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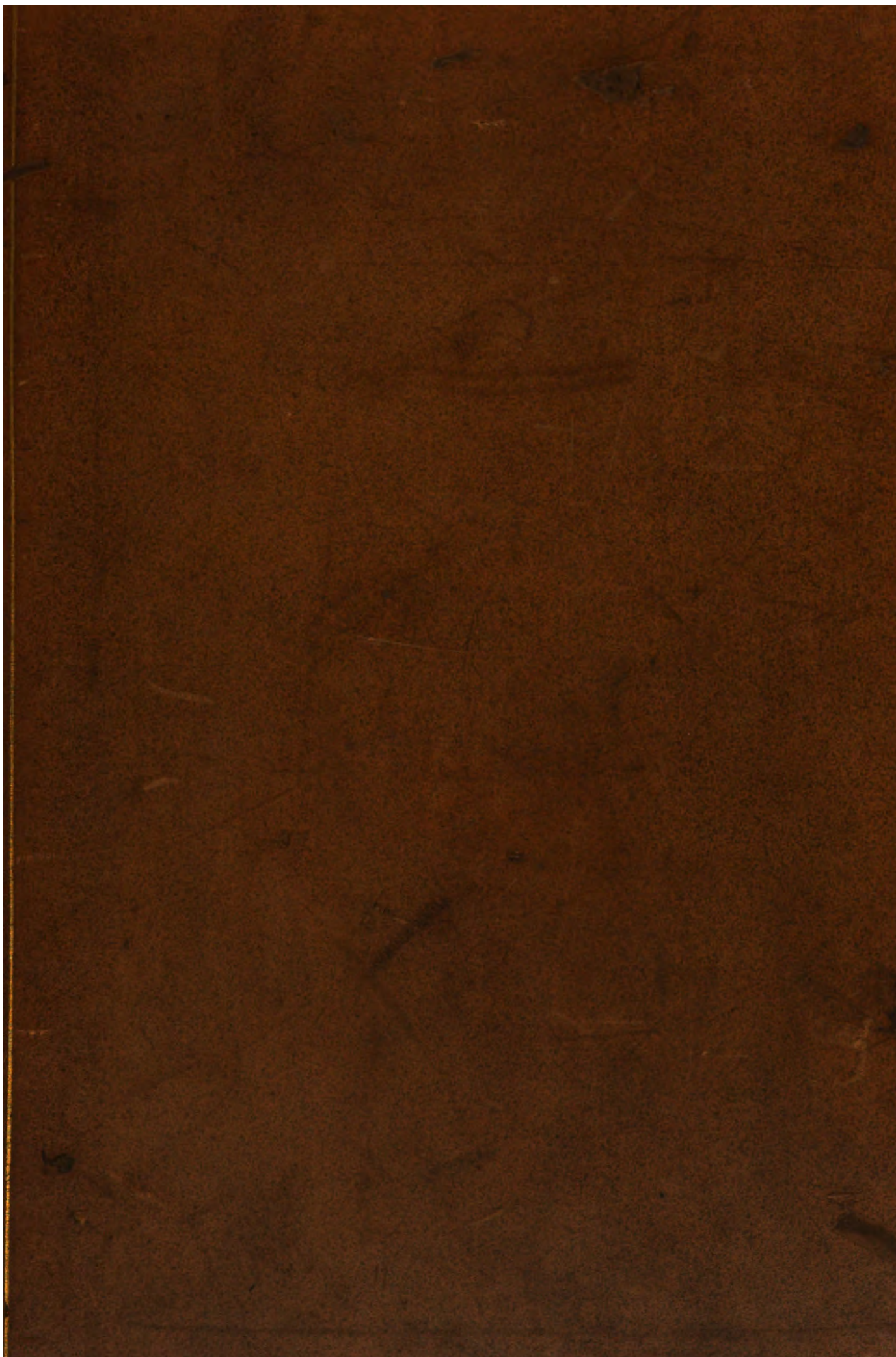
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CLARK PRESS

31 & 74











**RELIGION AND POLICY.**



**BY**

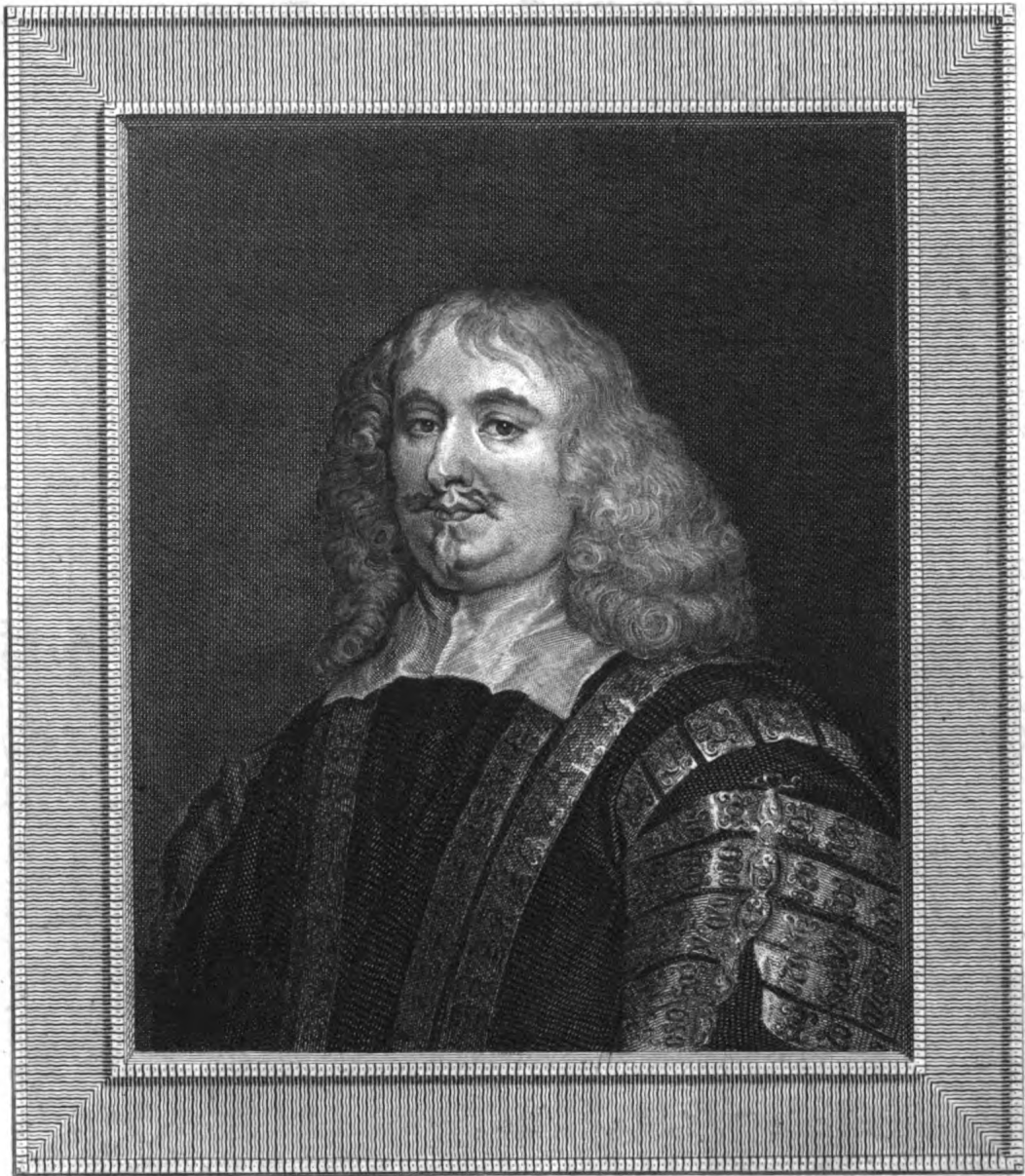
**EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.**











Engraved by James Basire.

**EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.**

*From a Picture in the possession of The Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Charles Abbot,  
Speaker of the House of Commons.*

**RELIGION AND POLICY**  
**AND THE**  
**COUNTENANCE AND ASSISTANCE**  
**EACH SHOULD GIVE TO THE OTHER.**  
**WITH A SURVEY**  
**OF THE**  
**POWER AND JURISDICTION OF THE POPE**  
**IN THE**  
**DOMINIONS OF OTHER PRINCES.**

---

**BY**  
**EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON,**  
**LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND,**  
**AND**  
**CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.**

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**VOLUME THE FIRST.**

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**OXFORD:**  
**AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.**  
**MDCCCXI.**



## ADVERTISEMENT.

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

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

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

The

### ADVERTISEMENT.

The Manuscript is comprised in 407 folio pages fairly written, and bears date on the last page, Moulins, 12 Feb. 167 $\frac{1}{4}$ . Laurence Earl of Rochester, son of EDWARD the first EARL OF CLARENDON, in a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Turner, President of Corpus Christi College Oxford, dated Nov. 30. 1710. speaking of this work, calls it a MS. of his Father's intitled, Religion and Policy; and says, "It is in the same hand-writing that most of the History was in." And the Earl of Rochester's grandson, Henry Viscount Cornbury, in a memorandum of the 7th June 1729, prefixed to the MS. describes it in the state in which it is now found, and as the work of the LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON.

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

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# RELIGION AND POLICY

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## CHAP. I.

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*Introduction, and proposed Subject of Inquiry.*

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

CHAP.  
I.

The sove-  
reign care  
protection  
and propa-  
gation of  
Christian  
religion  
committed  
by God to  
Christian  
kings and  
princes.

<sup>a</sup> Isa. xlix. 23.

CHAP. God himself hath prescribed, so they cannot impose  
I.

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

The forms and circumstances of religion belong to temporal jurisdiction.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

Inquiry how princes have lost, and the Bishop of Rome obtained, a supreme jurisdiction in the dominion of other princes by usurping a spiritual sovereignty.

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

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

CHAP. I. a spiritual distinct sovereignty obstructed the progress of it, and drove more from it than it ever reconciled to it.

The supremacy usurped by the Pope never looked upon in catholic times as part of catholic religion.

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

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

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

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

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

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 CHAP. II.
 

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

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

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

There is no consent in the very succession of the Of thirty-  
 three Popes  
 in the first  
 three hun-  
 dred and  
 twenty  
 years, no  
 consent as  
 to their  
 succession,  
 nor account  
 of their  
 manner of  
 election.  
 Popes, very little pretence to jurisdiction over any  
 other persons where themselves resided, and no men-  
 tion of the manner of their election and how they  
 came to be chosen, till after three hundred years.  
 For, taking it as granted that St. Peter sat seven  
 years at Antioch and four and twenty at Rome, and  
 that he suffered in the year sixty-nine after the birth  
 of our Saviour; and admitting likewise that St. Paul  
 suffered on the very same day with him, though in a  
 different manner, (which is of great use to them, since  
 they do not deny that St. Paul had equal authority  
 with St. Peter in Rome itself) yet it does not appear  
 who did immediately succeed St. Peter, whether Li-  
 nus or Clement; for they who prefer Linus and  
 Cletus both before Clement do yet acknowledge that  
 St. Peter did appoint Clement to succeed him, and  
 that Clement was so humble that he refused it, and  
 so he is placed the fourth after Linus and Cletus.

But

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

Nature of their jurisdiction till the time of Constantine.

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

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

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

was

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

Councils<sup>b</sup>: “ *Domino sanctissimo, Fratri Silvestro,* CHAP.  
 “ *Marinus vel cætus Episcoporum, qui adunati fu-* II.  
 “ *erunt in oppido Arelatensi, quid decreverimus com-*  
 “ *muni concilio, charitati tuæ significavimus, ut omnes*  
 “ *sciant quid in futurum observare debeant.*” This  
 is the same Pope Silvester to whom they would per-  
 suade us the Emperor Constantine had such defe-  
 rence, when we see how the poor Council at Arles  
 treat him as they did any other Bishop.

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

And now succeeded Julian in the Empire; whe-

<sup>b</sup> P. 40—45.

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

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

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

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

CHAP. II.  
Irruption of the Goths and subsequent state of Papal jurisdiction till the time of Pope Hildebrand Gregory VII. A. D. 1073.

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

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

Council of Ephesus.

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

Council of Calcedon.

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

was

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

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



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

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

appro-

CHAP.  
II.

Cardinals.

Council of  
Milan.

Hildebrand  
Greg. VII.

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

Irregular  
 course of  
 Papal elec-  
 tions from  
 Pope Greg.  
 VII. till the  
 decree of  
 Pope Hono-  
 rius III.  
 1227.

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

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

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

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

CHAP.

II.

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

Celestine V.

Clement V. how elected.

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

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

Council of  
 Vienne,  
 A. D. 1309.  
 and sup-  
 pression of  
 the Tem-  
 plars.

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

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

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

Univ. of Paris censures the Pope's doctrines.

His jurisdiction denied by the Council of Spires.

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

Urban V.

Urban VI.

Christian countries were capable of having a Pope of their own nation; and all prelates, indeed all clergy-  
CHAP. II.  
 men, were capable of being chosen Pope. But the last stratagem of restraining the election to be made out of the sacred college (which hath produced that combination that the Church shall not for the future ever have a Pope who is not an Italian) is very modern, and would deprive the whole Christian world of the greatest privilege imaginable, if any other part of it than Italy were really concerned who is Pope or what he does. And there can be no right reason why the neighbour kings and sovereign princes do not always insist upon the precedent made in the Council of Constance; where, as the ambassadors of Italy France Spain Germany and England had con-  
Council of Constance. A. D. 1418.  
 curred in the Council in the sentence against Benedict and deprived him of the Papacy, so the Council appointed six persons of either of the five nations, whereof three or four were bishops and the other learned men, to assist in the conclave for the election of a new Pope; and so there were thirty of those five nations who with twenty-three Cardinals (for there were no more upon the place) entered the conclave, and after many contests and difficulties chose the Cardinal Colonna, who was called Martin the Fifth; Martin V.  
 of whose lawful election there was never any question raised; and this Council was dissolved but in the year one thousand four hundred and eighteen. Twenty years after the Council of Basil proceeded in the  
Council of Basil.  
 same method; and when they had deprived the Pope Eugenio, and had but one Cardinal with them, they  
Eugenio.  
 appointed thirty-two, eight of each nation; Italian French Spaniards and Germans, England not having sent to that Council; and they chose Amadeo



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

Julius III. Upon the death of Paul the Third, which was in  
 A. D. 1549. the year one thousand five hundred and forty-nine,  
 Harry

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

<sup>c</sup> Memoires de Monsieur Ribier, tom. ii. p. 254.

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

Manage-  
 ment of  
 conclaves.

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

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

CHAP. II. There hath never been the least doubt made of the

truth of this relation, most of it being likewise included in the letters of the other two Cardinals upon this occasion, and therefore we will not enlarge farther upon the integrity and piety of those elections. It is very true the singular courage and conscience of Cardinal Baronius, who protested against so infamous a person, prevented the election of Tosco notwithstanding so scandalous a combination; and the conclave ended in the choice of Cardinal Borghese, called Paul the Fifth, who shewed so much folly and mettle against the republic of Venice, and repented it. But from this short review of the absence of all religious and sincere cogitations, and the sinister practice of such unrighteous ways in those elections for politic and worldly ends, the Catholic Church itself may easily discern how impossible it is that a person so chosen can be of the essence of Catholic religion; and how ridiculous it is that any particular Catholic shall expose his life and fortune as a sacrifice to maintain and defend the imaginary jurisdiction of a man so imposed upon the Church against the established laws and government of his own country. If it were fit that there should be such an universal submission of all Christian nations to such a magistrate, reason and justice would require that there should be an equal impartial and incorrupt way prescribed for the election of him; and that every catholic nation in succession might have a Pope chosen of that nation, who might by his particular knowledge of what is wanting administer to the defects which that national Church labours under, and that such a little corner of the world as Italy,  
and

Election of  
Paul V.

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

CHAP.  
II.

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 CHAP. III.
 

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

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

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

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

CHAP.  
III.

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

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

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

pre-



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

Reign of  
Justinian.

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAP.  
III.

Pope Gre-  
gory I. the  
Great.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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It

CHAP.  
III.

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

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

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



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

State of  
 Gaul.

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

lish

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

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

Churches  
 in Gaul in-  
 dependent  
 of the Pope.

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

<sup>d</sup> Pag. 40.

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

CHAP.  
III.

• Pag. 43.

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

State of Spain.

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

<sup>f</sup> Rom. xv. 24.

with

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

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

CHAP. and made him (that is, called him) Archbishop of  
 III. Mentz. This indeed was a true and the first bare-  
 faced champion that is recorded for the authority of  
 the Pope in the act of the conversion of souls; for  
 whatever good intention Augustin the monk might  
 have to advance that title, we do not find that he  
 made it any condition of his baptism, or promised  
 the vindication of it when he was sent; but this Bo-  
 niface frankly undertook his mission upon that con-  
 dition, and solemnly swore, laying his hand upon  
 the body and relics of St. Peter, "*Se Catholice fidei*  
*sinceritatem integram atque illibatam per omnem*  
*vitam conservaturum, Romanæque Ecclesiæ Pontifi-*  
*cibus, ut divi Petri successoribus officiosè paritu-*  
*rum;*" for which we have the word of Dr. Harps-  
 field<sup>5</sup>; and it is I believe the first precedent they  
 can produce of such an obligation before the time of  
 Ignatius Loyola, and only concerns our countryman  
 Boniface, who was therefore obliged to do the best  
 he could towards it. And so we have finished our  
 present survey of all the considerable parts of Eu-  
 rope, Italy only excepted; and we shall best discover  
 what was the concurrent doctrine of the Pope's au-  
 thority, at that time and after, there as well as in the  
 West, by returning to the time of the death of Gre-  
 gory the Great, (from whence we made this digres-  
 sion,) and prosecuting our former method, in which  
 we shall make those discoveries which are necessary  
 to our purpose.

Papal power  
 after the  
 death of  
 Gregory I.

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

<sup>5</sup> Pag. 118.

(who

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

CHAP.  
III.

Severinus.

Martin I.

Benedict II.

Sergius I.



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

Excommu-  
 nicates and  
 deprives  
 Philippicus  
 Emperor of  
 the East.

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

CHAP.  
III.

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

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

Growth of the papal power.

Gregory II. leagues with Charles Martel.

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

Zacharias  
deposes  
King Chil-  
deric.

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

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

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

Ravenna,

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

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

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

Desi-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Universal  
reverence  
for mini-  
sters of re-  
ligion.

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

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

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



CHAP. III. the liberties and privileges of which the Church and churchmen were possessed before from the voluntary devotion of the people, and added new and important concessions to them, and ordained that the clergy should be judges in all causes whatsoever though of never so temporal a nature: and so, probably by his example and that they might be more acceptable to him, as soon as ever any prince became Christian (though it appeared not in any other actions of his life or manners) he was very active and solicitous

Churches founded.

for the building of Churches, (which many impious men did,) and immediately confirmed all the old and granted new privileges to the Church and to all ecclesiastical persons; by which they then came to have a title to all they claimed which could not be shaken by their original founders, when the first zeal that begat it was exceedingly decayed, and when the views of churchmen grew as notorious as their prudence and piety had been eminent. This is manifest by the records which are yet left with all the nations who were first Christian, between which (at what distance soever they were) there seemed a correspondence or rather an instinct and sympathy dictated from nature in the joint reverence they had for their clergy, who were in all places assigned to a principal part in the government of all kingdoms and states, and quickly obtained in most of the provinces of Europe the stile and appellation of the third estate.

Clergy become the third estate in most parts of Europe.

This gave them a great ascendant in the government, which together with their faculties made them very necessary and of signal authority with the crown itself. Nobody can believe that this prerogative was granted to them by the Pope, who doth not yet pretend to any such power, even in those regions which

are

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

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

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

Charles-magne introduces the Papal authority into France.

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

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

first

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

CHAP. King of Italy, and the investiture of all bishoprics  
III.

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

The Grego-  
rian office  
and mass  
brought  
into France.

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

to

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

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

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

Leo III. sends to the Emperor for his approbation.

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

Stephen IV. does the like.

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

Leo,

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

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

But yet this good Emperor (who the French his- Appeals to  
 torians say would have been a better Bishop or Ab- Rome al-  
 bot than he was a King) was so totally addicted to lowed by  
 reform the Church by reforming the clergy, (which him.  
 in truth stood in great need of it, and towards which  
 he asked no other body's assistance,) that he was not  
 provi-



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

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

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

CHAP.  
III.

Imprison-  
ment and  
death of  
Bernardo  
King of  
Italy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Death and character of Louis le Debonnaire.

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

Wars between Lotaire and his brothers.

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

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

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

CHAP.  
III.

Battle of  
Fontenay.

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

Division of  
the empire  
and its con-  
sequences.

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

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

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



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

Extinction  
 of the line  
 of Charle-  
 magne.

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

<sup>a</sup> Illéscas en vida de Hadriano II.

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

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

CHAP.  
III.

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

*Peter-pence* in England first granted by the princes of the heptarchy.

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

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

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

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

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

CHAP.  
III.

Stephen  
VIII. IX.

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

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

John

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

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

ordered

CHAP.  
III.  
John XI<sup>th</sup>.

Benedict  
VI.

Gregory V.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

CHAP.  
III.

The Bullarium.

CHAP. III. them resort to Rome, where the Popes were glad of all occasions to condemn the privileges of the Gallian church, and sometimes excommunicated the bishops, who as confidently protested against their power even in the decision of matters of faith; as in the point of predestination, wherein the learned

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

Hinckmar Archbishop of Rheims positively refused to submit to the Pope's judgment, and the Pope proceeded no farther.

Victor II.

After Leo the Ninth, Victor the Second succeeded, who reigned but two years, and then Stephen

Stephen IX.

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

Benedict X.

They at Rome did not observe the oath they had taken; as soon as the news came of the death of Stephen, part of them chose the Bishop of Veletri to be Pope, who called himself Benedict the Tenth; but other of the Cardinals and the greater part of the city went out of Rome to Sienna, and there chose the

Nicholas II.

Bishop of Florence, who was called Nicholas the Second; and he called a council which declared the election of Benedict void, who after he had been Pope nine months submitted and returned to his bishoprick.

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

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

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

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

State of  
 Spain.

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

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

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

CHAP. alterations and insurrections in their government  
 III. — which proceeded from the new opinions which then  
 broke out, and every day got more credit by the doc-  
 trine of Berengarius ; which was like to be the more  
 dangerous, because it contradicted the two vital parts  
 of the religion of Rome, the real presence in the sa-  
 crament, and the universal authority of the Pope.

Dispute be-  
 tween the  
 Emperor  
 Henry II.  
 and Ferdi-  
 nand of  
 Castile set-  
 tled by the  
 Pope's Le-  
 gate.

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

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

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

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



CHAP.  
III.

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

Alexander II. set aside and succeeded by Honorius II.

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

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

Lanfranc canonizes Aldelmus without the Pope's interposition.

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

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

CHAP.  
III.

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Harpsfield, p. 135.

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

State of  
France.

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

<sup>a</sup> Bullar. tom. i.

the

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

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

CHAP.  
III.

Origin of  
appeals to  
the Pope  
on cases of  
marriage.

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

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

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

<sup>a</sup> Mezeray in the Life of Robert.

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 CHAP. IV.
 

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

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Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) excommunicates the Emperor.

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

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

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

*“ tuam*

CHAP.  
IV.  
Council of  
Worms.

Council of  
Rome.



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

Clement  
 III.

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

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

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

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

Introduces  
 the Roman  
 missal into  
 Spain.

Victor III. When Gregory was dead, Victor the Third was  
 chosen in his place; who being poisoned within a  
 year, Urban the Second succeeded; both of them con-  
 tinuing and renewing the censures against the Em-  
 peror and Clement. The Emperor remained as obsti-  
 nate against submitting to them, and drove Pope Ur-  
 ban to very great straits, though he had prevailed with  
 the Emperor's own sons to rebel against their father.

Paschal II. Pope Paschal the Second succeeded, and was the  
 first Pope who was crowned with any circumstances  
 of pomp and majesty; which, a Spanish writer says,  
 did not proceed out of any arrogance or ambition in  
 his

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

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

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

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

Mezeray's  
 account of  
 the growth  
 of Papal  
 power.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Council of  
 Beauvais.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Affair of  
 Thomas a  
 Becket.

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

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



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

Causes of  
 Henry the  
 Second's  
 extraordi-  
 nary sub-  
 mission to  
 the Pope.

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

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

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

**Conclusion**  
of that af-  
fair.

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

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

CHAP. pended near if not full four years, and filled all the  
IV. mouths of Christendom, was determined; and the

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

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

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

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

CHAP.  
IV.

His insolent treatment of the Emperor Frederic.

<sup>a</sup> Bull. tom. i. Alex. III.

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

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

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

Bull of  
 Gregory  
 VIII.

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

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

Wars between Richard I. and Philip II.

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

Celestin III.

<sup>a</sup> Mezeray, Life of Philip.

Pope

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

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

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

her rival died; having lived five years with the King, and had by him a son and a daughter, both whom Innocent the Third afterwards legitimated. CHAP.  
IV.

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

CHAP. other princes, who were more inclined to the Duke  
 IV. of Suevia: but the Pope had prevailed with the King  
 of Bohemia to quit the other party, and to adhere to  
 Otho; and now, upon the King of Bohemia's coming  
 to Rome, the Pope would do him some grace; and to  
 contribute to his greatness he declares by his bull,  
 "*Licet ante tuæ promotionis tempora, multi fuerint*  
 "*in Bohemiâ Regio Diademate insigniti, nunquam*  
 "*tamen potuerunt a predecessoribus nostris Romanis*  
 "*Pontificibus obtinere, ut Reges eos in suis literis*  
 "*nominarent.*" But because he had left the party of  
 the Duke of Suevia at the Pope's desire, and adhered  
 to Otho the Emperor, &c. "*tam intuitu precum ejus,*  
 "*quam tuæ devotionis obtentu, Regem te de cætero re-*  
 "*putare volumus et vocare; Tu igitur taliter gra-*  
 "*tiam tibi factam agnoscas &c.*" and so dismissed  
 him with giving him what he and his predecessors  
 had long enjoyed; a device that court frequently  
 used, that they might seem to consent, and to con-  
 firm what they could not deny, or take away. In-  
 deed Don Pedro of Arragon was more indebted to  
 him; for though he had nothing but what he had  
 with signal courage got and won from the Moors,  
 yet neither the King of Castile, (who thought all be-  
 longed to him,) nor the other princes, would allow  
 him to be a King: he therefore applied himself to  
 the Pope, who was glad of the occasion to shew his  
 power, and with great solemnity crowned him in the  
 monastery of St. Pancras in Rome; which having  
 repeated in his bull, he adds, "*Nos gratiam tibi a no-*  
 "*bis exhibitam ad successores tuos derivari volentes*  
 "*&c.*" grants authority to the Archbishop of Tara-  
 gona to crown them in Zaragoza; "*Et quoniam jure*  
 "*civili statutum est, ut mulieres maritorum honoribus*  
 " de-

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

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

was

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

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

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



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

kind of omnipotence than he practised in any other kingdom. CHAP. IV.

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

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

John's defective title to the crown.

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

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

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

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

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

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CHAP.  
IV.  
Submis-  
sion of  
John.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

St. Lawrence canonized  
A. D. 1225.

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

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

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

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

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

In



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

Innocent  
IV.

Excommu-  
nicates the  
Emperor.

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

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

our

CHAP.  
IV.

Crusade of  
St. Lewis.

Return of  
St. Lewis  
A. D. 1270.

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

Papal power checked in France.

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

And in England.

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

Excommunication of Don Diego, King of Arragon.

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

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

The

CHAP.  
IV.

The Inqui-  
sition esta-  
blished.

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

Alexander  
IV.

Disputed  
succession  
to the em-  
pire.

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

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

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

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

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

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



CHAP.  
IV.

Bulls in  
vindication  
of the ho-  
nour of St.  
Francis  
and in aid  
of the In-  
quisition.

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

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

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

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

CHAP.  
IV.

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

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

Defeat and  
 death of  
 Manfredo.

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

Defeat and  
 execution  
 of Conra-  
 din.

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

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

CHAP.  
IV.

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

Character  
of Clement  
IV.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

John



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

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

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

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

Sicilian  
Vespers.

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

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

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

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

Siege of  
Messina.

Challenge  
between  
Charles of  
Anjou and  
Don Pedro.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

Dalmatia;

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

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

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

Honorius  
 IV.

Nicholas  
 IV.

Celestin  
 V.

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

Upon

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

CHAP.  
IV.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jubilees  
 with plenary indul-  
 gences in-  
 stituted by  
 Boniface  
 VIII.

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

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

CHAP.  
IV.

Excommu-  
nication of  
Philip le  
Bel.



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

Death of  
Boniface  
VIII.

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

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

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

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

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 CHAP. V.
 

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

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

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

Conclave  
upon the  
death of  
Benedict  
XI.

Clement V.  
elected.

CHAP. V. who in the forty days to come found means to pacify  
 V. the King of France; and the King agreed to make

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

Removes to  
 Avignon.

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

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

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

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

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

o

bassadors

CHAP.  
V.  
the laws  
and char-  
ters.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nicholas V.  
 Anti-Pope.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Council at Spires denies his authority over the empire.



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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAP.  
V.

His conduct  
towards  
France and  
England.

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

Seizure of  
the English  
ambassadors  
at  
Avignon,  
and their  
release.

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

to

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

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

Interdict of  
certain  
towns in  
Flanders.

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

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

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

P

seen

CHAP.  
V.Edward III.  
of England  
sets it at de-  
fiance.Character  
of Benedict  
XII.

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

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

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

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

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



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

Charles IV.  
 elected Em-  
 peror of  
 Germany.

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

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

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

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

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

Privileges  
of the con-  
clave en-  
larged.

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

Avignon  
purchased  
by the  
Pope.

Innocent  
VI.

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

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

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

CHAP.  
V.

Baroncello  
Tribune.

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

Complaints  
against the  
Mendicant  
friars.

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

Urban V. Upon the death of Innocent, the Cardinals, being shut up in the conclave, fell into great factions upon the election of another Pope; which begot such irreconcilable animosities amongst themselves, and towards one another, that they could agree upon nothing else, than that no Cardinal should be chosen; which being resolved upon, they entered into a more temperate debate; and in a short time after they made choice of a monk of St. Bennet's order, who was a man much esteemed for piety and learning, and who at that time was employed in the kingdom of Naples, he having been sent thither by Innocent about the weighty affairs of the church. When he returned, he took the name of Urban the Fifth, and the people in all places were much pleased with the choice.

Cardinals  
 entitled to  
 vote in con-  
 clave im-

In this election there was a case determined, that was contrary to the received doctrine of the former time; nor did the present decision gain so much authority

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

France was now the scene of a general devastation,  
it being shortly after the battle of Poitiers; and

CHAP.  
V.  
mediately  
upon their  
nomina-  
tion.

Gregory  
XI. in orig.

Urban V.  
besieged in  
Avignon,

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

though

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

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

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

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

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

be

CHAP.  
V.

Gregory  
XI.

Removes  
to Rome.



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

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

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

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

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

OWN

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

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

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

be

CHAP.  
V.

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

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

Clement  
 VII. elected  
 at Fundi;  
 removes to  
 Avignon.

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

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

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

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

a

and

CHAP.  
V.

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

Comparative pretensions of Urban and Clement.

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

Admitted  
 by some  
 states, and  
 rejected by  
 others.

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

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



CHAP.  
V.

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

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

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

Boniface  
IX. at  
Rome.

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

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

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

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

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

CHAP.  
V.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Death of  
 Clement,  
 and election  
 of Benedict  
 XIII.

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

Upon

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

to

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

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

Benedict  
 besieged in  
 Avignon.

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

con-

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



CHAP. V. government; who, in the time of the King's distraction, and then upon his *lucida intervalla*, made and altered all counsels and resolutions according as their power was in the several seasons. And the Duke of Or-

Submission  
of France.

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

Innocent  
VIII, suc-  
ceeds Boni-  
face IX.

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

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

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

were

CHAP.  
V.

Gregory  
XII. suc-  
ceeds Inno-  
cent VIII.  
His collu-  
sive pro-  
ceedings  
with Bene-  
dict XIII.

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

Benedict's  
 bull torn in  
 pieces by  
 the Rector  
 of the Uni-  
 versity of  
 Paris.

France  
 withdraws  
 all obedi-  
 ence from  
 the Pope.

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

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

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

And in the thirteenth year of his reign there was a Archbishop  
 very signal case, which is a convincing evidence and of Canter-  
 manifestation of what account the Pope's supremacy bury claims  
 was then in England. The Archbishop of Canter- jurisdiction  
 bury complained in Parliament, that the University over the  
 of Oxford had obtained a bull from the Pope to be University  
 clearly exempted from the visitation of the said Arch- of Oxford  
 bishop, to the end that they might better support He- in opposi-  
 retics and Lollards; notwithstanding which bull King tion to the  
 Richard Pope's bull,  
and the  
Parliament  
confirms  
the Archbi-  
shop's ju-  
risdiction.

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

Council at  
 Pisa elect  
 Alexander  
 V.

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

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

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

R

privilege

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

The Uni-  
 versity of  
 Paris expels  
 all who ac-  
 cept this  
 grant.

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

Death of  
 Alexander  
 V. and elec-  
 tion of  
 John  
 XXIII.  
 who re-  
 peals the  
 grant.

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

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

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



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

Council of  
 Constance.

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

bound in those occasions to submit to its determina- CHAP.  
tions. V.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAP.  
V.

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

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

Return of  
the Pope  
to Rome.

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

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

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

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

be

CHAP.  
V.

Death of  
Benedict  
XIII.

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

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

The Cardinal Bishop of Winchester made a Privy-Counsellor to Henry VI. with an exclusion from council in all matters concerning the Pope.

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

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 CHAP. VI.
 

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

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

This Pope, Eugenius the Fourth, left a lasting mo- <sup>Eugenius IV. dis-</sup> nument to Christendom of his mischievous power <sup>penses with</sup> and jurisdiction, in two infamous dispensations which <sup>the oaths of</sup> he granted, to dispense with oaths formally and reli- <sup>the Duke</sup> giously entered into: the first was his absolving the <sup>of Burgun-</sup> Duke of Burgundy from the faith and promise that <sup>dy and La-</sup> <sup>dislaus</sup> <sup>King of</sup> <sup>Hungary.</sup>

he



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

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

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

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

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

After

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

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

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

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

Constanti-  
nople taken  
by the  
Turks.

Causes  
and conse-  
quences of  
the separa-  
tion be-  
tween the  
Church of  
Rome and  
the Greek  
Church.

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

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

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pro-

CHAP.  
VI.

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

Calixtus  
III.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Makes the like requisition to Lewis XI.

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

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

CHAP.  
VI.

Opposed by  
the University of Paris.

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

cause

Paul II. renews the same requisition.

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAP.  
VI.

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

Conspires  
with the  
Pazzi of  
Florence to  
assassinate  
the Medici.

the



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

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

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

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

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

CHAP. VI. Archbishop's countenance was so distracted, and his

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

Proceedings of the Pope and

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

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

CHAP.  
VI.  
the republic upon  
this transaction.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

" Quar-

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

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

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

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

Alexander  
VI. Borgia.

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

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

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

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

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

Savonarola  
 burnt for  
 preaching

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

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

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

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

His divorce  
and second  
marriage  
with Anne  
of Brittany.

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

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



CHAP.  
VI.

Cæsar Bor-  
gia created  
Duke of  
Valenti-  
nois.

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

Grounds of  
the divorce.

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

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

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

CHAP.  
VI.

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

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

<sup>a</sup> Vide Magnum Bullarium Romanum, tom. i. pag. 467. Edit. Lugd. 1655.

<sup>b</sup> Bullæ dictæ §. 6.

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

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

most

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

A reforma-  
tion pressed  
by all  
princes, but  
resisted by  
the court  
of Rome.

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

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

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

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

ercise of it in whomsoever should be placed in that chair; and therefore they chose a Pope, Pius the Third, like to prescribe a remedy for the future, by a severe inquisition into what was past. CHAP. VI.

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



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

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

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

CHAP.  
VI.

Accedes to  
the league  
of Cam-  
bray.

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

“ *bitatis schismaticis, et inconsutilis tunicæ Domini no-* CHAP.  
 “ *stri Jesu Christi violatoribus et dissipatoribus, ac de* VI.  
 “ *Catholicâ fide malè sentientibus, habendos et repu-*  
 “ *tandos &c. et cum Dathan et Abiram partem et*  
 “ *damnationem habere &c.*” But within a short time  
 the Venetians became good Catholics again, and  
 France as bad as they had been.

In less than two years this strong and mighty con-<sup>Venetian</sup>  
 federation between the Pope, the Emperor, France, <sup>war.</sup>  
 and Spain, had so far prevailed against the Venetians  
 by sea and land, that they lost a naval battle or two,  
 and had so many of their towns taken, that they had  
 little left but Venice itself, with the places within their  
 own Gulph: notwithstanding which, when they had  
 all those Princes upon them, and when all the other  
 Princes of Italy either combined with their enemies  
 for their destruction, or durst not administer any assis-  
 tance to them, it ought to be remembered for their  
 eternal honour, that when Bajazet, the Emperor of the  
 Turks, upon no other motive but of a generous com-  
 passion, in this their perplexity offered to give them  
 aid and assistance, they absolutely refused to receive  
 it. In the mean time the Pope discerned he got no-  
 thing by all this mischief. Lewis of France (whom of  
 all men living he most feared and least loved) was al-  
 ready in the quiet possession of Milan; and, by having  
 Genoa likewise in his hands, was upon the matter  
 able to give the law to Italy. Those places which he  
 thought by his spiritual ordinance to have gotten  
 from the Venetians, were in the hands of the Em-  
 peror Maximilian, or of Ferdinand of Spain, with  
 all the other towns which had been taken from the  
 Venetians; and the Emperor himself, with an army  
 of forty thousand men, hoped first to straiten, and  
 then

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

War be-  
 tween  
 France and  
 the Pope.

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

The

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

As

CHAP.  
VI.  
Lewis XII.  
prohibits all  
intercourse  
with Rome.

CHAP. VI. As long as Maximilian had hope to get more, or  
 Lewis XII. and Maxi-  
 milian  
 summon  
 the Pope to  
 a general  
 Council at  
 Pisa and  
 Milan.

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

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

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

This

CHAP.  
VI.

Julius II.  
besieges  
and takes  
Miranda.



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

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

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

CHAP.  
VI.

Council of  
Lateran.

Navarre  
granted by  
the Pope to  
Ferdinand.

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

Remarks upon the grounds and effects of the Papal usurpations.

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

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

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

Leo X. His character.

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

Takes off the interdict from France.

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

or

or seven years, that he was a very good Catholic, and had kept all his subjects in that faith and exercise, notwithstanding the Pope's excommunication and interdiction of the kingdom. CHAP.  
VI.

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

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

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

Leo the Tenth's Bull in the first year of his reign, "*Reformatio generalis Prælatorum ecclesiasticorum, eorumque officialium et familiarum;*" which is so very well worth the reading for the new stile, different from that which was used before, and the lively description of the ignorance and iniquity of that time: and afterwards, when Luther first appeared, in contradiction of some doctrines and customs taught and practised in the church, the Pope was moved by his arguments, and inclined to have prescribed remedies, and to have extinguished the clamour by suppressing the grounds of it. But the vice of the time was too strong for the virtue of any particular

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

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

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



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

Charles

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The

CHAP.  
VI.

His war  
with Cardi-  
nal Colonna.

CHAP.  
VI.

Behaviour  
of Charles  
V. to Fran-  
cis I. after  
the battle  
of Pavia.

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

he

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

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



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

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

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

together

CHAP.  
VI.

The Pope  
absolves  
Francis I.  
from his  
oath to ob-  
serve the  
treaty of  
Madrid.

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

Divorce of  
Hen. VIII.  
and his se-  
paration  
from the  
Church of  
Rome.

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

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

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

Lewis

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

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

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

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VI.

Hen. VIII.  
excommu-  
nicated.

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

Language  
of the Bull  
of Excom-  
munica-  
tion.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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VI.

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

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

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

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VI.

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 CHAP. VII.
 

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

Paul III.  
Farnese.

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

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

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

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

Paul

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Council  
of Trent  
called: but  
not assem-  
bled to any  
effectual  
purpose  
during his  
reign.

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

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

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

The



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VII.

The Emperor calls a National Council at Worms, and grants an Interim of twenty-six Articles until a General Council.

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

The Pope's conduct.

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

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

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

CHAP.  
VII.

The Empe-  
ror's con-  
duct.

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

Proceedings  
of the Pope  
and the  
Emperor.

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

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

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

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

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CHAP.  
VII.

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

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

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

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

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

Proceedings  
in conclave  
for the elec.

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

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

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



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

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

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

CHAP. VII. themselves, he was chosen, and took the name of Julius the Third.

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

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

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

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

The King of France prohibits all intercourse with Rome. A. D. 1551. By this unsteady course in his proceeding, (which he thought served his turn better than his appearing to be still the same man would have done,) he lost the reverence of the Empire, France, and Spain, as much as Paul or Clement had done. France made the first discovery of its resentment. That King discerned, that, notwithstanding all professions and protestations, the Pope made greater condescensions to the Emperor than towards him, and had more dependance upon him; which his great spirit not being able to endure, he publicly declared, that by the ripe and serious deliberation of several Princes of the blood, as also by the advice of his Council, and of other prudent persons of his kingdom, he did forbid all sorts of persons of his kingdom, whether ecclesiastical, secular, or laics, of what estate or condition soever, that they be not so bold as to dare to go or send to the Court of Rome, or to any other place out of his kingdom, to procure or purchase benefices, or other grants or dispensations whatever; nor to carry or cause to be carried, or send to the said Court of Rome, (by letters of change or credit, or otherwise, directly or indirectly, by what way or means soever,) gold, silver, monies, or monies worth,  
for

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

drawn



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

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

The Em-  
 peror grants  
 his safe con-  
 duct.

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

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

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

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The Coun-  
cil of Trent  
meets and  
proceeds.

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

Marcellus  
 II. elected.  
 His charac-  
 ter.

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

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

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

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

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

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with

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

Seven additional Cardinals made by Paul IV. contrary to his oath.

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

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

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

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



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

Philip II. becomes King of Spain; and Ferdinand becomes Emperor. Philip the Second was now possessed of all the Spanish dominions, and of whatever else had been settled by the Emperor his father upon that crown; and shortly after Paul came to the Papacy, the Emperor abdicated the empire to his brother Ferdinand, who had been many years before King of the Romans, and had thereby an unquestionable title to succeed

succeed when the empire should be void. The Pope refused to acknowledge the Emperor's abdication, or to declare or accept Ferdinand for Emperor; alleging, that though, as King of the Romans, he was to succeed in the empire when it was void by death, yet the Emperor could not resign without his consent; and that the King of the Romans could not pretend to a succession whilst he was living. But Ferdinand was Emperor with the approbation and general acceptance of the Electors, and all the other Princes, and cared not for his consent or allowance. Then the Pope would not consent that Charles had any power to transfer the dominions in Italy (which were feoffs of the church) upon his son; and his two nephews were so wholly devoted to France, that they did all they could to render their uncle most averse to Spain; and assured him, that they had discovered a conspiracy against his person, cherished and fomented by Philip, and that they had apprehended two persons, who, being put to the question, confessed that they were hired to assassinate him, for which they were both executed; and it is true, that there were two such men executed upon that allegation, the foulness of all which did afterwards appear.

But Paul then gave entire credit to all that his nephews said to him, and from thence grew to have an implacable hatred against the whole house of Austria, and secretly entered into a league offensive and defensive with the King of France; and offered to give him the investiture of the kingdom, and to assist him in the recovery of the dutchy; and as he reserved some considerable places of the kingdom of Naples to himself, so he offered others which lay most convenient to them, and even Ravenna itself, to the Republic of

Paul IV.  
enters into  
a league  
with the  
King of  
France.

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 Venice, to draw them into the association. But that wise Republic liked not the conjunction, and thought that the neighbourhood of the French in Italy could not be recompensed by any places which could be put into their hands. And though the King, upon the advice of the lords who were most favoured by him, and more by that of the ladies, with whose advice he most concurred, greedily entered into that alliance, and accepted all the conditions, yet his wisest counsellors, and all France in general, had and declared a wonderful aversion from that war and alliance: not only because their hands were full enough, and that they could not without great difficulty resist the Spaniard from Flanders, who daily got ground upon them, but out of dislike of all that the Pope did; who, having one leg in the grave already, could not live to give above a year's assistance to an enterprize that could have no limits of time prescribed to the finishing it; and they had paid too dear for affecting a war in Italy to be much in love with the like attempts.

The Duke  
 of Alva  
 marches  
 against the  
 Pope.

Philip at this time was a sour looker on; he knew all the intrigues which had with the greatest secrecy been entered into, from the very time of the Pope's being chosen, and the whole progress they made; of which he took no notice, but spoke frequently and publicly, that the Pope had not been canonically chosen; and that he meant to appeal against it to a General Council: and he had prevailed with a good number of Cardinals, who were willing to have assembled to have given a beginning to it; but when he saw all the Pope's designs to be now published, and his league offensive and defensive to be manifest and avowed, and that he had already  
 com-

committed the Cardinal Colonna to prison, and raised a great persecution against his whole family, (who were all under the protection of Spain,) he declined farther thought of that peaceable expedient, and betook himself to a rougher remedy, and more suitable and proportioned to the temper and spirit of the Pope. He sent orders to the Duke of Alva, his Vice-King of Naples, that he should assist and protect the family of Colonna the best he could; and restrain the Pope from giving him any disturbance in his dominions, if he discovered any inclination in him to break the peace thereof. The commission was not ingrateful to the Duke of Alva, who knew the constitution of the Pope, and much loved the family of Colonna, which he thought underwent some oppression for his sake. Therefore, as soon as he heard of troops gathering together in Rome, and in the dominions of the church, and that some French officers, who had been employed in the war of Sienna, were come to Rome, and made much of by the Pope, he began likewise to draw his forces together, and by easy marches led them towards Rome, and writ letters of expostulation and advice, mingled with menaces, to the Pope himself, to desist from farther provoking his Catholic Majesty.

There is a notable letter from that Duke (who was never suspected for inclination towards heretics) to the Pope, which bears date the one and twentieth of August fifteen hundred fifty-six, from Naples, (and may be found amongst those dispatches which are mentioned before, and were printed in Venice,) in which he took notice of his continual disaffection to the prosperity of the House of Austria, before and since his being Pope; that in the time of Paul the

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Letter of  
the Duke  
of Alva to  
the Pope.  
A. D. 1556.

CHAP. VII. Third (upon occasion of some insurrection in Naples) he had advised that Pope not to lose such an occasion, but presently to invade that kingdom; that since his own assumption to the Holy Chair he had favoured and given offices benefices and governments to such as he knew to be rebels to his Catholic Majesty, and gave secret entertainment to many others of his enemies, that they might be ready to disturb the peace of his dominions, when he thought the season ripe for such an enterprise: he put him in mind also, that he had imprisoned and oppressed many of his Catholic Majesty's servants, whose names he mentions: and that he had often and in public used many expressions in prejudice of the King his master, which were very indecent, and not agreeable to "*amor paternale del summo Pontifice,*" all which his Majesty had hitherto borne out of his respect to the Apostolical seat, and the public peace, and always expecting that his Holiness would recollect himself; never imagining that it could enter into his mind, that, to advance and make great his kindred, he would hinder the peace of Christendom, not without some danger to the Apostolical chair itself; especially in a time so full of heresies, which he ought rather to endeavour to correct or root out, than to apply his thoughts how he might without any cause or provocation offend and injure his Majesty: but since his Holiness had thought fit to proceed in a contrary way, and permitted his Fiscal of the Apostolical chamber to make in the Consistory, "*così ingiusta iniqua e temeraria instantia,*" and to demand, that the King his master might be deprived of his kingdoms, to which his Holiness gave his consent, saying, that he would provide for his own time; and

and had, in a monitory or decree that his Holiness had published against a servant of the King's, Ascanio della Corgna, declared his Catholic Majesty to be an enemy "*della santa Sedia,*" and likewise had to the Condé of St. Valentin in public said, "*parole brutissime,*" against the person of the King; upon all which provocations, since his Majesty had thought fit to raise arms for his defence, he (the Duke) being trusted with the government of his dominions in those parts, would provide for the defence of them, and would endeavour, by the help of God, to take away from his Holiness the power he had to offend his neighbours: then he again desires and advises his Holiness, that he will not for the making his family great endeavour to break the truce that was between the two Kings, by which Christendom enjoyed so happy peace, but that he would, "*come vero pastore deputato a pascere, non a lasciar divorare le pecore, che ha in governo,*" permit the Christian world, after having undergone so many miseries by war, to recover their spirits by the enjoyment of that peace which the truce that was between the two crowns had provided for them.

The Pope was not of a temper to be wrought upon by such addresses, but looked upon it as the highest indignity that he had yet undergone; and the Duke of Alva, who was of a temper the most equal and proportioned to the other that could be wished, when he saw no abatement in the pride and passion of the Pope, lost no more time in writing letters, but marched with a body of ten thousand men, with all expedition, to the very walls of Rome; which exceedingly surprised the Pope, and forced all his troops, which had been quartered on the confines of  
the

CHAP. VII. the kingdom of Naples, in great disorder to retire into the very city for the defence thereof.

Philip II. defeats the French at the battle of St. Quintin. He now discerned how weak a support the friendship of France was upon such an occasion, and saw that all the Princes of Italy were well pleased to see him struggling under this mortification. Indeed France had about this time undergone a very terrible misadventure in the loss of the battle of St. Quintin, the greatest blow they had ever received, except by the English: so that, instead of assisting the Pope, they were enforced to send for their army out of Italy to redeem Paris itself from the consternation it was in; and as the sole friend the Pope had was hereby disabled to give him help, so the greatest enemy he had was equally exalted, having himself, to his great glory, commanded in that battle when he obtained so great a victory; for Philip, from the time of his father's resignation, had remained in Flanders, and went not into Spain till after he had won the battle of St. Quintin.

Submission of the Pope to the Duke of Alva. In short, the Pope was not able longer to bear this shock. The Conservators and Deputies of the city of Rome presented a remonstrance to him of the condition the town was in, and how ill provided it was to sustain the siege, which already hindered all provisions from entering into it, and (which it may be troubled him more) they desired, if he yet resolved to defend it, that Alessandro de Colonna might have the command of the forces in the city, whom the Pope loved little better than he did the Duke of Alva, who commanded without: so that he was compelled to enter into a treaty, and therein to yield to whatsoever the Duke of Alva required. By this treaty the Pope disclaimed the league with  
France,

France, and remained neutral between the two crowns; he pardoned all persons, both ecclesiastical and secular, of what condition soever, and restored them to all dignities offices and benefices of which they had been deprived, and whatsoever had been taken from them was likewise returned again to them; he accepted and received his Catholic Majesty for his good son, "*e della santa sedia Apostolica,*" and admitted him to all the graces and favours with any other Prince; and, after all this, there could remain no scruple but the King would pay "*le debite sommissioni*" to his Holiness, to which he was always inclined; nor could the Duke of Alva refuse to ask pardon of the Pope, for what every body knew he would be as ready to do to-morrow: and in this calm manner this storm expired, after his Holiness had furnished the world with many merry stories of his behaviour, and tragical expressions against all who provoked him, whilst the fury still possessed him.

It is not unpleasant to consider what pretty balsam the court of Rome is always provided with, to cure the smart of all wounds and affronts it receives of this kind, and even to deface the scars which would remain; and how it persuades the world that it always triumphs over such attempts, and the persons who at any time have presumed to be engaged in them. Cardinal Pallavicini, in his eloquent and witty answer to the History of the Council of Trent, (after he hath enlarged upon the wonderful humble behaviour of the Duke of Alva to the Pope,) observes, that there is so great awe and reverence annexed to and inherent in the person of all Popes, that how weak soever, and without any other armour than the coat of Peter, they who oppose them are  
still



CHAP. VII. still confounded ; and, he concludes, that it cannot be denied, that over and above the infinite humility in words and ceremonies, with which the greatest monarch treats the Popes, the great jurisdiction which they permit him to have in their several dominions, the great sums of money which they suffer to issue from thence to his court, and the great respect they pay to all the dominions of the church, are clear arguments, “ *ch' essi venerano in lui una dignità più che umana*.” His Eminence it seems did not know, that amongst the swordsmen, he that hath broken another man's head doth very seldom refuse to acknowledge that he was to blame, if no other satisfaction be required ; nor doth he take notice that the respect and submission shewed to the Holy Chair is very different amongst Catholic Princes, and is always proportionable to the benefit and advantage they receive by it ; which is the reason that Spain pays so much more than France, because it receives more assistance from it, and which it could not receive without the Pope's donation.

Letter from Sultan Soliman to the Pope, A. D. 1556.

It would be great pity to omit in this place the mention of a very memorable letter, which about this time passed from Soliman the Grand Signior to this Pope ; bearing date the last of the full moon of Rumbelachi, in the year of the Prophet nine hundred sixty-four ; which, according to the Christian computation, was the ninth of March in the year fifteen hundred fifty-six ; when the great league offensive and defensive was entered into between the Pope and France, and when France had sent to Soliman to assist him, by sending a fleet to do what he

<sup>a</sup> Vol. ii. p. 103.

should

should direct it in the Mediterranean, which Soliman did accordingly. The letter is preserved in those memorials which are mentioned before. It was a kind expostulation for some damage that some Jews had sustained who traded from the Porte, and were his subjects and tributaries in the territories belonging to the Pope, especially in Ancona, where their goods and merchandises had been seized on in his name: "*Perciò preghiamo la Santità vostra,*" that he would upon the receipt of that letter, which would be delivered to him by the Secretary, "*Cocciardo, huomo dell' altissimo e magnanimo Principe de Principi della detta generatione del Messia Gesu, la Maestà Christianissima del Re di Francia nostro cordialissimo amico,*" discharge his said subjects from prison, and cause their goods to be restored to them, to the end that they might be enabled to pay him the tribute that they owed him; upon which he should cause his subjects, and the other Christians who traded in his dominions, to be very kindly treated; and, believing that he would not deny to do what he desired, he would say no more "*alla Santità vostra, Salvo che l'omnipotente Iddio la prosperi molti anni;*" which being a very extraordinary stile, shews the good intelligence that was between them, and there can be no doubt made, but that the Pope gratified him in all that he desired.

There is no record of more than one action done by this Pope, that had any relation to religion, or to the exercise of his spiritual jurisdiction; and that is, his Bull, "*Contrà ambientes Papatum, aut Papá vendite, eoque inconsultò, tractantes de eligendo futuro Pontifice, ac eorum complices et fautores.*" This probably proceeded from the question the King

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The Bull  
intituled  
"Contrà  
"ambientes  
"Papatum,  
"aut Papá vi-  
"tum."

of

CHAP. VII. of Spain had made of the canonicalness of his election, and the general detestation that he knew he stood in, and in which there are many sensible expressions; that when, according to the Apostle, no man ought to take any honour upon him, "*sed qui, tanquam Aaron, vocatur à Deo,*" they must commit a grievous sin, "*qui ipsam denique B. Petri Sedem et Apostolicæ dignitatis culmen &c. diversis modis et mediis ambire et assequi, seu potius usurpare præsumunt &c.;*" that since all well established commonwealths, even before the coming of our Saviour, had been always careful to promulgate laws, "*de ambitu, et contrà ambitum,*" and that detestable sin had been grievously punished, "*jure divino, cum Absalom, qui regnum genitoris sui adhuc viventis ambiebat, ex mulo cui insederat elevatus &c.;*" therefore he, desiring to root out that detestable vice, not only for his own time, but during the lives of his successors, "*volumus, et declarando statuimus, ordinamus et decernimus,*" that all persons of either sex, who shall by themselves or by others endeavour by words, or by writing, without the privity and consent of the Pope, whilst he is living, to have a future Pope chosen &c. "*Sunt ipso jure et facto, absque aliâ sententiâ, excommunicati, excommunicatione majori, et maledictione aternâ damnati.*"

Death of Paul IV. and of Charles V. Henry II. of France, Queen Mary of England, and two Kings of Denmark.

In this perpetual agony, and jealousy of his own security, and in one continued fit of rage, this miserable Pope spent his whole reign; and at last discovered, that his greatest faults and misfortunes had proceeded from the wickedness of his own nephews, who had led him to proceed in that Bedlam manner against the whole House of Austria, by informations which he found to be false and malicious: for which he

he began to take that vengeance upon his two ne-  
 phews, (imprisoning the one, and banishing the  
 other,) which his successor prosecuted to the ruin  
 and destruction of them both : and so he died, when  
 he was about fourscore and eight years old, and  
 when he had been Pope very little above four years.  
 As his former manner and course of life made the  
 change that he affected in his Pontificate to be the  
 more observed and discoursed of, so the accidents  
 which preceded and attended his death, made that  
 likewise the more talked of and remembered ; for in  
 the same year died the Emperor Charles the Fifth,  
 Harry the Second of France, Queen Mary of Eng-  
 land, and two Kings of Denmark ; which was a very  
 rare conjuncture of mortality, attended with prodi-  
 gious changes almost in all the provinces of Europe,  
 at least with some variety and alteration in all.

The reign of Paul had been too scandalous and  
 troublesome to all manner of men, to have a succes-  
 sor chosen without great deliberation : and therefore,  
 when the Cardinals were entered into the conclave,  
 before they would think upon any one subject, they  
 prepared such articles as would probably prevent those  
 mischiefs, which the passion of the last Pope had so  
 dangerously exposed the church to ; for the observa-  
 tion whereof every Cardinal was solemnly to swear :  
 of which, the fourth article was, that the Pope should  
 not make war against any Christian Prince, nor  
 make a league with one of them against another, but  
 should manifest a great equality to all, preserving a  
 strict neutrality, except it should be upon very great  
 and urgent reason, "*approvata per la maggior parte*  
*de' Cardinali in pieno Consistorio.*" This and the rest  
 being with all formality confirmed, and sworn unto  
 by

CHAP.  
 VII.

Pius IV.

CHAP. by all the Cardinals, they betook themselves to their  
VII. usual intrigues and artifices, which were so intricate and mysterious, that they spent four months and seven days before they concurred in an election. Then the Cardinal Giovanni Angelo (who, for what reason I know not, was called de Medici, for he had no relation to that family) was chosen Pope, and was called Pius the Fourth. This election was principally effected by the power and contrivance of the faction of Caraffa, who thereby divided the French party, and gratified the Spaniard in the choice of one they most desired: and Pius thought himself so much obliged, that he did not only resolve himself to protect that family, but upon his first election used all endeavours to reconcile the King of Spain and the Austrian family to it; as if their breaking the French party, by the choice of him, was a sufficient reparation for and blotting out the memory of all their former demerit. But when he found that Philip thought not so, and considered much more what they had done formerly (which could indeed hardly be forgotten) than their late action, and likewise the implacable malice that all sorts of people expressed to the memory of Paul, (all manner of indignities being done to his statues and pictures during the sitting of the conclave,) he suffered himself likewise to be carried with that torrent; and in a short time after his creation, he committed both the Cardinal, and his brother, the Duke of Palliano, to prison; and after no long process, the Cardinal was strangled in prison, and the Duke had his head struck off upon a scaffold; the circumstances whereof, and what followed after in another Pope's time, not being necessary to the subject matter of this discourse,

discourse, may be with great pleasure read in the elegant History of the Council of Trent, written by the late Cardinal Pallavicini in the beginning of the transactions of Pius the Fourth. CHAP.  
VII.

This Pope was of a quite contrary temper and constitution to that of his predecessor, and desired to have every man his friend, and to anger no man; and therefore he staid not till the Emperor Ferdinand should send to him to congratulate, but sent to his minister, (who remained still in Rome, and whom the last Pope would not receive,) to let the Emperor know that he did both approve the resignation of Charles the Fifth, and likewise confirm the election of Ferdinand, and would live with all fatherly kindness towards him. He could not so much dissemble his affections, but that it was notorious enough that his inclinations were to Spain, and his great confidence in that King; yet he performed all demonstration of respect to France, and though he had no fear of that crown as an enemy, and like to disturb the peace of Italy, (as had been the case for above forty years with his predecessors, and which the factions in the kingdom would now prevent,) yet he had a greater fear, which terrified him much; that was, the growth of the power of the Huguenots in France, which had brought armies into the field, given battle to the King, and had committed many acts of outrages in the churches and religious houses, and upon the persons of ecclesiastical men. Character  
of Pius IV.

During the reign of the last Pope there was no mention of a Council; his own head was too full of temporal designs to think of any thing that was spiritual, and all other men knew it would be to no purpose to speak to him. This Pope foresaw that it His expedients to  
avoid a  
Council.

CHAP. would be pressed on all sides, and quickly too;  
VII. — therefore his thoughts were directed only to the consideration, whether he should first speak of it himself, before any body else moved it to him, or expect till some Prince should press it, which he knew they all were resolved to do. For the matter itself, no man who had been before him abhorred the thought of it more than he, having not confidence enough in any one Catholic Prince that he would adhere firmly to that which he valued most, his own interest and the power of the pontifical chair, which he knew they all resolved to bring lower. If he spoke of it first himself, it would be evidence that he thought of it; and so it would restrain others from importuning him to do a thing he intended to do; and so he would have time to declare the time and place, which were the terrible circumstances to him. So he first discovered to those in whom he had most confidence, that he purposed to call a General Council; and gave them order to let it fall amongst their friends. Then he spoke of it in Consistory, as a thing he found would be very necessary, and therefore wished that he could cause a general reformation of manners to precede the Council, especially in the clergy, which he said was an universal complaint. He spoke to the ambassadors of his resolution, who, by the joy they expressed in the knowing it, made it appear, that they had received orders to have required it; but he told them, that the appointing the place took up many of his thoughts; that he could quickly call it, as it had been three times before; but the great business was, to provide that it might end as well as begin, which it had not yet done, it might be, for want of due deliberation. He said upon all occasions, that all places  
were

were alike to him, but he believed that France would not like Trent, against which there were very many prejudices, besides the ill omen from the former miscarriages; that there had been mention of Munster and Cologne, which the King of Spain would like probably better, in regard of the neighbourhood to the seventeen provinces, which begun to be infected with the new opinions. All this while his own drift was to have no Council, or to have it held in Italy; and with those artifices, and by pretending to desire it, he avoided it some years.

In the mean time, in so general a clamour in all countries of the very loose and debauched lives of the Clergy, the Bull he thought fit to publish did not all lessen that scandal; and, as it was then of a new nature, though it hath been since renewed and reinforced in this late time, so it made their vices at that time to be more spoken of and believed. The Bull was entitled, "*Inquisitorum hæreticæ pravitatis facultas procedendi contra sacerdotes, qui mulieres pœnitentes in actu confessionis ad actus inhonestos provocare et allicere tentant:*" this bull is extant in the second volume of the Bullarium, which begins with Pius the Fourth. And it was the more wondered at, that, since the Pope was satisfied that there was such horrid iniquity practised, he provided no other way to discover it, nor any notable punishment for it, but left it to the Inquisitors, that they might take care to punish them, and to proceed, "*juxtà facultatem contra hereticos aut de hæresi quovismodo suspectos ac culpabiles repertos juxtà excessuum suorum qualitatem, prout juris fuerit:*" all which served to publish a scandal, that had never yet been particularly insisted or publicly mentioned, without

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Publication  
of the Bull  
entitled  
"Inquisito-  
rum &c.  
"facultas  
"procedendi  
"contra sa-  
"cerdotes  
"&c."



CHAP. VII. providing or inflicting a punishment equal to the horror of the crime, or the indignation that ought to accompany the very apprehension of it: which was many years after in some degree supplied, though not enough, by one of his successors.

A Council desired generally, except in Spain. Cruelties of Philip II. After all the artifices and tergiversations he could use, the Pope was at last reduced to the necessity of calling a Council in earnest, to prevent worse effects than the Council could produce. He knew well both the interest and the dignity which the holy chair had lost in Germany by the assembly at Augsburgh, and the confession; and which yet made not the Catholics there less solicitous for a Council. In Spain indeed, Philip had, upon his first arrival there from the Low Countries, proceeded with that terrible rigour in the burning and torturing very many persons of both sexes, and of all qualities, for entertaining new opinions in religion, and denying the Pope's authority, and to that degree, that, without considering how deeply he wounded the memory of his father, (as Catholic an Emperor as ever had protected the Church,) he had caused the dead body of his Confessor, and in whose arms his father died, to be taken up and burned as an heretic. By this unheard of severity (which he himself had seemed to disapprove when in England) having terrified all men, he settled the Inquisition, which had been introduced in Spain for the prosecution of the Moors and Jews, and applied it to the rooting out of those opinions in religion which had grown up: and, to season them well in their most rigorous jurisdiction, he permitted them to seize upon the person of the Archbishop of Toledo, and to keep him in the strict prison of the Inquisition for many years, and without ever hearing him,

him, which he often desired and pressed: nor in truth was he in liberty to his death; for though they could not, after he had been in prison seventeen or eighteen years, refuse to send him to Rome upon the Pope's commands, yet he was sent thither in custody, and shortly after died in prison there: after his death he was declared innocent in the points of which he had been accused; but whether they were indeed satisfied of his innocence, or that they would not suffer the heretics to have the honour of having an Archbishop of Toledo of their fraternity, is uncertain.

It cannot be denied, that Philip by this means hath to this day preserved those his dominions from entertaining any thing that was not before known, or generally believed by them; but it is as true, that from that time, and only by the settling that terrible judicatory, (which admits not the mention of any thing that is new in any other science as well as divinity, nor the natural doubts or discourses which cannot but arise amongst learned men,) the acuteness and vigour of that nation is so totally decayed, and their spirits broken, and inclinations diverted to more pernicious licences, that too many of that class of men, who should preserve and improve knowledge, are upon the matter become illiterate: and that spirit and courage, which was natural to that people, and made them as eminent for many noble attempts and achievements as any other nation of the world, is much degenerated and broken. It is very probable, however, that since their pristine appetite of honour and glory is not like to be extinguished, they will at some time, when it shall please God to give them an active and enterprising King, shake off their modern sloth and luxury, and those

The spirit of the Spanish nation broken, and its understanding darkened by the Inquisition.

CHAP. shackles with which the faculties of their mind are  
 VII. restrained and imprisoned, as well as their bodies in perpetual danger and captivity: and they will then discern, that the true safety and security of a Church and State consists in the wisdom knowledge and virtue of a people, that can discern and distinguish between truth and error, and suppress the one, or at least expel the poison of it, by the power of the other; supported by laws constituted upon the foundation of prudence and justice, more than by a stupid resignation of the understanding to old dictates, and by a sottish affectation of ignorance in those things which are the proper objects for the disquisition of the soul of man.

The Duke of Alva sent into the Low Countries.

Philip liked these remedies better than the arguments of learned men, and chose to administer them by a man who was the better liked by him, by his being of his own principles; and so he sent the Duke of Alva his governor into the Low Countries, who made a large experiment of austerity and terror; till the King, finding that the wanton and cruel letting out the blood of those he called and made his enemies abated his own strength and lessened the power of his friends, was compelled to recal that fierce minister, without however declining in any degree his own fiercest resolution to settle the Inquisition in those parts, which Catholics, as well as they who were averse from them, equally disliked and opposed, and which cost him so many millions of men's lives, and in the end deprived him of all the subjects of many of those fruitful dominions, who had in all former times been esteemed the best subjects in the world.

State of France.

The Pope exceedingly approved the method Philip used, and thought it the only remedy that was proportionable

portionable to the malady complained of, and used all the persuasions and importunities he could to procure that the same counsels should be pursued in France, and the Inquisition settled there; assuring the French ambassador, (who still pressed him for the calling a General Council,) that it would be a much more sovereign remedy for all their unquietness than the other would be. But the most furious Catholic in that kingdom had not the courage to propose so rough an application. The King himself was young, and of whose nature nobody could yet make any conjecture, except that it was evident that great care was taken that no man should be able to make a judgment, by any thing he said or did this day, what he would say or do to-morrow. The Queen, who had the regency, was thought to be a lady of great subtlety, and resolved to preserve and maintain her own greatness by all the arts and all the condescensions which she discerned most like to establish it; which made it hard for those to judge of what party she was, who were most concerned to know.

The factions which disturbed the peace of the kingdom were generally reputed and looked upon as divided into Roman Catholics, and those who called themselves of the reformed religion, and were called by their adversaries Huguenots; which appellation was not unacceptable to themselves, the rather, it may be, because nobody knew the reason of the term, and so it served for distinction without any rational reproach; when it was enough known that many and the chief of that party had always been esteemed good Catholics, and probably were still so, and only (at least at first) adhered to the others upon contentions and emulations in civil contests, and for satisfaction of

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VII.

Causes of  
the civil  
wars.

their own interest and ambition. This, and this only, divided the Princes of the blood, that they might be able to give some controul or obstruction to the exorbitant greatness of the House of Guise, which had lately overshadowed them ; and if it had not been for those strong supporters, upon those principles only, the faction for reformation of religion would never have had the power to shake the security of that crown, or much to have disturbed the peace of the kingdom : it being as notorious at the same time, that many principal persons of those who dissembled not a very hearty aversion from the Church of Rome, were never engaged in the war, nor held it lawful to take up arms against their King ; but the secular interests and emulations made use of the passions and animosities which difference of opinion in matters of religion had kindled. This raised armies, and did fight battles, with those horrid circumstances of the foulest perjuries, the most brutish cruelties, in breaking all articles which were agreed on and sworn upon public capitulations, by robberies and massacres, that it is no wonder that God blessed neither party, but made them both instruments of each other's destruction.

Conduct of  
the Court.

The principles of the Court consisted in all manner of luxury riot and voluptuousness ; and whatever obstructed or disturbed the career of those passions and appetites were equally ingrateful ; which made the Queen (who had a rare talent in dissimulation) court the heads of both parties with professions agreeable to both, and within a short time do somewhat contrary and destructive to those professions. Thus when she had disposed the King to all the bitterness and virulence against those of the reformed religion, even to the resolution of extirpating them,

them, and had therein obtained notable successes in the field, by breaking and subduing their armies in battle, and reducing their towns to obedience; and when the same spirit still increased, and new armies were raised and old towns revolted again from their subjection; the Court could not bear this interruption of its delights, nor the Queen keep her mind bent to such fatigue; but some treaty was set on foot, and such concessions granted to the Huguenots of liberty of conscience, and other privileges, as they desired; which put them in a better state than they were before: and when any violation should be offered, (which from the same inconstancy shortly afterwards fell out,) it gave them a greater pretence in justice to defend that which they had not so lawfully obtained; and, as it usually happens in the management of such contradictions, the over-active and subtle Queen incurred the jealousies and censure of the zealous Catholics, and of the Pope himself, without gaining any belief or reputation with the Huguenots.

In these perplexities that France was in, and in one of those calms that a present cessation of arms had produced, the Queen called an assembly of the principal officers and persons of the kingdom, with many of the Bishops and Prelates, that they might consult what course was most probably to be taken, to compose those distempers. The Bishop of Valence made a long discourse of the dissolute lives of the Clergy, who gave so great scandal, that from thence many good men contracted an aversion from the Church: he said that there was little hope of redress from a General Council, for that the Clergy were generally more dissolute in Rome than any where else; and he therefore proposed that the King

would

CHAP.  
VII.

The Queen  
resolves to  
assemble  
the States,  
and also a  
National  
Synod.

CHAP. VII. would send out his summons for the meeting of the States, who would best find what was to be done for the preservation and good of the kingdom ; and that he would likewise call an assembly of the Clergy in a National Synod, which would best prescribe the way for the reformation of religion. The Archbishop of Vienne spoke much to the same purpose, and said there could not a better expedient be found. The Cardinal of Lorraine, and the Duke of Guise, and their whole party, were of another opinion, and proposed only the prosecution of the war, and fire and faggot to be applied for the conversion of the Huguenots. However, there were so many and so considerable persons of the contrary opinion, that the Queen seemed to incline to that, and appointed a select number of the Lords to consider of all preparations which were necessary, in order to the convocation of the States ; and of the Bishops, to consult the same with reference to a national Council ; and of the place for either ; so that the expectation of both was spread over the whole kingdom, which seemed well pleased with it.

The Pope resolves to hold the Council of Trent.

The news of this (which the Nuncio dispatched away with all expedition, together with his account, that all which he could say against it could not prevail upon the King and Queen) removed all the difficulties and all the aversation which had occurred and affected the Pope against calling a General Council. He foresaw that a National Council in that great and distracted kingdom would probably produce most of the mischiefs he apprehended, that no good could result from it to his purposes, and that more inconveniences might proceed from it than a General Council could possibly bring forth. He was confirmed

ed in this judgment by another accident that at the same time fell out in Savoy. They who in the mountains and valleys of Piedmont had for several hundreds of years enjoyed the liberty of their conscience, and the exercise of a religion very contrary to that of the Church of Rome, under privileges which had been granted to them by many successive Princes of those dominions, (whether those privileges and immunities were now invaded, or whether they were stirred up by the unquiet humour of their neighbours in France, and in hope to enlarge them,) had put themselves in arms; and in so great numbers and so good order, that the Duke of Savoy writ to the Pope to desire his advice; letting him know, that many of his Council were of opinion that he should enter into a treaty with them, and give them such conditions as they might be induced to accept; which vexed the Pope so much more than the disposition of France, as it was nearer to him, and was a propagation of heresy in Italy itself. He writ therefore to that Prince with great commotion; that he ought not to treat with them, or to give them any conditions or pardon; but to take this opportunity which God had sent him, totally to extirpate and root them out; in order to which he would give him any assistance he should desire. So upon those provocations he resolved, as the lesser evil, not only to call a Council, but that it should be at Trent; that he might thereby oblige the Princes of Germany, and the better be able to master and suppress that schism which the treaty of Augsburgh, with the consent of the Emperor, King of the Romans, and most of the Catholic Princes, had formerly enacted and made legitimate; and which was in the image thereof more terrible, by those



CHAP. VII. those ebullitions in France and Savoy, which presented a view to him of the crumbling away of his vast power and jurisdiction in a more formidable way than could be effected by any general concurrence in Council.

Meeting of  
the Council  
of Trent,  
A. D. 1562.

The Council met, though in a small number, in the month of April, in the year fifteen hundred sixty-two; few or none of the French Prelates being present: for France was much offended at the Bull which the Pope had issued out for the calling the Council, it being directed only to the Emperor by name, and to all other Kings and Princes in general; whereas the two former Bulls to the same purpose had mentioned the King of France together with the Emperor. Of this omission the French ambassador complained with that passion that is peculiar to his countrymen; and which at first so far moved the Pope, that he seemed not to understand it, or to know that there was any such thing. Afterwards, being pressed again to mend it, he excused it upon the inadvertency of his ministers, who were not enough instructed in the old forms; and, having wearied the ambassador with those delays as long as he could, he positively, in the end, refused to alter it, as a matter of no moment, which he wished had not been; but, being now public, the alteration would irritate other Kings to require the same; and this kept France from sending to the Council, till the change of their own affairs disposed them to it. The Pope applied him with all the condescensions imaginable that were like to contribute to his own ends, and only in such; in all other matters he depended entirely upon himself, and the steadiness of his own will, from which no importunity could divert him; and it was quickly evident that

that he rather promised himself a good opportunity to dissolve the Council, and before it should do any thing to his prejudice, than that he expected any benefit or a good conclusion of it. CHAP.  
VII.

There was nothing more puzzled the understanding of all men, than his sending the Abbot Martinengo to Queen Elizabeth, to invite her and persuade her to send her Bishops to the Council; and it is certain that the Abbot had instructions to offer her, that all her Bishops should be confirmed, that the Liturgy should be in the English tongue, that the Communion should be administered in both kinds, and that the Priests should have liberty to marry; all this upon condition that she would acknowledge the Pope's supremacy, and a subjection to the Bishops of Rome. And Cardinal Pallavicini confesses, that when he was resolved to call the Council, (and without any hope of good by it,) he declared freely, that he would leave all liberty to it; so that the integrity of the articles already defined, and the dignity of the Apostolical Seat being once secured, let it determine what they thought fit; and that if he ought to make restitution to any one (understanding, as it was believed, the authority of the Bishops) he was ready to do it. In the last place, as for the laical communion under both kinds, and the marriage of Priests, they might truly in themselves be granted, as dispensations of laws merely ecclesiastical; but that it seemed not convenient to him, that those ordinances, which had been confirmed in former Councils, should be cancelled without the authority of a new Council: and this was looked upon as great moderation, to court the Protestants in Germany; as his other invitation of Queen Elizabeth was

CHAP. was by many interpreted (as it might reasonably  
 VII. be) as a censure at least, if not a revocation, of all the acts of his predecessors against that great Queen and all her Protestant subjects; for if they were still in force, how could he invite her to send her Bishops to the Synod? But the Queen had been too ill used by more than one of his predecessors, to make herself or her kingdoms in any degree, or for any consideration, subject to that jurisdiction: and so when the Abbot Martinengo came to Calais, he there received notice, that the Queen would not receive any overture letter or message from the Pope, and an absolute inhibition to him not to presume to come into England; which put an end to all further application or correspondence between Rome and that Queen, and to all thoughts of moderation in Council, at least if there had been any before.

Proceedings  
 and disposition  
 of the  
 Council.

I shall find it necessary to the argument in hand hereafter to reflect upon the wonderful incongruities, the want of freedom, and the want of justice, in the whole proceedings of that Council, from the beginning to the end, and its disorderly and ungrave conclusion. But what I shall for the present observe shall have an authority so authentic that it cannot be doubted by any Roman Catholic, which is, the evidence of the Cardinal Pallavicini himself; and in the relation I shall use no other words than his own, (as any one must confess who will take the pains to compare it with the original,) by which it will appear how impossible it was for that body of men to do any thing with integrity, that might compose the distempers of that age, or prevent the improvement of them to greater distractions. The Cardinal declares, (I think it is, for I have not the book  
 at

at present by me, in or very near page 700 of his second volume,) that he will without any dissimulation there set down the face of the Council, just as the Legates did represent it to the Cardinal Borromeo, who was the Pope's nephew, and to whom all the dispatches were made from all ministers in all places, of all matters of importance.

The Italians (he says) did esteem it as a thing both very becoming and advantageous to their nation to uphold the majesty and power of the ecclesiastical government, in the which Italy doth as much surmount other countries as it is inferior to them in the want of a temporal common and native King; so that, except a few, who either by weakness of mind or estate suffer themselves to be led by strangers, the Prelates of this country commonly aim at no other object than at the supporting and greatness of the Apostolical Seat; it appearing to them that upon that did equally depend the honour of their province, and the good of their Church; and therefore that they in so doing did at once perform the parts of good Italians and good Christians.

The Spanish Prelates and Bishops (as persons for the most part advanced either by the ampleness of their churches, or by the plenty of their rents; by the eminence of their family and learning, or by their veneration with the people) did very hardly suffer the great preeminence of the Cardinals, a preferment which few of them could hope for; and as ill could they endure the great subjection to the Pope's ministers, or to the tribunals of Rome; so that they were persuaded that the highest good of the Church would consist in the bringing the Cardinals into some rule and compass, and raising Bishops to their ancient rights: they proposed, that these might be incapable  
of

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The Italian  
Prelates.

The Spa-  
nish Pre-  
lates.

**CHAP.** of bishoprics, the best of which they at present pos-  
**VII.** sessed, which did much maintain them in authority  
 and in riches; they being obliged to remain in  
 Rome to take care of their titular churches, and to  
 be the Pope's counsellors, without a possibility of  
 quitting that place, excepting for some legations:  
 they also demanded, that their entire power might  
 be restored to the Bishops, by taking away the ex-  
 emptions of persons and causes; by which they  
 would become as Popes in their dioceses.

The French  
 Prelates.

The French Prelates, as those who possess less ec-  
 clesiastical jurisdiction, (they being, according to  
 the use of that kingdom, brought within the compass  
 of the secular power,) did less approve of the diminu-  
 tion of the power of the Roman tribunals, and did  
 less complain of the purple's overshadowing the  
 mitre: but they were all inclined to the moderating  
 of the Papal monarchy, according to the meaning of  
 the modern Council of Basil, by them approved; be-  
 cause that, in such case, they would have had little  
 reason to fear their prohibitions or punishments, as  
 being able to blunt or suppress them by calling to-  
 gether or threatening a Council; in the which there-  
 fore they would have authority to be not only over  
 the Pope, but full and as much in the Church.

The dif-  
 ferent  
 Princes.

The Princes, or at least their statesmen, inclined  
 more or less to satisfy the Prelates of their nation;  
 of whose advancement they were not so jealous as of  
 the greatness and power of the Pope; which was  
 also accompanied with the abhorrence of some abuses  
 which remained until that time in the Roman Court.

Let any man produce out of Soave, [Polano,<sup>a</sup>]  
 as the Cardinal calls him, so lively a description and

<sup>a</sup> *Fra. Paolo*; sometimes called *Soave Polano*.

manifestation of the inequality, incompetency, and impossibility of the Council to determine any point of religion in controversy; and we may justly say, that as we are beholden to Fra Paolo for the communicating, in so clear and excellent a style, the incomparable history of the dark intrigues and transactions of that Council; so we are indebted in many thanks to the Cardinal, for giving us so excellent a confirmation and illustration of the most important parts of that history, and for imparting to us, out of the treasure of those originals, (with which he hath had the honour to be entrusted, and which another less generous man would have concealed or destroyed,) so many particulars of the highest moment, which add great beauty and ornament to what the other (for want of those exemplifications) could not so credibly have enlarged upon; whilst his direct and positive contradictions of the veracity of the other, and the arguments which he doth urge to control the same, I mean in matters of weight, (for whether the exact number of the voices in any congregation, or the days of the week, are rightly computed, is nothing to the truth of the fact,) are so faint, and so weakly pressed, that he rather adds vigour to what he would confute, than weakens the credit of it; of which we shall have occasion pertinently enough to insert some instances. In the mean time, we shall prosecute our observation upon the proceedings in the Council; in all or most of which we shall make use of no other authority than the Cardinal's own, which we shall faithfully cite in his own words; and by all which, as they who were in the Pope's displeasure, and whom he proposed to destroy, had no reason to acquiesce in their determinations, so it will

CHAP. as plainly appear, that the Pope himself had great  
 VII. reason to have no mind to call them together, if he could have avoided it; and, when he could not avoid it, to apprehend many inconveniences and mischiefs by their continuance: and the mortification that himself underwent, during the whole time that their conferences lasted, was not inferior to what they suffered, who were most in his power to condemn. And upon the whole matter, nobody can wonder enough, though all men have wondered ever since, that such an obstinate spirit of disagreement contradiction and animosity should last without declension for so many months; and that, within five or six days, there should such a composure and harmony break out amongst them, that every one should appear to be pleased, and all to have obtained what they had always desired; which could have fallen out from no other cause, but that temper which the Cardinal described the Council to be instituted of, which was, to pay a ready obedience to those who sent them, and who best knew how to provide for the security of their own interest; the effect whereof must be more at large mentioned hereafter.

Contest for  
 precedence  
 between  
 France and  
 Spain.

The first trouble the Pope encountered, after the meeting of the Council, was the high contest between the crowns of France and Spain for precedence; which always had been enjoyed by France till the time of Charles the Fifth; who being Emperor so many years, and having in that capacity suppressed all disputes which might have risen concerning Spain, and then leaving the crown of Spain so much greater than he had found it, his son Philip (who loved not to lose any thing) insisted positively and passionately for the precedence. And probably  
 this

this was the reason that the French Bishops appeared not yet at the Council, for this controversy depended at Rome, and was to be decided by the Pope himself. The Council made great haste in framing their decrees, and declared that they would stay no longer for the French divines; whereupon Lansac, the French ambassador, wrote to the Queen, desiring her Majesty to let him know whether her Prelates, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, could arrive there by the end of September, which would be above six months from the meeting of the Council; because if it were so, although the Legates had rejected his demand of deferring the session any longer, he doubted not but to obtain it, if by no other means, at least by protesting, that except they would stay for them, he would not esteem the acts of the Council authentic. The Cardinal says, that the Pope was willing to hold the dispute concerning the precedence in suspense; and that he had therefore a long time forbore to appear in the chapel; but upon Holy Thursday, it being usual for him to bless the people, he had disposed things so that there should not appear any first place among the ambassadors, alleging, that at this ceremony there was no order of place used to be observed; upon which Monsieur de Oizel, the French ambassador, had demanded leave to be gone, but he was detained with some promise of satisfying him in the chapel at Whitsuntide. This news no sooner arrived, but it made great noise in France; and the Queen told the Pope's Nuncio, that the King, though young, had said in his full Council, that he would not endure such a wrong; that the ambassador had done well in asking leave to be gone, but very ill in deferring his departure; that

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VII.



CHAP. she would speak not only as mother of the King, but  
 VII. as daughter of the Apostolic Seat; that the Pope having failed in his duty, she saw sulphur prepared, with which ill willers to the church would not fail to kindle anger and hatred enough in the King, to the ruin of religion. So far are the Cardinal's words, and he confesses, that upon the report that the Pope had given the precedence to France, the Spanish ambassador was heard to threaten, "*ch'il Rè sene ris-  
 " contrerebbe col armi;*" and the Pope thought not fit to run the hazard of it, but resolved to grant the precedence to Spain, of which he informed the Legates of Trent; which, the Cardinal assures us, was done in these words, taken out of his own letters to them; " Ever since We have been Pope, the ambassadors of  
 " the Catholic King have insisted on nothing else  
 " but their precedence, constantly saying, that his  
 " Catholic Majesty had resolved to call away his am-  
 " bassadors from Rome, and also from Trent, if they  
 " were not granted the place that he desired; where-  
 " upon We, seeing the danger of losing so powerful  
 " and so good a King for so little a matter, and, on  
 " the contrary side, that the French have failed in  
 " their duty to God, by that heretical peace which  
 " they have made, by the edicts which they have  
 " published, and by the preachers and heretical mi-  
 " nisters which they send through the provinces in  
 " despite of Catholics, as also by the alienation of  
 " ecclesiastical lands, which they do against our will;  
 " moreover, We seeing that in all matters of debate  
 " the French are they who not only openly oppose  
 " both ours, and the authority of the Holy Seat, but  
 " endeavour to unite all Princes against us, We have  
 " been forced to come to that action which you have  
 " seen,

“ seen, to the end that We might not remain naked, CHAP.  
 “ and deprived of every body.” To these worldly VII.  
 shifts was this infallible Vicar of Christ put to descend in the determination of a matter of right, that he might the better be enabled to constitute articles of faith.

But whatsoever his private resolution was, and how much soever he communicated it, he had not the courage to publish his decision; the French ambassadors being ready, as Monsieur Mezeray affirms, to retire, and to make a protestation, not against the Legates, who depended upon the will and pleasure of the Pope, nor against the Council, that was not free, nor against the King of Spain or his ambassador, who did but support their pretension, but against one particular man, who carried himself as Pope, who had intruded himself into the chair of St. Peter by foul and unlawful tricks, and by corruption, of which they had indubitable proofs ready to produce. If the interposition of friends had not found a way to accommodate the dispute, this protestation in those very words had been delivered; and it was thus near (upon a matter of state, separated from any theological verity) silencing any farther noise of this Council, and preventing the publication of that numerous body of new articles of faith, which have since so much disturbed the peace and quiet of Christendom.

Nor were the doctrinal points, which they would have believed to be matters of faith, debated in the Council with less passion, or with more freedom, or with any such consent as can give any credit to the decision. It was not only urged by the Emperor, but likewise by the Bavarian ambassador, in the  
Debates on doctrinal points; respecting the communion in both species, and the marriage of Priests.

CHAP. VII. Council, that the Communion under both species might be administered to the laity; that the Marriage of priests might be permitted, and that there might be a reformation of the clergy; which was as much pressed by the ambassadors of France. The Imperialists demanded that the cup might be granted, not only throughout Bohemia, but throughout Hungary, and other patrimonial states of the Emperor, with several reasons and public advantages, which induced them to make that demand; every body declaring, (as the Cardinal himself confesses,) that the Council was assembled, not for the condemning, but for the giving satisfaction to the Heretics; and that their conversion might be obtained by contenting those their contumacious appetites, which, it is true, the Cardinal there says, ought rather to be repressed. The Bishop of Five-Churches, who was a learned man, and of great authority, proposed, that what the Emperor proposed as to the cup might be granted; and said, the only reason which he could oppose against it was, the danger of spilling the blood of Christ, which was to be avoided by the vigilance of the Prelates; but in a word, if Christ looked upon all his blood as well spilt for the salvation of our souls, he could not think that any effusion, which should happen in this function by human infirmity, would be displeasing to him; since that, by this means, salvation would be got to innumerable souls redeemed by him with the same blood. And the Archbishop of Palermo said, that all the present miseries of religion did proceed from hardness of heart, and want of complying towards the inflamed wills of minds weak in piety, but strong and active in revenge. It would be too long, and besides my purpose,

purpose, to set down the arguments which were urged against it, which whoever takes the pain to read as they are set down by the Cardinal, will wonder at the weakness of them, and at none more than at what was alleged by Salmeron the Jesuit, (who without doubt was a learned man,) who said, that the not giving the cup to the laics must have necessarily continued from the age of the Apostles. Certain it is, that it was generally believed as well as desired by most Catholics, that it would have been granted; and how it came not to be, is not unpleasantly described by the Cardinal; for he says, that after long diligence and subtle examinations concerning granting the cup, the votes in the congregation amounted to the number of a hundred sixty-six; and they were found to be divided into eight opinions; fourteen were of opinion that the determination ought to be deferred, eight and thirty were for its repulse, nine and twenty were for its being granted, four and twenty for its being remitted to the Pope, one and thirty approved the first article but not the second, (that is to say, they agreed to its concession, but that the execution of it should not be left to the Bishops, but to the Pope,) one remained doubtful, ten inclined to the negative side, but yet remitted it to the Pope, and nineteen restrained the concession to Bohemia and Hungary. So that he confesses, that before this question was proposed it was scarce possible to have invented so many opinions as were actually found in the assembly; and I think I may reasonably say, that, as he hath delivered it, no man knows what the judgment of the Council was; and whether it desired that it should be granted or denied.

CHAP. VII. The power of Bishops by divine right, and their institution, produced more passion, even to reproaches and ill words; of which we will make use of no other evidence than what the Cardinal furnishes us with; though it be much less than we have from a more credible author, Diego Lainez the Jesuit, (than whom no man was heard there with more attention and reverence,) who made a discourse concerning the institution of Bishops, that in any other assembly would have appeared very ridiculous. He affirmed, that the power of the episcopal order is from God immediately, in general; that is to say, in some, as in Peter and his successors, as also in all the Apostles, by a special privilege; in others, as in particular Bishops, it did proceed mediately from God, immediately from the Pope; because in him, whilst Pope, the jurisdiction is invariable, as it was in the Apostles; in the Bishops it may be varied and altered by the Pope; although not upon his mere will, but upon occasion. To the objection of the words of Christ, "*Pasci le mie pecorelle,*" (which, according to St. Basil and St. Ambrose, were not spoken to St. Peter alone, but to all the Apostles, and in them to all Bishops, so that they did immediately receive from Christ all jurisdiction employed in the power of feeding,) he answers, that the fore-mentioned words were spoken, "*a tutti gli Apostoli, sì; non però in tutti, ma in Pietro solo,*" who not being able to feed the whole flock alone, was to make use of the assistance of the other Apostles. I confess I am not able to translate his distinction into any sense in any language, and shall therefore leave it to others. The Spaniards objected, that unless Bishops had their power from God, they could not de-  
fine

Debates  
respecting  
the institu-  
tion and  
power of  
Bishops.

fine in the Council, and what they defined would not concern our faith: to which it was answered, that it was sufficient that they had it from the Pope; and hence it was, that no Council was legitimate without the Pope's concurrence, and that the decisions of Councils were the decisions of God, inasmuch as they were of the Pope, who was assisted by the Holy Spirit.

It was affirmed by Avosmediano, Bishop of Guadix, that Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustin, and many others, had been Bishops not elected by the Pope; and that yet the Archbishop of Saltzburgh did make his four suffragans, without the Pope's having any part in them. To the end that this opinion might not take root, the Cardinal Simonetta interrupted him pleasantly, by saying, that he ought to know that the Archbishop did that by the authority and privilege of the Pope. Thereupon all begun to cry out against Guadix, and, from railing at him, fell to accusing the whole Spanish nation, and said, "*Abbiamo piu travagli da questi Spagnuoli i quali fanno i Catholici, che da medesimi eritici;*" and in this so great confusion, leave was hardly obtained for the Bishop to proceed in his discourse. The Cardinal of Lorrain, a little after this disorder, was heard to say, "*Se un tal caso fosse accaduto a qualche Francese, io presente mente harei appellato da questo congregatione, ad un Consilio piu libero;*" and if they should not have given him satisfaction, he would have returned presently into France: and that Cardinal was so exceedingly displeased with the proceedings of the Council, that he bade the Secretary Pagnano (who was going to Milan) to tell the Marquis of Pescara, that he could not only not expect  
any

CHAP. any good success from this Council, but also some  
VII. schism ; and that he and his French would be gone  
before long, and perhaps sooner than a new occasion  
of departure should be given them. This, and much  
more of the same nature, will be found in the second  
volume<sup>a</sup>. The Cardinal found himself often in need  
of his sharpest wit and faculty of distinguishing to  
preserve the reputation of freedom to the Council, in  
the most gross invasions of it ; as when the Bishop  
of Gerona did formally protest against the decrees,  
and was most severely reprehended and threatened  
by the Legate. But the Cardinal confesses, that, just  
as they were about to propose the decrees, Arrias  
Cagliengo, Bishop of Gerona, seemed as if he would  
enter his protestation ; upon which the Cardinal  
Morone, with harsh words, and a dire aspect, pre-  
vented him, by saying, that whatever particular per-  
son dared to say " he looked upon that which should  
" be approved by that sacred Council as nothing,"  
did deserve to be immediately driven out of it. This  
speech, the Cardinal confesses, was like thunder,  
which stunned and frightened Cagliengo, and perhaps  
some others, from the like disposition, but was receiv-  
ed with common applause, not as a restriction of li-  
berty in giving their voices, but as a blunting of for-  
wardness against what was voted. How rude must  
that force have been, that the wit of this man could  
not put into a softer dress ; it being no better an-  
swer than the Comte de Luna (the Spanish ambassa-  
dor) received from the Legates themselves, when he  
complained that there were great murmurings at the  
private congregations which were held in their

<sup>a</sup> From p. 520, almost to p. 600.

houses,

houses, calling together at the least twenty Italians for two Spaniards and as many French; upon which the Legates answered, that it being their duty to facilitate difficulties and decide controversies, they could not do it without making use of the assistance and counsel of whom they thought fit; and that it could not seem an unproportionable or unequal thing that in those assemblies the number of the Italians should be greater than of any others, considering that in the Council the Italians were one hundred and fifty, and they of the other provinces were in all but threescore and ten. A very good reason indeed to justify the integrity of their determinations, and to induce all the other provinces of Christendom to submit to them.

Notwithstanding all these advantages, the Pope took no delight in the proceedings of the Council, but promised himself much more pleasure in the dissolution of it, upon any occasion that might not too notoriously offend all the other Catholic Princes, who he knew had not all the same end or interest. That which the Pope's heart was only set upon was, to get his own authority vindicated; which done, he cared not what they did. But the Cardinal says, that the Legates and ambassadors stood in doubt whether they should take upon them once for all to define *la maggioranza* of the Pope above the Council, which, if it were once declared by the Council itself, would for ever shut the gate against any schism in the church; or whether they should rather avoid that encounter, for fear lest, whilst they should provide against schisms which might possibly happen, they might fall into a real one. And the Cardinal of Lorrain sent for Paleotto, and told him, that although

CHAP.  
VII.

Supremacy  
of the Pope  
above the  
Council  
not asserted  
there.



CHAP. though he had endeavoured it with all diligence, yet  
VII. he could not persuade his Prelates nor Divines to admit of those words in one of the canons, viz. "that the Pope was equal to Peter in the authority of government;" because, said they, where the holiness is greater, there also greater is the authority; and that Peter could do some things which were denied to his successors, as the composing of canonical books. It is plain that the Legates, and all the Pope's party, besides their advantage that nothing should be debated but what was proposed by themselves, (a reservation that was never before heard of in any General or National Council, and inconsistent with the nature and freedom of either,) had enough to do to watch that no such expressions might slide into any decree or determination, whereby they might lessen or reflect upon the Pope's authority, without the courage to propose any thing that might enlarge it. The Republic and the Patriarch of Venice having desired that an end might be put to some things which they had proposed to the Council, the Legates, after having a while deliberated upon an answer, gave them this, that they had great reason to desire an end of those things, but that they could neither finish them, nor continue to propose the Council's finishing of them, without a special breve of the Pope, before whom those things had been discussed several times; because that this would be to shew that the Council was above the Pope, and that it could bring causes before itself before they were introduced by him. Considering all which instances alleged and confessed by the Cardinal, it is a wonderful thing, and worthy the confidence of the Pope's greatest champion, to affirm, as he does,

does<sup>a</sup>, that it was the love of concord that prevailed so much in the Pope, that, although of ten parts, nine of them agreed to confirm the decree of the Florentine Synod, and to establish the *maggioranza* of the Pope above the Council, yet, because some few French, with yet a smaller train, did oppose it, and because the Cardinal of Lorrain had desired him that the repose might not be disturbed on that account, he would condescend to deprive himself of that advantage, that is, as to what did belong to the dogmas: for the confutation whereof no more need to be said, than what hath been alleged out of his own evidence; by which it appears, that they never had the confidence to propose it; and it is enough known that all the Spanish Bishops of that age (however their successors have been since converted by the powerful arguments of the Inquisition) were as much enemies to that pretence of the absolute power of the Pope as those of any other nation

Since the Cardinal hath kindly supplied us with the evidence much more particular than Fra Paolo had done, I cannot omit the observation of the wary and prudent proceeding of that Council (how compacted soever) with reference to Queen Elizabeth. For he says, that the Doctors of Louvain, and the Bishops of the kingdom of Spain, demanded some declaration in the Council against that Queen; and about the same time there arrived at Trent three Flemish Prelates, with as many Divines from Louvain, sent by the order of King Philip; and that the arrival of these Flemings had much warmed the Council in their purpose of proceeding against that

CHAP.  
VII.

Proceeding  
with refer-  
ence to  
Queen Eli-  
zabeth.

<sup>a</sup> P. 1062.

wicked

CHAP. VII. wicked Queen of neighbouring England; and that the Pope was inclined thereunto; that place seeming to him most fit for this business, where the lawfulness of the Bishops might be treated upon, and where sentence might be given, that those promoted by her were not lawful, and withal that she was both a schismatic and heretic; the which sentence being pronounced by an universal Council (as he hoped) would have inflamed Catholic Princes to assist with arms, to the utmost of their power, the persecuted and oppressed faithful. But the imperial ambassadors did represent to the Legates, what the Nuncio Delphino had before writ both to them and to the Pope, (viz.) that she, being exasperated by such a stroke, might perhaps put to death those few Bishops which remained in England; and moreover, that the heretical Princes in Germany, by the same reason, expecting the same condemnation, would league themselves together to prevent the offence; who, when they should be united in that design, would be powerful enough for any design. The Legates (who had first communicated this design to the Cardinal of Lorrain, and to all the ecclesiastical ambassadors, and had unanimously concluded to share in it with the Emperor and the Pope) answered to what was alleged by the Emperor, that they had writ anew to both the Princes, governing themselves according to the direction of the one, and the commissions of the other. The deliberation taken at Rome was, that they should not cut off a putrid member, whilst they saw that the taking it away would turn rather to the loss of the sound, than to the curing of the corrupted parts. And Pius, (as men of good sense use to do,) that he might draw as  
great

great advantages as was possible from this deliberation, ordered his Legates to let the Emperor know, CHAP. VII. that the prudence and authority of the advice given by his Majesty had prevailed in his mind over that of an infinite number of others who persuaded him to the contrary; and he caused these words in general to be writ to the Legates, which, the Cardinal says, seems worthy to him to be registered for the honour of those two Princes; the words are, "In this, as in all other things which may concern the repose of Germany, and any other countries which may be in danger of any alteration as to religion, His Holiness will be glad to have them governed according to the judgment and Council of the Emperor; in whose judgment and goodness His Holiness hath reason to trust, knowing him to be most wise and full of Christian zeal:" and, he says afterwards, there arrived letters from the Cardinal de Granvile, who was in Flanders, who concerning Elizabeth advised the Legates the very same thing, both as his own, and as the most Catholic King's opinion.

That the Pope should desire, for the reasons mentioned before, that so notorious and powerful an enemy to his church, as that Queen was declared to be, (whom two of his predecessors had with so much solemnity declared to be a schismatic and an heretic, and had absolved all her subjects of their fidelity, and, as much as in them lay, deprived her of all her dominions,) should be likewise condemned under the same declaration by an universal representative of the Christian Church, no man can wonder. He had no doubt very weighty reasons to desire it. But why the Council should deny, or make any scruple

CHAP. VII. scruple to grant it, there can be but two reasons alleged or imagined; first, that the Council did not approve of what those two former Popes had done, and would not involve themselves in the same guilt, as being a matter in which they could not pretend, nor ever any Council had pretended any jurisdiction: and, secondly, that all Christian Princes, how much Catholic soever, upon the consideration of their own particular interest and security, concurred in too great an indignation to suffer their high calling, that depends on God alone, to be exposed to such a tribunal; and so would not suffer that odious attempt to be made. And I am confirmed that one or both those reasons diverted any farther prosecution of that frantic design, by another instance, with which the Cardinal supplies me: for, he says, the Pope acquainted the Legates, that he intended to proceed against the Queen of Navarre, that fierce persecutrix of the Catholic religion; but they dissuaded him from it, by telling him, that might occasion some strange motion in the Queen of England, and in the Protestant Princes of Germany; with whom the cause as well as the danger was common. The Cardinal of Lorrain also, having heard of the Pope's intentions, represented unto him by letter the disturbances which such a proceeding against the Queen might cause in Christendom: and the Pope, in the very same day he received the letter, answered it, thanking him very kindly for it; and, using the most honourable and civil words possible, told him, that he was returned from Civita Vecchia to Rome expressly to call a Council about his letter, and that he would answer the contents of it in due time. But that time never came, nor was there any more mention

tion of it. So much modester doth the very name of a General Council, how factiously soever assembled, make the members of it, in the estimate of their power and authority, than the Popes themselves are. CHAP.  
VII.

The mention of the Queen of Navarre obliges me to take notice of the solidity of the Cardinal's arguments, when he thinks himself concerned to confute some averment of his adversary. He says, that the Bishop of Arras (who managed all in Flanders under the Duchess, upon the death of Francis the Second, by the means of Conconeto his brother, who was Spanish ambassador in Paris) entered into a treaty with Anthony, King of Navarre, about the exchange of that kingdom for the island of Sardinia; and that the Nuncio Santa Croce, who about that time passed from Spain into France, gave the King of Navarre new assurance of the reality of Philip's intentions, which, he said, he had heard from his own mouth. The Cardinal takes notice, that there is a certain historian ill affected to the Catholic religion, and to its head, and therefore is followed in this by Soave, who says, that they proposed to Anthony King of Navarre to make a divorce between him and his heretical wife, and to join him in marriage with the widow of Francis the Second, Queen of Scots, who yet pretended a right to the English crown; and, with the assistance of France Spain and the Pope, to make him King of Great Britain; upon which he, having espoused this pompous chimera, began to manifest an aversion from his true consort. But this he assures you is a fable, for Famianus Strada, who protests to have seen all the letters which passed between the Bishop of Arras and his brother Conconeto concerning this treaty, says, he

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Remarks on  
Pallavicini's  
account of  
the project-  
ed divorce  
between  
the King  
and Queen  
of Navarre.

CHAP. VII. did not find therein the least sign of any such proposition, concerning any divorce of that bond; which, he says, as it is very well known, according to the decision of the church, is not possible after the matrimonial tie, although the woman be an heretic<sup>a</sup>. Is not this a notable argument to contradict the affirmation of several authentic historians (whereof some are Catholics) in a point that must reasonably be presumed to be well known to them; that another Jesuit knew no such thing, though he had the perusal of all the letters which were writ between the two brothers? Whereas, by what the Cardinal himself suggests, it is most probable that the offer of that divorce and dispensation rather passed between the Nuncio Santa Croce and the King, (as matters of that scandalous nature do not use, especially before the final determination, to be communicated to more than are necessary to the effecting thereof,) than that it was known to the Bishop of Arras and his brother, who would contribute nothing thereunto. So that a man had need to have made all the vows which the Cardinal had done, if he gives any credit to him upon this affirmation. And for his other argument, from the decision of the church, he falls upon a rock, (according to his usual custom, for a present convenience,) which, if he were not supplied with an inexhaustible store of distinctions, would split the authority and jurisdiction of the sacred chair, as to many dispensations of that kind, which it will by no means suffer itself to be deprived of.

Sudden  
agreement

The little good intelligence that was in that age between the Catholic Princes might probably be a

<sup>a</sup> Pag. 176.

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circumstance, amongst others, that might dispose the Pope at that time (how unwilling soever) to call that Council; upon a presumption that so many disjointed interests (some whereof had need of his assistance) would never be reconciled and united to his prejudice, though they all thought to lessen his authority. But he never could expect or hope that those dissensions and jealousies, which were so deep rooted in them, could ever facilitate and conspire together to contribute to his desires, and to bring that to pass which he could now only desire. And a less miracle than this could never have composed that tempest, which for so many months had raged in the Council, into such a calm, that (even in the minute when he was implacably angry with his Legates for not dissolving, in spite of all opposition or protestation, for fear of receiving a more incurable wound than that could give him) there should such a harmony appear on a sudden, that, within fourteen or fifteen days, there was an universal consent (or that which looked like universal) to be dissolved; and, to purchase his consent that they might be so, to make such haste in the passing those decrees which had produced so much anger and contradiction in all the former debates, that they hardly had patience to hear them read, but took their words who had formed them in their several congregations.

That this sudden and miraculous conjunction and conformity may not appear more wonderful than in truth it was, it is not impertinent or unnecessary to take a short view of those extraordinary causes, which were attended with those rare and prodigious effects. The Pope, from the beginning, had most



CHAP. VII. courted the Emperor, as a Prince greatest in dignity, and who could propose least advantage to himself by impairing the Pope's authority, of which he had always use in Germany and Hungary to preserve his own. Ferdinand in his inclinations, and for his pretences, shewed more reverence towards the person of the Pope than either of the other Crowns did; yet he was a man of great steadiness, and could never be prevailed with to depart in the least degree from his right or his dignity; but in the representing and insisting on those, how positively soever, it was in words full of respect and condescension. So when the Pope, with great earnestness, laboured to obtain a decree for cancelling and annihilating all the pragmatiques and other constitutions of Princes against the immunity and exemption of ecclesiastical persons, and of their goods, (upon which his heart was more set than upon any thing but his own *maggioranza*, and which had drawn so peevish and absurd an answer from his predecessor to the ambassadors sent from Queen Mary with the tender of her obedience, and that of the kingdom of England,) the Emperor said, that such a decree would be intolerable to him, and perhaps to all other Princes; that for his own part he had never opposed, but, on the contrary, had always defended the ecclesiastical liberty; but that His Holiness ought to remember, that, besides laws which were common to all, every particular kingdom was governed by its own peculiar and ancient customs; besides which, even according to common sense, the immunity of ecclesiastics had its distinctions and limits; (a doctrine, how unquestionably true soever, never before preached so loudly in the Pope's own ears;) that he did believe that this would  
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find great difficulty with all Princes; and if, notwithstanding this, the Legates would proceed, and cause the decree to be approved of, his ambassadors should represent the great difficulty which, not the executing, but the mere accepting of it, would find in the empire. This rational discussion suppressed that design; nor was the Pope so much moved by the advice of any man in any thing he affected, as by that of the Emperor: and the Cardinal doth confess, that it was a providence of God that the Emperor did oppose that hasty design of dismissing, rather than of ending, the Council, which the Pope had intended, and to the which he was inclined for fear of worse success<sup>a</sup>.

It is very probable that the Pope's knowledge of how much need the Emperor had of his kindness disposed him the more to value his councils, as proceeding from the integrity of his heart. There was nothing in the world that the Emperor desired equally to the seeing his son sure to succeed him in the empire; and, though he was already elected King of the Romans, yet there were several reasons and arguments alleged against that election, beside the prejudice and exception to the person of Maximilian; which was like enough to prevail, whatever the reasons were. It was alleged, that there were but two Electors who voted for him, and who could be looked upon as lawful; because the three other were heretics, and the Archbishop of Cologne was not yet confirmed: besides which, it was pretended that the Electors could not choose a successor to the Emperor, yet alive, without the Pope's consent; but could

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VII.

Transactions between the Pope and Maximilian King of the Romans.

<sup>a</sup> Pag. 866.

CHAP.  
VII. only substitute him to the defunct one, or give a coadjutor to the living one, as long as he should live; and that such coadjutor was in effect King of the Romans, before the pontifical confirmation; and that, in the present case, this had a greater place, because that his father the Emperor had not been crowned by the hands of the Pope; and lastly, they opposed Maximilian's having taken the crown of silver in Frankfort, and not in Acon, according to the designation Charles the Great always observed for his successors. Notwithstanding all this, the Pope had ordered Cardinal Morton not to be too obstinate in supplying all these defects, in case Maximilian would closely adhere to the Catholic party. But because the absence of the King deprived the Legate of all means of entering into a treaty, and moreover the Nuncio Delphino had told the Pope, that it was not fit to leave a business so ingrateful to Ferdinand and Maximilian in suspense, (who, seeing this acknowledgment denied to them by the Holy Seat, could not look upon him as propitious, and a well-wisher to their greatness,) therefore the Pope inclined to the confirming Maximilian's election; upon condition, that he would demand the supplement of those defects, that he would swear in favour of the faith, and of the Apostolical Seat, according to the form of a writing that he should send, and according to which several Emperors had sworn, and that he should send to Rome ambassadors of obedience, as other Potentates are used to do, and as his father Ferdinand had done. But Maximilian refused to demand his confirmation; and said, as for the oath which was proposed, it had never been known to be used. Whereupon the Imperial ambassador, on his own head, proposed another  
oath,

oath, which the Emperors had used to take when they received the crown actually from the Pope, and in which was expressed an obligation to maintain the Catholic faith, and with which the Pope contented himself: only Maximilian, in a letter writ unto him, declared, that by the Catholic faith mentioned in the oath he understood that which the Roman Popes did profess. This declaration, the Pope said, would serve to enlighten and confirm the minds of those Cardinals who were to consent to the acknowledgment that was to be made of Maximilian's being King of the Romans, and who were not yet purged from all suspicion by reason of those things which were past. Maximilian also denied to render obedience, alleging, that it had neither been done by Charles the Fifth, nor by his grandfather Maximilian.

In a letter in cipher from the Cardinal Borromeo, the Nuncio was ordered to put the Emperor in mind of the suspicion they had of his son; as well because he had not put away an heretical minister, whom he kept still about his person, as for other things of greater moment; for which the Emperor had often grieved with the Pope, by letters writ with his own hand, declaring that it was not in his power to hinder it; and that this was the reason why the Pope and Cardinals would not satisfy themselves with a general declaration, by which the King did promise to maintain the Catholic religion, but did search for words incapable of various interpretations, and made him express what he meant and understood by the name of Catholic religion; that by how much the degree that he held in Christendom was higher, by so much the more security was to be demanded, that he should administer that office to the honour of

CHAP. VII. Christ; and that otherwise the Pope did not believe that Maximilian had so much as three voices in the Consistory. Even the greatest favourers themselves of the Emperor believed the crown but weakly settled upon Maximilian's head, except it were fastened by the hands of the Pope. Amongst other things, in the oath taken by Maximilian at Francfort, there was this question put to him by the Archbishop that crowned him, "*Vuoi al Santissimo in Christo Padre Signore, il Signor Romano Pontifice ed alla Santa Romana Chiesa esibir riverentemente la debita soggezzione e fede;*" and the King answered, "*Voglio.*" After the letter of Maximilian to the Pope had been read in the Consistory, the Pope, by the counsel and with the consent of the Cardinals, confirmed the aforesaid election, and supplied all the defects; and after this it was decreed, that Maximilian's ambassador should be received as ambassador of the King of the Romans in the next Consistory. All these particulars (some whereof would not have been exposed to the public view, as contributing more to Soave's purpose than to his own, if the Cardinal's judgment had been proportionable to his eloquence) will be found in his second volume<sup>a</sup>. It was generally then believed, that the Pope had dexterously cultivated the jealousies, which he well knew the Emperor and Maximilian had of the King of Spain; and that they believed that the difficulties which had been raised in the Court of Rome concerning his election (whereof some of the points had been stirred and insisted upon by Paul against the election of Ferdinand himself, and had been wisely declined,

<sup>a</sup> P. 872, 873, 874, 876, and 877.

which

which was thought an overruling, by Pius upon his election) were fomented by Philip, out of design to get the Empire to himself when Ferdinand should be dead, who had ravished it from him; and that this apprehension had made Maximilian stoop to some concessions, which could not otherwise have been extorted from him.

Whether the Catholic King had any such design or no, (of which there appears no evidence from the time of his return into Spain upon the death of his father,) certain it is, that the Pope made no less benefit of the jealousy, which he knew Philip himself was infected with, upon this sudden and unexpected atonement of all disputes between the Pope, the Emperor and Maximilian. He doubted much that this good intelligence would be preserved at his charge, and that some of his dominions in Italy, larger than what were settled upon him by his father, would be sacrificed to the satisfaction of the one or the other, who had pretences upon them. Then his losing ground in the Low Countries by the bedlam humour of the Duke of Alva, (though the same had been according to his own pleasure and instructions,) and the increase of those of the religion in those parts, and (which troubled him at least as much) the prodigious growth and power of that sect in France, and the correspondence he discovered to be entered into between them, and the factions and divisions which he knew well to be between the Catholics of that kingdom, who equally wished the extirpation of the Huguenots; all these several considerations, with the difference of opinion which he discovered to be in those of his own Council concerning the prosecution of the war in Flanders, made him change the measures

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VII.

Policy of  
the King of  
Spain, and  
his conduct  
towards the  
Pope.

CHAP. VII. sures which he had formerly taken ; and he grew less solicitous for the depression of his own rebels, than of those of his neighbour kingdom ; presuming that if he could for the present prevent the increase of those in the Low Countries, until they in France could be rooted out, (to which he believed the King and the Queen mother to be enough inclined,) the other would be able to give him little trouble ; whereas, if that party in France prevailed so far as to be able to compel the King to grant them such conditions as would amount to a liberty for the exercise of their religion, (which they pressed in plain terms when they had gotten any advantage, and insisted upon it with equal confidence when they were beaten,) they would contribute such supplies of men and money, and, which was preferable to both, such numbers of excellent commanders, that he should not be able to keep the little he had yet left ; the Catholics of those his dominions, who manifested great loyalty and affection to his person and government, no less detesting what he proposed to himself as his only security, (the introduction of the Inquisition,) than the opposite party did. All these reasons together made him resolve to enter into a firm friendship and league with the Pope ; and in order thereunto, and to a firm conjunction against the heretics, who were equally odious to them both, he presently sent orders to his ambassadors at Trent to mitigate and restrain that fervour in his Bishops there, which was so ingrateful to the Pope ; and knowing how grievous the Council itself was to his Holiness, and that he desired nothing so much as to put an end to it.

He had before, for the more quiet proceeding in the Council, and when he desired the continuance

nuance thereof, written a letter to the Marquis of Pescara, in which (after some expressions of joy, CHAP. VII. for the satisfaction that some Princes had received, and for the peaceful progress of the Council as to its continuation) he said, that seeing the great repugnancy of the Emperor and of the most Christian King, and the great troubles that such a declaration might occasion, that his ambassador should cease from demanding the precedence, and that it should suffice that no contrary act should be made: but now the Catholic King writ to the Pope with his own hand, and, amongst other things, he used these words; “ I am already resolved to send an ambassador to Venice according to the advice of your Holiness, and I am only searching for and thinking upon the person who will be most fit for this employ, neither will I at present stand upon precedency; because they who are obliged as I am ought not to regard such points of vanity which are of no account, but those which concern the service of our Lord, the good of the Church, and the authority of your Holiness.” This could not but be a sovereign cordial to the Pope, who now only wanted to moderate the unsteady spirit of the Cardinal of Lorraine, who had more affronted his Legates, and more opposed all his designs in the Council, than any other person had done; and, though he had made more condescensions and applications to win him than to all other persons, his nature was so imperious, and withal so irresolute, that nothing could be depended upon in all his promises: and in this conjuncture, when so many things succeeded even beyond his expectation, Providence seemed to provide an opportunity to overcome this evil.

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CHAP. VII. **The Cardinal of Lorraine** was a man of very great wit and spirit, and had as absolute a government of the ecclesiastical affairs in France, as his brother the Duke of Guise had over the martial Catholics ; and though he was the most bloody persecutor of those of the religion in that kingdom, he held a secret intelligence with the Protestant Princes in Germany, as if he wished them well. No man talked louder than he of the excess of the Pope's power to the prejudice of all Christian Princes, and he seemed to concur with those who advised the calling of a National Council, thereby to compel the Pope to call a General Council when he was most resolved against it. When he found that the Pope would no longer refuse so general a demand of all Catholic Princes, he raised all those disputes against the place, making France except positively against Trent ; in which he gratified the Pope, who, next to have it no where, desired to assemble it in Italy. The Cardinal however desired not to please him, but that the Council might be convened in Cologne or in Francfort ; and after all the delays, when Trent was the place resolved upon, he pretended that neither himself nor any of the French Prelates would be there ; (nor did he or they go thither till many months after the Council met ;) and yet he threatened that France should protest against all their decrees, as null, because of their absence. When he came thither, no man received the Pope's compliments with more negligence ; no man treated his Legates with less reverence ; and, by what hath been more enlarged upon before, he did not only lay hold on, but industriously sought out, all opportunities to vex him, by crossing whatsoever he desired ; in which all the French

French Bishops diligently concurred, and never swerved from his instructions. Of this the Pope complained to all men, and knew no remedy to apply but by dissolving the Council ; which he had done, but by the Emperor's advice he suspended his resolution.

In this conjuncture the Duke of Guise was assassinated before Orleáns ; the news of which was no sooner arrived with the Cardinal, than his whole carriage and behaviour was changed. He now thought of nothing but himself and family, and of establishing their greatness, which now seemed to be totally undermined. He had two brothers of great reputation, but who had not yet been received into the secret of affairs, nor were fit for the conduct of them ; and his nephew, the son of the late Duke, was a boy at school ; so that the whole fate of his house seemed to depend upon him, and his interest ; and how that might be lessened, he had reason enough to apprehend. The Prince of Condé had already private meetings with the Queen ; and what those were like to produce, his own experience gave him cause to fear. Nothing could be applied to prevent these evils which were in view, but by his own presence and activity ; nor could he think it convenient or lawful for him to be absent from the Council without the Queen's leave, who probably would refuse to grant it if he should desire it. From these disquisitions he discerned nothing so much to conduce to his own purposes, as the dissolving the Council, which would set him at full liberty. But then the Pope would be at liberty too to take vengeance upon all the disobligations he had put upon him, and affairs might go so in France, that his friendship and

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CHAP.  
VII.

Assassination of the Duke of Guise, and its influence upon the Cardinal's proceedings.

CHAP. support might be necessary even to his preservation.  
VII.

Upon the whole matter, he resolved to make a fast dependance upon the Pope, by concurring in the advancement of all that he desired, which profession he no sooner made to the Legates, and from them understood how grateful it was to the Pope, than he made a journey himself to Rome, was lodged as in the Pope's palace, and so caressed by him, that in a few days he returned again to Trent as fully instructed and intrusted as the Legates, and he thought more. Then the Cardinal wrote a letter to the Emperor, (towards whom he had never before made extraordinary application,) in which he told him, "that the Pope, desirous to end the Council, had proposed to him the doing it with the next approaching session, assuring to him moreover the legation of France, with a faculty and power of dispensing in ecclesiastical laws, as he should think fit for the good of that kingdom; the which his love to his native country advised him not to refuse, when it should be once approved by his Imperial Majesty."

Haste in passing the decrees of the Council.

These extraordinary and even miraculous contingencies falling out within the space of twenty days, or thereabouts, when the Pope was in utter despair of putting an end to the Council, otherwise than by breaking it, (which probably would be attended with some pernicious consequences,) so transported him, that he could not conceal his joy without some levity that was not natural to him; and, as if he doubted lest some new accidents might deprive him of the benefit of so happy a conjuncture, he was so impatient of the determination of it, that they at Trent (who well knew the pain he was in) made so great haste

haste in their dispatch, that it was not suitable to the gravity of the matter, or to the dignity of the persons : insomuch as many of those Bishops, upon the reading the decrees and propositions, declared that they could not possibly make any judgment of them, by reason of the shortness of the time, and therefore, as to what concerned them, they remitted themselves to the Pope and the Apostolical Seat ; others simply answered, *Piace* ; and when the Fathers were asked if it pleased them that the Council should be ended, and if the Legates should in their name ask of the Pope the confirmation of all their decrees, the Cardinal says there was only one, the Archbishop of Granada, (though there were many more who said the same,) who answered, “ *Piace che si finisca il Concilio, ma non chiedo la confirmazione,*” which he said, perhaps, (says the other,) because he looked upon the Council to be enough confirmed by the authority of the Legates sent thither by the Pope, and with instructions given to them concerning all matters to be decreed and confirmed. But he did not believe that to be his meaning, and therefore he is glad to add, that there were three rose up, and in opposition to Granada said, “ *Chiedo la confirmazione come necessaria,*” and that they were all three of his own nation. In truth, it could not have been any wonder if all the rest had answered “ *Piace,*” whatever they had thought, after they had seen the Bishop of Gerona so treated by the Cardinal Morone, when he offered to protest, as is before remembered. But the use and application which Cardinal Pallavicini makes of the expressions of joy that were made for the ending of the Council, which were begun by the Cardinal of Lorrain, as the mouth or voice of the Senate,

CHAP. Senate, to whom the Fathers answered as in quire,  
 VII. is very pleasant; for in them, he says, they prayed to God for happiness to Pius Quartus, who was then called by the Cardinal of Lorrain, "*Pontifice della Santa ed universale chiesa;*" and so, says the other, it seemed, that that "*maggioranza*" over the universal Church was attributed to the Pope, which had been disputed by him and the French; to which he might have added, and which is still denied to him by the whole Gallican Church, as well as by many other Churches.

End of the  
 Council of  
 Trent.  
 A. D. 1563.

In this disorder, and almost in the same confusion in which it had been continued, this famous Council of Trent, after it had sat for above the space of eighteen months in continual dissensions, ended in a visible harmony in the month of December, in the year fifteen hundred sixty-three, to the eternal honour of Pius the Fourth; who, it cannot be denied, steered it with wonderful dexterity, and, by the bounty and good influence of his own stars, and the rare accidents which intervened, brought it to such a consistency as hath given more credit, and produced more unity to that Church, than could have been expected either from the debates or the conclusions. The articles were signed by four Legates, two other Cardinals, three Patriarchs, five and twenty Archbishops, a hundred sixty-eight Bishops, seven Abbots Benedictines, nine and thirty Proctors of the Prelates absent, and seven Generals of Orders; so that the whole subscriptions were of two hundred and fifty-five hands; and, considering the paucity of the number, besides the presumption of imposing rules and restraining privileges, contrary to the laws and customs of all œcumenical councils, it is no wonder that  
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the same is not received in many Catholic as well as Protestant kingdoms ; and still less that the Church of England rejects what the State never admitted, and hath more reverence for the decrees of its own Councils, (which always consist of much greater numbers,) than the subscribers to those articles of Trent amount unto : and if the parts and learning of the subscribers (for all the names of both are easily known) be considered, there will be more men of profound learning and confessed or eminent piety found in the Synod held in that time in our own country, and in all the Synods which have since been held there, than there were at any time in Trent ; though it is not denied that there were many of great estimation in letters, and of lives very unblameable ; and yet that kind of learning is much improved since that time, and even in that Church, which they will not deny.

I have been the longer in the reflection upon the transactions of that Council, both because it took up all that Pope's life, and administered more occasion of discourse and matter of consequence in all Christendom, than any other action or occurrence in that age ; and especially because this Cardinal, who spent so many years of his long life in compiling a history that should convince the world it had been hitherto deceived in the relation of all that was done there, and should manifest the gravity justice equality and unanimity of the proceedings in that assembly, had supplied me abundantly with evidence to the contrary ; and hath rendered it as guilty of all the incongruities and defects and tergiversations, as his adversary, against whom he writes with so much bitterness, had done ; and hath made us very much be-

Observations upon Pallavicini's history of the Council.

CHAP. holden to him for his good and eloquent supplement  
 VII. to that excellent history. And I have, upon the matter, confined myself to the single evidence which this Cardinal hath furnished me with. When I shall hereafter find it convenient to mention what succeeded at Rome after the dissolution of the Council, I shall take a greater latitude in the allegation of what was done there from the testimony of more, but as authentic, witnesses. I shall here only cite one particular more from the same Cardinal, that Il Ferriere, who was ambassador of the King of France at Venice, as soon as he heard that the Council was ended, writ a letter to his master; in the which he said, that his and his colleague's absence (for he had been ambassador at Trent) in the two last sessions was very advantageous; because by their presence they might have prejudiced the liberty and prerogative of the Gallican Church, and of the Crown; for he did consider that in the four and twentieth session, in the fifth the eighth and the twentieth heads, it was enacted, that the causes of Bishops should be brought to Rome against the privilege of France, which implied that those causes should never go out of the kingdom; that the Pope was denominated "*Vescovo della chiesa universale*," a title always contradicted by the King's ambassadors; and that there were other things enough, from whence it would necessarily follow that the Pope was above the Council, against the opinion of France and of the Sorbonne, which had always been there defended by them conjunctly with the Cardinal of Lorrain, the Bishops, and the French Divines<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> P. 1037.

It may very well be wondered at, that the Pope was so much displeased (as it was then generally known he was) with his Legates upon the perusal of the decrees, when he had such a plenitude of power of his own to add to, or alter, or reverse whatsoever was done in the Council, and to give any thing to himself which he could not persuade them to do, as he did by his transcendant Bull for the confirmation and publication of the canons of that Council; which as they altered and added very many articles to the Christian faith, (so that very many are to be damned now for not believing many things which they might have been saved without believing before,) so, by his Bull, he hath created to himself quite another and a greater dependance upon himself of the whole Catholic Clergy within the precincts of the Roman Church, and a less subjection to their own natural Kings and Princes, than they were ever subject to before; which how it comes to be suffered in those provinces where the Council itself hath never been admitted, I cannot comprehend; except it be that they know it to be invalid, and never distinguish in criminal cases in their proceedings between Clergy and Laity, but prosecute both by the same process; of all which somewhat more will be added anon.

But Pope Pius did yet supply himself with another weapon out of his own forge, upon which he more depended for the defence and propagation of his new faith, than upon his Bull or his canons. This was another omnipotent Bull, which he published during the sitting of that Council, and before its dissolution, whereby he provided that, “*INQUISITORES hæreticæ pravitatis, non teneantur publicare dicta testium contra schismaticos vel hæreticos examinatorum, neque*”

CHAP.  
VII.

The two Bulls of Pope Pius IV. published during and after the Council of Trent, in support of the Inquisition, and for varying as well as confirming the decrees of the Council.



CHAP.  
VII.

*“ que rationem reddere de processibus alteri, quam Romano Pontifici aut supremis INQUISITORIBUS almæ urbis :”* and, that nobody may be terrified by the power and greatness of any heretics or schismatics from discovering or accusing, it secures them, that no men, *“ qui schismaticos seu hæreticos hujusmodi revelaverint, seu contrà eos deposuerint, et testificaverint,”* shall ever have their names known or revealed ; which is such a devastation and eradicating all the elements of justice and prudence, and with them of all the security and liberty that is due to mankind, that it is hitherto held too brutal to be received in any Catholic dominions, those only of the Pope himself, and of the King of Spain, excepted: and even those territories of theirs, where the same hath been admitted, have undergone that curse of leanness and barrenness, that they have yielded no one man of that eminence of parts, or acuteness of learning, (besides the deluge of ignorance, laziness, and want of courage that hath overwhelmed them,) with which those provinces heretofore plentifully supplied the schools and the armies of all other parts of Europe. And so we take our leave for the present of Pius, to take a short view of the actions of his successor.

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