue in the full vindication of His righteousness and the full manifestation of His glory. 'Fallen, fallen is Babylon the Great,' is a sacred and gladsome strain wherein saints and angels may meetly join; yet it forms but a faint and humble prelude to strains still more heavenly, and will be lost in the fuller triumph and supreme harmony of that divinest song, 'Hallelujah, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth. . . . The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ, and He shall reign for ever and ever.'

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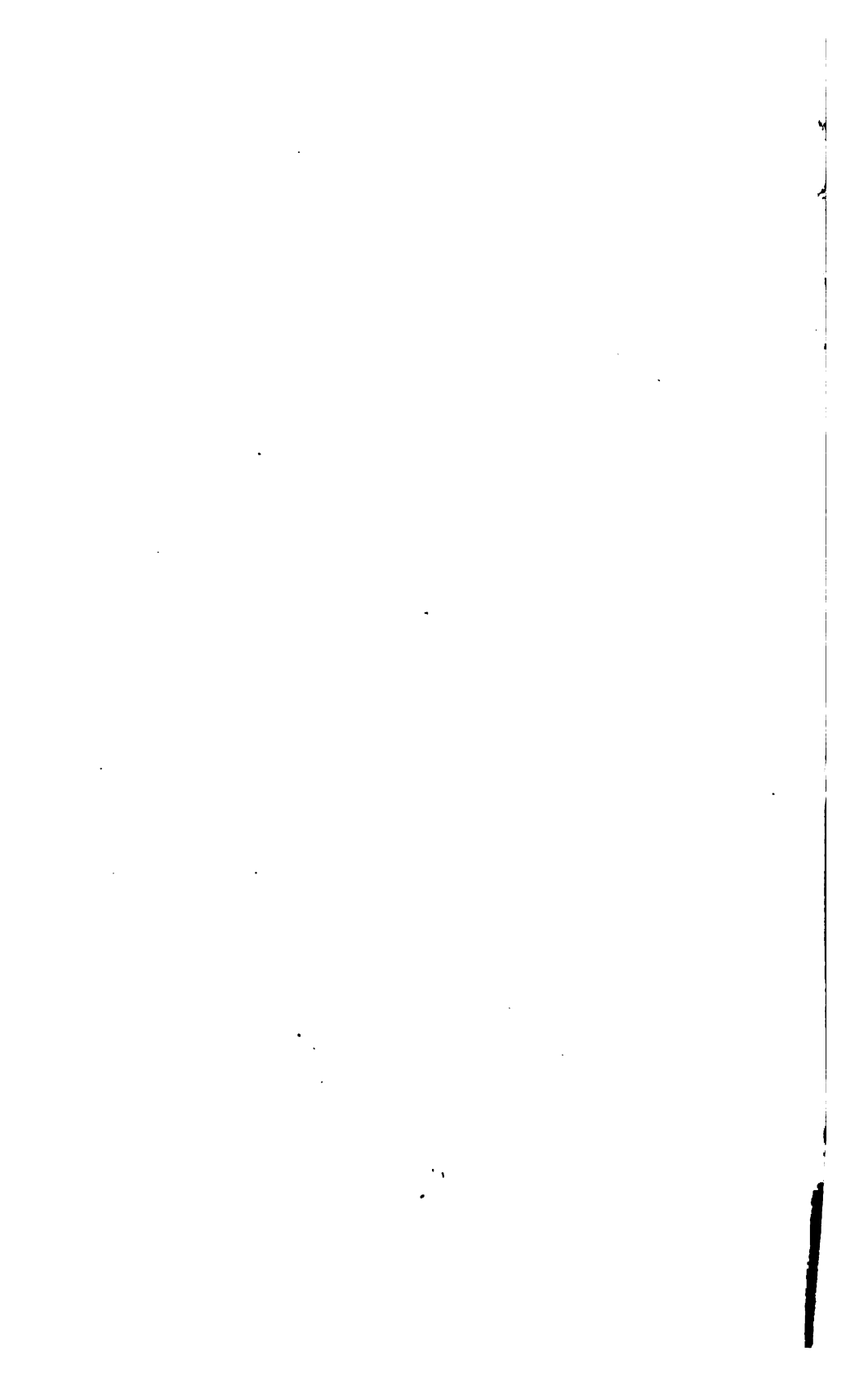


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