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PAUL THE POPE

AND

PAUL THE FRIAR.







Livy, Sculp. Florence

PAUL FROM FRIBOURG



PAUL THE POPE  
AND  
PAUL THE FRIAR.

A STORY OF AN INTERDICT.

BY

T. ADOLPHUS TROLLOPE,

AUTHOR OF "FILIPPO STROZZI: A BIOGRAPHY;" "A DECADE OF ITALIAN  
WOMEN," ETC. ETC.

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## PREFACE.

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THE great contest between the Venetian Republic and the Holy See at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was in its results and bearings on the progress and fortunes of Europe, a far more momentous and memorable event than a mere quarrel between two small Italian States. The contemporary world, indeed, felt it to be so, and interested itself proportionably in the vicissitudes of the struggle. Rome had recently emerged from her greater contest with the principles of the Reformation, sorely diminished indeed as to the extent of the countries and populations subjected to her sway, but with renewed strength and a firmer hold, as many have thought, on those that still owned her supremacy. This quarrel with Venice was the first serious collision with any part of her subjects, after the so-called "restoration" of Catholicism; the first trial of her renovated strength against a force which the Popes, in the palmy days of the Church, would have crushed with one blow of the pastoral staff. And the restored and re-invigorated Church was defied

and defeated, with losses, which it has never recovered. The increase of power, which would have accrued to the Holy See, had Rome succeeded in humbling Venice, would have been considerable. But it would have been as nothing to the loss which she sustained by her failure to do so. Reasons have been assigned in the first book of the following story for misdoubting the value of the supposed "restoration" of the Catholic Church towards the close of the sixteenth century. The issue of her contest with Venice supplies a further confirmation of the opinion there expressed. But the subsequent history of the Church, from that day to the present, has made evident more than this. It has shown (even to those minds, which failed to reach a similar conviction from an *à priori* consideration of the constitution and foundations of a Church claiming infallible authority), that the Papacy, not only was not *restored*, but was then and evermore *unrestorable*; that it could but continue its path in the straight line in which it had hitherto travelled; and that this straight line *must*, at a more or less distant point, come into irreconcilable collision with that other straight line, on which mankind was as certainly and inevitably advancing, as surely as two converging lines must sooner or later meet. The two great, but infinitely unequal forces are rushing onwards, each on its appointed path, and the collision point is very near;



is indeed quite in sight. The wind of the coming shock may already be felt. Or would not the metaphor more correctly represent the fact, if it were said that the crash is already in our ears; and its first consequences such as to render its final issue no longer doubtful to any man? Rome's first thought, when the terrible moment was upon her, her first instinctive action, was to put her hand to the old weapon,—in truth her only avowable one,—which had once stood her in such good stead. But she dared not draw it forth. She essays to point to it *in terrorem*; but her enemies remember the story of the last time it was used; and not only laugh at the threat, but in all seriousness wish that Holy Church would save them some trouble, and some delay, by adopting the suicidal policy of once more attempting to use it.

But Rome will do nothing of the kind. The terrible Friar has not been forgotten there. His still formidable shadow haunts the council-chambers of the Vatican. And the story, on which the reader is about to enter, may be safely accepted as that of the last of the Interdicts.



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BOOK I.

THE TIME.



## CHAPTER I.

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### INTRODUCTORY.

THE two men were born in the same year, one in Rome, and the other in Venice. It was in 1552. The first was Camillo Borghese, the son of a lawyer of Siena, who had abandoned his native city to avoid the despotism of Cosmo de Medici, when that tyrant by violence and treachery succeeded in making himself master of that previously independent republic. The Siennese citizen prospered in Rome; became Dean of the Consistorial bar there; and father of the future Paul V., by Flaminia degli Astalli, a noble Roman lady.

The second of the two was Pietro Sarpi, the son of a Venetian trader, who is recorded by that son's biographers to have been an active, energetic, restless, wiry, sharp-eyed little man, turbulent, quarrelsome, and impracticable withal; qualities which seem to have so far neutralised his better gifts, as to have rendered the poor man's life-struggle a consistently unsuccessful one, and to have contributed to hustle him out of it while his son was yet an infant. The wife of this broken-down trader, the widowed mother of the infant citizen of Venice was, we are told—and the information may not be without interest to speculative physiologists—singularly contrasted with her husband in appear-

ance and temperament. Lisabetta Morelli belonged to a family of free Venetian citizens, a distinction felt in Venice by those who possessed it, as well as by those who had it not, to be equivalent to a sort of nobility; though, as in the case of the widow Sarpi, it was compatible with a very humble social position. Lisabetta was one of those tall, finely-formed blondes, whom Titian loved to paint, with pearls among the abundant tresses of their golden hair, and whom his pictures have taught us to associate with surroundings of Venetian scenery, and passages of Venetian story; not inappropriately, for it is a type frequently to be met with among the native population of the sea-born city, and its neighbour islands; and is indicative of purity of descent from a more northern race, unmodified by that mixture with the indigenous Italian stock, which was more inevitable in the cities of the main land. A mild, gentle-hearted, loving woman, with strong religious feelings and tendencies, we are told, the widow Sarpi was; and it is added, that her son resembled her in feature and temperament.

And the two boys, the wealthy and highly placed young Roman, and the poor and humbly born young Venetian, grew up during that third quarter of the sixteenth century, the one in Rome and the other in Venice, among the different influences that were preparing them for the parts they were respectively to play in the world; and no human sagacity or foresight could have availed to foretell, that either should be aught more to the other than any other undistinguished unit of the then rising generation. But the Roman boy rose to be made, by the play of priestly passions and the intriguing of rival kings, Pope Paul V.; while the Venetian grew to become by virtue of his own

gifts of head and heart, the Servite Friar Paul, “the Venetian,” as in after life he was with such good reason wont to sign himself. Pope Paul was a pope such as in some degree his own idiosyncrasy, but in a greater degree the circumstances of his age made him; and he belonged both by what was good and by what was evil in him to a class of popes, of whom Rome produced about that time several examples. But “Frà Paolo Veneto”—Friar Paul, the Venetian—was such a friar as the world has not seen before nor since. “Il terribile frate,” as the historians of his country are fond of calling him,—*the terrible friar* was terrible indeed to his adversaries in that great fight, which has rendered his name world-famous.

No good work, it has been well said, ever dies. By virtue of its ever expanding series of consequences it is immortal. But it is the fortune of some among the benefactors of mankind, that the very circumstance of the incompleteness of the victory won by them in their struggle against evil, serves to keep the living and still active force of what they *did* achieve more perpetually before the eyes of succeeding generations. Where the fight has still to be carried on, the champion is still needed. And of few of the great warriors in the eternal cause of truth, who have fought the good fight and gone to their rest, can this be predicated with such striking correctness, as of Paul the Friar of Venice. Of few can it be said so justly, not only that being dead they yet speak, but that their speaking is still that, of which the world has at its present hour special need.

It is nearly two centuries and a half since Sarpi died, and despite his indefatigable energy, his immense industry, his unshakeable courage, his vast learning,

and his ardent patriotism, left his work incomplete. The emancipation of civil society from priestly thralldom was the work for which he lived. And no one man has ever accomplished so much towards that all-important aim. But the task was too arduous for one individual and one life-time to accomplish.

"I must go to St. Mark's," he muttered, when dying, in the delirium which preceded his dissolution then close at hand; "it is already late, and I have much to do!"

Yes! there was still much needed to be done by that poor brain yet so busy with its wonted thoughts. But the night was at hand, when no man could work more; and the task was left undone. But if the final winning of the battle was not for him to see, if the gathering of the harvest was for other hands and other days, it is to him we owe the sowing of the seed, which has in due time produced the crop, even now ready for the sickle.

But if the gratitude of all succeeding generations, and especially of the present, has been, and is, due, in a greater measure, perhaps, than has been generally recognised, to Father Paul, to a still greater degree have the historians of the various European nations failed to mete out a fair measure of recognition to the sagacious, intrepid, and patriotic government, which employed, protected, and backed him, and which, at a time when greater nations from corrupt motives would not, and weaker communities dared not, oppose the encroachments of Church power on the secular affairs of mankind, stood forth the champion of civil liberty and the supremacy of civil law. It was under the strong shield of the Venetian republic that the terrible Friar braved the power which, but for such protection,



would have crushed him in an instant. It was at the bidding and for the laws of Venice that he fought as a Venetian citizen, preferring loyalty to his humanity to loyalty to his tonsure.

The position assumed by the government of Venice in the great and all-important struggle which is to be the subject of the following pages, was truly such as to merit the admiration and gratitude of mankind. But in this, as in various other respects, the peculiar and remarkable government which ruled Venice and its territory for more than eight hundred years, has been but superficially studied and very erroneously appreciated by the writers of popular history. The French historian Daru, whose work is one of pretension, and has incautiously been widely received as one of authority, has contributed much to this false and unjust estimate by its errors in fact and unfairness in representation. But a few picturesque lines by an universally-read poet have done, perhaps, even more to root in the contemporary popular mind a very mistaken notion of a government which, though it was by no means free from the errors in practice and theory that belonged to its age, was for a period of many centuries decidedly in advance of any other European community, both in its conception of the functions of government and its modes of carrying out its views. A graphic poet-spoken word or two of description of the prisons of the republic,—a romantic story or two of the secret action and irresistible power of “the Ten,”—have sufficed to enable the flash of genius to photograph on the public mind the well-known picture of a mysterious, remorseless, and tyrannic power, which serves “the general reader” for an idea of that skilfully-constructed and well-poised system of govern-

ment, to which mankind has on many occasions owed so much. In vain the matter-of-fact traveller, rule and note-book in hand, visits the prisons, which have securely established themselves in all the romantic imaginations of Europe, and proves that any jury of upholsterers would pronounce them far more comfortably habitable than many of our own. In vain it is suggested to the romance-of-history-loving mind that the Bridge of Sighs conveys by its poetically lugubrious name no such serious imputation on the authorities, to which it belonged, as, for instance, the phrase "Black Monday" casts on the administrations which made Monday perennially "black" at the Old Bailey. The prose-man and humble dealer in fact finds it—not in this matter alone—a very up-hill and well nigh hopeless task to undo that which the poet and the romancer have but too thoroughly done.

The real history of Venice has yet to be written. Abundant materials for it are now available which could hardly be said to be available a few years ago. It is a story second to none that mankind has ever acted in all that makes history valuable and delightful. We have much writing on the subject; but we have not yet the history of Venice, in any language.

Meanwhile it is the more modest scope of this volume to tell the true story of one episode in that history, especially deserving of the study and admiration of all ages; but, above all, worthy of attention at the present day.

## CHAPTER II.

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Position of the Church and State question in the latter half of the 16th century.—Restoration of the Church of Rome.—Real value of that restoration.—Hostility between the Church and the World.—Causes of this.—Inevitable effects of Protestantism.—Its working in England.—Awakening of despotic monarchs to the real tendencies of Protestantism.—Consequent alliance between them and Rome.—Grounds of quarrel between spiritual and lay despotism.—Rome's claims higher than ever after the Council.—Rome preaches anti-monarchical doctrines.—Opinion of Ranke on the possibilities at that time open to the Catholic Church.—This opinion controverted.—The Council of Trent.—Its right to the title of "Œcumenical."—Net results of it very different from what was anticipated.—Real motives of its decisions.—Justification by Faith and by Works.—Rome's meaning of the term "Works."—The claims of Rome to universal supremacy are logical.—The only alternative left to mankind is entire submission or denial of her first principles.—But despotic rulers can adopt neither of these alternatives.

It will be the object of the second book of my story to give the reader as complete a conception as I am able of the two men who were the principal champions in the memorable quarrel that has been spoken of in the last chapter. But, before attempting this, it will be well to describe, as shortly as possible, the position in which matters ecclesiastical stood in the world at the time when Paul the Pope and Paul the Friar were called on to take part in them.

Matters ecclesiastical occupied at that time a very large portion of the thoughts, aims, and strivings of nations and their rulers. Tons of tomes have been written in record and elucidation of the controversies and arguments of the thinkers, the motives and actions

of the doers, in the great struggle to get these matters adjusted in some not totally intolerable way, which then mainly occupied mankind. The attempt, therefore, to set forth any intelligible account of so large a subject in a few short pages, may perhaps reasonably appear presumptuous, if not absurd. It may, however, be not impossible to accomplish this, if we will limit ourselves to a statement of the real gist and object of the disputes which were agitating Europe, and content ourselves with the true meaning and aims of the disputants, to the exclusion of all their representations of their meaning and aims, and of all their indirect and not wholly sincere manœuvrings, schemings, and strategetic movements. The plain truth of any matter can always be told in very much fewer words than are used about it by those who have reasons for not setting forth the full and naked truth respecting it. And this will be found to be so in a very especial degree in the case of matters ecclesiastical, where very simple, very intelligible, and quite mundane objects were contended for on grounds involving purely theological considerations. Take, for example, the Council of Trent, the greatest event of the times in question. It lasted eighteen years; and never, probably, in the annals of mankind has there been enacted a drama demanding so large an erudition, so subtle a power of analysis, and so patient a development of exposition in the historian who would satisfactorily relate all the details of its progress, elucidate all the motives and policy of the numerous personages who took part in it or influenced its decisions; paint in their proper colours the diverse passions and aims which, checking, clashing, and thwarting each other, contributed to the general

result; and draw out the clear stream of an intelligible narrative from the mass of documents, immense and yet imperfect, in which all this is to be found. The difficulty and extent of the subject is so great, that the labours of the historians who have treated of it have still left a sufficiently arduous task to such readers of their works as would attain to a full comprehension of the story. Ranke\* speaks much of the almost insuperable difficulty of attaining to an accurate and satisfactory knowledge of the history of the Council; and if such an investigator has found the task all but impossible, any other may be tempted to give up the enterprise in despair. Yet the leading and simple truths connected with this great event, the real reasons which brought it about, the true motives of those who controlled its determinations, and the broad and certain consequences to which it led, may be easily comprehended and compendiously stated. The history of Europe during the generation which succeeded to that of the Tridentine Fathers is also one of considerable complexity, though far more easily to be mastered than that of the Council itself. The adjustment of the interests of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in the different countries of Europe led to a great variety of events, political systems, alliances, and quarrels. But the master-key to the right understanding of all this history is to be found in the necessary antagonism of secular and clerical interests; and the nature of this necessary antagonism, the position of the two, or rather three, parties in the strife (for the people had interests altogether different from those of either Church or

\* See Appendix, No. 21, Hist. of the Popes of 16th and 17th centuries.

monarch), and the real objects of each of them, are also capable of being shortly and clearly set forth.

Such brief and compendious statements, however, it must be understood, make no pretence to be history: they are merely the generalised, net results of the history as digested by the writer's mind; they furnish the reader with no means of testing the correctness of the writer's conclusions; and different minds digest their historical studies to very different net results, and to the formation of very different opinions. Yet such unsupported statements of the true essence of the history, as it appears to the present writer, are all that can be attempted here; and readers disposed to differ with him in his reading of the facts, can only be referred for the formation of their own judgments to the great sources of our knowledge of the period.

The great revolt against Rome which resulted in liberating a portion of Europe from her yoke, did not have the effect of weakening her hold on the part which still remained to her. On the contrary, the sacerdotal despotism, which weighed on the greatest part of Europe and rendered all progress impossible, appeared to consolidate and establish itself. The nations had made their struggle, their efforts had proved ineffectual, and they seemed to have sunk back exhausted into acquiescence under the tyranny, from which they had failed to emancipate themselves. The great life-and-death battle, which in the earlier part of the sixteenth century the Church had waged for its existence, had been fought out and decided, while Paul the Pope, fifth of that name, and Paul the Friar were growing up to man's estate.

"Heresy" had been extirpated in Italy, and was about to be so in other countries, which it had, with

fair prospect of success at one time, disputed with Rome. This consolidation of Church power over those nations which had not succeeded in throwing off its thralldom, has generally been called the great *restoration* of Catholicism. And Protestant writers, as well as such Catholics as have been sufficiently un-Catholic to admit the possibility that the infallible Church could need amending, have pointed out the marked amelioration and reform which it underwent in the course of, and as a necessary consequence of, the struggle. The change, which took place at that time in Rome's politics, habits of thought, and ways of life, was indeed far too notable to escape the observation of the most superficial reader of Papal history.

But if the new course, on which the Church of Rome was then entering, and which it has since pursued be studied by one, who will bear in mind the while the true meaning of a "Church," its proper significance and duty, and the conditions on which alone it can hope to discharge the functions it professes to undertake, he will perhaps come to the conclusion, that the Catholic "restoration"\* or reform during the latter half of the sixteenth century, far from being any real restoration or return to the true position and duties of a Church, was a movement which led that of Rome farther away than ever from all possibility of assuming such a position or performing such duties. Amelioration of a certain very visible sort there was unquestionably. The Popes became "respectable," and Rome "decent." No more monsters of well-nigh incredible profligacy were seen on the Papal throne. No more high-handed despots

\* The phrase is especially Ranke's. See Book vi. of the History of the Popes.

capable of shaking Europe with a trembling fit by thunders launched "Urbi et Orbi" from the Lateran! The occupants of Peter's seat took more to blessing and less to cursing. "Servus servorum" no longer appeared in the character of a warrior-chief more conversant with battle-fields than breviaries. The halls of the Vatican no more echoed the merriment of Papal banquets over jests and conversation fitted rather to the table of a Mécœnas or a Lucullus, than to that of Heaven's vicegerent upon earth. We find no more bishops openly advising each other to avoid reading the trash of St. Paul, for fear of spoiling the purity of their Ciceronian style; and no more cardinals—at least in public—professing that all Rome needed, to make a residence there delightful, was a court full of ladies! Nothing of all this after the Council of Trent! Rome abjured sack, and took to living cleanly. Thenceforward at least its priests were priestly. Very many of them had priestly attainments in large abundance. Some of them had priestly virtues. But all had priestly vices.

Thenceforward the preservation, protection, and security of the sacerdotal caste, its power, its pelf, and its privileges, were the true objects for which the Church existed. No longer seeking to manage and rule the world, except by underhand means, and for secondary aims, it turned all its efforts "to the greater glory of God." And this was perfectly understood by every tonsured head, from that which wore the tiara to that of the miserablest barefoot Cordelier, who worked for the good cause at the lowest base of the social pyramid, to mean exclusively the greater power, wealth, and dignity of the sacerdotal caste. The great object of the Church's life thenceforward was to live.



Bad as the Mediæval Church had been, and grossly worldly as had been its rude efforts to manage and govern the rude world around it, still it was in those ages a portion of the human family; it was the people's Church; was often the people's friend, ally, teacher, and consoler; and during more than one long period had contributed to advance rather than impede the onward march of mankind. Not till the epoch in question did it become clear, that the interests of the Church and the truest interests of humanity were at variance. Not till then was it clearly understood that lay and clerical was to be thenceforth a relationship involving hostility. But such has been in reality the state of things between the Church and the world ever since Rome succeeded, after the close of the great drawn battle between her and the Reformation, in establishing that restoration of her authority over the provinces remaining to her which, has been spoken of above.

The causes of this new and definite relationship between the Church and mankind,—between the Shepherd and the sheep—are not far to seek, nor difficult to be understood. It has been well remarked, that the great leaders of the Reformation, who succeeded in stripping Rome of so much of her territory, and who, when she escaped from them with the rest safe, as she hoped, left the arrow in her wound, which will at last prove finally fatal to her, were very far from being fully aware of the whole force and significancy of the change they had effected, and of the consequences which were necessarily to result from it. While earnestly engaged in asserting and maintaining certain theological doctrines, they did not perceive that the principles invoked by them in support of these were equally applicable to the overturning of lay despotism.

But it was very soon discovered, and that by despotic rulers and their counsellors quite as quickly as by their subjects, that "Protestantism" meant civil no less than spiritual liberty. No monarch, who ever wielded sceptre, would have been less disposed to admit the truth of this, than our Henry VIII., or his high-handed, though Protestant, daughter. But the moral causes that were put into action, worked on to their inevitable consequences despite the power of kings and their policy; and in the next reign, "the British Solomon" began to perceive the fact,—to his extreme dismay and unending trouble. But in England the great conquest was achieved. And Englishmen held fast to their Protestantism with an unanimity of determination and tenacity, which zeal for mere doctrinal truths, however sincere, would not have sufficed to inspire and sustain. "No Bishop, no King!" said the British Solomon, with all the sagacity inspired by the unerring instinct of self-preservation. And he kept his bishops. For Englishmen, in accordance with their wonted habit of taking a century or two to bring about a revolution quietly and safely, instead of convulsing the body social, and risking the loss of all the progress made, by endeavouring to effect their revolutions at a stroke, like some other nations—the Englishmen of the age of James, contented themselves with securing beyond the reach of all danger those fundamental principles, which have ever since been killing Church authority by inches, and in the mean time troubled themselves little about the illogical inconsistencies in their social system, which had to result in præmunire statutes, and diocesan chapters reluctantly electing doubtfully orthodox bishops at the bidding of heterodox ministers. But even the illogical

half-and-half protestantism adopted by our own Reformation, with a view of rendering possible its combination with high right-divine doctrines of civil government, has by its indefeasible progressive virtue placed English liberties where they are. And it has at the same time by the inconsistencies and incoherencies involved in its incompleteness, dragged our Church from its untenable position into the maze of contradictions, falsehoods, difficulties, and absurdities, which crop out in schisms between liturgy and articles; in bishops elected by mixed action of divine inspiration and *congé d'élire*; in clergy, punishable at common law for denying their sacramental or other functions according to the strict requirement of the canon they are bound to obey; in parish priests hooted from their churches, because they refuse to conform to the popular taste and feeling in matters, with which the popular taste and feeling have, according to the theory and constitution of their Church, not the slightest right to interfere; and in every variety of social dead-lock, in which, from the inherent falseness of the position, those of the contending parties who have most of common-sense and reason on their side are most wrong legally; and those whose legal position is most unattackably correct, are in most glaring opposition to reason and common-sense.

All this Protestantism, bursting the old bottles into which it was poured, has inevitably brought about, even when admitted in the maimed and imperfect condition, in which England first received it. The despotic sovereigns of continental nations would risk no alliance with a principle so surely pregnant with the germs of freedom. "Paris is well worth a mass!" cried frank, light-minded Henry IV. And though it was not the

way with saturnine self-contained Charles V. to talk in such off-hand and imprudent fashion, it may be easily understood, that his insistance for the holding of a council (from which he anticipated a very different result from that which fell out); his "Interim" code of provisional faith and religion, and his reverence for a pontiff, whom at need he imprisoned in his own fortress, and whose city he sacked; were prompted by a similar deeply rooted persuasion.

Protestantism, then, was clearly the common enemy of both civil and spiritual despotism; and the natural result of the discovery was alliance between both those enemies of mankind. The friendship growing out of these motives, and working to this end, was of course pernicious and debasing to both the parties concerned. But the demoralising and degrading effects of it were necessarily more fatally felt by the Church. To assume the position thus made for it, the Church had more visibly, notoriously, and scandalously to abandon all its proper business and functions as a Church. Lay princes spotted their ermine all over with stains of falsehood and untrue pretence. But the apostolical successor of St. Peter became in all his essence a living lie, and the grossest of sham priests, as the inevitable consequence of consenting to this "ca' me, ca' thee" bargain with despots. No pages in the history of mankind are fouler or more revolting to the moral sense than those which record the prostitution of Church influences, under the pressure of this unhallowed bargain, to purposes of secular police, and the maintenance of what absolute rulers term "order." And nothing save the deplorable familiarity of the spectacle, which has at length so depraved the moral sense of the masses of mankind as to lead them to

consider the arrangement as a matter of course, could have induced so many generations to tolerate the monstrous hypocrisy in either party to this Church-and-State-mutual-support-association. Nothing else could have blinded them to the truly incalculable injury done to mankind by that conversion of religion from a life-elixir into a poison, which necessarily results from thus officialising it, and allying it with the natural enemy of all men's best secular hopes and interests.

This was the position into which the Church fell, after its fight for life with the principles of the Reformation; when monarchs had become aware that those principles were likely to prove as dangerous to them as to Rome. And it is the utter incapacity for any good purpose, and the activity for fatally evil purposes alone, of a Church occupying such a position, which justifies the assertion that Rome in her latter days of comparative decency and respectability has been farther from all possibility of discharging the duties and functions of a Church than she was even in the previous ages of a hierarchy more grossly and scandalously unclerical.

The learned historian I have already quoted thinks\* that the observation which commonly "ascribes to the principle of the Catholic religion a peculiar connexion, a natural sympathy with the monarchical or aristocratical forms of government," is unfounded, inasmuch as the real fact is, that "Catholicism always attached itself to the side on which it found its firmest prop and most powerful ally;" and that "this religious system has no inherent or necessary affinity to one form of government more than to another." It is true un-

\* Ranke, *Hist. of the Popes*, Austin's translation, vol. ii. p. 185.

questionably, as the writer has shown by sundry instances, that the Church has always attached itself to whatever appeared to promise it the firmest prop and most available support. It is true that the Popes have ever been ready to play fast and loose with their monarchical allies, to avail themselves of popular passions whenever their own sails could be set so as to be filled by the breath of them, and to play off, as occasion offered, democratic resistance against sovereigns disposed to be recalcitrant against Church authority. But I do not think that all this is at all incompatible with the opinion that the Catholic religion has a peculiar connexion and natural sympathy with monarchical and despotic forms of government. Notwithstanding the instances cited by the historian, and others which might be adduced, in which the Church has made use of popular interests and passions for the punishment and coercion of unsubservient monarchs, the great and lasting alliances of the Church have always been with sovereigns, and have been close and intimate in proportion to the absoluteness of those sovereigns' dominion.

How indeed could it be otherwise? What alliance or sympathy is possible between liberty in any shape and a power whose first and all-important demand is plenary, unconditional, unquestioning submission and self-abnegation? Is the complete prostration of the soul under the yoke of absolute authority a likely preparation for, or accompaniment of, civil liberty? Where blind submission, utter annihilation of the will to such a point that the obedience rendered to the will of another is that of unreasoning matter, "perinde ac cadaver," as the celebrated Jesuit formula expresses it:—where such submission is deemed the most valu-

able of virtues, is any species of freedom likely to find encouragement or toleration? Is much liberty likely to be allowed to the body by those who enslave the soul? Or, if it were, would the liberty so allowed be fruitful or beneficent to the possessor of it? "*Idem velle et idem nolle, id demum firma amicitia est,*" as the historian\* tells us. And despot priest and despot king demand the same thing from humanity,—submission and obedience.

But the natural alliance between lay and spiritual despotism failed, as was to have been expected, from the peculiar nature of the Church claims, in rendering the understanding between the two powers an easily adjusted one: nor has the wrangle between them over the rights filched from mankind ever ceased to the present hour. In the years immediately succeeding the closing of the Council, the quarrel was especially active, as was to have been expected. The reinvigorated Church pitched the note of its claims in the highest key. Civil rulers were more awake than they had been in less thinking times to the ultimate results of the demands made upon them by the spiritual power; yet, at the same time, an increasingly clear comprehension of the inevitably liberalising tendencies of Protestantism warned them of the expediency of not breaking with Rome entirely.

There were other special circumstances in the situation of Europe which led to the assumption of an unusually high tone on the part of the Popes at the close of the sixteenth and opening of the seventeenth centuries. The starting in England of an anomalous system of lay Popeship, produced (English fashion) by

\* Sallust. *Catiline*.

the working of practical expediency in utter contempt of logical consistency, urged Romish casuists to the adoption, on paper, of anti-monarchical principles. Those audaciously absurd islanders (for such they must have appeared to logical Rome) insisted on having a monarch by right divine, while refusing all allegiance to the only power which could impart such a right to royalty. They invented for themselves an apostolic Church, which utterly refused all submission to the sole authority whose claims to infallibility must indisputably be the best, supposing infallibility to be extant on earth: and yet, if it did not absolutely claim for itself infallibility in theory, acted towards its laity in a manner which nothing short of the possession of it could justify or render decently consistent. A theory so outrageous, or rather a practice so in defiance of all theory, irritated Rome into a strange and most unnatural temporary alliance with the most advanced democratic doctrines. And the most high-church Catholic doctors wrote and preached that the civil power had no claim to exist by right divine in any case; that the sovereign derived his power solely from the will of the people, who possessed an indefeasible right to place as monarch over them any ruler, *save one who should be objectionable to the only power really existing by right divine—the Holy See!*

Then again in France, the necessity which the Church had been under of removing a rebellious monarch in the person of Henry III., and the accession of an heretical one in the person of Henry IV., were further motives for the propagation of doctrines so “dangerous” and subversive. And the then modern militia of the Church, the comparatively recent Order of Jesus, supplied exactly the kind of men



fitted for the management of such perilous weapons. In Spain, Philip III., a monarch after Rome's own heart, was content to tolerate her assumption of a position so fatal to the authority and independence of princes, by the aid it lent him for the nonce in his intrigues with the French high-catholic leaguers against Henry IV.

“Had the Popes succeeded at this moment,” says Ranke,\* “they would have achieved for ever the predominancy of the Church over the State. They put forward claims, and their adherents enounced opinions and principles, which threatened kingdoms and states both with internal convulsions and with the loss of independence.” The claims and doctrines of Rome did unquestionably threaten all this and more besides. But it is difficult for an Englishman to agree with the historian in thinking, that the success of the Popes in their attempt at that crisis would have achieved “*for ever*,” or even for a long period, the predominancy of the Church over the State. The principles maintained contained in them a germ equally fatal to spiritual as to temporal despotism. They are in flagrant opposition to the eternal principles on which the human soul has been created. And nature cannot be “put down.” However violent and vigorous the “*furca*” of despotic power, “*tamen usque recurrat*.” The world has seen no example of a people in the enjoyment of civil liberty effectually priest-ridden. Even in Ireland, which might seem to furnish the nearest approach to a specimen of such a phenomenon, the influence of Rome can only manifest itself by an increasingly hopeless struggle to combat the intelligence by the ignorance of the country.

\* *Op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 187.

May it not rather be argued, that, had the Popes at that crisis succeeded in establishing their claims to so-called spiritual supremacy, at the cost of establishing also the indefeasible right of nations to the choice of their rulers, and the derivation of all sovereign power from the popular will, the result would have been a very much more rapid arrival at emancipation from spiritual as well as civil despotism? Nor were the Popes themselves, and the wiser of their counsellors, blind to this danger, or willing to risk a definitive breach with civil rulers, when it was possible to avoid it; notwithstanding the thorough-going violence of those theologians who were tempted by the position and character of the Spanish king, or by a genuine belief in the excellence and divine appointment of a theocracy, to strike for unlimited supremacy over mankind.

It was nothing less than this that Rome deliberately attempted at the Council of Trent.

That fateful assembly brought its sittings to a conclusion in 1563—eighteen years after its first meeting in 1545. It was the last of the great series of “œcumenical” councils, or general parliaments of the universal Church, for the decision and settlement of the articles of a Christian man’s faith. No council was ever held that, with any degree of accuracy, was entitled to assume the lofty designation, and put forward the mighty pretensions thus set forth. Less and less as the ages went by, did the reality of the councils correspond with their professions; and least of all could the Council of Trent lay claim either to its name or to any capability of performing the task for which it professed to have been called together. The earliest councils could be termed “œcumenical” only

by ignoring the existence of that portion of the human race which had not embraced Christianity. And the latest of them could pretend to such a character only by excluding from the Catholic idea of the habitable world not only the unchristian nations, but the unorthodox and protesting parts of Christendom. Nor was the popular voice at any time sufficiently authoritative in the appointment and promotion of priests and bishops, to justify an assembly of the latter in considering themselves a representative parliament of the entire Church. At the date of the Council of Trent the sacerdotal portion of the Church, which the council *did* in some imperfect sort represent, was not only separated by a broad indelible line from the lay element of it, which remained wholly unrepresented, but was to a great degree hostile and antagonistic to it. Again, with regard to the business for which these general meetings professed to be called together, if it may be conceded that the councils held during the first centuries of the Church were in truth for the most part occupied with debates of a purely theological nature, with a view to deciding between opposing doctrines on their own intrinsic merits, at Trent the cares of the fathers of the Church had become lowered to the more mundane consideration of the scheme of doctrine, which it was necessary to impose on the laity, for the purpose of preserving ecclesiastical power and position.

Nevertheless, the Council of Trent was one of the greatest events of that eventful sixteenth century. As the last council for three hundred years, and in all probability the last the world will ever see, it fixed and defined the doctrines and pretensions of the Church irrevocably ; it petrified into immutable rigidity much

that for want of definition had previously been plastic and uncertain ; it was to the Church the burning of her ships, and cutting off of all possible retreat from the positions then assumed. The Catholic faith must remain such as it was stamped by the indelible impress of that council ; for such is the penalty of the assumption of infallibility.

The net results of the eighteen years of the council's labours were extremely different from what a very large, and the most enlightened portion of the Church had expected and hoped. Yet to us, who are enabled to take a synoptical view of the circumstances under which it was held, it appears that the issue was precisely such as might have been predicted, and that it could not have fallen out otherwise. The council was called for the healing of the wounds of the Church, for the removal of those abuses which had driven into schism so large a part of Christendom, for conciliation and reformation. It came together for this purpose, and when it separated, it had irrevocably asserted every objectionable point of doctrine, and had rendered all hope of gathering the schismatic communions again into the pale of the Church impossible. And this was the case, and could not have been otherwise, because each one of those decisions, which irrevocably bound the Church to some point of doctrine, destined ultimately to be fatal to it, was necessary to the prime object, which the assembled fathers had in view. This object was the maintenance of ecclesiastical power ;— the maintenancé of it in its entirety, it must be remembered, not only against the rebellious and self-asserting spirit of human intelligence, but also against the jealousies of civil rulers. The first had already vigorously entered on the path which could lead to no

other goal than the utter renunciation of authority in matters of faith. The second were becoming more and more awake to the fact, that ecclesiastical pretensions and principles tended not only to encroach on their own authority, but to render them mere puppets in the hands of the Church. All the complicated struggles, and clash of parties and interests, which made up the sum of work transacted by the Tridentine assembly, when traced to the motives which animated them, will be found to turn on these points. Even the disputes apparently most purely theological in their character derived their real importance from their bearing on the means of preserving sacerdotal power. Why, in the great and fiercely debated question of justification was it impossible for the Church to yield an inch to the ardent supporters of the doctrine of justification by faith, important as they were by their numbers, and respectable by their blameless lives and enthusiastic piety? The orthodox tenet of justification by "works" was indispensably necessary to the Church. Sacerdotalism could not do without it, because the opposite scheme tended to destroy the necessity, and in a great measure the possibility, of priestly supervision and regulation of men's lives. The faith of each human soul, the amount and quality of it, its vigour, liveliness, and fruitfulness, must needs remain a secret between each man and his Creator; or, taking even the lowest and most perfunctory view of it, must be received by any inquirer into the matter on the simple statement of the individual. But this would by no means answer the purpose of the Romish priesthood. The requirement of visible and tangible "works" was absolutely necessary to them, and these works, it must be observed, not such as appeared in the general tenour

of a life, but such as could be counted, tariffed, labelled, imposed at pleasure, or dispensed with by priestly authority. What would become of penances, indulgences, rosary-countings, dispensations, butter-towers\* and canonries founded out of the proceeds of permits to eat eggs in Lent, if justification by faith were to be admitted?

In a similar sort all the decisions which the Church fought for and succeeded in establishing were vitally necessary to her system. Rome could not, and cannot reform herself. Her scheme of doctrine has been too skilfully and logically built up to admit of any bit being knocked out of the edifice, without bringing down the whole. Her premises are monstrous, but her conclusions are so logically drawn from them, that no one of them can be abandoned without invalidating a whole string of antecedent and consequent reasoning. And these are the considerations which might have assured any man who could see them, as we are able to see them now, that the Tridentine Council must have come to the issue it did.

But it is needful to guard ourselves against allowing our appreciations of the men, who were engaged in asserting and fighting for sacerdotal power, to be too rigorously formed according to our estimate of their aims. At the present point in the progress of mankind, it is easy for a mind of very ordinary calibre to understand, that such a spiritual despotism as Rome aimed at, and to so wonderful a degree succeeded in establishing, must in accordance with the eternal laws of man's constitution, be unmaintainable for a perma-

\* Towers so called are still to be seen in more than one continental city; the fact that they were built with the proceeds of dispensations for eating butter during fast times, being commemorated by the designation.

nency by any conceivable means, and deadly to the moral nature both of the exerciser and the victim of it, as long as it is maintained. But minds of a high order were unable to perceive this truth at the time in question. Men, great and good in their generation, conscientiously believed that it was best and safest for the human race to be ruled with "flock-like" docility by the pastoral staff of infallible shepherds. The favourite comparison of the Church to the guiding and ruling soul, and of the laity to the gross body, whose destiny and duty it is to be governed by it,—a metaphor which recurs again and again in the polemical writings of the seventeenth century,—was urged in all good faith by men fully persuaded of the appositeness and stringency of the parallel. Pretensions to universal and absolute sovereignty by the sacerdotal caste, over all lay men and things, were put forward with a perfectly honest persuasion of the divine authority for the claim, and an entire self-confidence in the capability of undertaking it to the advantage of mankind.

In this persuasion and in these claims Rome was, as ever, logical. Admit her fundamental positions, and her claim to rule the world must also be admitted as well-founded. Her pretensions accordingly have never varied. Her claim to universal sovereignty may have been allowed to fall into abeyance; it has never been abandoned. But intelligibly enough it was urged with especial openness, directness, and pertinacity when, after a period, during which the Church had well nigh lost her power for want of using it, her claims were anew formulised, enunciated, and set forth by the decision of the great council, which, on being rudely wakened from her slumbers, she had called to ascertain her rights and position. Never did Rome put forward

higher claims, and assert them more directly and distinctly, than during the generations which immediately followed the closing of the Council of Trent. Her *acts* indeed had been more high-handed and violent in the rude old times, when unquestioning nations and monarchs could be terrified into submission by awful denunciations, and threats backed up from time to time by some well-timed miracle, or unmistakable manifestation of the divine wrath. But not even in the days of a Gregory VII., or an Innocent III., had sacerdotalism ever theorised so audaciously, or argumentatively asserted pretensions so entirely subversive of every shade of civil liberty, as it did, when basing its claims on the doctrines newly and definitively established by the last œcumenical council.

But in the assertion of such claims Rome was, as it has been remarked, as ever strictly logical. The claims are monstrous, but they can only be shown to be so, by altogether denying her first principles. Admit these, and all she contends for must be admitted also. And it is very desirable that this should be clearly understood and borne in mind.

I in no wise wish to interfere, she said, between the civil ruler and his subjects in matters which do not concern me; but I must be supreme in all such as do. For the spiritual interests of mankind, it will be admitted, are paramount. Now, I alone, as by admitted hypothesis, have infallible knowledge of what these interests are, and of the manner in which they may be best promoted. None therefore, save myself, can be the judge of the question what matters do, and what do not, concern me. For example, I meddle not with the right of any ruler to levy taxes on his people; but only claim the privilege of suspending the exercise of



that right, in cases where the sovereign would use his resources in a manner calculated to injure me or my friends. Again, I interfere not with the obedience due from the subject to the civil power, except when the latter commands what is directly or indirectly prejudicial to the cause and interests of religion. In a word, I meddle with human conduct only to enforce the will of God. Do you not admit that *that* will ought to be enforced? And you have already admitted that I alone know with certain knowledge what that will is.

Who can wonder at ecclesiastical "encroachments" under such a system? Who does not see rather, that there can be no such thing as encroachments in the prosecution of such claims? that the entire control of human life must pass into the hands of a power so armed and privileged? Who does not see the futility of attempting to divide the temporal from the spiritual, and to hedge off a part of human affairs with which religion has nothing to do? Who does not see that all the wretched cobweb work of technicalities about temporal concerns, and spiritual concerns, and "mixed" concerns (!) are the results of compromise, dishonest on both sides? *Mixed* affairs, indeed! What is the part of human affairs, life, and conduct, which has no relation to the eternal sanctions, and man's duty to God? Granted the existence of a power on earth, the sole possessor of infallible and eternal truth, the only unerringly inspired expositor of God's will, and in a word, his appointed vicegerent, *ought* not all rule, government, and power over mankind to pass into the hands of that power? Can any one admit the premises and deny the conclusion? Surely, the sole, honest, and logical alternative possible, in reply to the pre-

tensions of a power putting forward such claims, is full and unconditional submission, or a distinct denial of the grounds of them. Admit them; and bow humbly to an authority, which it would be no less absurd than wicked to dispute. Or, reply to Rome's pontiff and priests: "We wholly reject and discredit your credentials. We deny that you have any knowledge of God, His laws, and will, more or other in kind or quantity than has been vouchsafed by Him to the rest of mankind. We wholly disbelieve in your infallibility on any subject whatever, and claim for ourselves an equal power of ascertaining God's will, and conforming our actions to it."

But despotic monarchs and their counsellors were for very intelligible reasons unwilling to take either of these courses. History perhaps may furnish an example here and there of a royal fanatic almost disposed to accept the former of the above stated alternatives. But fortunately for mankind, such excess of folly has been rare. Far rarer still, any specimen of a ruler taking the other course. For the help of the Church in keeping the yoke on men's necks had become too necessary to be dispensed with. This is the simple secret of the bargaining orthodoxy of "Most Catholic," "Most Christian" monarchs, and "eldest" and other "sons of the Church." Such frank and thorough-going Protestantism as that indicated above, too clearly carried the germs with it of other besides ecclesiastical liberties. Monarchs, therefore, preferred allying themselves with the possessors of a power of infinite force for the subjection of mankind, even though the theory on which that power was based necessarily involved claims destructive of their own authority. For that other power, with which they

might have allied themselves, could not be bargained with. Though making at the outset no claims comparable in audacity and magnitude to those of its rival, it was a living principle, certain to march onwards on the path pointed out by its own inalienable nature, and drag all connected with it in the same direction. With the second principle, despite the logical inevitableness of its claim to entire supremacy, compromise might be made. If monarchs wanted the support of the Church, the Church was in no less need of the assistance of monarchs. Antagonistic pretensions might, therefore, admit of arrangement.

In the story to be told in the following pages, it will be seen how the instinct of self-preservation, working in lay and priestly despot alike, awoke in the nick of time to avert the dangers to both that were looming near, in the assertion by a powerful state of the true principles of civil independence. Now quarrels and mutual offences were suddenly forgotten, when the spark, that might have kindled a conflagration in which sacerdotal and kingly tyranny might both have perished, had to be trodden out.

Rogues fell out; honest men began to hope; but the rogues were unhappily wise, and made up their quarrel in time.



BOOK II.

THE MEN.



## CHAPTER I.

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Two lawyer Popes.—Similarities and contrasts.—Conscientious bigotry of Paul V.—Effects of the policy of Clement VIII.—Change in the tone of the Church.—Election and death of Leo XI.—Conclave for the election of Paul V.—Secret history of the Conclaves.—“The Conclavisti.”—Regulations for the holding of Conclaves.—Mode of proceeding.—Three methods of electing a Pope.—Difficulty of following all the details of the story of a Conclave.

It was in a world teeming and seething with the ideas and passions to which this great quarrel gave rise, that the two men, who are the subjects of these pages grew up to man's estate. They were just emerging from boyhood when the council closed in 1563: and were in the prime of manhood, when the conflict of priestly pretensions with the claims of civil authority resulted in the assassination of Henry III., and the struggles and difficulties arising out of Henry IV.'s protestantism, and subsequent conversion. The Venetian, conversant from his early years with most of the men of mark among the rising generation of patrician politicians, who were already beginning to perceive the goal to which priestly ambition was threatening to conduct mankind, grew to be, priest and monk as he was, the most redoubtable opponent of her encroachments, whom Rome had ever yet had to deal with. The Roman, growing up amid the influences of the Apostolic Court, imbibed an exagge-

rated idea even of the most exaggerated theories prevailing in Rome's high places.

Camillo Borghese, afterwards Pope Paul V., born in the seventh year of the Council of Trent, was in his eleventh year when it came to a conclusion, and in his fortieth when his predecessor,\* Clement VIII., ascended the papal throne. There was a singular similarity in the antecedents of these two Popes. Both were the sons of distinguished lawyers. Both their fathers, Tuscans alike, had been exiles from their native cities—Aldobrandino, the father of Clement VIII., from Florence, and Borghese, from Siena. Both had been driven into exile by the tyranny of the Medici. Both the fathers had found an asylum at Rome, both had been successful in their careers, and both had destined their sons to run in the same path. Both Popes were, as the circumstances of the Church had compelled the Popes of that period to become, men of respectable private life, given to devotional practices, good and zealous churchmen, anxious above all else for the exaltation and prosperity of the Church. But it is difficult to imagine two men more strongly contrasted within the limits of the above general similarities.

Native diversity of character may of course avail to set aside all the influences of similarity of position and circumstances. But in the case of these two Popes, there was a difference in their careers, similar as they were in their general outline, which seems to correspond very intelligibly with the different use they made of supreme power. Circumstances had thrown

\* Not accurately his immediate predecessor. Leo XI., a Medici, comes in the list of popes between them; but he lived only twenty-six days after his election.



Ippolito Aldobrandini into the world of statesmanship. Cardinal Alessandro Farnese had constituted himself his patron at an early age; he had been nuncio in Poland, and had had opportunities there of becoming favourably known to the different members of the house of Austria. His legal career therefore had been of so enlarged a character as to have opened to him wider views of men and things, than were accessible to a mere member of the Roman Curia. He had seen the world, and mixed with the diplomatists of Europe; thus leading for fifty-six years a life calculated, if not to serve as a desirable preparation for the exercise of a supreme bishopric of souls, yet to supply a not wholly inefficient education for a sovereign prince. Clement VIII. accordingly was an eminently politic Pope, moderate in his conduct, though as anxiously bent as any Pontiff in the series on the maintenance and aggrandisement of the power and dignity of the Church; cautious to a fault; possessed of a very competent knowledge of the general state and tendencies of the various members of the European family; and comprehending almost as well as a lay statesman might have done, what was possible and what was not possible to be achieved towards establishing ecclesiastical supremacy.

The legal career and studies of Camillo Borghese had on the contrary been of a nature to produce a character of most diametrically opposite disposition. The experience mankind has had of lawyer-priests has not been such as to lead them to consider the combination a favourable one. The study and administration of human law, above all, of such law as that of the Roman Curia, is not calculated to foster the qualities that should go to the formation of the

character of an ideal Christian priest. And the ordinary characteristics of Rome's actual priesthood are as little adapted to qualify the mind for an enlightened and large comprehension of the principles and practice of law. But the law studies and practice of Borghese had been of such a sort as to produce the evils alluded to in their greatest intensity; and above all to disqualify him for the exercise of supreme power. His life had passed in the laborious seclusion of a hardworking lawyer, magistrate, and lastly inquisitor. He was raised to the papacy because he had no political enemies. And he had no political enemies, because he was unknown to the political world of Europe. He had studied the position, pretensions, and possibilities of the Church only in the books and writings, which form the arsenal of Rome's weapons and claims. From them he had imbibed the most exaggerated ideas of the papal rights and power. And his only notion of the duty of a Pope was to assert and enforce these pretensions undeterred by any consideration of expediency. A narrow, hard, pedantic, despotic-minded, obstinate, and strongly conscientious man, he ascended the papal throne with a single-hearted determination to perform the duty thus placed before him. Wholly ignorant of the state and tendencies of the public mind of Europe, and of all those circumstances of the various states, which taught the wiser Popes when to insist and when to temporise, he recognised no rule of conduct save that deduced from the writings in which Rome had registered her own notions of her own rights and claims. Had he even possessed the knowledge, which might have taught a more prudent and less absolute-minded man the expediency of moderation and caution, the character of

his mind was such as to have prevented him from availing himself of it. He looked into the bond, and was determined to have the pound of flesh set down in it. What! abstain from straining to the utmost every power, and using every weapon he could lay his hand on for the enforcement of this or that point of papal claim! Look into the books. Are they not clear on the subject. What more is to be said? Unmuzzle at once every gun in the ecclesiastical arsenal! Hurl anathemas and excommunications broadcast, rather than abate a jot or tolerate a delay in the satisfaction of the letter of the law.

Such was the man who succeeded\* in 1605 to the calm, cautious, politic, statesman-like Clement VIII. The wise and judicious exercise of these qualities had succeeded in placing the Court of Rome in a much safer and more favourable position in Europe, than it had occupied when Clement was elected. Between the violent high church and Spanish party, and the moderate royalist party in France, he had had a difficult course to steer. The first had urged him to come to no terms with Henry IV., even when that monarch sought reconciliation with the Holy See, but to insist on his reprobation as a relapsed heretic, and as such, incapable of absolution even by the Pontiff himself. Spain, of course, was excessively anxious to perpetuate the breach on which depended the success of all her designs on France. And a very strong party in the Sacred College and the Roman Curia ceased not to urge the Pope in this direction. The second party, which from the time the King declared himself a Catholic in 1593, comprehended all the more moderate

\* With the interval, as has been explained, of the twenty-six days' papacy of Leo XI.

men in France, and indeed the bulk and strength of the nation, sought the King's absolution and reconciliation with Rome in a manner that could hardly be refused. Nevertheless, cautious Clement hesitated long, and when he had made up his mind to grant the absolution, did not venture on proposing the measure openly in consistory; but consulted each of the Cardinals separately and privately; and declared when he had consulted them all, that two-thirds of them were in favour of according the absolution.

There can be no doubt that Rome acted in this matter with sound policy. The ultra-Catholicism of Spain, and the exclusive alliance with her, hampered the independence of the Roman Court, and by destroying the balance of power, placed it in a dangerous position, without affording it any corresponding advantages. Between the two great powers, now once again both Catholic, the Pope was far freer and more powerful, than while dragged by Spain in the wake of her own ambitious and dangerous designs. Reconciled with the monarchy of France, there was no longer any need for the Church to preach that perilous doctrine of the dependence of princes on the will of their subjects. And we find accordingly that the pens and the pulpits suddenly changed their tone. The Sorbonne discovered—its rector having been sent into exile for his unaccommodating consistency—that sovereigns *were*, after all, dependent on God alone; that the opposite doctrines were the invention of evil and perverse-minded men; and Church and State were once again able to shake hands over their mutual understanding, on a point which each knew to be in the long run necessary to both of them.

And all this Clement had accomplished, if not with-

out giving umbrage to Spain, at least without any open quarrel with so exemplary Catholic a power. But in the latter years of his papacy, when under the pressure of advancing age he had suffered nearly all power and authority to pass into the very capable hands of his nephew, the Cardinal Aldobrandino, there grew up a considerable amount of ill-feeling between that minister and Spain. The election of the next Pope became therefore a matter of extreme anxiety to the two great Catholic powers. And when the Cardinal de Medici, nearly related to the Queen of France, and one of those members of the Sacred College on whose election Spain had expressly placed a veto, was chosen as Leo XI., great was the triumph and exultation of the French. The news was received in France with illuminations and cannon-firing.\* But the French triumph was cut short by the new Pope's death after a reign of twenty-six days ; and the internecine struggle of a new election had to recommence.

From this struggle, as we already know, Camillo Borghese, the little known lawyer inquisitor, came forth as Paul V. But it will be worth our while to enter the secret precincts of the Conclave together with the members of the Sacred College, and look on at the jealously guarded mystery of making a Pope.

We have the means of doing this very completely and satisfactorily. The horror, alarm, and indignation of those holy fathers, could they have imagined that their proceedings within those hermetically sealed walls should one day be detailed for the amusement and edification of heretics and barbarians, may be partly guessed by the sympathetic reader ; more especially after he has read the story of their doings. Here

\* Hist. de la Vie du Seigneur du Plessis.

again, as at every turn, they are met by that detestable invention of the printing press, inexhaustible in mischief! Who could guess, when some hoary-headed old "Conclavista," whose mind had been saturated during a life-time with the quintessence of subtlest intrigues and intricately tortuous party manœuvrings, trusted his stored experience to a cautiously-guarded manuscript destined for no eyes save those of the inmost adepts of Rome's mysteries,—who could guess that the secret was to be revealed, not only to the outer world of the faithful, but to heretics, scoffers, and enemies! Oh, the fatal, fatal printing-press! The press has done it all. There is the volume, a little dumpty quarto, printed on shockingly bad paper in the year 1667, at what place there is no word to show. It is entitled, "Conclaves of the Roman Pontiffs, as many as could be found, up to the present time;" and contains accounts of the elections of thirty-two Popes, beginning with Clement V., in 1305, and ending with Alexander VII., in 1655. Some of these very curious narratives are given with much greater detail, and more intelligence than others. Most, but not all of them, appear to have been written by "Conclavisti," fully entitled to add, "*quorum pars magna fui*," to the title pages of their narrations. These "Conclavisti" were the secretaries of the Cardinals, who entered the Conclave, attended each by two \* of these indispensable functionaries. They were men, the whole business of whose lives was to become consummate masters of all the inconceivably intricate labyrinth of intrigue, plotting, counter-plotting, and false-seeming, which never ceasing in Rome,

\* And sometimes by special indulgence in cases of Cardinals of very high rank, or very infirm, by three.

always grew in energy and activity as the probable time of a papal election drew near, and culminated in an intensity of dissimulating strategy in the Conclave. On them devolved the greater part of the negotiations and intercommunications carried on between their Eminences during their seclusion. It was their business to glide from cell to cell of the purple dignitaries, —for these curious busy creatures, like bees choosing their queen-bee, lived each in his cell, while performing the operation in their carefully-closed hive;—to outgeneral each other in spying and escaping from spies;—to let no smallest indication of a new breach between allies, or alliance between recent opponents, of a freshly-hatched scheme, or meditated treachery escape them;—and generally to do any work in the great mutual deception prize-match, which was too dirty for the dignity of purple Eminences to be seen doing themselves.

Fortunately, one of the fullest and most dramatic of these extraordinary narratives is that of the Conclave which made our Camillo Borghese, Pope Paul V., and the story of it is well worth our examination. But for the right understanding of this, it is necessary to preface it by a few words explanatory of the nature of the Conclave, and of the method of its proceedings.

An anti-popular spirit, despite the alleged democratical principles of a system which excludes the humblest born man from none of its high places, necessarily characterises the tendencies of a power whose leading object is to exact unbounded submission. This spirit had already abusively excluded, not only the people, but also the rank and file of the sacerdotal order from all voice in the election of the supreme Pontiffs, and had placed in the hands of the

Cardinals this all-important privilege; when in the latter part of the thirteenth century, Gregory X. regularised in the Council of Lyons the method of proceeding to a canonical election. The Conclave, or shutting up the Cardinals in strictly guarded seclusion was then instituted. They were bound to enter into Conclave not later than ten days after the death of the late Pope. Absent members of the Sacred College were not to be waited for. The place of Conclave was to be a chamber of the papal palace. All access, either personal, or by writing, or communication of any kind, was prohibited. Each was to have but one domestic. Their food was to be admitted through an aperture too small to allow of the passage of a human being. Each article was to be examined to preclude the possibility of any writings being clandestinely conveyed with it into the interior of the assembly. If they could come to no election in three days, their food was to consist for a further period of five days of one dish only. After that, only bread and wine were to be allowed. And all contravention of these rules subjected the offender, be his rank or position what it might, to excommunication *ipso facto*, to infamy, and to the forfeiture of any office or estate he might hold under any church in Christendom. Any undertaking, promise, or agreement, having reference to the vote of the electors was declared null; and if it had been made under oath, the oath was abrogated.\*

But the rigour of these regulations, as may easily be supposed, soon fell partially into desuetude. The strict seclusion of the Conclave was, however, as it still is, maintained. When an election was to take

\* See Milman's Hist. of Latin Christianity, vol. v. p. 92.



place, the Cardinals proceeded with much ceremony to the Vatican on the eleventh day after the Pope's death. A range of small cells constructed of planks, and equal in number to that of the Cardinals, was constructed in readiness for them along the galleries and in the great hall of the Vatican. Their Eminences first proceeded to the Paoline chapel, where the bulls regulating the holding of Conclaves were read, and an exhortation to the strict observance of them delivered. Then the cells were distributed by lot; each Cardinal took possession of that which fell to him, and his arms were erected over the door of it. The master of the ceremonies then warned all present, that they should not enter the Conclave, unless they were minded to continue there until its close, be its duration what it might: and their Eminences were then free to return to their own palaces to dine if it so pleased them; and the Conclave chamber remained open to the visits of the ambassadors and agents, and intriguers of all sorts, until the third hour after sunset. The Cardinals, who had availed themselves of the liberty of returning to their homes, were bound to be back in their cells at that hour; the master of the ceremonies rang a bell to warn visitors to retire; the Conclave was closed, materially as well as metaphorically; for the doors were walled up; sentinels were placed by the marshal of the Conclave to guard every avenue of access to the Vatican, and the business in hand was begun.

These last hours of communication with the outer world, during which the privilege accorded to strangers of remaining in the place of Conclave lasted, were ordinarily fruitful in schemes and intrigues. And more than one election has turned on negotiations entered into at that last moment. The persons who

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remained walled up with their Eminences, were two Conclavists for each of them, a sacristan and sub-sacristan, a secretary and assistant secretary, a Jesuit confessor, two physicians, a surgeon, two barbers, an apothecary, five masters of the ceremonies, a mason, a carpenter, and sixteen servants for the menial work.\*

The election may be accomplished in either one of three different manners. Firstly, by scrutiny, in which each Cardinal places in a vase on the altar of the Sistine chapel a billet containing his vote signed with his name. The ceremonies and precautions with which this is done, and the votes afterwards examined by those Cardinals elected to be scrutators, are most minute, and carefully managed, so as to exclude the possibility of error or fraud. For a canonical election by scrutiny the votes of two-thirds of the number of Cardinals present are requisite.

The second method is by compromise; an expedient resorted to occasionally when the Cardinals assembled have found it impossible to arrive at an election; and have agreed to leave the absolute nomination of the Pope to one or more of their number. This method has fallen into desuetude, since Cardinal D'Ossat in 1314, having been appointed to settle the differences of the assembly which had been found insoluble by other means, cut the knot of the difficulty by forthwith naming himself, saying, "*Ego sum Papa*," which he accordingly became by the name of John XXII.

The third mode of making a Pope is,—or rather was, for this also has not been had recourse to in modern times,—a very remarkable one. And much of the tactics and play of the Conclave depended on

\* Picard, *Cérémonies religieuses*, vol. i. p. 284.

it; as will readily be understood, when it has been described. This third process was called an election by "Inspiration," or by "Adoration." It consisted in a number of Cardinals suddenly crying out, at some moment, when the Conclave was united together, "Cardinal — is Pope." If this cry was echoed by a sufficient number to make a canonical election, by two-thirds of the Conclave that is, the thing was done. The Pope was made. The theory of this curious proceeding of course was, that a sudden illumination by the Spirit prompted the raisers of the cry in an altogether irresistible and miraculous manner. The real operation and meaning of the thing was this. A number of Cardinals having concerted together, and come, on the maturest consideration, to the conclusion that they were strong enough to have a fair chance of success, determined to risk everything, as Picard \* says, in the hope of carrying their point by a *coup de main*. The chances of success rested in a great measure on the suddenness and unexpectedness of the operation. For all depended on a sufficient number of those who were taken by surprise being led to join in the cry, by the fear of the Pope being made without their having a share in the making of him. It will be easily understood, that this fear held a very important part in all the movements and play of the Conclave. If it was a very desirable thing that the man, who was to be your absolute superior and sovereign, and on whose will all that you most hope and all that you most fear was to depend, should be conscious that his elevation was in part your work; it was proportionably to be deprecated that he should know that you had been his adversary.

\* Hist. des Cérémon. vol. i. p. 283.

Here was a strong motive for joining in the sudden "Inspiration"—"If the Pope be now made, I will be one of those who make him." On the other hand, if the attempt did not succeed, those who raised the cry, and those who joined in it, placed themselves by this open support of another, in the position of opponents to the candidate who should eventually be chosen. It will be seen at once that this Inspiration strategy required the most delicate handling, and a very skilful estimate of the men and circumstances to be dealt with. The attempt of a party consciously not strong enough to elect their own candidate—for if they were strong enough they would do so by the regular way of votes and scrutiny,—to carry him in this way, was a very dangerous game. But at the same time, it was a most difficult point for each individual of the party taken by surprise to decide, on the spur of the moment, whether he should join in it or abstain. The position was very like that of the players of a certain game at cards, in which success depends on exhibiting such an amount of assurance as shall intimidate your adversary into giving in at once, from fear of the worse penalties which he will incur if, after standing out, it should eventually be found that he is in reality the weaker.

It should be observed, moreover, that the fear lest this manœuvre should at any moment be unexpectedly resorted to, and the precautions and watchfulness by which it was attempted to provide against it, gave occasion to a large and difficult part of the politics and strategy of the Conclave.

With these explanations of "the rules of the game," we shall be in some degree able to understand the intricate detail of moves and countermoves, resulting in the election of Camillo Borghese to be Pope Paul V.,

which the experienced and subtle old Conclavist has given us, despite his oath to divulge nothing of what passed in the secret prison-house of the Conclave.

To understand it *in some degree*, I have said, for a very careful and attentive reading of the twenty-six quarto pages, which contain the narrative of them, is necessary for the full comprehension of all the moves and the motives of them. And a nineteenth century public would scarcely be gratified by a reproduction of all the alliances and treacheries, and reasons for hating and fearing each other of all these purple Princes of the Church.

We must be content with such an outline of the circumstances which brought about the main result, as can be made to convey an intelligible specimen of the way in which Popes were made.

## CHAPTER II.

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The story of a Conclave.—That of Paul V. divided into four parties.—Candidature of Cardinal Saoli.—First scrutiny.—Bellarmine put forward.—Cardinal Montalto at supper.—Proposal to elect Cardinal Camerino.—San Clemente proposed.—Formal exclusion of him by Montalto's party.—A well-devised move defeated.—Formal exclusion of Cardinal Saoli.—Cardinal Tosco put forward.—Montalto's indecision.—He consents to vote for Tosco.—That Cardinal all but elected.—The slip between the cup and the lip.—Baronius, his character.—Prevents the election of Tosco.—Extraordinary scene in the Conclave.—Two hostile camps in the Sistine and Paoline chapels.—Negotiations between them.—Strange scene in the Sistine chapel.—Proposal of Cardinal Borghese.—Cardinal Joyeuse.—Scene in his cell.—Election of Borghese.—Its consequences.

On the 11th of May, 1605, fifty-nine Cardinals went into the Conclave. They were divided into no less than four principal parties. The strongest seemed to be that of Cardinal Aldobrandino, the nephew of the last Pope,\* and was composed of his uncle's "creatures." This is the technical term for the Cardinals created by a Pope. Of course there was always to a certain extent a natural bond of union and sympathy between the Cardinals made by the same Pope. And they naturally gathered around the man, who had held the place of favourite, Cardinal nephew, and prime minister, during the time of their promotion. But the great

\* In reality the last but one, as has been before explained. But Leo XI. and his twenty-six days' papacy are of little significance.

and all but unlimited power which was always enjoyed by a Cardinal nephew, rarely failed to excite against him an immense amount of enmity and jealousy among the older Cardinals of the creation of preceding Popes. None in that position had ever possessed this authority to a greater degree, during at least the latter years of the pontificate of Clement VIII., than the Cardinal Aldobrandino, who was in many respects a very able man. The creatures of former papacies were equally naturally banded together in the Conclave against him. The strength of the Cardinal Aldobrandino's party in the present Conclave was estimated at twenty-six votes.

Next in force came the independent party of his opponents and enemies. They were chiefly under the influence and lead of the Cardinal Montalto, and counted twenty-one votes.

Then there were thirdly and fourthly the Cardinals wholly in the interest of the Court of Spain, and those wholly in the interest of the Court of France. The total number of votes, as we have seen, was fifty-nine. Of these, forty-seven have been already accounted for. There remain twelve. And as the Conclavist tells us, though without mentioning the numbers, that these two parties were of equal numerical strength, we must suppose them to command six votes each. The action of the two great Catholic powers in the Conclaves generally was exerted to secure the exclusion of certain possible candidates expressly obnoxious to them. And a much smaller number of devoted adherents of course sufficed to attain this object, than would have availed to secure the election of any given individual. The number of votes necessary to make an election in the Conclave in question was, it will be observed, forty,

that being the nearest possible approach to the requisite majority of two-thirds.

It is clear therefore that if all the members of the two strongest parties had remained obstinately true to their colours, no election could be effected, even if the strongest of them, that of Aldobrandino, could have united to itself all the voices commanded by both France and Spain—a consummation altogether out of the question, inasmuch as any candidate acceptable to the one power would be precisely the one whom the other would be most desirous of excluding. But it is not to be imagined, that there was ever any chance that all the adherents of a party were perfectly staunch, and to be trusted by its chief. Too great a number of subsidiary motives influenced different individuals in a vast variety of ways for this to be possible. One man would wish a Pope of his party to be elected, but not this or that particular individual, and if such a result appeared probable he would desert his party to avert it, more especially as he could do so without detection; unless it so happened that the scrutiny, in which he did so, chanced to be a successful and final one. For the papers containing the votes, though signed, were so folded as to show at the first opening of them only the name of the candidate for whom the vote was given. And if the scrutiny of that voting resulted in no election, the papers were burned at the end of the Conclave without further examination. Only after the successful voting, by which the Pope was elected, were the papers containing the votes that had accomplished the result, altogether unfolded so as to let the names of the voters be known. It will be readily imagined how tangled and vast a mass of hypocrisies, false promises, and cross purposes, such a



system, together with all the variety of motives and interests at work in those scarlet-hatted old heads, must have occasioned.

The first move in the Conclave was an attempt on the part of the allies to elect Cardinal Saoli, one of their number. Cardinal Visconti, who belonged to Aldobrandino's camp, had lately, it was known, felt less well disposed towards his leader. And as Saoli was his mother's cousin, he was easily induced to enter warmly into the scheme for electing him, and succeeded in drawing several of the Aldobrandino party with him. Moreover San Marcello, another of Aldobrandino's friends, though adhering to him firmly in every other circumstance, had declared that he could not vote against Saoli, because that Cardinal's brother, when Doge of Genoa, had favoured the reception of the San Marcello family as patricians of that republic. Aldobrandino was very far from well at the time of entering into Conclave. It was feared—and hoped—that he could not have joined it. He would not give up, however; and went in with the rest; but immediately retired to bed in his cell.

Under these circumstances the friends of Saoli thought that there was a very good chance of carrying his election by a sudden "Adoration" at the very outset of the Conclave. But Cardinal Saoli himself was unwilling to risk it. He was fully persuaded, says the Conclavist, that Aldobrandino's illness would compel him to quit the Conclave; in which case he would have been sure of his election by the ordinary means of voting. He was mistaken in his calculation; and lost a chance, which the Conclavist thinks would, in all probability, have turned out successful, by his timidity. Some whisper, however, of the projected

step had reached Aldobrandino and his friends, and kept them in great anxiety all the first day and night. So much so that Cardinal Cesi went to him about ten o'clock at night, and told him that he must get up, ill as he was, and go round among their friends and show himself. Had he not done so, the Conclavist thinks that the attempt at "Adoration" would have been made by Saoli's friends. The Aldobrandino faction, however, "in order to give the opposite party something to chew," as the Conclavist expresses it, in the mean time, put about a rumour that very possibly an "Adoration" of Cardinal Tosco, a favourite candidate of their own, would be attempted in the course of the night; and this had the effect of causing many of the allies to quit their beds, and remain on the alert.

The next morning, after mass said by the oldest Cardinal, Como, the Conclave proceeded to the first scrutiny, in which to the general surprise, fourteen votes were given to Cardinal Bellarmine.

The only names in all the Conclave that have retained any place in history, besides that of the successful candidate, were the Cardinals Baronius, Bellarmine, and Barromeo. All three of them belonged to the party of Aldobrandino. This unexpected result of the scrutiny puzzled the majority of the assembly exceedingly. The Conclave, says the Conclavist, was all in the dark. For though Bellarmine was of the Aldobrandino, or Clementine faction, that party had not thought of making him Pope. Though he was much beloved, and his character stood high, still, as our author remarks, his being a Jesuit, and being known to be "delicate of conscience," did not recommend him for the Papacy. The fact was, that the

notion of putting him forward had originated, not with his own party, but with that of Montalto and the allies. Sforza was his relative by the mother's side; and to Aquaviva, a nephew of the General of the Jesuits, his quality of Jesuit was a recommendation. The plan was originated by these two, who easily persuaded several of their own party to join them, by the considerations that as matters stood, there was no hope of electing Saoli; that it was certain that the elevation of Bellarmine would not suit the views of Aldobrandino; and that, let the matter turn either way, they could not but be gainers, for if a sufficient number of his own party joined them to elect him, they would have the merit of having giving him the Papacy; and if, on the other hand, the attempt failed, they would in all probability cause disunion among the Clementines, and very likely obtain Bellarmine's support for their own candidate Saoli. The whole of that day was spent in the intrigues to which this unexpected move gave rise. Baronius was an intimate friend of Bellarmine, and was known to have spoken with Barromeo, who was also favourable to him, of the expediency of such an election, though without any idea of realising it. Sfondrato, one of the knot of the allies, who had started the candidature of Bellarmine, went to Baronius, and persuaded him to go, as on his own idea, to Aldobrandino and point out to him that if he and his friends would vote for Bellarmine, he might be sure of sufficient support from the party of the allies to elect him. Aldobrandino cautiously requested to know from Baronius his grounds for such an opinion. To which the latter replied that he might trust him, as his information was from a perfectly reliable source. Aldobrandino, however, divining how matters really stood, as soon

as ever Baronius had left him sent Cardinal San Giorgio to Bellarmine to assure him of his (Aldobrandino's) perfectly favourable disposition towards him; but at the same time to point out to him, that this move in his favour was merely a trick of the other party, set on foot with the hope of sowing division among them; and to beg of him not to play into their hands, and be duped by lending any countenance to their project. He, at the same time, sent two other of the younger Cardinals round to all his adherents, to warn them that the proposal of Bellarmine was only a trick of the adversaries, and to advise them, "to go to bed and pay no attention to any rumours on the subject." All the Cardinals belonging to the monastic orders were already astir, we are told, at the first report of a possibility of the election of Bellarmine, ready to exert themselves to the utmost to prevent the choice of a Jesuit Pope.

Cardinal Sfondrato in the mean time, as soon as he had sent Baronius to Aldobrandino, as has been seen, himself proceeded to the cell of Montalto, the leader of his party, who was just sitting down to supper, and told him that intrigues were on foot in the Conclave for the election of Cardinal Como. The object of this falsehood was, the Conclavist tells us, to prevent Montalto from hurrying off to prevent the election of Bellarmine, if any rumour of it should reach him. But the precaution was needless, our historian assures us, "for Montalto, seduced by the sight of the good things before him, replied, that they might intrigue for any one they liked, for he did not mean for his part to leave his supper." So Sfondrato left him; but, on returning to his colleagues in the attempt to elect Bellarmine, found that Aldobrandino's vigilance and

activity had put an end to all hopes of success. So there was an end of the chance of a Jesuit ascending St. Peter's throne; and of the first day of the Conclave.

The next move was another attempt on the part of the allies to put forward Cardinal Camerino, who, though one of themselves, was thought not to be strongly objectionable to many of the other party. Aldobrandino had a conference with Montalto on the subject, and pretended to be desirous of inducing his party to accept this new candidate. But Montalto was not deceived by his professions. He saw that the Clementines did not intend to allow the election of Camerino; and dropped the attempt;—not, however, without determining to avenge himself by opposing any candidate of Aldobrandino to the utmost of his power.

Hitherto the active tentatives had been all on the part of the allies. Aldobrandino and his friends had as yet contented themselves with standing on the defensive. But the real and earnest wish of the late Cardinal's nephew and minister was to bring about the election of Cardinal San Clemente, his intimate friend and confidant. He had begun by securing the co-operation of the French party in return for his promise to insure the exclusion of the Cardinals especially objected to by France. He had next applied to the Spaniards; and as San Clemente was not among those whom they had orders to exclude, they also promised their assistance. This seemed, therefore, to offer a better chance of coming to an election than any that had yet been proposed to the Conclave. But, as it has been seen, all the Clementines united to all the French and all the Spaniards only amounted to thirty-eight votes,—two short of the number requisite. If, therefore, the allies held firmly

together, they could prevent the possibility of San Clemente's election. And upon this occasion they not only seemed inclined to do so, but not content with that, succeeded in inducing Cardinal Sordi, one of the French party, to break his engagement with Aldobrandino and join them. They determined, moreover, to take the violent step of openly and by solemn resolution excluding San Clemente; declaring frankly that it was their determination not to vote for him—a very strong and decisive measure, because the Cardinals taking part in it having thus declared themselves hostile to San Clemente, were definitively bound to struggle to the last against the election of a Pope in the person of one whom they had already rendered their enemy.

Aldobrandino therefore was extremely anxious to avert this threatened measure; and did succeed in obtaining that it should be delayed for one day; a respite which he calculated on employing in putting his adversaries on a false scent. While still continuing every effort to seduce some one or two voices from the allied party, he caused it to be rumoured in the Conclave that he had abandoned the hope of electing San Clemente, and was now intent on the election of Cardinal Tosco, another of his adherents. With a view to throw dust into the vigilant eyes around him, he induced the Cardinal San Marcello, who had not entered the Conclave in consequence of serious illness, to come in.\* The sick man was known to be

\* How is this compatible with the strict prohibition of all intercourse with the world outside the Conclave? The Conclavist states the fact without observation. And we can only suppose that the non-intercourse assumed by so many ostentatious precautions, was no more a genuine reality than so many other shams at Rome.

a very intimate friend of Cardinal Tosco. And Aldobrandino meant it to be supposed by every body that San Marcello would never have thought of coming into the Conclave in his state, were it not for the purpose of securing the election of his friend. Indeed, the poor invalid was himself duped by Aldobrandino; and supposed that it was really to elect Tosco that he was so urgently wanted. But if the sick man was deceived, the lynx-eyed watchfulness of the rest of the Conclave was not. Indeed, the study of these prize-matches of duplicity and cunning, in which the science of simulation and dissimulation were carried to the most polished pitch of perfection, would lead us to the conclusion that among masters of the craft, the arts of defence were generally more than a match for those of attack. The unceasing efforts to deceive seem rarely to succeed. Unsleeping perpetual suspicion of every word spoken and of every apparently insignificant detail of conduct, joined to a life-long practice in the knowledge, estimate, and calculation of all the littlenesses, meannesses, selfishnesses, and hypocrisies of human, and more especially priestly, nature, sufficed almost invariably to guard against the strategy of a craft, every turn and double of which was familiar to the objects of it. The open dealing of a honest man might probably have thrown them out entirely.

The allies discovered that it was still San Clemente, who was advancing to the Papacy under the mantle of Tosco, as the Conclavist expresses it. They determined therefore on the next day to proceed, as they had threatened, to the open and avowed resolution of excluding him. This they accordingly did; and our Conclavist's account of the meeting held for the purpose gives us a dramatic little peep at Conclave life.

The meeting was held in the cell of Cardinal Bevilacqua, one of the less notable members of the party; and their Eminences were just about to begin the business in hand, when two of the youngest Cardinals of Aldobrandino's party, Pio and San Cesareo, entered the cell, as if strolling in by chance to visit its occupant. They had been sent on this errand by Aldobrandino, in the hope that their unwelcome presence might drive the allies assembled there to put off the business they were engaged in, and thus gain a little time, which he might be able to turn to profit. The young intruders began joking and talking on all sorts of irrelevant matters; but the veterans with whom they had to deal were not to be beaten in that manner. Visconti, Sforza, and Sfondrato turned away together for a moment, and having rapidly decided on their course, returned to the general circle; when Visconti, addressing Pio and San Cesareo, said plainly that they were there for the purpose of formally agreeing to the exclusion of Cardinal San Clemente; and that if it pleased their Eminences to remain, they would at all events serve as witnesses of the declaration about to be made. He then proceeded to declare in his own name, and in that of all their friends, that they bound themselves together not to elect San Clemente. He rehearsed the names of the allies agreeing in this resolution one by one. When he named Montalto, San Cesareo interrupted him, saying, "Nay, his Eminence of Montalto is present. Let him speak for himself."—"No! no!" said Montalto, smiling; "let Visconti be spokesman. I ratify all he says." Cardinal Este, when Visconti came to his name, added, "I confirm it; and only wish that I had a dozen votes to make the exclusion more overwhelming."—"And



now," said Visconti, when he had finished, "we may go to bed."—"Ah! we may!" said Sfondrato, turning to leave the cell; "and, your Eminences," he added, looking towards Pio and San Cesareo, with a laugh as he went, "may now go and elect a Pope if you can!"

Bitter was Aldobrandino's anger and mortification when his two emissaries returned and made their report. He immediately collected all his own adherents, among whom might now be counted most of the French and Spanish supporters, to consider what was next to be done. The first measure determined on was to proceed to an exclusion of Cardinal Saoli, yet more solemn and formal than that pronounced by their adversaries against San Clemente—a step which would seem to have been prompted entirely by pique and anger; as the election of Saoli had already entirely failed, and there does not appear any indication that the allies had any thoughts of bringing him forward again. The meeting, however, to the number of twenty-two, decreed the exclusion; and then, having taken the precaution of causing the door and outside of the cell to be so guarded by their Conclavists that there was no danger that a trick should be played them such as they had played on the meeting for the exclusion of San Clemente, they bound themselves by an agreement to give their votes unanimously to any one of those then present whom Aldobrandino should designate.

It was further determined that the whole strength of the party should be exerted to elect Cardinal Tosco, this time in earnest and not as a blind to other designs. This was a candidature, that seemed to offer far more chances of success than any other which had yet been tried. He was not objected to by the representatives

in the Council of either France or Spain. It was known that his election would be agreeable both to the Grand Duke of Tuscany and to the Duke of Savoy. He was moreover by no means objectionable to many of the party of the allies. The Cardinals d'Este and Spondrato were both favourable to him; and even Montalto had promised the Grand Duke that he would give him his support, if he should be unable to elect any one of his own party. In short, says the Conclavist, it seemed as if he had no opposing influences against him, save those of a few scrupulous consciences,—especially Baronius and one or two of his friends—who objected to him that he was licentious in his conversation, and negligent of his pastoral duties, so much so that having been for many years Bishop of Tivoli, he had never once been near his see. But, as the Conclavist remarks, such objections were nothing against so large an amount of favour. Montalto, however, was by no means willing to concur at once in Tosco's election. He still nourished hopes of electing some one of his own special adherents. He did not however wish to exclude Tosco; and contented himself, therefore, with exacting a promise from the Cardinals of his party that they would take no steps for his election till the expiration of ten days, thinking that this would give him time to try the chances of his own special friends.

Having obtained this, Montalto had gone to bed on the night of the 15th tranquil on the subject of Tosco's candidature, when he was suddenly waked by the noise of Aldobrandino, accompanied by all his adherents and the French and Spanish parties, coming into the corridor, where he was urging them to hurry Tosco at once into the chapel and try for an election by "Adora-

tion." In this conjuncture those of the allies who were favourable to Tosco hurried to Montalto to press on him the immediate necessity of resolving on a line of action. There was great probability that the "Adoration" might succeed; and in that case would it be worth while for them to risk showing hostility to one so likely to be Pope, merely to oppose an election to which after all they had no strong dislike? The allies were gathered in the cell of Acquaviva, says the Conclavist, in great trepidation, urgently pressing Montalto to come to a decision. He complained bitterly that they were breaking their engagement to do nothing in the matter of Tosco for ten days. In vain they pointed out to him that there was no hope of his making a Pope from among his own special adherents;—that they were all still willing to follow his lead, but that by their present position of indecision at so critical a moment they were only risking the election of a Pope in spite of them, when it was in their power, without any sacrifice of principle, by yielding gracefully to take their share in the election and make the future Pontiff their friend instead of their enemy. Those, however, who thus argued, were the members of the party who had themselves no hope of or pretension to the Papacy. The three or four who among the party of the allies hoped each that he might be the man, stood by, in the words of our author, in icy silence, while the others were thus warmly urging Montalto, and by their reserved and cold demeanour increased the irresolution of his naturally slow and hesitating disposition. At length the urgency of the case, and the approaching voices of the crowd accompanying Aldobrandino, who seemed on the point of proceeding to the chapel to perform the "Adoration," produced symptoms of a

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mutiny among some of the followers of Montalto. What was the use, they said, of talking about ten days even if there were any prospect of doing anything at the end of them, when the Pope would be made there and then before their eyes in ten minutes. They should yield to necessity, they said, and join in an act they were unable to prevent. They *could* still have prevented it, if every man of them had stood firm and *if each of them could have trusted all the rest*. But this was just what was impossible to them. And the smallest defection was fatal. For only a voice or two was wanting to make those intent on electing Tosco a majority of the necessary amount.

Farnese and Sfondrato were standing at the door of the cell, in which the rest of their colleagues had been enacting the scene described. And when they heard some voices of the party expressing their intentions as above, they adopted the strong measure of going instantly to Aldobrandino, where he stood in the midst of his followers, and inviting him to a conference with Montalto. The measure, it will be observed, was suddenly adopted without any authorisation from that Cardinal himself. Farnese and Sfondrato took each an arm of the hostile chief, and led him to the cell where Montalto and the allies were. Sfondrato took upon himself to be spokesman. They all ought to thank the Almighty, he said, who had providentially led them to agree in so admirable an election. All ought to join in it alike, and forget past animosities. Montalto stood leaning against a table with downcast eyes and strongly working features, in which the agony of abandoning his own hopes, and the bitterness of yielding himself to the accomplishment of those of his adversary were violently expressed. Concentrated

rage contributed also to throw his mind off its balance; for he felt that he had been betrayed by his friends. He knew that if only they had *all* been true to their promises and to each other the adversaries could not have accomplished an election. He knew also that in yielding thus tardily and reluctantly *he* at least should have none of the merit of yielding in the eyes of the new Pope. Those who had made his doing so necessary might claim the merit of their defection; but it was too clear that the Pope to be thus elected, was elected in his despite. In answer to Sfondrato's address, he replied no word; nor did he raise his eyes or turn towards Aldobrandino; but he silently put out his hand to him. And they went forth together into the hall where the crowd of Cardinals, now consisting of nearly all the Conclave, were waiting to proceed to the chapel for the "Adoration." For it is observable, that notwithstanding the apparent union of the parties, the Clementines, who had prevailed, did not deem it advisable to trust to a scrutiny, but were still bent on hurrying to the quicker and more open process of "Adoration."

And now the election of Cardinal Tosco seemed certain. He himself meanwhile was walking up and down with the Cardinals San Giorgio and Diatriscain in a distant part of the vast Vatican galleries. His companions urged him to go with them at once to the chapel. But he shrunk from doing this, preferring to wait till Aldobrandino or some of the others came to bring him thither, according to the custom in such cases. But as the minutes went on and nobody came, Cardinal San Giorgio sent his Conclavist to see how matters were going on. He came into the hall just as Aldobrandino and Montalto hand in hand came forth

to the body of the Cardinals. Returning therefore in all haste he told his master and Tosco what he had seen, and said that both the chiefs were coming with a large number of their followers to bring Cardinal Tosco to the chapel. At the same time a tumultuous crowd of Conclavists came rushing towards the cell of the Pope elect to make booty of all that it contained, according to recognised and tolerated custom. Indeed the election seemed as good as if already made.

But now came a sudden slip between the cup and the lip, which changed the whole face of things in the Conclave, and produced as strange a scene as had ever been witnessed in any of those remarkable assemblies which had enacted and seen so many curious dramas.

While Aldobrandino and Montalto were on the point of going to bring Cardinal Tosco to the spot where the crowd of Cardinals were waiting to accompany him triumphantly to the chapel, for the "Adoration," two Cardinals held aloof, and were walking up and down the gallery together at a little distance in deep and evidently not well-pleased conversation. These were Baronius,\* and Tarugio, an intimate friend of his, who were, as the Conclavist says, "professors of a scrupulous conscience," and as such could not approve of the elevation to the Papacy of such a man as Cardinal Tosco. While the negotiations had been going on, which had resulted in the all but certainty of his election, Aldobrandino had sent no less than seven successive messages to Baronius urging him to join the rest of the party—and now, since the accession of Montalto and his friends, it might be said—the rest of

\* I have used, in speaking of this well-known man, the Latin instead of the Italian form of name, although it is somewhat awkward to do so; because it is so familiar to the English reader.

the Conclave, in the proposed "Adoration" of Tosco. This persistence on the part of Aldobrandino is remarkable. After the yielding of Montalto and his party, there could be no doubt about the sufficiency of votes to carry the election. The abstention of Baronius and his friend could in no wise have effected the result. Yet Aldobrandino before proceeding to the chapel made another—the eighth—effort to carry Baronius with him. If we are to suppose, that this anxiety was caused simply by respect for the high character and reputation of Baronius, and by an uneasy sense of the responsibility of proceeding to the election of the Pope despite the manifest disapprobation and silent protest of the man, whose character had greater weight than that of any other there, it deserves noting as an example of conscientiousness, so rare and strange in that world of sacerdotal princes, as to seem almost incredible to us, and quite so to the bystanders, who witnessed it. So much so, that our Conclavist guide to these mysteries declares, that Aldobrandino's imprudence could only be accounted for on the supposition of an immediate interposition of Providence, thus working out its own designs for the election.

On receiving this eighth message, which begged that Baronius and Tarugio would come and confer with Aldobrandino, without any reference to the matter immediately in hand, Baronius yielded; and following the messenger to the great hall, found himself there in the midst of the unanimous assembly of nearly the whole Conclave bent on proceeding at once to the "Adoration." Aldobrandino had evidently calculated on his not having sufficient moral courage to stand out alone and conspicuously beneath the eyes of his assembled colleagues. But his calculation had been

based on an insufficient estimate of the man. Not only did he adhere to his refusal to join in the vote, but proceeded openly to state his reasons for doing so. Their first and absolute duty, he said, was to elect a man of irreproachable character; and for his part it should be written in his Annals,\* that he was the last to concur in the choice proposed. It was answered by those around that the election was good and respectable, and the subject of it certainly a worthy one;—an assertion which he repudiated, says the Conclavist, by the most expressive gestures, “beating his breast, and shaking his head, and uttering broken words and sighs.”

Conduct so frank and vehement, a manifestation of sentiments so open, public, and fearless, was almost unprecedented in that world of cautious reticence and simulation; and the result produced by it on the dignified crowd around was remarkable. Montalto first, who saw in this unexpected diversion a possibility of escaping from the election, which a moment ago seemed inevitable, and which was fatal to all his cherished hopes, was, or pretended to be, extremely agitated, and cried out, that in truth it were well to lay to heart the words they had just heard. Sordi, who stood next to him, and who was one of the representatives of the French interest, to which Baronius was especially acceptable, cried out that a Saint of God had spoken, and that the words of such a man should not be let to fall to the ground. Montalto, finding himself

\* The “Annali” is the great work by which Baronius is known to the world. The Conclavist makes a ludicrous and inconceivable error in his record of this declaration of the great church historian. He protested, says the Conclavist, that it should be written *in his boots*—“negli suoi stivali.” The real phrase is supplied by the Venetian ambassador’s account of the Conclave.



thus seconded, "lost his head altogether," says the Conclavist, and forgetting that in the last Conclave, which had closed little more than a month ago, he had especially excluded Baronius, cried aloud, "Let us elect Baronius; I go for Baronius!" Some of his own friends took up the cry; and all the French adherents shouted, "Baronius! Baronius!" and the Conclavists outside the circle raised the same cry. On this the friends of Aldobrandino, and several of the party of the allies began to shout "Tosco! Tosco!" to the utmost power of their lungs. "And thus," in the words of our author, "all screaming together, and moving on together, divided in cry and in mind, but with their bodies closely jammed together by reason of the narrowness of the passage, they reached the Sala Regia, into which they burst confusedly shouting more loudly than ever the names of Tosco and Baronius."

The Sala Regia is a noble hall in the Vatican, at one end of which is the entrance into the Sistine Chapel, and at the other that into the Paoline Chapel. It is necessary to the understanding of the sequel of this extraordinary scene, to bear in mind this explanation of the locality.

The result, it will be observed, of the sudden gust which had thus in a moment blown to the winds the chances of an election so nearly consummated, and had the germ in it of so many modifications of the subsequent history of Europe, was at the moment to throw all the party arrangements and tactics of the Conclave into utter confusion. Baronius, whose leading supporter was now Montalto, was a member of the opposite party, of which Aldobrandino was the head. On the other hand, many of the allies, who recognised

Montalto as their chief, remained firm to their resolution to elect Tosco, and thus found themselves joined with Aldobrandino against their own leader. In this state of things the confusion in the hall was extreme. Montalto and Baronius, with their adherents, made for the Paoline Chapel, and Aldobrandino wavered for a moment, whether he should follow them. But determining, after a short pause, not to give up the game, he shouted at the top of his voice, "This way, all friends of mine!" pointing, as he spoke, towards the Sistine Chapel. Acquaviva also and some others of the same party, cried out as loud as they could, "Let all friends of Tosco come this way!" And the move, says the Conclavist, was a very prudent one; "for if they had all gone in disorder, into the Paoline Chapel together, it might very easily have happened, that the Adoration of Baronius had followed, without their being able to oppose it, amid all that confusion and mixing up of the different parties."

The extent of this confusion, and of the violence of the emotion among those holy and reverend old men, may be estimated from the circumstance that Cardinal Visconti was thrown down in the *mêlée*, and Cardinal Serapino got a sprained arm, before the two factions could disengage themselves from each other. And even then the two Cardinals Pinelli and Ascoli found themselves on the Sistine side of the hall with Aldobrandino, whereas their intention was to vote with Montalto.

All this time, Cardinal Tosco, who "dreamed his greatness was a-ripening," had been awaiting the expected arrival of the Cardinals to bring him into the chapel to his "Adoration;" but, at last, his mind began to misgive him. He sent again, therefore, the same Conclavist, to see what was going on, and soon

received the tidings of the sudden wreck of all his high hopes, at the moment when the realisation of them seemed beyond danger. "The good old man," says the Conclavist, despite what he had above written of his unfitness for the Papacy, turned deadly pale; but determining not to give up all for lost, proceeded with shaking steps, and leaning on the shoulder of the Conclavist, to the Sala Regia. "Behold the Pope!" cried the Conclavist aloud, as he entered the hall, thinking, perhaps, that even then the sudden announcement might lead to an "Adoration." The crowd of his supporters, who had by that time grouped themselves before the doors of the Sistine Chapel, received him among them; and the keys being at that moment brought, they took him with them into the chapel. The other party had taken possession of the Paoline Chapel. But, in the first confusion, the keys of the Sistine Chapel were missing; and the Aldobrandino and Tosco faction had been obliged to content themselves with grouping themselves before the doors.

Thus the two parties occupied the two opposite chapels as hostile camps, with the neutral ground of the Sala Regia between them. Thirty-six cardinals went into the Sistine Chapel in favour of Tosco, and twenty-five into the Paoline in favour of Baronius. For the entire number was now sixty-one, having been increased by two Cardinals, San Marcello, as has been mentioned, and another, who had been ill at the beginning of the Conclave, but had been able subsequently to join it.

And now an infinity of negotiations, messages, persuasions, and seductions began to be put on foot between the opposite camps. Those in the Paoline Chapel were quite open to proposals. For, though

the name of Baronius had been used for the breaking up of the unanimity which was on the point of electing Tosco, and the dissentients had entered the Paoline Chapel shouting his name, no sooner had it served their purpose, than they abandoned all thought of really electing him.

Visconti, having risen from his fall in no very pleasant mood, and entered the Paoline Chapel with Baronius and his friends, began to vent his ill-humour on the first mover of the disturbance, accusing him of sowing divisions in the Conclave. "I neither wish to sow divisions, nor have I any desire to be Pope," replied Baronius; "only put forward some good and proper candidate." Visconti thereupon would have left the chapel; but the others crowded around him, and would not let him go. "I protest," he cried, "that I am subject to violence;" and turning to the master of the ceremonies, bade him draw up an official protest to that effect. "Pooh! pooh!" said Montalto, "are not my two friends, Ascoli and Pinelli, detained against their will in the Sistine Chapel? Let every one be left at liberty." So Visconti went out and sate down by himself in the Sala Regia, protesting that he would join in no election that day. "I would not make St. Peter himself Pope after this fashion!" grumbled he. But he had sate only a very little time in the Sala Regia before Acquaviva slipped out of the Sistine to him, and, after a little persuasion, carried him off into that chapel to join the camp of the enemy.

"Gioiosa," as the Italian writer calls the French Cardinal Joyeuse, seeing that there was no chance of electing Baronius, wished to leave the Paoline Chapel, to return to his allegiance to Tosco. But he made several attempts to get away in vain, for, "Mon-

talto and the others threw their arms around him and stayed him with violent entreaties." Then Aldobrandino goes in person into the enemies' camp in the Sistine, to try negotiations. Montalto promises his support to any other candidate, if only Aldobrandino will abandon Tosco. This inclines the chief of the Clementine party to recur to his former plan of electing San Clementi. But when he returns to the Paoline Chapel, his own party rebel against this, and insist on remaining firm to Tosco. Montalto makes a sortie from the Sistine, for the purpose of getting his two adherents, Pinelli and Ascoli, out of the Paoline Chapel. But he fails in his attempt; as those two Cardinals are detained, much against their will, it should seem, in the hostile camp. All the rest of that day was occupied in negotiations on a variety of propositions. The leaders of parties and men of most weight on either side are continually passing to and fro from one chapel to the other, trying new combinations, and gradually limiting their pretensions on either side, to making sure of the exclusion of those especially obnoxious to them. But every fresh proposal finds some knot or other of Cardinals sufficiently strong to secure its rejection.

There was not one of the older Cardinals, remarks the Conclavist, who had not for a while conceived hopes of being elected. But when night overtook the jaded but still busy Conclave in the two chapels, they appeared to be as far from the election of a Pope as ever. Yet both parties seemed determined not to quit their present position, before the work was done.

Both the chiefs were afraid, that if they allowed their camp to break up, and disperse for the night, some fresh scheme or combination would be hatched before

the morning. At present, though neither party could accomplish anything, at least each held the other in check. Some of the older and more infirm Cardinals retired to their cells, leaving directions that they should be called instantly any change in the position of things took place. Beds and supper were brought into the chapels for many of the others.

Those to whom the Sistine Chapel is familiar, as it appears at the pontifical service, when it is the theatre of all the magnificent pomp of the Romish Church, with its purple dignitaries ranged in decorous order along its sides, may amuse themselves by fancying the picture presented by it, when the same holy, but cross, hungry, weary, bothered, and well-nigh exhausted seniors were picnicking and bivouacking on its pavement,—here a knot of three or four snatching a make-shift supper;—there a tired Eminence snoring on a make-shift pallet;—here a trio of the staunchest in earnest whispered talk;—and there again, a portly dignitary sleepily doffing his purple and scarlet in front of the altar, for a few hours' rest at its foot.

At last, Aldobrandino and Montalto came once again to a conference, and agreed, that, as all combinations for the election of any one of the older Cardinals had failed, and there appeared no hope of uniting the suffrages of the Conclave on any one of them, the only solution was to look among the younger men. Several of these were suggested, discussed between them, and, for one reason or other, rejected. At last, Borghese was named; and both the rival chiefs agreed that there seemed to be no objection to him. He was a member of Aldobrandino's party, the creature of Clement VIII., personally a friend of Montalto, and was known to be acceptable to the Spanish party. It only remained to

ascertain whether the French Cardinals would make any strong opposition to his election. For Montalto had, in the course of the various tentatives, that followed the breaking up of the regular party divisions at the time of the proposal of Baronius, become so bound up with Joyeuse, by promises and agreements, that he felt himself bound to make his acceptance of Borghese contingent on the consent of the French party. Cardinal Joyeuse was one of the few, who, tired out with the day's work, had left the battle-field of the two chapels and the Sala Regia, and gone to his cell. Aldobrandino accordingly hurried off to find him there, and meeting on his way Borghese, who was returning to the Paoline Chapel, after having been to snatch a morsel of supper in his cell, told him, that his present errand was to make him Pope; but conjured him to say no word of the matter till his return. Borghese, who probably put no great faith in the success of any such scheme, even supposing Aldobrandino was sincere in making it, composedly thanked him for his good will, and passed on. Aldobrandino was in truth earnest enough in the matter. It appeared his last chance of making one of his own creatures. He met with Joyeuse in his cell, and finding him, though not altogether indisposed to Borghese, rather cold upon the matter, actually flung himself on his knees before him, to entreat his consent. Joyeuse replied that he must first consult Montalto. And at that moment the latter entered the cell. Aldobrandino sprung to his feet, not a little ashamed, says our Conclavist, at having been caught in such an attitude by his rival leader in the Sacred College. Montalto however joined his representations in favour of Borghese, as his election seemed to offer the least objectionable issue from the difficulties

in which the Conclave found itself. Joyeuse thereupon at once consented on behalf of the French interest; and it seemed at last—if indeed no such strange incident were to occur at the last moment as that which pushed Tosco from the steps of the throne when he seemed already to have his foot on them—that the Pope was found.

And thus the history of Europe was made in that little fir-plank cell, by those three old men, neither of whom was fitted, by any quality of head or heart, for the good and righteous government of a parish. And thus Venetian interdicts, and Sarpi-led resistance, active for good among us to this very day;—preposterous papal pretensions leading to the consolidation of a Gallican Church in France;—Borghese palaces, Borghese gardens, Borghese galleries, and other huge accumulations of Borghese property;—the great Borghese family, so great as to repudiate with indignation the imputation of blood alliance with the Sieneſe St. Catherine, all-canonised saint as she is;—Borghese “alliances” and Princesses, with so much else,—all loomed into potential existence, selected out of the many possibilities around them, as the things that were to be, to the exclusion of the thousand other equally prolific combinations that were *not* to be, by the passions, jealousies, and low hopes and fears of those three old narrow-hearted men. No one virtuous aspiration; no gleam of a sense of the real significance of the deed they had in hand, and of the duties and responsibilities it entailed on them; no shadow of an attempt, scarcely even of a pretence, to put their actions in real accordance with the theories they professed to be guided by, moved these men to act as they did. All was false, sham, abusive, thoroughly the



product of evil and not of good. They acted as the results of the system, of which they were the products, and the necessarily generated consequences of the doings of the generation that preceded them, made it natural and inevitable that they and their fellows should act. Yet how much of all that is now beneficently busy in ridding the world of all similar and many other mischiefs, can be clearly traced to the consequences of their act that day! And how much else, that is doing good service to mankind, of which the pedigree is not traceable with equal clearness, may yet be fairly attributed to the same paternity!

So, on the 16th of May, 1506, the Roman world learned that it had a new Prince and Pope; the Cardinals dispersed to set their minds to new politics, new hopes and fears, new schemes, speculations, and intrigues; all Catholic Europe began to canvass the likes and dislikes, dispositions, passions, and character of the obscure Curia lawyer, as about the most interesting and important subject that could occupy the attention of sovereigns and their counsellors; and he—the crabbed, rigid, ignorant, pedantic old lawyer, himself, with his hard, strong, dry letter-of-the-law conscientiousness,—came forth, tiaraed Paul V., in his own honest belief by far, very far, the greatest man on earth.

### CHAPTER III.

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Character of Paul V. as Pope.—His personal appearance.—Case of Puccinardi.—Paul's superstition and fear of death.—His quarrels with various Governments.—France—Naples—Malta—Savoy—Parma—Lucca.—Views of the civil and ecclesiastical power.—Paul's quarrel with Genoa.—Sarpi's character of Paul V.

THE new Pope, Paul V. was, as has been said, a highly conscientious man. He was one of the Popes who mounted the papal throne with a deep and strong feeling of weighty duties to be performed, and an unbending determination to perform them. He had, it is hardly necessary to say, not the faintest conception of such a view of his position as a spiritual-minded Christian man might be supposed to take of that of the universal bishop of Christian souls. But according to those ideas of the Papacy which his training and environment had made it possible for him to acquire, he had a clear and well-defined path of all-important duty before him. He did not place himself in Peter's seat, like Leo X., with a "since God has given us the Papacy, let us enjoy it." Those days were gone. Neither had he any overwhelming sense, like poor Adrian VI., of a weight of responsibility too great for him to stand up under without staggering. To him his path seemed unmistakable, his duty clear, his power to do it immeasurable; and he felt no more hesitation nor difficulty about doing it than an upright

judge has in laying down the law in a case where it is abundantly clear. He started on his course resolute, unbending, nothing doubting. If uncertainty might seem to him to rest for a moment on any point, he turned to his books, his decretals, his ruled cases, found the matter laid down in such and such wise, and—had the decision involved the destruction of half the human race—would have forthwith driven his Juggernaut-car of papal law straight on with unmisgiving heart and mind.

Such, we all know, has not been the spirit which has generally animated Rome's policy. A much larger share of the wisdom of the serpent has gone to the acquisition and preservation of her dominion over the souls and bodies of mankind. A few more Popes such as Paul V. would have probably brought about at a somewhat earlier period of European history that liberation from a yoke wholly incompatible with the ulterior advancement of mankind, which we have now to accomplish. But at least this man did a Pope's part without compromise, and accordingly produced a vast amount of suffering and disturbance in the world. But the latent tendency of such conduct was of course necessarily suicidal, to be duly developed in the course of generations, and the world is now reaping and about to reap the beneficial results of it.

The personal appearance of Paul V. corresponded well with his own idea of the unbounded powers he was called on to exercise, and of the more than princely majesty of his office. He was very tall and proportionally large in figure, dignified in bearing, and of a severe and massive grandeur of feature. His complexion was florid, and his temperament coleric. He was extremely impatient of contradiction and even

of the smallest difference of opinion. Of anything like indulgent consideration he was wholly incapable.

“No sooner was he declared elected”—it is a Venetian ambassador who is reporting—“than in a moment he showed the reserve and gravity becoming a Pope in his looks, in his gait, in his words, and in his actions, so that all the Cardinals remained full of astonishment and wonder; and many of them perhaps repented of what they had done, but too late, and unavailingly. For very differently from other Popes his predecessors, who in the first warmth of their emotion have all of them assented to the requests made to them both by Cardinals and others, and have granted innumerable favours, this one remained reserved and coldly grave, declaring that he was resolved not to assent to or promise the least thing, without due previous inquiry and consideration.”\* . . . . “He does not like that any one should speak long with him in remonstrance or difference of opinion; and if he listens to one or two observations, when he has replied to them by the decisions of laws, canons, or councils, which he adduces as conclusive answers, he passes on to other matters, giving people to understand, though he does not say it in so many words, that having laboured incessantly for five-and-thirty years in the study and practice of the law in government offices at Rome and elsewhere, he may reasonably pretend to so perfect a knowledge of the matter as to run no risk of falling into error in his resolutions and decisions; observing moreover that if doubt there be, the solution and interpretation of it belongs to him alone.”† The Cardinals, the same reporter tells us, find it useless to reason

\* *Relatione dell' Ilmo S<sup>ro</sup> Franc. Molino, etc., letta in Senato, 25 Gen<sup>o</sup> 1660.*

† *Ibid.*

with him, as they are at once met by "resolutions founded on the rigorous sense of legal terms."

It so happened that a small incident at the very outset of his career served in a great degree to give the Romans a measure of the man, and an idea of his method of governing the affairs of the world.

A certain Piccinardi, an obscure writer of Cremona had composed the life of Clement VIII., in which, among a quantity of abuse he had—with sufficient absurdity to ensure the harmlessness of the scribbler and his libels—instituted a comparison between that Pontiff and Tiberius. But the poor man seems to have written only for the private solace of his own resentment for some wrong, either real or very possibly imaginary, suffered at the hands of Clement. He had never caused his libel to be printed, and had kept it nearly if not quite a secret from every one. But a woman, who had lived in his house, gave information to the government of the existence of this treasonable manuscript, and the unlucky author was seized and thrown into prison. Much intercession by powerful persons, and even, Ranke says, by ambassadors, was made in his behalf. And as the new Pope spoke calmly on the subject, and did not appear to manifest any strong feeling of indignation, it was supposed that he would be liberated after a short imprisonment. But one day in due course of law, Rome saw the unhappy man led forth from his prison and beheaded on the bridge of St. Angelo! "Whatever might be said in palliation of his offence," remarks Ranke on this atrocious barbarity, "it is undeniable that he had committed the crime of high treason, to which the law awarded the punishment of death. No mercy could be hoped from a pope like Paul; even the

man's small pittance was confiscated." That the mere composition of a satire, not published, but on the contrary, kept sedulously secret, should constitute the crime of high treason, seems so monstrous as to be, even at Rome, well nigh incredible. But no doubt Paul's only motive for taking the miserable scribbler's life was that the law demanded it. And it is this circumstance, that he could have had no animosity against the obscure provincial author, that makes the anecdote of value as indicating the nature of this lawyer-Pope. And the Venetian ambassador, before referred to, after relating the fact, remarks, "it is concluded with good reason that this Pope will be severe, inexorable, and excessively rigorous in the administration of justice."

It was impossible that such a man as Paul V., with his views of what was due from civil governments to the Church, and his notions of the mode in which those views were to be enforced, should remain long without getting into disputes with the nations of Europe. But a curious circumstance, which exhibits his strong and self-relying character in a new light, and at the same time is illustrative of the life of those days, served to keep him quiet for awhile. At the time of Clement's death a prophecy, the production of some astrologer, had been much talked of in Rome, which declared that the two next popes should be a Leo and a Paul, and that both their papacies should be of very short duration. A great part of this prophecy had been fulfilled. A Leo and a Paul had succeeded as foretold, and the pontificate of the first had been very short. Paul had a firm faith in the pretensions of astrology, as a true believer in all that a Pope has to believe may reasonably enough have. And

this prediction, confirmed as it had been by its accurate fulfilment so far, weighed heavily on his spirits, and led him to make it his principal care to take precautions against an event, which the same faith that induced him to fear it ought to have taught him was inevitable. The Pope believed it to be Heaven's decree, that his death was at hand, and therefore strove by every means in his power to avoid it. He was very chary of admitting persons to his presence; would use none of the furniture provided by the Apostolical chamber for his personal use; caused all his food to be prepared in the house of his sister-in-law, and sent to him thence; and even then compelled all those whose service occasioned them in any way access to it, to taste both of platter and flagon before he would eat or drink himself.\* After a month or two, however, those around him hit upon a means of relieving him from his apprehensions in a manner perfectly worthy of them. They called together a quorum of the most reputed astrologers in Rome, who after due and anxious consultation of the heavenly bodies, declared that the malignant influences had passed; the time of danger was over, and now all betokened for his Holiness as long a papacy as his age—youthful for a Pope—and his strong health made probable.†

Thus relieved, he was at liberty to turn all his mind to that vigilant and aggressive assertion and enforcement of papal authority, which constituted his idea of a Pope's duty and policy.

\* Agostino Nani, Venetian Ambassador, Letters of the 21st May and 16th July, 1605. Mutinelli, *Storia Arcana*, vol. iii. pp. 20-23.

† Bianchi Giovini, *Biog. di Frà. Paolo Sarpi*, vol. i. p. 230, edit. Zurigo, 1836.

France demurred at receiving some of the decisions of the Tridentine Council, and was laying the foundation of those Gallican liberties which have ever been so sore a thorn in the side of Ultramontane theologians. Paul unhesitatingly demanded full and strict compliance with the letter of the Tridentine decrees.

At Naples, an ecclesiastical notary who refused to give notice of a marriage to a civil court, as the law required, had been sentenced to the galleys. Clement VIII. had remonstrated against this exercise of the civil power against an ecclesiastic, but had not prevailed with the government of the Viceroy to reverse the sentence. Paul demanded that the magistrate, who had pronounced it, should at once be handed over to the Inquisition ; and when this was refused, he did not hesitate an instant to pass sentence of excommunication on the Viceroy. The Spaniard yielded, and Paul triumphed.

At Malta, he insisted, against all justice, on the right of presentation to certain benefices, which he wished to confer on his nephew. And he carried his point with a high hand.

The Duke of Savoy had presented to certain other benefices, the patronage of which was claimed by the court of Rome. Paul stormed and threatened, and had his way.

With Parma he entered into litigation on similar grounds, and with a similar result.

He quarrelled with the Republic of Lucca on a point, which curiously illustrates the spirit that animated him, and the nature of the theories he was bent on establishing. Lucca was one of the cities in which the reform doctrines had, at the time of their first appearance in Italy about half a century before



the accession of Paul V., been most extensively received. There, as elsewhere, they had been crushed out by the searching persecution of Paul IV. and Pius V. But many Lucchese professors of the reformed faith were still living in exile in different parts of Europe, and kept up a correspondence with their relatives and friends at Rome. The Lucchese government thought fit to forbid by public edict all such communications;—a sufficiently tyrannical exercise of civil authority, and one which abundantly testifies to the utter absence of any of the most rudimentary notions of the principles of civil liberty in the governments of these so-called little republics. At the same time such legislation would seem to indicate a degree of orthodoxy and adherence to the wishes of the Roman Court, that might have been expected to satisfy the most exacting of Pontiffs.

It is instructively illustrative however of the temper and tendencies of the civil authority at that epoch, to find that while the government of this little state was thus supporting the claims of Catholicism to exercise paramount and exclusive authority over the souls of its subjects, it enacted laws forbidding the execution of any decrees whatever of papal officers within its territory, without the previous sanction of the local authorities. The whole gist of the bargain, which temporal rulers were willing to make with the spiritual power, is clearly and very intelligibly expressed by this twofold legislation. We are willing to assist you, they say to Rome, in imposing your yoke on the minds and consciences of our subjects, for we have discovered, that subjection to it is admirably adapted to prop and assist our own power, and to extinguish those aspirations and strivings after freedom, which have been

seen invariably to follow in the wake of Protestantism. But you must keep your hands off their bodies, and especially off their purses. These we reserve to ourselves. Not that we for a moment ignore or dispute the necessity of enforcing your spiritual authority by secular pains and penalties. But the application of them must be in *our* hands and not in *yours*. If persecution be needed for the subjugation or even destruction of a recalcitrant spirit, point out the culprit to us, and persecution shall not be wanting. We shall feel tolerably certain that the obnoxious *free*-thinker is one likely to prove troublesome to us also. But we protest against your putting yourself into our place, and usurping authority which is solely ours.

This is the gist and true bearing of the long contests between the civil and spiritual power, when simplified by the stripping off of the various wrappages of shuffling and false pretences with which ecclesiastical and lay diplomacy surrounded them. And these were the terms of the bargain; which, though it did not satisfy the theoretical claims of the Apostolic See, and when too clearly set forth was not admitted by the Curia in principle, Rome was for the most part fain to be contented with. But not so was Paul V. And his conduct to Lucca on this occasion, in perfect keeping with his dealings with the other states around him, is as luminously illustrative of his feelings and notions as that of the republic is of the general tendencies of the civil power in Europe at that period.

Paul not only peremptorily insisted on the immediate repeal of the laws forbidding the execution of the decrees of the ecclesiastical authorities without appeal to and sanction by those of the republic, but he actually demanded the abrogation of the edict forbid-

ding' correspondence with heretics living in exile ! The measure was, he said, a perfectly proper and judicious one. But the Lucchese government had exceeded the due limits of their authority in enacting it. They had no right to meddle either for good or for ill with matters that appertained to the jurisdiction of the Holy See. It was usurping the attributes and authority of the spiritual power. The pretension thus put forward singularly sets before us the lawyer-like build of the Pope's mind, and the uncompromising nature of the principle he was bent on upholding.

When Spain had yielded, it was not to be expected that little Lucca should think of resisting. She submitted on both points. The edict forbidding communication with heretics was recalled, and immediately re-enacted by the direct power and authority of the Holy See.\*

At Genoa the vigilant eye of the new Pontiff detected other grounds for discontent, and an opportunity for asserting Church supremacy. The administrators of certain religious confraternities and charitable funds had been accused of malversation of the sums entrusted to them. And for this most clearly civil offence they had been cited before the ordinary civil tribunals. Paul declared that this constituted an invasion and breach of ecclesiastical immunities. He insisted that all pursuits against the inculpated administrators of funds destined to "pious uses" should be abandoned, and left entirely to the discretion and decision of the spiritual arm. It had also occurred in the same city, that the Jesuits had instituted after their usual fashion a congregation for the avowed purpose of spiritual

\* Biog. di Sarpi, cit. vol. i. p. 20 ; Banke, Hist. of Popes, vol. ii. p. 837.

exercises and social devotion. The real object, however, of this meeting, as was almost invariably the case with these devotional congregations and oratories which the Jesuits were so intent on founding wherever they penetrated, was to acquire and organise political power. In a small state where, as at Genoa, all the magistrates and other governmental officers were appointed by the suffrages of the citizens, it was of course extremely easy to exercise such an influence on the elections by means of a society of adepts, pledged to vote as one man at the bidding of the ruler of their sect, as would result in throwing the whole power of the state into the hands of those who had such a mechanism at command. The members of the Jesuit-directed confraternity at Genoa were all bound by oath to give no vote in any election for any candidate not a member of their society. The true nature of the society was discovered, and the Genoese government decreed its suppression. Paul was furious at such an attack on ecclesiastical liberty. He demanded the instant restoration of the confraternity, under pain of ecclesiastical censures and excommunication.

Genoa, like the rest, yielded. The Pope had his triumph; and, as may easily be imagined, was stimulated by all these successes to attempt other conquests, and to brook no opposition. In Spain he demanded and obtained the exemption of the Jesuits from the payment of certain impositions. And each submission to his will confirmed him in the persuasion that it was in truth irresistible. The Grand-Duke of Tuscany declared that the new Pontiff had taken all his notions of the government of the world from that of a small town in the ecclesiastical dominions; that he would soon find them to be impracticable in the larger field

of action to which he had been called ; and that the reckless and audacious violence of his pretensions and conduct would soon come to an end.

But there was one as yet obscure individual looking on at all these proceedings, who had taken a juster measure of the Pope's temper and acquired nature. "Paul V.," says this accurate and profound observer,\* "was from his earliest years given up to, and nourished on those studies, which have no other scope than the securing of the spiritual and temporal power of the entire world to the Roman Pontiff, and the aggrandisement of the clerical order by withdrawing it from the power and jurisdiction of secular princes, by raising it above the monarchs of the earth, and by making all secular persons secondary to it in all privileges and advantages. Paul had moreover, as soon as he reached man's estate, an opportunity to exercise himself in the management of the arms by which these doctrines sustained themselves, when he held the office of Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber,—a charge in most perfect conformity with his disposition. For the style and title given to that magistrate describes him as the *Universal Executor of censures and sentences recorded both in Rome and abroad*; and he bestirred himself in it so much more energetically than any of his predecessors, that in the five years during which he held the office, he fulminated more monitories and censures than had been sent forth during the previous fifty years."

Such was Paul V., whose virtues (for his lofty and

\* Sarpi, *Storia Particolare delle Cose passate, etc.*, vol. iii. p. 1 ; *Opere di Frà Paolo Sarpi*, 8 vols., Helmstat, 1768.

All quotations from any of the works of Father Paul, in the subsequent pages, will be made from this edition.

unbending determination to do at all costs and all hazards what he deemed to be his paramount duty must be ranked as such) and whose conscientiousness were more dangerous to the Papacy than the shameless vices and total want of principle of many of his predecessors had been, and who showed the world how utterly intolerable a phenomenon is a Pope in earnest to carry out sincerely Rome's conception of a Pope's duty.

## CHAPTER IV.

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Infancy of Frà Paolo.—Natural bend of his mind.—First instructors.— Becomes a Servite Friar.— Scholastic disputations.— Origin and tendency of them.— Sarpi's early scholastic triumphs.— He is made Theologian to the Duke of Mantua.— His claims to scientific discoveries.— Treatises "de omni scibile."— The Duke of Mantua's joke.— Sarpi is sent to Milan by his superiors.— Is accused of Heresy.— Acquitted.

LET us now turn to our other Paul—Friar Paul, the Venetian. The best that may be, must be done to compress into as few pages as possible, some account of a life and character well worthy of development with all amplitude of detail.

Francesco Sarpi, the unsuccessful trader, died while his son Pietro was still a child; and the famous friar is one of the long list of great men whose early training has been derived chiefly from their mothers. As Camillo Borghese became Paul only when he ascended the Papal throne, so Pietro Sarpi took the name by which he has become known to posterity only on entering a monastic order. The boy Pietro, who was usually called by the diminutive "Pierino," on account of his small stature and slender make, did not seem at the outset, and during the earlier years of his career, at all calculated, either by disposition or circumstances, to fill any such position in the history of the world as that which he was led by events to achieve and to

occupy. He gave, indeed, from a very early age, high promise of distinction, but in a very different field from that in which he eventually won it.

The great political leader, whose unflagging energy and unbending courage piloted his native country through one of the stormiest and most dangerous epochs of its existence,—to speak the language of his friends and of the modern world in general,—or, as his adversaries would say, the turbulent and factious friar, whose restless and insatiable ambition well nigh set the world a-flame and has lured countless souls to their destruction,—this busy, indomitable, indefatigable, iron-willed man, as all accounts agree in describing him, was remarkable in early life for his quiet, thoughtful, taciturn disposition, shrinking from all turmoil,—even from that of the amusements of his fellows,—and inclined to silent and solitary meditation. The results of a love of study, of an unquenchable thirst for knowledge, of a singularly accurate and perspicacious intellect, and of immense powers of memory, soon made themselves manifest, but in a totally different direction from that which subsequently led him to the position he came to occupy, and has ever since occupied, in the eye of the world. Had a wiser pontiff than Paul V. resulted from the *pis-aller* choice of that much perplexed Conclave, we might have heard of astronomical, optical, or anatomical discoveries by the Venetian Servite Friar; but the world would not have owed him its present debt of gratitude for the rarer, more dangerous, and more critically needed championship, which helped it on its way to spiritual freedom.

How surely the occasion calls forth the man to meet it, be he hidden where he may! How strange, that



the Queen of the Adriatic, with all her wealth of patrician senators, diplomatists, and counsellors, trained by life-long practice to the science of statecraft in the most celebrated school of the art then known to the world,—when at her utmost need she required a man capable of leading, sustaining, and guiding her in her struggle with the most formidable enemy then in existence,—should find him in an obscure plebeian inmate of a Servite cloister!

It so chanced that little Pietro's widowed mother, Lisabetta, had a brother a priest, who kept a school frequented by several patrician lads of the governing Venetian families. Among these was Andrea Morosini, of whose part in the great contest between his country and the papal power we shall hear more by-and-bye. But Sarpi did not remain long with these companions; for his progress in learning what was set before him to learn was such, that at twelve years old his uncle the schoolmaster confessed that he had nothing more to teach him, and recommended him to a certain Friar Gian Maria Capella, a learned mathematician and theologian of the order of Servites. This friar soon found that he had in hand material of no ordinary calibre. He exerted himself to do his duty as a teacher and as a Servite; and the result was, that in less than a year after the lad had come into his hands, Pietro Sarpi became at scarcely thirteen years of age a very competent mathematician, and a novice in the Servite convent. Could Friar Gian Maria have read the future, perhaps he might not have considered his promising novice so great a prize.

For the present, however, he and the society of Servites generally had every reason to congratulate

themselves on their young recruit. In the disputations held, as was the custom, on the day of receiving the habit of the order, the lad distinguished himself in a manner which reflected credit on his society.

These disputations formed a very singular feature of the social life of the period. With the sixteenth century, the discovery, importation, and renewed study of the ancient literature, the stirring of the new doctrines in religion, and, above all, the discovery of printing, mind began to move, and to demand its share of enjoyment and recreation in life. People wrote and read poetry, acted and listened to plays, attended public declarations and recitations, on occasions when a few years previously they would have amused themselves with some mimicry of, if not with the reality of, fighting. Now in all this the Church saw *danger*; and, as in so many other cases when her cry of "danger" has been unjustly ridiculed as absurd and baseless, there *was* danger to her and hers.

Rarely, if ever, has either branch of the Catholic Church raised a cry of "danger" without good cause. The Church may be naturally more sensitive to the first approach of it than are those who are indifferent or enemies to her safety. But she knows with very accurate knowledge wherein it may consist, and is honest and not unreasonable in her cry of alarm. It were to be wished that the enemies of Church ascendancy had always been equally so in their replies to her complaints; but they have rarely had the courage and sincerity to answer, "We are extremely well pleased to know that your sway is menaced, and would fain to the utmost of our power increase the perils which alarm you." Even as now, the party of progress throughout Europe professes to believe that

the mortal blows from which the temporal power of the Pope is suffering constitute no danger to his so-called spiritual power, so the enemies of the Church have ever made it their policy to cry "Peace!" where there is no peace. But no man who has carefully marked the nature of the bases on which the spiritual power of Rome, such as it is, rests, can doubt how fatally its existence is threatened by the attacks on its temporal sway; and any candid enemy must admit, that from the old monks, who at the first reappearance of the ancient literature raised their voices against it, down to the Abbé Gaume, who discovered the canker-worm\* concealed in the same pursuits the other day, the Church has good reason to believe that danger to her and her claims lurks in all such discipline or recreation of the intellect.

She recognised it at once, as has been said, in the mental movement of the sixteenth century; and, as usual, sought to diminish the mischief less by directly fighting against it, than by taking possession of the new tendency, and striving to imbue it with her own spirit, and shape it to her own ends. The thing required was something of an intellectual nature in the way of a diversion, which should be such as priests could readily and fitly mingle in, which should take its tone and colour from their own peculiar pursuits, and thus be chiefly ecclesiastical in its character; and lastly,—chief requisite of all,—should employ without awakening the mind, exercise those of its faculties only which can by no chance minister to original thought, and by the nature of the subject habituate it to an uninquiring submission to and intense reverence

\* *Le Ver rongeur.* Par M. L'Abbé Gaume.

for authority. To this postulate the scholastic disputations, so much delighted in at the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, answered as nothing else could have done. Each knight in the wordy tournament put forward a certain number of theses or propositions in theology, canon law, or any of the kindred subjects, and challenged all comers to attack them. Both attack and defence, it need hardly be said, consisted almost wholly in adducing "authorities" *pro* and *con* on every point; being ready at answering a cavil by St. Augustine with a quibble by St. Jerome; stopping an objection of Aquinas with a decision of Scotus; inventing wire-drawn doubts as to the meaning of these authorities, and tripping up each other's heels by every trick of word-splitting authorised by the subtleties of dialectic fence. Of course, a prodigious power of memory, a vast industry in reading, and a tendency to accuracy of expression, was fostered by these wordy tournaments; but to all the higher powers of the intellect they must be held to have been prejudicial rather than useful. Of course the victor in the strife was he who brought into the field the greatest number of positions, and defended them with most abundance of citation; and the amount of scholastic learning stored away in young heads for the purposes of display in these struggles was often astonishing.

Sarpi, in 1570, when he was eighteen, on the occasion of a chapter held by his order at Mantua, came into the lists armed with no less than 309 propositions. The occasion was a great one, and the order of Servites acquired much glory from the prowess of their youthful member. The chapter was held in the church of St. Barnabas. The Duke Guglielmo

Gonzaga, the Bishop of Mantua, and a large audience of all that was most distinguished in the lay as well as clerical society, were present. It is difficult to understand that laymen, statesmen, princes, and soldiers should have taken pleasure in long sittings devoted to maintaining and attacking the most subtle points of scholastic divinity. But they unquestionably did so, —unless, indeed, we are to suppose that many a worthy gentleman yawned dreadfully behind his buff-gloved hand, and sat there and applauded for fashion's sake.

On the occasion in question, Sarpi so delighted his audience that the superiors of his order assigned to him an annual stipend of six crowns, equal in value to at least as many pounds at the present day, for the purchase of books; the duke insisted on appointing him "his theologian;" and the bishop gave him a professional chair of "positive theology," together with a "readership of cases of conscience, and the sacred canons." In each of these positions it is recorded that he acquitted himself with the utmost credit. The duties of his offices however seem to have left him abundant leisure, which, during the four years that he remained at Mantua, he employed in making himself one of the first oriental linguists of his day, and in prosecuting his studies in mathematics and natural science. The latter was his favourite pursuit. In astronomy, optics, hydraulics, medicine, anatomy, chemistry, botany, mineralogy, his researches were profound and productive. In anatomy he accomplished so much, that by Italians he is believed to have discovered the circulation of the blood, and the valves of the veins; before the publication of these great truths by our countryman Harvey. It is at all events a mistake to

say, as some English writers have asserted, that Sarpi took all he knew on this subject from Harvey's book on the subject; for it was not published till five years after the death of the friar.\* In any case, the study of anatomy by a friar of that time indicated a very remarkable superiority to the superstitions and prejudices of his age and class. For it was especially objected to by the Church; and the monastic orders as usual, more Roman than even Rome itself, raised a violent persecution against all persons guilty of the impiety of examining too closely the structure of the human frame. However it may have been in the matter of the anatomical discoveries, it is certain that he very greatly contributed to that of the thermometer (usually attributed to Galileo), if it was not, as is very probable, entirely his own.

Those were days, though they were the last of them, in which it was still possible to have, and men had, belief in treatises "de omni scibile,"—neat, tight little compressed packages of all that was known or knowable by man, put up, like a pot of pemmican, into a solid dumpty quarto for ready use. But the quartos grew into folios, the folios into long series of similar volumes; these colossal labours, the result of some mole-like cloister life, had to give way to encyclopædias produced by the combined effort of a joint-stock company of literary labour; the encyclopædias became obsolete, and were succeeded by fresh attempts at more intense compression, and more select selection: until, in the intellectual as well as in all other fields of human effort, man had to submit to that division of labour, so admirably fruitful in its results for the advancement of

\* Bianchi Giovini, *Biog.*, vol. i. p. 68.

the work to be done, but so crippling to the highest development of the worker; and the life-labour of high intellects had to narrow their ambition from the complete mastery of the "omne scibile" to the still avowedly incomplete knowledge of the *coleoptera* or the Chinese grammar.

The astonishing vigour of Sarpi's intellect, his wonderful memory, his unflagging life-long industry, and his insatiable desire of knowledge, enabled him to acquire an amount of information in all the branches of human knowledge, as it then existed, which really entitles him to be considered as one of the last of the truly encyclopædical men. And it must not be imagined that the few imperfect notices of his pursuits to which the attention of the reader has been called are intended as an account of what he accomplished in various fields of intellectual labour; they were adduced merely for the sake of pointing out that the first and most spontaneous direction of his mind was to physical inquiry. The early studies, which resulted in triumphant exhibitions in the scholastic tilt-yard of the Barnabite church at Mantua, were not spontaneous; and the more mature investigations into the bases of Papal claims and international law were rendered necessary by the circumstances of his country, and by his own position as chief adviser and defender of its council and measures.

Meanwhile, the early portion of the great friar's biography consists of his rapid rise in the hierarchy of his order. He remained at Mantua only three years, from his nineteenth to his twenty-first. His latest biographer\* thinks that a trick played upon him by

\* Bianchi Giovini, vol. i. p. 14.

his patron was the principal cause of his quitting that city. This was the same William Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, who sat with pleasure to hear the development of his 309 theses, and one of whose favourite amusements was to set any erudite doctors who visited his court and his young theologian at learned logger-heads together on some knotty point of scholastic doctrine, and then enjoy with shouts of laughter the almost sure discomfiture of the strangers at the hands of his pet casuist prize-fighter; and the anecdote seems to indicate that in one respect at least the duke was at that time a more enlightened man than the friar.

The young Servite, in his omnigenous voracity for all the erudition of his day, had not neglected astrology, then almost universally cultivated and credited. One night he was summoned by the duke, and required to go at once to the observatory to take accurate note of the position of the heavenly bodies, and draw up the horoscope of a child just born in the palace, the illegitimate offspring of a noble mother and plèbeian father. Sarpi did as ordered, and drew out his scheme with all the care and elaborate accuracy which so important a case deserved. The duke sent copies of the document to many of the most celebrated professors of the science in Italy, begging their interpretation of the omens as set forth by the observation of his astrologer. The replies varied, as might be expected; but all agreed in predicting some high fortune to the child of a noble mother, born *in the Gonzaga palace*. Some made him a marshal, some a bishop, others a cardinal; and one intrepid toady asserted that the child was assuredly destined to become Pope. Now the "little stranger" in the Gonzaga palace was a mule! Duke William



enjoyed his joke immensely ; and his theologian was no little disgusted, both with him and with the science of astrology.

But there does not seem any good reason, I think, for supposing that any such frivolous cause led to his throwing up his position in the Mantuan Court. The fact was, he was too rising a man to be allowed to remain in such comparative obscurity and tranquillity. Such a man was a prize of no small importance to the order to which he belonged ; and his superiors, as those of the monastic and especially of the mendicant orders never failed to do, were anxious to turn his talents to the best account for the honour and glory of their society. From Mantua, Sarpi was ordered to Milan, where the afterwards canonised Borrommeo was then resident archbishop. Two such men did not fail each to take due measure of the other. The great and highly-born archbishop soon called to his side the plebeian young friar, and not only employed him on various important occasions, but admitted him to his intimate society.

And here for the first time we find Sarpi in a position well adapted to turn his mind to the great historical investigations which at a later period occupied it almost exclusively, and to enable him to make a beginning in acquiring that intimate knowlege of the interior history of the Tridentine Council which his celebrated work on that subject shows him to have possessed. Cardinal Borrommeo had been secretary to his uncle, Pius IV., during the last years of the sitting of the Council ; and was doubtless able to furnish much information, no word of which was lost on his eager and unforgetting listener. At Milan, too, he was called on for the first time to pay the accustomed tribute of superiority to

mediocrity. A jealous fellow friar accused him to the Inquisition of heresy. The matter turned on some interpretation of the Hebrew text of a passage of the Book of Genesis, from which it was fancied that a confirmation of the doctrine of the Trinity might be extracted. Fra Paolo demurred on philological grounds to the admissibility of the interpretation in question : this of course was construed, in the usual manner, into an opposition to the doctrine itself. Sarpi objected to the jurisdiction of the Inquisitor before whom he was cited, firstly, because he had preconcerted the bringing of the charge with the accuser ; secondly, because, being ignorant of Hebrew, he was not competent to form any opinion of the merits of the question. On these grounds the Friar appealed to Rome, warmly supported by Cardinal Borromeo. The Inquisition there at once perceived the frivolousness of the accusation ; and the Milanese official got a sharp warning from head-quarters not to meddle for the future with matters he did not understand.

## CHAPTER V.

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Sarpi returns to Venice to lecture on Philosophy.—Becomes acquainted with Arnauld Ferrier.—Is elected Provincial.—Differences between the Monastic and Mendicant Orders.—The Order of Servites.—Dissensions between different Provinces of the Order.—Great meeting of the Order at Parma.—Sarpi elected a Delegate for the reconstitution of the Order.—His sojourn at Rome.—His criminal code.—He is elected Procuratore of the Order.—Friendships formed by him at Rome—Cardinal Castagna.—Quarrels of the Friars.—Frà Dardano.—Frà Giulio.—Sarpi's fourth journey to Rome.—Case of the Duc de Joyeuse.—Sarpi's friendship and companionship in his studies with Galileo.

HENCEFORWARD Sarpi's monastic career was a series of convent honours and promotions, which followed each other with unexampled rapidity. He was allowed to remain but a very short time at Milan. In the autumn of the year 1575, he was summoned to Venice by the superiors of the order, to lecture on philosophy, in the Servite convent there. And it is recorded that his courses were very numerously attended, not only by the younger members of his order and other ecclesiastics, but by the young patricians of the city. On the 15th of May, 1578, being then in his twenty-sixth year, he received his doctor's degree from the university of Padua. But the incident of the years so passed at Venice most notable to us, and most important in the preparation of the "terribile frate" of after years, was an intimacy he then formed with

Arnauld Ferrier, who had been ambassador from France at the Council of Trent, and who had now been sent to announce to Venice the peace concluded between the Huguenots and the Catholics, and to seek a loan from the Republic. From the accurate and abundant knowledge of Ferrier, he was able to add largely to the stores of information he had already begun to collect on this great subject.

Nearly a year after taking his doctor's degree, at a chapter of the order called at Verona, in April 1579, he was unanimously elected "Provincial," being then under twenty-seven years of age. It was remarked, that never before in the history of the order, then 350 years old, had it occurred that so young a man had been elected to this important office. The Provincial was the ruler in all respects of the convents of the order in the province by which he was elected, subject only to appeal to the General at Rome. The "province" has of course no reference to any civil division of territory, but to the distribution peculiar to the order. In the case of the Servites, this division had just then been the cause of bitter discord and dissension, which had the effect of rendering the duties undertaken by Sarpi far more arduous than we might suppose the government of a body of friars to be.

And here, in speaking of the government and constitution of these orders, it may not be superfluous perhaps to state in as few words as possible, the distinction between monks, properly so called, and friars, and the widely different results which that distinction has led to.

The constitution of the monastic orders was monarchical; that of the mendicant orders republican.\*

\* It must be remembered that the Jesuits are included in neither of

The object aimed at in the early ages of the Church by the founders of the first, was the perfecting in sanctity and purity of life of the members of each convent. The end proposed to themselves by the inventors of the second in later, and for the Church more critical and difficult times, was action on the world in behalf of papal supremacy. Each monastery of monks was an independent monarchical community. It was ruled by an abbot, chosen for life, with despotic power ; who owed no allegiance save to the Pope ; and that only in matters of faith. These orders had no General residing at Rome, and indeed no such constitution as could either enable or constrain them to join in any united course of action. Each community was essentially independent. They had in most cases become rich ; and if they did not carry out the intentions of their founders in the sanctity and austerity of their lives, they in a great measure did so in their retirement from the world and its troubles. They lived quiet, often studious lives, intent on none of the great questions in church and state, which vexed the world, and anxious only about the welfare and privileges of their own individual community. In all these respects, the mendicant orders formed a striking contrast to the old monastic societies. Each of these orders was one body, let it have been dispersed in as many convents in as many quarters of the world as it might, and was ruled by authority, having its centre and head in Rome. It was governed in a very small degree, and merely in what may be called domestic matters by the superior of each convent, who was elected only for a short term ; but was ruled by a

these divisions ; their institute possessing features in common with both of them, besides many belonging to neither.

regular hierarchy of authorities subjected to a system of checks, appeals, and supervision, intended to strip its rulers of all despotic power, to the profit of the despotism of Rome. Skilfully planned, as these republican societies were, for exercising an immediate and unceasing action on the outer world, the influence on society and on history of the monastic orders, properly so called, has been as nothing compared to that of mendicants or friars. "Being poor," writes an author,\* who knew them well, "they depended on the Popes for privileges, indulgences, relics, miracles, and other pious wares, for which they found customers; and thus they lived in clover. And, inasmuch as a portion of the alms received by them was paid into the Roman exchequer, it was profitable to the Papacy to encourage a body of men, who understood the accrediting of Rome's merchandise, and who by their own industry multiplied it, and at the same time found so profitable a market for it. Independent of the bishops, they invaded all the churches, preached, confessed, kept schools, in which they taught the children their own principles; lectured in the universities, mixed themselves in affairs of all sorts, spied out all secrets, directed all consciences, went on distant missions, active conquerors of new realms, which they won for the papal sway; invented new modes of devotion, made additions to the old ones, scented out and persecuted heretics; made themselves inquisitors, theologians, politicians, men of business, or beggars; were a check on the episcopacy, bugbears to the civil government, leeches to the people. And, what was most admirable of all, a militia thus numerous and

\* Bianchi Giovini, Biog. di Frà Paolo, vol. i. p. 34.

formidable, instead of costing the court of Rome anything, paid into the apostolic chamber large sums for tithes and taxes."

This formidable militia, as the author cited well calls it, was composed of four great branches, following each its own "rule," in some small matters differing from that of the others. The Servites—a branch of the great Augustine order—have flourished almost, if not quite, exclusively in central and northern Italy. This "religion" was founded in Florence, about the year 1230; where it still possesses the wealthy convent and church of the "Santissima Annunziata," which has always been regarded as the head-quarters and cradle of the order. The Servites soon spread themselves over the Venetian territory and Lombardy, and had convents in most of the principal cities. But the pretensions to pre-eminence in the order, which the Tuscan branch of it was led to arrogate to itself in consequence of its greater wealth, and the special protection of the dukes of Tuscany, caused jealousies and discords in the "fraternal" bosoms, resulting in a schism, in which the convents of Servites at Mantua, Verona, Cremona, Brescia, Bergamo, and Udine united themselves to that of Venice, and severed themselves from the parent stock. This secession caused great displeasure to the Tuscan Servites, who obtained from Pius V., in 1570, a bull forcibly reuniting the seceders to the original body. The discontent, anger, jealousy, and squabbling to which this decree gave rise was intense. At length, in 1574, it was agreed that the Lombard and Venetian Servites should be divided into two "provinces," united to the old body of the order, but preserving their own privileges, when these could be made consistent with the fundamental rules

of the society. And the conciliation of these rules and privileges, and the restoring peace to the entire family, had still to be effected when Sarpi was elected "Provincial" in 1579. Besides this, it was necessary to put the constitution of the order in conformity with the decrees of the Council of Trent on the regulation of the mendicant orders. For the last ten years, the Pope and the Cardinal protector of the order had been endeavouring to effect this, and had accomplished nothing.

It was needful to say thus much of the history of the order, to indicate to the reader in some degree the thorny nature of the work the young Provincial had before him. To explain it fully, a detail of friars'-world intrigues, obstinacy, petty envy, jealousy, and squabbling, would have to be gone into, which, though it might not perhaps be altogether unamusing as a picture of life very strange to us, would require far greater space than can be here afforded to it.

A great and solemn meeting of all the leading and distinguished men of the order was called together at Parma, for the purpose of arranging these complicated affairs. The meeting comprised all of the distinguished learning, eloquence, and piety the order could boast of. And the Servites were at that time thought to possess an unusually great number of remarkable men. The whole of Lent was spent in showing off the order of Servites before the public, both learned and unlearned, by disputation—tournaments for the first, and preachings by all their most eloquent men for the latter. The universality of the interest taken by all classes in this kind of display was a very notable characteristic of the social life of the period. It was



essentially a diversion, this sermon-haunting and casuistic cock-fighting. The eloquent friar from a distant city filled very exactly the position of an itinerant theatrical star. And the sharp-witted trained theological disputants, retained in the service of rival princes, were regarded by them, and the glory of their triumphs appropriated by them, very much in the spirit of the proprietors of a highly bred game-cock. All this was, it need hardly be said, wholly unconnected with the advancement of virtue and morality, though of course not without a tendency to make the outward observances of religion popular.

It may be thought, perhaps, that in our many-sided modern life, something very much of the same nature may be found in our own May meetings, and colossal "tabernacle" preachings. Of course the same follies and misdirected good tendencies formed the subsoil, whence both the seventeenth and nineteenth century phenomena have sprung. But there are two remarkable points of difference between the Italian "religious world" of the former, and the English counterpart to it in the nineteenth century. The first is the all but universality of the taste for these amusements in the earlier century. This of course points to the infinitely richer and more manifold intellectual life of our own epoch. For after all, these religious dissipations were an intellectual pastime; and almost the only one of which the people could then partake. They indicated at all events that the masses of society were beginning to require some intellectual recreation.

The second very observable difference was, that there was nothing of the "unction" of modern platform religious amusements about the simpler and less self-conscious friar-followers of the Italian seventeenth

century. True spiritual elevation of mind and heart had of course little to do with either, quite as little with one as with the other. But the frankly material minded Italian had no lurking consciousness that his formal religion was not the real thing; that religion should be a spiritual affair, actively influencing the heart. Nor did the frequenters of the great seventeenth century friars' preaching-matches, go to them with the idea that they were thereby working out their own salvation. That was to be accomplished by the regular sacramental and sacrificial means appointed by the Church. They frequented the preaching and disputing bouts purely and avowedly to themselves for amusement. There was wanting therefore one of the elements most objectionable in the modern manifestation of religious dissipation. In spite of this, however, or as some will be inclined to say, because of this, no good fruit of any kind was produced by all this interest and excitement about matters ecclesiastical. The general state of morality was low, and was yearly becoming lower. And in an intellectual point of view, the employment of mind on these scholastic subtleties was but the preparation for the still more utterly frivolous and useless waste of it on the Arcadian and Academic absurdities of the period which followed.

Among the other displays of that great Servite gathering at Parma, we have a record of a sermon preached "with great applause,"\* by Sarpi, before "a very distinguished audience," including the Duke Ottavio Farnese, who, it would seem, had a theological taste as decided as the neighbouring sovereign of the

\* Bianchi Giovini, vol. i. p. 50.

house of Gonzaga. But when this Lent, for ever famous in the annals of the Servites, and its lenten dissipations had come to an end, a far more arduous task than preaching to distinguished audiences lay before the notables of the friar world, and especially before Frà Paolo.

It was decided that three delegates should be chosen for the difficult and thorny enterprise of regulating and revising the constitutions of the order, and conciliating the inconsistent privileges and pretensions of the different provinces of it in such sort as to satisfy, if possible, all parties. There were present there all the marked men of the order, greybearded sages, who had filled with credit all the various offices and dignities in its hierarchy. But for the important work of legislation, on which all the future prosperity of the society was to depend, the youthful "Provincial" of Venice was the first selected; and two of the most venerated seniors of the order were given to him as colleagues.

The triumvirate proceeded to Rome to enter on their task in the following June, and were occupied on it during the whole remainder of that year, 1579. The principal part of the work fell, as might have been expected, on Sarpi; especially the revision of the whole penal legislation of the friars' convent code was entirely his work. And this, under a system which in almost every matter, from missing matins to murder, gave jurisdiction to the authorities of the order, was equivalent to the construction of an entire code of criminal law. But if a man of genius be set to the digging of potatoes, the work will not fail to bear some mark of the quality of the workman; and Sarpi's code called forth the admiration of some of the most eminent lawyers of his day, and "would," says Lomonaco,

speaking of his success in his difficult task, "have been the wonder of posterity, had he been the legislator of a nation instead of the legislator of a convent." It is no small matter to have laid down in 1579, long before Beccaria or Filangieri wrote, and much longer before any such idea succeeded in forcing its way among the "practical men" of the world, the maxim that "Imprisonment ought to have for its object the emendation, not the destruction, of the culprit." But it is still more worthy of remark, as an instance of the extreme difficulty with which even the best intellects emancipate themselves from the ideas of their time, however monstrous, if these have been accepted as a matter of course by the wisest and best of the generations preceding them, that Sarpi distinctly recognises the use of torture for the purpose of extorting the truth from a suspected criminal. It is very curious to find him recommending prudence in the application of it, on the ground that it may possibly have the effect of making the patient speak falsehood instead of truth, while his mind fails to take the one little step further, and reach the fact to which he was so near, that torture can in no case have any other result in compelling the tortured man to speak what he otherwise would not speak, than to make him say whatever he deems most calculated to cause the cessation of his agony. This simple truth, become tritest truism in the nineteenth century, one of the finest intellects of the seventeenth failed to apprehend. It was but a very few years later that Bacon incurred the unjustly harsh censure of posterity,\* for carrying into effect as a magistrate the practice, which Sarpi in the deliberate closet work of philoso-

\* See some eloquent remarks on this subject in an article on Bacon in the *Athenaeum*, No. 1682, p. 89. They are applicable equally to Sarpi.

phical thinking authorises as a legislator. Both men were such as to make the authority of each avail as a measure of justification for the other.

In 1580 Sarpi having completed his work at Rome, and won golden opinions from all with whom he had come into contact, returned to Venice, and completed the three years of his office as Provincial, respecting his exercise of which it is recorded that on no single occasion was any one of his judgments or decisions reversed on appeal to Rome. The feeling towards him of those whom he had ruled during these three years, was manifested by their selecting him immediately on the expiration of them as delegate from his province for the election of a new General of the Order. This mission made it necessary for him to journey a second time to Rome in 1583. Two years afterwards, in a general chapter of the Servites, held at Bologna, he was elected Procurator of the Order, the highest office next to that of the General in the monastic hierarchy. The duties of this office took him once more to Rome, in 1585, the same year in which Sixtus V., the famous swineherd Pope, ascended the Papal throne.

On this occasion Sarpi remained at Rome four years, during which he had an opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with the Papal Court, and its traditions and ways of business; a knowledge which he turned to good account at a subsequent day. We hear also of his forming the acquaintance and winning the friendship of several of the notable men then at Rome. But there is no word which indicates that he ever became acquainted with Borghese, his great subsequent enemy. By Pope Sixtus he was soon distinguished in so marked a manner that it was

thought that he might have had a cardinal's hat for the asking. Sixtus was far too shrewd a judge of men not to become aware of Sarpi's value. He employed him on many occasions, and frequently took opportunities of conversing with him. But Sarpi formed a friendship of more importance to us, inasmuch as it contributed largely to the stores of information respecting the Council, which he was now systematically gathering from every source to which he could gain access. Cardinal Castagna, who afterwards became Pope under the title of Urban VII., had been charged at the Council of Trent with the important duty of reducing to form the decrees enacted by it. Such an office necessarily involved an intimate knowledge of the motives and discussions which had led to the adoption of these. And the intimate friendship of such a man was exceedingly useful to the future historian. Castagna was according to all accounts an excellent, upright, and truly venerable man. His pontificate, however, lasted thirteen days only. Almost similarly short were those of the pure-lived and conscientious Adrian VI.\* and of the saintly Marcellus II.†—a bunch of coincidences sufficient to lead a fatalist to the conclusion that some over-riding destiny forbade the long existence of a high moral nature in the poisonous atmosphere in which a Pope is doomed to live.

“He has been snatched away,” cried Sarpi, when he heard of Castagna's elevation and death, “lest corruption should have destroyed his fine nature!”

Sarpi records his having once asked this valued friend how it came to pass, that in the canons of the

\* Adrian VI. was Florent the Fleming.

† Cervini.

Council, as they stood, it so frequently occurred that the prefatory matter introducing each decree is singularly at variance with the body of the canon itself. Castagna frankly admitted that the preface and the decree itself had in the first instance been drawn up in perfect conformity with each other; but that, when the text was submitted to the congregation for final approval, the preface, inasmuch as it effected nothing, was allowed to stand, nobody giving themselves the trouble to examine it; while so many additions and alterations were made to the body of the decree itself, that by the time all parties were, or professed themselves to be satisfied, it bore little resemblance to the original draft, and consequently little conformity to the introductory matter.

Sarpi made also during these important years of his residence in Rome a valuable acquaintance in Cardinal Bellarmine, the celebrated Jesuit writer. He also knew and conversed with another remarkable man of the same order, the famous Spanish casuist Navarro. He was then in the ninety-fifth year of his age, and had a lively recollection of the founders of the Society. Sarpi has noted a conversation in which the old man declared that if Saint Ignatius could return again to the world he would not recognise his own order.

It must have been towards the end of 1588 that Sarpi left Rome, and was able to return once again to the studious quiet of his cell in Venice. This was the great object of his longing. Not that the many opportunities he had had at Rome of obtaining information for the great work he was, as there is reason to believe, already meditating, were undervalued by him. But physical science seems to have been the pursuit most entirely congenial to his mind; and after his four

years' residence amid the business, intrigues, and contentions of the Papal Court, he returned with an increased zest to his anatomical, optical, and astronomical investigations.

He was not, however, allowed to continue them long in peace. It was quite a matter of course that such a man as Sarpi should have awakened many jealousies and made many enemies among the ambitious spirits of the friar commonwealth; and the detail of the quarrels and intrigues springing out of these, to be found at length in the pages of his biographers, gives a lively picture of the working of all the stormy passions which vex the great world, transferred to the cloister, intensified by the narrow limits within which they had to range, and by the absence of all the various concurrent interests, occupations, and affections which operate as diversions to them in the outer world. Nowhere has ambition shown itself more keen, more unscrupulous, more all-absorbing than among the sworn votaries of humility, equality, poverty, and obedience. Nowhere have hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness raged more virulently than among the cloistered crew, whose institute has striven to "thrust nature out by violence," and cut them off from all legitimate occupation of the energies and activities of the human heart and intellect.

We have, however, no space to give to the story of these convent politics and rivalries, with all that detail of circumstance and character which could alone render them in any degree interesting, and must be content with briefly stating the circumstances which caused our friar again to quit the cell and the studies to which he had so recently returned.

A man, whose rise had been as marked and rapid as



that of Sarpi, stood inevitably in the light of all those who thought they might aspire to the highest positions in the monastic hierarchy. Among these, one Frà Dardano, a Venetian, ex-procurator of the order, who was looking to the generalship, thought it needful to this object to get Sarpi out of his way. With this view he laid an accusation against him before the Roman Inquisition, to the effect that he frequented the company of Jews in a manner calculated to cause great doubts of his orthodoxy in matters of faith. The fact was, that there were certain learned Rabbis at Venice, whose acquirements had attracted Sarpi more than their religion had repelled him. A few years later Rome would have gladly enough given ear to such a charge against the "terribile frate"; but he had not yet become terrible to Rome: he had, on the contrary, left an excellent reputation there, and was intimately known and highly esteemed by many influential men, and Frà Dardano's accusation was laughed at. Galled by his failure, and eager to find some vulnerable spot in his enemy, the ex-procurator determined on striking him in the person of one who was dear to him, and was less able to defend himself. There was an old friar, between seventy and eighty years of age, to whom Sarpi had been strongly attached during his whole convent life. He had always considered Frà Giulio his cloister father, and the strong mutual affection which bound the old and the young man to each other was well known to the friar community. Now, old Frà Giulio held the post of confessor to a convent of nuns, and had discharged its duties for many years to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. Some indiscretion, however, of some sort, not clearly explained by Sarpi's biographers,

of which one or more of these ladies had been guilty, afforded an opportunity to the watchful enemy of obtaining from the Venetian Patriarch an order incapacitating Frà Giulio from exercising the duties of a confessor. This, of course, was a very severe blow to the old man, whom it disgraced in the eyes of all his cloister world. But worse was yet behind. Frà Giulio bowed in resignation to the sentence. But not so did the nuns who were deprived of their old confessor; they became mutinous, swore they would scratch the eyes out of any man's head who came into their convent to replace their favourite confessor, and altogether raised a clamour that no man, priest or lay, could venture to face. But all this, instead of serving the cause of their old friend, had just the contrary effect. Dardano represented to the Patriarch that all this mutinous behaviour was caused by the intriguing of Frà Giulio; and the result was, an order exiling the old man to a convent in Bologna. To the septuagenarian Venetian, who had spent his life among the lagoons in the same convent in which he had passed his noviciate, to be sent out thus in disgrace to end his days, not only among strangers, but hostile strangers,—for the Bolognese Servites were of the Florence faction, and unfriendly, therefore, to the Venetian “brethren,”—was almost equivalent to a sentence of death. Sarpi was touched to the quick by his old friend's distress, and determined to leave no stone unturned to remedy it. It was mid-winter; and he was, after all the troubled business he had been engaged in, at last enjoying the quiet of his cell and the pursuit of his favourite studies. But bearing in mind, says his biographer, the proverb,—“He who wants anything in earnest, goes; he who is not in

earnest, sends,"—he determined on starting at once to Rome. There he laid the matter before Pope Clement VIII., and succeeded in obtaining from him a decree which enabled him to bring back his old friend in triumph, not only to Venice, but to his nuns, whose sins he was once again empowered to absolve, as he had done for so many years.

Sarpi was not allowed, however, to depart from Rome immediately on the conclusion of his own business. A commission of cardinals and theologians was then sitting to decide a question which the Pope had referred to them; and now that Sarpi was at Rome, he was ordered to join himself to them and assist in the decision. The matter was this: Henri, Duc de Joyeuse, having lost a wife to whom he was tenderly attached, became disgusted with the world, and took the vows as a Capuchin in 1587. Five years afterwards, his brother, on whom the perpetuation of the family depended, died, leaving no son; whereupon the Capuchin duke applied for a dispensation to enable him to unfrock himself and marry. The point to be decided was, whether the continuation of the name of Joyeuse was a sufficient ground for setting aside the vows and vocation of a monk. Bellarmine, it is recorded, whispered to Sarpi, as they sat side by side at the council-board, "These are the things that have lost us Germany, and will end in losing us France and the rest of Europe!" He was then earning, it should seem, that character for "delicacy of conscience" which subsequently rendered him, as we have seen, unfit for the Papacy. But the majority of the commissioners, and especially the Cardinal Joyeuse, thought the continuation of that princely name an abundantly sufficient reason for not keeping

a promise to Heaven made under circumstances which Heaven had seen good to change. The dispensation was granted. The duke returned to the profession of arms, and married a wife. But it would seem that his own conscience was not so much at ease on the subject as those of the great theologians who had granted him his dispensation, for he assumed the cowl anew after a few years, and died at Turin in 1609, in consequence of the fatigue and hardship he had endured in making a pilgrimage to Rome on foot in mid-winter.

When Sarpi returned from this his fourth journey to Rome, his pleasure in resuming once again his scientific pursuits was stimulated by finding in his immediate neighbourhood no less a coadjutor and rival than Galileo Galilei. Frà Paolo was\* now in his fortieth year, and Galileo in his twenty-eighth. He had just been invited to a Professor's chair in the University of Padua, where he continued till 1610. During this time he and Sarpi became intimate friends, and pursued their investigations so thoroughly together, that it is impossible to say how great a share either may have had in the immortal results of them. Galileo, we know, was wont to call the friar his father and master; but the loss of the greater part of Sarpi's scientific writings leaves us in ignorance of the extent of his labours in this field. It is probable, also, that the absence of all but very general and imperfect tradition on this subject, has been in a great measure caused by the necessity the learned friar was under of concealing from all but his most trusted intimates the nature and results of his scientific, especially of his anatomical, studies. There was danger enough

\* In 1592.

that the search for truth in any field might lead the unfortunate seeker directly to heresy ; but the prejudice against anatomical studies and the knowledge resulting from them was especially virulent ; and as of course it was most so wherever ignorance was the densest, the mendicant orders were furiously hostile to all study of the human frame. Sarpi was accused repeatedly of heresy, on the most absurd pretexts. But his enemies never complained of the heretical nature of his studies ; and the only explanation of the fact is, that they had not discovered them.

## CHAPTER VI.

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Sarpi as a friar.—Strict in his religious observances.—His sincerity.—Opinions respecting this.—Does not attend the Confessional.—His real views with regard to Rome.—The Chronology of the accusations against him.—He fails to obtain the See of Milopotamus.—Again is refused that of Caorle.—And a third time that of Nona.—Cardinal Bellarmine's reflections on these refusals.—Error of Bellarmine.—Sarpi's intercourse with the world.—Circle which met at the house of Andrea Morosini.—That at the house of Bernardo Secchini.—His foreign friends.—Visit to Padua.—The eve of the great struggle.

FRÀ PAOLO was now in his fortieth year, and had as yet taken no part in the business of the world on the outside of the walls of his cloister and the affairs of his order. Nevertheless, the reputation he had achieved by his management of these, and the fame of his omnigenous learning, had already rendered him one of the most marked men in Venice. And the sort of esteem in which he was held by a government which had as yet no need of his services, as well as the place he held in society generally, are testimonies worth recording of the position accorded at that day in the aristocratical oligarchy of Venice to intellect unaided by any outward advantages whatever. A few notices, gleaned from his various biographers, of the sort of life he led, and the people with whom he associated in the years which followed his return from Rome in 1592, will assist us in forming a satisfactory

notion of the man who was to play so singular a part in the great contest to be related in the subsequent pages, as well as of the times in which the drama was acted.

In the first place it is to be noted that he was scrupulously strict in the fulfilment of all his monastic duties and obligations. Bearing in mind the nature of some of these obligations, as well as what we know of the calibre and tendencies of Sarpi's mind, and having been wont to think of him in some degree according to the character which the unforgiving hatred of Rome has made for him, it is not without a certain feeling of surprise that we learn that such was unquestionably the case. From the time of his ordination to that of his death, no day passed in which he failed to celebrate mass. At the long tedious choral services, which make up so large a part of conventual duties and existence, he was no less assiduous. Only in the latter part of his life, when important state affairs detained him at the ducal palace, did he occasionally absent himself from these far worse than useless performances. He rigidly observed all the prescribed fasts, even when on the score of illness he might, without breaking any rules, have abstained from doing so. In various other particulars, such as abstinence from wine, and often from the use of a bed, he practised an asceticism beyond all the requirements of the monastic rule, and such as are recorded in Romish hagiographies to have been submitted to only by those who were going in for high honours in the calendar of beatification.

Was Sarpi *sincere* in his practice of all these futilities? That is of course the question which first occurs to the reader, and which all the great friar's

biographers and critics set themselves to answer by a direct and violent affirmative or negative. Was it ever known, or can it be believed, argues Signor Bianchi-Giovini, that any man ever succeeded in setting detection at defiance by the never-tripping consistent hypocrisy of seventy years? But the biographer, in the ardour of his defence of his hero, slips in together with the consideration of these monastic practices, the equally well ascertained fact of the general purity and blamelessness of Sarpi's life. But the question is not of the sincerity of *that*. Granted that no man of evil life and passions could for seventy years appear to all his contemporaries a model of exemplary life, does it follow thence, that the mere routine conformity with certain outward practices cannot be adopted for any other motive than an accordance of opinion with those who use them? Of course Sarpi's enemies, both contemporary and posthumous, have loudly raised the cry of hypocrisy. Bossuet accuses\* him of concealing the heart of a Calvinist beneath his monk's frock; of secretly labouring to discredit the mass, which he daily performed; and of striving to bring about an entire separation of the republic of Venice not only from the Court but from the Church of Rome. Boyle, in a less hostile spirit, declares that Burnet's life of Bedell contains facts conclusive as to Sarpi's veritable Protestantism. The writer† of his life in the French Biographie Universelle considers it conclusively proved that he was "but a miserable hypocrite." The question, however, of Frà Paolo's real religious convictions is not one to be so easily and compendiously settled.

\* Hist. des Var. lib. 7.

† The article is signed W—s.—for Weiss.



Nor can the exactitude of his monastic observances be held to prove much on the subject in either direction. It seems to a nineteenth century mind incredible, certainly, that an intellect such as that of Sarpi could believe that the practices of monkish devotion should avail to any such spiritual advantages as Romish orthodoxy attributes to them. But even on this point it is not easy to arrive at any safe conclusion. No calculation is more difficult than that of the amount of aberration possible to a mind of a given degree of intellectual power, moving in an atmosphere of general ideas and enlightenment far different from our own. On the other hand, if we are to suppose that Father Paul, without attributing any real spiritual value to his fastings and choral recitations, yet deemed it his duty to comply with the obligations of the calling he had assumed, and further found it prudent in his especial case to be so exact in the fulfilment of them as to leave no possibility to his enemies of accusing him of neglecting them, it would not follow either that he was an enemy to the Church of Rome, or that he was a "miserable hypocrite." It is remarkable that he systematically abstained, except during the earliest years of his priesthood, from exercising another and more important function of his profession,—the hearing of confessions. No special ordinance enjoined him to do so. And an awakened conscience could not consider this as a mere perfunctory ceremonial. The assumption of the office of confessor would, especially in the case of so celebrated a man, have entailed the necessity of taking on himself the direction of many doubting consciences in matters of faith. And probably enough Sarpi found his own path too dark and doubtful to make him desirous of assuming the duty

of leading others. It is far more probable that he was himself feeling his own way hesitatingly amid the difficulties which must have then surrounded the debated questions of creed in the eyes of every thinking man, than that he had reached convictions wholly hostile to the entire edifice of the Roman Church. That he was not a *good catholic* is certain enough. For he refused to accept all the decisions of the Council of Trent. And being guilty of thus much heresy, he might, according to logical Rome's clearly drawn theories, just as well have been a Turk or a Pagan. But Rome's doctrines make it very difficult for people to be consistent in these matters; and how many good men were heretics to the same extent, who still deemed themselves very good churchmen! The friends and thorough-going partizans of Rome, in Sarpi's generation and in every age since, have cried aloud that the blows with which he attacked her encroachments on the civil power were in truth dangerous to her existence, and that it was clear therefore that his aim was to destroy her. In the first assertion they were, in the writer's opinion, perfectly right; in the second, unjust. Those who sit in Rome's high places, and are most conversant with the working of her system, and best understand her methods and means of operating on the human mind, have in all ages cried aloud, that any attempt at limiting her power, or reforming her mode of exercising it, was in fact an attack on her existence. They have not been all hypocrites in their terror and their anger. The sure instinct of self-preservation has prompted them aright. Rome knows that she dare not stake her existence on the issue of a "fair fight *and no favour*," with the ever-increasing tendency of the human intel-

lect to awaken and think. For the thinker is already in any case a heretic, inasmuch as even orthodoxy resulting from the exercise of private judgment is orthodoxy no longer, but heresy—“*aipeōis*”—a taking an opinion of your own, instead of receiving it blind-fold.

But on the other hand there have ever been, as at the present day there are, pious and single-minded men, whose attachment to the Church is such that they cannot think so ill of her as to believe that falsehood and corruption are necessary to her existence. Like a lover, who, seeing in the mundane beauty that has bewitched him all the high qualities existing in his own ideal, fancies that the beloved one will blossom out into unimpeded perfection of moral loveliness, when separated from contagious follies and worldly surroundings; but finds, to his infinite dismay, that the too world-loving fair one loses all colour and animation, and cannot exist in the new and rare atmosphere to which he has transplanted her; so the ingenuously pious Catholic cannot believe that the purification of his Church from the corruptions brought on her by her secular friendships would be fatal to her. Most of the Church's nearest friends, and—to speak the honest truth—most of her enemies believe, that this purification would be the death of her. But those ideal-worshipping lovers do not think so. And it is probable that Sarpi was, like his fellow-countryman, the virtuous and pure-minded Contarini, one of these.

But the shortest and simplest answer to the accusations of impiety, heresy, and hypocrisy, which have been so unceasingly reiterated against the terrible friar, consists in the chronology of them. Rome never found out his sins on all these scores till he

became "terrible" to her. On the contrary, the repeated accusations of those to whose jealousy his marked superiority and rapid promotion *had* already rendered him obnoxious, were pronounced frivolous by the Roman authorities. Yet his studies, his opinions, his habits of life, and his associations were neither different nor less well known during the years in which he was running through the various grades of dignity in his order, than they were when he had become "terrible," as consulting theologian to the Venetian republic. The rivals in the Servite body, whom he had overshadowed, the would-be provincials, procurators, and delegates whom he had cut out, the candidates for the generalship, who saw in him the most formidable obstacle to their success, had discovered that he rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, that he consorted with Jews, that he did not believe in the immortality of the soul. But Rome had not thought it necessary to pay any attention to these very serious denunciations. He was well known to many of the highest and most respectable ecclesiastics of the day, and they knew the value of such and such-like accusations.

It is true, that in that period of his life of which we are now speaking—the years, that is to say, that elapsed between his return from his fourth journey to Rome, in 1592, and his appointment as theologian of the republic in 1606—he was on three different occasions disappointed in his hopes of obtaining a bishopric, by the refusal of Rome to accede to his appointment. But the reasons for this refusal were quite other than his real or supposed heretical tendencies; and the mere fact of its having been thought probable that Rome would consent to his elevation is a very suffi-

cient proof that the horror and abomination in which he came to be held there dated from a later period. It was not till after he had counselled and supported Venice in her resistance to the Interdict, that his hypocrisy, his materialism, and heresy became self-evident. And, after he had been guilty of *that* sin, Beelzebub would have appeared a more hopeful candidate to propose to Rome for a bishopric, than the rebel friar.

On the first of the three occasions referred to, Sarpi was, without any application of his own, spontaneously recommended to the Pope by Cardinal Santa Severina, the protector of the order, for the bishopric of Milopotamus, in Candia. And the only real reason\* of his not obtaining it appears to have been, that it had already been arranged between the Venetian government and the Pope, that that See should be united with the neighbouring bishopric of Retimo.

Sarpi, however, would have been well pleased by promotion to the episcopate. The hours occupied by his monastic duties were a grievous loss of time to one who was eager to turn them to so far more profitable purpose. It is painful to think of the intellect, which was capable of rivalling those of Galileo and Harvey in the nobleness of the boons with which they enriched mankind, being wasted on, or rather suspended from, all living action by the occupation of bawling endless litanies during long hours, amid a choir of ignorant and wholly useless friars! Promotion to the prelacy would, moreover, have been a means of safety to Frà Paolo: It would have removed him from the jealousies and watchfully malevolent

\* Bianchi Giovini, *Vita*, vol. i. p. 118.

surveillance of the friar world, which was at the same time scandalised at, and envious of his successes and popularity in the world beyond the cloister gates, and his unfriarlike studies and pursuits. It would, moreover, have saved him from being further called upon to labour in the thankless and infinitely disagreeable task of settling and quieting the eternal quarrels of the Servite friar family. This he was once more required to undertake in 1597; and was obliged on this duty to visit Rome once again, for the fifth time, in that year.

But, in the year 1600, another Venetian bishopric fell vacant. It was a very poor piece of preferment in every worldly point of view. There is a remote little island in the lagoons towards Friuli, on which there are some six thousand inhabitants, divided among ten poor villages. It is called Caorle. But this obscure and poverty-stricken little island is the seat of a bishopric, the first in rank of all those of the Venetian coast. The revenues, however, are by far the poorest of any see in the Venetian dominions,—so poor, that the bishopric was almost always given to some friar. On this little desired piece of preferment Sarpi cast his eye. He was little anxious for riches; but this poor little bishopric would exactly afford him the leisure and freedom from convent annoyances which he longed for. As the Cardinal Protector of his Order had, on a former occasion, spontaneously recommended him to the Pope for a more important see, he could have no scruples in applying to the Senate, who had the right of nomination, subject to the Pontiff's right of institution. The Council of State willingly nominated him. But the Apostolical Nuncio at Venice, one Offredo Offredi, wanted to get the see for his confessor, a Franciscan friar, named De Grigis. He

accordingly wrote to the Pope, imploring him not to accede to the promotion of a man who did not believe in the philosophy of Aristotle, and who was trying to have it excluded from the schools of the university of Padua, except under certain restrictions. Such a man, of course, could not expect to be instituted to a bishopric which an Apostolical Nuncio's confessor wanted for himself. The Senate, not choosing to make a quarrel on such a point, yielded; and De Grigis was made Bishop of Caorle.

In the following year another small bishopric became vacant, that of Nona, in Dalmatia. And Sarpi's patrician friends advised him to apply for it. This time the Senate, desirous of not exposing themselves to the affront of another rejection of their candidate, directed their ambassador at Rome to sound the ground in the first instance. He found Clement VIII. unwilling to accede to Sarpi's promotion. "I know," said he, "that he is a very learned man. But he frequents the society of heretics." The fact was that the friar had done far worse than that since his last rejection. He had advised the Senate to resist certain new pretensions of the Pope, arising out of the recent acquisition by the Holy See of the duchy of Ferrara. And this had not escaped the far-hearing ears of Rome. For all that, Clement, who was a prudent, far-seeing, and moderate man, would probably have been not unwilling to give Sarpi a bishopric in his own states, for motives easily understood. But he would not make him a bishop at the nomination of Venice and in Venetian territory, and thus contribute to bind a man likely to be so dangerous an enemy to the service of those whom Rome was already beginning to consider as her enemies.

So Sarpi never attained to the honours of the prelatore, being destined to remain a poor friar, and to become that "frate terribile," more important to the future history of the Papacy than any bishop Rome ever made.

"Pope Clement VIII.," writes Signor Bianchi Giovini, remarking on the disappointment of his hero,\* "did not live to know the enormity of the mistake he made" in not giving the bishopric to Frà Paolo. "But Cardinal Bellarmine confessed it bitterly enough after the events of the Interdict had fallen out, lamenting that the Court of Rome had not, while there was yet time, thought of gaining over a man from whom such important services might have been expected. On which point I do not know whether the Cardinal was right or not; inasmuch as, though Frà Paolo was always irreproachable in all that really constitutes religion, it does not follow that he would ever have become a creature of the Roman Court. I am inclined to think on the contrary; that whether as bishop or cardinal, he would always have been the same man that he was as a simple friar. . . . . At the utmost, he might have become changed if they had made him Pope. For of all the conditions of mankind, that is the only one which has the special privilege of changing a man when advanced in years. Whatever may have been the modes of thinking of an individual, if you put a tiara on his head, he becomes transformed into a new creature. He renounces the opinions of a man, and assumes those of a Pope. Nor would it have been anything miraculous if Frà Paolo, after all that he wrote in the matter of the

\* Vita di Sarpi. Vol. i. p. 148.



Interdict, had (supposing him to have been created Pope) made a solemn and spontaneous recantation, as Pius II. did. Prospero Lambertini, when cardinal, laughed at many superstitions, which when Pope \* he maintained. When he was Lambertini he had no esteem for the Inquisition; when he was Benedict XIV. he became a convert to it. With the change of name the Popes change their nature."

It is quite natural, and in character, that the Jesuit Bellarmine should imagine that the Court of Rome having need of such an intellect as that of Sarpi, had nothing to do but to buy him. But it is the ever-recurring mistake of such men as Bellarmine to miscalculate the value of the moral element in judging men. The purely intellectual part of Sarpi's nature, the subtle and erudite Jesuit was perfectly competent to appreciate. But he could not understand, that had Sarpi been buyable, he would have been infinitely less worth buying. He would no longer have been that indomitably energetic and courageous fighter for what appeared to him the right, which made him so "terrible" a foe. Bellarmine's error was of the nature of that of the noble lord, who is recorded to have bought the wooden "Punch," whose jests had much amused him, and to have been bitterly disappointed when the puppet sent home to him as per bargain was amusing no longer. His eloquent Sarpi bought and paid for would have turned out nearly as unprofitable a purchase. But it is one of the appointed penalties inevitably attached to an absence of faith in, and reverence for, truth as such, that the sinner in that sort is impotent to comprehend and calculate on the

\* Benedict XIV., A. D. 1740.

influence which a lively faith in the invincibility of its eternal laws, exercises on minds to whom belief in them is synonymous with belief in God.

To one who has followed the phases of Sarpi's battle with the Court of Rome, marked the earnestness of conviction which animates his eloquence, and sympathised with him in each critical struggle for the right, it seems simply monstrous to suppose that for a fee he could have turned about with a—"this, my lords, is what my learned opponent will probably urge!" and have proceeded to be equally convincing on behalf of the wrong.

It is true, however, that Sarpi did not fight only his own battle, nor fight single-handed. He was but the animating soul of the powerful Venetian republic. And the Court of Rome might have gained much by separating him from Venice, as, it has been mentioned, that politic Clement VIII. would willingly have done by giving him a bishopric in the Roman states. But there is no reason for supposing that Sarpi would have accepted any such preferment; and every reason to think that he was too patriotic a Venetian citizen to have made himself the civil subject of a power which for some time past had been becoming more and more hostile to his native city. But Clement VIII. was, as has been said, an eminently cautious and politic ruler. The leaders of the Venetian senate were not less remarkable for the same qualities. As long as Clement lived, therefore, no open rupture had taken place between them, despite the numerous causes of ill-will and irritation which will have to be indicated in the next book of this story.

Meanwhile, however punctually and strictly Frà Paolo conformed himself to convent rule, and submitted

willingly to all the practices and abstinences which involved toil or self-denial of the body, he was not willing to limit his intellectual intercourse to that of the friar-world around him. The accomplished Servite was a welcome and frequent guest in several of the most agreeable circles in Venice. It is remarkable, also, that he frequented with equal assiduity houses of widely different social rank, and equally contrasted as to the sort of society which he met in them.

The house of the patrician historian, Andrea Morosini, was the resort of all the most distinguished men in learning and literature to be found in Venice. It is scarcely necessary to add, that of course the tone of political thought prevailing there was patriotic and anti-papal. There were to be found constantly Lionardo Donato and Niccolo Contarini, both subsequently Doges; Domenico Molino, a senator of European reputation for his energetic patriotism and varied learning; Antonio Querini, whose pen was subsequently employed in the defence of the Republic when under the Interdict; and many others, the flower of Venetian society.

In the house of the trader, Bernardo Secchini, at the sign of the Golden Ship, in the street called the Merceria, a totally different, but to Frà Paolo, a scarcely less interesting sort of society was to be met with. Traders from distant countries, travellers who brought letters to the widely known merchant, men of all countries, many of them Protestants, some Jews, were wont to gather together there. "And\* Sarpi delighted in gathering from the strangers notices of the customs, laws, religion, and natural productions

\* Bianchi Giovini, Vita, vol. i. p. 96.

of foreign countries. He took great pleasure, too, in hearing of political affairs, of the vicissitudes of the wars, of the spirit of various courts, and of the disposition of their ministers. . . . And it was observed of him that his penetration was such, that he rarely erred in predicting that such and such courses of political conduct would lead to such or such results."

Occasionally he would make visits to Padua, where his scientific friends, Girolamo Fabricio, of Aquapendente, the celebrated physician Sartorio Sartori, Gianvincenzo Pinelli, and above all Galileo, made his coming a scientific festival.

Many foreigners of note deemed it one of the principal objects of their sojourn at Venice to make acquaintance with the already celebrated Servite friar. Among such may be mentioned the Englishman William Gilbert, the Frenchman Claude Peiresc, of an encyclopediacal reputation as Sarpi himself, Wotton, the English Ambassador, and Bedell, his chaplain, with whom, despite their differences of creed, acquaintanceship ripened into firm and enduring friendship.

Such was the life which our friar, by no means as yet terrible to anybody, made for himself after he had got to the end of the infinite troubles and labours occasioned by the quarrels of the Servite family, and after three disappointments in his attempts to free himself from cloister annoyances, by elevation to the episcopate, had taught him that he must make his cell his home for the remainder of his days. Such a life must have been to such a man by no means without its pleasures of tranquillity, study, congenial conversation, and the constant acquirement of new ideas and fresh stores of knowledge. Had it continued, the

world might have had Sarpi, the historian ; but it would not have had that far greater man, Sarpi, the invincible, indefatigable and uncompromising defender of human society against priestly tyranny. Sarpi may be said to be one of those who have had greatness thrust upon them. And the events which were to thrust it on him were now near at hand.

Paul V. succeeded, after the interval of a few days, during which Leo XI. occupied the throne, to Clement VIII.—one of the most rash and impolitic, to one of the most prudent and politic Popes who ever sat in the seat of St. Peter.

This great change took place in the year 1605, Paul the Pope and Paul the Friar being then each of them in his fifty-third year.



· BOOK III.

BRUTUM FULMEN.





## CHAPTER I.

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**Causes of misunderstanding between Rome and Venice.—The Republic from very early times careful to avoid ecclesiastical encroachment.—False notions of jurisprudence.—The Uscocks.—The quarrel about Ceneda.—Bull to forbid travelling in heretical countries.—Extension of the prohibitions of the Index to Venice.—Rome becomes possessed of Ferrara. Quarrels with Venice arising therefrom.—Quarrels respecting the Investiture of the Patriarch.—These matters influential in causing the refusal of a bishopric to Sarpi.**

FOR the right appreciation of the tone of feeling and temper existing between Venice and the Roman Court at the beginning of the quarrel, which at one time promised fairly to bring to pass results of infinite importance to mankind at large, it will be well to indicate briefly the causes of the mutual ill-will which had arisen between these two States. It will be observed, that these were entirely of a secular or quasi secular nature, and such as might have arisen between any two neighbouring countries, were it not that the especial unreasonableness and insolence of Rome must be deemed exceptional and peculiar to herself.

The Republic of Venice had at all times professed itself zealously religious, and animated by feelings of the greatest reverence towards the successors of St. Peter. But from a very early period the independent spirit, and shrewd common sense of the Venetians, had manifested themselves in sundry curious particulars,

which indicated that the commercial Queen of the Adriatic considered religion and its ministers to be excellent things in their own places, but had no notion whatever of permitting them to quit their sphere for the purpose of interfering with the ordinary business of the world. With them, religion and its priests were for the churches, the Sundays and holidays;—excellent, too, for helping out showy gala processions, and contributing by their presence to increase the popular reverence for the magistrates and rulers of the republic. But they never dreamed of admitting an order of men, who owed allegiance to a foreign sovereign, to the smallest share in real power and influence in the state. And Venice in those early days stood alone among the governments of Europe in its strict adherence to this policy. She alone in Europe totally excluded ecclesiastics from all participation in the government. She was also the only state, in the Catholic world, which kept no member of the Apostolical Court in her pay.\* An ecclesiastic at Venice lost all rights and privileges of a citizen. He was dead in the eye of the civil law. The wisdom of that wise government had been able to devise no better maxims than those for the protection of civil society from sacerdotal encroachment.

And it is both curious, as an indication of the line of thought generated by ages of Roman Catholicism in Italy, and regrettable as showing how much lee-way the most advanced public opinion has yet to recover in that country on such subjects, to find liberal writers, such as Signor Bianchi Giovini for example, and to

\* Sarpi. *Storia Particolare della Cose passati*, etc. Opere, vol. iii. p. 2.

hear educated Italians, as any one will who converses with them on such matters, extolling this old Venetian legislation as the true and only means of confining the Church to its legitimate sphere. So great is the hostility to and fear of the Church, that men can see in a priest only his priesthood, and think that they can guard themselves from the influence of the latter only by suppressing the individual under civil disabilities. They cannot reach the perception that a true theory of both state and church would require, not that the civil law should refuse to recognise the man, but only that it should refuse to recognise any peculiarity in him; that John Doe and his comrade Richard should, for *every* civil purpose, be held to be simply those celebrated individuals; and that information to the effect that Doe was in truth D.D. should, for all legal purposes, be felt to be of equal relevance with the fact that his friend Roe was president of a chess-club.

Those who live in glass houses, it may be said, &c., &c. True! I live in a house with some windows, but those whom I am pelting live in a veritable crystal palace.

To return, however, from this somewhat unwarrantable foray into the broad light of the nineteenth century, back to the dim, quiet atmosphere of the centuries among which our present business lies,—it may be readily imagined that the boasted piety of the Venetians did not avail to make amends at Rome for a government animated by the principles above described. And despite all due tokens and decorous manifestations of reverence and submission on the one hand, and of paternal affection on the other, it may safely be asserted that for many a year little love had been lost between Rome and Venice. But during the

Pontificate of Clement VIII., an increasing number of causes, each small by itself, but with a cumulative tendency, had occurred to generate the state of chronic irritation which prevailed between the two governments when Paul V. ascended the throne.

In the first place, there was the often-renewed dispute about the Uscocks. These were a savage and ferocious tribe of pirates who inhabited the Dalmatian coast. Many a strange and terrible story is yet extant of their atrocious deeds, and of the wild warfare by which it was sought to exterminate them. Of course the position of their country and the commercial pursuits of wealthy Venice made them especially troublesome to the Republic. It was in 1592 that Ermolao Tiepolo, a Venetian general, conceived the idea of taking into the pay of the Republic a band, five hundred strong, of the lawless banditti who infested the States of the Church, and sending them to fight against the Uscocks; thinking that if only the struggle should result in the mutual destruction of both parties, the benefit would be all the greater to the civilised world in general. But the Pope, who had no commerce to protect, and had, moreover, rather a liking for the Uscocks, because they were always at war with the Turks—(and what better proof of their possessing a true Christian feeling, despite their little irregularities, could a vicar of Heaven desire!)—the Pope was exceedingly angry that his good subjects, the bandits, should be sent on such an errand. In vain the Venetian Senate represented, that they had imagined they were rendering no trivial service to the whole neighbouring country, and to the Papal government especially, in ridding them of these troublesome and lawless marauders. The Holy Father insisted on the

restitution of his bandits, and the Senate eventually complied with his wishes.

But very few years passed, however, before new causes of discontent arose respecting these same pirates. It was in 1596. Austria was at war with the Turks on her own mundane account. And as the Uscocks were always at war with the Turks, for the very sufficient reason that they were their nearest neighbours, Austria protected and assisted the pirates. But the Pope, who was anxious to do at least something becoming a Vicar of Christ, was bent on the favourite Papal scheme of getting up a religious crusade against the Ottomans by means of a league between Austria, Poland, and Venice for this purpose. With a view, therefore, of forcing the Republic into this scheme, he privately sent assistance in arms and ammunition to the pirates, in the hope of embroiling Venice with the Turks, who were to be led to suppose that the assistance which enabled the Uscocks to molest them, came from their old enemies. The Senate remonstrated in very strong terms with the Pontiff on the truly Apostolic means he had taken to bring about his devout object. The Pope condescended to make excuses; and urged the Republic to join in the proposed league against the Turks. But this by no means met the views of Venice. The Queen of the Adriatic drove a thriving and very important trade with these abominable infidels, and had no idea of permitting her religious zeal to interfere with her commerce.

Then there arose in 1595 another cause of misunderstanding, that seemed at one time to threaten more serious consequences than the business of the Uscocks. The circumstances of the case were much

the same with many another contest waged in different parts of the world by the Church of Rome. There is at the foot of the mountains, in the neighbourhood of Treviso, a little town called Ceneda. The traveller from Innspruck to Venice will probably remember the place from the beauty of its situation at the mouth of the lovely valley, which brings him down into the rich lowlands from the magnificent scenery of the pass of Ampezzo. The poor little town is crushed into insignificance now, neither more nor less complete and wretched than all around it, under the hoof of the Austrian. But its position at the mouth of a main pass in the debateable ground at the foot of the mountains, made its history an eventful one in the old times; the kings of Hungary, the Carrara princes, the Scaligers and the Visconti, having quarrelled over it and possessed it in turn. At last, however, it became permanently part of the Venetian territory; and would have enjoyed the advantages of the steady and enlightened rule of the great Republic, had it not unfortunately possessed a bishop; to whom the "dominio utile," or right of taxing the little town was admitted to belong. This right the bishops of course strove to extend abusively, till it comprised entire dominion over the inhabitants. The latter complained to the Senate, which at once took the government into its own hands. The bishops appealed to Rome. The Apostolic Court of course supported the bishop. The people were forbidden under pain of ecclesiastical penalties to have any recourse to the secular courts; excommunications began to be flying about. The Ceneda people made a point of disregarding them, and the quarrel began to look ugly; when cautious Clement, having other more important matters on his hands, consented to allow

things to stand as they had done before the episcopal encroachments, and to defer examination into the right of the question till a future time. Rome, however, neither forgot nor forgave the incident.

In the same year, 1595, the Apostolic Court published a bull forbidding all Italians under penalty of excommunication to travel beyond the Alps into countries tainted with heresy, unless by special licence of the local inquisitors! The sort of effect produced by this wonderful bit of legislation at Venice may be easily imagined. What was to become of the commerce with England, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland? It is a very curious instance of the extraordinary ignorance of human affairs which seems sometimes to blind the Court of Rome, despite the ordinary subtlety and ability of her statesmen, that the Holy See should have for a moment deemed it possible to enforce such a prohibition at the close of the 16th century. Of course any idea of paying the least attention to such a bull was simply out of the question. The Senate however, unwilling to enter into profitless altercation with the Pope, contented itself with forbidding the Venetian Inquisition from receiving any denunciations on the subject, from whatever quarter they might come.

Again, much about the same time, the Pope issued a brief requiring that the Roman Index of prohibited books should be received and acted on in Venice. And in this matter again the Senate demurred; not that the Venetians had any particular heretical wish to *read* prohibited books, but they did not choose to be debarred from *printing* and *selling* them, as well as others. The business of printing and publishing was an important branch of Venetian commerce. And here again

the republicans had no intention of letting their orthodoxy interfere with their trade.

To all these various causes of irritation and ill-feeling a new and prolific source of unending bickerings and differences was added in 1598. The Roman Court had for centuries pretended to have a claim to the Duchy of Ferrara, by virtue of the imaginary donation of Constantine. During the rule however of the more vigorous sovereigns of the house of Este, they had never been able to wrest it from the dukes of that family. At last however, by dint of excommunications, threats, and in some degree by force of arms, Clement VIII. drove Don Cesare, the heir of Duke Alphonso II., to yield up Ferrara, and content himself with the Duchies of Modena and Reggio. The Pontiff took possession of Holy Church's new acquisition in 1598; just two hundred and sixty-two years ago, a lapse of time, it would seem, sufficient to convert the gross wrong then committed into so sacred a right, that it is sacrilege of the most awful kind to dispossess Heaven's Vicegerent of his plunder. The result however of this advancement of the Church's territorial limits, which most concerns us at present, was the common frontier which it occasioned between the Roman States and those of Venice. A variety of quarrels between the two governments was the immediate consequence of this near neighbourhood. Even while the Pope, who had come to take possession of his new states in person, was still at Ferrara a squabble arose about the rights of fishing in the mouths of the Po. The Pope caused some Venetian fishermen's boats to be seized. The Senate immediately sent some galleys to retake them. Both parties agreed, for fear of worse, to let the matter rest there, leaving the question of right undecided.



Then there arose other disputes on matters of commerce and custom-houses and duties. It was an ancient usage that all vessels engaged in the oil-trade in the Adriatic should carry the cargoes they brought, principally from Magna Grecia, direct to Venice. Occasionally it had been permitted, as an exceptional favour to the Dukes of the House of Este, that the importations of oil required for the consumption of their states, should be carried to Ferrara by the Po, without passing by the Venetian custom-house. This favour the Pope insisted on inheriting, and turning it into a right. Moreover he proposed establishing a great depôt at Ferrara, and thus turning the old concession to the Dukes of Ferrara into a means of ruining an important branch of Venetian commerce. Once again, as in the other matters, the Senate insisted that reverence for the Head of the Church was one thing, and the trade in oil another. They sent armed vessels to constrain the oil-ships to follow the accustomed course, and the Pope threatened to make a ship canal from the Po to his port of Comacchio, and then construct fortifications, under protection of which the ships should land their cargoes. But ship-canals and fortifications are not so readily brought into action as excommunications; and the Senate was content to let things go on as usual in the meantime.

In another important matter, about the same time, the Venetians found that the change which gave them Heaven's Vicegerent for a close neighbour was a misfortune. The immense quantity of earth brought down by the Po and the other rivers flowing into the upper corner of the Adriatic, threatened very seriously to injure the navigation of those waters. The evil was then, and has in various ways become since, and still

is, a very important and complicated one. The government of Venice had at that time a plan of endeavouring to remedy the mischief in part, by carrying a large portion of the waters of the Po through an artificial canal into the sea. Of course any scheme by which evils of the nature of those alluded to could have been remedied, would have been highly advantageous to the entire north of Italy. The Pope, however, instantly declared that his states would be prejudiced by the proposed new canal, and insisted on the relinquishment of the project. But the disapprobation expressed by Spain and Tuscany of the wrongful acquisition of Ferrara by the Roman Court threatened troubles which induced the Pope to desist from his threats on this point.

But there was no end to the vexatious demands and litigations of such a Court as that of Rome, vigilant to seize every opportunity of making good some advance in claims and pretensions, which aimed at the greatest and never neglected the smallest objects. In 1601 the Patriarch of Venice, Lorenzo Priuli, died, and the Senate elected Matteo Zani in his place. Upon which Pope Clement, in contradiction to all ancient usage, insisted that the new Patriarch should come to Rome, to be examined, approved, and consecrated. Of course compliance with this demand would have been equivalent to abandonment by the Senate of the right to the appointment of the highest ecclesiastical dignitary within their dominions. And the Republic had not the least intention of submitting to any such encroachment. This matter, however, like the others, was patched up for the nonce, by an arrangement that the new Patriarch should go to Rome simply to pay his respects to the Pontiff, but should not be examined,

nor ask for any ratification of the Senate's appointment.

In several of these quarrels certainly, probably in all of them, the Senate had asked, and in a great measure had been guided by, the opinion and advice of Frà Paolo. And it was impossible, in the case of a government constituted as was that of Venice, that this should have been done so secretly as to escape the knowledge of the Pope's Nuncio at Venice. It may easily be believed, therefore, that all these disputes, and the upshot of them, may have contributed to ensure the rejection at Rome of the Servite's application for the Papal consent to his promotion to a bishopric.

Such was the state of things between Venice and the Papal Court during the latter years of the Papacy of Clement VIII. From what has been said in the previous book of this history of the character and disposition of Paul V., it will be readily seen that he was not likely to avoid an open rupture in circumstances which had so nearly led the cautious Clement into one. The prudence which had avoided it he stigmatised in his predecessor as weak and cowardly neglect of a paramount duty. And he mounted the throne, burning to bring these audacious republicans on their knees, and determined to spare no excess of violence in the use of the weapon in his hands for the effecting of his object.

## CHAPTER II.

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Paul's selection of Nuncio.—Orazio Mattei, Nuncio at Venice.—The Pope opens the campaign against Venice.—Count Brandolino, Abbot of Nervesa.—The Canon Saraceni of Vicenza.—His offences.—Paul's dictum on the subjection of ecclesiastics to the civil courts.—Venetian laws restraining the multiplication of ecclesiastics and the acquisition of property by them.—Necessity of such laws.—The Church imprudent in claiming exemption from taxes.—The disputants in this matter in the 17th century avoid appealing to first principles.—Pope Paul's indignation.—The political horizon bodes storm.

It was on the 16th of May, 1605, that Agostino Nani,\* the Venetian ambassador at Rome, wrote to inform the Senate of the election of Camillo Borghese, as Paul V. It has been already told how Paul was restrained during the first few months of his pontificate, by the fear that his death was near at hand, from putting into immediate execution the plans he had conceived for the aggrandisement of the papal power. The various demands he forthwith made, as soon as he was liberated from this fear, on different states, and the unvarying success he met with, have also been related. It would seem as if he had had some misgiving as to the result of his meditated attack on Venice. For despite his burning desire to avenge the many affronts received by the Holy See during the pontificate of his predecessor† from the stiffnecked Republicans, it was not till he had been encouraged

\* See Note 1, at end of Volume.

† Always counting Leo XI. for nothing.

by the successes above mentioned that he ventured to open his fire upon Venice.

His first care was to be everywhere represented by Nuncios of his own calibre and ways of thinking. Many of these residents in various courts were changed by him with this view. To Venice he sent Orazio Mattei, a Roman prelate, whose violence and audacity were such as to render him a man after his master's own heart. He came to Venice loudly protesting that his mission thither was to suffer martyrdom in the cause of the Apostolic See. But, as Sarpi remarks,\* this martyrlike disposition was of a strangely imperious sort. For if any one ventured to attempt any argument against the monstrous audacity of the doctrine he was in the habit of setting forth on the subject of the Papal supremacy, his constant reply—so constant, says Sarpi, that it had the effect of a set formula—was, "I am here in the position of Pope. I want no replies, but only obedience." This to Venetian senators, when they demurred to assertions that "almsgiving, works of mercy, attendance on public worship, and a good and Christian life are all valueless, unless joined to zeal for ecclesiastical supremacy;" that "true Christian perfection consisted not in charity and devotion, but in exaltation of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction!" † Truly, this was the sort of man Paul needed for the work he had in hand;—clearly the right man in the right place!

The Pope opened the campaign by complaints respecting those commercial disputes which have been described, and by renewing the demand that the Patriarch recently elected (for Zani, respecting whose

\* Storia Particolare, ed. cit., vol. iii. p. 2.

† Sarpi, loc. cit.

election the demand was first made, had died shortly after his promotion), should come to Rome, and submit to examination before he should be allowed to take possession of his see. But not getting any satisfaction from the Senate on these subjects, he took no further immediate step, judging it more expedient "not to begin from that point, but from something that should have a more colourable pretext of spirituality."\*

The opportunity desired was not long waited for. Two occurrences happened which seemed to furnish exactly all that was needed to make an excellent occasion for the assertion of the principles the Pope was so eager to do battle for with the Republic. And to these a third was very shortly added, equally well adapted to try one of the points on which the Apostolic Court has always been particularly sensitive.

Some little time previous to the period of which we are now speaking—the October of 1605, that is to say—a certain Count Brandolino, Abbot of Nervesa, in Friuli, had been thrown into prison by the Ten. The list of crimes attributed to this man seems almost to pass the bounds of credibility. The accusations, however, rest not only on the testimony of Sarpi, but on the unimpeachable statement of the historian Morosini, who was one of the series of authors commissioned to write the history of his own time by the Venetian government. This writer, who composed his history in Latin, does not indeed enter into the particulars which Sarpi and other historians have given, but contents himself with saying that he was cast into prison by the Ten, "for abominable crimes, the details of which it is better to pass over in silence, by reason

\* Sarpi, *Op. cit.* p. 4.

of their horrible atrocity."\* Sarpì† and Bianchi Giovini‡ enter more into particulars. Parricide, fratricide, incest, and poisonings by wholesale, are named as the more mentionable of his abominations. There were still existing at that time some remains of the feudal tenures in Friuli. This abbot, it would seem, held his abbey as a feudal chief, and as such made himself a terror and a horror to the whole neighbourhood around him. When this tonsured monster was transferred from his consecrated lair among the Friuli hills to the prisons beneath the ducal palace in Venice, it does not appear that he, or anybody on his behalf, dreamed of raising any objection to the perfect legality of the steps taken against him.

Very shortly afterwards, however, and probably in the September of the same year, 1605, another case occurred which compelled the Ten to lay their sacrilegious hands on another frocked offender. There was a certain Canon Saraceni at Vicenza, a man of one of the most distinguished patrician families of the place, who had a cousin, a bishop, resident at Venice, high in the special confidence of the Roman Court. This worthy canon had already made himself obnoxious to the law by an audacious act of defiance of it, in breaking the seals placed by the competent authorities on the papers belonging to a recently deceased Bishop of Vicenza. But this act does not appear to have been the immediate cause of his incarceration. There was at Vicenza a young widow of remarkable beauty, a member of the same Saraceni family, whom this exem-

\* Morosini, *Historiæ Venetiæ*, ad. an. 1605, tom. 7 of the Collection of Venetian Historians, p. 321.

† In two different works. See the *Storia Particolare*, vol. iii. p. 7; and the *Considerazioni sopra le Censure*, vol. iii. p. 190.

‡ *Vita di Frà Paoli*, vol. i. p. 234.

plary ecclesiastic, abusing the access to her afforded him by his cousinship, had for some time persecuted with dishonourable proposals. Finding his pursuit altogether vain, the cowardly wretch turned all his endeavours to finding some means of revenge on the object of it. With this view, we are told, he "filthily defaced" \* the doors of the lady's residence by night. The lady, writes Morosini, flew in an agony of indignation to Venice, rushed into the presence of the Ten, and implored justice against the perpetrator of this "worst insult that could possibly be offered to a woman," an infamous outrage, "by which her character and honour were destroyed."

From the strength of these expressions of the grave historian,† and still more from the fact, that the Ten appear to have looked at the matter quite as seriously, it might seem that something more must have been meant by the phrases quoted in the note than the mere perpetration of an unmeaning outrage, which any blackguard in the street might at any time commit to the offence of any citizen whatever. It is difficult to imagine that such an act could be deemed fatal, or even injurious, to the lady's honour. The modern historian, Bianchi Giovini,‡ feeling apparently the difficulty of satisfactorily understanding the circumstances as simply related by the old historians, writes that the Canon "determined to render her infamous, by placarding her door with writings conveying the grossest insults." But I do not find, that his interpretation of the deed rests on any other autho-

\* "Domus illius fores noctu turpissimè fœdaverat."—Morosini, Op. cit. p. 320. "Venne a deturpare la porta e faccia della casa."—Sarpi, Storia Partic. p. 5.

† And the feeling of Sarpi upon the subject is not different.

‡ Vita di Sarpi, vol. i. p. 234.



riety than the fact, that various anecdotes are extant, which prove that such a mode of vengeance was not unknown to the habits of that age and country. And even thus, it seems strange that the good name of any one should have been deemed to lie at the mercy of so easily perpetrated a murder of it. The circumstance, and the importance attached to it, are in any case curious illustrations of the social habits and feelings of that day.

The Ten, fully sharing the lady's indignation, sent stringent orders to the magistrates of Vicenza, to spare no exertions in discovering the offender; and the result was that the Canon Saraceni was very soon lodged in the same prison which already held his fellow-ecclesiastic, the Abbot Brandolino.

The bishop, cousin of the Vicenza canon, who was a man so highly esteemed at Rome that the Nuncios at Venice were ordered to confer on all points with him, and who knew well enough that such a case as this was exactly what Pope Paul was on the look out for, lost no time in complaining to the Papal Court of this "encroachment of the civil power on ecclesiastical immunities." Nor was the similar case of Brandolino, which seems to have been brought into notice by that of the Vicenza canon, deemed too disgraceful a one to be pressed into the same service. It was at first maintained by the canon's cousin, and by a newly appointed Bishop of Vicenza, who was still at Rome, and who joined his brother bishop in loudly demanding that the imprisoned canon should be released and given up to him as his only competent judge, that the civil magistrate could only take cognisance of offences committed by ecclesiastics in atrocious cases; and that the affair of Canon Saraceni was *not* atrocious.

But no sooner was the matter laid before the Pope, and this view propounded to him, than he exclaimed that such a doctrine fell far short of the true view of the subject; that in no case, atrocious or otherwise, would he tolerate that any jurisdiction should be assumed by any civil authority over any ecclesiastical person whatsoever. Any attempt to do so was, he declared, sacrilegious. Since, then, this was pronounced to be the true doctrine; the parricide, fratricide Abbot of Nervesa was as good a case to fight on as any other. And a similar demand was made, that he too should be forthwith handed over to the ecclesiastical authorities.

But when these cases were brought under the notice of Paul V., they only served to exasperate and hasten the explosion of wrath that was already on the point of blazing out against the Republic respecting another attack "on the liberties of the Church." There were two laws, both ancient in Venice, dating indeed from the middle of the fourteenth century, which had been confirmed, one of them in 1603, and the other, with a new extension of its operation from the limits of Venice itself, to all the territory of the state, in the present year, 1605. The first forbade the foundation of any new church, monastery, or almshouse, or the introduction of any new religious order, without express licence from the government, under penalty of exile and the forfeiture of all buildings and lands turned to such uses. The second, which had existed in Venice itself since 1333, but which was in 1605 extended to all the territory, forbade all acquisition by ecclesiastical persons or bodies of new property in land or houses.

The excessive number of ecclesiastical establish-

ments of all kinds already existing in the city and its territory, and the outrageous proportion of the property of the country, of which the clergy had become possessed, rendered both these laws unquestionably wise and necessary. It was calculated that throughout the dominions of Venice, a fourth part, and in some localities even a third of all the real property was in ecclesiastical hands. As long as human nature is what it is, and the ignorance of the masses in all ranks is sufficiently gross for it to be possible to persuade men and women that the wealth, for which they have no further use in this world, may be made available for their advantage in an eternal life to come, the class of men who claim a monopoly of the power of so investing it will steadily progress towards the absorption of the whole accumulated wealth of the social body. It is needless to point out how terror is made to play its part; how frequently it must occur, that those who have most to leave will be also those most amenable to its influence, and how the same selfish nature which has through life sought gain by inflicting loss on others, will be the most ready to jump at the offered means of consuming all to its own profit, to the exclusion of others, and the neglect of natural ties. It is superfluous to insist on the terrible teaching of a doctrine which in effect cries aloud: "Acquire wealth, no matter by what means. You may enjoy it as long as life lasts; and when you can enjoy it no longer, you may so dispose of it, as to ease all twinges of conscience, and nullify all the evil results, which might otherwise have arisen from the nature of the means used for its acquirement."

The engine for clerical aggrandisement thus invented, is only too sure and rapid in its operation.

And the result of its efficacy has ever been, either that society has found itself compelled to provide against its consequences by positive enactments which arbitrarily infringe on the rights of property; or that these consequences have been violently and explosively redressed by sudden convulsion when they have become intolerable. But the Church of Rome acted with less than its usual far-sighted prudence, when it insisted on adding to this portentous facility of acquiring property, the right of exempting the wealth so accumulated from all contribution to the state. By so doing, it not only injured in their pockets all that portion of the civil society which was not amenable to its cajolements—the portion therefore which was sure to be hostile to it; but it placed itself in opposition to the interests of rulers, far more ready to take alarm, and more able to take measures for their own protection, than the fleeced flock. It was on this ground, accordingly, that the laws forbidding the acquisition of more property by the Church had been enacted in Venice; and on this ground alone, that they were defended and maintained by the Republic in its disputes on this subject with the Pontiff. In this matter, as in all the others which came to be debated in the course of this memorable struggle, it is very curious and suggestive to observe how the disputants avoided appealing to first principles. It is very curious to see an intellect so subtle and clear and a courage so undaunted as those of Sarpi, either unable to apprehend, or afraid to touch truths which to us appear so luminous, and to the very borders of which the course of the quarrel and of his arguments seem to lead him. Was there an instinctive feeling at work, that these first principles could not be appealed to without danger

of bringing down in toppling ruin much that he deemed society could not, or at all events not yet, dispense with? Or, must we suppose, that the fine intellects engaged in these debates were really unable to see what is now so visible to far less powerful minds; and put their blindness down to the incalculable influence of the stage in the world's intellectual progress at which they stood?

The motives on which the Venetian government had originally based these laws, and at various subsequent dates confirmed and renewed them, and on which it now defended them against the opposition of the Pope, were, as set forth in their replies to the court of Rome, the loss which the State suffered by the exemption from taxation of so large a portion of the property of the nation, the impossibility of obtaining from the necessarily over-taxed remainder the amount of money needed by the administration for the protection of the country, and especially, as it was urged, for rendering that service to Christendom in general, which Venice had ever hitherto afforded by making herself a strong and efficient bulwark against the infidel.

It is true that the Popes had long since felt themselves unable wholly to resist the plea of civil governments thus put forth. They had accordingly been in the habit of according special permission for the taxing of the clergy at the request of the civil power to a certain extent, and in their own way. They permitted the sovereign to receive "tenths," or "decime," and had no objection thus to place the civil ruler in a position of acknowledged inferiority by the acceptance of the aid so permitted to be levied by the superior ecclesiastical power; especially as the "decime" were paid by money, which did not come out of their own pockets.

But the Venetians explained at length to the Roman court, what was no doubt perfectly well known there before, that in no case were these "tenths" anything approaching to an adequate equivalent for the taxes, which would have been paid on the same property, had it been in lay hands.

Such representations produced little effect, as may be imagined, on Paul V. His indignation was excited to a pitch of fury by laws, which he declared, "had the effect of placing the Church in a worse position than that held by any private individual, or even by one disgraced and infamous."\* And it was while he was preparing to pour out the phials of his wrath on the audacious republicans for their offences in this kind, that the two cases of ecclesiastics imprisoned by the civil power were brought under his notice.

Paul summoned the Venetian ambassador residing in Rome to his presence; and when the republican patrician came before him, the Pontiff's face, as more than one contemporary chronicler has registered, was dark and lowering, and threatened storms.

\* Paolo Quinto, etc., p. 1, see Note 2, at end of Volume.

### CHAPTER III.

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Interview between the Pope and the Venetian ambassador.—Tactics of the Venetian Senate.—Paul's complaints.—His passionate bearing.—Low ground taken by the ambassador.—Speech of Paul.—The ambassador's reply.—Advantages in argument which he gives to the Pope.—Paul neglects these.—The Nuncio presents himself before the College of State in Venice.—His insolence and violence.—Respect paid to his ecclesiastical character.—Reply of the College.—Hostilities between Rome and Venice begin from these two interviews.

It was on the 21st of October, that Agostino Nani, the Venetian ambassador, was summoned to the Pontiff's presence, as mentioned at the end of the last chapter. His letter to the Senate giving an account of the interview is dated the 22nd. In the account of it, as of all the other personal communications with the Pope, the reader is struck by the extremely humble and obsequious tone adopted by the representatives of the Republic. It is true that they give him only fair words, that their obsequiousness never goes to the length of acceding to any one of his demands, or even of holding out any hope that they ever would be acceded to. The general tenor of their tactics seems to be mainly to gain time, to induce the Pope to put off taking any decisive step yet a little longer. It is abundantly evident that the Republic would gladly have avoided coming to a rupture with the Holy See, if it had been possible to avoid it by any means short of recognising in the Pope an authority in any respect

superior to their own civil government. But this they were determined not to do.

The Pope began the interview on the 21st of October by speaking at length on the affairs of Hungary and the Turk. In this matter the ambassador was altogether unable to meet his wishes; for Venice was quite determined not to begin a gratuitous war with neighbours, who were so profitable to them in peace, and who might be so dangerous to them in war. Paul, already irritated by the evident determination of the Republic not to fall in with his plans on a subject which he had so much at heart, then proceeded to the other matters, on which, as having "a greater pretext of spirituality," he had determined to take his stand for the purpose of "mortifying," as he said, "the overweening audacity of the secular rulers of the world."

He had another matter to speak of, he said, his tall commanding figure becoming rigid, and his handsome face darkening as he spoke, which was little creditable to the vaunted piety of the Republic. The law, which during the interregnum following the death of Clement VIII., Venice had passed, prohibiting legacies and gifts to pious uses, was not to be borne. It was in flagrant contradiction to the canons of the Council of Trent, and to every constitution of the Empire; and must be at once rescinded.

"Holy Father!" said I,\* "our Senate has always an anxious care for the welfare of religion, for which, as your Holiness well knows, Venice has so often shed her blood. As to the law in question, I will not undertake now to speak respecting it; because I was here when it was passed. But I cannot doubt that it was

\* The ambassador, Agostino Nani, giving a report of the interview to the Senate.



based on perfectly just and reasonable motives, and that your Holiness will on further examination find that you have no cause to complain of it."

But the Pope, losing his temper more and more, broke in, exclaiming, that such an ordinance did not deserve the name of law. Those who had concocted such a scheme had, by the very fact, incurred the heaviest spiritual penalties, from which the Vicar of Christ alone could release them. "Let the senators look to their own consciences!" he cried, "for the line of conduct they have adopted is openly scandalous and pregnant with the gravest disorder! It is impossible to defend it on any ground!"

The ambassador replied, that the character of Venice for devotion was well known, and of ancient date—that no Pontiff had ever before complained of similar laws;\*—that if the State permitted in Venice, as in other countries, that the right of bequeathing property to laymen should be denied to members of religious orders for the profit of the Church, it was reasonable that laymen should, in the interest of the State, be denied the right of bequeathing their goods to the Church;—that on property to the amount of a million and a half of ducats possessed by ecclesiastical persons, the State received only about from thirty-six to forty thousand ducats by way of tenths.

But, "his Holiness only replied in a manner which showed him to be greatly inflamed by anger; and after some further altercation, I promised to write to the Senate on the subject."

He then turned to the question of the imprisoned

\* It will be remembered that the laws in question had recently been only confirmed and extended in their operation to the whole territory of the State.

ecclesiastics, and said he had been much grieved to hear of another attack on the spiritual power, of which the civil government of Venice had been guilty. He requested that it might be looked to, and remedied at once, that he might not be constrained to take some resolution which would be disagreeable to the Senate.

To this the ambassador once more respectfully replied, that former Popes had granted briefs by which it was permitted to Venice to exercise such jurisdiction, and that these briefs could be produced. He says not a word, it is to be observed, of the right of every State to exercise civil jurisdiction over all its members. He justifies the act of Council, only as a special privilege granted to them by papal authority. And surely this was an error on the part of worthy Agostino Nani. For that which one Pope had granted, another could take away. And it would have been in every way better and more dignified to have openly said, what the Senate was in reality well determined to maintain, that it was the province and the duty of the civil magistrate to administer justice to all members of the community alike. The "*fortiter in re*," the Senate was well determined on; but it is curious and characteristic of the epoch to observe how very anxious it was to use the "*suaviter in modo*" in treating with the overbearing and despotic Pontiff.

To Nani's moderate and respectful observations Paul replied: "We too, Sir Ambassador, know what is due to the temporal power of the State, and are ready to defend and maintain it,—ay, even by chastising any who would disturb it. But we are equally minded, and we say it with all the strength of determination we possess, to keep to ourselves the spiritual jurisdiction. We are placed in the seat we occupy for the conserva-

tion of this jurisdiction, and we purpose doing so with all our power, and with all our strength, even to the shedding of blood. God knows the motives that lead us to speak thus!" he added, with a change of manner to a lofty dignity of bearing, which none better knew how to assume than Paul V. "That which I now say to your lordship, I say equally to all the ministers of the lay Princes in Christendom." Then raising his hands and eyes, he exclaimed, "How is it possible that a lay ruler should wish to meddle with the exercise of jurisdiction over a Canon!"

The bathos of this peroration, absurd as it seems to us, only serves to mark the immeasurable width of the gulf which separates the feelings and ideas of a seventeenth century Pope, and a seventeenth century statesman, from those of a nineteenth century Englishman on the subject in hand. For Camillo Borghese, though a narrow-minded bigot, was not a fool, nor by any means a man to let his passion betray him into making himself ridiculous in the eyes of his contemporaries. To him the act which the Senate had ventured on, was unfeignedly a subject of dismay and abomination. And to the Senator, who was called on to defend the deed, it bore the aspect of a bold and hazardous step,—right indeed in itself, and justifiable to the more advanced portion of European public opinion, but still serious in the extreme, and requiring mature consideration and much circumspection in the handling.

His reply to the Pope's burst of indignation was temporising, and would seem indeed to abandon the *principle*, which was being contended for, and to admit a portion at least of the Pontiff's position. But the ambassador's line of argument is only a sample of the

tone adopted by the Venetians throughout the dispute, avoiding to do battle on broad principles, contenting themselves with repelling encroachment by counter encroachment, and satisfied if they could contrive to *do* what they wished, and then by any means get on without being constrained to undo it.

The ambassador represented to his Holiness, that the offences charged against the Canon Saraceni were of a very grave character. He urged the fact, that the man was not in full orders, having only received the first, or deacon's ordination, which did not confer any *indelible* sacred character. And he then returned to speak of the possession by the Republic of briefs by former Popes, conferring on them the disputed right, and especially urging the antiquity of these concessions. The Pope, it may seem, would have done well to have seized on the admissions his adversary thus imprudently allowed to fall from him. He should have said, "You allow then, that if the offence were *not* of deep dye, the civil tribunal could claim no jurisdiction? You admit further that you can exercise it *only* on persons in deacons' orders in any case. And you concede finally that even the jurisdiction thus limited can only be exercised by a lay magistrate by virtue of special permission from the Holy See." Surely the Pope would thus have placed himself on very strong ground. And the ambassador knew at the time he was speaking that there was then lying in the prisons of the Ten a priest in full orders—the Abbot Brandolino!

Paul, however, either because his lofty and unbending pride would not suffer him to accept, even as an instalment of what he wished, anything short of entire submission and obedience, or because his anger was so

hot as to blind him to the advantage of the position he might thus have taken up, answered the ambassador, "with yet more violence of passion than he had yet manifested, or than was usual with him : " \*

"Sir Ambassador," he cried, raising his voice, "We know nothing of the concessions of which you speak, nor of anything they may contain. Nor does it matter aught, that this Canon is not in full orders. It is enough that he is a Canon, and has received the first ordination. Canons are senators of the Church."

And here again the Pope seems on *his* side to admit by inference, that if the man had been only a deacon, and *not* a Canon, he *would* have been amenable to the lay tribunal. Yet it was far from his intention to admit anything of the sort. But the more immediate object of his Holiness seems to have been simply to reply by a direct contradiction of what the ambassador had said.

Agostino Nani retired from this stormy interview to write an account of it to his Court, with feelings probably of no light anxiety anent the issues of the tempest which was evidently brewing. The demeanour of the Pontiff had been such as to leave small hope that anything short of unconditional submission on the part of the Republic would content him; and the ambassador knew his countrymen and fellow patricians and their policy too well, to imagine that there was any chance of this.

He sent off his report on the 22nd of October, and Paul must have sent instructions, arising out of his conversation with the ambassador, probably on the same day; for on the 28th of the same month Mon-

\* Cornet, Op. cit. p. 3.

signore the Nuncio presented himself before "the College,"\* and announced that he had a communication to make to the Republic on behalf of his Holiness.

If Paul V. in all his pride of place in the Vatican had been inclined to browbeat and bully the respectful ambassador, who could only reply to the Holy Father with bated breath and the most guarded moderation, Paul's representative, when standing before the grave majesty of the Republic, was not inclined to abate one jot of his master's lofty tone and exaggerated pretensions. Indeed the subordinate even outdid his principal in violence and passion. He told them with haughty gesture and raised voice that "he would have the obnoxious laws repealed;" and insisted that the two imprisoned ecclesiastics should at once without farther delay be handed over to their ecclesiastical superiors. Assuredly no layman, of whatever majesty he might have been the representative, would at that day have ventured to speak in the tone adopted by the insolent priest in that presence. There did not exist in Europe at that epoch an assembly more reverend and imposing from the character and dignity of the individuals composing it, and from the majesty and prestige of the power it represented, than the highest Council of the Venetian Republic. Yet such was still in that day the respect for the sacerdotal character, and the reverential awe inspired by the poor passion-driven mortal, whom men had agreed to call the representative of God on earth, that it needed more courage to enable Agostino Nani to stand the brunt of the Pope's indignation without yielding everything to it, than it did for the malapert priest, Orazio Mattei, to

\* See Note 3, at end of Volume.

heard the Venetian "College" with his ranting. The battle of words was less unequal in the council hall of the ducal palace in Venice, than it had been in the presence chamber of the Vatican.

The reply to be given to the Nuncio had already, according to the usual practice, been debated and agreed to in the Senate. But on hearing the aggressive and violent speech of that minister, Zorzi Alvisi, one of the Senators sitting in the Council, turned to his assessors on either side of him, and held a short consultation with them before replying. The Council would not condescend to notice the overweening insolence of the proud priest's bearing, much less to imitate his loss of temper and violence. But it was deemed necessary that the assumptions on which the Nuncio based his demands should be very distinctly repudiated and disallowed. This Zorzi did "very rigidly," we are told. It were to be wished that in this case the old diarists had preserved for us the words used, as they have done on several occasions. They have not been given by any of the narrators of this memorable session. But we cannot doubt that Zorzi's "rigid" denial of the theories put forward by the Nuncio did not leave so much ground open to papal encroachment as had been done by Nani in his replies to the Pope.

From the date of these two interviews,—that of the ambassador Nani with the Pope on the 22nd of October, and that of the Nuncio with the Venetian College of State on the 28th of the same month,—the hostilities between the two powers may be said to have commenced. Matters stood in exactly the same position in which these interviews left them, when the Interdict was definitively launched. And if

some delay and a good deal of negotiation was expended between this time and that, it was only because Paul, despite his obstinacy and his passion, hesitated to take the very important step, which might lead to consequences beyond all prevision, but which yet he was fully determined to venture on, if he should fail to extort compliance with his demands by either persuasion or threats.



## CHAPTER IV.

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Ambassadors extraordinary sent to Rome by the Republic.—The Pope's fraudulent trickery in the matter of calling the Patriarch to Rome.—Negotiations and delays.—Paul led to form false hopes by the Jesuits.—Views and expectations of the Republic.—Report of the ambassador's second audience.—Bad political economy of the Senate.—Violent threats of the Pope.—Fresh instructions from the Senate to the ambassador.—Unanimous vote of the Senate on the reply to be made to the Nuncio.—Paul commands two briefs to be prepared.—Report of a third audience of the Pope.—Paul's declaration of his unlimited authority.—The briefs are dispatched.

AGOSTINO NANI was, as has been seen, the resident Venetian ambassador at Rome. But it was customary for the Republic always on the accession of a new Pope to send an Embassy extraordinary, composed of several noble citizens, to congratulate him, and assure him of the respect and obedience of the Republic. On the occasion of Paul's elevation, Leonardo Donato, Francesco Vendramino, Francesco Molin, and Giovanni Mocenigo were elected to this duty. The first of these, however, had been subsequently excused on the score of his advanced age; and the Cavalier Pietro Duodo had been selected in his place. And as the second, Vendramino, had on the death of the patriarch Zani been elected patriarch, he could not form part of the Embassy; and the Cavaliere Francesco Contarini was chosen to replace him.

These four representatives of their country also took part in the negotiations going on during these days

between the two governments. They had been specially directed to press on the Pope to allow the new patriarch to take possession of his see without insisting on his coming to Rome. On the 5th of November they wrote to the Senate, that the Pope shortly declared he would never consent to this; would not indeed enter on the matter, but bade them write to the Senate on the necessity of immediately satisfying him on the subject of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The Senate on their part were fully as determined that the patriarch should not go to Rome. They had consented, as has been seen, that his predecessor Zani should go, on the understanding that he was to be received there only as coming on a complimentary visit to his Holiness. The Pope, when he received him, entered into conversation with him, and asked him certain questions, which he affected, as soon as they had been answered, to consider as the examination which it had been expressly stipulated he should not undergo. The Senate was indignant at the dishonest trick; but "feeling that what was done could not be mended, contented themselves with determining that no future patriarch should on any pretence go to Rome on taking possession of his see." And they fully carried out their resolution.

The whole of this November and the first ten days of the following month were occupied in active negotiations, in which the utmost efforts of either party failed of moving their opponents one jot from the ground each had taken up. The same demands are reiterated again and again, and the same excuses and justifications are offered. The Pope is slow in acquiring the conviction that the Republic can really intend to brave all the thunders of the Church, rather than yield the points

in dispute; slow also, though at the bottom of his heart fully determined, to come to the extremity of launching those thunders. For he did not disguise from himself all the portentous seriousness of the step, and its possible consequences; though he was probably too much blinded by his exaggerated estimate of his own position and power to share the misgiving of the wiser among his counsellors, who even in that day had begun to feel uneasy at the reflection, that a spiritual thunderbolt launched, *and disregarded*, might prove a phenomenon more dangerous to Rome than all the disobediences and encroachments of which Venice was likely to be guilty.

The Pope and his representative at Venice, Mattei, puffed up by the easy victories which the Holy See had recently won against almost every state in the Catholic world; passionate and violent men both of them, and nursed by the studies and prejudices of their whole lives in the notion of Rome's irresistibility, evidently hoped to the last that the Senate would give in when they should be convinced of the Pope's determination to proceed to extremes. They were more especially encouraged in this delusion by the secret reports of confessors, principally Jesuits, who had nominally, and flattered themselves that they had *really*, the consciences of several of the leading senators in their keeping.\* These dangerous confidants, judging from the intercourse of the confessional, felt sure that many of their penitents would, when the day of struggle came, give their votes in the Senate chamber against any measure which should expose them personally to spiritual dangers. The result showed how delusive

\* Cornet, Op. cit., p. viii.

such calculations were, despite the famed subtlety of those able fathers, and the perfect knowledge of men which the "direction of their consciences" was supposed to furnish. Men acting in a corporate capacity together with others, will, it is often said, be guilty of evil actions of which individually they would have been incapable. But it is equally true, that they often, in such circumstances, rise to acts of virtue and courage which acting singly they could not have reached. Patriotism, rightful indignation, and courage are as infectious in a crowd as selfishness and panic terror. These Venetian keepers of patrician consciences made up their reports to head-quarters without allowing for this difference between the confessional and the Senate chamber. They could not comprehend the advantage which the atmosphere of the latter gave to the natural conscience in enabling it to throw off the tangled web of sophistries from which, in a *tête-à-tête* of spider and fly, it had been unable to release itself.

The rulers of the Republic, on their side, do not appear to have been lulled asleep in any similar fool's paradise. They knew the nature of the man they had to deal with; their ambassadors never from the first held out any expectation that they would be able to move the Pope from his resolve; and when the bolt came there are no symptoms to be observed of dismay, or of having been taken by surprise. But though steadily looking forward to the catastrophe, they would not do anything to precipitate it. They were especially anxious to carry the public opinion of Europe with them in the struggle; and it is interesting to mark their solicitude on this point, as it is indicative of the rapid recent growth of such a thing as an

European public opinion, and of its existence at that day in greater power than it has possessed at some subsequent periods of European history. They were also glad to procrastinate. No man in all Venice was unaware of the very serious nature and possible consequences of the position in which the State was about to be placed. Both Senate and people would have deemed it an immense advantage to have escaped from that position at any price short of compromising the independence and honour of the Republic. And all delay brought chances with it ; Paul might die, and all the political horizon be changed, as by a theatrical shift of scene. Indeed the Pope on one occasion taxes the Senate with striving to procrastinate, in the hope of his death, and bids them put no trust in such tactics.

These differences in the temper, character, and constitution of the two governments, and of the individuals composing them, are brought out in the course of the complicated negotiations, which occupied the next five weeks, in a manner that will make it worth while to follow them as briefly as may be.

On the 8th,\* the Nuncio was summoned by the "Pien' Collegio," to hear the formal reply to the demands he had made on the occasion which has been described. Of course it was merely a recapitulation of what had then been said to him.

On the 19th came other letters from Nani, giving an account of a second interview with the Pope. Beginning with the case of Brandolino, he said that here again was another gross attack on the spiritual power ; that the Venetians were always heaping up injuries against

\* November, 1605.

the Holy See, "and when I spoke in defence of the measures of the government, the Pope remained exceedingly attentive to what I said, with very severe looks and intently fixed eyes, but writhing his body now and again in a manner that indicated his extreme impatience at what I was saying. Then he answered, that from his youth up he had been versed in these matters, that, as auditor of the Sacred Chamber, he had had such affairs on his hands, and was competent to speak of them with authority. His motives, he said, were only zeal for the service of God and His holy religion. No other considerations had any weight with him. As for his own family they were born private gentlemen, and he was desirous that they should die as such, and not as princes."

What striking evidence of his sincerity is afforded to the entire world by the existence of Borghese titles, principalities, gardens, palaces, galleries, alliances, may be noted in passing!

"But he was resolved to uphold with all his power the liberties of the Church and the honour of God, let what would be the consequences. . . . As for the pretence that such things had been done in past times in Venice, it could only have arisen from the negligence of some former minister of the Holy See, that the abuse was not at once looked into and remedied." He then went on to argue at length against the existence of any right in the civil power to interfere with the disposition of the property of individuals, in a manner which proves him to have been wholly without any conception of the real theoretical bases on which society and social rights rest.

The ambassador, as usual, refrained from appealing to any such fundamental principles. He either was

equally ignorant of them, or more probably deemed it useless or imprudent to enter on the discussion of them. He contented himself with observing that as the Council of Trent had reserved to the spiritual authority the right of withholding its consent to the sale of property by ecclesiastics to laymen, so a similar right necessarily appertained to the civil power of restraining their lay subjects from selling to churchmen. He added, that the law in question was not intended to operate to the disadvantage of religious houses really in need of aid, but to prevent the rich communities from absorbing all the revenues of the State. The friars of St. Giustina at Padua, for instance, if they were allowed to purchase freely, would very soon become possessors of the best part of the province of Padua. Clement VIII. himself, he reminded the Pope, had found it necessary, in his capacity of temporal prince, to prohibit the holy house of Loretto from acquiring more real property. Moreover, the Senate did not even prevent the ecclesiastical bodies from being enriched, but only required that they should change the nature of real property left them by selling it, and investing the money in other ways, even in foreign countries if they pleased; the only demand being that they should not remain holders of houses or lands within the Venetian territory, beyond those they already possessed.

All which indicates no less the moderation of the Venetian government, and their great desire to avoid driving matters to extremity, than it proves, supposing they really meant what their ambassador said, their primitive ignorance of the first principles of political economy.

The ambassador concluded by saying that he remem-

bered having read in St. Augustine that it was not permissible for a father to disinherit his children for the purpose of enriching the Church.

Upon this Paul broke out, "with much more violent passion and vehemence than before," crying out that St. Augustine had never said anything of the kind, but had only told those who had consulted him on the subject to seek advice from others rather than from him; as for Pope Clement and the house of Loretto, it did not in any wise follow that a temporal sovereign might do that which it was lawful for a spiritual ruler to do.

Further attempts at argument only excited the Pope to more ungovernable anger. "With incredible agitation and exceeding passion, he finished by saying that he was placed in the seat he held by the omnipotent God himself for the supporting of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction;" and that if the Senate did not at once repeal the laws of which he complained, he should proceed without delay to ulterior measures, "although it would grieve him to give certain parties cause to rejoice over the discord between Venice and the Holy See!"

The "certain parties" he alluded to were the Spanish court, whose political views would have been well seconded by a quarrel between Rome and the Republic.

Nani attempted yet once again to refer to the privileges and concessions contained in the briefs of former Popes. "There is no archive of Pontifical briefs save here in Rome," replied Paul sharply: "what you possess are merely rough drafts of briefs, and I will wager my rochet that no authentic briefs are in existence in Venice concerning this matter. If you have any



such," said he, dismissing the ambassador, "let them be produced."

On the 26th, the Senate wrote again to the ambassador, ordering him to make another attempt to move the Pope; and to urge that if Venice were weakened, as she would necessarily be by the loss of authority Rome wished to impose on her, she would no longer be able to afford that bulwark against the Infidel which she had always hitherto furnished, and that all Christendom would be sufferers by her weakness. He was told at the same time to let the Pope very clearly understand, "in sufficiently efficacious words," that the Senate would never be brought to rescind its determination.

On the 1st of December, 1605, the Senate deliberated on the answer to be given to the Nuncio, in reply to his reiterated importunities that the papal demands should be complied with. The Senators had received the ambassador's report of his interview above described with the Pope, and the result was an *unanimous* vote that he should be told that "the Republic recognised in the temporal government of their states no superior save God alone." And the resolution thus passed without one dissentient voice, says Sarpi, "was signified to the Nuncio, and written to Rome to prove to the Pope the unanimity of the Venetians in the defence of their liberties, and to take from him all those hopes which he had founded on that division among the Senators which the Jesuits had promised him."\* When this reply was communicated to him by the Nuncio, Paul at once gave orders for the drawing up of two briefs addressed to the Republic: one against

\* Sarpi, *Storia Particolare*, p. 9.

the laws on the subject of the acquisition of property by ecclesiastics, and the other against the invasion of the spiritual jurisdiction by the civil magistrate in the matter of the two imprisoned churchmen.

But in the meantime the Senate did not relax in their efforts to induce the Pope to hear reason. Their ambassador's description of the passionate heat with which the Pope had spoken in the different audiences he had had on these matters, perhaps induced the Senators to hope that so violent a man might be subject to change of moods, as is usually the case. The combination of tenacious obstinacy with extreme violence of temper, as exhibited by Paul, is a less common idiosyncrasy.

On the 2nd of December, Agostino Nani had again audience of the Pope. Paul received him "with a certain ill-omened smile, which betokened his infinite disgust" at the reports he had received from his Nuncio of the answers made to his demands by the Senate. And while the assiduous ambassador went over once again the arguments put forward by the Republic, the Pope "kept continually twisting with his hands the button of his cassock—a sure sign with him of impatience; shutting his right eye, which with him is a natural indication of rising passion, and smiling now and then in a manner that showed he was not paying the slightest attention to a word the ambassador was saying." Poor ambassador Nani in such tremendous circumstances, thus anxiously watching these portentous signs, reminds one of the showman, who, with his head in the lion's mouth, calls out, "Is he wagging his tail? for if so, it is all over with me!" The signs in fact were equally fatal, for Paul's unwonted bearing arose no doubt from the internal reflection that he had settled

the matter by deciding on the launching of the two briefs he had ordered to be prepared.

But the irritable old man could not long contain himself. On the ambassador touching again on what Clement had done in the case of the holy house of Loretto, "he interrupted me before I had done," exclaiming that examples drawn from the conduct of the Head of the Church could prove nothing, inasmuch as "he has supreme authority, which consists not in confessing and receiving the Sacrament, but extends to quite other matters." Nani, however, returning to the charge, attempted to point out the serious risks that a quarrel pushed to extremes with Venice might entail on the Church. He implored the Holy Father to "reflect on the dangers that threatened all Christendom from the Turk, and the quarrel between the Grisons and Spain respecting the fort of Fuentes;" he urged him to "bethink him of England wholly lost to the Catholic Church; of the little that remained truly alive in Germany; of France vacillating; of Spain suffering from fever in her entrails on account of the Moors." He reminded him that "little sure ground remained to the Church out of Italy, within which the greenest spot of true Catholicism was Venice."

But Paul was too intent on his own small views to be capable of giving his mind to the larger ones of the Venetian; and showed, as the anonymous chronicler who has preserved these details\* remarks, how hopeless was the task of enlightening him, and how far away his mind was from the subjects on which the ambassador was speaking so earnestly, by interrupting him to complain (a new thought apparently) that the sin of the

\* Cornet, *Op. cit.* p. 11.

Republic in passing those sacrilegious laws was rendered the more grievous from their having selected Holy Thursday of all days in the year for the perpetration of the deed!

This last unexpected shot seems to have shut up the unhappy ambassador altogether, for the audience thereupon was brought to a conclusion by the Pope majestically saying as he dismissed him, "We are above all men, and God has given us power over all men: we can depose kings, and do yet more than that. Especially our power is over those things which tend to a supernatural end;"—*quæ tendunt ad finem supernaturalem*. These last words were pronounced by the Pope in Latin.\* What did he mean by them? Did he mean that his authority would be miraculously supported in such sort as to render those mundane and *natural* considerations which the Ambassador had been submitting to him of no importance?

And so the last attempt at negotiation before firing the first shot of the battle was brought to a conclusion. Agostino Nani, practised diplomatist and courtier as he may have been, had not yet learned to know the man he had to deal with. For it appears from his report to the Senate that, notwithstanding all those ominous smiles and signs, so carefully recorded, he was led by the greater tranquillity of the Pope's manner to flatter himself that he had made some little progress in bringing the Pontiff into a more moderate frame of mind.

But the very day after this audience the two briefs were dispatched, sealed, and addressed, TO MARINO GRIMANI, DOGE; AND TO THE REPUBLIC OF VENICE.

\* Cornet, Op. cit. p. 11.

## CHAPTER V.

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The arguments put forward by the Republic did not deserve to prevail.—And why?—Sarpi consulted by the Republic.—Protestant views at that day.—The Senate decides on sending an extraordinary ambassador to Rome.—Nuncio is informed of it.—The policy of France.—Cardinals murmur at the sending of the briefs.—The Senate sends letters to the various Courts.—Paul orders the instant presentation of the briefs.—Means adopted by the Pope for keeping the departure of a courier from the knowledge of the Venetian ambassador.—Remarkable scene in the ducal palace.—The Nuncio presents the briefs.—The death of Grimani.

THE arguments so perseveringly pressed on the Pontiff by the ambassador on behalf of the Republic were, it has been seen, wholly unavailing. Pope Paul only winked his right eye, twisted his buttons, and gave other equally significant indications of a wholly unconvinced and unconvinced state of mind. But it must be confessed that the arguments in question deserved no better fate than they met with. They were all mere fencing and diplomatic sword-play. Neither the defence put forward by the Senate nor the rejoinders of the Pontiff really expressed the genuine thoughts and aims of either party. The logical inconsistency of the position assumed by the Senate resembles the answer of a defendant who pleads first that he did not do what is charged against him, and secondly, that he was justified in doing it. The references and counter-references to St. Augustine, the citation of

briefs, which conferred the *privilege* of doing that which the fundamental *law* of all society gave them the right to do, the attempt to base on precedent claims and rights which, to be living and fruitful, should have been based on principle, were all so much beating about the bush, in hope of escaping the scratches that might have ensued from boldly marching through it. Once for a moment the real meaning and scope of the Republic flashes out in that unanimous vote of the Senate, that the government of Venice recognised no superior save God alone. As genuinely, too, was the true feeling and intent of the Pontiff expressed in that final reply to all the arguments drawn from expediency, in which he enunciated the true papal theory that he was above all men and above all law, divinely entrusted with unlimited and irresponsible authority over all the earth, and empowered to make and unmake kings, "and do yet more than that."

It cannot be imagined that such men as then ruled Venice, and conducted the warfare with Rome, were blind to the logical inconsistencies, short-comings, and perpetually recurring cases of *non causa pro causâ*, which marked the representations made by them to the Pontiff. It is above all impossible to suppose that "the terrible friar" was thus ignorant and incompetent. And he had already, as we shall see, been called on to advise the government on these matters. But with regard to Sarpi's share in the conduct of the struggle, it must be borne in mind all along, that we are not to suppose that he had *carte-blanche* from the Republic to fight the battle in his own way. It may or may not have been that, had the case been so, he would have deemed it expedient to take a bolder, more straightforward, and more logical course. But his

duty was that of theological adviser to the government. "What theological defence, according to the admitted doctrines and principles of the science, can be found for such and such a step, or against such and such a papal claim?" was the question submitted to him; not, "What is the position which a civil government ought to assume towards the spiritual teachers of the people in accordance with the most enlightened doctrines of progressive civilisation?" Father Paul's answer to the second demand would in all probability have been a very different one from any which he was ever at liberty to enunciate. And his controversial works,—a category which indeed embraces all his writings that have reached us,—appear to unfair disadvantage to readers of our day who are not constantly mindful of this. Fighting against tremendous odds in a world, no section of which would have supported him had the principles he fought for and their legitimate and necessary consequences been clearly set before them, all that he could hope was to make good a point here and gain a step there, the immediate and smaller purpose of which was to alleviate a little the weight of the ecclesiastical yoke while its ulterior and infinitely more important use was to serve as a secured stepping-stone to further progress.

Nor must it be imagined that the Protestant point of view of our day at all resembles that of Sarpi's Protestant contemporaries. His intimate and much esteemed friend Bedell would have been as little disposed as any Bossuet or Doctor of the Sorbonne to sanction all the inevitable deductions and consequences involved in the positions taken up by the strict and ascetic friar. Sarpi himself saw, doubtless, only a small part of these consequences. And it is impos-

sible to say how large was the part which was hid from him.

The two "hortatory" briefs were on their way from Rome. But the Senate, while yet ignorant of the dispatch of them, decided, on the 15th of December, that the Nuncio should be summoned and told that the government had decided on producing for the Pope the old briefs, on which they based their right to exercise jurisdiction over ecclesiastical persons; and that these, together with a large collection of precedents, in which various offences committed by ecclesiastics had been condemned by the civil magistrate in Venice, should be forwarded to their ambassador at Rome, for the Pope's inspection.

On the 16th, the Senate voted the appointment of an ambassador extraordinary to Rome, "the importance of the matters now pending with the Holy See requiring such a measure." The anxiety of the Senate to avoid an open rupture is unmistakeable,—if only it could be accomplished without abandoning the position they had assumed. On that same evening, Giacomo Girardo, Secretary to the College, waited on the Nuncio to inform him of this decision, and at the same time to tell him that the noble Cavaliere Lunardo (or Leonardo) Donato had been selected for this office. The Nuncio, in reply, spoke very highly of the excellent qualities of the envoy elect; but added, "I know not whether this measure is sufficient; for I have exceedingly strict and peremptory orders, in case the Senate does not forthwith comply with the demands I have made on behalf of his Holiness." His meaning was to intimate, that this appointment of a new envoy might not suffice to cause him to suspend the hostile measures he insinuated he was commissioned to pro-



ceed with. And it was hence concluded that the sending of the briefs had been finally determined on at an earlier day than was apparent; and that the Nuncio already knew that they were on their way to Venice. But this threatening tone may more likely have been merely a part of Mattei's ordinarily aggressive and bullying policy.

On the 17th of December the Senate wrote to their ambassador at Rome, ordering him to communicate to the Pope that an envoy extraordinary was about to be sent, who, it was hoped, would be able to convince him of the good intentions of Venice towards the Holy See. In the same letter Nani was directed to thank certain cardinals and ambassadors of the foreign states residing at Rome for their good offices with the Pope, and especially the ambassador of France. This was Alincourt, who had arrived there in July, 1605. The policy of France in the matter of the quarrel between Rome and Venice is indicated in a letter from Cardinal Du Perron to Henry IV., bearing date the 14th December of this same year. The aim of Henry IV. and his counsellors was so to avoid the slightest suspicion of partiality in the matter, as to be in a position to effect a reconciliation when the fitting moment should arrive, and thus make France the arbiter in what Du Perron calls "the most important affair that has arisen in Italy this many a day." France might have proposed to herself a worthier object on this occasion; and there were men around Henry IV. very capable of seeing and understanding this. There seems reason to think, moreover, that the moderate party in France had, since the reconciliation of the king with the Church, become sufficiently powerful to venture on taking a line which would have been very

far more useful to the future interests of France than any advantage which could arise from the poor diplomatists' triumph of being for a passing moment "masters of the situation." But diplomatic Cardinals can only be expected to see and to act after the nature of their kind.

On the 12th of December the Pope had informed the Cardinals in Consistory, that he had dispatched two days previously the hortatory briefs against Venice. He did not however take their votes on the matter, or even allow them to express any opinion on the subject;—a circumstance which caused no little murmuring among their Eminences, to whom, according to ancient rule, the dispatch of the briefs ought to have been communicated beforehand.

On the 17th, accordingly, the Ambassador Nani writes to the Senate, that the measure taken by the Pope—the sending of the briefs—is deemed by all the Cardinals rash and over-hasty.

By this time, therefore, the Senate was aware that the briefs had been dispatched. They had indeed, as it should seem, been in Venice two or three days before this. But Mattei the Nuncio had not as yet presented them. Possibly the opinion of the Cardinals mentioned above may have reached Mattei also, and induced him to suspend the presentation of them till further orders from Rome. Possibly also he was influenced to this caution, unusual for him, by the steps which the Venetians were now taking. As soon as it became known in Venice that the briefs had been issued, it appeared to the Senate that the impending rupture had reached a point, at which it became necessary to lay before the different governments of Europe a statement of the misunderstanding between themselves

and the Pontiff. One of the most suggestive circumstances throughout the whole story of the quarrel, is the anxiety of the Senate to carry with them the public opinion of Europe, and the necessity Rome on her side felt to plead at the same bar. In the first instance, on the rupture becoming imminent, the Senate addressed justificatory statements to the various courts. But as the struggle proceeded, they took means, as we shall see, to enlist on their side the opinions of the learned throughout Europe; and Rome was fain to follow them on this ground also;—a far more significant indication of a bad time coming for her and hers, than she seems at that period to have been aware of.

On the 20th the Senate wrote to their ambassador at the court of the Emperor a justification of their conduct, which will be found at length in the notes at the end of this volume.\* Letters of similar tenor were written to the ambassadors of the Republic at the courts of Spain, Florence, Milan, and France. The resident ambassador in Paris was specially directed to communicate the statement to his most Christian Majesty at the first audience after the receipt of it.

Perhaps these active measures may have induced Mattei to hesitate about the important and irrevocable step of presenting the hortatory briefs. At all events he wrote on the 17th to the Pope that he had not yet presented them, and asking further instructions. On receiving this communication from the Nuncio, Paul instantly wrote back an indignant letter, sharply reprimanding Mattei for having dared to disobey his former orders by withholding the briefs, and strictly com-

\* Note 4, at end of Volume..

manding him to present them on the instant the present letter should reach him. The Pope was very anxious that the Senate should get no tidings of this despatch, fearing, perhaps, that if the Senators knew on what errand the Nuncio was seeking them, they might refuse to accept the briefs. He therefore, in order to prevent the possibility of its becoming known to Nani that he was despatching a courier, adopted the curious expedient of "sending his messenger out of Rome without boots or spurs in a carriage as far as the first post on his road," with orders there to mount and ride with all speed.\*

The letter thus strangely and secretly sent reached Venice at a strangely critical moment, and caused one other remarkable and striking scene in the well-known halls and galleries of that most beautiful of European palaces which has witnessed so many an eventful and memorable one.

It was the morning of Christmas-day. But the day opened in Venice without any of the usual signs of gala festival and rejoicing. The venerable Doge Marino Grimani—"the placid Grimani," as one of the historians calls him from his moderation and even temper—was dying. At a very early hour of the morning, a considerable number of the Senators and several of the resident ministers of the courts of Europe were gathered in the magnificent corridor and reception rooms of the ducal palace. Conversation, in a mournful anxious undertone, was going on among the various groups, muffled in their ample mantles to the eyes against the sharp cold of the December night a good hour or more before the dawn. The talk was

\* Sarpi, *Storia Partic.*, p. 10.

low and sad, for the old Doge was lying on his state bed in a neighbouring apartment evidently nearing his last hour; and the placid Grimani was well loved by the Venetians. It was anxious; for the death of the Doge at that critical moment in the affairs of the Republic on the eve of a struggle with Rome,—a struggle in which so much depended, not on the ability of generals and the valour of armies, but on individual opinion, character, and firmness,—the death of the Doge at such a moment was pregnant with results of infinite importance. How much would depend on the character and opinions of the new Doge! Who would be the man chosen to pilot Venice through the coming storm? How would the feelings of the electors,—the haughty resistance to sacerdotal tyranny of some, the far-sighted enlightened patriotism of others, the priest-ridden weak consciences, or wife-ridden weak compli-ance of a third party among the grave patricians—manifest themselves in the all-important election of good old Grimani's successor?

And every now and then another closely muffled figure came slowly up the Giant's Stairs to join his compeers, while the torches of his attendants, flaming and smoking, flung lurid gleams into all the arches and corners of the court-yard, and lighted up capriciously now the slowly pacing figure of a living Senator, and now the stone effigies of one of a former generation. The bell of the chapel the while was lazily flinging into the night air over the lagoon its call to mass. For the majority of the persons assembled in the palace were there as a deputation of the Senate sent to accompany the dying Doge in a solemn service. The last hour and the last state ceremony of a Doge of Venice had to be accomplished pretty nearly together.

No first magistrates of any community probably were ever expected to live so entirely for the state and so little for themselves, from the day of their election to that of their death, as the Doges of Venice. And now the placid Grimani had to finish his duty to his country by dying, as he had lived during his Doge-ship, in public.

While the bell was still ringing and the assembled Senators were waiting for the moment to go in to the discharge of the melancholy duty on which they had come, yet another figure was seen mounting the Giant's Stair, not with the slow and measured step and subdued demeanour which characterised the rest of the assembly, but quickly and with the air of one engaged on pressing and important business. It was the Nuncio; all eyes, it may easily be imagined, were turned on him; and no little surprise felt, and perhaps manifested at his appearance in that place at such a moment; though it is probable enough that a shrewd guess at the business which brought him there flashed across the minds of several of those who were present.

Approaching the Vice-Doge, Mattei told him that he had one or two words to say to him publicly, which were of pressing importance. He apologised for the untimely moment he had chosen, and for troubling their lordships with unpleasant business on such a morning as this, by alleging that the urgency of his instructions left him no choice.

All those Senators present, who were members of the College, hereupon immediately retired to the hall in which the College held its meetings; where, as soon as they had taken their seats, the Nuncio produced his sealed papers, saying in the shortest possible phrase, "Our Sovereign Lord the Pope has sent to your Serene Highnesses these two briefs."

After a few words of consultation among themselves the College received the briefs, but told the Nuncio that they would not be opened till after the election of a new Doge, as before that neither the College nor the Senate would meet. According to the provisions of the Venetian constitution the College might have opened the briefs, having authority sufficient for such purposes from the Great Council. In the present circumstance, however, as the College knew right well what the contents of the two briefs were, it was deemed more prudent to reserve all consideration of them till the state should again have a Doge at its head.

So the Nuncio retired, and forthwith wrote off to the Pope informing him that the briefs had been duly presented; but that the Republic declined taking cognizance of their contents till the election of a new Doge; the old one lying *in extremis* at the time of the presentation of them.

The Pope lost not an instant in writing back to the Nuncio orders to raise a formal opposition to the election of a new Doge, on the ground that any election would be null and invalid because made by persons under ecclesiastical censures and contumacious. Paul flattered himself, as Sarpi remarks,\* that he should thus be able to sow division among the Senators, and throw the state into confusion. He formed his notions, erroneously enough, from his experience of the state of anarchy and tumult ordinarily produced in Rome by the interregnum between the death of one Pope and the election of another; "knowing little," says Sarpi, "of the government of the republic, which is in no respect changed by any change of Doge, or by any

\* Storia Partic., p. 10.

interregnum, but remains in all respects and in every place the same and unchanged."

Nuncio Mattei obediently presented himself before the College with a view of telling them the Pope's message. But he was not received, being told that it was the custom of the Government to receive no ministers of foreign princes during the vacancy of the ducal throne, except such as came simply with messages of condolence. Thus thrown out Mattei spoke on the subject with many persons of authority in Venice, ministers of the various courts, and various dignitaries of the Church; who all agreed in strongly advising him to take no further step in the matter, as every court in Europe would be sure to protest against a measure so violent, and so palpably hostile to all civil government.

Meanwhile the Senators, remembering probably that dictum of the fierce old warrior Pope Julius II., "that the only way of sending censures to sovereign princes was on the point of lances," did not neglect precautionary measures. They sent to the governors of their frontier towns, Rovigo and Legnago, orders to use all vigilance to discover the first signs of any agglomeration of Papal troops on the frontier; and gave instructions that, "a cautious and secret envoy should be sent to Ferrara to endeavour to ascertain if any preparations for the raising of troops were going on in the States of the Church."

The placid Grimani expired on the 26th; leaving the Republic to elect his successor under pressure of the consciousness that the first act of the new Doge—the opening of the briefs—would show the Republic to be in open rupture with Rome.



## CHAPTER VI.

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Election of the new Doge, Leonardo Donato.—The opening of the briefs.—The brief respecting the laws on the alienation of property to ecclesiastics.—The Senate consults authorities.—Applies to Frà Paolo.—His written answer.—He is appointed theologian to the Republic.—Copies of the Pope's brief sent to foreign courts.—The Senate's reply to the brief.—Interview between the ambassador and the Pope on presenting the reply.

On the 10th of January, 1606, the forty-one electors, in whom according to the constitution of Venice the election was vested, chose the noble Cavaliere Leonardo Donato to be the new Doge; "a senator," says Sarpi, "esteemed beyond all question the most eminent of the patrician body for the integrity of his life, unblemished from his youth up, for experience in affairs of state, for his accurate scholarship and large literary acquirements, and for the practice of all those noble virtues which are so rare in these our days." Leonardo Donato was the friend of Sarpi; but the universal testimony of his contemporaries falls little short of the warmth of panegyric thus pronounced by the greatest man among them.

The election was at once felt to be a heavy blow to Rome. If there was little to be hoped before from the firmness of the haughty patrician republicans, it was less likely than ever that any such compliance, as Rome demanded, should be extorted from them, when

such a man as Donato was at the head of the government. He was well known to be one of the most advanced men in Venice, in the strength and extent of his anti-papal opinions and policy. The mere fact of his election, therefore, was a sign of the condition of public feeling in Venice, of very evil augury for the Apostolic Court.

All the resident ambassadors from foreign courts hastened to congratulate the new Doge on his election, except the Nuncio. Donato, however, notwithstanding this marked discourtesy, sent the same intimation of his election to the Pontiff, which was given to the other courts; and Paul thereupon, either on better thoughts, or disapproving of the previous rudeness of his representative, returned a courteous reply to the communication.

At the first meeting of the College, after the election of the new Doge, the two briefs were opened, and found, to the great surprise of the College, to be two copies of one and the same instrument. Two had been prepared in the Apostolic Chancery according to the Pope's orders, one respecting the laws against alienation of real property to ecclesiastics, and the other against the infringement of the spiritual jurisdiction by the imprisonment of the two churchmen. But by some strange blunder either in the Roman Chancery or on the part of the Nuncio, two copies of the same were presented to the College.

This memorable document ran as follows. Notwithstanding its length and verbosity, I have thought it well to give it entire, not only because it is important as containing Rome's statement of her grievances, as looked at from her point of view, but also because it is curious as a specimen of a Roman seventeenth century state paper.

“Beloved Sons and Noble Sirs, Health and Apostolic Benediction!

“It has come to our knowledge that in years past you have in your counsels made many and various decrees contrary to the authority of the Apostolic See, and to the liberties and immunities of the Church, and repugnant to the General Councils, to the Sacred Canons, and to the Constitutions of the Supreme Pontiffs. Among others, on the 10th of January, 1603, being assembled in Council, and considering certain former decrees made, as you assert, by your ancestors, by which it was prohibited to any layman or ecclesiastic to found or build within the city of Venice, churches, monasteries, hospitals, or other religious houses without the license of the Government, you anew determined that this law should be extended to all parts of your dominions; and have enacted against such, as should contravene this law, penalties of outlawry and perpetual imprisonment, together with confiscation of the land and of any buildings erected on it;—whereas you ought rather on the contrary to have cancelled and removed any such law from your statute-books;—as if churches or ecclesiastical persons were in any way subject to your temporal jurisdiction; or as if those, who should so build churches or other pious and religious establishments, seemed to you worthy of punishment, as if they had been guilty of some great crime.

“Besides this, we have heard that, in the month of March last past, confirming a former decree, by which, as you assert, it was prohibited to all persons, under certain penalties set forth in it, to leave by will or make over by donation, *inter vivos*, or alienate in any other manner, any real property within the city or ter-

ritory of Venice, to religious establishments, you have not only anew specifically forbidden such alienations without express license from your Government, but have expressly enacted that such real property shall not pass into ecclesiastical hands, although it is admitted that the former decree which, similarly to the above-mentioned one, you ought to have abolished, was never acted on nor observed. Further, that you have extended the same decree, and the penalties enacted by it, to the whole of your territory, and have, moreover, ordered that all real property which should be sold, or otherwise alienated, in contravention of this decree, should, besides the nullity of all such acts, be confiscated and sold, and the price thereof divided between the state, the magistrate who shall put the law in execution, and the denouncer of the fact,—as if it were lawful for temporal rulers to exercise any sort of authority over ecclesiastical property, more especially over such as is bequeathed, or in any other manner conferred on churches, ecclesiastical persons, or other pious establishments, by testators, and others of the faithful in Christ, for the remedy of their sins, as is most frequently the case, and for the ease of their conscience ; or as if such goods could be disposed of by the civil power without the legitimate consent of the ecclesiastical authorities, and specially without the knowledge of the supreme Pontiff ; and that you have offended in other ways, as is more amply shown in your laws and decrees, by you made and published, which have recently been brought to us, and by ourselves repeatedly read and diligently considered.

“ Now, all these things, which not only tend to the ruin of your own souls, and the scandal of very many persons ; but also, furthermore, are to the prejudice

of our authority and that of the Apostolic See, and of the rights of the Church, and the privileges of ecclesiastical persons (destroying, as they do, ecclesiastical liberty and immunity itself), are *ipso jure*, entirely null and invalid. And we, accordingly, now anew, by these presents, decide and declare that they are, *ipso jure*, entirely null and of no force, of no value or moment, and that no person is bound to observe them. All those, in fact, who, up to the present moment, have had the audacity to publish and promulgate the aforesaid decrees, and others like them, and to enforce them, have thereupon immediately incurred the ecclesiastical censures established by the Sacred Canons, by the decrees of General Councils, and by the Constitutions of the Roman Pontiffs ; and have further become liable to forfeiture of whatever estates or goods may have been obtained from churches. And, furthermore, if such persons, after due admonition, have not replaced the churches and Church property in their former condition of liberty, they, and their abettors, remain under a double weight of ecclesiastical censures and penalties, and their dominions and lands are subject to other further penalties. And from these censures and penalties such persons cannot be freed and absolved except by us, or by the Roman Pontiff for the time being ; and they are incapable and incapacitated from receiving any such absolution and liberation if they have not previously recalled and repealed the laws published by these new edicts and decrees, and have not effectually replaced all matters depending on them on their former footing.

“ We, therefore, appointed by the Divine clemency to the supreme throne of the Church Militant, cannot, in face of the gravity of these facts, and under a sense

of the duties entrusted to us, shut our eyes, and feign not to see these things. Assuredly we are moved by deep resentment and grief of mind. Nor could we be otherwise than greatly astonished that your most excellent Senate, which enjoys so high and universal a reputation for equity and justice, should have enacted these edicts and decrees, and should take up the position of attempting to defend them.

“Therefore, moved by that especial benevolence and paternal affection which we feel towards you, and towards the whole of your Republic, we admonish you in the Lord, and paternally require of you, if the safety of your souls, as we are well persuaded, be dear to you, that you lose no time in providing for the quiet of your consciences, seeing that you stand in no ordinary risk, but in the very greatest danger to your salvation. Furthermore, if you do not comply, as you are bound to do, with these our admonitions and requests, if you do not listen to our remonstrances, then, by the authority of the blessed apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and by our own, by virtue of the holy duty of obedience, under pain of the eternity of the Divine judgment, and under the further pain of immediately incurring the greater excommunication, we formally command and order you, and each of you, to recall the above-mentioned edicts and decrees, heretofore put forth, published, or promulgated by you or by your forefathers, and all the provisions contained in them, and the facts which have been occasioned by them, to cancel and abolish them from your archives or capitularies, or any places or books in which they are recorded; to publish throughout your dominions that they have been so-abolished and cancelled; and to give us due notice of such repeal and revocation.

“ And if you still contemn these our commands,— which we do not anticipate,—you will compel us, to our great grief, and much against our wish (as soon as the venerable friar Orazio, Bishop of Gerace, who resides as Nuncio in your city, in our name and that of the Holy Apostolic See, whom we have charged to present to you these letters, shall have advised us that they have been so presented, on which point we shall give him full and undoubting credence), to proceed conformably to the dispositions of the Sacred Canons, to the publication of the Ecclesiastical Interdict against you throughout the whole of your dominions, and also to the enforcement of the other above-enumerated penalties, as well as to all the other measures necessary. And in such case, we shall proceed without any further citation, being unwilling that in the great day of judgment account should be demanded of us by God for having failed in our duty, and abandoned the cause of the Church.

“ Imagine not that because we are most desirous of peace and public tranquillity, and because with this view we direct our thoughts to the government of the Christian Republic in all possible tranquillity, intent only on the service of God, and desirous that the minds of all men, and especially of great Princes, should agree in this with our own, we are therefore disposed in any wise to shut our eyes, or fail in our duty, if at any time the dignity of the Apostolic See shall be offended ; if ecclesiastical liberties and immunities shall be infringed ; if the decrees of the Canons shall be disregarded ; if the rights of the Church and the privileges of ecclesiastical persons shall be invaded ; for all these things make up the sum of our office.

“We will, that in this matter you should be well assured that we are not moved by any mundane consideration, that we seek nothing but the glory of the Lord God, and that we have no other end in view than the due exercise, as far as is in our power, of that apostolic rule to which God, of His singular goodness, has recently called us, notwithstanding our insufficient strength. For inasmuch as we have no thought of doing anything that can in the smallest degree prejudice your temporal rights and government, so we cannot tolerate or endure that so grave and flagrant an injury and contempt should be inflicted on the Church of God, on ecclesiastical persons and their rights and liberties, and on our authority and that of the Apostolic See.

“But if, as we anxiously desire, you should not neglect your bounden duty, but will immediately and quietly do what is so requisite for the general advantage, and particularly for your own safety, you will not only liberate us from the heavy anxiety which has afflicted us on your account, but will also make the best possible provision for your own advantage, since by this means only can you retain and preserve the feudal property which you have received from the Church; and, indeed, can in no other way keep at a distance public danger, arising from those enemies of Christendom, from which you have so much ado to defend yourselves.

“For if you will act as becomes religious and pious men, you will preserve the rights and immunities of the Church, and of those ecclesiastics who night and day watch for you, and assiduously pray to God for you, you will give us abundant cause to render praise to God for your deliberations and counsels, and to heap



benefits on you and your Republic in all matters consistent with the dignity and rights of the Church.

“Meanwhile we pray that God may direct your thoughts in the way of your eternal salvation, and may grant without delay a happy and much desired end to the pious anxieties which continually fill our heart for the tranquillity of the Republic of Christ.”

“Given in St. Peter’s, in Rome, under the ring of the Fisherman, on the 10th of December, 1605, the first year of our Pontificate.”

The first act of the College, when the above brief had been read, was to vote that this, and all the papers bearing on this matter, should be laid before doctors of the highest reputation in law and in theology. The Republic ordinarily retained in the service of the State two consulting doctors in law and jurisprudence. But now, in the difficulties that were about to arise with the Pope, on matters involving questions of Canon Law, Apostolic Chamber Law, and so-called spiritual questions, it was deemed necessary to have also the assistance of a consulting theologian. And Sarpi was applied to for his advice on the reception of the brief. Frà Paolo very clearly saw from the first that the matter would become serious. He knew well that the only crime never forgiven at Rome is complicity in any attempt to circumscribe priestly authority and supremacy. He remembered his own defenceless position as a simple friar, liable to be at any moment called to Rome by authority which he was bound to obey; and representing those things to the Government, he confined his reply to the application which had been made to him to vague generalities, couched in the usual formal language of profound reverence for the Holy See.

Thereupon the Senate came to a resolution that Sarpi should be formally taken under the protection of the Republic, and assured that it would defend him against any persecution whatever. The friar now felt himself able to speak out; and thenceforth devoted himself with unflinching courage, untiring industry, and rare learning, to the defence of Venice in her quarrel. It is to be remarked, however, that neither the protection promised him by the Senate, nor the commands of the State, could absolve him from the imperative obligation of obedience due from a friar to his superiors, and to the Roman Pontiff. And it is not very intelligible by what course of reasoning Frà Paolo could have reconciled it to his conscience to emancipate himself from this fundamental article of his convent vows, while he yet deemed himself bound to adhere strictly to the less important regulations of daily convent life. It must be admitted that his conduct in this respect would seem to warrant the opinion, that the ascetic strictness of his conventual life was adhered to by him for the sake of disarming hostile and malevolent criticism, rather than from any conviction of the real value of such practices.

In answer to the question submitted by the Senate to Frà Paolo, thus assured against the dangers that might arise from replying to it, "What remedies were open to the State against the thunders of Rome?" the "terrible friar" gave in writing the following clear and concise answer:—

"Two remedies might be found,—one material by forbidding the publication of the censures, and preventing the execution of them, thus resisting illegitimate force by force clearly legitimate as long as it does not overpass the bounds of the natural right of

defence;—and the other moral, which consists in an appeal to a future council. The first of these is preferable; but the other might also be used at need, since other princes have used it, and in France and Germany it is still held that a council is the superior authority; so that, although in Italy the contrary opinion prevails, Canonists have left the point undecided. Still, if it may be, it is better to avoid this appeal, in order not to irritate the Pope more than ever, and raise two questions instead of one, and also because he who appeals admits that the goodness of his cause is doubtful, whereas that of the Republic is indubitable.”

This answer was read in the Senate on the 28th of January; and its clearness, briefness, and sound good sense so pleased the Senators, that it was at once unanimously determined that Sarpi should be appointed standing theological counsellor and canonist to the Republic, with an annual stipend of 200 ducats, equal perhaps, at the present value of money, to about £200. Sarpi, before accepting this appointment, asked the permission of the General of his Order, Frà Filippo Ferrari, who was then in Venice, and was by him authorised to accept it. There was no danger, indeed, as Signor Bianchi-Giovini remarks, that the General should have had so little fear of the Ten before his eyes as to have refused his permission. But it is possible that Sarpi may have construed this authorisation as relieving him from the obligation to do thereafter anything incompatible with the duties of the office he was formally permitted by his superior to accept.

Already, before this arrangement was concluded with Sarpi, the Senate had commenced that course of appeal to the public opinion of Europe, which through-

out the struggle they so much relied on. Copies of the brief, and of all the documents relating to the matter, were ordered to be sent to the different ambassadors of the Republic, with directions to communicate them to the Sovereigns at whose courts they were resident. They were also sent to several of the most famous jurists and canonists of that day, especially to the celebrated Menocchio at Milan, who had already offered to employ his powerful pen on the side of Venice.

On the 28th, the College dispatched its formal reply to the brief. It is somewhat longer than that instrument. But a very short summary of the contents of the paper will suffice us.

The Doge, in whose name the reply is written, after a passing reference to the inopportuneness of the moment selected by the Pope for the presentation of his hostile brief, and a slightly satirical allusion to the absurd mistake of sending two copies of the same document, instead of two different ones as intended, goes on to protest respecting the pious intentions, and reverence for the Holy See, &c., felt by the Republic; and then expresses his "astonishment" that the Pontiff should tax their forefathers, the good and god-fearing men, who passed the laws in question, with violating the liberties of the Church, on which they had conferred on the contrary such great benefits. But since his Holiness thinks the souls of the Senators in danger, they have diligently examined anew these laws and caused them to be examined by learned doctors, but can find in them no shadow of injury to the rights of the Church, than which indeed nothing could have been further from the wishes of Venice. The intention of the Republic was only to preserve itself from being

weakened, and it thinks that it had every right to adopt the means it did to that end. A due, and indeed a splendid provision for the Church has never been neglected in Venice, but on the contrary, cared for on a scale unknown to other nations. The Republic holds that it is empowered to make the laws it has passed by the rights of independent civil government, for the exercise of which it is responsible to God alone; and it firmly believes that the said laws are *not* repugnant to the canons, &c. The remark is again made that ecclesiastics are at liberty to sell any property left to them, though not to hold it in the shape of real property; and the letter then goes on to argue the necessity of the laws for the conservation of the powers of the State. For all these reasons the Senators cannot believe that they have incurred ecclesiastical censures; they feel perfectly at ease in their consciences, and cannot think that his Holiness will persist in the measures he threatens, evidently misinformed as he is of the true nature of the case. This will be further and more particularly explained by the ambassador of the Republic. The Doge concludes by reminding the Pope of all that Venice has in so many ways done to deserve well of the Church, and entreats the Pontiff to feel as a father towards sons, who feel as such towards him.

The letter, in short, is an extremely proper and decorous letter, containing all that was most decent to be said under the circumstances. The meaning of it was, "We stand on our rights, and have not the least intention of yielding to demands and threats that we deem as unjust as they are audacious." But then to have said this would not have been decent or proper at all.

On the 3rd of February, 1606, Nani wrote to the Senate an account of the audience in which he had presented to the Pope the answer to his brief. On his mentioning to his Holiness the circumstance of the two copies of one and the same brief, Paul became angry. "How is this?" cried he. "This is some error of the Nuncio. He has been guilty of others also, though doubtless meaning well, as when he did not at once present the briefs in the first instance." He added that the second brief should immediately be sent, and offered to give the ambassador a copy of it forthwith if he wished it. To which, "I answered smiling, that I should prefer to have an opportunity of restoring to his Holiness the two copies of the other." The Pope then read the reply of the Senate, "with his eyebrows drawn up into an arch;"\* and at the conclusion, "asked me if I had aught more to add."

Thereupon the ambassador went once more over all the old ground, adding that "Religion in Venice had begotten the vast riches of the clergy, and that now *the child was suffocating the mother.*"

Before Nani had finished speaking, Paul broke out with great violence, declaring all the contents of the paper he had read vain and frivolous. He alluded to the violent measures which Julius II. had taken. . . . "But," interrupted Nani, "that Pontiff repented him of what he had done, and the world is no longer what it was in his day."

These were hard words for Paul Borghese to hear; and the reader expects to find him blazing out into greater fury than ever. But there was something in the warning that seems to have struck even the bigoted

\* *Con le ciglia inarcate.* Cornet, Op. cit. p. 27.

and obstinate intellect of Paul V. "What then would you propose to me to do?" said he after a pause. In the matter of the two imprisoned ecclesiastics, Nani proposed, "that your Holiness should leave them in the hands of the Republic. The privileges we hold from the Holy See are clear on the matter, and only require to be a little enlarged. . . ."

"No!" cried Paul, again furious at such a proposition. "That shall never be. These are no times for enlarging privileges." He then went on to say that it was impossible for him to recede even if he had wished it, as he had communicated the steps he had taken to the Cardinals in Consistory, and to foreign powers.

Clement VIII., rejoined Nani, had declared in full Consistory, that if an angel had come down from Heaven to desire it, he would rather suffer himself to be flayed alive than accord his blessing a second time to the relapsed heretic Henry IV. Yet Clement had found that *sapientis est mutare propositum*.

Paul replied, that as for the two ecclesiastics, he would content himself with an arrangement by which the Canon Saraceni should be given up to the Nuncio, while the Abbot Brandolino was left to be judged by the Republic, but as a special favour, and on condition that the ecclesiastical judge should be present at, and take part in the trial. As for the obnoxious laws, they were invalid. It was absolutely necessary that the Republic should find some means of retracting them, or at least of taking from them all their force. He should otherwise be compelled to proceed to extremities. He must do his duty. This was the cause of God, and the gates of hell would not prevail against it.

And so terminated an interview, in which for the first time Paul had manifested the slightest tendency

to abate a little of his pretensions. Possibly he had been a little alarmed at the unanimity with which the Senate (thus destroying all the hopes of division among them, which his confessor spies had fooled him with) had elected for Doge Leonardo Donato, the strongest anti-papalist in Venice. Possibly, too, he may have remembered with some misgiving a certain conversation which he, when Cardinal, had once held with Donato, when the latter was ambassador from the Republic to Clement VIII. It was relative to the dispute about the Uscocks. "If I were Pope," said Cardinal Borghese, "I would excommunicate both Doge and Senate." "And if I were Doge," returned the Venetian, "I would laugh at your excommunication."

How little either speaker then thought that both of them would have occasion to put their hypothetical menaces into execution.



## CHAPTER VII.

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The Nuncio before the College on the 10th of February.—The Doge and the blessed Candle.—Feeling at the foreign Courts.—France.—Spain.—Presentation of the second brief.—Reply of the Senate.—Duodo, the ambassador extraordinary, and the Pope, on the 25th of March.—The French ambassador before the College.—Opinions of the Cardinals.—The Venetians seek to make delays.—The English ambassador, Wotton, and Secretary Scaramelli.—Intercepted letter of the General of the Jesuits.—Intercession of the Cardinals of Verona and Vicenza.—The Interdict drawn up and printed.—Paul wavers at the last moment.—Scene in the Consistory.—The Interdict is published.

PAUL V. was not yet convinced that the Republic would not end by yielding to him, at least on one or two of the various points in dispute between them. On the 10th of February the Nuncio once more presented himself before the College, and “an exceedingly tempestuous” interview was the result. To Mattei’s opening speech, in which he enlarged as usual on the benevolent feeling of the Pope towards the Republic, and implored the College to find “some means of affording satisfaction to his Holiness,” Donato answered, that he might have contented himself with formally declaring that the Senate would take all he had said into consideration, and would by means of their ambassador communicate the result to his Holiness; but that sitting there, as he did, as chief-magistrate and head of the Republic, he would say a few words of his own opinions on the matter. He did

not, for his part, see how it was possible to give the Pope the satisfaction he asked without subverting the principles of their government. "You tell me," he added, "that I ought to do something to please the Holy Father on the occasion of my advent to this supreme authority. But I will frankly tell you, that there is nothing by which I can more signalise the commencement of my reign, than by preserving the glory and high repute which this Republic has achieved, and upholding that liberty which has been left us by our great and glorious ancestors." Going on to speak at length of the unreasonableness of the papal demands, he said: "In the seventy years which have elapsed since the establishment of this Council, we have always observed, that in every grave mischief or misdeed of special enormity that has been committed in our cities, there has been some renegade priest or worthless friar at the bottom of it." He concluded by desiring the Nuncio to inform his Holiness, that an ambassador extraordinary\* had been appointed, who, he trusted, would be able to convince the Pope of the goodness of the Republic's cause. The Nuncio replied; the Doge rebutted his assertions. Accusations of evasion, of want of candour, were made on either side. "Your Serene Highness will excuse me, but the shuffling is on your side," said the Nuncio with vehemence; then added, gnashing his teeth, and gesticulating with his hands and fingers, "it is impossible to utter greater iniquities, and you will have to answer for them at the great day of judgment. You tell me," he added, "that these

\* Donato himself, it will be remembered, had been named as ambassador extraordinary. But when he was elected Doge, it became necessary to choose a new one in his place. And this was done in the person of the Cavaliero Piero Duodo.

poor clerks may sell property left to them ; and what are they to do with the price of it, I should like to know ? ”—“ They might avail themselves of such money to give alms to the poor, as ecclesiastical corporations are bound to do.”—“ This is not decent, nor supportable,” exclaimed the Nuncio, “ and is too intolerable an attack on the liberty of the Church.”

In the midst of this stormy debate an incident occurred, so strange to our manners and ideas, so quaintly theatrical, so unlike anything that we could imagine as happening at a reception of a Nuncio, in public council, by such a man as Doge Leonardo Donato, that it must not be omitted. When insisting on his affection and respect for the Holy See, the Doge, to prove it to the Nuncio, suddenly called for the candle blessed by the Pope ; which Paul, thinking better of his first idea of not recognising the new Doge, had sent him on his accession. Taking it (the candle) in his hands, he reverently kissed it, lifting his ducal cap at the same time, and with protestations of gratitude to the Holy Father for the gift, declared, that he should keep it in memory of so great a favour, and light it only on the last day of his life. And this farce was performed by one of the greatest, best, and most enlightened men of his time and country.

The words with which he brought the interview to a close were however more dignified, and had more of meaning in them. The sitting had lasted much longer than usual, and it was time to rise. As he did so, the Doge said, “ I will not omit to say, Right Reverend my Lord, that as I am ready, even at my advanced age, to take once more the sword in hand in defence of the Church, as my ancestors have so often done, so on the other hand, I am ready to do the same for the

maintenance of our liberties and the honour of the Republic."

Then came letters to the "College," from their different ambassadors at the different courts of Europe. The threatened rupture between the Holy See and Venice was felt everywhere to be a matter of the highest European importance. From France the accounts were quite favourable; the King admits that the Republic is in the right, and will do his utmost, by means of his ambassador at Rome, to bring about a reconciliation. From Spain the tidings were not so cordially friendly; just as might be expected. The communication of the Venetian ambassador had been received with all courtesy and show of friendly interest, and an answer returned in that spirit. But the shrewd Venetian\* wrote, that the Spanish court was not displeased at the disagreement between Venice and the Pope, because they deemed it likely to be a means of sowing discord between the latter and France. Nevertheless the Count of Fuentes, the Spanish Governor at Milan, had written to his court, that, "it was not well to permit the Pontiff to exercise so great an authority over lay property; that the day might come when such pretensions might become prejudicial to his Most Catholic Majesty also."

It soon became apparent, that the signs of giving way, which Nani had flattered himself he had seen in Paul at his last audience, were as deceptive as the increased mildness, which had preceded the sending of the briefs in the first instance. For on the 25th of February, the Nuncio came into the College and presented the second brief, respecting the imprisoned

\* It was Francesco Priuli, then resident at Madrid.

ecclesiastics, for which a second copy of the other brief had, in the first instance, by mistake, been substituted.

It is not necessary to occupy our space and time with any examination of this document. It contains the same professions of grief and astonishment, the same declarations of the injury done to the rights of the Church, the same fears for the souls of the Senators, and the same threats, as the former instrument.

On the 11th of March the Senate sent its formal answer to this second brief, much like, but a good deal shorter than the reply to the first one. The Republicans protest their perfect devotion to the Holy See; speak of their right to exercise jurisdiction over clerical persons, as *given them by God*, and allude to the briefs on the subject of former Popes as *approving* of this right, not as *granting* it; thus advancing a step in the assertion of a principle.

On the 18th the ambassador presented this answer to the Pope, and at the same time notified to him the arrival of the envoy extraordinary Duodo. "We will receive him," said Paul; "but we want no more negotiations. We must have some satisfaction, or we shall be constrained to act as becomes one who occupies this seat." It is observable that both Paul himself and his Nuncio repeatedly urge the Venetians to give the Pope *some* satisfaction; as if intimating that the concession of a portion of the papal demands might be accepted as a basis of reconciliation.

On the 25th of March, Nani and Duodo write from Rome that the general opinion is that some understanding will be come to in the matters under dispute. On the 29th Duodo had a long interview with the Pope; but the Pontiff began by saying that he supposed the new ambassador had nothing new to say;

and Duodo himself declares that he went over the same ground that Nani had taken. The result of the audience on the mind of Duodo this time was, that there was no hope of avoiding extremities if the Republic remained firm in refusing Paul's demands.

"Not only," says he, "will his Holiness not be quieted, but he will become more and more angered, and determined on proceeding to those steps which he has in his mind." The ambassadors write, moreover, at the same time that they are told that the Interdict has been already drawn up and printed.

On the 30th of March the French ambassador came to the College with messages from his sovereign. It was a matter of grief to his Most Christian Majesty that there should be misunderstanding between Venice and Rome; and he would willingly lend his aid to bring about reconciliation. His Holiness, also, had given his Majesty an account of the whole matter; and it did seem that the Republic had meddled unduly with matters ecclesiastical. Surely it would be best to give his Holiness some satisfaction, and so make up the quarrel. But if the Republic would communicate the grounds on which they rest their case to his Most Christian Majesty, he would do his utmost to use his influence to serve their cause.

The Doge answered that the Republic was very grateful for the king's offers; but the fact was, the Pope wanted to insist on the repeal of the ancient laws of Venice, "just as if we were subjects instead of being an independent State, free from its foundation upwards by the grace of God;" that the Senate did not see any means by which they could satisfy the Pope; that "we are constrained to repel the injuries done us by the natural law, which prompts one when beaten to

feel resentment." To all this the ambassador replies, that in truth it would seem that the innovations come from Rome, rather than from Venice; and that in any case he was directed by his master to assure the Senate that they might rely on his good offices at need.

On the 1st of April the ambassadors write at length the opinions of the different Cardinals in the matter in dispute, as far as they have been able to collect them.

One thinks that if the law objected to was so worded as to forbid laymen generally to leave their goods by will without permission from the government, not mentioning ecclesiastics at all, Venice would gain her point, and all difficulty be got over. Old Cardinal Tosco, with whom the reader has made acquaintance,—he that would have been such an excellent man to make Pope, if he had only not been so utterly unfit to be a priest, and who came near being made Pope notwithstanding—worldly old Cardinal Tosco, thought that "some means might be found of contenting both parties." Learned Cardinal Baronius observed, "that it was true, that the Republic had conferred great benefits on the Holy See, but had received as much as it had given; that it was to be remembered that the emperor Emmanuel Comagenus had made certain decrees respecting Church property, which he was driven to rescind by the affliction which befel him; which affliction he, the learned Jesuit Cardinal, doubted not had come upon him as a judgment for having made such decrees."

"To all of whom we gave," say the ambassadors, "such answer as was right;" a compendiousness of statement, for which, doubtless, the Senate was as grateful as is the historian.

On the 8th of April the Senate wrote once more to

their ambassadors, directing them to complain to the Pope that he proceeds to hostilities without hearing their justification. This was hardly a just complaint. The same things had been repeated on either side a dozen times, both between the Pope and the ambassadors at Rome, and between the Senate and the Nuncio at Venice. But the object of the Venetian government was evidently to make delays and gain time. They had all the future before them. The Pope had only the remaining years of his life. Both parties were mindful of this difference in their respective positions. Paul was so little forgetful of it, that he more than once tells the ambassadors not to make delays, saying to themselves the while, "the Pope can't last for ever!" The only new matter in this last letter to the ambassadors is a hint to the Pope that numbers of the first writers of the day have offered the service of their pens to the Republic; that the Senate, as yet, "has had more trouble in restraining than in obtaining the aid of such writers, being willing to avoid giving occasion for debate;" that, if the Pope should proceed with his hostile measures, the Senate will be obliged to have resource to this means of defence; and that it is for the Holy See to consider what consequences may arise from such a body of writing; a hint, that last, assuredly well worthy of the Apostolic See's most serious consideration.

On this same 8th of April, as we learn from a report\* made by the secretary Scaramelli to the Senate, the English ambassador, Wotton, "being discontented because the government did not communicate to him the difficulties with Rome," requested him,

\* Printed in the Appendix, No. 6, to Cornet, Op. cit.



Scaramelli, to meet him privately in a certain street near his residence. The secretary declined, alleging that it was forbidden to the secretaries to hold any converse with the foreign ministers, except officially. On Wotton's persevering in his request, however, Scaramelli obtained leave from the chiefs of the Ten to meet him as he desired; and the interview took place in the church of St. Girolamo, near to the house of the ambassador, "where he is in the habit of going privately pretty well every time that the nuns of that convent sing." After making shortly a few complaints on the delays which had occurred in settling some pending business between England and the Republic—delays which, he said, had been the cause of his not having presented himself to the College for the last two months—Wotton confided to the secretary that the English government, for reasons of state, kept vigilant spies among those who most closely surrounded the Pope. He told him further, that he had it from one of these secret agents, that the Pope, being exceedingly ignorant of political affairs, had entirely given himself up to the Jesuits, who, excessively artful as they were in the affairs of sovereigns, rendered themselves formidable by their action as spiritual consolers and directors of consciences. He added, that Bellarmine had written a work, "*De Militiâ Ecclesiasticâ*," the scope of which was to justify any and every war, having for its object the supremacy of the Church. The ambassador then showed him a letter in cipher, which had been written by the General of the Jesuits in Rome to the Jesuit Possevin at Venice, and which had been intercepted. He communicated to the secretary the whole tenor of this letter; and left it with him, under promise that it should be returned, to show

to the Doge. Speaking of Mattei the Nuncio, Wotton said, "That Nuncio seems to me more fit to be placed in a seminary than to be entrusted with the management of such affairs as are now pending." He then brought the interview to a conclusion, by enjoining on the secretary the most profound secrecy with regard to King James's spies in the papal court; since if the Jesuit Parsons then in Rome were to get scent of the fact, "we should be all, as a man may say, in the fire."

A second interview followed between Wotton and Scaramelli on the 14th, in which the former told the secretary that the general opinion among the foreign ministers resident in Venice was, that the quarrel would be made up, judging from the backwardness of the Venetian government to communicate with them on the subject. But we have seen that the Senate had preferred making its communications to foreign governments through their own ambassadors at the different courts. Finally, Wotton told him that if the Senate would confide their differences with Rome to him, the English "would meet them with open arms."

The letter in cipher from the General of the Jesuits to Possevin is given at length. It speaks of expected triumphs of the Jesuits over their adversaries the Dominicans; and then continues:

"We hear from England that one of our fathers has been examined in the matter of the conspiracy, (5th of November), and *other* matters appertaining to the Faith;—(Did the gunpowder plot then in the opinion of the Jesuit General 'appertain to the Faith?')—and that he defended himself very well, and was acquitted. Here proceedings are being taken

with the utmost secrecy against one Master Paul of Venice, of the Order of Servites, for a writing put forth by him, in which he not only defends the Venetians from the excommunication (from their liability to it, he means, since the excommunication was not yet launched), and supports them in their refusal of the demands recently made on them by his Holiness, in respect of the differences that have lately arisen, as your reverence very well knows, but also in many points tends to lessen the pontifical authority; . . . for which service it is said that he has received a pension of two hundred ducats a-year for life. This writing was secretly sent to the Venetian ambassador here last week, with orders to present it with his own hands to the Pope, if his Holiness will not desist from his demands, and then to leave Rome at once, without further negotiation. From all this a schism, which God forbid, might easily arise."

This letter is dated the 1st of April, 1606.

On the 12th, the ambassador of Henry IV. was invited to come to the College, and a long statement was read to him, giving an account of the position of the quarrel between the Senate and the Papal See, in which nothing was added with which the reader is not already familiar. On the same day, copies of the same document were sent to the Venetian residents at the Imperial Court and at those of Spain and Florence.

On the 14th came letters from the ambassadors at Rome, reporting that there were no signs of any probability of the Pope's yielding; and that he talked of at once having recourse to his spiritual arms.

On the next day the ambassadors wrote again to inform the Senate of the efforts that had been made

by the Venetian Cardinals of Verona,\* and Vicenza,† to bring the Pope to more moderate counsels. They reminded him that the spiritual arms, to which he was bent on recurring, might possibly be despised by those against whom they were used, and that the consequences of such a result would be greater and of a worse nature than the evils complained of. "We have arms to defend ourselves," replied Paul, who seems not to have comprehended the nature of the consequences to which the two Cardinals alluded. "Nay, Holy Father," returned the Cardinals; "Venice has before now sent armies for the defence of the Holy See, and would do so again at need; but let us bethink ourselves of the disorders and mischiefs which might arise from disregard of the spiritual arms."

"Such talk smells foully of heresy!" cried Paul, while his face grew dark and threatening.

The counsels, which to any man of ordinary discretion in his position should have had most weight in inducing him to refrain from the irrevocable step he was bent on, seem to have had the effect of hurrying Paul's irritable pride and obstinacy to the catastrophe. He proceeded to draw up the instrument of Excommunication and Interdict with his own hand, and had it printed forthwith. As this had been done by the morning of the 17th, he must have gone to work on the preparation of it very shortly after his conversation with the two Venetian Cardinals.

He convoked the cardinals to Consistory on the morning of the 17th, for the purpose, nominally, of consulting them, but in reality of announcing to them his intention. Nevertheless, at the very last hour he

\* Agostino Valiero.

† Giovanni Delfino.

hesitated and wavered. Letters had come to him from faithful friends of the Holy See at Venice, warning him that he would not succeed in obtaining from the Republic what he asked ; imploring him to think well of the inestimable danger to be feared from the spectacle exhibited to all the world, of Rome's most awful thunders disregarded and ineffectual, and pointing out to him the very ominous fact of the perfect and unprecedented unanimity of the Senate in every vote bearing upon the present business. The French Ambassador also strongly urged him to moderation.

Well might he waver. He was playing in any case a most hazardous game, and for a most tremendous stake. Even putting aside all the political considerations which were involved, the responsibility of subjecting an entire community of Christians to the penalties of the Interdict must to a believing Pope be so unspeakably awful, that mankind is perhaps justified in concluding that a human being capable of taking such a step under any circumstances does *not* believe in the reality of the horrible evils he professes to be inflicting. But even so, even if his avowed belief that he is consigning unnumbered human souls, innocent of the offence he is anxious to punish, to eternal misery, be a hypocrisy and a sham, still the unhappy "faithful" believe in the dread efficacy of the malignant Obi man. Their misery, despair, and terror are real ; and all the practical social mischief that ensues is real and absolute. Hardened against all human sympathy, as a Pope must be by education, by position, by doctrine, by the possession of absolute power, by all that he has, and yet more by all that he has not, yet well might even a Paul V. waver in launching an Interdict !

Even on the head of the Vatican stair, as he was going down to the Consistory, he halted and would have turned back. But there was a certain Cardinal Arrigoni in attendance on him, ready to whisper that encouragement to do the evil his passions prompted him to, which is one of the subtlest forms of flattery to the great, and one of the readiest to a courtier's tongue. Paul recovered his "firmness" and entered the Consistory.

The whole story of the wrongs inflicted on the Church by the Venetian government was then rehearsed according to his version of it. The reader knows it all already, and it is needless to go over the ground again. He concluded by the empty formality of asking their Eminences for their votes. The Venetian Cardinal of Verona *did* venture to counsel mildness, moderation, and reflection. Paul answered sharply that he had delayed and reflected enough, and knew well what he was about. No other Cardinal ventured a remonstrance, although we know that several of them had expressed their strong objections to the course the Pope was pursuing. Cardinal Ascoli expressed his adherence by a profound bow. Cardinal Zappata added that priests under the Venetian government were in worse condition than the Jews under Pharaoh. Giustiniani declared that Venice had no excuse, and that to bear with her longer would be sin. Santa Cecilia cried that the cause of the Pontiff was the cause of God. Bandino promised the Pope immortal honour for the step he was taking. Colonna opined that the Venetians would be more amenable to the rod than to mildness.\* But the learned Jesuit

\* Bianchi Giovini, Op. cit. v. i. p. 245.

Cardinal Baronius, who, in the earlier stages of the business had professed to take the part of the Venetians, was the most violent of them all. He made a long speech, in which he blamed the Holy Father for his too long-suffering patience; urged him to act without loss of time; and declared that it seemed to him a renewal of the good old times of Gregory VII. and Alexander III., both, as he reminded Paul, natives of Siena like himself, who brought to their knees those impious wretches the Emperors Henry and Frederick. He concluded by prophesying an equally glorious triumph to Paul V.;—a reading of the then future, which, if he really were sincere in what he was saying, must give us in a singular manner the measure of the great Jesuit church historian's sagacity and appreciation of his epoch.

So the fateful document, thus passed as it may be said by acclamation, was published, by which (unless within twenty-four days, with three more days added as a last chance extended by paternal mercy, full satisfaction had been made) the Doge, the Senate, and the Republic of Venice were, by the authority of God, of St. Peter, and St. Paul, and of Paul V., declared excommunicate, and the city and dominions of Venice placed under interdict, so that no mass could be celebrated, no sacrament administered, no bell sounded, in all the accursed land.





**BOOK IV.**

**FULMEN STOPPED AT THE FRONTIER.**



## CHAPTER I.

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Immediate results of the Interdict.—Rome's weapons are still the same.—Theory of Excommunication.—Text from St. Matthew.—Interdict, its original use and theory.—Struggles of the civil power against it.—No appeal to fundamental principles attempted.—Treatise of Chancellor Gerson.—Summary of his positions.—Bellarmine's polemic.—Sarpi's defence of Gerson.—The *rules of the scholastic game* admitted as supreme authority on all sides.—Results to Roman Catholic intellect.—Labours of the casuists.—Sarpi fights his fight as a good Catholic.

ROME's thunderbolt was launched,—the Vatican Jove had nodded; and all Europe shook to the foundations of its civil structure. An ill-educated, ill-tempered, narrow-minded and irritable old man lost his temper; and agitation, anxiety, dismay, or ill-concealed gratification at the dismay of others, took possession of every cabinet and council-chamber throughout the civilised world. The spiritual consequences, which every good Catholic believes, and which every professing Catholic is bound to pretend to believe, to be the inevitable result of this exercise of pontifical authority, may be dismissed here with the remark, that, to any mind habituated to a free and reverent contemplation of the Creator and his creation, no most debased form of fetish-worship, or devil-worship, can present a set of notions more monstrous, more horrible, more atheistical. The real historical consequences that absolutely were produced by this hot-headed old man's ill-advised proceeding are sufficiently noteworthy.

Great probability of war in Europe was one immediate result. A large growth of anti-Catholic thinking and writing, and a notable diminution of Rome's prestige and power, was another almost as immediate. But nobody in Europe, in the seventeenth century, disregarded the phenomenon. Statesmen felt tempest in the atmosphere; and set to work to trim, spread, or take in their sails accordingly. Learned doctors in every capital and university in Europe pricked up their ears, sharpened their pens, and rushed forward to take part in wordy conflict on either side. Grey-headed guileful diplomatists were travelling from capital to capital, playing their great game of puss-in-the-corner, watching each other with genuinely cat-like stealthy vigilance, and expressing in interminable folios of countless dispatches and speeches their "regrets," or "satisfaction," or "astonishment," and the always similar emotions of "the King (Emperor, Duke, or Serene Highness, as the case might be), my master." Couriers were spurring in hot haste—some five miles an hour—on every great road in Europe. And the tremendous deed, which the ill-tempered old man at Rome had done, was the subject of most of the thinking and much of the talking throughout Christendom.

Two centuries and a half have passed since that old man by his baleful passion brought about all those remarkable results in the world; two centuries and a half, during which the progress of the human mind and the changes in the principles on which society founds and manages itself, have been very much greater than those which have occurred during any other similar portion of the history of mankind. Yet the world is once again talking, thinking, and writing of excommunications and interdicts; not altogether with

the same degree of interest, or the same notions and feelings on the subject as it did two hundred and fifty years ago; but still as of matters capable of interfering with the measures of statesmen and the welfare of nations. Still there sits in the old seat there, in eternal Rome, a wrong-headed, ignorant, and weak old man, muttering unregarded curses, feebly essaying to wield the blunted spiritual sword once brandished to such effect by his predecessors, and, though impotently, yet to a certain degree mischievously, striving to hold back mankind in their upward struggle towards light, truth, liberty, and happiness. The old refuted sophistries are once again brought out to the light of day; the thousand-times exposed falsehoods once more unblushingly re-asserted, and not altogether harmlessly. Moral progress is of slow growth. Unquiet consciences generate gullible intellects. And mankind must have made good its advance to a better, more universal, and more clearly comprehended morality, before priestcraft shall have finally lost its power for evil.

It is favourable however to the prospect of mankind's escape from it, that Rome makes no progress, no improvement in the weapons of her warfare against humanity. She is indeed prevented by the circumstances of the case from doing so. The priestly authority, which by orthodox theory should be exercised on spiritual matters alone, is prostituted neither more nor less unblushingly and scandalously to purely mundane objects, than was the case in the best "ages of faith." Lay rulers punish offenders against them by the sword. But the "Holy Father" is so habituated to cursing in his spiritual capacity, that he falls into it naturally when engaged in the temporal affairs of his principality. It is still, and always EXCOMMUNICA-

TION, which is the great and ever-ready weapon the Popes have at every need in their hand for the enforcement of their demands and injunctions.

It was by the unsparing use of this weapon, in the form of a threat, that Paul V. had mainly won all the successes over the temporal governments around him which have been recorded in a former chapter. It is still the engine to which Rome trusts for that subjugation of mankind to which she still aspires. It will be well, therefore, to spend a few minutes in examining the nature of a force, which was capable of producing such effects, and is still not wholly dead.

The power of excommunication is based on that passage of the Gospel of St. Matthew: "If thy brother sin against thee, &c. . . . tell it unto the Church; but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican." As usual, the Church seizes on a passage capable of affording foundation for a convenient doctrine, or rather for a syllogistic series of doctrines, takes it in the most rigorous literal interpretation of the words, indurates it by dry unspiritual technicalities of exposition into the pedantic precision of a legal formula, and then proceeds by logical application to it of sundry other fossilised maxims similarly carved out of the quarry of Holy Writ, to build up on it a huge edifice of canons, claims, and casuistry, all skilfully shaped for the attainment of the one great end of priestly domination. "If he will not hear the Church . . ." says the text of Scripture. But it needs no pointing out to any, *who have access to the sacred volume*, that the text speaks of the decision of the Church (that is, of the general congregation of the faithful), in cases of dispute between man and man, to be had recourse to after the decision

of simple lay arbiters shall have been rejected. But Rome first says, that the priest alone constitutes the Church. Then she advances to the assumption, that she alone has the right of speaking in the name of this church of priests. Hearing the Church, therefore, means hearing her. Next, the subject matter, which the Evangelist directs *the members of a small society existing under circumstances that rendered appeal to the ordinary tribunals very undesirable to them*, to refer to the Church, is quietly ignored, and passed over in silence. Hearing the Church, is hearing the autocratical decrees of the Roman Pontiff on any subject on which it may please him to issue them. It only remains to indurate, formalise, and materialise "being unto thee a heathen and a publican," from expressing the moral reprobation of a man's fellows in a measure depending on each fellow Christian's conscience, into the legal penalties of exclusion from offices and sacraments (the main value of which to the Church is the weapon supplied by this exclusion from them); and we have the cut and dry Romish doctrine of Excommunication. And every priest in the great sacerdotal army, from the Pope, who fulminates it, to the most wretched friar who trembles at it, glibly bases the tremendous tyranny on Matt. xviii. 15, 16, 17, as shortly, sharply, and curtly as a deft lawyer cites his act of parliament, cap., sec., 1 Vict., &c., as the case may be.

Now, to generations taught from their infancy to their dying beds that the alternative to each man, of eternal torment, or eternal bliss in the life to come, depends mainly on his regular participation in the offices and sacraments from which this excommunication excluded him; that to be shut out from the fold

of the Church was to be inevitably erased from the Book of Life; that no condition of heart or will, no anxiety to participate in these sacraments, but only the actual formal participation in them, could avail to make salvation possible, and that each man's eternal destiny depended on the will of those who had the monopoly of dispensing these rites;—to generations holding all this undoubtingly, the authority, which could grant or withhold at will these all-important qualifications for eternal happiness, must have been indeed tremendous. One drawback only existed to the immensity of the power conferred thereby. It depended for its efficacy on the belief of the individual to be coerced by it. And there was an inherent probability in the nature of the case, that those whom Rome would most desire to strike should be precisely those whose want of faith made them insensible to the blow.

The fatal consequences of this weak spot in the system, however, were in the case of private individuals provided against with admirable skill, by making the penalty such as should strike not only the individual in his own proper person, but would also scatter its effects bomb-like on those nearest and dearest to him. No marriage for the excommunicated man! No Christian burial! If he himself have no belief in the spiritual consequences of the curse, he must at least feel the social effects of it. No kindly greeting, no office of friendship, no interchange of charity! "He must live a man forbid." But in the cases of sovereign rulers—those cases which were most important to Rome in the pursuit of her policy—a far more effective remedy for the unbelief of the excommunicated was discovered. For this the "Interdict" was employed.



The Interdict is simply the excommunication of an entire district, country, or nation. It was originally pronounced against communities, among whom some great crime had been committed by an undiscovered criminal. On the production of the guilty person, the Interdict was removed. But in later times, its use was to compel the submission of a sovereign or government, by rendering his position untenable, as being in the eyes of his subjects the cause of their exclusion from the Church and its sacraments. It is not difficult to appreciate the feelings of a Catholic nation towards a prince, whose obstinate rebellion against the Holy Father has the effect of daily consigning husbands, wives, fathers, children, unshriven and unabsolved to eternal perdition; whose land is accursed for his sake, and throughout whose hapless dominions no church-going bell is heard, no baptism is to be had for the newborn babes, no marriage ties are possible for the young, no Christian burial rites for the old. The immeasurable atrocity of condemning a whole people to such a doom for any conceivable cause, more than all for such causes of temporal policy and enmity as usually occasioned the fulmination of papal interdicts, is credible only, as has been said, on the supposition that the utterer of the curse had no real belief in its efficacy. But even after giving the successors of St. Peter all the benefit of a charitable supposition, that they had no faith in the horrible threats with which they tortured men's minds, still the fulmination of an interdict on an entire community may perhaps be deemed the greatest wickedness of which any human being has ever been guilty. Surely the Vicars of Christ, who have availed themselves of this resource, must have needed to repeat to themselves very often, that it was all "for

the greater glory of God!" For the greater power of the Church, which of course meant the same thing, the Interdict was indeed an all but irresistible weapon. The civil powers of Christendom fully appreciated its tremendous efficacy; and from the time that thought, principally set in motion by the doctrines of the Reformation, had begun to lead men to the examination of Rome's authority and its limits, attempts were made to discover means of resisting the operation of it. And the line taken by these attempts, the method by which it was sought to escape from the intolerable alternative of unbounded submission to Rome, or exposure to all the consequences of her anger, are very notable.

The rulers of Europe had no wish to rebut Papal oppression by any such examination and exposure of its pretensions as would have tended to upset the whole system. For the reasons adduced in a previous chapter this would not have suited them. No radical application of the axe to the foundations of ecclesiastical tyranny could be ventured on, without greatly hazarding the adjoining understructure of civil absolutism. The men, therefore, who endeavoured to raise some barrier of defence for the civil power against Rome, admitted her first principles, and drew their arms from the same arsenal whence she took her own. No appeal to the eternal and essential truth of the matter was attempted. Both parties based all their arguments on the ipse-dixit of some admitted authority. Interpretation of the words of some written text was the weapon relied on. What this Pope, Council, Father, or beatified Doctor, had said, was met by what some other equally indisputable authority had admitted. The whole scheme of the contest reminds one of the story of the Chinese lawyer, who defended his client,

when unjustly sued for payment of an entirely false bill, by the production of witnesses equally false, who swore that they had seen him pay it.

The low and unsatisfactory position thus taken up by the greatest and most able of the defenders of the world against unlimited sacerdotal tyranny, is well exemplified in the short but comprehensive paper drawn up in twelve "Considerations," by the celebrated French Chancellor Gerson "on the subject of Excommunications and Irregularities;" with an Appendix, in which the assertion, that a "Pastoral sentence even when unjust ought to be respected,"\* is examined. Our Conclave-acquaintance, Cardinal Bellarmine, the Jesuit who had too delicate a conscience to be fit to be made Pope, drew up a reply to Gerson's paper; and Sarpi, with learning equal, and acuteness superior to either of them, answered Bellarmine by a treatise,† in which the "Considerations" of Gerson are expanded, justified, and confirmed. The latter work had been before the world more than half a century; and the new answer of the Jesuit, and the defence of the Servite friar, indicate the renewed interest in the subject occasioned by the state of Europe.

The learned Chancellor bases, to begin with, the punishment of excommunication on the passage already quoted from St. Matthew, without any word of objection on the score of the insufficiency of the text to establish any such doctrine. This would have led him directly to conclusions far too dangerous to the claims of authority generally. He next points out that there are three degrees of that refusal to "hear the Church," which constitutes what Rome technically

\* *Sententia pastoris etiam injusta, timenda est.*

† *Opera*, vol. iii. p. 242.

calls "contempt of the power of the keys." The first occurs when the rebel disobeys for the sake of disobeying; when he says, I will not do this or that, *because* you command me to do it. The second degree of guilt is that of him, who obstinately disobeys, being tempted to do so by his own interest and desires. The third kind of contempt of the keys consists in any action done in violation of any of the general standing orders of the Church,—any sinful or irreligious act whatsoever, that is to say. The first degree justly merits excommunication, says the Chancellor; as does also the second, when the offender is contumacious; the third kind only does not.

This is the substance of the three first Considerations; and it would seem to the simple mind that the Chancellor is giving up the whole case. If any man, who persists in disobeying the Church because he deems it expedient to do so, deserves excommunication, what more can be said? A great deal more, it seems. Hear our learned canonist Chancellor.

It must not be said, that any one is guilty of contempt of the power of the keys when he resists the commands of an ecclesiastical authority which *manifestly* and *notoriously* abuses that power. For such a one does not disobey the power, but the erroneous abuse of it. And the ecclesiastic thus abusing his power, is more guilty of contempt of the power of the keys than he who resists the abuse. This is the gist of the fourth and fifth Considerations. And it will be admitted, that, if it seemed that our Chancellor was at the beginning of his charge about to sum up against us, the unexpected turn taken in this second part of his discourse is at least as strongly re-assuring. And again we ask ourselves, what more is to be said? Per-

haps some rules are to be laid down for ascertaining, or some authority established for the decision of that all-important point, whether the ecclesiastical authority *has* in any given case *manifestly* and *notoriously* abused his powers. Perhaps some attempt at this is coming; though it must be owned that it is difficult to conceive how any such attempt can succeed. But, no! the Chancellor does not make the slightest allusion to any such question. He ignores the difficulty entirely. He seems not to contemplate a case, in which the excommunicated prince or other person might deem the authority excommunicating him to be *manifestly* and *notoriously* abusing his power, while the individual exercising the power of the keys might retain an opposite opinion. He does not see,—or as doubtless it would be more in accordance with the truth to say, —he does not choose to appear to see, that he demolishes the entire fabric of the Papal pretensions. For this admission, that an undue exercise of the excommunicating power may be treated as null by the excommunicated party, in the absence of any possible court of appeal qualified to decide on the dueness or undueness, does no less. It leaves in fact the decision of this cardinal point to the conscience and judgment of the excommunicated man. The sentence remains effective and formidable only in those cases in which the rebel against Church authority should admit himself to be wrong, and the Church to be right, and should at the same time persist in the course he himself condemns. And within these limits the most determined opponent of priestly power might be content to tolerate it.

In fact, after this doctrine has been laid down, there is little more to be said on the subject. And the

remaining "Considerations" contain merely developments of what has already been established in principle. In the sixth, the whole matter is yet more distinctly made to depend on the private conscience of the excommunicated person. One individual may be duly liable to excommunication, it is set forth, and another not liable to it, in consequence of the same disobedience to the same ecclesiastical command. "And the reason of this is, because the one deems the sentence just, or on any other ground thinks that he is bound to obey it; whereas the other does not deem it just, but on the contrary, knows with certainty, or *has sufficient probability*\* for believing that the ecclesiastical authority misuses his power."

In a word, *he* may be excommunicated who thinks he ought to be. He who holds that he ought not to be so, has no need to pay heed to it.

Considerations seventh, eighth, and ninth, restate the same doctrine, and apply it to the Pope, as well as to inferior ecclesiastical authorities. The tenth declares that sentences unduly pronounced may be resisted by the civil power. The eleventh bears harmless such "Jurists and Theologians" as may give their opinions to the effect that any ecclesiastical sentence is invalid. They are bound to use all caution, that the weak and scrupulous of conscience be not scandalised. Yet it is their duty by just and fitting reasoning to correct the "absurdity" of such persons "as think that the Pope is a God omnipotent in Heaven and Earth;" and if they won't be convinced, the scandal which may arise must be on their own heads. The twelfth and last of these famous Con-

\* The *italics* are not Gerson's.

siderations declares, that those who ought with common accord to resist unjust sentences of the Church, but who "from imprudence or cowardice" favour abuses, while their fellow-citizens are striving to remove them, are in truth guilty of contempt of the power of the keys. "The truth is," he concludes, "that every friendly and humble means ought to be tried with the Pontiff, when of himself or by the ministry of others he pronounces unjust sentences for lack of information, to induce him to desist from them, and to reduce them to what is right. But if these humble endeavours profit nothing, men ought to put their hands to a manly and courageous struggle for liberty."

In Bellarmine's examination of these Considerations, as well as in Sarpi's defence of them against him, we are surprised to find the same real or apparent unconsciousness of the paramount importance of the principle, that an excommunication fulminated on account of disobedience to unjust commands is void, and that he who thinks the commands unjust is not liable to the excommunication. One is at first astounded to find the Jesuit casuist quietly admitting the proposition; only, in remarking on the sixth Consideration, in which it is stated, that he who knows for certainty, or has sufficient probability\* for believing, that the ecclesiastical authority is abusive, is not liable to excommunication for disobeying it, Bellarmine maintains that no amount of such probability is sufficient to justify disobedience, but only certainty that the authority resisted is abusive.

But this assertion of his, and his reasoning upon it,

\* "Certitudinaliter aut probabilitate sufficienti," are Gerson's original words.

as well as Sarpi's remarks in reply, lead us to the explanation of what has seemed surprising in their mode of viewing the subject. It is to be found in the peculiar constitution of the Catholic casuistic intellect, common to all of them; and the case in hand furnishes a very curious example of the peculiarities alluded to.

To the modern Protestant mind it seems simple and clear enough, that a man who resists the authority of another will assuredly think that authority unjust in its requirements, and that he will be what he will call "certain" of it. If it be further questioned whether the resisting party has indeed certainty or only probability to a greater or less degree that the authority resisted is acting abusively, the same unscholastic intellect will reply, that even if philosophic certainty upon such a point could be satisfactorily distinguished from high probability by the philosophic moralist, it is quite out of the question to expect that it should be so by a disputant judging in his own case. But all this shapes itself quite differently to the mind of the trained and broken-in casuist. Even when appealing to an accused person's own opinion of his own case, he cannot free himself, even in imagination, from the notion that all must be decided by authority. "If the accused or oppressed thinks his accuser or oppressor wrong" . . . . Yes! but he cannot—he must not; it is not to be contemplated that he should think so in defiance of rule. Immense disputation, folios of authorities, and multiplied supplementary folios for the due interpretation of the authorities—all this the scholastic casuist contemplates; but that such process duly worked should fail to bring out the certainty needed, net, clear, and acknowledged by all



parties at the end, he does not contemplate; nor does he figure to himself the possibility that either party convinced against his will should continue of the same opinion still. It would seem to him like a chess-player duly check-mated, and refusing to recognise his defeat. "Now, then! any move you like," says the chess-player to his adversary; but he does not mean that he may move his king from one end of the board to the other. "The rules of the game"—that game which all his life and all his intellect has been occupied in learning and playing—the recognised rules of his game are, in fact, the final and infallible authority to which, at the bottom of his mind, the casuist appeals; and when he allows of another man's thinking, he does not dream of the possibility of his thinking in defiance of *this* authority; it would be to him the same as thinking in defiance of the psychological rules of thought. His mental training has made the conception of the value of the Protestant *I*—"I think thus, let who will think otherwise"—absolutely impossible to him. "I think so and so," means to his mind, "I think that it can be shown that the authorities say so and so." He shows you that this Saint, that Pope, a Father in this age, and a seraphic Doctor in that century, have in fact held otherwise, and there is an end: you are check-mated, and of course submit.

When Gerson holds that he may resist, who has certainty or sufficient probability that his superior is wrong, and when Bellarmine restricts the right to cases of certainty, excluding probability, they are both of them referring, not to the state of the resisting man's mind, but to technical differences in the result to be obtained by submitting the case to

those supreme "rules of the game," the decisions of the books. In them it shall be found that such a case is certain ; such another hypothesis highly probable ; such another sufficiently probable to make it *safe* to act upon it ; and a fourth still probable, but not sufficiently so to be prudently adopted. This is the sort of probability which the one casuist would admit and the other reject.

It would not be without interest to trace the prevalence of the tone of mind, which has been described, to its connection with the great doctrines and necessities of Romanism ; especially those involved in the management of the confessional, and in the attempt of human authority to take cognisance of human sins. But the subject would lead us into a digression too long and too far away from our immediate business. A very cursory consideration, however, of the position and duties of a confessor, and of the difficulties attendant on the pretension to deal judicially with human sin, as contradistinguished from human crime, will suffice to indicate what has been the origin and growth of that tendency, so conspicuous in the scholastic intellect, to reduce every action of the mind and every shade of belief and certainty, to ascertainable rule and measure. The first step of an economist called on to estimate the capabilities and resources of a country, is to obtain an accurate survey of its divisions, natural and artificial, its inequalities of surface, and all the physical circumstances attending each portion of its soil. He requires, in short, an accurate and detailed map of the country. Exactly such a surveyor's map of the human heart and intellect is absolutely necessary to the confessor and casuist. When every sin, inceptive sin, temptation to sin, each

amount of knowledge and ignorance, and doubt modifying sinfulness, has to be measured and tariffed, each impulse of the will to be distinguished, counted, and weighed, the first requirement for the work is such a perfect and minute chart as has been indicated. Utterly, monstrously impossible, as it is clear that the attainment of any such survey must for ever be, it is nothing less than this, which the Romish Church has attempted, and which she imagines, or professes to imagine, she has perfected. And most curious and interesting is the huge mass of surveying apparatus, which her indefatigable labourers in this field have accumulated, as it may be examined in the folios of the casuists, and the tons of dusty volumes destined to assist—or rather to render in some degree possible—the labours of the confessor. Very curious and very instructive is it to examine the enormous amount of labour, ingenuity, and acute intelligence, which has been brought to bear on this hopeless task, to mark the complete failure, and to estimate the result of both on the Roman Catholic intellect. The study of this will make intelligible much that seems strange to us in the polemics of which we have been speaking above. We shall comprehend the confidence, with which the “thinking” even of an adversary is appealed to, and the possibility of his thinking independently of the rules and the authorities ignored. We shall understand how and why it seemed to scholastic disputants, that a clear and sure decision must be evolvable from disputes based on the definitions and axioms of the recognised authorities. We shall appreciate the necessity which professedly orthodox Catholics were under, of making their dispute a tilting match within the lists barriered round by these fundamental prin-

ciples, and the danger, or rather certainty, there would have been of bringing down in ruin the whole edifice of Catholic faith, had they ventured to extend the fight beyond them.

Sarpi professed himself in life and in death an orthodox Catholic; and there is reason to believe that he was sincere in that profession. His memorable struggle with Rome had to be carried on therefore,—and it is necessary to bear this in mind,—within the limits described, and by means of the weapons deemed legitimate by his adversaries. He fought heavily weighted and with chains around his limbs. All the stronger will be our admiration of the intellectual prowess of his achievements. But it is vexing sometimes to the Protestant reader to follow him in his refutation of erudition by profounder erudition, of formal logic by logic more correctly formal, and of wordy quibbles by something now and then somewhat like quibbling, and to see and feel all the time that a bold appeal to fundamental truth would have cut his way through the thousand-fold cobweb work of authority, quotation, and word-catching, once for all. But fundamental truth is a lever that will not pull out from the wall the particular stone we wish to remove, and leave the rest all firm in their places. And none of the disputants or their various backers and supporters were desirous of more than removing a stone or two from the edifice, which in fact they were shaking to its foundations.

## CHAPTER II.

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What was to be *said*, and what was to be *done* about the Interdict.—No real faith in the effect of excommunication, except among the uneducated masses. — Esoteric and exoteric doctrines. — Danger to society from the distinction. — Real meaning and intent of the Interdict.—Means of resistance adapted to this intent.—How about Sarpi's orthodoxy? — Position of the Venetian priests.—Anecdote of the measures adopted towards one of them.—Results of State and Church connection.—The Friar's orthodoxy again.—The material measures adopted by the Senate more interesting to us, than the theological arguments of its advocates.

SARPI held with Gerson, as has been seen, that he who believed "with certainty or with a sufficient degree of probability," that he was wrongfully excommunicated by the ecclesiastical power, was not bound to pay any heed to the sentence, and might, in fact, consider himself as not excommunicate at all. He moreover advised the Venetian government, in his capacity of retained theological adviser, that they had ample ground to believe, that the sentence fulminated against them was wrongful, and abusive, and as such void and null. It would seem therefore, looking simply at the theological theory of the matter, that it was thereby settled, and at an end. The Venetian excommunicated Senators might, if they put faith in their adviser, go with tranquil consciences to their beds, and regard Paul's curses as so much impotent and inoperative scolding.

But such was not the terrible friar's advice to his patrons, when asked *what was to be done* with regard to the Interdict pronounced against them. He proposed to them, it will be remembered, two courses:—one, appeal to a future Council; which according to the Gersonian theory defended by him was, to say the least, unnecessary;—the other, material resistance to the material publication of the Pope's sentence; which according to any theory of the matter could have no effect whatever on the supposed efficacy and results of that instrument. And he moreover expressed himself much in favour of the latter course. His theory and his practice, therefore, in this matter seem to have been, for such a man, strangely inconsistent.

Yet they were not more so than those of his adversaries on this subject, and of the inflictors of these dread comminations themselves. That fierce old fighting Pope, Julius II., had said a hundred years before, that excommunications should only be sent to sovereigns on the points of lances; and Paul V. himself sought, as will be seen, ere the quarrel was over, to reinforce his anathema by the ordinary mundane "*ultima ratio regum.*"

Why was this? Venice had disobeyed the Church, and had incurred the appointed penalty for such sin; her rulers and her citizens had been consigned to eternal perdition; unending torment of soul and body was the certain doom to which those hoary-headed Senators were hastening over the few short years that yet remained to most of them before the commencement of their sentence. Was it not enough? Provoking, doubtless, it may have been to a Holy Father to hear these lost wretches cheerfully maintaining their disbelief in any such coming doom. It would have

been more agreeable, had Heaven's providence so willed it, to see at once the beginning of the operation of the curse, and to hear the first notes of the eternal wail so shortly to arise from those obdurate hearts, undeceived too late! But their fate was none the less certain—none the less known to be certain by the awe-struck bystanding nations of Europe. Was it not enough, either for vengeance or for example, without the poor insignificant make-weight of shooting down a few of the rebellious Republic's soldiers?—not to mention that St. Matthew has omitted to hint at any such modes of treating a brother as a heathen and a publican.

How came it that Rome was thus insensible to the monstrous anti-climax of following up damnation by a raid of lances across the frontier? How came it that the terrible friar, with his clear and vigorous intellect, could think of defending his clients from the pains and penalties of eternity by preventing the delivery of a printed paper? Did he imagine the dread sentence which awarded Heaven's condemnation to eternal woe to be of the nature of a process-server's writ, which is inoperative unless personally served?

The answer to such questions and the explanation of such inconsistencies is to be found in the distance which already separated the beginning of the seventeenth century from the ages of faith. Probably not one of the Senators who voted, as we have seen, unanimously for resistance to Rome, despite Jesuit confessors, was the least troubled in his mind by any fear of the consequences of his conduct at the eternal judgment seat. It is not to be thought that all the priests, who at the bidding of the Venetian government performed their functions in defiance of papal prohibition, believed that they were abandoning their hopes

of Heaven for the sake of their daily mess of pottage. Nor had the papal court any reason to flatter themselves that the "most Christian" and "most Catholic" rulers of other states would, should the case arise, be found more amenable to spiritual terrors than the Senators of Venice. In short, faith was wanting. The mainspring of Rome's machinery was broken: she could no longer rule those minds she most wished to rule by threats of the invisible, because she could no longer persuade them to believe her.

And all this was equally well known to be so by all the parties concerned: as well known at Rome as at Venice, at Paris, or at London. Still it did not follow that Rome might not yet so wield her spiritual weapons as to compel the obedience of disbelieving statesmen and sovereigns. The Interdict was still an engine of power; and the civil rulers of the nations of Europe knew well that it was so. The *modus operandi*—the method of working this yet formidable though much worn-out engine—was simply the same as that by means of which Rome is still, even at this day, able to exercise a power in the world. It consists of arming the ignorance against the intelligence of mankind. If sovereigns, priests, statesmen, senators, and learned doctors, had no longer any fear of the evil to be inflicted on their own individual souls by the Pope's interdict, the uneducated masses of the people were not yet emancipated from such terrors. And here again, as ever, the ignorance of the great bulk of the social body became a power of terribly retributive force against the governing few, who had kept the means of knowledge to themselves, and suffered the huge majority of their fellow-citizens to remain far below the level of their own enlightenment.



It is a very dangerous, and always in the long run a losing game—that favourite old device of an esoteric and an exoteric doctrine; the first to be jealously guarded as the privileged possession and monopoly of the few, the other to be freely distributed and preached abroad among the many. It is a tempting notion to human exclusiveness, selfishness, and shortsightedness. Knowledge is power: true! And it is assumed that this power can most efficiently be exercised over those who possess none of it. False! Ignorance also makes a power, and a terrible one, out of human passions; a power, too, precisely of that kind over which the power of knowledge has least means of action and least influence. *Knowledge*, not ignorance, is the element on which knowledge can legitimately and beneficently act. Men may rule horses by trusting to the more powerful animal's ignorance of his strength, and *taking them in* to the end of the chapter. But, thanks to Almighty wisdom, the eternal laws have provided that man cannot be long so governed. Miserable indeed, and becoming now at length in some degree rather old-fashioned, it may be hoped, is that conception of the power and function of knowledge which makes it consist in the ability to *dupe* those from whom it has been kept back. Whether or no such has been in reality the conception on which the government of the world has been attempted, the historians of ancient philosophies and modern churches, of Egyptian mysteries, and European laws of the press, pious frauds and sham beliefs, can tell us. Whether or no the plan has answered, whether the world has profited or suffered from the conception, may be read in the records of social cataclysms and revolutions, of anarchies and devastations, of religions become rotten, of atheisms,

of maddened populations rebelling against all power and control of knowledge.

The knowing white man, with his cunning gun and telescope, seems a god to the ignorant savage. But if the man of knowledge be called on to play the god for any length of time, the day will not fail to come when he would, ah, how gladly! give up all his prestige, could he but so illumine only a little the darkened intellect of his dangerous worshipper. Sooner or later that day must come to all rulers who speculate on the ignorance of their subjects; who make the fatal mistake of imagining that the power of knowledge is greatest over those who most lack it; who have dared to avow, or, without avowing, to act, on the cynical "Populus vult decipi, decipiatur" principle of a practically atheist church.

The power and danger of the Interdict lay, and was by all parties perfectly well understood to lie, in the ignorance of the people—in the much greater degree of their ignorance than that of their governors. Not that the Venetian government was in any way a *special* sinner in this matter. Had it been a part of the policy of the Queen of the Adriatic to diffuse among her people the best knowledge which the stage of human progress at that epoch rendered possible, she might in all security have disregarded the Pope, and his curses, and his Interdict. But such a policy would have implied a very much greater advance in knowledge than her own wisest and best, or those of any other country had then attained to.

The educated classes, as has been shown, had little or no belief in the terrors of excommunication. But the populace had. *They* could not be expected to endure quietly the deprivation of their sacraments.

The real gist, therefore, of the Pope's threat, stripped of all orthodox propriety of phrase, and reduced to the indecent condition of naked truth, had no reference to the eternal weal or woe of the grave and learned Senators, his enemies; but in fact stood thus:

“If you do not submit to my decree, I will command all my priests, who are spread over the length and breadth of your land, and who are, observe, not your but my liege subjects, to desist from performing all those functions which the people have been taught to believe are absolutely necessary to their escape from eternal torment hereafter. I will instruct these priests, my servants, to point out everywhere to the people that their destruction is thus caused solely by your obstinacy; that their dead are dying, lost, and unshriven, and their babes being born unbaptised in heathenry, only because you will not alter a law which in nowise touches their feelings or interests; that all would be put right if only more religious men had rule in Venice. And I leave you to judge how far you will be able to govern a people thus persuaded; how long you will have to wait for rebellion and insurrection; how you will defend yourselves against a people maddened by ignorance, and superstitious terror, who know that you are the cause of its sufferings.”

This was the true meaning and operation of the interdict; and the statement of it supplies at once the explanation and key to the inconsistencies that have been adverted to in the terrible friar's methods of resistance to it. The new putting forth of Gerson's celebrated “Considerations,” the arguments based on them, the immense amount of erudition and subtle distinction-taking and hair-splitting on the subject of excommunications and interdicts in general, and on

those now launched against Venice in particular, the vast apparatus of casuistry and scholastic learning brought to bear on the matter by Sarpi and his coadjutors, were of course addressed to the educated portion of the world only. Whatever might be proved or persuaded by these learned labours, they were wholly unavailing to meet the real danger threatened by the Interdict. And it was for this purpose that that other plan of preventing the material publication of the Pope's sentence was recommended by him. The Pope threatens to tell the people things calculated to alarm and disturb them. Do not let him tell them anything. He will forbid all priests to perform their services and sacraments. Compel the priests to do all these things as usual. The Pope can, it is true, pronounce the most dreadful penalties against them in case of disobedience to his commands. But these penalties he only professes to be able to inflict in another world, and his power to do so may be doubted. You have got their bodies in your hands, and your power over them is immediate and undoubted. It is true, that the same people who believe that the material performance of the sacraments is absolutely essential to their salvation, must also necessarily believe that these sacraments dispensed in defiance of the Papal edicts and declarations are null and of no value, if they are at all consistent in their orthodoxy. But the people are *not* consistent. Let all go on outwardly as usual : let the bells be rung, the mass be said, the candles lighted, baptisms, marriages, confessions, extreme unctions, and burials, be performed according to the usual forms, and all will be well ; no awkward questions will be asked concerning the intrinsic validity of all these ordinances. They will answer

every purpose, as well as if they were as genuine in quality as Papal authority could make them.

This was the meaning of resisting by force the publication of the Interdict. But all these solemn and unspeakably important offices, were they not really in the mind of any Catholic null and invalid, when dispensed by priests expressly prohibited by the supreme Vicar of Christ from dispensing them? All the confessions and last absolutions given under such circumstances, by means of which the Venetian people were to be kept quiet and loyal to their government, were they not all fallacious? And were not the duped recipients of them sent on their way to a future state unshriven, in fact, and unabsolved, to find too late that the eternal weal of thousands had been sacrificed to maintain the policy of Venice? What of this, Father Paul? Can we suppose for an instant our "theological adviser" to have contemplated anything so horrible? Most assuredly not. But then, how about our hero's orthodox Romanism?

Then again, what of all those poor priests so peremptorily called on to serve two different masters? Sarpi, knowing right well his brethren of the cloth, was of opinion, that the master who had in his power the keys of the "polenta" cupboard would prevail against him who held only those of St. Peter. And the event showed, that he judged his reverend brethren rightly. Still the alternative between starvation and damnation proposed to these holy men was a hard one;—if either the proposer of it, or those to whom it was proposed, believed in earnest what they professed to believe. A case is recorded of a Venetian priest mindful of ordination vows, canons, and solemn obligations of all sorts, who hesitates much as to obeying the order of

the government, that he shall continue to celebrate his offices as usual, despite all Papal commands to the contrary. His church is an important one, and much may hang on the dangerous example of its silenced bells and closed doors. A messenger from the chiefs of the "Ten" desires speech with the recalcitrant priest on the Saturday night; begs distinctly to be told what his reverence's intentions are respecting the morrow's services. Piously and cunningly the hard-pressed priest replies, that it is wholly impossible for him to say what he shall do in the matter, seeing that it will depend on the inspiration vouchsafed to him by the Spirit at the moment. With this well-weighed reply the messenger returns; but very quickly presents himself again before the devout waiter on spiritual teaching. "The chiefs of 'the Ten' can make no objection to so judicious a resolution as his reverence has arrived at; yet think it well to intimate their own strong conviction, that should the Spirit move him to omit, or anywise alter the accustomed services of his parish, the same Spirit would infallibly move them to hang his reverence before noon at his own church door!" And the due services were (most uncanonically) performed with the utmost canonical exactitude.

Surely a hard case for a conscientious priest! And yet they were equally conscientious priests no doubt, those canons one has heard of in our own day, down in a quiet little red sand-stone city under the Welsh hills, who, in worse case even than that of the Venetian rector, had, at the peremptory bidding of a lay master, to get moved at very short notice by the Spirit to elect a Bishop, whom the Spirit had already once moved them specially not to elect. And why should we suppose the chiefs of "the Venetian Ten" to have

been more guilty than the English chief, of driving these hardy bestead ecclesiastics to the eternal perdition of their souls? Had such a contingency been suggested to the members of that high tribunal, some Venetian equivalent for the expressive, though unclassical monosyllable, "bosh!" would, I am inclined to think, have indicated that those seventeenth century seniors were already very far removed from the ages of faith.

Injurious, you will say, to the interests of true religion! Truly somewhat more than *injurious*. But if Popes *will* have temporalities; if churches *will* be state-churches, and bishops *will* have seats in the House of Lords, what would you have? "What have!" cries Rome; "why pure and entire ecclesiastical supremacy, to be sure! *We* know, that our demands and aims are incompatible with any other arrangement of human affairs." Well said, Rome, and logically. But you, my respected friends of the English Church Establishment, what *you* have? Amid the confusion of a thousand eagerly answering tongues, the only intelligible reply is, "*Not* any inquiry or attempt to render our situation logical and consistent, which might result in making it clear that our half-way position on the slippery slope, that leads from Romanism to thorough Protestantism, is in truth wholly untenable."

But in this matter of constraining priests by temporal lay-inflicted pains and penalties to do that, which their vows and spiritual obligations unquestionably required them not to do, which resulted from the course of action recommended to the Senate by the "terrible friar," what, once again, is to be said of the friar's orthodoxy? We may "pause for a reply," as the phrase goes, till some chart shall have been dis-

covered which shall enable a man to trace all the windings, analyse all the mixed motives, decompose all the subtly compounded combinations of prejudice, passion, and conviction, and accurately lay down the limits of the enlightenment and blindness, which go to the composition of a human mind.

Of the two means, which Sarpi took and recommended for the defence of Venice from the assaults of Rome's spiritual arms, the simpler and material one will be most worthy of our attention. It will be more interesting to observe what the Senate *did*, than to examine what its theological advocates *said* on the subject. The line of argument taken by them, the inefficient nature of it, and the reasons which necessitated those learned and clear-headed writers to content themselves with that course, have been sufficiently indicated in speaking of Gerson's "Considerations," Sarpi's defence of them, and Bellarmine's reply. Any debating of the subject of Rome's excommunicating power, and her use of it, which could be of any interest at the present day (if indeed it can be supposed that any consideration of the matter can be henceforward necessary or useful), must take a totally different line, appeal to other principles, and be based on an entirely different order of ideas. Little of amusement, therefore, and less of utility could be got from following the celebrated champions in this great fight in the vast display of learning which they adduced, and the ingenuity and acuteness with which they applied the authorities admitted by both parties as umpires in the quarrel.

The practical measures taken by the Venetian government for the prevention of the publication of the Interdict will be more interesting. The carrying out



of the notable plan of avoiding spiritual censures by stopping them at the frontier like contraband goods—much as if one should seek to impede the passage of the lightning by putting up a five-barred gate—will afford a glimpse of the life, ideas, and social condition of that day and country worth looking at.

### CHAPTER III.

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**Measures taken by Venice.—Divided into four categories.—Means adopted for preventing the Pope's brief from entering Venice.—The Doge to the Nuncio.—Formal protest against the Interdict.—The foreign ambassadors.—France.—Spain.—Germany.—The smaller States.—The English ambassador.—Venice arms.—Penal measures adopted against disobedient priests.—Nonconforming priests acted rightly.—Steps taken against various priests.—The Capuchins and Theatines.—Bishop's relatives threatened.—The Jesuits quit Venice.**

If the launching of the Interdict against Venice, and the publication of it by affixing the document to the doors of St. Peter's and other similar spots in Rome, caused an immediate agitation in every court in Europe, it may be imagined that in Venice itself the commotion was intense, and the activity of every branch of that peculiarly constituted government extreme. The eyes of Europe were in truth on them; their cause was everywhere felt to be more or less nearly that of every other Christian lay government. And if ever there had been a crisis in the long and brilliant history of Venice, when it behoved her Patricians to show themselves worthy of their old renown for energy, wisdom, and courage, it was the present. And Venice was equal to the occasion. Party feuds and bickerings and jealousies were lost sight of, or at least adjourned. The votes of the College and even of the Senate were on almost every occasion unanimous. The sittings of

the College were so frequent as almost to amount to permanence. The same activity pervaded every branch of the administration. Every man was at his post. Nothing was omitted or forgotten or delayed.

It is altogether impossible to compress into a few pages any attempt to follow, step by step, the multitudinous provisions adopted by the executive, the endless interviews with the resident ministers of all the various governments, and the debates in the Senate and the College. But the measures of the government may be tolerably exhaustively ranged under four categories.

1st. Protest against, and provisions to prevent the introduction into the territory of the Papal instrument.

2nd. Constant representations of the position, rights, and resolutions of the Republic to foreign governments, both by means of the Venetian ambassadors at the various European courts, and through their representatives residing at Venice.

3rd. Arming;—by no means the least important step, or the least curiously significant, as a means of opposing a sentence condemning them to punishment in another world.

4th. Penal measures against recalcitrant and Romanising priests.

In the first place, immediately on getting news from their ambassadors at Rome of the imminent publication of the Interdict, the Senate came to the following resolution:—“Having reason to believe from what we hear from our ambassadors at Rome, that the Pontiff (still persisting in his severity and bitterness against the Republic, and in his unjust and undue pretensions in matters notably affecting our liberties,) will probably

publish and publicly placard some bull of excommunication or interdict, it is consistent with the wonted prudence of this Senate to make provision against any such occurrence, and with all due diligence and care provide against any inconvenience which may thence arise," &c. &c.\* It was thereupon determined to issue strict injunctions to the Patriarchal Vicar, and to all parish priests in Venice and throughout the territory on terra firma, not to open any bull, brief, or other writing whatsoever, nor to suffer the same to be affixed in any place; but to send any such immediately to the College. Very heavy penalties were pronounced against all transgressors of these orders. The same orders were further issued to all clerical persons whatsoever, monks, nuns, friars, chaplains, &c. All such persons were further commanded to make diligent search the first thing in the morning to see if any bull, brief, or paper of any kind had been affixed to their churches in the night, and in such case to remove them instantly. Watchers were also appointed to patrol the city by night and prevent the surreptitious placarding of any such paper or document whatever.

The Senate decreed also, that in case the Nuncio should come before the College, and should attempt to present any bull or brief from Rome, the Doge should address him in the following words;—words carefully weighed and selected, another somewhat different form of address having been proposed and put to the vote, when the following was preferred.

“My Lord!” the Doge was to say, “having reason from past circumstances to believe, that the brief which your Reverend Lordship wishes to present con-

\* Cornet, *Op. cit.* p. 55.

tains matters of a disagreeable nature,\* and not such as our most religious Republic deserves from the Apostolic See, it is our intention not to receive it. We should always, on the other hand, receive with good will briefs from his Holiness, when they are of a satisfactory kind,† and such as ought to pass between a father and his children. This brief therefore your most Reverend Lordship may carry back again,‡ since we do not intend, as we have said, to receive it." And if the Nuncio should nevertheless persist in leaving the paper, orders were to be forthwith given by the Doge in his presence, that it should be carried back to his house by one of the secretaries.

Orders were likewise sent to the Governors in Dalmatia, Candia, and Corfù, to be on the watch to prevent any publication of the Interdict in any place or in any way in their provinces.

A few days afterwards, on the 27th of April, the Senate "having heard that certain printed papers referring to ecclesiastical censures have arrived in this city, and it being not convenient that the same, (though null, unjust, and abusive,) should be spread abroad, inasmuch as they are incompatible with our civil jurisdiction, with the liberty of our dominions, with the preservation of our rights, our honour, and the lives of our citizens; and moreover are contrary to the will of this Council, which has for the above reasons prohibited that any such papers should be published or placarded in this city and its territory," decree that public proclamation be made in the accustomed places of the city and its dependencies to the effect, that it is forbidden to all men whatsoever in Venice or its domi-

\* "Cose spiacevoli."

† "Quando fossero di soddisfazione." ‡ "Lo potrà réportare."

nions to be in possession of, or have about them, any such papers ; and that any person of whatever rank or condition who may have received, or hereafter shall receive such, shall forthwith bring the same to the College ;—and this under pain of capital punishment in case of disobedience.

On the 6th of May, the Senate ordered the publication of a formal and solemn protest against the attack of the Papal power. It was printed in Latin and in the vulgar tongue, placarded in all public places, and forwarded to all foreign courts. It is stated to be “in conformity with the opinion of the theologians and consulting jurists of the government.” It is headed, “Leonardo Donato, by the grace of God, Doge of Venice ;” and is addressed to “The most reverend Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops of all our states, and to the Vicars, Abbots, Priors, Rectors of parish churches and other ecclesiastical dignitaries.” The paper motives the protest on the necessity of maintaining the authority of the Venetian republic, “which in matters temporal recognises no superior save the Divine Majesty ;” and then admonishes the ecclesiastics to whom it is addressed to make no change in the customary ordinances and functions of divine worship, seeing that the Papal document is null and void.\*

On the 31st of May the Senate is still occupied in providing against the possibility of any clandestine introduction of the much dreaded document. It is difficult to understand that so very much importance should have been attached to the mere existence of a copy of the paper in the country. And, to our notions, it

\* This important state paper will be found translated at length in Note 5, at end of Volume.

would appear utterly impracticable to attain the object in view. To exclude every copy of a short printed document which so large a number of persons were interested in introducing, would appear beyond the power even of the dreaded "Ten." It did not seem so to the Venetian government. Orders were on the above-mentioned day sent to the governors of Padua, and all the other cities on the main land, to take care that the guards at the city gates should bring immediately before them any friar whatever who should arrive at the city; to examine accurately all such persons, so as to ascertain whether they carry about them any document or writing. The governors of cities are further empowered not only to refuse admittance to any friar who may, in their opinion, be likely to cause disturbance among the citizens, but to cause such persons to be conducted beyond the frontiers of the Venetian territory.

The next great object of the government was to set their quarrel with Rome in a favourable light before the different sovereigns of Europe. The most important of these were France and Spain. The representatives of both these powers\* were from the beginning of the quarrel profuse in assurances of the affection of their masters towards the Republic; of their regret at the dissensions which had arisen, and of their desire to see a good understanding restored. Both courts were, from selfish motives, anxious to assume to themselves the position and office of mediator and peacemaker. But France would seem to have been sincere in her regret that any such contest should have arisen, and genuinely anxious to see a good understanding

\* Philippe Canaye de Fresne, for France; and Don Inigo de Cardenas, for Spain.

restored. The opinions, too, prevalent in the French court were such as inclined French statesmen to regard the matters in dispute from the Venetian point of view; though they, nevertheless, were all along urgent with the Venetians to find some mode of giving at least an apparent satisfaction to the Pope on some of the points in dispute. In the Spanish professions of friendly feeling, on the other hand, there was probably very little sincerity. Philip III. was secretly not displeased at the quarrel, trusting that France might be led to commit herself so far in favour of Venice as to make enmity between herself and Rome. Spain's hope was, that thus all that advantage to her designs on France, which had arisen from the religious wars in that country, and from the king's heresy, but which had been lost by Henry IV.'s reconciliation with Rome, might be regained by a new breach between that monarch and the Holy See. Opinion, too, in Spain was far more favourable to lofty Papal pretensions. Philip was quite determined to range himself on the side of the Pope, if, as at one time seemed likely, an European war arose out of the matter. Nevertheless, even Philip III. seems to have been not quite insensible to the danger that a too powerfully protected Pope might become his protector's master. His wiser advisers, such as the Duke de Lerma, warned him, that the very claims which the Pope was pressing against Venice might be very dangerous to the authority and power of his majesty in Spain. So far Spain was sincere in her professions, that if peace were to be made between the contending parties, she wished to have herself the credit of being the peacemaker, especially if she could succeed in arranging the terms of a compromise that should be humbling to



the pride of the Republic, and agreeable to that of the Pontiff.

The Emperor Rodolph II. sent civil messages and advice to lose no time in making up the quarrel somehow before worse dangers grew out of it. The Venetian ambassador, however, at the Imperial Court, writes on the 8th of May, 1606, telling the Senate that no good can be done there without the good will of one Philip Lang, a favourite chamberlain of the Emperor; and recommending that this good will should be purchased "by means of a present; as, for instance, a gold chain of the value of three hundred ducats," which would be especially welcome just then, as "in a few days he is going to marry his son; on which occasion everybody will give something; and excellent good effects may be expected from doing the same." On the 19th of June, the Ten determined to give this Lang a chain worth two hundred ducats. But, on the 26th, we find the resolution rescinded. And we are permitted to hope that the Ten were, on better thoughts, ashamed of attempting to assist their good cause by such means.\*

The smaller states, especially those of Italy, all expressed, more or less frankly, their sympathies with Venice in her stand against Papal encroachment. It was with them a case of *proximus Ucalegon*. The Popes were ever dangerous and troublesome neighbours; and each one of these sovereigns felt that it might be his turn next to be threatened, bullied, and interfered with.

Among the rest, the English ambassador is in

\* Two years afterwards this Lang was imprisoned in the White Tower at Prague for iniquities of all sorts; and died there in 1610.—Cornet, *Op. cit.* p. 77.

frequent communication with the College; and it is amusing to mark the contrast of the frank out-spoken thorough-going language of Sir Henry Wotton with the cautious and lengthy circumlocution of the Continental diplomatists. On receiving official communication of the Interdict, the English envoy declared that in the matter in dispute he saw that the cause of the Republic "rested on clear grounds of right, and on a determination to keep what was their own; in which term he meant to comprise not only their cities and territories, which are matters of inferior moment, but their honour, and political and religious liberty." He told them that they could confide in no one better than in him, inasmuch as England had no interest whatever in the matter; and "because, too, I come from a country which knows what the value of an excommunication is to a farthing. And although I am not by profession either theologian or canonist, yet I, for my part, will believe that God has not ordained that justice shall be destroyed by theology. These two sciences, as well as all the others, ought to be co-ordinate, and not repugnant to each other; and when theology begins to encroach on what does not belong to it, it exceeds its due bounds." \*

The tone of Wotton's communications with the Venetian government throughout is calculated to encourage them in their resistance. Alone, of all the numerous foreign representatives, he has no word to say in favour of yielding an inch; though he conveys with more of due diplomatic decorum, probably, than sincerity, his royal master's "regret" that the misunderstanding should have arisen. It will be remem-

\* Cornet, *Op. cit.* p. 62.

bered that Wotton, as well as his chaplain Bedell, was the intimate friend of Sarpi.

Among other means of rebutting Rome's spiritual attack, the Republic did not neglect powder and shot. References to St. Augustine were good, but a few regiments of soldiers might be as much to the purpose after all. It was at first expected that Paul would assuredly back up his condemnation of the Republic to eternal perdition by sending his troops across the frontiers. An anxious watch was kept on the military movements of the neighbouring ecclesiastical provinces; forces were ordered to be taken into the pay of the Republic, and funds for warlike operations provided. At one moment a good opportunity offered itself of beginning hostilities on the offensive. Don Cesare of Este, who had been wrongfully ousted from his duchy of Ferrara by Pope Clement VIII., made overtures to the Senate to join him in retaking his dominions. The Ten, however, were not confident of the success of the enterprise; but deliberated and delayed till Ferrara was reinforced by additional Pontifical troops, and the moment for the attempt had passed. And it was probably quite as well on the whole that the Venetians did not proceed to *voies de fait* for the restitution of their sacraments.

It remains to speak of the compulsory provisions and penalties enacted by the Senate against such priests as preferred obedience to their spiritual rather than to their temporal masters, and who refused to exercise at lay bidding those functions which they were bound to consider sacrilegious when performed in defiance of the power which could alone impart either value to the ordinances themselves or the privilege of celebrating them to their ministers.

The sympathies of every enlightened lover of mankind, and of every pious worshipper of God's eternal laws, must of course be strongly enlisted on the side of Venice in this struggle with the hydra-headed evil of sacerdotal tyranny. Their victory was the victory of humanity, and their foes in the fight our foes—the most deadly and dangerous foes to all the best and highest interests of the human race that the history of the world has ever known. It was of vital importance to Venice that priests should be found to carry on as usual the services of the Church; and those ecclesiastics who, for patriotism's sake or pelf's sake, consented to go through the semblance of celebrations which (if they believed in their Church at all) they must have believed to be vain, meaningless, and sacrilegious mummeries, enabled the government to sustain an opposition to Rome and its powers that would without such aid have been impossible. The number of priests who refused submission to the government was small, and consisted chiefly of a few dignitaries, mendicant friars, Theatines and Jesuits. The latter body were the most important recalcitrants, and were found as usual faithful to the cause of theocratic tyranny.

But all these considerations must not make us unjust or blind. We must not fail to see, or shrink from avowing, that the priests who obeyed the government did wrong, and laid themselves open to the accusation of faithlessness to obligations which they would hardly have disregarded had they had any real belief in the doctrines they professed to hold, while the recusants consistently acted according to the clear duty of faithful priests and oath-observing men. With motives of course we cannot meddle. There was abun-

dant room for unworthy motive in either case. But we have no right to assume that either those who obeyed or those who resisted the government were actuated by such. We are bound to consider the resisting priests to have acted conscientiously. They did right, let what would come of it; while the conforming priests (though, taking all things into consideration, it would be very wrong to say that they did *not* act conscientiously) yet undoubtedly did ill, that good might come of it.

What then, it may be asked, is every man who has assumed the obligations of a Catholic priest hopelessly vowed to enmity to his kind? Must all enlightenment come to him too late? Are vows which pledge him to fight against God's eternal laws to be held indelibly binding on his changed conscience? Assuredly not. No human being can impose, and no human being accept, restraints which violate the indefeasible and anterior right of every man's conscience to his fealty. If I swear that I will to-morrow think such a line of conduct to be right or wrong, my oath is absurd, impossible, and void of force as of sense. But then the emancipation claimed on these grounds must be honestly based on them. And being so based, it would necessarily have carried a Venetian seventeenth century priest to other issues than consenting to take in the populace by dispensing to them semblances of sacraments which either never had any virtue in them, or, if they had, had been deprived of it by the Papal power. It would have carried him in some shape or other to martyrdom; and moreover, had the great majority of the conforming priests so emancipated themselves, it is certain that the conditions of the Republic's battle with Rome would so have been rendered more,

and not less, arduous. All which social dead-lock, confusion, and misfortune was one of the natural and inevitable growths gendered by the baleful adultery of Church with State.

Among the first to disobey the orders of the Senate was the highest ecclesiastical dignitary in the Venetian dominions, the Patriarch of Aquileia. On the 27th April the Senate sent orders to the governor of Udine to send his lordship to Venice, and entrust his spiritual functions to some ecclesiastic well affected towards the government. A similar step was on the same day taken with regard to the Vicar of the Bishop of Vicenza.

On the 8th of May the College issued orders to the Venetian Patriarch's vicar, to all the rectors of parishes throughout the territory, and to all superiors of monasteries, to continue in all respects as usual the performance of the mass and other parts of divine services, as they should answer for it with their lives. They were prohibited, under the same penalty, from quitting the country. And if any orders were sent to them by their religious superiors to the contrary, they were commanded instantly to communicate the fact to the College, and to conceal it from all other persons.

The Senate writes on the same day to the authorities at Bergamo, praising them for having arrested the cellarer of a certain monastery, and for their attempts to arrest the abbot for disobedience to the orders respecting placarding papal briefs.

On the 12th of May they sent a messenger to the Capuchins and Theatines, who were hesitating between obedience and resistance, forbidding them to quit the city on pain of their lives, and commanding them to continue to perform the accustomed services with the

doors of their churches open as usual. On the same day letters were sent in haste to the governor of Brescia requiring him to send messengers after the bishop of that city, whithersoever he might have betaken himself, to signify to him the extreme displeasure of the Senate at his having absented himself from his see at such a moment, and make known to him the firm determination of the government that in his cathedral church no attention whatever be paid to the Interdict. He was to be informed that in case of contumacy all his goods and property would be irremissibly confiscated, *as well as those of his father and brothers*. These relatives of the bishop were moreover summoned to the presence of the Doge; and it was intimated to them that everything they possessed would be confiscated if they did not "so act as to cause the bishop to observe all the commands of the government." Already the Senate had resolved that all the lay relatives of bishops should be sent for, and that they should be told the country expected them to take care that their reverend sons, brothers, or cousins should show themselves obedient citizens,—a curious instance of the old Italian notion of the *solidarity* arising from family ties!—a notion constantly acted on in all the medieval feuds and quarrels, and still traceable in many passages of Italian jurisprudence and social habits.

On the 15th of May, we find the Senate resolving that the Theatines and Capuchins, having informed the government that the orders received by them from Rome make it impossible for them to do otherwise than observe the Interdict, they be immediately expelled from the territory of the Republic; care being taken by the College that their churches be supplied with

priests well affected towards the government. It will be observed, that this determination of the Senate is not consistent with a former decree, forbidding these same monks to leave Venice on pain of their lives. We must suppose, that the government finding them obstinate in their refusal to disregard the Interdict, considered it far better to get rid of them than to make martyrs of them.

But the most important of the non-conforming priests were the Jesuits. On the 8th of May, the Doge reported to the College that four Jesuits had waited on him a little before vespers ; and had declared, that the orders they had received not only from the Pope, but from the general of their order, rendered it impossible for them to celebrate the divine offices, as long as the Republic should remain under Interdict. The Doge, in reply, intimated to them that their only alternative was obedience or departure ; that if they decided on the latter, they must note well that they would never be permitted to return ; nor would they be permitted to remove so much as a stick from either their convent or church. It did not at all suit the Jesuits to lose their footing in so wealthy and important part of the Roman Catholic world as the Venetian territories. They strove to compound the matter by offering, if they were allowed to remain, to preach and confess as usual, abstaining only from celebrating mass. Of course, no such proposal could be listened to. And the Jesuits were accompanied to the frontier, leaving the city in the night for the avoidance of any possible tumult or disturbance. No time had been lost in sending officers to their convent, immediately it was settled that they were to go, to prevent the removal of any property from thence. But in this respect, those



dexterous and holy fathers contrived, it would seem, to outwit the government. For among the motives assigned for their perpetual banishment in the formal decree of the Senate, passed to that effect on the 14th of June,\* it is rehearsed, that the company had, "by strange ways and means, and despite the express orders of the Senate, hidden and carried away the greater part of the articles appertaining to divine service, which in very great quantity and of great price and value, have been at divers times offered to their church by devout persons, all such substance having been squeezed out of the life-blood† of our noble citizens and subjects."‡ The means by which the Jesuits appear to have succeeded in carrying off the valuable property in their church, despite the measures taken by the government to prevent them, furnish an indication of the real feelings and sympathies of Spain in the matter, and a measure of the sincerity of the friendly assurances of her ambassador. The circumstances, as they stand recorded in a report from Secretary Scaramelli to the § Senate, are worth mentioning.

The College had requested the chiefs of "the Ten" to send one of their officers to escort the fathers in boats furnished by the government as far as the frontiers of the territory of Ferrara by the route of Chioggia. No time was lost in doing this. But when the officer went to the convent in the evening to arrange with the reverences their departure in the course of the night, he found at the quay of the convent the gondola of the Spanish ambassador, with

\* Cornet, Op. cit. p. 105.

† "Cavate dalle viscere."

‡ For the entire decree banishing the Jesuits, see Note 6, at end.

§ Cornet, Op. cit. p. 279.

seven or eight white chests in it, "well corded and in good order, each of them not quite two braccia (about four feet) square in size." The officer at once perceived that the alert fathers had stolen a march on him. But as he had no orders applicable to such a case, and as it was a delicate matter to meddle with an ambassador's gondola, he did not venture to say a word or interfere in any way. It was further reported to the Senate that the Nuncio had on the previous day gone in his gondola to the Jesuit Convent, and without alighting, had caused two of the fathers to get into the gondola with him, where, "with the curtains let down," they had remained in conference two entire hours. Further, the Senate received information that in the night, shortly after this visit, the neighbours had seen within the monastery a large fire of papers and writings.

Signor Bianchi-Giovini\* says that the subsequently passed formal decree for the expulsion of the Jesuits was motived on the fact, that among the papers, which they had not time to burn in the hurry of their departure, were found several registers of the confessions of their penitents regularly kept by them, "as a means of penetrating into the secrets of families, and those of the State." And the reports furnished by them to the Pope respecting the hopes to be derived from the consciences of many of the senators, based upon the knowledge acquired in the confessional, show that it was probably enough their habit to keep such registers. But it is incorrect to say that the decree for their expulsion adduces this among the motives of the step.

\* Vita di Sarpi, vol. i. p. 287.

THE JESUITS CARRY OFF THEIR WEALTH. 281

So the Jesuits went forth carrying their seven or eight great chests of spoils with them, and shaking the dust off their shoes against Venice, just about ten years after they had been turned out of France in like manner.

## CHAPTER IV.

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The Nuncio at Venice on Ascension-day.—Another Nuncio on the same day at Prague.—The Nuncio quits Venice.—The Venetian ambassador quits Rome.—Interview between the Venetian ambassador and King James in London.—English ideas of a new Council.—Strange occurrence at Vicenza.—Attempts of the Pope to stir up disturbances in the Venetian states.—Measures of the Senate for meeting these.—Military position of the two parties.—Policy of France.—Of England.—A second interview between James and the Venetian ambassador.—Sir Henry Wotton before the College.—Henry IV.'s remarks on King James's offers to Venice.—The Pope shows signs of willingness to come to terms.—All hope of this destroyed for the time being by the Spanish King's letter to the Pope.

To our modern ideas of diplomatic etiquette, it seems strange that after so decided a breach had taken place between the two states, the Nuncio of the Pope should still linger in Venice, and the ambassador of the Republic continue at Rome. We have seen, however, that the former at least had still business to transact in Venice. Nor did his reverence at all seek to hide himself in privacy. On Ascension-day, on occasion of the great gala festival, when the Doge goes in state to celebrate the often-described ceremony of his symbolic marriage with the Adriatic, to the great surprise of every one, the Nuncio appeared in his place among the other ambassadors in the grand procession. His presence on such an occasion, which was assuredly a diplomatic mistake, was probably a mere

ebullition of priestly insolence. And curiously enough, at the same day and hour, in a distant city, another Nuncio was indulging himself in the same feeling by conduct precisely the reverse of that of the Venetian Nuncio.

The Cavalier Francesco Soranzo writes to the Senate from Prague, where he was residing as ambassador for the Republic to the Emperor, that on that same Ascension-day festival, the Tuscan ambassador came to him as a messenger from the Nuncio, with an intimation, that he could not take part in the divine services, processions, &c., at which it was usual for all the foreign ministers to be present. The Venetian replied that he had no orders to receive from the Nuncio, and should not abstain unless commanded to do so by the Emperor. To this the Nuncio replied by means of the same messenger, that if Soranzo came to the church, he, the Nuncio, should forthwith leave it; that all the other ambassadors would leave it with him, and that he would have the church shut, and then make a public prohibition to the Venetian ambassador to enter any church whatsoever. Soranzo forthwith hurried to the Imperial ministers. They expressed their sorrow for the circumstance; but said that it would be wisest to avoid giving cause for scandal—(the old but never worn-out pretext for permitting a wrong!)—and begged him to abstain. As for the Emperor himself, they told him that his Majesty “did not bother himself about Church matters.” So, says the ambassador, not to give offence to the Emperor, “I resolved to stay at home; and taking as a pretext the infirmities, from which in reality I suffer only too truly, I took\* physic.”

\* “Mi son posto in purga.”

So the honour of Venice was in some sort saved by this evasion. But it was hard, and very characteristic of the unreasoning insolence of apostolic statesmen, that while at Venice the Pope's representative thrust himself publicly into the company of Venetians, where he was not wanted; at Prague another Papal representative could not meet a Venetian in the same church.

A very few days after this festival, however, the Nuncio came to the College, and said, that matters were now come to such a pass, that he did not see that his presence could be of any further use in Venice; and so took his leave. Thereupon the Senate wrote to their ambassadors, directing them to quit Rome, after having with all respect kissed the feet of His Holiness. It was intimated, however, to the Venetian, that if he wished audience of the Pope he must go to him privately. This the ambassador refused to do, thinking that he should compromise the dignity of the Republic if he consented. Paul, excessively indignant, thereupon caused it to be made known to all those prelates, who, according to usage and etiquette at Rome, would have escorted the departing ambassador out of the city, that as they valued his displeasure they must abstain from doing so; a little bit of spite and discourtesy, which, as the Senate remark in the despatches, sent to give an account of these matters to the foreign courts, they felt the more, as *they* had observed all courtesy and due ceremony in taking leave of the Nuncio.

On the same 14th of June on which the decree for the expulsion of the Jesuits is dated, the Senate received letters from their ambassador at the Court of James I., in which he gives a long account of an inter-

view he had had with that monarch. James told him that he felt strongly in favour of the Republic ; for that the inculcated laws were most just, holy, and necessary. And not only, says the ambassador, did he approve and commend them, but added, " well would it be for the world if every sovereign would open his eyes, and do likewise ; but one holds his peace, because the Pope allows him to do as he will in other matters ; another gives no thought to the subject ; and a third dares not resist. The jealousies of princes," said James, " and not the appointment of Christ, have made the Papacy thus great and insolent. The Pope," continued our British Solomon, " considers me and my crown to be the most abominable things in the world. And I, for my part, flatter myself, that I am more a servant of God than he is. I protest to his Serenity the Doge, and to all the world, that I have no wish more at heart, than to see the Church of God, disfigured as it is by the abuses of the Court of Rome, reformed. There is no subject, which occupies my thoughts so much, as the convocation of a council, which shall be a truly legitimate one. I have spoken on the subject with the King of France, with whom I am on excellent terms ; and who knows but that it may be God's will to make the present troubles of the Republic a means of opening the way to this most legitimate desire ? But the Popes won't hear of anything of the kind ; because it suits them to keep the world in such blindness, that it is small wonder if Christianity goes to ruin, and sovereigns are perpetually tormented by the intolerable pretensions of Rome. Pope Clement VIII. caused instances to be made to me, urging my return to the Church of Rome. I answered him, that if our disagreements could be

decided by a general and legitimately convoked council, I should be perfectly ready to obey whatsoever such council might decree. Do you know what he replied to me? Mark the zeal of Christ's Vicar. 'Tell the King of England,' he said, 'not to speak of a council; for I won't hear of it. And if he won't be reconciled to the Church by other means than that, let him remain as he is.' What do you think of that? And is not such an answer a proof that they care only for their own interests and passions? And such is their conduct at all times. For their own pretensions are so exorbitant, and the flattery of those, who, for their own ends of ambition or avarice worship them with execrable adulation, is so gross, that the Pope is like enough to deem himself greater than He whose Vicar on earth, and Minister, he pretends to be. Nor do I wonder at the present Pope's not having listened to reason in your quarrel with him; for Popes are wont to deem their own will the only reason."

"And here," says the ambassador, "his Majesty entered into an exceedingly long discourse against the usurpation of supreme power by the Pontiffs." We can well imagine our British Solomon's diffuse eloquence upon this theme. James dearly loved an opportunity of displaying his theological learning, and the poor ambassador no doubt had enough of it. He told me, adds the Venetian, that he studied the works of Bellarmine every day, and found him full of falsifications of texts and false citations from the Fathers; "by means of which he sells for a red hat, not only spiritual, but temporal supremacy to his Papal idol."

It would be quite in keeping with the well known character of "gentle Jamie," if all this "exceedingly long discourse," which defied even the industrious



reporting habits of a Venetian ambassador to record it at length, was due to nothing else save his Majesty's great pleasure in hearing himself talk, especially on such subjects. But it would be interesting to know, whether any idea had really been conceived in England of making the quarrel between Venice and the Holy See lead to the convocation of a new council and a real reformation of the Church; and whether the British Solomon spoke the truth, when he said that he had opened the subject to the King of France. A very slight amount of acquaintance with the condition of the Catholic world, the state of men's minds, and above all the interests and views of the sovereigns of southern Europe, would have sufficed to convince the most Quixotic believer in Church reformability, that he might as well have expected a council of angels to descend from the skies to the halls of the Vatican, as hope the convocation of such a council as James professed to expect. It seems difficult to believe that Henry IV. should not have been perfectly aware of this; and more difficult still to suppose, that Wotton and Bedell should not have been quite competent to assure his British Majesty of the utter futility of any such hopes.

But a curious circumstance occurred at Vicenza about the end of June, which would seem to indicate that *somebody* was endeavouring to improve the Venetian misunderstanding with Rome into a complete schism. And in the extreme difficulty of forming any satisfactory theory as to the authors of the attempt, bearing in mind also the tone of all our ambassador's communications with the government, calculated all along to excite and encourage Venice in pushing her resistance against Rome to the utmost, the idea suggests itself how far it is possible that the invitation to

schism in question may have had an English origin. The facts were these : Vicenza one morning, near the latter end of June, was found placarded with a printed paper, urging the Venetians to emancipate themselves altogether from the intolerable yoke of priestly tyranny. The governors of the city immediately communicated the fact to the Senate, which instantly gave the strictest orders for the removal of all such papers, and for the most vigilant diligence for the prevention of the clandestine circulation of any such. The Venetian government had from the first been anxious to assert the orthodox Catholicism of its principles and sentiments. They were especially desirous of maintaining and proving in the face of Europe, that they were wrongfully excommunicated, and on no real spiritual grounds;—that they were and always hoped to be good Catholics, and respectful sons of their ghostly father the Roman Pontiff. The Senate was accordingly proportionably annoyed at the publication of the paper in question. They entrusted the largest inquisitorial powers to the magistrates at Vicenza for the discovery of the person or persons who had circulated or affixed the placards ; they ordered that the greatest exertions should be used to prevent the hand-to-hand circulation of any such ; and they offered a reward of five hundred ducats, together with a promise of complete secrecy, and the privilege of liberating a convict from any one of the state prisons, to such as would give information as to the printer of the obnoxious paper. But it was all in vain ; neither the author, printer, nor placarder of the document was ever discovered. And this fact also would go far to prove, that the paper was not printed in any Venetian city. The authors of it, however, must have had ample means of assuring themselves

that Venice had not the remotest intention of breaking its connection with the Church of Rome.

Meanwhile the Pope was endeavouring in every possible way to make war on the Republic, by exciting disaffection, agitation, and tumults in the minds of its subjects. This has in all ages been Rome's favourite means of offence; and she is an adept in all the arts required for its practice. But the vigilance of the senators was equal to the perseverance and subtlety of their enemy. We have a constant stream of letters to the governors of the different cities, exhorting them to be watchful; and directing their attention now to one, and next day to some other device of the enemy. Now it is a barefoot friar, who is coming, as the Senate have been secretly informed, to establish himself at Mantua, close on the Venetian frontiers, armed with secret powers from the Pope, giving him authority over all the Venetian bishops. By means of the Senate's influence with the Duke of Mantua, the friar is refused admittance to that city. But he is known to be hovering somewhere on the frontiers, it is supposed in the neighbourhood of Brescia. And the governor of that city is ordered to arrest him if possible. Then the magistrates at Verona are cautioned to be on the alert to prevent communications from this agent from being introduced by friars in lay disguise. Another day orders are given to hunt out of the country all friars, who have deserted their convents under pretext of the Interdict, and are roaming about and striving to spread disaffection and alarm among the people.\*

This sort of warfare, together with insults studiously shown to the Venetian residents at the different courts,

\* Cornet, *Op. cit.* p. 113.

especially that of Spain, where the ambassador from the Republic was forbidden to attend the Chapel Royal, (though as he declares in his letters to the Senate, the King, in order to blunt the point of the insult, abstained himself from attending service in public ;)—this petty sort of warfare was all that Rome was able to indulge in. The descriptions on record of the Papal forces of that time are curiously like those we are reading every day of the Apostolic army of the present Pontiff, “mercenaries gathered together anyhow from all sorts of sources,” constantly deserting, and more formidable to the inhabitants of the state that hired them, than to any enemy in the field. The Republic was on the other hand well provided with good troops ; in great part also foreign legions. But these were led by their own generals, who had entered into long contracts of military service with Venice, in some cases passing on from father to son for more than one generation. The general current of lay opinion on the merits of the question at issue was indicated also by the numerous offers of service and assistance the Senate received from almost all parts of Europe. Rome, therefore, was compelled to “let I dare not wait upon I would.”

France and Spain were neither of them desirous of going to war, but both wished to have the credit and the influence that would accrue to the mediator in the quarrel. It was quite understood, however, that if hostilities should be commenced, his “Most Catholic” majesty would be found on the side of Rome, while the “Most Christian” King would take part with Venice. But it is very evident that, for many reasons, it would have ill suited the recently reconciled and absolved heretic Henry IV., with the dangerous religious divisions of his kingdom just beginning to heal, to enter

anew into hostilities with the Holy Father. France was, therefore, from every motive, eager to bring about a reconciliation. Her promises of support in case of the worst were cordial; but all conditional on Venice being first attacked, or on her having done her utmost unavailingly to make up the quarrel. Letters came on the 4th of July from the Venetian resident in France, informing the Senate that the King has assured "a person, from whom he does not conceal his thoughts," that if the Pope, encouraged by Spain, should attack the Republic, his Majesty will not fail to assist her. On the 22nd of the same month, the ambassador of France at Venice tells the Senate, that *if* they will "open the way for his master to bring about a reconciliation," his Majesty promises, in case of failure, to come to the assistance of the Republic with all his forces, and with the blood of all the French noblesse.

It is not without some surprise that we find throughout all these multiplied negotiations, that the only thoroughly warlike proposals and promises come from England with our British Solomon at its head. Sir Henry Wotton, on the 21st of July, "offers the forces of his sovereign;" and far from coupling the promise with any such condition as was attached to the offer of France, proposes an offensive league. Again, on the 10th of August, the Venetian resident in London writes an account of an interview he had with James. His Majesty praised much the constancy and unanimity of the Senate, and anticipated for them a triumphant issue from the contest with Rome. "And as for the Spaniards," continued James, "although I laugh at their popish braggadocia,\* since all the world knows

\* "Papolate."

the condition they are in, and people who mean action are not so fond of talking, it matters little; for if they are on one side, We shall be on the other." He goes on to protest his warm regard for Venice at all times, especially because she had renewed with him the intercourse so long broken off with England under his predecessors;\* and his strong sympathy with her in her present quarrel. "Assure, therefore, the Republic, that I will assist it with all my heart, and with all the power I can command on this occasion; and I only regret that I am so far off. But you well remarked to me the other day, that when hearts are neighbours, monarchs can easily find means to manage the rest. I have written to my ambassador, ordering him to make the same promises in my name."

On the 2nd of October, Sir Henry Wotton came to the meeting of the College, and spoke at considerable length. He had communicated, he said, to all the ministers of the other powers the declaration of the King his master, that he would assist the Republic in any case, "your Serene Highness having given me permission to do so. I will now," he continued, "speak my own thoughts on the subject." He can discover, he says, only four possible modes of issue from the present position: 1st, submission; 2nd, the death of Paul; 3rd, arbitrement by other princes; 4th, war. The first he presumes the Senate has no thoughts of; the second is hardly to be looked for; as for the third, no prince could be found, even including his royal master, sufficiently free from bias in such a matter. Possibly the question might be referred to two arbiters; in which case, he thinks, he may take

\* There were no Venetian ambassadors in England under the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth.

it for granted that the Republic would not prefer any sovereign to his master, who had been the first to declare himself in favour of Venice ; while Rome would probably select the King of Spain. The notion of assembling a council might also be entertained ; but all his knowledge of history led him to think, that what was practised by King Louis in 1511 (the assembling of a schismatic council in Pisa), could not with advantage be attempted now. There was then discord between the Pope and many of the Cardinals, not now to be hoped for. For any good to come of such a scheme more elements of confusion than now exist in Europe would be necessary. “ The fourth issue, then, remains ; and it may be objected that I am proposing a means neither good in itself, nor leading to good. To this I answer, in the words of the great historian, ‘ *Idcirco bella faciendasunt ut in pace vivamus,*’—wars must be engaged in, to the end that we may live in peace.” He proceeds to develop his reasons for preferring this last course, which might be put in execution in two ways ; either by immediate invasion, or by making an offensive league with other powers. The first plan would have been good a month or two ago. But the Venetians, though wise and prudent, have been sadly dilatory ; and Sir Henry quotes Thucydides to them in reproaching them on this head. Still it would never do to go on in the present condition, the expense of remaining armed consuming the forces of the state like a hectic fever. And there was great danger that, if any such visitation as pestilence or scarcity (which God forbid !) should occur, the people would immediately imagine that it was a consequence of the excommunication, and the results might be most disastrous. What he recommended, therefore, was an

offensive league with Great Britain, Denmark, the Princes of Germany, the States-General, the Swiss and Grisons, and his Most Christian Majesty. As for all, except the last, their ready adherence was certain. And although the King of France has not yet declared himself, he could not doubt that he would be ready to join the league, as it is evidently his interest to do so; and it is to be remembered that he stands deprived by the effects of an excommunication of his kingdom of Navarre; that he expressly reserved his rights to that crown at the last peace; and that it is impossible he can see with approbation that sovereigns may be deprived of their rights by such means. He concludes by urging the senators to give him an answer declaratory of their intentions.

The Doge replied with many thanks for England's good will and acknowledgments of the important advantages which had accrued to the cause of the Republic from the British king's declaration in its favour. But it was not in his power to give him any further answer for the present.

It is amusing to find a commentary on all this in the following communication from the Venetian ambassador at the Court of France to the Senate. He had signified to his Most Christian Majesty, he says, the offers made to the Republic by the King of England. Whereupon the King had said that he was glad to hear anything that might be of advantage to the Republic; "but that, as to this matter, he must tell them that no great importance was to be attached to the words of the King of England, as he had himself found in the affairs of Flanders and on other occasions. His Majesty of England is by nature easy in promising and slow in performing, especially in matters in which



he perceives that the Spaniards have an interest, of whom he, the King of England, lives in great fear." He should be very happy, adds Henry IV., to find the King of England different from his usual habits upon this occasion; but he, for his part, did not think that the Republic would get any important service from England. He observed further that if Venice wished to avail herself of ships belonging to English subjects, she might have as many as she wished without the King having anything to say to it. Finally, he urged the senators to do everything in their power to bring their differences to an amicable arrangement, bearing in mind all the evils which war brings in its train, and which "had made his beard white before his time."

The British Solomon did not appreciate so feelingly the toils of war!

Meanwhile the failure of the Interdict in its object of throwing the Venetian dominions into confusion, the disregard of its thunders by the great majority of Venetian priests, the firm attitude of the Senate, the almost universal disapprobation of Christendom, had brought the Pope to wish that he had been less hasty in launching the Church's *brutum fulmen*. Rome had suffered not a little in the encounter of learned pens, which had been going busily on, while couriers had been running to and fro, and ambassadors had been disputing about places in processions and chapels; and Paul began to give signs of a willingness to make peace if some means of backing out of the matter not too humiliating to his pride could be discovered. The French statesmen and ambassadors were earnestly striving to find such means; and there began to be a prospect of accommodating matters, when suddenly,

about the middle of September, Philip III. wrote a letter to the Pope in a very different tone from the cautious half promises which Spain had previously made to him, which had the disastrous effect of neutralising all the salutary snubbing and disappointment he had suffered, encouraging him to insist as arrogantly as ever on his original demands, and, in short, rendering Paul once more himself again.

This important and mischievous letter runs as follows. The Italian translation from the original Spanish, from which the following translation into English has been made, is stated to be most exact, and was sent from Rome by the Venetian Cardinal Delfino to his nephew, Alessandro Contarini, at Venice.\*

“Most Holy Father,—It is a matter of great anxiety to me that the Venetian affairs have come to such a point as to have engaged the honour of your Holiness and of the Apostolic See. It is impossible for me, therefore, as an obedient son, to abstain from giving all the aid I can with my person and my resources for the service and defence of your Holiness and of the Apostolic See. And I have said as much to the ambassador whom the Venetian government maintains at this Court, in order that he may give the Senate information to that effect. I have likewise caused letters to be written to those Italian potentates who are my dependants to let them know my will; and I have ordered the Viceroy † and Governors ‡ of Italy to hold themselves ready to be of service to your Holiness and the Apostolic See, by land or by sea, according as they

\* Cornet, *Op. cit.* p. 285. The Italian version will be found in Note 7, at end of Volume.

† Of Naples.

‡ Of Milan and the Spanish possessions on the coast of Tuscany.

may receive notice. And if my personal presence should be necessary, I will assist your Holiness with that also in every needful conjuncture."

Less than this would have sufficed to re-awaken all Paul's hopes and schemes of universal sacerdotal supremacy. All thought of coming to terms with Venice, or of accepting anything less than the amount in full of his demands, and this humbly tendered in the attitude of chastised children imploring a justly offended father's clemency, was thrown to the winds. All the results which France seemed to be on the point of reaping from the efforts of her diplomacy were lost. Venice was as firm as ever in her determination to resist; and the Spanish monarch's letter marks the commencement of a fresh phase in the struggle.

## CHAPTER V.

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The Pope deceived in his hopes of assistance from Spain.—His present position.—Much damage had been inflicted on the Church.—The literature of the Interdict.—The censorship at Venice.—Character and scope of the writings on the side of the Church.—Bellarmine.—Various proposals for arranging the differences.—*How* was the Interdict to be taken off?—Spanish and French politics.—Di Castro sent by Spain to Venice.—His mission fails.—Jealousies between the French and Spanish ambassadors.—Cardinal Joyeuse sent to Venice.

NOTWITHSTANDING the clear and strong assurances contained in Philip III.'s letter, Spain had no intention of going to war in the Pope's cause. In all probability the letter was written for no other purpose than to bring about exactly that result which it did in fact produce,—a prolongation of the quarrel and the negotiations. Spain, and especially the Duke of Lerma at Milan, were well pleased that the ruinous expenses to which Venice was subjected by the necessity of keeping up her army, should last as long as possible. She was desirous also of causing the failure of those negotiations which France was engaged in perfecting. She intended that the differences should be eventually made up; but she was very desirous that the reconciliation should be her work, and that it should be as favourable to the Pope and as damaging to the principles of civil liberty as might be, without too much compromising the power of an absolute sovereign to do what he would with his own. As to war, the real

intentions of France and Spain were no doubt pretty much the same. Neither wished for war; but each was prepared to engage in it if the other began it. Had France marched troops into Italy in support of Venice, Spain would at once have gone to the aid of the Pope; and if Philip had moved a step in performance of his large promises to the Pontiff, France would have immediately taken part with the Venetians. But France declared openly enough that such was her policy and her intention; while Spain wished to hold out the hope and the threat, that she meditated active hostilities in the Pope's support.

But even the King of Spain's mischievous letter did not put back things where they had been at the moment of launching the Interdict. Despite the Most Catholic monarch's promises, Paul's mind soon relapsed into a very different mood, and his hopes fell back to a considerably lower level than that at which they had once stood. The lesson he had received, had been too severe a one for even his obstinate and narrow mind to mistake the gravity and significance of it. He would still have been glad to have been well out of the quarrel; tolerably well out of it. But it was a great point with him,—that more or less well. It had come to be a matter of higgling; and Philip's letter at all events induced him to raise his terms, and his voice. He had become aware by that time that his unlucky raid against the civil liberties of Venice had caused mischief to the Church, which, if not irreparable, it would take long years to repair. The Church had lost *prestige*, a loss of a very fatal kind to an establishment supported by little else. She had uttered her curse, and no fire from heaven had followed. Not only that Interdict, but all interdicts for evermore were blown

upon and discredited. Paul ought to have known that that favourite old weapon of the Church, which had done such good service in its day, was in his time sadly worn and weakened. Hung up *in terrorem*, and judiciously pointed to, it might have stood the Church in some stead yet; but he snatched it for use, and it broke in his hand. The Church not only could do no more good with interdicts, but had shown all the world that the old instrument was broken and harmless.

Infinite mischief had been done, too, by the vast quantity of writing called forth by the quarrel. Rome strove in all ways to defend herself against the polemical swarm of hornets, which the tin-kettle beating of her excommunication had called about her ears. She tried the orthodox old way of cursing the authors, and burning the books; but it was of no use. She condescended in her trouble to the dangerous new way of answering them; and that made the matter much worse. Sarpi's deadly pen was indefatigably active; and he was supported by a legion of writers in almost all countries and all languages, and of all degrees of merit. "Letters, dialogues, prose, verse, serious argumentation, and burlesque ridicule, in Italian, in Latin, in French, in Spanish, in German, were printed, translated, passed from hand to hand, read and forgotten."\* Many however were widely read, and were not forgotten; many were recommended to universal attention by that most powerful and efficacious of all possible kinds of advertisement, a solemn anathematising and burning by the hands of the hangman at Rome. Many, even without such aid, deserved and received the serious attention from Europe which such names as

\* Bianchi Giovini, *Vita di Sarpi*, vol. i. p. 262.

Menocchio at Milan, Brancadore at Turin, the jurists Leschassier, Servin, and Pithon at Paris, the Sorbonist Richer, the learned Casaubon, Harnisch of Albersstadt, and others, were sure to command. But by far the most powerful and mischievous to Rome of all these writers was the terrible friar himself. From his pen came (although it was published in the names of a commission of writers appointed by the government) that famous "Treatise on the Interdict," which became the model and store-house of all future writers on the subject.

Venice indeed was embarrassed by the multitude of her literary defenders, and the zeal beyond discretion of some of them. The Inquisition had been established there, though with very limited powers, compared with those it exercised in other states. One of its functions had been the censorship of the press; of course Romish inquisitors were not the men, who, under the present circumstances, could be entrusted with that office in Venice, and all power of meddling in such matters was speedily taken from them; but Venice was very far from having risen to the idea of venturing on an unshackled press, and a free expression and interchange of thought. No state in the world would at that time have dreamed of such a *régime* being tolerable or possible; so Venice, when the censorship was taken out of the hands of the inquisitors, appointed a commission, of which Sarpi was the head, to undertake the duty; and it was not a light one. Many of those who drew pen in support of the Republic, went too far in attacking the prerogative of Rome; and we have seen how delicate a matter was the discovery of the exact point to which opposition might go, without transgressing the bounds of theological law. Many

were openly heretical ; and this, as we have also seen, Venice by no means wished. Many were scurrilous ; and this, though the attacks of the writers in Rome's interest abounded in the grossest scurrility, Venice was determined to suppress. No endeavour at an analysis of even the more important of these works is attempted here, for the reasons partly stated in a former chapter. We have gone too far past them. Details of the cautious strategy of assailants, who limited their hostility to forcing the enemy to lower a flag or two from his towers, can have but little interest for another generation eagerly bent on levelling the stronghold to the ground.

The weight of the battle on the Papal side fell on Bellarmine. He was almost the only writer of learning and reputation among Rome's defenders. But the most dangerous of the modes in which Rome availed herself of the assistance of the press was after a quite different kind. Swarms of pamphlets and loose sheets were clandestinely sent across the Venetian frontiers, the object of which was to excite alarm and spread disaffection among the people. If Venice addressed her arguments to the learned and educated, Rome strove to be a match for her by playing on the superstitious terrors and passions of the ignorant. No excess of immorality, however odious and abominable, no attempt to sap the foundations of all social ties, however dangerous and poisonous, did the Holy Apostolic Church shrink from in her schemes to injure her enemy. The people were assured that all their marriages were null, and were exhorted to act as if they were not binding. Wives were taught that all obedience to, or communication with, excommunicated husbands was damnable sin. Sons were exhorted to



rebel against their parents. All civil contracts were asserted to be null, and binding on no man; all action of government illegitimate. The style of most of these defenders of the faith was on a par with their subject-matter. Here is the opening sentence of one of them: "Generation of Vipers! Excommunicated hounds! What the devil has the most reverend company of Jesus, the light of the world, done against you!"\* Even Bellarmine, in his reply to Sarpi's treatise, allows his rage to get the better of his saner judgment to such a degree, as to term his adversary a forger, a hypocrite, an ignoramus, a monster of malignity, a flatterer, a Lutheran, and a Calvinist! The judicial body of the inquisitors at Rome were led by their fury into the gross absurdity, in pronouncing sentence on a tract by Giovanni Marsilio, of condemning and prohibiting as erroneous, heretical, scandalous, and offensive to pious ears, not only the work before them, but all writings whatever which the author might thereafter put forth.

In truth Rome knew and felt that she was going to the wall in this unlucky contest. It must be got out of with as little sacrifice of credit and reputation as might be. It had come, as has been said, to be a matter of higgling; and consideration for the dignity of the Church and "the Glory of God" peremptorily required that the Pope should drive as hard a bargain as possible. The "greater"—or less—"glory of God" in the matter, was found to depend on a variety of small differences in the possible terms of the arrangement to be come to.

For the Pope to have simply removed the Interdict

\* Bianchi Giovini, *Op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 254. The translation is literal.

and so restored matters to their previous condition, would have sacrificed the Glory of God altogether. On the other hand, that greatest Glory of God which would have accrued from the repeal of their laws by the Venetians, and their humble supplication to be there-upon re-admitted into the bosom of the Church, was not to be hoped for. But there were many degrees of Glory. The Venetians might not repeal the laws, but might be induced to *suspend the execution* of them. They might, in the first instance, and before the Pope took any step, cancel that solemn protest they had made, in which the Interdict was declared to be a nullity. If they absolutely would not give up both the ecclesiastical culprits in the state prisons, they might give up one of them. If they could not be induced to give up both or one to the Pope, they might perhaps give them up to another sovereign, as a courtesy to him, to be dealt with as he should think fit; and he by previous arrangement might promise to deliver them over to the Holy See. If the Republic could not bring its proud temper to beseech the removal of the Interdict, might the Senate not be induced to say to some third party that they should be very glad if he could induce the Pope to remove it? And even when things should be brought to such a point as that the taking off of the Interdict should be decided on, *how* was it to be taken off? This was a debateable and difficult point. Pope Paul would have liked to accompany the act with every possible ceremony, and all the old dearly loved symbolic theatre play of laying the rod on the suppliant penitent's shoulders, and then receiving him within the sacred edifice. Great glory to God would have redounded from such a performance. He insisted that at least the act should

be accomplished with all due formalities of bulls and parchment and wax, to be treasured up in Roman archive chambers as spoils and testimonies of victory. But the Venetians would have none of all this. Had they not declared that the Interdict was a nullity? How should a nullity be made the subject of forms, as if it were a something. As they would make no confession, so they wanted no absolution. The Pope must not remove his Interdict, but act as if it had never existed! And how could an infallible vicegerent accede to anything of the sort, for self and principal, without fatally compromising both!

It will be seen, that there were here ample verge and scope enough for the exercise of diplomatic energies and ingenuity. These were the materials on which the ambassadors, chiefly those of France and Spain, had to work, and on which they did labour assiduously for the next seven months in innumerable colloquies, conferences, audiences, and despatches. When it is added, that throughout all this, France laboured to ascertain what was the least the Pope would accept, and Spain to find out what was the most Venice could be got to give, the aspects of the matter will be sufficiently intelligible without the necessity of following the interminable windings and iterations of the respective diplomatists.

Pope Paul gradually, during these months, acquired the unwelcome conviction that the famous letter of Philip III., which had led him into the error of re-assuming the high hopes and insolent tone with which he had begun the contest, meant nothing; that Spain was neither willing nor able to enter into a war; and that the only real object of her policy had been to break off the negotiations for reconciliation in which the French

diplomats were engaged. Once again he had, with how great reluctance and bitterness need hardly be said, to abate his demands, and make up his mind to accept such terms as he could get. He still knew, however, that Spain, though she would not fight for him, would help him in any other way she could. He was sure that the terms of an arrangement made by her would be more in his favour than one reached by any other means. As a last hope, therefore, he prevailed on the Spanish court to send a new ambassador extraordinary to Venice, to see what could be done; and Don Francesco di Castro arrived there on the 17th of November.

The Senate received him with the most distinguished honours; and floods of complimentary eloquence were exchanged between him and the Doge, sitting in "Pien Collegio." But the senators would not yield an inch; and we find the ambassador extraordinary complaining towards the end of the year that he had been in Venice forty-three days, hard at work on this negotiation, and was not a step more advanced than he had been at the time of his arrival.\* He had tried hard to obtain from the Venetians the *suspension* of the obnoxious laws, assuring them that the Pope would ask for nothing more. There seems to have been, as may be imagined, a mutual anxiety in the ambassadors of both the great powers to spoil each other's game, as soon as there was the slightest appearance that either of them was making a step towards the end they both professed to have in view. The French ambassador seems to have thought that there was a possibility that the Senate might accept this proposal of the suspension. There

\* Cornet, Op. cit. p. 168.

was, in truth, no danger of the kind ; but we find him impressing on the College, that if they should consent to such a proposal nothing would be gained by it—the Pope would not be content. The French ambassador at Rome, he said, had written to him that he had means of being quite certain of this. He added, that Don Francesco di Castro had, according to information received from his colleague at Rome, written to the Pope that he *had* obtained the consent of the Senate to the suspension of the laws. Whether it were true or not that he had written such a falsehood to the Pope, the Frenchman knew well that nothing could operate more effectively to prevent any successful negotiation between him and the Senate than the mere suspicion that he was playing such a game.

In any case, the mission of Di Castro was a failure. Venice preferred in every way treating with France ; and the Pope perceived at last that, if he wished to bring the matter to a termination, it was with France that he must negotiate. Henry IV., or his advisers, had deserved this success by the honesty and extreme prudence with which they had treated the affair from the commencement. Their efforts to bring about a reconciliation had been straightforward and genuine ; and the prudence with which the French king had resisted all the efforts of the Venetians to induce him openly to declare himself ready to support them by arms was consummate. He wished sincerely well to their cause, and was perfectly determined to fight in defence of it, *if* the worst came to the worst ; but he saw that, if he once committed himself to such a declaration as the Senate wished to obtain from him, his character for impartiality, and consequently his influence as a peacemaker, would be gone.

And now had come the moment that he had been waiting for. Paul had discovered that in trusting to Spain he was leaning on a rotten reed ; his pride had been sufficiently broken down by all that had occurred in the course of the contest to make him see the absolute necessity of bringing it to a close. The moderate counsels which the French ambassador had been inculcating for the last six months in Venice had not been without effect ; Venice, though thoroughly resolute to carry her point in substance, and not to be made to seem to knock under in form, was anxious to make peace, if it could be done on such terms : and Henry thought that he could now see his way.

Accordingly Cardinal Joyeuse, who, from his position as being allied to the blood-royal and from his rank in Rome's hierarchy, was especially well calculated for the mission, was sent to Italy as mediator, with the understood, if not expressed, agreement of both sides that he was to be received as such.

He came to the College accompanied by a large number of senators in their red robes of state, and having been received by the Doge at the bottom of the Giant's Stair, was placed on his right hand in the assembly. This occurred on the 17th of February, 1607, and the event may be considered to close the second phase of the struggle. The story of the reconciliation only remains to be told.

BOOK V.

PEACE WHERE THERE WAS NO PEACE.

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## CHAPTER I.

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Cardinal de Joyeuse sent as ambassador extraordinary to Italy.—Difficulties encountered by him.—Di Castro, the Spanish ambassador extraordinary.—De Joyeuse at the College.—The “word,” which the Venetians were urged to speak.—Di Castro at the College.—Spanish hostility.—Conditions proposed by the Senate.—French finesse and diplomatic tact.—Final reply of the Senate to De Joyeuse, and to Di Castro.—De Joyeuse starts for Rome.—The Turkish view of the quarrel.—The Spanish ambassador’s detected falsehoods.—Negotiations of De Joyeuse at Rome.—His return from Rome.

HENRY IV. had not undertaken, in the face of Europe, the office of mediator between the Holy See and the Republic, without good reasons for feeling assured that he would succeed in accomplishing the task. All that had been done hitherto by the ordinary resident French ambassador at Venice, entered into the usual diplomatic intercourse between the two states, and did not in anywise engage the credit of France, in case her good offices should prove unavailing. The especial mission of a mediator, and that one of the rank and importance of a cardinal of the blood-royal, was a different matter ; and the dignity and reputation of France would have been felt to be compromised in Europe if it had turned out to be a failure. Cardinal de Joyeuse, therefore, came to Italy with the full expectation and intention of not returning to France till the reconciliation of the estranged states was in some way or other accomplished. The thing was to be

done ; and he was come to do it. Either party must yield a little. Much might be done by diplomatic dexterity—much be hoped from a copious and judicious application of that great panacea of diplomatists, an infinite quantity of words holding in solution an infinitesimal, and not easily precipitable, modicum of meaning. Something also might be gained by the mediator's ingenuity in making the same stipulations appear to be not quite the same to the two parties. It remained to be seen which of the litigants would prove the most squeezable. If little or nothing could be got from the one, why a stronger pressure must be put upon the other. And the Cardinal was quite prepared to speak strongly to either party at need.

But his eminence had not been many hours in Venice, before he had abundant means of convincing himself that the task before him was a very thorny one ; that very little was to be squeezed in the way of concession out of the firmness of the republicans, and that if he were met by equal determination not to give way at Rome, the "ultima ratio" would yet have to be applied to for the solution of the quarrel. It very soon also became clear to him that he had likewise to contend with another difficulty. The Spanish ambassador-extraordinary, Don Francesco di Castro, was still at Venice. Spain had been exceedingly mortified at the failure of his mission, and the very evident preference of the Venetians for putting their affairs into French hands. The efforts accordingly of the Spanish diplomatist to embarrass the negotiations of his rival, and throw impediments in his way, were unceasing. Should he fail in thus preventing the success of the French mediation, his object was to appear to have shared in it. False statements and insidious misrepresentations

were not spared either at Rome or at Venice with this view. And the means of mischief at the disposal of this treacherous false friend were much increased by the impossibility of keeping him a stranger to the negotiations going on. The terms on which Venice avowedly, and to all outward appearance, stood with Spain, and the previous part which that power and her ambassadors had had in all the negotiations arising out of the interdict, forbid this. The Frenchman would fain have had the Senate keep what passed between him and themselves a secret from the unsuccessful Spaniard. But the Venetians felt that they could not do this without risking an open rupture with Spain.

The Spaniard failed signally in all his objects. He could neither prevent the reconciliation from being completed, nor could he succeed in making it one jot more favourable to Rome than it would have been without him. Neither was he more fortunate in his efforts to appear to Europe to be a sharer in the work which was consummated in spite of him. In short, from first to last in all this story, Spain made but a sorry figure, and gathered from her participation in it only less mortification and loss of credit than her *protégé*, the Pope. Nevertheless the presence of Di Castro at Venice constituted a very serious addition to the difficulties the French Cardinal had to contend with.

The first public sitting of the College at which De Joyeuse appeared was, the old diarist informs\* us, all consumed in compliments. He might have added that a good half of each succeeding session was similarly employed. The affable and courteous Frenchman

\* Cornet, *Op. cit.* p. 214.

expended an immense amount of fair words in trying what was to be done by cajolery; but the cautious old senators declined giving anything in return for these save any required quantity of words of a precisely similar quality. The conferences were wonderfully lengthened, and the labours of the Venetian secretaries and chroniclers were immensely increased by these wordy tilting-matches of courtesy, and no other result seems to have been attained by them. But diplomatists and statesmen are a patient, word-enduring race, and the communications between them were, the reader will understand, all conducted *secundum artem*, and after the nature of their kind. This being premised, we may venture on allowing all the vehicle of diplomatic courtesy to evaporate, and then scraping up the residuum of real meaning left in the retort, present it to the reader neat and crude in as few words as may be.

At the second meeting of the Cardinal and the College, on the 19th of February, 1607, the instances of the former, urging the Venetian government to make some step in advance, on which he might base his representations to the Pope, were met by the little encouraging reply, that, seeing that "all the obstinacy and the going backwards and forwards was on the Pope's side, it would seem more to the purpose that all the instances, and the force of the authority of his Most Christian Majesty, and all the efforts and the wisdom of his eminence himself, should be turned towards the Pontiff!" The Cardinal, in no wise offended, replied, that his Majesty *has* used his utmost efforts with the Pope. Could not the Republic, without doing anything in the least derogatory to their dignity or prejudicial to their government,—which his

Most Christian Majesty would not think of asking them to do,—find some way of speaking that “one word” which the Pope required, and which, once spoken, all difficulties would vanish? We hear a great deal in the course of these negotiations of this “one word” from the Venetian government, which was to satisfy the Pope and make all smooth. But it was just that *one word* which the Senate would not say,—the one little word that Rome might construe into a “peccavi,” and forthwith hurry to absolve and receive into her maternal bosom the repentant sinner. The different ambassadors of the powers had for months past been endeavouring to make Venice utter this “one word” which the Pontiff was so eager to hear. But the senators had no intention of pronouncing it. Might not some form be found of saying this word, the Cardinal now urged, which, without binding the Republic to anything, might yet serve as a shadow of satisfaction to the Pope? Might it not be said “confidentially between the Senate and his Most Christian Majesty?” Could they not “whisper it in his, the Cardinal’s, own ear?” He implored his Serene Highness and the College to think maturely of it, and give him an early answer. He could undertake to affirm, that if they would only accede to this, there would be no further difficulty.

A few days after this conversation between the Cardinal and the College, Di Castro, the Spanish ambassador extraordinary, came to the College, and spoke of his desire, in conformity with the wishes of the King his master on this point, to unite his mediation with that of France. He begged that his Serene Highness, the Doge, would settle this point one way or the other. He had spoken on the subject

to the Cardinal, he said, and had gone so far even as to tell him that "he did not pretend to be his comrade in the business, but only to act under him as his leader in it; but for all that he could see plainly that the Cardinal was not favourably disposed to such an union." The result of this coldness on the part of France, and of Spain's ill-humour in consequence, was seen about a fortnight later, in a letter to the Senate from the Venetian ambassador at Madrid, telling them that the Conte Olivares had spoken to him with much discontent at the small value set by the Venetian government on the mediation of the Spanish king; that he had said, "God only could foresee the issues of war. It would be a matter of great grief to him if his Majesty should be compelled to draw his sword against the Republic; but that he would not be able to avoid doing so, if the Pontifical authority was trampled on." But the threat thus conveyed appears to have made very little impression on the Venetians, who were well aware that Spain would have long before this taken up arms on behalf of the Pope had she been in a condition to do so.

On the 20th of February, the important question of the answer to be given to the Cardinal was debated in the Senate; and on the 1st of March the resolution which the senators had come to was read to his Eminence in the College. The terms which Venice would consent to, and which the French ambassador was empowered to propose to the Pope, were as follows:—

1st. France and Spain should request the Pontiff to take off the Interdict. They might even, in doing so, say that they asked it in the name of the Republic. (It is to be observed, that the government had hitherto refused to admit the latter condition.)

2nd. When the Interdict should have been removed, the two ecclesiastical prisoners should be given up to a person appointed by the Pope to receive them, "as a favour granted to his most Christian Majesty," and without prejudice of the right of the civil power in Venice to exercise jurisdiction over ecclesiastics. (Here it is to be noted, that if the Pope consented to receive the two priests on these terms, the Republic would be placed in a better position than before the quarrel, inasmuch as the right of jurisdiction over ecclesiastics, which was alleged on the part of the Republic to be based only on certain ancient and disputed bulls, would thus be authoritatively recognised and admitted.)

3rd. Together with the withdrawal of the Interdict, the protest against it published by Venice should also be withdrawn, and the Venetian documents relating to the entire affair should be dealt with exactly as Rome should deal with her documents in the matter.

4th. When the censures (the Interdict, Excommunication, &c.) should have been taken off, an ambassador should be sent by the Republic to Rome to thank his Holiness *for having opened a path for amicable negotiation*. (Thus asserting, that it was the Pope who made the first move towards reconciliation;—the haughty and crafty republicans!)

5th. The Republic remains firm in refusing all suspension of the laws complained of; in the use of which Venice will not depart from the pious spirit which has always animated her.

De Joyeuse expressed himself on the whole satisfied with these terms; but could have wished, he said, some small matter more, for the final conclusion of the business.

On the next day the Cardinal came again to the college accompanied by the ordinary French ambassador, Du Fresne ; and then it came out, that "the small matter more," so much insisted on by him was that same "word," which Paul was so anxious to get from the Venetians, the whole value of which in the hands of the Roman court and its historians one can so well appreciate. Du Fresne added that the same "word" was a *sine quâ non* with the Pope ; and he further explained that by this word of submission was to be understood the suspension of the contested laws. The ambassador knew full well, that there was no chance of this being assented to by the Republic. But the adroit diplomatist thought that he saw a possibility of squeezing the needful word out of that last phrase of the conditions accorded by the Republic, viz., that in the execution of these laws Venice would ever adhere to her ancient pious spirit. He begged the College to say frankly whether by making use of this expression, they had intended to avoid making any decree upon the subject, yet at the same time to adhere to the proposals made by the King of France, so that the Cardinal might once for all give the Pontiff the word he asked for. It was necessary to understand one another on this point, he said ; because as the King his master would have to give this word in writing, he wished to be sure of what he was about. If the Republic would only give some manifestation of its meaning on this point, "it would do excellently well for his Majesty to make the Pope content himself with this false money, seeing that 'this word' had but to serve as a mere ceremony ; for, as his Majesty had observed, the law being a prohibitory one, it was in point of fact operative during its suspension."



It must be admitted that his Majesty's logic is of a very royal kind. If a prohibition be suspended, it is clear enough that the acts it prohibits may be done; but Henry and his ambassador seem to have understood, that by the suspension of the law, all action in the matters to which it related was to be suspended. The Cardinal added, that he would undertake that the Pope should on his side prohibit all ecclesiastics from taking any action whatever in the matter during the suspension; so that it should be quite needless for the state to forbid them to buy or build, &c.

The ambassador also said, in conclusion, that the re-admission of the Jesuits was a *sine qua non* with the Pope; that he was fully determined on this point, considering that his own personal honour was concerned in it. "And," added Du Fresne, "everybody knows by this time the invincible obstinacy of his Holiness."

So the College adjourned to deliberate in a subsequent sitting on the answer to be given to these proposals, which in the matter of that "word" to be given, so often recurred to, must be admitted to have sailed as near the wind as the finest diplomatic tactics could accomplish.

The next day came Don Francesco di Castro, saying that *his* king was desirous of joining in these same representations to the Pope; but with less diplomatic *finesse*, he simply proposed that the laws should not be put in execution during the period of negotiation.

The Senate deliberated on the difficult and important point now before them during several anxious sittings. Various shades of modification in the wording of the proposals were suggested. At length on

the 14th of March, it was determined that the College should read to both the ambassadors (separately it is to be understood) the following reply.

The Republic could not consent to permit an ambassador to depart for Rome before the censures were repealed. This, it should seem, had been asked, though we do not find mention of it recorded in the previous communications of the ambassadors; neither could they promise anything respecting the Jesuits,—they had been banished for very grave offences, committed both previous and subsequent to the Interdict. It was a totally separate matter; and his Holiness must content himself with passing the subject over in silence, and remaining at liberty to make any remarks he wished on it to their ambassador, subsequently to the restoration of amicable intercourse. As to “the word to be spoken,” the Senate considered that in saying that “the Republic would not depart in using these laws from its ancient pious and religious spirit,” it had put into the hands of the mediators enough to enable them to bring the matter fairly to a favourable conclusion.

The Senate, it will be observed clearly, avails itself of the plan for passing this “false money” on his Holiness, thrown out with such diplomatic skill by the ingenious Frenchman.

In concluding the reading of this reply to the Cardinal, the College told him that the Spanish minister having come to them with similar proposals, they could not do less than give him courteously a similar answer; but that his eminence might rest assured that the anxious wish of the Republic was, that the business should be confided to his hands; and that any favourable result which should be attained

by the mediation, would be most undoubtedly attributed by them and the world in general to the authority of his Most Christian Majesty and the efforts of his eminence.

De Joyeuse, when this was read to him the next day in the College, said that he could have wished that the Senate had shown more confidence in his Most Christian Majesty, and had given him a somewhat wider discretionary power; that he would however content himself with the reply given, and would do his utmost to conclude matters with the Pope on that basis. He begged that this reply might not be communicated to others, and that the Senate would observe the utmost secrecy with respect to it. It would seem that by "others," he could only have alluded to the Spanish ambassador. And yet the College had already told him that they felt themselves obliged to give a similar reply to the Spaniard. Possibly, he meant, that Di Castro should not be told that this same reply had been given to him. It is curious to note that the Cardinal deemed it a possibility to secure the silence of the entire body of senators. What would be thought of a similar expectation with regard to our House of Lords?

On the following day a communication to the like effect was made to Di Castro. He replied that if the Pope would content himself with "the word" so veiled, he for his part was content; adding, with great want of that tact which the French diplomatist had manifested, that he understood the answer to mean, that the Republic was content that pending negotiations, the contested laws should not be acted on. The Doge coldly replied that the resolution of the Senate was

clear, and that it was not for him to add to or take from it anything whatsoever.

On the next day, the 16th of March, a gentleman of the suite of the Cardinal waited on the College to inform them that his eminence had, for the better service of the Republic, departed in all haste for Rome. De Joyeuse was determined not to let the grass grow under his feet; and by his promptitude stole a very important march on his Spanish rival.

Not a day passed during this time—and indeed almost the same may be said of all the months during which the contest lasted—without letters coming to the Senate from their envoys in all parts of the world, bearing on the successive phases of the great contest. For the sake of obtaining a clear and unbroken narrative of the negotiations, which really were influential in bringing the matter to its termination, as well as in obedience to the possibilities of space and time, the great mass of these have had to be neglected. But a little letter from the Venetian resident at Constantinople which arrived at this time, is too curious and amusing to be passed over. The Turkish government, writes the “Bailo”—such was the title of the Venetian envoys to the Porte—had ordered continual prayers *and processions* (?) to be made for the continued life and health of the Pope, who was making such discord among Christian nations. Never had they had, said the Turks, a mufti, who had been so useful to their interests as this Pontiff of the Christians; and in this they saw a very clear proof of God’s especial favour to them and their faith. It must be admitted that the patriotic Bailo’s communication has more the air of an epigram than a matter-of-fact report. But one cannot

help hoping that his Holiness was informed of these infidel prayers for his welfare. Would they not have terrified him with apprehensions that such supplications might be operative in a contrary sense?

On the 29th of March the Spanish ambassador came to the College to tell them that all was going well at Rome, owing to the unremitting efforts of the Most Catholic King, and those of his ambassador at Rome. The difficulty of the Jesuits still remained, he said. But on the next day he returned, declaring that this also had at last been got over, the Pope having consented to waive the point, as a favour to the Spanish King.

All this was listened to with grave courtesy by the Doge and the rest of the College. But as they had on the morning of his first visit just been reading a despatch from Rome, written by the Cardinal of Vicenza to the following effect, it may easily be imagined that the grave and reverend signiors of the Senate smiled inwardly and exchanged, as we may fancy, very significant glances with each other as they listened to the bragging Spaniard's falsehoods. The Cardinal de Joyeuse, the letter told them, had, after long consultation with the French ambassador at Rome, and Cardinal de Perron, gone immediately to the Vatican. He had found the Pope much humbled and discouraged. Paul after a little talk confessed to him that for the last three days he had been "kept on the cross" by the Cardinals and the Spaniards. He could get nothing, he said, from them to any good purpose. That very morning he had given audience to the Marchese di Castiglione (the Spanish ambassador at Rome), and he had nothing from him but vague talk. He was fully determined therefore to put himself into the hands of

the French, and to trust to them for the arrangement of this thorny business. He only begged that they would strive their utmost to obtain the return of the Jesuits. He complained further, that when he had wished to consult the Cardinals on these matters, he had found no good counsel in them, and no good will towards a reconciliation. (The behaviour of these same princes of the Church when the imprudent step of launching the Interdict was proposed to them, will be remembered.) He thought, therefore, of saying nothing further of the matter in Consistory, but concluding the business himself by virtue of the authority which God had given him.

Notwithstanding all this, the College sent a secretary to the house of Di Castro to read to him the expression of the Senate's thanks for his good offices. It is impossible not to suspect, and the Spaniard himself, one would think, could not have avoided feeling, that a little grave irony was hidden under the abounding courtesy and compliments of the Senate, when they assure him that they never doubted, when the Most Catholic King sent his excellency to them, that all difficulties with the Pope would be got over by the efficacy, dexterity, and prudence of his good offices.

On the 2nd of April, Du Fresne, the French ambassador in ordinary, came to the College with news of the entire success of the Cardinal's negotiation. The courier who brought the news had been dispatched by his eminence at midnight on the night of the 29th of the last month. The Cardinal was bringing with him the bull for the revocation of the censures, which he had obtained from the Pope with the greatest difficulty—his Holiness having much wished that this ceremony

should have been performed with fitting solemnities at Rome.

On the 10th of April, the Cardinal himself arrived, and hurried at once to the College, to communicate his great news, and settle the formalities of the arrangement already substantially determined on.

## CHAPTER II.

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The Cardinal reports his success. — The Jesuit difficulty. — Other differences. — The reply of the Senate. — Account of the interview between the Cardinal and the deputed Senators. — Venice does not wish for a Papal benediction. — Who shall speak first, Doge or Pope? — The Cardinal loves truth, but loves Pope Paul better. — Shall we say two ambassadors? — Venice won't bate an inch. — The Pope, therefore, has to do so. — The form of the document recalling the Ducal Protest. — Tweedledum and Tweedledee. — Conditions of reconciliation are completed.

THE diplomatic Cardinal presented himself before the anxiously expectant members of the College radiant with triumph; in great part doubtless sincerely felt, and, in the additional touches needed to make up its entirety, well assumed. It is probable that his eminence did not feel quite so sure as he expressed himself, that all difficulties were now over, and the diplomatic ship safe in harbour. But it may easily be believed that he did think himself much nearer the port than he in truth was. The termination of a tempestuous voyage is very often the most difficult and dangerous part of it.

His eminence commenced his report in a vein of high jubilation. "He knew," he said, "that his resolution to go to Rome in person had been a special inspiration from Heaven, with a view to the termination of these negotiations." The difficulties had been immense, increased as they had been by the ill-offices and machinations of others—[meaning the Spauiards];



and despite all his efforts, there were several moments when all had seemed lost. Now, however, by God's grace all was well. The Pope himself he had found animated with the utmost good-will and paternal affection towards the Republic—(Oh! Oh!);—and he had powers from his Holiness to take off the censures on the execution of the articles already agreed upon. (Here a little movement must have been noticeable in the assembly, and grave looks been exchanged among the senators. The cloven foot was peeping out already. Censures to be taken off *on execution of articles!* Not while the winged lion stands firm on his column in the piazza! Your eminence is making a slight anachronism. It must be *vice versâ*, if you please. This, however, was not the moment for remark, and his eminence goes glibly on.) These articles are, the consignment of the prisoners to the person appointed to receive them in the name of his Holiness, to whom, although it is understood that his Serene Highness gives them as a compliment to his Most Christian Majesty, they shall be simply handed over without any remarks. (And here serious doubts arise in the minds of the senators as to the genuineness of that inspiration from Heaven which sent the Cardinal to Rome. What! does his eminence take them for children, to suppose that they are going to give up their prisoners in such a way as to admit of the act being construed into an admission that they had no right to hold them? No remarks to be made! Venice intends to make a very notable remark on this occasion.) Then the protest and the ducal letters to the governors, &c., are to be revoked; and the regular clergy who have left Venice on account of the Interdict to be allowed to return, and to be restored to their revenues. (Neither will these two

points pass without a little modification.) There were indeed, two other heads remaining: one as to the ambassador to be sent by the Republic to the Pope—his Holiness having been greatly desirous that such envoy should at least have arrived *near* Rome before the removal of the censures; the other as to the Jesuits. With regard to the first, his eminence had with no little difficulty induced the Pope to yield. As to the Jesuits, his Holiness had been absolutely determined to listen to nothing until this matter had been promised him. But even on this point too, the Cardinal had succeeded in persuading him not to make the removal of the censures depend upon it. Nevertheless, he did hope that the Republic would not insist upon this topic. The Pope felt it as a matter personal to himself. He did not care, for his part, whether there were Jesuits at Venice or not, but he was anxious about his own reputation. In a word, added the Cardinal, the reconciliation may no doubt be effected without acceding to the return of the Jesuits, but it will be a seeming and not a real reconciliation. It will not carry with it the good results which we hope from it. His eminence enlarged at considerable length on this topic, anxiously urging the Republic to yield this point by every argument he could think of, putting it as a mark of gratitude to his Most Christian Majesty, and a personal favour to himself. Leaving it to the favourable consideration of the assembly, he cursorily remarked that the person deputed by the Pope to receive the prisoners would arrive in Venice to-morrow, and they might be given up at once; and then went on to speak of the mode in which the formality of taking off the censures should be proceeded with. There would be no need of any documents:

his Serene Highness would accompany him—the Cardinal—into the church; a high mass should be celebrated—or even a low mass if the Senate preferred it; his eminence would pronounce a blessing, and the matter would be done. The pronouncement of a public blessing by a Cardinal in fact involved necessarily the removal of all ecclesiastical censures. And this he was perfectly ready to perform, as soon as the matter stipulated should have been executed.

The Doge remarked that if the censures were to be taken off without any written document, he did not see that any such was requisite for the cancelling of the ducal protest. The Cardinal replied that a written law registered in the archives could not be recalled save by another similarly made and recorded; and that if the Republic preferred that a document declaratory of the removal of the censures should be drawn up, it should be done in the amplest terms that could be desired. But he had thought, he said, that the Republic would have preferred that no such document should be used. And in fact the Doge's argument had not been a happy one. The policy of Venice was that the Interdict, by them declared to have been a nullity, should be treated as such; and that any taking of it off should be as little positive, formal, and tangible, as might be.

Thus ended the mediator's exposition of the conditions he was empowered to offer and accept; and the College adjourned with the very strong conviction that their troubles were not by a great deal so nearly at an end as the Cardinal had professed, and had led them to imagine.

On the 11th of April, the day following the Cardinal's visit to the College that is, it was decided by the Senate

that two of their body should be sent to the residence of his eminence, to read to him their reply to his communication. Stripped of its abundant wrappings of complimentary flourishes, the gist of it came to this:—That since his eminence was empowered to remove the censures by his own act, he might as well perform that act in the College as by a ceremonial going to church; that he might do it at once, and that *then* they would immediately do all they had undertaken to do. These conditions are once more rehearsed, with the careful mention of the declaration to be made at the time of giving up the prisoners, of the right of the Republic to exercise jurisdiction over ecclesiastics. The recall of the protest should be by written documents, as his eminence wished. The return of the banished friars, and the entire pardon of all ecclesiastics in prison, or under process for disobedience to the Senate, must be understood to involve the perfect immunity from ecclesiastical prosecution or persecution of all those who had obeyed the Republic. As to the Jesuits, the Senate was unable to comply with the wishes of his eminence.

On the following day the two senators who had been deputed to this office gave an account to the College of their interview with the Cardinal. In the first place they had “discovered” that the powers held by the Cardinal to take off the censures were not conveyed “by a brief, but by written instructions, signed and sealed.” The difference would not appear to be very important; and, in fact, no more is heard of it. Then, on the Cardinal wishing to enter into discussion, Du Fresne who was present said, interrupting him, that he thought as the duty of receiving the prisoners would devolve upon him *he* ought to speak on that subject.

Upon which he declared that, if the Republic would be ready to give them up to him as had been suggested, in the house of the Cardinal, he would be ready to receive them there, subject to the conditions prescribed by the Senate. The Cardinal appeared, said the deputation, to agree to this; and, passing on to speak of the taking off of the censures, said that he was willing to oblige the Senate by pronouncing the revocation of them in the College instead of in the church, but that he could not understand why the senators should wish to avoid a pontifical blessing. "We answered him," say the deputed senators, "that we could not think any such blessing necessary to the Republic under the present circumstances, inasmuch as not having been in any fault it did not desire benedictions, which might pass for absolutions." The Cardinal then went on to say, that after revoking the censures in the College he would proceed to celebrate a mass in the church, that the reconciliation might be known to all men; and that before he came to the College for this purpose, the things agreed to by the Republic should be executed the same morning,—the revocation of the protest, the consignment of the prisoners, and the recall of the religious orders. He submitted also a form of declaration for this last purpose, which had been approved of, he said, by the Pontiff. This formula reinstated "all the ecclesiastics" who had been banished from Venice for causes arising out of the censures. No special mention was made of the Jesuits; and the Cardinal urged strongly that the Pope should at least be spared the affront of a public declaration of their exclusion; remarking that as the Senate declared the Jesuits to have been exiled on grounds other than those connected with the censures,

and as the formula proposed reinstated only "all those who had been banished on that account," it was manifestly unnecessary to say anything about the Jesuits. His eminence added that all these matters were mere appearances, which the Pope set store by for the sake of his own credit; that his instructions from his Most Christian Majesty were to maintain the liberties of the Republic in every essential point, but at the same time to let the Pope off as easily as possible as far as mere appearance was concerned.

The two deputies replied that all these things should be done *as soon* as the censures were recalled.

Du Fresne here remarked, that it really seemed to him that the Republic would still stand in a better position than the Pope if they executed this part of the agreement before the removal of the censures, for the Pope had already taken the first step, by sending the Cardinal armed with power to that effect. The Cardinal added, that he begged them as a favour not to stand on these punctilios with the Pope.

The deputies replied again that it was not in their power to do as the Cardinal would have them; that with respect to the revocation of the protest, it was manifestly impossible to do it before the recall of the censures, for it must be motived on something, and the only motive for it was that same recall.

Hereupon the Cardinal declared that this was a matter which had not been debated at all; that he had no instructions from the Pope respecting it; that it appeared to him to be insuperable; that it was indeed of such a nature that he was not sure that the Pope himself was competent to decide upon it; that the question raised belonged to the Inquisition, which had had the composition of documents under its care; that

if the Inquisition should judge that there was anything contrary to religion in the proceeding, he did not really see what the Pope could do ; that he thought, for his part, that the Pontiff would not put his hand to the business under such conditions ; &c. &c. &c.

Now, with much respect for the Cardinal de Joyeuse and his blood royal, the present writer declines to believe a word of all this. So far from its being credible that the question as to which party should *first* submit to the yielding which was to lead to a reconciliation had never been entered on by the Pope, it can hardly be doubted that it had been the subject of most eager consultation. Both parties were fully aware of all the importance of the point. If Venice did *anything* to meet the wishes of the Pontiff *before* the recall of the Interdict, it would be preached by a thousand tongues and pens to all Europe, and would stand as an historical fact for all future time, that the Church had removed her censures on receiving due submission from the Republic on those points which had called them forth. Rome would have been justified ; Venice would have cried "*peccavi* ;" and the result of the whole struggle would have been to strengthen the bonds of sacerdotal tyranny and encroachment instead of weakening them. Venice had not struggled for this, and she had no intention to let herself be cheated out of the fruits of her victory in the moment of gathering them. The Cardinal, as a good churchman, did his utmost to obtain this important advantage for the Church ; but when he found that his big words did not succeed in moving the senators a jot from their quiet purpose, he very soon came down to a lower tone.

He began to express his hope that the act for the

revocation of the protest would be made as "full of affectionate words and respectful expressions towards the Pontiff" as possible; and as to the difference about the precedence of the two acts in point of time, perhaps after all the difficulty might be turned by making them absolutely contemporaneous, using some such form of expression as "the Pope removing the censures, we also remove, &c." As for the ambassador to be sent by the Senate to Rome, if they would not consent to proceed to the election of one before the removal of the Interdict, perhaps they would consent to honour the Pontiff by electing *two* afterwards.

To this proposal, it may be said here,—though the reply of the Senate was not given till some time later,—that the Cardinal was told that on any other occasion the Republic would send ten ambassadors to Rome, but that under the present circumstances they should limit themselves to one.

On the 14th, the Senate debated on the reply to be given to the Cardinal respecting the proposals put forward by him, as shown in the above report. After having divided on two forms of answer, the very slight difference between which serves to mark the jealous care with which the senators weighed every word of their negotiations, it was voted that the Cardinal should be told at the next sitting of the College, that the Senate had felt much discontent at finding that his eminence had made propositions varying in most essential particulars from what had been previously agreed upon, and that the discontent would have been much greater, had not the Senate felt assured that his eminence would finally overcome all difficulties and bring the affair to a good conclusion. The College



then proceeded to go over again the various points, precisely as they had been agreed to by them. First, the prisoners should be given up after the recall of the censures and with the formula, which has been more than once repeated here, and had been more than fifty times in the course of the negotiations. It was also stipulated that the officers of the Republic should consign the two ecclesiastics to the French minister, and he might give them over to the Papal commissioner, *as soon as the Venetian officers should have gone away*. It is easy to appreciate the drift of all these little arrangements. The Senate was treating with an enemy ready and vigilant to seize every slightest atom of vantage ground, and most skilful in turning all such advantages to important future profit. It well behoved them to be wary, and firm on points that in dealing with any other state might have seemed puerilities.

In the next place, the censures were to be taken off by the Cardinal in the College, without proceeding to any further or subsequent ceremony; the Senate promising that the ducal protest should be simultaneously cancelled, in such sort that the document declaratory of such act should be put into the Cardinal's hand the instant he pronounced the cessation of the censures.

Thirdly, the election of an ambassador to Rome should be proceeded to immediately after the pronouncement of the removal of the censures.

Fourthly, with regard to the return of the religious orders, the Senate could not accept the formula proposed by the Cardinal. If any declaration upon the subject were to be made it must include a specific exception of the Jesuits. The only way to avoid this, was to make no formal declaration on the subject; but

to trust to the loyalty of the Republic, that all except the Jesuits might at once without any act or formal permission return to their former positions.

These conditions were read to the Cardinal in the College on the 16th of April. He fought hard against the first article concerning the prisoners. They were to be given up, he said, to his Holiness. So the king, his master, had understood it. This was an essential point; and unless the Republic yielded it, he did not see how he could be of any further service as a mediator.

Passing to the simultaneous cancelling of the censures and the protest, and the mode of taking off the former, he was willing in this point to accede to the views of the Republic, although the Pope had wished it otherwise.

Respecting the election of the ambassador, he made no further difficulty.

As to the return of the religious orders he still persisted in demanding that a formal document should be drawn up, and that no mention of the Jesuits should be made in it. He implored the College to reflect that all parties were quite agreed as to the real facts that were to follow,—that the Jesuits, and some other twelve or thirteen ecclesiastics specially excepted by the Senate, were not to return; but that the words on the subject were more important to the Pope than the facts which were to result from them; and that he must therefore insist on a formal document, to be printed if the Senate, in accordance with their general rule, declined to give a copy of it.

On the 17th the Senate deliberated anew on this last communication of the Cardinal. Two forms of reply were put to the vote. The first consented that

the prisoners should be handed over on the same morning, but previous to the revocation of the censures; holding firm to and rehearsing afresh the form in which this was to be done and the words with which it was to be accompanied. It repeated the previous conditions of the Republic on all the other points. The second form, with some small variation of phrase, in fact conceded nothing. The first of the two proposals was carried by a large majority. Two forms of cancelling the protest, differing indeed only in phrase were put to the vote on the same day. That which was preferred, declared that, "Since by God's grace means had been found of bringing the Pope Paul V. to the knowledge of the uprightness of our actions and the rectitude of our intentions, and of the continued respect we feel for the Holy See, and leading him to remove the causes of the present disagreements, we, having always desired and endeavoured to remain in friendship and good intelligence with that See, of which we are devout and obedient sons, are well pleased to have attained this righteous wish. We therefore make known, &c., &c., to all whom it may concern, &c., &c., that, all having been done on both sides which is fitting in the business, *with the removal of the censures, the protest formerly made by us in this matter is together with them removed* (E RESTATO LEVATO INSIEME)," &c., &c.

On the 18th two senators were sent to the Cardinal to inform him of the result of the previous day's debate, and submit to him the form for the cancelling of the protest. With some little difficulty his eminence agreed to the proposals of the Senate on all the four articles; having, it will be observed, yielded on every point except that of the consignment of the

prisoners before the removal of the censures. And as this consignment was to be accompanied with a formal declaration of the right of the Republic to exercise jurisdiction over ecclesiastics, it mattered little when the prisoners were given up to the King of France. The position of the Republic was, as has been remarked, evidently better in this respect than it had been before the quarrel.

Agreement having been at length come to on all these points, it remained for the Cardinal to examine the form for the cancelling of the famous protest. Having read and re-read the paper with minute attention, the Cardinal said that he could wish that where the Senate spoke of their respect for the Holy See, the words "and in particular for the person of the Pontiff," should be added. The deputed senators could see no necessity for any such addition. The Holy See necessarily comprised the Pope, who was the head of it. The Cardinal then passed on to say that instead of speaking first of the recalling of the censures and then of that of the protest, the two facts should be mentioned in the contrary order. He said also that he considered it very important that instead of speaking of "removing"—(*levare*)—the protest, the phrase should be "*revoking*."

A great deal of wrangling took place during two or three days on these objections. The Senate made no difficulty in using the term "*rivocare*," but insisted on making the mention of the revocation of the censures precede that of the revocation of the protest. And on this point, too, as on so many others, the Cardinal had to yield before the determination of the senators. The words at last stood thus:—"Essendo state levate le Censure è restato parimenti rivocato il Protesto;"—the

censures having been taken off, the protest remains equally revoked.\*

And so Venice returned very haughtily, and somewhat sullenly, with head held high and flying colours, to officially amicable relations with that Holy Father, to whom she professed so much devotion.

\* The account of these negotiations has been compressed into the shortest possible space, from the ample and very lengthy details given by the contemporary diarist recently edited by Sig. Cornet, and so often cited in these pages.

### CHAPTER III.

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The day of reconciliation.—The giving up of the ecclesiastical prisoners.—No rejoicings in Venice.—The removal of the Censures.—The Cardinal celebrates mass.—Venice won't listen to him.—An ambassador to Rome elected.—Presents voted to De Joyeuse and Di Castro.—Fresh complaints of the Pope.—Unsuccessful efforts of the Cardinal.—“Stato” and “restato.”—The new ambassador's entry into Rome, and audience of the Pope.—Damage received by Rome in the contest.—Her enmity against Sarpi.

THE 21st of April, 1607, was a great day in Venice;—and a busy one. The first on the list of important transactions, to be accomplished before sunset, was the consignment of the two ecclesiastics. The secretary, Marco Ottoboni, was charged with this duty; and we have in one of the appendices to Signor Cornet's work\* the secretary's official report of his proceedings.

The first thing in the morning the prisoners were taken from the dungeons of the ducal palace, and placed each in a gondola, “unbound and with their heads uncovered.” In each gondola was an officer and three men-at-arms; and, “for greater security,” two other gondolas followed with eight soldiers in each. The spring-day sun was only just rising over the horizon of the Lido and shooting its first slanting rays across the lagoon, as the little procession, with the colours of the

\* Cornet, *Op. cit.*, p. 305.

Republic fluttering at each boat's stem, put off from that well-known low and dismal postern, cut at the level of the water in the colossal black wall that forms the back of the Doge's palace, which communicates immediately with the range of prisons called the "*pozzi*." But we may be sure that all Venice was astir, and the neighbouring quays thickly crowded with citizens waiting to see the prisoners emerge from under the Bridge of Sighs, and quietly and silently noting their progress in front of the "*Piazzetta*" towards the mouth of the grand canal.—Quietly and silently; for it did not suit the policy or feelings of Venice to give way to exultation, or any outward manifestations of rejoicing on the occasion. The Senate "experienced contentment," that his Holiness had been brought to see the justice of their cause. But it would by no means behave before the world as one who has escaped a great danger, or been relieved from a heavy calamity. No! No! They may make rejoicings at Rome, if they will; but Venice is conscious of nothing that need move her calm equanimity. And when the Venetian Senate felt in one way, it very rarely happened that the Venetian people felt in another.

So the four boats proceeded silently to the residence of the Cardinal, which was in the grand canal opposite to the little church of Saint Marcuola, near "*San Zuan Degolà*," which is Venetian for, "*St. John the be-headed*." There arrived, the secretary went up, leaving his prisoners in the boats, and was forthwith admitted to a room, where were the Cardinal and the ambassador in ordinary. To prevent all possibility of mistakes the order to be observed was again gone over; and the two ambassadors were again warned that the officer receiving the prisoners for the Pope was to receive

them *without saying anything whatever*. Otherwise the secretary representing Venice on this occasion would be obliged on his part to reply by observations which might lead to fresh difficulties and complications. All having been thus arranged, the Cardinal left the room; and the prisoners were immediately brought in, in custody of the officers, together with two notaries; "and I," says Mr. Secretary Ottoboni, "with a loud voice, so that not only all those present, but also several other persons, who were looking in at the door, could hear me, said to the ambassador: 'Most Illustrious Sir, the Most Serene Republic of Venice has charged me to consign to your Excellency these two prisoners, the Abbot Brandolini and the Canon Saraceni; which the Republic does as a favour (*gratificatione*) to his most Christian Majesty, and without prejudice of the authority it possesses to judge ecclesiastics.' And the ambassador answered me: 'And so I receive them;' saying to the prisoners that he would protect and serve them in any matter in which he could properly do so. Then we all, that is to say, the ambassador of France, I, the two notaries, the prisoners, and the officers, went into the gallery where the Cardinal was, together with many gentlemen, among whom was one in a priest's dress. On coming into the room the ambassador said to the Cardinal: 'Most Illustrious Eminence, these are the prisoners that are given (*che si danno*) to the Pope.' And the Cardinal turning to him in the priest's dress, said, 'Take them.' He touched them with his hand in sign of having received them; and begged me to order the officers to take them back again to the prison and guard them well, at the orders of the Cardinal, and of whomever the Pope might command. I gave the order requested; and with that we all de-



parted ; that individual in the priest's dress choosing to accompany the prisoners to the prison."

The first act of the drama having been thus happily got through, the Cardinal had to hurry off to the College for the performance of the second. The act of removing the censures seems to have been performed with as little of circumstance and ceremony as the Republic could have wished. The Cardinal came into the College and simply said that all the ecclesiastical censures were at an end. The act of revocation of the protest drawn up as was agreed, and without any mention of the affection of the Republic to the person of the Pope, was delivered to him ; and he made a long speech, very much in the tone of the Fitzgerald poem in the Rejected Addresses, full of blessings on every body and congratulations all round. His eminence permitted himself to dwell a little on the services he had been able to render to the Republic, remarking, that the Republic might, perhaps, some day know the extent of his efforts on its behalf, since he had put the screw on the Pope (*ha stretto il Papa*) after a very different fashion from what he had done to the Republic. "I spoke to him, indeed, upon several occasions, so as to anger him seriously ; and here I have taken upon myself a larger licence than was given me at Rome for the sake of bringing the matter to a good end. And I wish I could be sure that the Pope will feel that I have acted for the best for him too, and will be contented." All which was probably true enough.

When the Cardinal had said his say in the College, he went off to celebrate a high mass in the Cathedral. It was all he could do to give some little air of jubilee and reconciliatory ceremony to the occasion. But he had it all to himself. Venice had declared that she did

not want any papal benediction under the present circumstances. And not a single senator, it is recorded, attended this thanksgiving service.

Indeed they had enough to do elsewhere. The election of an ambassador to Rome had to be proceeded to and the Senate had promised that the nomination should be made that same day. Accordingly, the Cavaliere Francesco Contarini was appointed before the senators adjourned. Besides this, there were letters to be sent off to the various governors of the provinces of *terra firma*, and communications announcing the end of the differences with the Holy See to be addressed to the different foreign ministers, and to the Venetian residents at foreign courts.

In the letters to the governors throughout the dominions of the Republic, those magistrates were charged to take care that the return of the friars and other ecclesiastics should be quiet, orderly, and not marked by any exultations or by triumphal entries, or the like. All those who had remained obedient to the Republic were to be reassured of their perfect safety from any aggression or annoyance; and further, any "demonstration, whether sacred or profane, on account of the reconciliation," was rigorously prohibited. Instead thereof five hundred ducats in each city were to be given to charitable institutions.

On the 26th of April the Senate voted a present of 3000 crowns to Don Francesco di Castro, who had assuredly deserved neither thanks nor rewards at the hands of Venice. And on the 1st of May a present in jewellery to the amount of 6000 crowns was voted to the Cardinal, and 300 crowns to his secretary. But it is remarkable that this vote met with great opposition, and was only carried in an irregular manner. The

majority in favour of it was by one vote only. According to rule, the same question had to be submitted to a second division, which could not under these circumstances be done in the same sitting. But this regulation was declared suspended on account of the pressing nature of the business, as his eminence was about to leave Venice; and the question was again put, with exactly the same result. The appropriation of the money could not now be made consistently with the law. But a declaration was hurriedly come to, that this law, too, was suspended for this special occasion, and the Cardinal got his jewellery. It is puzzling why the Senate, which seems to have made no difficulty about the grant to the really hostile Spaniard, should have opposed that to the friendly French mediator.

It might fairly have been supposed by the Senate, now, that their word-catching disputes and anxious deliberations on the subtle differences of phrases almost identical had come to an end. But they were not quite out of that Roman wood yet.

On the 11th of May the Cardinal sent a message to the College that he wished for a conference on certain matters of importance; and the Secretary Marco Ottoboni was immediately sent to wait on him. His eminence said that he had received letters from D'Alincourt, the French ambassador at Rome, which contained very unpleasant tidings. The terms on which the reconciliation had been made were extremely unsatisfactory to the Roman Court. The Pope was furious. He complained that the Most Christian King had failed in his word to him, and that the Cardinal had not adhered to the instructions he had given him. He declared that all that had been done should be undone again; that he would retract the statement he had

made in Consistory to the effect that the differences were all arranged.

What was most intolerable to him was the form in which the revocation of the ducal protest had been drawn up. He declared that there was no word to indicate that the Republic had revoked the protest at all. For, though it was stated that "the censures being removed, the protest remained similarly revoked," those words do not imply that the Senate had revoked it, but rather that by the act of the removal of the censures the protest, *ipso jure*, and by the nature of things, fell to the ground; "and this the Pope feels to be an extreme grievance, and won't stand to it in any way." So the Cardinal had to endeavour to induce the Senate to agree that the document in question should be altered. He begged them to grant this out of consideration for the honour of the king his master, and his own reputation. He added that he knew that these difficulties did not arise solely from the Pope himself, but that he was incited and irritated by the ill offices and mischievous suggestions of those about him, especially of the Conte di Fuentes, who was offering all the Spanish forces for the support of the ecclesiastical dignity, declaring that he had thirty thousand men at his service, the expense of whom had already been provided for. It was true, the Cardinal added, that the draft of the revocation had been shown to him, but he had not had time to think it over so maturely as to have observed this point—that he thought that the words had been "*è stato rivocato*," and not "*è restato*." If they would only make this change, or if they would only adopt one of the forms which they had proposed and which he had rejected, namely, to say "the censures having been taken off, we revoke, etc.,"

all would be well. Only consent to say "*è stato*" instead of "*è restato!*" Think of Fuentes and his thirty thousand men! Think of the indignation of the Holy Father!

But Venice would not give up the offending syllable; and if the power of Spain for mischief had been as great as her will, Europe would probably have been plunged in war for the two letters, *r, e*, too much in a state paper.

The Senate would have had no objection, they said, to have worded the paper as wished in the first instance; indeed they had proposed one of the forms now desired. But they could not make any alteration in a public document already before the world and recorded in their archives, at the suggestion of a foreign power. The Cardinal in vain exhausted his eloquence. Despite the papal indignation and Spain's thirty thousand men, the Senate was immovable; and once more Rome had to knock under, and bear the mortification as best she might.

And Paul, when he found that nothing more was in any wise to be got, seems to have made up his mind to put the best face upon the matter, and return to at least outward demonstrations of courtesy towards the Republic. On the 9th of June, Contarini, the new ambassador, writes to the Senate an account of his arrival at Rome and reception by the Pope; and we find from it, that if Venice would not exult over her reconciliation with the Holy Father, Rome was either less haughty, or less sincere in the manifestation of her feelings.

"My entry into the city took place," writes \* Con-

\* *Storia Arcana ed Aneddotica d' Italia*; raccontato dai Veneti Ambasciatori. Annotata ed Edita da Fabio Mutinelli. Venezia, 1858. Vol. iii. p. 83.

tarini, " on the day that I had told your lordships, and was hailed by Rome with great gladness, as was evident from the concourse and applause of the people, and from the many compliments which followed. The company that escorted me into the city was extraordinarily numerous, there having been more than an hundred carriages. Many prelates of our nation, as my Lord Bishop of Padua, and others, came out to meet me, when I dined six miles before coming to the gates. As I passed across the Campagna I met the carriage of the Cardinal Borghese, with his chamberlain; also that of the brothers of his Holiness, with many gentlemen, and then one after the other the carriages of several other cardinals. To all of them I paid fitting compliments. Close to Ponte Molle I found the Cardinals Delfino and Mantica waiting for me, with the rest of the Venetian prelates, and a large number of gentlemen, who had come in the name of the French ambassador, who likewise sent his carriage; as did also the ambassador of Spain. I regulated the time and manner of my entrance according to the advice of the most Illustrious Cardinal Delfino, who has taken excessive pains to ensure the decorous and creditable arrangement of the whole affair. His most Illustrious Eminence himself appeared in a carriage newly fitted up for the occasion at a great expense, and with new liveries. The Pontiff, as I have been able to learn from many sources, was very greatly pleased at my arrival, having been anxious that it should take place as soon as possible. Indeed, he waited for me the very evening of my arrival, wishing me to go to him just as I was, with my boots on my feet. But although I was urged to do this, as I was determined not to depart in the slightest point from the instruc-

tions given me by your Serene Highness, I chose to allow a little delay to elapse, that I might get sure information as to the manner in which I was to be received. This I obtained from the French ambassador, who came in person shortly after my arrival to visit me. Having been assured by him that I should be received exactly as other ambassadors have recently been, I went the next evening with only my secretary to Monte Cavallo, where the Pope is living at present, my first formal and ordinary audience having been previously assigned for the first Wednesday after the *Festa*. The master of the chamber, and the persons nearest to the person of the Pope, received me very joyfully, as did also his Holiness himself, whom I found alone in his chamber. When I had kissed his foot, and his hand, which he extended to me, he arose to embrace me, touching my face on either side. He then made me rise from my knees and sit down."

Then followed the usual complimentary speeches on both sides. And the formal audience, which took place a few days later, consisted in fact of little else. The only thing that was said at all remarkable was the Pope's assertion that, "It was not that writings in defence of the Republic should have been put forth that grieved us. On the contrary, *we were well pleased that the Senate should state their arguments (!!).* But the introduction of false doctrine, this it was which caused our displeasure, and which still is matter of grave anxiety to us, although we are sure that it was not done with the consent of the Republic." \*

This volunteered statement of Paul is worth notice, both from the rare and monstrous audacity of the

\* Mutinelli, Op. cit. vol. iii. p. 90.

falsehood, which the utterer of it well knew that the hearer of it knew to be false ; and also for the motives with which it was spoken. The terrible friar was the putter forth of the false doctrine, which had grieved the Holy Father's heart. Rome could not forgive, and had no intention of forgiving a friar, whose crime in her eyes combined sacrilege with spiritual parricide. And the Holy Father's assurance, that his dear children the senators of Venice could not have been consenting parties to such wickedness, though he knew the exact nature of the connection between Sarpi and the government, as well as the Doge knew it, was a feeler towards a proposition, that the Senate should act right royally, and cement its renewed friendship by the sacrifice of an instrument no longer needful to it, to the vengeance of the power he had provoked in its service.

The story of the celebrated Interdict is concluded. Rome had been beaten by the Republic on every point, and the wounds she had received in the conflict were in no wise healed by the re-establishment of peace. "*Nova sint omnia et vetera recedant,*" said Paul in the course of his *couleur-de-rose* talk with the new Venetian ambassador at his first audience. "Let us begin our intercourse afresh, and let bygones be bygones." Doubtless that was devoutly to be desired by the Pontiff and the Court of Rome. But it was a vain hope. Venice might consent, and Rome might agree that matters between them should stand as they had stood before the contest. But no determination of any government could avail to cancel what had passed, or to avoid the infallible and lasting consequences of it. Never again could the great weapon of the Interdict be brought out for the coercion of disobedient nations. The most powerful engine in Rome's arsenal was



broken and ruined irreparably. Like an old cannon spiked, and known to be harmless by everybody, it might still be displayed on the insecure battlements of the Papal fortress, in the hope that some might still be ignorant enough to be terrified by the look of it at a distance. But no thought of really using it could ever more be entertained. And it is not easy to estimate the entire amount of the damage Rome has suffered by the loss of it. The consequences in fact amount to this: that the Papacy has had to abandon all hope of contending openly with lay governments, and to content itself with owing its sway over mankind to corrupt complicity with lay tyranny. Despots have found the alliance useful for the reasons pointed out in the opening chapters of this volume. And the Papacy has contrived by this means to keep itself alive, though with a steadily waning vitality, for more than two centuries and a half. It might still continue to do so, if it still had to deal with despotic rulers, and will do so where such is still the case. But the game is up, where it is brought into face-to-face collision with the people of nineteenth-century Europe. Of course there are many designing men, clerical and lay, who profess to think, and many good men who really think, that a career of spiritual supremacy is still before the Roman Papacy, when its temporal sway shall be admittedly at an end. But those who have duly considered what "spiritual" sway really means, and who have also had the means of becoming acquainted with the real condition of the popular mind on the subject of what is called its "religion," will hardly be of that opinion. Such persons will be more likely to hold that all Rome's spiritual supremacy is long since dead; that its variously exercised temporal power is in fact

all that still remains alive, and that when that comes to an end, the old form and outline of the huge and once so mighty figure will collapse, and fall to dust.

And Rome probably knew much better than either her friends or her enemies the extent of the mischief she had suffered in her duel with the civil power of Venice. Such men as Bellarmine were not likely to be blind to this, or to rate the true living spiritual power of the Church at a much higher value than it really possessed. And the bitter resentment and thirst of vengeance which the Church felt against the traitor son, who had been chiefly active in bringing this misfortune upon her, was proportionate to her sense of its fatal nature. The idea that a Servite Friar should have done all this, not only with impunity, but with triumph, and should enjoy consideration, honour, and high position as the reward of it, was altogether intolerable to the Roman Court. The struggle between Rome and Venice was over; but not so that between Paul the Pope and Paul the Friar. And though that portion of their history which exercised a marked and lasting influence on the history of mankind has been brought to a conclusion, the story of the terrible friar's remaining years, and of Rome's mode of carrying on the war, when its scope was narrowed from contending with a powerful commonwealth to avenging its smarts on an individual, is well worth briefly telling.

## CHAPTER IV.

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The litigation of Rome *v.* Venice is decided ;—but that of Rome *v.* Sarpi remains.—Anathema is tried, and fails.—Prospects of Protestantism in Italy.—Cajolery is tried against the Friar, and fails.—Cardinal de Joyeuse again.—The new Nuncio, Berlinghiero Gessi.—Rome, finding both curses and cajolery useless against the Friar, has recourse to other means.—Letter from Trajan Boccalini to Sarpi.—Warning from Gaspar Schioppus.—Sarpi's reply to these warnings.—Warnings from the Venetian ambassador at Rome.—Rutilio Orlandini.—Attempted assassination of Sarpi in the streets of Venice.

“ THE false doctrine that had been put forth !” that was the thorn, which, according to his own statement, permanently rankled in Paul's fatherly and apostolic bosom. And assuredly Venice could have found no means so efficacious for winning her way back thoroughly and cordially to the good graces of the Pontiff, as abandoning to his vengeance the terrible friar, who had been the forger and by far the most damaging utterer of this false doctrine.

A true and sincere friendship might have been made over the ashes of the fire that should have executed Rome's judgment on a traitor priest. It is probable that Paul was sufficiently ignorant of the spirit that animated the counsels of the Republic, to hope that the Senate might not have been unwilling to make such an expiatory sacrifice. But he must have been shortly undeceived as to any such expectation. There was not

the slightest danger to the Servite Friar on this score. The consideration and respect in which he was held at Venice seem on the contrary to have gone on increasing during the years that followed the great victory, which had been so largely owing to his intrepidity, learning, and firmness. There was no hope that any punishment could be inflicted on the friar, while he remained under the *ægis* of the Republic. But the "glory of God" imperatively required that such an enemy should not be allowed to escape vengeance.

"Vengeance is mine," saith the Lord. And persons thought to be pious are constantly seeing proofs of the truth of the assertion in falling chimney-pots and stormy oceans. Were there then no "judgments" in Venice? Did Rome suppose that the vengeance of the Lord was inexecutable within the limits of the powers of "the Ten?" Or did the Pontiff dream that God was so careless of His own "Glory," that it needed to be more vigilantly looked after by His faithful representative? It is perfectly true that Rome did everything in her power to awaken and stimulate the lagging vengeance of Heaven, before she became convinced of the necessity of taking the matter into her own hand. Special curses and excommunications were tried in vain. Heaven took no notice of these denunciations of the criminal. No thunder-bolt came! None even of those misfortunes apparently caused by more ordinary human agencies, which so often are recognizable as judgments only by the eye of faith! Absolutely *nothing* came of Rome's most energetic anathemas. And it became urgent that God's vicegerent should take active steps for the vindication of "His Glory."

The views taken by the Protestants in various parts of Europe of the Interdict and its consequences, and

the hopes which the great quarrel had led them to conceive, contributed powerfully to impress on the Papal Court the necessity of getting Sarpi into their hands. The ideas which the contest between Rome and the Venetian Republic had given rise to in England, have been cursorily mentioned. At Geneva, and other strongholds of Protestantism, similar hopes of a Venetian schism, and of the consequent ruin of Catholicism were rife. Eager propagandists hurried to Venice, expecting to find it ripe for throwing off its religious allegiance, and believing that the redoubtable friar was ready to become the standard-bearer and champion of Venetian Protestantism. These views and hopes were utterly and entirely futile and unfounded; and reposed on a complete ignorance of the Italian people and Italian nature.

As recent events have once again led to similar hopes and expectations, it is interesting to note that such was unquestionably the case then, and to point out the strong reasons which exist for a conviction that it is so still. An Italian author,\* by no means friendly to Catholicism, and very well qualified to speak of the progress of opinions and tendencies among his fellow-countrymen, after having described the unmistakable materialism of the old Paganism, and of its direct heir and representative, modern Catholicism, writes thus:—  
“ The Italians have identified themselves with this mode of religion. Cultivated men find in it the truth there is in it, and the people find what is agreeable to them. But both the former and the latter approve it as conformable to the national character. And whatever may be the religious system which shall govern

\* Bianchi Giovini, *Vita di Sarpi*, vol. i. p. 333.

our descendants twenty centuries hence, I venture to affirm that the exterior forms of it will be pretty nearly the same as those which prevail at present, and which did prevail twenty centuries ago." The author who ventures on this disheartening prophecy deems the Italian nature so materialistic by constitution as to be incapable of a spiritual appreciation of the invisible. Nor does he seem to feel that he is making any humiliating confession on behalf of his race. My own observations and reflections have not led me to any such pessimist theory;—a theory which, if I received it, would in my mind necessarily lead to an expectation, that the race unimprovably stamped with such inferiority of moral capabilities, would have to die out and be replaced by a superior type of humanity. Despite the undeniable truth of what this writer says of the past twenty centuries of the religious history of Italy, I have better hope for the coming centuries.

But I do think, and every thoughtful Italian, with whose views on such subjects I have had an opportunity of becoming acquainted, has confirmed me in the opinion, that the influences of nature, among which the Italian lives and grows, *do* produce in him a constitution of mind adverse to the reception of the doctrines, which impart to those forms of Protestantism common among us their peculiar form and colour. To this must be added in estimating the probabilities of the immediate future, an influence, which, though it may not affect future centuries, must necessarily exert a very strong action on more than one generation. It is the influence of reaction. A pendulum lifted up in one direction does not, when liberated from control, fall back at once into its normal position of repose, but rushes to an opposite extreme point equally re-

moved from it. The Italians are very rapidly finding out, that the only religious belief that has been taught them, is an immoral and incredible mass of falsehood. And the state of mind produced by the discovery is not a favourable one for the reception of a new teaching, which equally, though not to an equal extent, demands the exercise of unquestioning faith.

But two centuries and a half ago in Venice, although the best minds had already entered on a path which was sure to lead them, or the inheritors of their speculations, to unbelief, scepticism had made but little progress among the people. It was of no use for learned Protestant writers to point out that their conduct in the late quarrel with the Pontiff necessarily showed that they were not good Catholics; that logic, consistency, and Romish teaching itself, made it clear that they were far advanced on the road to Protestantism. The Venetian traders, and navigators, and gondoliers, did not care about logic, or consistency, or Romish theories. But they liked masses, and wax lights, and chantings, and processions, comfortable absolution for their sins, and old habitual sights, sounds, and feelings. Rome need have given herself little trouble about schismatic tendencies among the Venetian population, as long as she did not interfere with matters more dear to them than all these things. But the persistent and clamorous praises showered on Sarpi by the Protestants irritated Rome against him; and prompted her, as has been said, to abate the scandal of a heterodox friar living and writing in defiance of her.

Then again, the additional honours heaped on Sarpi by the Senate, after the conclusion of the contest, were felt by the Papal Court as a sore affront, and a stimulus to its hatred and persecution. The friar was named

not only Consultor to the Republic in theology, but also in jurisprudence; an appointment carrying with it an addition of salary. But a far more significant and rare mark of the Senate's confidence and esteem, and one much more valued by Sarpi himself, was a free and unlimited admission to the secret archives of the state. This was in Venice a very extraordinary and signal mark of favour. The secrecy of the archives in question was maintained with the utmost jealousy. None but the chancellors and secretaries of state were permitted to enter this sanctum of the Republic, and those officers only under the most solemn oaths of secrecy. All these favours to Sarpi were felt at Rome as so many special insults.

The terrible friar must be brought to Rome! Not perhaps necessarily for the rude vengeance of the executioner. A retractation, humble, ample, and public, of all that he had asserted, argued, and advised, would have suited Rome's purpose better even than the salutary example of the stake. A degradation of himself sufficiently abject might even have induced the Holy See, after ample enjoyment of the pleasure of imposing penances and discipline of all sorts, to take the penitent to her bosom, put him, may be, in her high places, and turn the pen perhaps of this grinding Samson to do work of her own. But for this, or for any of it, the terrible friar must be got to Rome. And how was that to be accomplished?

The first and most simple way was to cause him to be summoned thither by the superiors of his order. He was *invited* to Rome "to justify himself;" and it was intimated to him that he would not find the matter difficult; that Rome was quite disposed to complete her reconciliation with the Republic, in a paternal



spirit; and that the Pontiff himself was well inclined towards him. But the friar was not thus to be caught. He knew the Papal Court, and the nature of the *pater-nal* spirit that animated it, right well; no man better; and he declined to put his neck into the halter. How he canonically justified to himself and others direct disobedience to his ecclesiastical superiors, remains to be guessed? Perhaps the Senate, which had no mind to be deprived of the services of its invaluable theological consultor, interposed a friendly prohibition, and refused to allow him to leave the Venetian territory.

Sarpi replied, that general accusations of "heretical tendencies," and of expressions calculated "to offend pious ears," might mean anything or nothing, and could not be replied to. But he offered, if the Inquisition would draw up a definite statement of any heretical positions in his writings (such, for instance, as the therewith enclosed specimens of direct heresy, drawn by him from the writings of Rome's defenders in the late disputes, and shown to be heretical by clear and sufficient proofs from Scripture, fathers, councils, &c., duly cited as per margin), then he, Friar Paul, of Venice, would submit to be judged on the same by any impartial tribunal! (surely the ascetic friar himself must have smiled grimly as he wrote this), sitting in some country where intimidation and undue influence were not to be suspected.

It need hardly be said that the Roman Court took no sort of step towards complying with these very simple and easy demands. But they persisted in attempts to lure Sarpi to Rome by every sort of flattery and persuasion,—attempts which they assuredly would not have condescended to, had they known him half as well as he knew them.

Before Cardinal de Joyeuse left Venice, he sent to Sarpi an intimation that he wished for a conference with him. Signor Bianchi Giovini remarks, that the Cardinal had shown himself so genuinely friendly to Venice, and so loyal in his capacity of mediator, that it is hardly to be supposed that he would have abased his "blood royal" to the office of luring a man to his destruction by false statements, or of seeking to abuse the privacy of a *tête-à-tête* conversation, to represent traitorously what should take place at it. But the Cardinal was a churchman. And Sarpi and the Venetian Senate suspected that his object in demanding this interview was, or at all events might be, the second, if not the first of those above mentioned. "I am but a poor friar," argued Sarpi, "and he is a Cardinal connected by blood with his most Christian Majesty. His statement of what has passed between us two,—(*a quattro occhi*,—between four eyes, as the Italian phrase has it),—will have more weight before the world than mine. How infinite would be the mischief if it should be believed, that I had admitted myself to have been in error; that I had asked absolution, or made submission of any sort; that I had even expressed regret for what has passed!" Sarpi represented these misgivings to the College; and it was decided that he should decline to wait upon the Cardinal.

Meanwhile the new Nuncio came to Venice. The man selected for the somewhat difficult embassy was one Berlinghiero Gessi, Bishop of Rimini; he was one of the seven sages, who five-and-twenty years after this time, condemned that damnable heresy of Galileo, that the sun stands still, and the earth moves round it! Paul gave the new Nuncio prudent counsels before he started, as to the necessity of gentleness and caution

in dealing with the Republic. The burned Pope dreaded the fire. But Paul ardently longed to have his enemy in his hands. He directed his Nuncio to leave no stone unturned to induce the Senate to deliver him over to the Holy Office, *or at least to get his position and stipend taken away from him.* Gessi began his endeavours by seeking, as the Cardinal had done, an interview with the friar. But he took no more by his motion than his more dignified predecessor had taken. By direction of the College, Sarpi refused to see the Nuncio.

For a long time no churchman of rank from Rome passed through Venice without finding an opportunity for an interview with Sarpi. Every kind of promise was held out to him—promotion, honours, red hats, and what not—if he would only meet in a kindred spirit the paternal Pope's advances, and go to Rome to be reconciled to the Church. But it was all of no use. The friar was not to be had! All Rome's blandishments only sounded in his ears, "Friar, friar, come and be burned!" So the friar continued to divide his hours between the duties of his office at the ducal palace and his quiet cell in the Servite convent. And Rome found that for the greater "glory of God," it was necessary to have recourse to stronger measures for the suppression of this terrible adversary.

At the beginning of the contest with Rome, Sarpi had consulted his friend Trajan Boccalini, the celebrated satiric writer, who, a few years after the period of which we are speaking, had himself to quit Rome and seek refuge at Venice, because his life was in danger under the papal government. Boccalini had at that time pointed out to his friend all the danger to be apprehended from the course on which he was then

entering, and counselled caution and prudence. The same tried friend, and very competent judge of Rome and its doings, shortly after the conclusion of the quarrel, wrote to Sarpi as follows :—

“Your Reverence must remember that you have offended with your tongue, with your pen, and with your counsels, a Pope, a College of Cardinals, an Apostolic court, and a Holy See. And if all these forgive, why we may expect to see the Gentiles embrace the Gospel. For heaven’s sake be on your guard ; for the Court of Rome is bent on taking from Venice its defender, cost what it may. Priests have long arms, for no place is shut against them ; and a blow is given before aught is heard of it. I speak with freedom, because I love you, and your life is necessary to the world, and precious to your friends.”

Other warnings followed. Gaspar Schioppus, who had been to Rome on business connected with the German Protestants, and had had secret conferences with the Pope, saw Sarpi on passing through Venice, and told him to be on his guard. The Pope’s hand was far reaching, he said ; and added that Paul could have taken his life, but that he was anxious to have him alive. He concluded by offering to be the mediator between them. Sarpi replied that he had only defended a just cause ;—that the conditions of the reconciliation, solemnly agreed to by the Pope, included himself as well as others in the general amnesty ; and that he could never believe that Paul would break the faith thus publicly pledged. Be that as it might, he added, his life was in God’s hands ; and even if Paul should succeed in getting him into his power alive, his life would still be in his own hand, and not in that of the Pope.

This hint at suicide as a means in the last resort of avoiding torment, and the chance of saying under the pressure of it that which he would rather die than say, has given rise to much debate and questioning on the part of Sarpi's admirers and detractors.

Still further indications of danger followed. The Venetian ambassador at Rome, Contarini, wrote to the Ten, on the 29th of September, that a certain Rutilio Orlandini had left Rome for Venice for the purpose of committing some crime. This man had begun life as a friar, had been expelled his convent, had been a highway robber, and being now banned at Rome, lived in the police-proof asylum of the Duke Orsini's palace. It was known to the ambassador that this man had boasted that he was to go to Venice by the order of "the masters here," (at Rome, that is,) that he was to engage companions for the job to be done there, and that he had been promised 55,000 crowns for the execution of it. He boasted, too, of having had secret conference with the Pope; and showed an absolution which he declared to have been given him by the Pontiff in person. This seems to have been considered as doubtful; but it was certain, that he had large sums of money, that he was in possession of an absolution, and that he had had frequent interviews with one of the secretaries to the "Consulta," and that on going to this officer he was always immediately admitted. If this man was sent to Venice to commit a crime, he was unsuccessful. For in consequence of the facts written by Contarini, he was arrested as soon as he put foot on the territory of Venice. But Contarini warned the Ten that he had information of other emissaries having been dispatched to Venice.

Even the Venetian Inquisitors became acquainted in some way with facts, which induced them to warn the friar to be careful. But nothing could induce Sarpi to believe, low as he esteemed the morality of the Roman Court, that the Holy Father was about to descend to the level of a common assassin. He, however, complied so far with the urgent wishes of his friends, as to cause himself to be accompanied by three friars, in his daily walk from his convent to the ducal palace, and home again in the evening. But it so happened that on the evening of the 5th of October, 1607, the friends, who were to have called for him as usual to walk back with him from the palace, were detained, and arrived there too late, after the friar had started homewards. He had with him, however, his servant, Fra Marino, a lay-brother of the convent, and the patrician Malipero, an infirm old man. As the three were passing a bridge in the neighbourhood of the convent, it chanced that Malipero was a few paces in front. Suddenly they were attacked by a band of several ruffians, of whom one collared the old patrician, another seized the lay-brother round the body, pinioning him securely, while a third dealt a shower of poniard stabs on the person of the friar. Of these, three only wounded him, two in the neck, and one which passed into the head behind the ear, and came out at the root of the nose on the same side of the face. The dagger remained firmly fixed in the bones of the face; and Sarpi fell to the ground as if dead. Some women, who had seen the deed from a neighbouring window, raised an alarm; and people were soon on the spot. But on the fall of Sarpi, the two men who had held the old senator, Malipero, and the lay-brother, liberated them; and the whole of the gang, firing their pieces in

the air to create alarm, and increase the confusion, succeeded in escaping.

Old Malipero was the first to reach Sarpi, as he lay to all appearance dead on the bridge. He drew the dagger from the wound ; and perceiving that the friar still breathed, had him immediately taken to his cell, in the convent close at hand.

## CHAPTER V.

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Who were the assassins?—The escape of most of the gang.—The story of the matter current at the time.—Antecedents of Poma.—Commotion caused by the assassination in Venice.—Measures of the Government.—Proclamation for the arrest of the assassins.—Measures taken for Sarpi's future safety.—Rome offended by the terms of the proclamation by the Senate.—Subsequent life and adventures of Poma.—Steps taken by Rome to avert the suspicions of Europe.—Disputes at Rome.—General feeling there.—Death of Poma.—Other conspiracies against the life of Sarpi.—His remaining years, and death.—Death of Paul V.—Conclusion.

SARPI did not die. After several months' illness, during the first three weeks of which he lay hovering between life and death, the terrible friar was entirely healed. And all that Rome gained by the atrocious attempt, was the general indignation and disgust of Europe, and the addition to the fearfully long catalogue of one more hideous crime, never more to be cancelled from the memory of history, or from the still to be settled account of humanity against the Papacy.

Were there nothing more to be added to the story than what has been already told, no unbiassed examiner of the evidence could hesitate to deem the Papal Court convicted of the crime. Indeed the public opinion, and the public voice of Europe, as far as such a voice could then make itself audible, did not hesitate, even with less evidence than that which has been already



placed before the reader, to pronounce the Apostolic (!) Church guilty of the foul deed. But it was questioned, and subsequent writers have taken pains to investigate which were the exact mouths of the sacerdotal hierarchy, that spoke the order to "go and do murder." It has been thought worth while to endeavour to show that Pope Paul, the absolute infallible Vicar of Christ himself, was not with his own lips the suborner of assassination. Men are slow to believe that he should be so. The imagination finds it difficult to picture to itself a venerable looking old man, who is wont to have words of piety and charity on his lips, scattering Apostolic blessings from the jewelled finger of one soft hand, while he is clutching the assassin's dagger beneath his sacred robe with the other. Such a benignant Pope too! That decorous old twaddler, Morosini, tells us a great deal about Paul Borghese's *benignity*. It was his strong point! A scholar, too, and one who had "learned\* ingenious arts, which civilise men, and do not permit of their becoming brutes!" Are we to suppose such a man the instigator and accomplice of a cut-throat?

The reader of history will not expect that evidence should exist, which brings home to Paul Borghese the giving of the order to murder Sarpi. Monarchs do not commit their crimes in that manner. Decency,—the *quod decet*, what looks well—decency, that primary virtue of courts, has to be observed. Is a courtier, especially an ecclesiastical one, fit for his position, who cannot tell when the commission of a crime is needed,—for reasons of state; and far more for the glory of

\* The poet's dictum, however, and the humanising effects of intellectual culture, may be maintained by insisting on the adverb in the text. "*Didicisse fideliter*," says Ovid.

God,—without requiring the lips of his master to become *indecent*, by coarsely speaking out the order! Most courts, and far above all others the Apostolic Court, are peopled with far better bred lackeys than this!

But it will be seen (if indeed it signified much to show, that not only the Roman Court, but its holy and infallible head himself, was guilty of connivance at murder) that it can be shown that Paul undoubtedly protected the murderers after the deed.

The assassins had a boat in waiting at the Lido to secure their immediate escape from the territory of Venice. But it so happened, that in the confusion of their flight several of the gang failed to join the others at the landing-place, and thus got left behind. The consequence was, that before the next morning some of these men were in the hands of the "Ten," and the names of the chiefs of the conspiracy ascertained from their confession. The leader of the band,—he who had undertaken the job, and had procured the assistance of the others,—was one Ridolfo Poma. Signor Bianchi Giovini has been at much pains to trace, from the dispatches of the Venetian ambassadors at Rome and Naples, and other previously unexplored sources, the antecedent history of this man and his subsequent fortunes. This impartial writer thinks that the old current accounts, based on the statements of Sarpi's earliest biographer, Grissellini, and De Thou, were in great part erroneous. Those authors state, that the murder was compassed by the Jesuits, who employed one of their body, the noted Possevin, to find instruments to execute it;—together with other circumstances, which are of minor consequence, but which are unquestionably erroneous. The main facts which

appear to result from Signor Bianchi Giovini's researches may be summed up as follows:—

This Poma was an oil merchant, trading between the coast of Puglia and Venice. His affairs went ill; he became a bankrupt, and a ruined man. Travelling to Naples for the purpose of endeavouring to get in some debts due to him in that city, he fell in at Rome with one Alessandro Franceschi, a priest, who had formerly acted as a broker for him in his commerce. This priest, who had gone to Rome, like so many thousand others, to find or make his fortune in some way, deemed it a good mode of suiting himself to the times to pretend that he was an exile, who had been driven from Venice for refusing to disregard the Interdict. It is known that he frequented the antechambers of the Cardinal Borghese, the Pope's nephew, and of Monsignore Metello Bichi, Bishop of Sovana, and auditor to the Pope. This vagabond unscrupulous priest brought the bankrupt oil-merchant into communication with both these high-placed churchmen. It is also known that Poma had frequent interviews with a certain provincial of the convent of Dominican friars at Venice. No record, as may be imagined, remains of the conversations of the broken-down trader with these eminent and right reverend personages. But it *is* on record, that about the same time he began to write to his friends in Venice of the fine prospects that were opening before him;—that he should soon be richer than he had ever been;—that the Cardinal Borghese was going to make his and his children's fortune, &c.

Poma consumed four months after this in maturing his plans. His project was, according to the directions given to him, to seize the friar alive, envelope him in a sack, hurry him into a boat, and carry him off to the

first port in the ecclesiastical states. Failing in this, he was to take his life. He returned well supplied with money to Venice, and went thence to Padua; where the execution of the plan seems to have been discussed and settled with certain priests attached to a convent in that city, in which a daughter of Poma was a nun. The scheme was to seize the friar when he should be on his way to Padua, to visit his friends the professors in the University there, as he was wont to do from time to time. But in consequence of the various warnings that had been received, Sarpi no longer left Venice for any purpose. The scheme was found hopeless, and Poma determined to execute his orders in the streets of Venice;—with the results which we have seen.

The consternation and indignation caused throughout Venice by the news of the assassination were extraordinary. The Senate, who were sitting when the tidings reached them, immediately adjourned. Almost all the members hurried to the Servite convent to inquire personally after the wounded man. The Ten alone remained in the hall of assembly, to concert measures on the instant for the apprehension of the assassins. The whole city was moved to a degree, which very significantly marks the feeling of the people in the recent contest with Rome. The theatres were empty that night; and a vast crowd surrounded the Servite convent, anxious for the tidings, hour after hour, of the state of the sufferer, and the expectations of the physicians. The outcry against Rome and its agents was fierce and universal. Another large crowd surrounded the house of the Nuncio, and would have infallibly burned it down, if the Ten had not sent troops in all haste for its protection. Neither the Nuncio nor any one be-

longing to his family dared to leave the house for many days.

The care of the government for their wounded theologian was not less extraordinary and significant of the esteem in which they held him. Money in abundance was sent to the convent, in order that nothing it could purchase might be wanting. Intelligence of the circumstance was immediately despatched to all the Venetian residents at foreign courts, as if the matter were felt to be an affair of public importance. The most famous surgeons in Italy were summoned, and the celebrated Acquapendente, the physician, and Spigelio, a not less renowned surgeon, were ordered not to leave the convent till they could pronounce him out of danger. Besides these, ten other medical men were called to assist them with their counsel. And nevertheless the friar recovered! And it is not a mere silly jest against medical science to say so. Ignorance was then the rule, and sense and knowledge rare exceptions. And in Sarpi's case the multiplicity of medical advisers forced on him by the solicitude of the Senate was a veritable affliction. Some would have it that the dagger was poisoned, and drenched their patient with a variety of absurd antidotes. Others insisted that there was danger of gangrene, and had recourse to the knife. Sarpi submitted without a murmur to all they chose to do to him, and listened with the most perfect equanimity to varying predictions and disputes as to the probable termination of his sickness. Even his wonted facetiousness did not desert him. For it is recorded that, when Acquapendente remarked that he had never seen a *ruder* wound, "and yet," said the friar, "the world declares that it was given '*stylo Romanæ curiæ*'—in the style of, or

with the *dagger of the Roman court.*" The joke is a better one in Italian than it can be made to appear in English.\* It is added that this was the only allusion Sarpi ever made by word or by pen to the authorship of the assassination.

Sarpi, as has been said, recovered entirely; and Acquapendente, the chief physician, received from the Senate, as a recompense for having saved so valuable a life, knighthood, and a silver cup of thirty ounces, with the winged lion of St. Mark engraved on it.

The efforts made by the Ten to cause the arrest of the assassins were such as had never been resorted to before. The names of all of them were published, and the enormous reward of four thousand ducats promised, beside other advantages, to whosoever should take Poma either alive or dead. Two thousand ducats for any other of the gang. It was made a capital crime for any one to know and not reveal the hiding-place of any of them. The sentence pronounced against them, in case of capture, was that they should be taken to the spot on which the crime was committed, and there lose their right hands; that they should be dragged thence at horses' tails to the columns of St. Mark, there be decapitated, and finally quartered! The most rigorous orders were despatched to every magistrate in the Venetian dominions to spare no exertions to accomplish the arrest of any one of the gang.

For the future it was commanded that every Venetian, in case of any renewed attempt against the friar, should lend assistance on the instant, and strike "without respect to place or person." And two thou-

\* Bianchi Giovini, Op. cit., vol. ii. p. 10.

sand ducats were awarded to any man who should so kill on the spot an assassin, and four thousand to him who should take one alive. Four hundred additional ducats annually were voted to Sarpi to enable him to keep a private gondola, and otherwise provide for his safety. Lodgings on the Piazza St. Mark were provided for him in immediate contiguity with the ducal palace, in order that it might not be necessary for him to traverse the city for his daily attendances on the government. But Father Paul desired to be excused from receiving these four hundred ducats, begging the Doge, in his letter on this subject, to add to the infinite favours he had received from the State, that of believing that he was more than contented with what had already been done for him. It was found, moreover, impossible to induce him to quit the convent cell in which he had passed his life; and the government in consequence caused certain additions to be made to it, and a private passage and secret stair to be constructed, by which he could pass from his cell to his gondola without being seen by any one.

In the public proclamations respecting these matters the Senate had styled Sarpi "a man of excellent learning and exemplary virtue, who has deserved eminently well of the State, and is greatly beloved by us." And the penalties and threats were pronounced against "any person or persons of whatsoever grade or condition they may be." These two passages gave grievous offence at Rome. In the first place, it was said that to qualify publicly one whom the Apostolic See had severely censured, and who had written in fierce opposition to it and its doctrines, as a man of exceeding learning and virtue, was a flagrant insult to the Pope and the Holy See. In the second place, it

was alleged with singular audacity that to threaten persons of *any condition* included threats against ecclesiastical persons; that the phrase seemed indeed specially to have that intention—as indeed was truly the case, the Senate having chosen the phrase expressly with that view; and that this was re-opening the so recently closed dispute. But it would seem as if Paul had forgotten that the Republic most expressly reserved and re-asserted its right to punish ecclesiastical offenders. And it is impossible not to smile at the readiness of the Holy See to see, in a proclamation against future assassins of Sarpi, a probability that churchmen might find themselves threatened.

The extraordinarily energetic proclamation of the Senate had the effect, as may be readily understood, of making the subsequent lives of Poma and his associates precarious and wretched. Four thousand ducats to be earned at any moment by a dagger stroke was more than sufficient to arm against him half the population of the Roman states. No sooner was the promise of this enormous reward known, than some of his companions in the crime plotted to take his life. His first refuge was Ancona. He there received from the priest Franceschi, from Rome, a bill of exchange for a thousand ducats, *which was paid by one Girolamo Scalamonti, the Pope's agent in Ancona.* It was remarked also, and is worth recording, that two others of the gang who attacked Sarpi, Ancona men who for previous crimes had been outlawed in that city, returned thither openly, and were not only permitted to remain there unmolested, but were suffered to go about armed to the teeth, notwithstanding the laws to the contrary, which were generally strictly enforced. Poma and the rest were always similarly armed; and it was



understood that they had express permission to be so from the governor of Ancona.

They did not attempt to make any secret of the attempted murder; but declared that they had been moved to it "by Divine inspiration," and zeal for the service of religion. Yet Poma at the same time boasted that he should shortly be rich enough to pay all his creditors in full, and actually gave directions for calling them together by the public crier.

After a few weeks' stay at Ancona, they went to Rome, and were received in the house of the Cardinal Colonna. The Pope declared that they should not be permitted to remain for an hour in Rome. But, in fact, they remained there more than a year; at first with some affectation of secrecy, but afterwards openly, and showing themselves frequently in public places.

In the meantime, the outcry of indignation and disgust which was raised from one end of Europe to the other against the Roman Court—(for it does not seem to have entered into the head of any body to doubt for an instant that the crime was committed at the instigation of the Holy See)—began to cause much uneasiness and alarm in the papal councils. It was decided in a Consistory of Cardinals to spread a statement to the effect that Poma had attempted to assassinate the Servite, because he attributed to him the ruin of his mercantile affairs. But as this appeared to their Eminences, on second thoughts, too palpably absurd an assertion to serve their turn, they changed their minds, and gave out the report (assuredly no less monstrously incredible to all who had any knowledge of Sarpi, and this included at least every man in Venice), that the hatred of Poma for the Servite arose from jealousy respecting

some woman!!! The Pope himself meanwhile uttered no syllable on the subject to the Venetian ambassador; but told the French resident that he deplored the circumstance, admitting that it would not be displeasing to him that Sarpi should be chastised, but not by such means. But, at the same time, he sought the interposition of the King of France with the Venetian government, to obtain from them a suppression of all further inquiry into the matter.

Much difference of opinion and debate arose in Rome as to the policy of protecting the assassins,—the more moderate men fearing the odium and disgrace of appearing before Europe as the patrons of wretches who had become the objects of universal horror and loathing; while the more thorough-going partisans of papal doctrines and papal pretensions maintained loudly that the Papacy was bound to support and protect the meritorious slayers of a heretic. And the Bishop of Molfetta, on one occasion, in the ante-chamber of Cardinal Borghese, maintained, in reply to some one who objected that Sarpi was not fairly an object for the dagger of an assassin, because he had not been publicly declared a heretic, that “it was sufficient that he was considered such by the Court of Rome.” But amid all these differences of opinion there was entire accord, according to the report of the Venetian ambassador, among the frequenters of the Roman ante-chambers in regret that the blow of Poma’s dagger had not been fatal.

Nevertheless, the Pope seems to have felt some shame at the continued protection afforded at Rome to criminals, against whom all the rest of the world was crying aloud. He therefore ordered the Nuncio at Naples to obtain a permission from the Spanish

viceroys for Poma and the others to reside in safety in his dominions. And a revenue of 1500 crowns a year, to be payable out of certain claims which the Holy See had on the Neapolitan government, was assigned to them. The men went, in fact, to Naples. But the promised money was not forthcoming; they found that their lives were in hourly danger, even from each other; and after a short absence they slunk back again to Rome, to their old asylum in the Colonna palace. For awhile Poma continued to live on upon means doled out to him more and more sparingly by his patrons among the Jesuits and Cardinals. He and the priest Franceschi, who had also fallen into abject poverty, got up a plan for a new attempt on the friar's life; and some advances of money were obtained on the strength of it. But it came to nothing. Poma's condition became more and more wretched. He grew desperate; grumbled; uttered imprudent words; the consequence was that the officers of the police came one morning to the Cardinal Colonna's palace, and notwithstanding the inviolability of that asylum took him prisoner, and carried him off to the fortress of Civita Vecchia, where he ended ere long his miserable days.

There were other conspiracies for the purpose of destroying a man who had become more hateful to Rome than probably any other individual in any age, fomented and patronised more or less clearly by men in high places at Rome. But they failed of success; and served only to mark the enduring vindictiveness of sacerdotal enmity.

Of the remaining years of the terrible friar's useful, honoured, and laborious life, occupied unceasingly in the service of Venice and mankind till he died at the age of seventy on the 15th of January, muttering in

his death-stupor, as has been written at the beginning of this volume, " I must go to St. Mark, for it is late, and I have much to do ;" of his many writings, and of the tendency and results of them ; there would be much to be said, if these pages professed to be a biography of Frà Paolo.

Something, too, might be written of the remaining days of our other Paul, the Pope. He died just about a year before the friar. His work, also, was no trifling contribution to the advancement of humanity. For the Papacy has never recovered the loss of power and prestige inflicted on it by the rash and imprudent violence which disclosed its impotence. It is to Pope Paul V. that we owe the first demonstration of the decay and worthlessness of Rome's once terrible and dreaded weapon. For the rest, there is the magnificent Borghese chapel, with its tons of precious marbles in the Lateran, and all the Borghese greatness, and the Borghese wealth—not altogether without their usefulness, these things also, in helping forward the system which generated them to its consummation.

But the story of the two Pauls in their relationship to each other, the story of the Interdict, and of its immediate consequences has been told—of its most immediate consequences only ! For the catalogue of its more distant, though equally lineally descended results, could not stop short of the events that are passing around us. Rome in her present agony of distress and wrath, and in the extremity of her need, dare not put her hand to the weapon which broke so disastrously in that of Paul V.

## NOTES.

### Note 1.—Page 154. AGOSTINO NANI.

Agostino Nani, born in 1555, and therefore just fifty years of age at the time in question, was one of the most distinguished citizens of the Republic. He was a man of vast erudition ; and had passed most of his life in serving the State in various embassies ; in 1586 to Savoy ; in 1594 to Spain ; in 1600 to Constantinople ; in 1604 to Rome ; in 1612 to the German Emperor. The history of the quarrel with Rome abundantly shows with what unflinching firmness, prudence, and courage, he executed the very difficult duty confided to him, and upheld the interests and dignity of the Republic during the whole of the struggle. That his residence in the Roman Court, and his experience of its ways, only tended to confirm him in his own views of matters ecclesiastical, is proved by a passage from a letter written to Rome in 1615, by the then Nuncio at Venice, in which he says that “many of the Council have been perverted (*i. e.* to anti-papal opinions) by Frà Paolo and Agostino Nani.” See *Correr, Paolo V., e la Rep. Ven.*, p. 1 note.

### Note 2.—Page 164. PAOLO QUINTO E LA REPUBBLICA VENETA.

The full title of the work referred to, Note 1 and here, is, “Paul V. and the Republic of Venice ; a journal from the 22nd October, 1605, to the 9th of June, 1607. Illustrated by Notes and Documents extracted from the Imp. library of Vienna, the Marciana library, the Correr Museum, and the Archives at the Frari in Venice, by Henry Cornet, Vienna, 1859.” The learned and very competent editor of this extremely interesting contemporary diary has prefixed to it a lucid and able summary of the quarrel between Pope Paul and the Republic, pp. 1—16 ; has accompanied the text by a large running commentary of illustrative foot notes, pp. 1—262 ; and has added a mass of highly important documents, pp. 265—339. The publication of M. Cornet has rendered easy to his readers a perfect

comprehension of this eventful page of history, only to have been previously attained by long and laborious researches, equal in extent to those of which he has given us the fruit.

Note 3.—THE COLLEGE OF THE SENATE. Page 172.

The terms *Collegio* and *Pieno Collegio*, constantly recur in the Venetian historians. The "full College" or *Pien' Collegio*, was composed of twenty-six personages,—the Doge; six Counsellors; the three Heads of the Forty of criminal justice; six *savj*, literally wise men, of the Pregadi Council, commonly called "savj grandi;" five *savj* for the terra firma provinces; and five *savj* from another body. The institution of this College dated from the fifteenth century. Its duty was to convoke the Senate; to lay before that body the business in hand; to receive ambassadors; and in short, it represented the power and majesty of the Republic. The replies to be given to ambassadors, or others having business with the Republic, were communicated to them by the College; but were deliberated on by the Senate. Then the College either summoned the parties to their presence, and read the reply to them, or sent a secretary to them to do so. In either case the reply was read twice or oftener if the person receiving it wished it; but no copy was allowed to be taken of it.

Note 4.—A JUSTIFICATION OF THEIR CONDUCT. Page 193.

The letter of the Senate to the Venetian resident at the Imperial Court was as follows:—"A few days back, the Pope was lamenting to our ambassador at Rome, that, by an order of the Council of Ten, the Abbot Brandolino and the Canon Saraceni should have been put in confinement, and that criminal proceedings should be commenced against them, and insisting that they should be given up to the Ecclesiastical Court as to their only competent judges. To this complaint he added another respecting the making of two laws, the first of which forbids the building of new churches, and the other the transfer of real property to ecclesiastics without our consent. We therefore, having heard these propositions with great wonder and displeasure, and having diligently considered the whole concern, although the matter in hand required no justification of ourselves, and considering, moreover, that we have no need to be answerable to him touching our lay government, yet desiring to act like dutiful sons towards a loving father in this case also, we replied to him, that our course of conduct was, as indeed it is, frank, honest, and sincere, seeking only to forward the service of God, the good government of our subjects, and the peace and safety of our States, and that in this straightforward intention

we do and shall ever persevere, with entire constancy. With regard, moreover, to the questions proposed, we said, that these laws are not new things nor invented by us, but deliberate measures acted upon in other States, and founded on former decrees of the Senate, which were by it passed and carried into execution more than three hundred years ago. With regard to the detention of the ecclesiastics, we answered that the Council of Ten having heard many accusations against them for serious charges, had thought fit to put them in confinement, and had done so by virtue of many bulls and privileges granted to them by several Pontiffs, and put in force by the Council. We added that we must confess it seemed to us a hard and strange thing, and one by no means to be conceded, that the Republic should now be deprived of the privileges which she for so long a time has enjoyed ; but since His Holiness appeared discontented with them, nay, had even given it to be understood in Consistory that he counted our deliberations for nothing, and the privileges as conferring insufficient authority, for all these reasons, and inasmuch as the matter is of as great moment as any that has occurred for a length of time, since the Republic may consider herself in like case with all the other Princes, we have decided on sending a special ambassador to His Holiness.<sup>1</sup> All which things we have thought best to tell you for your sole information, so that if mention be made of them to you, and not else, you may be able to answer to the purpose, and to justify this our most righteous cause."

Note 5.—A FORMAL AND SOLEMN PROTEST. Page 268.

"Leonardo Donato, by the grace of God, Doge of Venice, &c., &c.

"To the most Reverend the Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops of all our Venetian Dominions, and to the Vicars, Abbots, Priors, Rectors of Parochial Churches, and other Ecclesiastical Prelates, greeting.

"It has come to our knowledge that, on the 17th of April last past, by order of the most Holy Father Pope Paul V., there was published and posted up in Rome a so-called Brief, which was fulminated against us, our Senate, and the whole of our state ; and that one was addressed to you, the tenor and contents whereof were similar to those of the other. We therefore, find ourselves constrained to preserve in peace and tranquillity the state which God has given [us to rule] ; and in order to maintain our authority as a Prince who in temporal matters recognises no superior saving the Divine Majesty, We, by these our public letters, do protest, before the Lord God and the whole world, that we have not failed to use every possible means to make His Holiness understand our most valid and irrefragable case ; first, by means of our ambassador residing at the Court of His Holiness ;

then by letters of ours, in answer to briefs addressed to us by His Holiness; and, lastly, by a special ambassador sent to him to this effect. But having found the ears of His Holiness closed against us, and seeing that the brief aforesaid is published contrary to all rightful reason, and contrary to the teaching of the Divine Scriptures, the doctrine of the Holy Fathers, and the Sacred Canons, to the prejudice of the secular authority given us by God, and of the liberty of our state, inasmuch as it would cause disturbance in the quiet possession which, by Divine grace, under our government, our faithful subjects hold of their properties, their honour, and their lives, and occasion a most grave and universal scandal throughout the state; We do not hesitate to consider the said brief, not only as unsuitable and unjust, but as null and void, and of no worth or value whatever, and being thus invalid, vain, and unlawfully fulminated, *de facto nullo juris ordine servato*, we have thought fit to use in resisting it the remedies adopted by our ancestors and by other sovereign princes against such Pontiffs as, in using the power given them by God to the use of edifying, have overstepped their due limits; especially are we certain that by you, and by our other faithful subjects, and by the whole world, the brief will be held and considered such as we say; being sure that, as you have, up to the present time, been diligent in your care of the souls of our faithful people, and in advancing our Divine religion, which by your care flourishes as greatly in these our states as in any other; so you will for the future continue in your same pastoral offices, since it is our most firm intention to continue in the holy Catholic and Apostolic faith, and in the rite of the holy Roman Church, as our ancestors have done from the very foundation of this our city, and by Divine grace have continued in the same to the present year. And we will, that these our present letters be posted up in the public places of this our city, and of all the other faithful cities of our dominions, being assured that so public a declaration will reach the ears of all who have had any knowledge of the aforesaid brief, and will likewise come to the knowledge of His Holiness, whom we pray the Lord God to inspire with a sense of the invalidity and nullity of his brief and of the other acts committed against us, and that He, knowing the justice of our cause, may give us strength to maintain our reverence for the holy Apostolic See, whose most devoted servants we and our predecessors, together with this Republic, have been, and ever shall be."

Note 6.—THE LIFE-BLOOD OF OUR CITIZENS, &c. P. 279.

Copy of the vote of the Senate for the banishment of the Jesuits.

"When the company of the Jesuits was first introduced and dwelt in this city, it was admitted and received, conformably to the particular institutions of piety and religion in this our Republic, with readiness and



favour in such an extraordinary degree, that it very soon began to spread through all the other cities of our dominions, having, in most brief space, received advantages and important benefits as great as were ever bestowed on the most ancient and reverend of religious orders, as is well known to every one ; but it, on the other hand, repaying us with an equal measure of ingratitude, has always shown itself very evil disposed, and ever much inclined, on every occasion, to do us a variety of ill offices, prejudicial to the quiet and the good of the Republic. And having, instead of doing such service as might reasonably have been expected from good monks, created instead a thousand scandals, and brought about effects of such pernicious consequence, that they have many a time given reasonable cause to this Council to think of providing a fitting remedy for them, although the order has been borne with most patiently up to this time ; which tolerance, however, has not been able to move it from its former evil dispositions : since, from divers disclosures and writings which have been read to this Council, every one is well aware how great a scandal has been caused by the ill deeds of the company aforesaid during the present movement, it having been the first to show itself disobedient to the orders of this Council, having, by insidious arts, led away other religious bodies as well in this city as in the other cities of our state, to follow its bad example ; and having produced very baneful effects by scattering abroad and impressing most blameable ideas on numbers of persons of either sex, to the danger of disunion and scandal in the faith : and, moreover, as this company has even made use of its trusted servants, in an artful manner, to accomplish its bad ends, to the prejudice of good government and of the peace of this Republic ; and, moreover, having concealed, and carried off by violent ways and means, contrary to the intimation it had received by a public mandate, the greater part of the things appertaining to Divine worship, which have at various times, and in very great numbers and value, been presented to the Church by pious persons for the service and glory of the Divine Majesty, drawn from the heart of the private possessions of our noble citizens and subjects, the which actions of the order have, in the present state of the times, all turned out very prejudicial to public affairs, and of bad example to the other religious orders, and to the entire population of this and the other cities of our state ; to which may be added, that we have heard for certain, from various quarters, that in divers cities of foreign kingdoms, members of the aforesaid company have from the pulpit freely spoken ill, and, with unbridled tongue, spoken to the dishonour and calumny of our Republic : therefore, being unable longer to defer the resolution by which we manifest to the world the just resentment which we, on our part, are bound to show against the said company, which has in so many ways, both in times past and present, with unheard-of ingratitude, declared itself the enemy of the peace and liberty of this our Government,

from which, both in public and in private, it has received very notable benefits as aforesaid, the Senate decrees that the aforesaid Company of the Jesuits, or any member whatever of the said company, can at no time return and inhabit this city, or the land or territory of our dominions, without the express permission of this Council."

Note 7.—THE ITALIAN TRANSLATION FROM THE ORIGINAL SPANISH. P. 296.

The letter, as sent to Contarini in an Italian translation, runs as follows :—

"Muy Sto. Padre. Molto mi pesa che le cose di Venetia si trovino tanto avanti, che s'habbia impegnato V.<sup>ra</sup>. Santità et la sede Apostolica, per il che io non posso come figliuolo de obediencia, lasciar di assister con la mia persona et havere, al servitio et difesa di V.<sup>ra</sup>. Santità et della sede Apostolica, il che ho detto all' ambr. che la Sig.<sup>ta</sup> di Venetia tiene in questa corte, perchè gliene dia avviso; et medesimamente ho ordinato si scriva alli Potentati d'Italia miei dipendenti, perchè intendano la mia volontà, et ho commandato che ne siano avvisati li Vicerè et governatori d'Italia di attender al servitio di V.<sup>ra</sup>. Santità et della sede Apostolica per mar et per terra, secondo li sarà dato avviso, et essendo necessaria la mia persona assisterò con quella vostra Santità nelle occasioni necessarie."

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